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# Etymological Dictionary of Greek

*By*  
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*With the assistance of*  
Lucien van Beek

VOLUME ONE



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## PREFACE

Whoever takes up the task of writing a new etymological dictionary of Greek, has to depart from the existing dictionaries. The present dictionary, too, owes a great deal to previous work in the field, especially to the excellent dictionaries of Hjalmar Frisk and Pierre Chantraine.

Apart from compiling the first comprehensive etymological dictionary of Greek in the English language and incorporating the most recent scholarly literature on Greek etymology, there were a number of other reasons why a new dictionary seemed to be a desideratum. In the preface to his dictionary, Frisk expressed doubts on three points: 1. the laryngeal theory; 2. Mycenaean; and 3. the Pelasgian theory on the Greek substrate language. Ironically, it is precisely on these three points that substantial progress has been made in the last decades, so that we can now be much more confident in these areas.

1. Frisk felt uneasy about the laryngeals. In the preface (p. vi) he wrote: "Für die griechische Etymologie fällt sowieso die Laryngalthorie (...) nicht schwer ins Gewicht". I have been acquainted with the problems of the laryngeal theory since the start of my academic career (see my dissertation, Beekes 1969), and I vividly remember how the chaotic spectrum of theories and hypotheses discouraged many people in the beginning.

Since the 1980's, the situation has changed dramatically. When Bammesberger's *Die Laryngalthorie* appeared (Bammesberger (ed.) 1988), there had already been general consensus on the main rules of development of the laryngeals in Greek and in other Indo-European languages. It is absolutely clear now that the development of the laryngeals is essential for understanding Greek etymology. Chantraine's *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (DELG) often does not give reconstructions with laryngeals either; as a consequence, many of the etymologies still defended in his dictionary are clearly untenable within the framework of the laryngeal theory. It must be admitted, however, that many of these deficiencies have been remedied in the Supplement (DELG *Supp.*), which often contains very helpful contributions.

2. The study of Mycenaean has by now become an integral part of Greek studies. The Mycenaean material was already accepted by Chantraine and incorporated into DELG. I have tried to include all Mycenaean data with a reasonably certain interpretation, provided that these data have a bearing on the etymological interpretation of classical Greek. Personal names are generally excluded from the discussion, as their interpretation is often too uncertain to base any conclusions on.

The task of incorporating Mycenaean data was not too difficult, since we have the excellent *Diccionario Micénico* (1985-1993) by Aura Jorro at our disposal. Although

the Mycenaean material is limited, it is of great importance and should always be taken into account. The exact attestations of the Mycenaean words are usually not cited, as they can easily be traced in Aura Jorro's dictionary.

3. It is now clear that the Pelasgian theory, which started from the assumption that there was an Indo-European substrate in Greek, has been a completely unfruitful and wrong approach. Although Frisk doubted this theory, he nevertheless consistently referred to Pelasgian throughout the dictionary. This is a pity, because the theory has yielded no positive results. Chantraine often used the vague terms 'achéen' or 'mediterranéen', without clearly identifying Greek substrate words in this way.

In the present dictionary, no reference to the Pelasgian theory is made anymore. Instead, I have extensively used Furnée's 1972 book, who meticulously studied the substrate material and concluded that we are dealing with loanwords from a single non-Indo-European language. Unfortunately, this work has been neglected or rejected by most scholars without due argumentation. In order to explain the principles of Furnée's work and to present his conclusions, as well as my own findings from recent years, I have written a special introduction to Pre-Greek (as I call the substrate language), see pp. xiii-xlii. Throughout the dictionary, much attention is paid to the Pre-Greek material, and one of my main goals was to generate a collection of substrate words which would be as complete as possible. I intend to publish a separate work, containing all certain or probable Pre-Greek etyma, in the coming years.

The dictionaries of Frisk and Chantraine are different in their orientation. Whereas Chantraine is more oriented towards the philological study of Greek (as follows from the subtitle *Histoire des mots*), Frisk focuses on the Indo-European side of Greek etymology. In fact, it may be fair to say that Frisk to some extent tried to produce not an etymological dictionary of Greek only, but of Greek and Indo-European at the same time. The main focus of the present dictionary is also etymology, rather than philology.

I started working on the project in 2002. At first, the idea was to produce an updated English translation of Frisk in the framework of the *Indo-European Etymological Dictionary* project. While largely maintaining the philological part of the entries, I modernized old reconstructions, added new ones from the literature, and rejected older etymologies in the light of the substrate theory. Furthermore, many new entries have been incorporated, most of them glosses by Hesychius, which were gleaned from DELG, from Furnée's book and from the new 2005 edition of Hesychius (part III, Π-Σ).

Gradually, I have come to the conclusion that a much more rigorous approach was necessary: there is simply too much irrelevant and dated literature in Frisk's dictionary, and many of his pre-laryngealist reconstructions are now useless. Also, research interest in Indo-European studies has shifted considerably over the course of decades. It was therefore decided to completely reorganize the etymological treatment of the entries.

The rigorous editing of the etymological sections of the dictionary was done by Lucien van Beek. He integrated my own views with traditional etymologies and recent insights. In those cases where a word can now be proven to be of Pre-Greek origin, part of the old reasoning has sometimes been retained in order to illustrate the flaws in the traditional approach, according to which practically every word is bound to have an Indo-European etymology.

### Structure of the entry

After the lemma, grammatical information is given between square brackets, for instance, δύρομαι [v.] 'to lament, bewail', or ἔγκαια [n.pl.] 'intestines'. If it is unknown (for instance, in a gloss), this may be indicated with a query.

The grammatical information is followed by the meaning of the word. For most of the glosses, an English translation has been provided. Although this is a major break with tradition in Classical Studies, I consider it to be convenient for specialists in other Indo-European languages than Greek. Of course, in many cases a gloss can be ambiguous, but I hope to have been sufficiently prudent in the translations.

At the end of the first paragraph, I give the origin of the word (in abbreviated form) between two arrowheads. The abbreviations must be understood as follows:

- ◀IE> There is a good Indo-European (IE) etymology. The IE root is reconstructed, and in most cases also the formation represented by the Greek etymon. If there are no cognates, but the Greek word looks Indo-European, a reconstruction has sometimes been proposed, too.
- ◀IE?> An Indo-European etymology exists for the entry concerned, but it is not entirely convincing.
- ◀GR> The word was coined in the more recent (pre)history of Greek, and consists of one or more (possibly) inherited elements; however, the formation as a whole was certainly not inherited from IE.
- ◀PG> The word certainly belongs to the Pre-Greek substrate language. The reason for this decision may be indicated with (V), which means that there are formal variants, or with (S) if the word contains a suffix characteristic for Pre-Greek.
- ◀PG?> The word may be Pre-Greek (see above on (V) and (S)).
- ◀LW> A loanword. The donor language is indicated in abbreviated form, e.g.
- ◀LW Sem.> = a loanword from Semitic.
- ◀EUR> A loanword from (one of) the European substrate language(s). Such words are not reconstructible for PIE, but share similarities with words from other European language families (Germanic, Italo-Celtic, Balto-Slavic) that must be due to substrate influence.
- ◀ONOM> An onomatopoeic word.
- ◀?> No good etymology exists, or the etymology is unknown.

The philological information is subdivided into sections in order to make the presentation more transparent:



- VAR Inflectional forms and phonological variants.
- DIAL Dialectal forms. Mycenaean is mostly given in the (approximate) phonological transcription.
- COMP Compounds (only the most common or etymologically relevant compounds are given).
- DER Derivatives.
- ETYM Etymological discussion.

### The Proto-Indo-European reconstructions

The reconstructions in this book follow some conventions which deviate from common usage. Let me mention the most important ones:

- a) PIE had no phoneme *\*a*. Whenever *\*a* appears in a reconstruction, the stage of language should always be understood as post-PIE.
- b) In IE reconstructions, vocalization of resonants and laryngeals is as a rule not indicated, since the consonantal and vocalic allophones were not phonologized in the proto-language. Thus, for the PIE pre-form of βαίνω, I write *\*g<sup>w</sup>m-ie/o-*. Whenever vocalization is indicated, i.e. *\*g<sup>w</sup>m-īe/o-*, this is understood to be a post-PIE development.
- c) I follow Kortlandt's theory of Balto-Slavic accentuation, and adopted his reconstruction of (pre-)glottalized consonants for PIE (see, for instance, on ἑκατόν and πενήκοντα).
- d) It should be noted that the term 'prothetic vowel' is used in this dictionary to indicate the vowel (mostly *a-*) that may or may not be present in Pre-Greek substrate words. In inherited words, a facultative prothetic vowel is not reconstructed any more since it contradicts the laryngeal theory.

### Bibliographical references

Within the limited amount of time available for this project, it proved impossible to modernize all references and to check all reference works. It was necessary, therefore, to make certain strategic choices. It was decided to concentrate on the etymologically relevant publications and to adjust the philological treatment of the material only sporadically.

The second editions of reference works, such as Lejeune's *Phonétique historique* (1972) and Risch's *Wortbildung* (1974) have been systematically consulted. I have generally maintained references to Chantaine *Formation*, as this book contains a very concise and precise overview of the different suffixed nominal formations in Greek.

In contrast to Frisk's dictionary, references to works on specific morphological topics have been left out. For instance, for a derivation in -σύνη, Frisk often refers to Wyss's 1954 book. Other such works, to which the reader can refer, are: Redard 1949

(-τήρ), Boßhardt 1942 (-εύς), Fraenkel 1910 (agent nouns), Benveniste 1948 (agent and action nouns), and, more recently, Leukart 1994 (suffix -ῥās, -ᾱς).

Furthermore, references to the dictionaries of individual languages have largely been omitted. Most references to Walde-Hoffmann (Latin), Vasmer (Russian), Fraenkel (Lithuanian), etc. are superfluous in a Greek etymological dictionary. It is understood that the reader who wants to know more about the cognates in a given branch will find his way to the relevant dictionaries. References to Mayrhofer's *KEWA* have been retained in some instances, because it often contains more details than the *EWAia*. The *LIV*<sup>2</sup> has proven to be a very important work of reference for all verbal roots, even if I very often disagree with details of their analysis.

References to Strömberg's *Pflanzennamen* and *Fischnamen* have been maintained, as well as to Thompson's *Glossary of Greek fishes*. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to adjust all references concerning Greek religion to recent works such as Burkert 1985.

Regarding the epigraphic material, no systematic check has been made of the *SEG*.

### Acknowledgements

A new etymological dictionary of a language like Greek cannot be written in a few years by just one person, without the help of others. Many people helped me on various stages of the project.

First of all, I am greatly indebted to Lucien van Beek for editing, correcting and proofreading the whole volume containing about 7500 entries over the course of more than two years. Several others assisted him in this work, sacrificing many weeks of their spare time: Alwin Kloekhorst, Guus Kroonen, Michael Peyrot, Tijmen Pronk, and especially Michiel de Vaan. Needless to say, it is I who remain responsible for all views expressed in this dictionary, and for any mistakes in it.

I am very grateful to Alexander Lubotsky, who proofread a large part of the dictionary, and spent a lot of time and effort in formatting the manuscript. Dr. Velizar Sadovsky (Vienna) has been so kind to write many macros for generating indices and bibliography and to proofread some parts of the manuscript. I am indebted to Dr. Thomas Olander (Copenhagen) for solving various font problems.

I would like to thank the students of our department – Kristen de Joseph, Marijn van Putten, Simon Mulder and Alain Corbeau – for technical assistance. Kristen de Joseph further copy-edited the manuscript. Marijn van Putten and Simon Mulder helped compiling the bibliography.

## PRE-GREEK LOANWORDS IN GREEK

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### A. Introduction

The substrate language of Greek will be called 'Pre-Greek' in this dictionary; this is a translation of the German term 'das Vorgriechische'. No written texts exist in this language, but it is known from a considerable number of loanwords in Greek.

The study of Pre-Greek has had an unfortunate history. In the past century, it was called 'Pelasgian' and considered a dialect of Indo-European. This idea fascinated scholars, and research concentrated on this proposal. But the whole idea was clearly wrong, and by now, it is generally agreed that the substrate was non-Indo-European. Therefore, the term 'Pelasgian' can no longer be used. Frisk already had strong doubts about the Pelasgian theory, but nevertheless, he often mentioned the proposals of its adherents. Since all work following this line has turned out to be useless, I decided to make no mention of the theory anymore in the dictionary.

When Frisk completed his dictionary in 1972, Furnée's book 'Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen', which was his dissertation written under the supervision of F.B.J. Kuiper, had just appeared. It was an elaboration of Kuiper's 1956 study on Greek substrate words, which opened a new chapter in the research of the field. Furnée rejected the Pelasgian theory, too (see especially *op. cit.* pp. 40-55).

Furnée's book met with fierce criticism and was largely neglected. In my view, this was a major mistake in Greek scholarship. True, some of his identifications are improbable, and his repeated claim that certain forms were expressive leads nowhere. What remains, however, is that he studied a great number of relevant forms and drew obvious conclusions from them. Pre-Greek words often show a type of variation which is not found in inherited words. It is self-evident that this variation must be studied, and this is what Furnée did. It has turned out (as Kuiper had already shown) that this variation shows certain recurrent patterns and can be used to recognize Pre-Greek elements.

Furnée's book is not easy to use: every form is discussed at three or four places, each time in a different context, so that it may be difficult to find out what his point really is. On the other hand, his treatment is very careful, and there hardly any obvious mistakes. I found a number of cases which he had not recognized (e.g. *πτωχός*), but this does not change the fact that his book was the best collection at the time. Furnée worked on it for twenty years, and even now it is the only hand-book on the subject. The short overview which follows below is based on Furnée's material and on my own research of more than thirty years.<sup>1</sup>

Furnée went astray in two respects. First, he considered almost all variation to be of an expressive character, which is certainly wrong: it is evident that the variation found is due to the adaptation of words (or phonemes) of a foreign language to Greek. We shall see below that many variants can be understood in this way. Secondly, Furnée was sometimes overzealous in his search for inner-Greek correspondences. Many of Furnée's discoveries are brilliant (see s.v. *δορύκτιον* for an example), but sometimes he went too far: not every alternation necessarily points to Pre-Greek origin. The author can hardly be blamed for his enthusiasm. He was exploring new ground, and it can only be expected that he sometimes overplayed his hand.

<sup>1</sup> Since Kuiper was my supervisor as well, I was acquainted with the book from the very beginning (see my review in *Lingua* 36, 1975).

Several scholars were baffled by Furnée's proposals and hence rejected the whole book altogether. His method, however, was correct and I have only filtered out the improbable suggestions. In many cases, of course, we cannot be absolutely certain, but this cannot be an objection. Except for a very small number of cases, Furnée's material does consist of Pre-Greek words. His index contains 4400 words, and taking into account that many of these words concern derivatives and variants, as well as a few Indo-European words, I estimate that Furnée's book discusses some 1000 Pre-Greek etyma.<sup>2</sup>

In general, I have given only a few personal names and toponyms, and no material of this kind from outside Greece and Asia Minor. The comparison with Basque or Caucasian languages has not been considered in this dictionary, as this is not my competence; it is likely that there are such connections, but this must be left to other scholars.

My suggested reconstructions are not essential. One may ignore them and just consider the variation itself. These variants are often explained as incidental phenomena (assimilation, influence of other words, etc.), and such explanations may be sometimes correct, but if we know that some variants frequently occur, we will have to consider Pre-Greek origin. Existing etymological dictionaries often seem to avoid the conclusion that a word is a substrate element. It is remarkable that Chantraine was quite aware of the problem in his *Formation*, but in his dictionary he often withdrew his earlier evaluation (which in my view was correct). It looks as if substrate elements were not welcome there.

The relationship with Anatolian languages is a separate problem. A Greek word is often called a loan from an Anatolian language, while it may just as well be borrowed from the Pre-Greek substrate. It is generally accepted, on the basis of toponyms, that there was a language which was once spoken both in Greece and in western Asia Minor.<sup>3</sup> In most cases, however, it is impossible to distinguish between substrate words and loans from Asia Minor (the latter are from a later date). A word may have been adopted through commerce, as often happens between two neighboring countries, or starting from the time when Greeks settled in Asia Minor, probably as early as the 15th century. From a methodological point of view, I think it is better to consider such words as Pre-Greek, and to define them as loanwords from an Anatolian language only when there is reason to do so. Still, it is clear that we may often make mistakes here. A case in point is *τολύπη* 'clew, ball of wool ready for spinning'. The word is clearly related to Luwian and Hitt. *taluppa/i-* 'lump, clod'. The Greek word is typical of Pre-Greek words: the structure *CaC-up-* (with *a* appearing as *o* before *u*) and the absence of an Indo-European etymology (Melchert *Orpheus* 8 (1998): 47-51 is not convincing) imply that the word is Pre-Greek or Pre-Anatolian. On the other hand, 'clew' is not a word that is easily brought from overseas; it is an everyday word that the speakers of Greek and Anatolian must have

<sup>2</sup> Note that Furnée often adduces new material that is not mentioned in the current etymological dictionaries, mostly glosses from Hesychius.

<sup>3</sup> A point for further study is to establish how far to the east such related names can be found. It is my impression that these names can be found as far south as Cilicia.

picked up not far from home. I completely agree with Furnée's interpretation (35<sup>33</sup>) that the word was brought to Greece by settlers from Anatolia who spoke the language, which, from another perspective, we call Pre-Greek. In other words, *τολύπη* is a loan from an Anatolian language, but this (probably non-Indo-European) language was also spoken in large parts of Greece before the Greeks (speaking an Indo-European language) arrived there.

It is essential to realize that substrate words are a frequent phenomenon. One may regret this (for instance, from the Indo-Europeanist point of view), but this is irrelevant; the existence of Pre-Greek words is simply a fact that has to be accepted. To me, it is fascinating that in this way we can learn something about the oldest language of Europe (including Anatolia), of which we otherwise have no evidence.

The 'Pelagian' theory has done much harm, and it is time to forget it. The latest attempt was Heubeck's 'Minoisch-Mykenisch' (discussed by Furnée 55-66), where the material was reduced to some ten words; the theory has by now been tacitly abandoned.

## B. Phonology

### 1. The phonemic system of Pre-Greek

Voiceless, voiced and aspirated stops may interchange in Pre-Greek words, without any apparent conditioning factors. This fact shows that voice and aspiration were not distinctive features in Pre-Greek.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the Linear B signs (graphemes) for *rjo*, *rja* and *tja* show that *palatalization* probably was distinctive. This is confirmed by the sign *pte* (e.g. in *ra-pte-re* /<sup>h</sup>rapteres/ with the agent suffix *-ter-*), which must go back to an earlier *p<sup>y</sup>e*. In the Pre-Greek material, such a phoneme may underlie examples like *θάπτα*. One may wonder whether *κροσσόφθον* points to *p<sup>y</sup> > pt*, which was realized with aspiration. Further, the signs *two*, *twe*, *dwo*, *dwe*, *nwa*, *swa*, *swi*, point to *labialization* as a distinctive feature, i.e. *t<sup>w</sup>o*, *t<sup>w</sup>e*, *d<sup>w</sup>o*, *d<sup>w</sup>e*, *n<sup>w</sup>a*, *s<sup>w</sup>a*, *s<sup>w</sup>i*. Note that palatal and labial forms of graphemes are found both with resonants and stops, which is a phenomenon alien to Indo-European languages. The existence of labiovelars is confirmed by *qa-si-re-u* = βασιλεύς, etc. (see further Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995/6): 12f.). We may thus posit the following system<sup>5</sup>:

p	p <sup>y</sup>	p <sup>w</sup>
t	t <sup>y</sup>	t <sup>w</sup>
k	k <sup>y</sup>	k <sup>w</sup>
s	s <sup>y</sup>	s <sup>w</sup>
r	r <sup>y</sup>	r <sup>w</sup>
l	l <sup>y</sup>	l <sup>w</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Of course, it could be due to the fact that a different distinction was present in Pre-Greek (like fortis / lenis, found in most Anatolian languages), but no obvious distribution pointing in this direction can be discerned in the material.

<sup>5</sup> Note that I distinguish between palatals of Pre-Greek origin, which are indicated by a superscript *y* (e.g. *k<sup>y</sup>*), and palatovelars of Indo-European origin.

m	m <sup>y</sup>	m <sup>w</sup>
n	n <sup>y</sup>	n <sup>w</sup>

Of course, it is possible that one or more of the posited phonemes did not occur in Pre-Greek (e.g., *m<sup>y</sup>* is a rare sound in the languages of the world).

We can now use this insight in explaining the surfacing Greek forms. Thus, *δάφνη* / *δανχv(α)*- can now be explained from a Pre-Greek form *\*dak<sup>w</sup>n-*.<sup>6</sup> In the former form, the labiovelar yields a labial stop *φ*. In the latter, it is rendered by *-vχ-*, with anticipation of the labial feature, while the labiovelar turns up as a velar, possibly by dissimilation from *uk<sup>w</sup>*. Again, note that aspiration is not phonemic in Pre-Greek. It is very important to note that we cannot predict how a Pre-Greek form will surface in Greek: sometimes a stop turns up as an aspirate, sometimes as a voiced stop (e.g. *αἰτύς* / *ἄφαρ*, see B 5.1. below). As a consequence, it may happen that there is a large number of variants, but it may also be that there are no variants at all.

As a second example, we may also understand *αὐχὴν* / Lesb. *ἄμφην* from a pre-form *\*ank<sup>w</sup>ēn*. The latter form is directly understandable, with *φ* from the labiovelar. The first form went through *\*an<sup>w</sup>kēn* or *\*a<sup>w</sup>nkēn*, giving *αὐχὴν* with loss of the nasal (a development known from Armenian). Perhaps, a scenario *\*ak<sup>w</sup>ēn* > *αὐχὴν* is also possible, with a prenasalized form *\*ank<sup>w</sup>ēn* (> *ἄμφην*) beside *\*ak<sup>w</sup>ēn*.<sup>7</sup> Such interpretations may be wrong in individual cases, but this is no reason not to try. On the other hand, variation that is strange from an exclusively Indo-European point of view becomes understandable in this way, starting as we do from a limited set of assumptions.

The existence of palatalized phonemes in Pre-Greek may explain a number of other developments. Thus, I assume that a geminate *λλ* may continue Pre-Greek *\*l<sup>y</sup>*. We know that IE *\*ly* gave *λλ* in Greek, but if a variant with single *λ* coexists, we are warned. For example, the name *Ἀχιλλεύς* has a variant *Ἀχιλεύς* with one *λ*. And although the latter only occurs in Homer, this fact points to Pre-Greek origin. The variant was *preserved* because it was metrically convenient, it was not *created* for metrical purposes. Of course, the fact that there was more variation at an earlier date is what we expect. As far as the other palatalized resonants are concerned, *an<sup>y</sup>* may have given *αιν*, *ar<sup>y</sup>* may have given *αιρ* (or also *ειρ* with coloring of the vowel, see section C2 below on the suffixes), etc. We have *-αιρ-*, *-αιν-* but no *\*-αιλ-* in Pre-Greek words. This is confirmed by the fact that geminate *λλ* is very frequent (Fur. 387), whereas geminate *pp*, *vv* and *μμ* are much less frequent, or even rare.

In a similar fashion, *\*as<sup>y</sup>* may have yielded either *-αισ-* or *-ασ-*, cf. *κάβαισος*, which has a v.l. *κάβασος*. In rendering such a foreign word, the palatalization may have been represented at one time, and may have been neglected at another. This

<sup>6</sup> Although I assume that voice was not distinctive in Pre-Greek, I do write *d-* in this case, because only *δ-* surfaces in Greek. We must avoid losing information present in the Greek forms. Thus, my notation of Pre-Greek forms is heuristic to a certain degree, and not always consistent with the phonemic system I tentatively reconstruct here.

<sup>7</sup> On prenasalization, see B5.2. below. As an alternative, an Indo-European etymology starting with the root *\*h<sub>2</sub>emg<sup>h</sup>-* 'to tie, betroth', can be offered; see the dictionary (although I prefer the analysis given here).

phenomenon was the main cause of variation in Pre-Greek forms. The interpretation is further confirmed by the parallel development of labialized consonants. Thus, I suppose that *ar<sup>w</sup>* resulted in -α(υ)ρ- (see the section on the suffixes). In this way, we may understand καλαῦροις beside κολόροβον from a pre-form *kalar<sup>w</sup>-op-*. Another form which shows the remarkable interchange α/αυ is ἀρασχάδες / αὔροσχάς. Here one might assume a pre-form *\*ar<sup>w</sup>ask-at-*. Note that the labial element would at the same time explain the *o* as a variant of *a* in both cases. A similar mechanism must be at the basis of the etymon ἄλοξ, αὔλαξ, ὠλαξ, εὐλάκᾱ, which is hopeless from an Indo-European point of view. I assume that all forms go back on Pre-Greek *\*al<sup>w</sup>-ak-*. It gives αὔλακ- through anticipation, ἄλοκ- through coloring. In this way, the first two forms, which are best attested, are directly clear. Further, αυ/ευ/ω interchange frequently, which explains ὠλαξ and εὐλάκα; ὀλοκ- is not problematic either, as both /a/'s were colored to [o] by the labialized resonant. Only the Homeric accusative ὠλκα is hopeless: it is the only form that has no vowel between λ and κ, and therefore may be due to some accident of the tradition. This is a problem that has not been solved yet.

I do not know whether a diphthong is allowed in suffixes of the structure VC, cf. the forms in -αίφος. Structurally, one could think of *-ay<sup>w</sup>-*, or even *-aw<sup>w</sup>-*, but such sounds are rather rare in the languages of the world. An instance of -αι- due to a palatalized consonant is ἐξαίφνης / ἐξαπίνης / ἄφνω (a brilliant combination by Fur. 158, etc.), which must contain *-ap<sup>y</sup>-* (the palatalization was ignored in the last form). Comparable to the development in ἐξαπίνης is κνώψ / κινώπετον, from *k<sup>n</sup>n-* with ι representing palatalization, cf. Beekes 2008. Likewise, I assume that πινυτός beside πυντός points to *\*p<sup>n</sup>nūt-*. Perhaps, we must interpret σιωπάω as *\*s<sup>y</sup>ōp-* because of εὖσωπία. An interesting case is λῑμινθες ἑλμινθες, for which I assume *\*p<sup>m</sup>m-* beside *\*al<sup>m</sup>m-* with prothetic *a* (see B3 below on the prothetic vowel).

A palatalized consonant could color *a* to *e*. A good example is κύπαρος, κύπαιρος, but also κύπερος, κύπειρος, where we have all possible variants due to the palatalized consonant. Compare further Κάβαρνοι next to Κάβειροι. Likewise, we have ζακελτίς next to ζεκελτίς 'κολόκυνται', where the interchange occurs after ζ from earlier palatalized *p<sup>y</sup>*. διφθέρα beside διψάρα may have had *-p<sup>y</sup>-*; ἑλ(λ)οψ next to ἄλ(λ)άβης goes back to *\*al<sup>y</sup>ap-*, with the common variation *a* / *o* before a labial. A clear example is λαιτός with, next to it, λειτός and λάσται, λάσταυρος. It may be interpreted as representing PG *\*las<sup>y</sup>t-*.

Kuiper *Lingua* 21 (1968): 269-277 pointed out that the substrate language had labiovelars. He especially pointed to θαλυκρός next to ἐθάλυπα, θάλπω. I added a few remarks in Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995/6): 12f. From Mycenaean, we have *a-to-ro-qo* (ἄνθρωπος) and *qe-to* (πίθος), *Mo-qo-so* (Μόψος), *qi-si-pe-e* (the dual of ξίφος). Further there is *A-i-ti-jo-qo* (gen. Αἰθίοπος), ὀφθαλμός with the variants ὀκταλλος and ὀπτιλ(λ)ος, which cannot be explained from Indo-European. Instead of ξίφος, we would perhaps expect *\*\*ψίφος*. So the developments are largely as those of Greek, but not completely.

Pre-Greek probably had a /y/ and a /w/. Initial *ya-* presumably often lost its *y*-, but it may sometimes be represented by *ia-* as in ἱαμβός, ἱάσων. The ending -υα

may have been *-uy-a* (a Pre-Greek *y* may have had a different development from *y* in inherited words). In the same way, *-αια* may derive from PG *\*-ay-a* with a variant *-εια*, cf. Πηνελόπεια. Perhaps, the *y* disappeared in some cases, giving γαῖα beside γᾱ (see below on the suffix -αι- / -ε(ι)-).

Initial *w-* was often lost (ἄναξ), but *wa-* may also have been rendered by *οα-*, as in Ὀαξός beside Cret. φαξός. The same holds for Ὀϊλεύς, which has been considered to be identical with the root of Ἴλος). We find *υα-* (which became *ύα-*) in ὑάκινθος, Cret. φάκινθος. Fur. 377 assumes a prothetic *υ-* in the latter word, but this seems improbable to me. Another example may be ὕα/ελος. The differences are probably due to the date at which the word was borrowed and depend on whether the Greek dialect concerned still had a *ɸ* at that time. Another treatment can be found in the word for 'truffle', for which we find οὔτιον, οἶδνον (also -τυ-), ὕδνον (also -τυ-), or ἴτιον. These are probably all renderings of *\*wit-*. (Fur. 184 again assumes a prothetic vowel, *ɸιτ-* / *ὀɸιτ-*, which does not seem to be the right solution. He further assumes a variation *\*wit-* / *wut-*, which also seems improbable to me, though the variation *ι* / *υ* is attested.) Rather, *υ-* is a form of *οι-*, with the *-o-* changed under influence of the *-ι-* (cf. Lejeune 1972: 174, and note that Greek did not allow *-υι-* before consonants; of course, *οι* became *υ* in Boeotian in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC; variation *οι* / *υ* is found in more Pre-Greek words). This case nicely shows that variation in Pre-Greek words is due to different rendering of the sounds of a foreign language, and therefore has to be taken seriously. βράκαλον· ῥόπαλον (H.) probably attests a development *\*wra-k-* > βρακ- (as Fur. 147 remarks on καλαῦροις: "Die landläufige Etymologie <connecting> ῥέπω ... ist wohl ohne weiteres aufzugeben."). σορόα· παλιούρου εἶδος 'sorb-apple' (H.) continues *\*sorw-* (cf. Lat. *sorbus*, Fr. *sorbier*, Fur. 230).

It seems that there was no initial aspiration in Pre-Greek. Furnée has a few words with *ά-*, *έ-* (one or two with *ι-*; none with *ό-*, *ή-*, *ώ-*). Several of these are doubtful; best is αἵμασά (αἱμοί). One might conclude that the language had no *h*. This would agree with the fact that aspiration is not a distinctive feature in the stops. However, this conclusion is remarkable for ἥρωρ, Ἑλληνες and Ἡφαιστος, which we expect to be Pre-Greek words (but note that Myc. *a-pa-i-ti-jo* does not have *a<sub>2</sub>-*). Of course, aspiration may have been added secondarily in Greek in individual cases, cf. the variation in ἄφθα / ἄφθα and ἐλεδώνη / ἐλεδώνη, which is a variant of δελεδώνη. However, Prof. Ruijgh pointed out to me that Mycenaean had toponyms (*a<sub>2</sub>-ra-tu-wa*) and personal names (*a<sub>2</sub>-ku-mi-jo*) with initial *h-*; it also occurs in inlaut (*pi-a<sub>2</sub>-la, ko-ri-a<sub>2</sub>-da-na*); cf. further *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>* (/Hermāhās/ 'Hermes').

Originally, I thought that Pre-Greek only had three vowels: *a*, *i*, *u*. The Greek words concerned often have *ε* and *ο*, but this would not be surprising, as the three vowels have a wide phonetic range, and the phoneme /a/ may have sounded like [e] or [o] in many environments. The main reason for me to assume this simple three-vowel system was the fact that the system of suffixes has *a*, *i*, *u*, but not *e*, *o*. We have *-αγ-*, *-ιγ-*, *-υγ-*; prenasalized *-αγγ-*, *-ιγγ-*, *-υγγ-*; likewise *-αθ-*, *-ιθ-*, *-υθ-*; and prenasalized *-ανθ-*, *-ινθ-*, *-υνθ-*, but no forms with *-εγ(γ)-*, *-ογ(γ)-*, etc. The only cases I noticed are Ῥήσκονθος and ὀλονθος (but as a variant of ὀλυνθος), and μηλολόνθη with a variant μηλ(ολ)άνθη.

Recently, I have become more inclined to assume a system with the usual five vowels, because there seems to be a distinction between the two variations  $\alpha$  /  $\epsilon$  and  $\alpha$  /  $o$ , on the one hand, and a stable, not interchanging  $\alpha$ , on the other. This would point to a system with  $a$ ,  $e$  and  $o$ . On the other hand, it is difficult to explain why the suffixes do not show the same variation that we find in the root vowels.

It is essential that the palatalized and labialized consonants colored an adjacent  $\alpha$  to  $\epsilon$  and  $o$ , respectively. On the effects of palatalized consonants see Beekes 2008: 46-55. Fur. 340 has a rule  $\alpha > o$  before  $o$ ,  $\omega$ ,  $v$  (e.g.  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$  /  $\kappa\omicron\lambda\upsilon\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$ ); this can now be understood as the  $o$ -like realization of / $a$ / before high rounded vowels in the following syllable (see 15.3.2).

So,  $e$  and  $o$  originally were variants of the phoneme / $a$ /. It is difficult to establish whether they had already become full phonemes in Pre-Greek. A good illustration of the case is the name of Apollo. In Hittite, *Appaliunas* renders *Apollon-* (see Beekes *JANER* 3, 2003). We know that Greek originally had  $\text{Ἀπελλ-}$ , with  $-\epsilon-$  arising from  $-a-$  before the palatalized  $\text{ḷ}$ . The  $-o-$  developed only later in Greek, but I assume that the Hittite form still shows the  $-a-$ . The Pre-Greek form was *Apaḷun-*.

I have long doubted (and still doubt) whether there was phonemic vowel length in Pre-Greek. Greek substrate words quite often only have a form with a long vowel. Vacillation is sometimes found, as in  $\theta\rho\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta$  beside  $\theta\rho\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\xi$  (see B 6.2), and note  $\delta\beta\rho\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$  beside  $\beta\rho\iota\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\beta\rho\iota\mu\eta$ . Quite a different argument is the following:  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  and  $\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  both mean 'chaff'; it is therefore probable that they contain the same suffix  $-\upsilon\rho-$ ; but in the first word the  $u$  is short, while it is long in the second.

Note that  $\eta$  often represents  $\bar{a}$  ( $\gamma\bar{a}\theta\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  /  $\gamma\eta\theta-$ ), and as our knowledge of the relevant dialects is rather limited, we often simply do not know whether  $\eta$  represents an older  $a$  or  $e$ . If we had not had Dor.  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , we would not have known that it contains an old  $\bar{a}$ . Also,  $\Lambda\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  represents  $\Lambda\bar{a}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ . There are well-known Pre-Greek words with  $\eta < *e$ , like  $\sigma\pi\acute{\eta}\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ .

I assume two diphthongs,  $ai$  and  $au$ . If there were no  $e$  and  $o$ , we do not expect other diphthongs. A diphthong  $eu$  is rare (Fur. 353 Anm. 5; I found some 12 instances in the whole of Furnée's material); it interchanges with  $au$ . Fur. 339 Anm. 2) calls  $\epsilon\iota$  "(in mehreren Fällen) nur eine Nebenform von  $\alpha\iota$ ". Also,  $\omicron\iota$  is rather rare, and we may find  $ou$  more often, but mostly interchanging with other vowels (see the remark on the suffix  $-\omicron\upsilon\rho-$ ). See further section B6.1 on vowel variation.

Regarding the accentuation, I noted vacillation in:  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$  /  $-\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ;  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$  /  $-\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ ;  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  /  $-\acute{o}\varsigma$ ;  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\omega\rho$  /  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\omega\rho$ ;  $\kappa\acute{o}\rho\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$  /  $\kappa\omicron\rho\upsilon\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$ ;  $\kappa\omicron\rho\upsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  /  $\kappa\omicron\rho\upsilon\delta\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ ;  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$  /  $\mu\epsilon\delta\iota\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ;  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\kappa\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$  /  $\sigma\iota\kappa\upsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ ;  $\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\sigma\chi\omicron\varsigma$  /  $\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$ . Note also the almost identical forms such as  $\lambda\upsilon\kappa\alpha\psi\acute{o}\varsigma$  /  $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\omicron\psi\omicron\varsigma$ . This does not imply that the language had no clear stress: the Greeks who adopted a word could simply have been uncertain about it. The phenomenon may, however, be important heuristically: such variation is very rare in inherited words.

## 2a. Characteristic sounds and sound groups

In Pre-Greek words, we find some sounds or clusters that are rare in PIE words. In brackets, I give the variants.

1. **au**: Of course,  $au$  does occur in PIE words, but only when it derives from  $*h_2eu$  (mostly in initial position) or  $eh_2u$ . Examples:  $\beta\lambda\alpha\upsilon\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\beta\rho\alpha\upsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ ,  $\gamma\rho\alpha\upsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\nu$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\alpha$ ,  $\tau\rho\alpha\upsilon\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ ;  $\Lambda\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\upsilon\kappa\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$ .

2. **β**: As is well known,  $*b$  was rare in PIE. In Pre-Greek words, it seems to occur relatively often. Examples:  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\lambda\alpha\rho\iota$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\upsilon\rho\beta\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\beta\upsilon\lambda\eta$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\beta\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\theta\acute{o}\rho\upsilon\beta\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\beta\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ . It is frequently found word-initially. Of course,  $\beta$  may also go back to a Pre-Greek labiovelar (i.e. labialized velar): e.g.  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ , *Myc. qa-si-re-u*.

3. **βδ**: The cluster is possible in PIE words, but it is rare (see on  $\beta$  sub 2. above). Examples:  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\eta\rho\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\iota}\beta\delta\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron-\kappa\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\beta\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\upsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\alpha$ ;  $\text{Κομβδιλιπια}$ .

4. **γδ**: Cf. Fur. 318<sup>5</sup>. There is nothing against PIE  $*gd$ , but it is infrequent. Of course, the group is reminiscent of  $\beta\delta$ . Examples:  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\delta\upsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\upsilon\gamma\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ ,  $\gamma\delta\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  (cf.  $\kappa\tau\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ),  $\acute{\iota}\gamma\delta\eta$ ,  $\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\gamma\delta\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$ ,  $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\delta\eta$ .

5. **γν**: Example:  $\acute{\iota}\gamma\nu\acute{\varsigma}$  ( $\acute{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\varsigma}$ ). On  $\chi\nu$ ,  $\phi\nu$ , see the section on the suffixes.

6. **δν**: The sequence is rare in IE words. Examples:  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\delta\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\pi\alpha\delta\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\delta\nu\alpha$ ,  $\lambda\epsilon\pi\alpha\delta\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$  ( $\lambda\alpha-$ ),  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\pi\upsilon\delta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ;  $\text{Ἀριάδνη}$ .

7. **κτ**: The group is regular in PIE, but in Pre-Greek it is found with variants; see B5.5. Examples:  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\acute{\iota}\kappa\tau\omicron\nu$ ,  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\tau\upsilon$ .

8. **κχ**: The group can hardly be of IE origin, but it is not frequent. I noted  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\chi\alpha\rho$ ,  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\chi\alpha$ ,  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\kappa\chi\alpha\rho$ ,  $\sigma\upsilon\kappa\chi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ;  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\beta\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\chi\iota\varsigma$ . The group  $-\kappa\chi-$  is the geminate of  $\chi$ . Cf. on  $\pi\phi$ ,  $\tau\theta$ .

9. **μν**: The group is certainly possible in PIE words, but it is also frequent in Pre-Greek. Examples:  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota-\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\mu\nu\omicron\nu$ ,  $\mu\epsilon\delta\iota\mu\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\iota}\alpha\mu\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\beta\alpha\sigma\upsilon\mu\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\rho\eta\mu\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\nu\alpha$ ,  $\lambda\omega\rho\upsilon\mu\nu\acute{o}\nu$ ,  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\mu\nu\alpha$ ,  $\rho\acute{o}\delta\alpha\mu\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\mu\nu\omicron\nu$ ,  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\delta\rho\iota\mu\nu\omicron\nu$ ;  $\text{Ἀτύμνιος}$ .

10. **ου**: The diphthong is perfectly IE, but it is found several times in Pre-Greek. I do not think that Pre-Greek had a diphthong  $-ou-$ , but it may have arisen from e.g.  $-ar^w-$ , which often surfaces as  $-\omicron\upsilon\rho-$ . Examples:  $\sigma\epsilon\kappa\delta\omicron\upsilon\kappa\eta$ ,  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\tau\rho\upsilon\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\phi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\phi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\chi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\eta\varsigma$ .

11. **πφ**: The group can hardly be of PIE origin, but it is rare in Pre-Greek words, too. Like in the case of  $\kappa\chi$ , it is the geminate of  $\phi$ . Examples:  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\zeta\acute{\alpha}\pi\phi\eta\varsigma$  (?);  $\Sigma\alpha\pi\phi\acute{\omega}$  ( $\Psi\alpha\pi\phi\acute{\omega}$ ).

12. **ρδ**: On a morpheme boundary, the group is possible in PIE. Examples from Pre-Greek:  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\delta\alpha$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\delta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\rho\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ .

13. **ρκν**: A rare group, perhaps there is even no reason to speak of a group. Examples:  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\rho\kappa\upsilon\kappa\alpha$ ,  $\beta\epsilon\rho\kappa\upsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ .

14. **ρν** (variants  $\rho\delta$ ,  $\nu\delta$ ): Examples:  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\rho\upsilon\kappa\iota\varsigma$  ( $-\nu\delta-$ ),  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\delta\alpha$  ( $-\nu\alpha$ ),  $\sigma\kappa\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\delta\alpha$ . See the section on the suffixes.

15. A  $\sigma$  occurs both word-initially and between vowels, where it has disappeared in most inherited words. Initial:  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\tau\tau\alpha$ ,  $\sigma\alpha\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\tau\iota\nu$ ,  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$ ,  $\sigma\alpha\rho\rho\upsilon\phi\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ ,  $\sigma\epsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\acute{\alpha}$ ,  $\sigma\iota\beta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ ,  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\mu\nu\omicron\nu$ . Intervocalic:  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi-$ ),  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma(\sigma)\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\nu$ ,  $\delta\rho\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ . After resonant:  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\sigma\alpha\mu\omicron\nu$ ,  $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\sigma\acute{o}\nu$ ,  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\sigma\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\iota\pi\pi\omicron\varsigma$  ( $-\upsilon\pi\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ).

**16. σβ:** The group is hardly known from inherited words (σβέννυμι is problematic). Examples: ἄσβολος, θίσβη, ἄσβετος. -σβ- may continue Pre-Greek -sg<sup>w</sup>-. Myc. *ti-qa-jo* may stand for /thisg<sup>w</sup>aios/ Θισβαῖος.

**17. σγ:** Again, this group is hardly known from IE words. It may sometimes continue -ʃg-, as in ἀμυσγέλα, Ἀσγελάτας (see 5.5). Examples: ἀλισγέω, ὕσγινη, φάσγανον, ἀσγάνδης, πισγίς.

**18. σκ, στ:** These groups are well known from IE, but mostly in word initial position. See section B5.5. Examples: βέσκεροι, βύσταξ, κύστεροι, λασταγεῖ.

**19. στλ:** Though the cluster contains nothing that could not be IE, it occurs more often in substrate words. Examples: ἄστλιγγες, στλεγγίς.

**20. τθ:** The group can hardly be of PIE origin. In Pre-Greek, it is a variant of ττ and σσ (see 5.5). Sometimes, it is clearly the geminate of θ: Ἀθθίς beside Ἀθήνη. Further examples: ἰθθέλα, κότθυρος, Πετθαλοί.

**21. φθ:** The cluster is possible in inherited words. Example: νάσκαφθον.

**22. χμ, χν:** Rather rare in IE; Fur. 110 assumes that the nasal caused the aspiration. Examples: δαυχμός, δαυχνα-, σαυχμόν.

**23.** Frisk gives some seventy lemmas with ψ-. Many words are clearly Pre-Greek, and there are no convincing Indo-European etymologies. That many of these words are of substrate origin is also clear from the fact that there are variants with σ-. Apparently, Pre-Greek did not have any difficulty with *ps*-, as Greek has so many words with ψ-. Originally, I thought that all words with ψ- were Pre-Greek, but this thesis cannot be maintained. Among the non-substrate words, ψύλλα originally did not have \**ps*-, and ψ- for φθ- is secondary (see Lejeune 1972: 39); the verb ψήω may well be non-IE.

**24. ω:** Of course, ω is perfectly IE, but it also occurs in Pre-Greek words. Examples: ἀμακρῶτις, ἄνθρωπος, ἄνωνίς, ἀποφῶλιος, ἀρρωδέω, ἀσκαλώπας, φασκῶνδας, ἀσμωλεῖν, βαλλωτή, κασσωρίς, λωρυμνόν.

**25. Geminates** (see also B5.8 on single / geminated consonants): Indo-European had no geminates. Of course, geminates arose in Greek, but they are not very frequent. I doubt whether Pre-Greek had geminates, but several occur in Pre-Greek words (Brixhe 1976: 95 states that there were no geminates in this language). As Pre-Greek had palatalized phonemes, I wonder whether *ʎ* was (often) represented by λλ in Greek. In a similar vein, perhaps *nʹ* might be represented as νν, and *nʹʹ* as ρρ, but this needs further investigation. For σσ and ττ see B5.5. Unclear are δδ, κκ, ππ, and μμ (a palatalized *mʹ* is a rare sound). Some further examples:

Stops<sup>8</sup>: δδ: ἄδδαι, ἄδδιξ

κκ: ἀκκαλος, βέλεκκος, λάκκος(?)

ππ: ἄγριππος, λούππις

ττ: βίττακος, λάττα, κάττος, μάτταβος, μέττες, μίττος; Πιττακός.

Liquids: λλ: ἀλλάβης, ἀλλοπίης, ἀμίλλακαν, βαλλωτή, βδέλλα, βίλλιν, πάτελλα

μμ: κλεμμύς

νν: ἀγάννα, βλέννος, γίννος, λαχάννα; Δίκτυννα

ρρ: ἀρράβακα, βίρρη, βίρροξ, καρρόν

Sibilant σσ: αἰθουσ(σ)α, ἄφρισσα, γίσσα.

## 2b. How to recognize words as Pre-Greek?

This appears to be relatively easy. A first indication is that a given word has no IE etymology. Often, there is variation which is impossible to explain in Indo-European terms. Therefore, the discussion of these variants is essential. Then, there are numerous suffixes that are typical for Pre-Greek (see the list below). The meaning may also provide an indication. The words concerned are often names of plants or animals, or part of viticulture. Frequently, the words are sexual terms.

If we have some of the above features, it is quite clear that we are dealing with a Pre-Greek word. The origin of the word is then indicated <PG> in the dictionary. In many cases, we do not have enough data and can only suspect that the word might be Pre-Greek (the origin is then indicated as <PG?>).

## 3. Prothetic vowel

Pre-Greek had a prothetic vowel, e.g. ἀσκάλαφος beside κάλαφος. In most cases, the vowel is *ä*-. The numbers (Fur. 368ff.) are as follows: α ± 90, ο 10, ε 5, ι 3, υ 0, η 6, αι 2. Note that, generally speaking, α may interchange with ο, ε, and αι. Indeed, we have cases where prothetic ο interchanges with α, and the same holds for ε (e.g. εἰκλ- / αἰκλ-, ἐψία / ἄψία). Although not all other cases can be explained away, it seems that the phenomenon originally only concerned α. Examples: ἀγασυλλίς / γηθυλλίς; ἀκίρις / κίρις; ἀκορνοί / κόρνοψ; ἀχραδαμύλα / χραμαδοῖλαι; ἀναρίτης / νηρίτης; ἀσκάλαβος / (σ)καλαβώτης; ἀχύνωψ / κύνωψ.

## 4. s-mobile

A large number of words shows an initial σ- before a consonant, which is absent in practically identical variants. It occurs before a stop or *m* (so not before *r*, *l*, *n*); the stop is mostly voiceless, sometimes aspirated; see Fur. 390f. Examples: γέλενος / σχέλινος, (σ)κιδάφη, κίκερος / σκίκκος, (σ)κορδύλη, βάταλος / σπ-, πέλεθος / σπ-, φαττάγης / σπ-, θριγκός (τριγχός) / στρίγχός, τοπεῖον / στυππεῖον, (σ)μήρινθος, (σ)μύραινα. A prothetic vowel may appear before an *s*-mobile (Fur. 390<sup>8</sup>): ἀσκάλαβος / σκαλαβώτης / καλαβάς, ἀσφάραγος / σφάραγος / φάραγξ, ἀσκάλαφος / κάλαφος.

## 5. Consonant variation

### 5.1 Voiceless / voiced / aspirated stop

Furnée's conclusion was that 'Pre-Greek' was a non-Indo-European language, with no recognizable cognates. This implies that the phonemic system may have been different from that of Indo-European. Thus, he found that the stops show variation between voiced, voiceless and aspirated, so that there presumably was no phonemic distinction between voice and aspiration in the language. As there is no reason to assume that this is a recent phenomenon, it strongly suggests that the language was non-Indo-European. For example, πτωχός belongs to a root *ptāk-* / *ptōk-* also seen in πτώξ, -κός. Since such a variation is hardly understandable in Indo-European

<sup>8</sup> We also have to recall the instances of κχ, πφ, τθ (see above).

terms, the word must be Pre-Greek. Furnée's discussion of this variation runs from p. 115 till p. 200. Even if we allow for some mistakes, it is clear that there is abundant evidence for this phenomenon.

## 5.2 Prenasalization

Before a stop, a nasal may be present or not in Pre-Greek words. E.g. κάχρυς / καγχρυς, κορυφή / κόρυμβος, σαλάβη / σαλάμβη, etc. The phenomenon is extremely frequent, but its precise origin is not known (prenasalized consonants?).

## 5.3 Nasalization

A consonant is replaced by a homorganic nasal: κιδαφεύειν / κιναφεύειν, φληδῶντα / φλήναφος.

## 5.4 Labial stops / *m* / *μ*

There are three interchanges: labial stop / *μ*, labial stop / *ϕ* and *μ* / *ϕ*.

**Labial stop / *μ*** (Fur. 203-227). Examples: ἀρβύλη / ἄρμυλα n.pl.; βάρβιτος / βάρμιτος; κύμινδς / κύβινδς; λυκάβας / λυκάμας; μύσταξ / βύσταξ; σκόλυμος / σκόλυβος; φάρμακον / φόρβαντα; σφάραγος / σμάραγος.

**Labial stop / *ϕ*** (Fur. 228-242). Examples: τέθηπα, θάπος / θαῦμα; κόβαλος / καυαλός; κασσαβάς / κασαύρα; κράμβος / κραῦρος.

***μ* / *ϕ*** (Fur. 242-247). A difficulty here is that Greek did not preserve a *ϕ* in most cases, so that we often just find zero, and the *ϕ* can only be reconstructed. This gives rise to a certain degree of uncertainty. Perhaps, we have to reckon with the possibility of a development *μ* > *b*. Examples: βασιμνι-άτης / βασυν-ίας; κρίμνον / κρίνον; μέδιμνος / φεδιμνος; σίγυμνος / σίγῦνος (also σίγυννος). The evidence comprises 8 or 9 words in -μνος. It is found six times word-initially: e.g. μῆλον / ἥλον; μονθυλεύω / ὄνθυλεύω; note μέρος / ἄεροψ (εἶροψ), where the latter forms could continue \*ἄ-φεροψ / \*ἔ-φεροψ with a prothetic vowel. Note further κύαμος / κύμηχα, which perhaps continues \*κυϕ-αμ-, \*κυμ-ηκ-.

## 5.5 Stops interchanging with σ(σ), with stop + σ/τ or with σ + stop

This kind of variation is quite complicated. I distinguished no less than 10 (or even 15) different types<sup>9</sup>. They may be represented as follows (C = consonant):

	a. labials	b. velars
1. C / Ct	π / πτ	κ / κτ
2. C / Cs	π / ψ	
3. C / sC	(π / σπ)	κ / σκ
4. Ct / Cs	πτ / ψ	κτ / ξ
5. Ct / sC		κτ / σκ
6. Cs / sC	(ψ / σπ)	(ξ / σκ)
7. Cs / ss	ξ / σσ	
8. sC / ss		σκ / σσ

<sup>9</sup> Since the word ψιττάκιον / πιστάκιον 'pistachio' is probably an oriental loanword, there are no good examples for an interchange σσ / στ.

8c. C / ss	κ / σσ
	dentals
9. t / ss	τ / σσ
10. t / st	τ / στ

The analysis of these variants is not easy, and I mainly present the data here. A question that needs to be explained is why exactly *s* or *t* are involved in the given variation.

The most complicated instance is 5b, where we find κτ/σκ. In fact, the most complicated phenomenon contains most information, and can be solved best. In this case, one expects a cluster with *k*, i.e. a consonant before or after the *k*. One of the two expected clusters must have undergone metathesis. As Greek did undergo a metathesis τκ > κτ (and no metathesis of σκ or ξ), we may assume that precisely this phenomenon was operative here. Thus, for an earlier stage we may reconstruct an interchange σκ/τκ. This interchange can be easily explained by assuming a consonant, probably unknown to Greek, which resulted either in *σ* or in *τ*. In my interpretation, this must have been a palatalized dental, i.e. /tʰ/. For instance, ἄμυσγάλα / ἄμυγδάλη was probably \**amutʰgala*, represented first as \**amusgala* or \**amudgala*, the latter yielding \**amugdala*. A less clear example is Asklepios, who was called Ἀ(ι)σκληπιός or Ἀ(ι)γλαπιός. It could be that the name was \**Aʰʰklap-*, giving \**A(i)sklap-* or \**A(i)dglap-*. In the latter form, metathesis did not operate because \*\**Agdlap-* was not tolerated in Greek; the dental was then simply lost. Needless to say, it often happens that only one variant is found. The strange feature or phoneme may also be dismissed altogether, as in δίκειν next to δίσκος and δίκτυον.

One might suppose that all variants in this group are due to a palatalized dental, but this is not evident, as consonant clusters are rather rare, and as there are no suffixes beginning with a consonant (except *n*, *r*, etc.). We may be unable to determine what exactly happened in each case.

Type 4 is treated by Fur. 263<sup>3</sup>. Since Pre-Greek did not distinguish voice and aspiration in stops, these often vary; so if we speak of *kt* or κτ, this also includes realization as χθ, such as in μόροχθος below. If we consider the variation with labials, as in *pt/ps*, it is clear that we are dealing with a labial followed by a dental. The dental could also appear as *s*, so it is clear that the phoneme concerned was a palatalized dental, which I note /tʰ/. This means that we are dealing with a group *ptʰ*. In the same way, with a velar we have *ktʰ*.

The example διφθέρα next to διψάρα is well-known and clear. Furnée further gives γναμπτούς, χαλινούς (H.) beside γλαμψοί, χαλινοί στόματος (H.) and compares πτίλον with Dor. ψίλον. His example ὀπτός 'cooked' next to ὀψον is less evident.

Among the forms with a velar, there is no problem with μόροχθος / μόροξος. The best known example is Ἐρεχθεύς (also Ἐριχθεύς) next to Ερεχσες on Attic vases. I have no opinion on Ἐριχθόνιος; it may be a Graecized form, and in this case it is unimportant for Pre-Greek. See further the ethnonyms Δατύλε-πτοι, Δηλό-πτης, Γαλη-ψοί, Λαδέ-ψοί and Τρανι-ψοί. Other forms are less clear.



There may have been series with three forms, with *kt* / *ks*, *pt* / *ps* and also *k* or *p*. I can only mention Ἄραχθος / Ἀράξης next to Ἄραγος, and perhaps, next to διφθέρα / διψάρα, the verb δέφω (together with δεψ-), for both cf. Fur. 263.

Above, we assumed that a labial or a velar could be followed by a palatalized dental /tʰ/. If this is right, we can also postulate that this consonant (labial or velar) was followed by a normal dental. Of course, this yielded *pt* and *kt*. I assume that the second consonant of this group (the dental) could have been dropped, which yielded single *p* or *k*. This explains the type π(τ)ολεμος (Fur. §50) and βρόγχος (with prenasalization) beside βρόχος (Fur. §51).

I will shortly review the 10 (15) types (I call the labials 1a, etc., the velars 1b, etc.).

**1a. πτ** may represent a single phoneme *pʰ*, as we saw in B1. Examples: (Fur. 315ff.): γνυπ- / γνυπτ- (γνυπετ-); κολύμβαίνα / κολύβδαινα; κίβαλος / κίβδης; λύπη / λύπτα; without variants note κρόσσοφθον, σαρρυφθεῖν.

**1b. κτ** is most probably explained like 5b, discussed above (so 1b is a part of 5b). Examples (Fur. 319ff.): ἄρακις / ἀράκτιν; μογέω / μοχθέω; πελεκάν / σπέλεκτος; ἀκακία / κάκτος.

**2a. ψ** may result from *\*ptʰ*. It is remarkable that there is no 2b. κ / ξ, as ξ is unproblematic in Greek.<sup>10</sup>

**3a. π / σπ, b. κ / σκ**: Both may represent *\*tʰp*, *tʰk*. Examples: θίσβη / θίβις (Fur. 292<sup>2</sup>), βέκος / βέσκεροι; ἴχλα / ἴσλαι; μάκελλα / μάσκη (βάσκη); μῦκος / μύσκος; φάκελον / φάσκωλος (Fur. 295ff.).

**4a. πτ / ψ, b. κτ / ξ** were discussed above and may continue *\*ptʰ*, *ktʰ*; they may belong together with 2a. Examples: διφθέρα / διψάρα (Fur. 263 Anm. 3); χαλυβδικός / Χάλυψος (Fur. 318, 324); μόροχος / μόροξος (Fur. 263 Anm. 3).

**5b. κτ / σκ** was discussed above. Examples: ἀμυσγέλα / ἀμυγδάλη (Fur. 301 Anm. 2); δίσκος / δίκτυ(ον) (Fur. 279, 319).

**6a. ψ / σπ, b. ξ / σκ**. Fur. 393 simply considered the interchange as due to metathesis, which, of course, is possible. *\*sp*, *\*sk* may represent *\*tʰp*, *tʰk*. Examples (Fur. 393): ἀσπίνθιον / ἀψίνθιον; ὄσφῦς / ψύαι; ἰσχίον / ἰξῦς; φοῦσκος / φοξός.

**7b. ξ / σσ**. If ξ represents *\*ktʰ*, the *k* may have disappeared in other cases (which did not give ξ) after which *\*tʰ* became σσ. Examples: κριξός / κρισσός (Fur. 130<sup>59</sup>); σίβδα / ξίμβα (Fur. 317); τραῦξανα, τρώξανον / τραύσανον (Fur. 286<sup>72</sup>); ἰξάλη / ἰσάλη (ἰσσέλα, ἰτθέλα); Οὐλίξης / Ὀδυσσεύς.

**8b. σκ / σσ** can be explained parallel to 7b: *\*tʰk* > σκ or, with loss of the *k*, *\*tʰ* > σσ. Example (Fur. 300): ὕρισχος / ὕρισσος.

**9a. τ / σσ**. This is the well-known element that yielded σσ / ττ. Furnée does not discuss it under this heading, because he gives only one phoneme ('letter') and its variants; for instance, he discusses σκ / κτ under κ / κτ. The situation is also different here, as we are able to discern a distribution among the Greek dialects, and attribute the different renderings of these loanwords to dialectal developments. Still, the fact remains that a foreign element was rendered in different ways, as with all other

phenomena discussed here. Fur. 253 has the heading τ, δ, θ / σ(ς), ζ. I think this should be reformulated as τ (δ, θ), ττ (τθ) / σ (ζ), σσ, i.e. τ with its usual variants δ, θ; or the geminated ττ (with its expected variant τθ, which is the Greek form of geminated θθ), interchanging with σ or σσ. If the ζ was [sd], it does not fit in well. As to its interpretation, it could represent single *\*tʰ*, which was rendered ττ or σσ, or single σ, τ (the variant ζ would then fit in, but one would also expect a variant στ). Examples (Fur. 253ff.): κιττός / κισσός, κρότιον / κρόσσοφθον, μύρτινη / μυρσίνη, τεῦτλον / σεῦτλον, τίλφη / σίλφη, γάδος / γάζας, ἀσμωλεῖν / ἀδμωλή.

I think that the phoneme rendered by σσ, Att. ττ (called the foreign phoneme or *Fremdphonem*) was a palatalized velar, which I write as *kʰ*, cf. Beekes *JIES* 37 (2009): 191-197. This would be parallel to the development of inherited velar + yod, which gave σσ, Att. ττ, as in φυλάσσω, φυλάττω. This interpretation is confirmed by θάλασσα, θάλαττα, where we have a variant δαλάγχαν· θάλασσαν (H.). Here we see that after the nasal (prenasalization is well known in Pre-Greek), the palatal feature of the consonant was dropped. This resulted in a velar (here realized as an aspirate). The variant shows that we may be dealing with a velar in cases of σσ / ττ. We can also compare κολύμβαίνα beside κολύβδαινα, which had *pʰ*; again we see that the palatal feature was lost after the inserted nasal.

There is a third representation. We know that the name of Odysseus was Ὀλυσσευ-, Ὀλυττευ-. This means that it probably had a palatalized velar, *\*kʰ*. But we also find Οὐλιξεύς (Ibyc. *apud* Diom. Gr. p. 321 K, Hdn. Gr., Plut.), a form which was at the basis of Latin *Ulixes*. This form was taken from a Western Greek dialect, probably Doric. Therefore, a third representation of the foreign phoneme is -ξ-.

**10a. τ / στ** may be from *\*tʰt* giving στ or, with loss of the *t*, *\*tʰ* > σσ. Examples (Fur. 301ff.): βαλλωτή / βαλλαύστιον; μάτρυλλος / μάστρυλλος; μύτις / μύσταξ; πατίλη / παστίλη.

As we saw, it is very difficult to determine what exactly happened in each case; on the other hand, it is clear that almost all variation can be understood if we start from just a few assumptions.

## 5.6 Velar / labial / dental stops: labiovelars

There is limited evidence for variation between velar and labial, between velar and dental, and between labial and dental, and between all the three classes (Fur. 388ff.). We find:

κ / π, β	κ / τ, δ	π / τ
γ / β	γ / δ	β / δ
χ / φ	φ / θ	χ / φ / θ

It is remarkable that the variants mostly agree in voice / aspiration. Since examples of this phenomenon are not particularly numerous, this may be an indication that the words concerned are not of Pre-Greek origin, but due to borrowing from a different substrate, for instance. Examples:

κ / π: κλάνιον / πλανίς  
 γ / β: βράκαλον / ρόπαλον; γλέπω / βλέπω; χάλις / φαλικρόν  
 κ / τ: ἀσκάνδης / ἀστάνδης

<sup>10</sup> I have some difficulty with Furnée's section XI (Fur. 323-329). My conclusion is that a variation C / Cσ cannot be proven, although some instances remain difficult to explain otherwise.

γ / δ: γάλατμον / ἀδαλτόμον  
 π / τ: βαπαίνει / βαταίνει  
 β / δ: σάμβαλον / σάνδαλον  
 φ / θ: γνυφαί / γνύθος  
 γ / β / δ: γέφυρα / βέφυρα / δέφυρα.

It is tempting to assume labiovelars to explain these cases, but some cases may have a different origin (thus, βράκαλον / ρόπαλον could be due to dissimilation in the first variant). On the existence of labiovelars in Pre-Greek, see above on the phonemic system.

### 5.7. Dentals / liquids

There are some instances of variation between dentals (including *n*) and liquids (*l*, *r*). This variation is incidental. Examples (Fur. 387f.):

a. δ / λ: ἄβλαρος / βδαροί (Fur. 330<sup>27</sup>), δάφνη / λάφνη, Ὀδυσσεύς / Ὀλυσσεύς. Cf. Myc. gen. *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo* /dap<sup>h</sup>urint<sup>h</sup>oio/ / λαβύρινθος, καλάμυνθα / Myc. *ka-da-mi-ta*. The interchange δ / λ and the fact that Linear B has signs for *da*, *de*, *di*, etc. (which Lejeune explained by assuming a specific, unusual sound *d̥*) might point to a dental fricative *ʃ*.

θ / λ: θάπτα / λάττα  
 ν / λ: νίτρον / λίτρον

b. δ / ρ: σίβδα / ξίμβραι  
 ν / ρ: βλήχνον / βλήχρον

c. λ / ρ: ἄζηρίς / ἄζηλός, κρίβανος / κλίβανος, κρώμαξ / κλώμαξ.

### 5.8. Simple / geminate

Except for a few isolated cases, we find this interchange in *v* / *vv*, but more notably in *l* / *ll*. On *τ* / *ττ* and *σ* / *σσ* see above sub 5.5. Cf. Fur. 386f. Examples:

ν / νν: ἄνηθον (also τ) / ἄννηθον (also τ); τημενός / τήβεννα. In this context, note the suffix -υνν-.

λ / λλ: βαλ(λ)ήν; θυλός / θυλλός; σπέλεθος / σπέλληξι dat.pl.; μακέλη / μάκελλα (this probably derives from PG \*-a<sup>h</sup>la-). Note γεῖσ(σ)ον, σάρῖσα / σάρισσα, and the case of Ἀθήνη / Ἀτθίς / Ἀττικός.

### 5.9. σ- / zero

We discussed σ / zero before consonant under *s*-mobile above, section B4.

An -s- from Pre-Greek is normally maintained. The only instances that I know of, where it may have disappeared, are (cf. Fur. 241): σύριχος, σύρισσος / ὕριχός (also -ίσκος, -ίσχος, -ίσσος); συβάλλας / ὑβάλλης; σαγήνη / Cyp. ἀγάνη; σιπύη / ἱπύα. Perhaps Ἑλλάς beside Σελλοί belongs here, too. Another instance could be ἄπιον, which is cognate with Lat. *pirum* which points to -pis-.

### 5.10. K-, T- / zero

There are instances where a velar or a dental may be absent in initial position (Fur. 391, and 131<sup>59</sup>). Dentals may also be absent in inlaut. Examples:

κ / zero: κάνδαρος / ἄνθραξ, καλινδέομαι / ἄλινδω, κόγχηναι / ὄγχηναι, κανθήλιον / ἀνθήλιον.

γ / zero: γίννος / ἰννός, but this form may be a late development. As an explanation, one could think of a uvular *q*.

τ / zero: τάγχουρος / ἄγχουρος, τήγανον / ἥγανον, τίφυον / ἴφυον (with ἱ in LSJ);  
 δ / zero: δελεδώνη / ἔλεδώνη (also ἐ-).

Loss of a dental in inlaut: νέτωπον / νίωπον, ἰθουλός / ἴουλός, ἀσίδαρος / ἀσίαρος.

### 5.11. v-, λ- / zero

v- and λ- can also be absent (Fur. 391f): νάφθα / ἄφθα (also ἄ-). λαυπηρός / αἰυπηρός, λαμπήνη / ἀπήνη, λατμενεία / ἀτμήν. Perhaps, it concerns palatalized *nʷ*, *lʷ*, which are pronounced very 'light'.

### 5.12. Metathesis, shift of aspiration

There are instances of metathesis. It mostly concerns *ρ*, sometimes *λ*. The consonant jumps to the other side of the vowel or the consonant: κισός / κρισός, κριξός; τέρμινθος / τρέμιθος. Cf. Τερμίλαι / Τρεμίλαι; ἄρπιξ / ἀπρίξ; κέδροπα / κέρδοπα; νάθραξ / νάρθηξ. In most cases, it cannot be determined what the original configuration was. In a case like ἔρβως / εὔρως, where β may stand for (or continue) *ɸ*, I would think that the *ɸ* was anticipated. It may concern an original *rʷ*.

The cases of σπ / ψ and σκ / ξ are discussed in 5.5 above.

Shift of aspiration is found in some cases: θριγκός / τριγχός, ἀθραγένη / ἀνδράχνη. In the case of φάτνη / πάθνη the metathesis seems to have occurred in the later history of Greek (Beekes 2003).

### 5.13 Secondary phonetic developments

1. We may assume secondary phonetic developments, either in Greek or perhaps already in the original language. One might consider:

βδ- > βλ-: βδαροί / ἄβλαροι. For this case, cf. 5.7b δ / λ.

βδ > βρ: βδέλλιον / βρέλλιον (Fur. 308)

γδ- > δ-: γδοῦπος / δοῦπος

δν- > γν-: δνόφος / γνόφος

κμ- > μ-: κμέλθρον / μέλαθρον

ψ- > σπ-: ψενδυλ- / σπονδύλη? See 5.5.6 above.

ψ- > σ-: ψέφας / σείφας; ψίττακος / σίττακος; cf. Ψαπφώ, Σαπφώ.

2. *a* > *o* before *v* in the following syllable. The *a* was probably pronounced a little higher before the *u*, and was realized as [ã], which resulted in *o*. Examples: ἀξουγγία > ὀξύγγιον, καλύβη > κόλυβος, \*σκαραβ- (κάραβος) > σκορόβυλος, δορύκνιον for \*δ(α)ρυκν-.

### 5.14 Other variation

There are a few instances of isolated and puzzling variation. I mention just one, the word for 'night', where we have ψέφας, κνέφας, δνόφος, ζόφος. I think that in some of these cases, the solution may be found in a cluster. Carian, for example, allows an initial cluster *kbd-*. Such clusters would have been simplified in Greek. In an inherited word, we have the parallel of Lat. *pecten*, Gr. κτεῖς, which is supposed to

continue \**pkt-*. If we assume a cluster \**kdn-* in our example, it may have been reduced to *kn-* or, with loss of the first consonant, to *dn-*. Thus, the process is the same as the reduction γδ- > δ-, see 5.13 above. Such variant simplifications are typical for loanwords. In this way, we could connect two of the words; but I see no way to connect the other two.

## 6. Vowel variation

### 6.1 Single vowels (timbre)

The vowels show many variants. I will discuss them in the following order: first *a*, then *e* and *o*; and within each of these groups first the short vowel, then the diphthongs, then the long vowel (and the long diphthongs, but these hardly occur). Note that a variation *x* / *y* is not repeated under *y*.

#### 1. the vowel *a*.

**1a.** *α* / *ε* has 80 occurrences in Furnée's material (347). Examples: ἄγχουσα / ἔγχουσα, ἄρυσος / ἔρυσος, γάλινθοι / γέλινθοι, ζακελτίς / ζεκελτίς, καίατα / καιέτας, κάμπος / κέμπορ, κάχρυς / κέγχρυς, σάνδυξ / σενδούκη.

**1b.** *α* / *ο*. This interchange also occurs frequently. Fur. 339 mentions that he found 80 instances. Examples: ἄξουγγία / ὀξύγγιον, ἄρρωδέω / ὀρρωδέω, γράβιον / γοβρίαί, ἡπίαλος / ἡπίολος, κάβαξ / κόβακτρα, καλύβη / κόλυβος, λυκαψός / λύκοψος.

**1c.** *α* / *αι* (Fur. 336ff.). Examples: ἀκραιφνής / ἀκραπνής, ἀσύφηλος / αἰσύφηλος, λάγματα / λαίγματα. The *ι* here is due to the following palatalized consonant.

**1d.** *α* / *αυ* (Fur. 302<sup>37</sup>). Examples: καναύστρον / κανάστρον, μνάσιον / μναύσιον; ἄλοξ / αὔλαξ. In the last example, the *υ* is probably due to the following labialized phoneme *lʷ*.

**1e.** *α* / *ω*: κλάδος / κλῶναξ.

**1f.** *αι* / *ει* (Fur. 352 Anm. 4, 339 Anm. 2). Examples: καιρία / κειρία, κύπαιρος / κύπειρος, λαιαί / λείαι. Both *αι* and *ει* are due to the following palatalized consonant.

**1g.** *αυ* / *ευ* (Fur. 353 Anm. 5). Examples: λαυκανίη / λευκανίη, πέταυρον / πέτευρον; αὔλαξ / εὔλάκα.

**1h.** *αυ* / *ω*, *ο* (Fur. 301<sup>32</sup>). Examples: κασαύρα(ς) / κασωρίς, θαῦμα / θῶμα, σαῦσαξ / σώσικες, βαύκαλον / βῶκος, καλαῦροψ / κολλῶροβον / κολλόροβον.

**1i.** *ᾱ* / *αι* (Fur. 338). Examples: λήθαργος / λαίθαργος, ληκάω / λαικάω, πήγανον / φαίκανον.

**1j.** *ᾱ* / *ᾱ̄*. Examples: λαδος (λήδιον) / λᾱδος (λήδιον).

#### 2. the vowel *ε*.

**2a.** *ε* / *α*: see under *a*.

**2b.** *ε* / *ι* (Fur. 355ff.). Examples: βλίτυξ / βλέτυες, ἐβίσκος / ιβίσκος, δέπας / Μγς. διρα, ἔντυβον / ἴντυβος, κελλόν / κίλλιξ, κιλλίβας / κελλίβας, κύτεσος / κύτισος, λέσφος / λίσπος (φ). The *ε* was not phonologically distinguished from *ι*, and they were phonetically close.

**2c.** *ε* / *ι* / *υ* (Fur. 354<sup>55</sup>). Example: κεχράμιος / κίχραμος (κιγκράμας) / κύχραμος.

**2d.** *ε* / *ευ* (Fur. 115). Example: ἄργετος / ἄρκευθος.

**2e.** *ει* / *αι*: see *αι*.

**2f.** *ει* / *η* (Fur. 339 Anm. 2). Examples: κείθιον (χείτιον) / κήθιον, χειραμός / χηραμός.

**2g.** *ευ* / *ε*: see *ε* / *ευ*.

**2h.** *ευ* / *αυ*: see *αυ*.

**2i.** *ε* / *η* (Fur. 358<sup>42</sup>). Examples: ἔνυστρον / ἥνυστρον, μέρμερος / μέρμηρα, ψάκελον / βάκηλον, μήδεα / μέδεα (μέζεα); Πηλαγόνες / Πελαγόνες.

**2j.** *η* / *ι* (Fur. 171<sup>14</sup>). Examples: βλήτον / βλίτον, σκήνος / σκίναρ, ψημύθιον / ψιμύθιον.

#### 3. the vowel *ο*.

**3a.** *ο* / *α*: see *α*.

**3b.** *ο* / *ι* (Fur. 191<sup>37</sup>). Examples: ἄκονος / ἄκινος, ἰβρίκαλοι / ὀβρίκαλα, ὄνογλιν / ὄνιγλιν.

**3c.** *ο* / *υ* (Fur. 358ff.). Examples: ὀλονθος / ὀλυνθος, σκολοβρέω / σκολυβρός, σκύπη / -κόττα, κυδώνιον / κοδώνεα, κυρσέας / κορσίς, πρύτανις / πρότανις, τοπέιον / στυππεῖον. *ο* and *υ* were phonetically very close, and not distinguished phonologically (cf. on *ε* / *ι*).

**3d.** *ο* / *ου* (Fur. 359). Examples: βρόκος / βροῦκος, κολοτέα / κολουτέα (also -λυ-, -λω-).

**3e.** *ο* / *ω* (Fur. 279). Examples: γνοτέρα / γνωτέρα, κολλῶροβον / κολλόροβον, φασίωλος / φασίολος (also -ουλος), ὠρυγγες / ὄρυξ, -γος; ὠσχοί / ὄσχη.

**3f.** *οι* / *υ* (Fur. 127). Example: χραμαδοῖλαι / ἄχραδαμύλα (ἀκραμύλα).

**3g.** *οι* / *ου* (Fur. 358). Examples: κολουτία / κολοιτία (κολοτέα), ψούδιον / ψοίθης?

**3h.** *ου* / *υ* (Fur. 120<sup>29</sup>). Examples: κτύπος / γδουπέω, κροῦναι / γρυῖνός.

**3i.** *ου* / *ω* (Fur. 133). Examples: μωκάομαι / μουκῆζει; λούπηις / λῶβηξ (Fur. 148).

**3j.** *ω* / *η*. Example: θρώναξ / ἀνθρήνη.

**3k.** *ω* / *υ* (Fur. 302<sup>35</sup>). Examples: ζώγιος / ζύγιος, ὕσσωπος / ἰσσύπος, λωβεύω / λυβάειν.

**3l.** *ο* / *ε*. Example: γοργυρα / γεργυρα

**4.** *ι* / *υ*. There is some variation between *ι* and *υ*, but I do not know how to interpret it. Examples (Fur. 364ff.): αἰσμινάω / αἰσιμνάω; ἀνθρίσκος / ἀνθρυσκον; βίδην / βυδοί; βρικός / βρυκός; ζύγαστρον / σίγιστρον; κινώπετον / κυνοῦπες; κύβεις / κίβεις; μάρσιππος / μάρπηπος.

**5.** *υ* / *ε*. Example: γυργαθός / γεργαθος.

The behavior of the diphthongs may be summarized as follows:

<i>αι</i> / <i>ει</i>	and (vice versa)	<i>ει</i> / <i>αι</i>
<i>αυ</i> / <i>ευ</i> , <i>ω</i>		<i>ευ</i> / <i>αυ</i>
<i>οι</i> / <i>υ</i> , <i>ου</i>		
<i>ου</i> / <i>υ</i> , <i>οι</i> , <i>ω</i>		

All this variation is understandable in terms of adaptation of a three-vowel system.

## 6.2. Long / short:

One may doubt whether Pre-Greek had a distinction of long and short vowels (see B1). We do find η and ω, however, but not very often, and the latter has several variants. On the other hand, the variations ω / o and η / ε are not very frequent (although in this case also the difference in timbre may have been important, depending on the Greek dialect). Variation between long e and short i and u is frequent, especially in suffixes: γήθιον / γάθια, κύβεις / κίβησις, θίβις / τίβις, κρίμιον / κρήμιον, θρίναξ / θρινάκη; ψημύθιον / ψιμύθιον, σπον κάραβος / καράμβιος (cf. κηραφίς), φενάκίζω / πηνηκίζω 'deceive'; Ώγιη(-) / Ώγεν(-); γνοτέρα / γνωτέρα.

There is some evidence for short vowel + CC alternating with long vowel + C: e.g. μύκος / μύσκος; Λάρισα / Λάρισσα; see B1 on -ιξ, -υξ.

## 6.3. Single vowel / diphthong:

There are several instances where a diphthong varies with a single vowel. They can be found above (6.1). Most frequent is α / αι, but this is due to the effect of a following palatalized consonant. We further find α / αυ, ε / ευ, and ου / υ and οι / υ. In two cases we find diphthong alternating with a long vowel: αι / ā, ει / η. Examples were given above.

## 6.4. Rising diphthongs?

Relatively frequent in Pre-Greek words are sequences of a more closed vowel followed by a more open one, sequences that are not found in IE. They would be rising diphthongs if they formed one syllable, but in fact we may have to do with two syllables. Examples are:

-εα-: σεᾷγών (σι-, συ-)

-ια-: βατιάκη, θιάσος, θρίαμβος, σίαλον, φιάλη, φιαρός. Note σιᾷγών (σε-, συ-)

-ιυ-: ἰυγή

-υα-: βρυαλίζων, γύαλον (γυε-), κύαμος, πύαλος, πύανον, συναγρίς

-υε-: γυέλιον (γύαλον), πύελος (πυα-)

Remarkable, too, is the sequence -ωυ- in πῶυ(γ)ξ, μῶυξ.

## 6.5. Secondary vowels (or elision)

Sometimes, words show a vowel that is absent in nearly identical forms. It mostly concerns vowels between a stop and a resonant. It is often not clear whether the presence or the absence of a vowel is secondary. See Fur. 378-385. Examples: βράγchia / βαράγchia; δορύκνιον for \*δρυκν- in στρυχν-; σκέρβολος / σκέραφος; κνύζα / (σ)κόνυζα; σκόροδον / σκόρδον; τονθούζω / τονθρύζω; Ἀρεπυία / Ἄρπυια; κνώψ / κινώπετον / κυνοῦπες; Κορύβαντες / Κύρβαντες.

## C. Morphology

### 1. Reduplication

Some forms seem to have reduplication, though we often cannot demonstrate this. Most frequent is partial reduplication, where only the first consonant and a vowel are repeated. The vowel is mostly ε or ι.

Examples: βέβραξ; βέ(μ)βρος; γάγγαμιον; γαγγλίον; γαγγραίνα; γίγαρτον; γίγγλυμιος; κίκυβος; σέσφυρος / Σίσφυρος (cf. σόφος); μεμαίκυλον (also μι-); νενίηλος; σέσελι(ς); σίσσυρα (also -υρνα); μεμβράς(?); perhaps κίκυμιος; κίχραμος (also κε-, κυ-, κιγκ-); δενδρύω. Also the names Κέκροψ; Πεπάρηθος; Τιταρήσιος; Λέλεγες. With prenasalization we find τενθρηδών, τενθρήνη (cf. ἀνθρηδών, θρώναξ). In these examples, I neglect the fact that there may (or may not) be prenasalization.

Other reduplication vowels are found in: λάλαμις (cf. λαῖλαψ), κοκρύς, perhaps also γηγῆλιξ.

Intensive reduplication in: μόρμιρος (μορμιραία), μαρμαρυγή.

More difficult to judge are γέλις next to ἀγλίς (perhaps from \*γε-γλ-, ἄ-γλ-), κέρκα next to ἄκρις (if from \*κε-κρ-, ἄ-κρ-). Also Μεμβλίαρος beside Βλίαρος (cf. μεμβράς), Μεμβλίς = Μέλος, also Μιμαλλίς.

A completely different type is perhaps found in ἀμάμαξος (cf. ἀμαξίς), and perhaps also ἀμαμθάδες.

### 2. Suffixes

#### 2.1 Introduction

It appears that most suffixes have the same structure. They contain a consonant; if this is a stop, it can be prenasalized, i.e. -β- or -μβ-, -θ- or -νθ-, etc. The stop has its usual variants, like β / π / φ, etc., although mostly one of these is predominant. The suffix usually starts with one of the vowels of the language, mostly α, ι, υ (we find ε or ο only rarely, e.g. ὄλονθος beside ὄλυνθος). Thus, we may find e.g. αγγ – ιγγ – υγγ; ανθ – ινθ – υνθ, etc.

A different structure is present in suffixes containing -ν- (mostly followed by a vowel) directly after the root-final consonant: e.g. κύδνος, πιάκνα, μόλυχον, φενακίς, σαταρνίς. In this way, the groups -ρν-, -δν-, -κν-, -μν- in Pre-Greek words probably originated. In the case of -μν-, we often find a vowel again: -αμν-, -ιμν-, -υμν-. The groups -μν- and -ρν- are especially frequent. They are very important, as they are found in Etruscan, which for the rest shows little agreement with Pre-Greek; -μν- is found as far as in Cappadocian (see Beekes *BiOr* 59 (2002): 441f.). Perhaps, the groups -ανν-, -ινν-, -υνν- arose in this way, too.

Other consonants are found in suffix-initial position, too: e.g., -ρ-, -δ-, -γ-, rarely -λ-. Examples: ψυδρός, κύριθρα, παναγρίς, φάλακρος; σκαπέρδα; λάθαργος; ὄνιγλιν.

It is often possible to determine to which series the Pre-Greek consonant belonged. Thus, -αιν- could render -an<sup>ν</sup>-, while -αλ<sup>ν</sup>- seems to have resulted in -αλλ- (or -ελλ- with coloring of the vowel). Likewise, -ειρ- could represent -ar<sup>ν</sup>-. This thesis would be nicely supported by the segment -αυρ-, if this represents -ar<sup>ω</sup>- (e.g. αὐροσχάδες beside ἀρασχάδες, if this form had \*-ar<sup>ω</sup>-). Cf. B1 above.

Another type of suffix has σ followed by a dental: κάνασθον (-στρον), λαιστρον or another stop ἔνθρουσκον, αὐροσχάς, κανναβίσκα; these forms may have been partly adapted to Greek suffixes (-τρον). See below on the suffix -στ-.

A form such as -εϋτ- is deviating; we do not often find a diphthong before the consonant. Does it stand for \*-aut- from -atʷ? Cf. -aiu- in ἔλαιον, where we may suspect ayʷ or awʷ (but it may be part of the root). See further section B1.

Not seldom do we find a long and a short vowel with a suffix (= consonant), e.g. ιθ – ιθ, υκ – υκ. In the case of ὕρ, one might again think of urʷ > uir, although rʷ is a rare phoneme (like mʷ).

## 2.2 Survey of the suffixes

In principle, we find one of the three vowels of the language followed by a (prenasalized) consonant: a, i, u + <sup>(m)</sup>P, <sup>(n)</sup>T, <sup>(n)</sup>K. The groups actually found are, in Greek letters (forms in brackets are rare or less frequent):

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
aNC		αμβ		(αντ)	ανδ	ανθ		αγγ	
iNC					ινδ	ινθ		ιγγ	
uNC		υμβ		(υντ)	υνδ	(υνθ)		υγγ	

So, we do not find: 1. VNπ and 3. VNφ, 7. VNκ, 9. VNχ (except for δαλαγχαν).

In the same way, we find vowel + C. The consonant may have the normal variation: plain, voiced, aspirated. A palatalized consonant could color a preceding and/or a following /a/ to [ε], which may also appear as ει. This phenomenon is often seen in languages with palatalized consonants, such as Russian and Irish. Thus, we find -arʷ- represented as -αιρ- (-ειρ- is also possible). A palatalized -lʷ- may be rendered as a geminate -λλ-.

If a labialized consonant followed or preceded an α, this vowel may have been perceived as (an allophone of) /o/. For example, -arʷ- may be represented as -αυρ-, with anticipation of the labial element, but also as -ουρ-, in which case the α was colored.

The suffixal consonant may be geminated; as there is frequent variation between single and geminated consonants in the language, there possibly was no opposition.

Vowels could be either short or long; in suffixes, a long vowel was quite frequent. A long *ū* was sometimes represented as ω.

## 2.3 The material

The examples are mostly taken from Furnée, to whom I refer for details. Words can also be checked in the present dictionary. Variants are given in brackets. I added geographical names (TN) from Fick 1905, and some more material, with references.

1. -αβ-(ο-) (Fur. 107): ἀγράφος, ἀλ(λ)άβης, ἀσκάλαβος, ἀττέλε/αβος, κάνναβος, κόλλαβος, μέσ(σ)αβον, λατραβός, μάτταβος. TN Καττάβιος (Rhodes, Fick 47), Κάσταβος (Caria).
2. -αγ-: ἀρπαγ- (cf. Chantraine 1933: 397ff.), λάταξ, οὔραξ.
3. -αγγ-ο-: σφάραγγος.
- 3a. -αγχ-: δαλάγχαν.

4. -αδ-: ἀρασχάδες, μεμβράς, σπυράδ-.
5. -αθ-ο-: ἀσπάλαθος, γυργαθός, σπύραθοι. TN Ὑρνάθιον (Eridauros).
6. -αι-/ε(ι)- before a vowel: There are words in -αία / -ε(ι)α, such as γρυμεία / γρυμεία (also γρυμεία) / γρυμεία (note the hesitation in the accentuation). I suggest that the suffix was -αγ-(α), which was pronounced as [-æγα] or [-eγα] (we saw that ει often varies with αι). The speakers of Greek identified the suffix with Gr. -αι- or -ει-, but the -γ- could also be lost. In this way the three variant forms can be explained. Further examples are κολοιτέα / κολ(ο)υτέα, κορχυρέα (κορκόδρνα in H. is probably an error); κώδεια / κώδεα (note the short α), beside κώδεια / κωδία (these are not entirely clear to me, but cf. Ἀμάθεια / Ἀμάθεια). Furthermore, \*-αγ-α is likely to be the same suffix as -ειά which makes feminine names, e.g. Ἀμάθεια, Πηνελόπεια, Ἰφιμέδεια (note that in Myc. *Ipemedeja*, the -j- is preserved, cf. Ruijgh 1957: 155<sup>3</sup>). Of course, many place names end in -εία: Καδμεία, Καλαύρεια, Κερένεια, Μίδεια, Σκελερδεία, Λεβιάδεια, etc. The final was often adapted to -αία after the dominant type, which is derived from the adjectives in -αῖος (see Chantraine, *Form.* 91): type ἀναγκαίη; cf. βρυκταία, διρκαία, σιβαία. We also find -εία used in nouns: δαυρεία, ζαλεία, κουλυβάτεια. Nouns with -εο- are very rare; we find: γωλεός, εἰλεός, κολεόν, νικύλεον, συφεός(?), φωλεός. It may further be found in Ὠκέανος < \*-kay-an-, note the by-forms Ὠγην, Ὠγεν-. Beside -αία, -εία, we may expect thematic -αι-ο-; we find it e.g. in δῖρκαιον, σπήλαιον, ψιφαῖον; γραψαῖος, \*σκαρβαῖος (reconstructed by Fur. 169).
7. -αι(φ)-ο- (see Fur. 233<sup>22</sup>, 255<sup>32</sup>): Partly from -αιφο-; it is often impossible to establish whether a form had a -φ- or not. See also 6. above. Examples: ἀκυλαῖον, ἀραιός, βαγαῖος, βαλαιόν, δῖρκαιον, ἔλαιον (Myc. *era*<sub>3</sub> / *rawo*), μάταιος, μεσσαῖον, σῖραιον; Ἀχαιφός. TN Ἀστυπάλεια (Fick: 58).
8. -αιβ-ο-: TN Περραιβοί (Thess.).
9. -αιθ-: TN Σύμειθα (Thess.), Περραιθεῖς (Arc. deme), Κελαιθεῖς (Thess. deme), Κυναιθεῖς (Arc. deme).
10. -αιν- (Fur. 171<sup>117</sup>): ἄκαινα, -ον, βολίταινα, γάγγραινα, κολύβδαινα (also -υμβ-), κορύφαινα, μύραινα, σμύραινα, τρίαίνα.
11. -αιρ-(ο-) represents -arʷ-: κύπαιρος (also -ειρον, -ηρις, -ερος), μάχαιρα.
12. -ακ- (Fur. 158<sup>64</sup>): ἀβυρτάκη, αὔλαξ, βατιάκη, δόναξ / δῶναξ / δοῦναξ, θρινάκη (θρίναξ), θώραξ (also -ηξ, -ἄκος), καυνάκη, θυλάκη, πιστάκη, φάρμακον. TN Ζάραξ, -ηξ (Lac.).
13. -αλ(λ)-ο- (Fur. 254<sup>28</sup>, Beekes 2008): ἀρύβαλλος, αἰγίθαλ(λ)ος, κορύδαλ(λ)ος (also -ός), πάρδαλος. TN Κασταλία (Phoc. source), Φάρσαλος, Στύμφαλος (Arc.).
14. -αμβ-ο- (Fur. 184): διθύραμβος, θρίαμβος, ἱαμβος, καράμβας, σήραμβος.
15. -αμν-ο-: δίκταμνον, ράδαμνος, σφένδαμνος. TN Σέδαμνος (Crete).
15. -αμ-ο-: ἄρταμος. TN Κίς(σ)αμιος (Cos), Πέργαμον, Κώγαμιος (Lydia), Κύαμιον (Kydon.), Ὑδραμιος (Kydon.).

16. -αν-ο-: TN Ἰάρδανος (HN Crete, Elis), Ἀπιδανός (HN Thess.), Ἡριδανός (HN), Ἄνδανος (Fick: 18).
17. -ᾱν-: γεντιανή.
18. -ανδ-: ἀσγάνδης.
19. -ανδρ-: γελανδρόν. TN Τήλανδρος (Fick 51), Τύμανδ(ρ)ος (Pamph.), Μυϊανδ(ρ)ος (Fick: 53), Φολέγανδρος.
20. -ανθ/τ- (Fur. 191<sup>35</sup>; 216<sup>71</sup>, -αντ- unless otherwise stated): ἀλίβας, ἀσκάνθης (σκάνθας), κιλλίβας (but κελλίβατ-), ὀκρίβας, φάλανθ/τος, Ἄβαντες (Fick: 69, etc.), Μέλανθ/τ-, Πείρανθ/τ-, Γίγαντες, Κορύβαντες. TN Βαβράντιον (Chios).
21. -ανν-: τύραννος.
22. -αξ- (cf. -ιξ-, -οξ-): ἄμαξα, ἀτράφαξ, σαβάξας (also -κτ-), TN Κυρτάρπαξον (Crete).
23. -απ-ο- (Fur. 235<sup>31</sup>): ἄρναπος, γαυσαπός, μόναπος. TN Μεσσαπιος (Crete, Fick: 24).
24. -αρ (Fur. 134<sup>75</sup>), mostly neuters: ἵκταρ, κύδαρ, νέκταρ, σκίναρ, σῦφαρ; adj. μάκαρ; anim. ὄαρ, δάμιαρ (gen. -ρτος), cf. Myc. *dama* beside *duma*.
25. -αρ- (Fur. 257<sup>36</sup>): ἄσκαρος, βασσάρα, γάδαρος, γίγγλαρος, κίσθαρος, κύσσαρος, λεσχάρα, φάλαρα. Also σιδάρος? TN Ἄπταρα (Crete, Lycia), Πάταρα (Lycia), Μέγαρα (Fick: 75), Ἀλλαρία (Crete).
26. -ασ-α/ο- (Fur. 157<sup>57</sup>): κάρπασος, καμασός (κάβαισος), πάγασα. TN Κύρβασα (Crete), Πήδασα (Mess.), Παγασαί (Thess.).
27. -ασσ-ο-: TN Ῥυτιασσός (Crete), Κρυασσός (Crete), Μυκάλησσός, Ταφιασσός (Fick: 32).
28. -ατ-: ἀπάτη, ἡλακάτη. TN Καίρατος (Crete), Μίλατος (Crete, Fick: 27).
29. -αυρ-α/ο- (this may continue -ar<sup>w</sup>-): (ἄ)φαῦρος, φλαῦρος, (ἄ)μαυρός, ἄγλαυρος, θησαυρός, κασαῦρα (-ας), λάσταυρος, πέταυρον (ευ). TN Ἐπίδauρος.
30. -αχ-: βότραχος, κύμβαχος, σελάχος.
- 30a. -αψ-: λυκαψός, σκινδαψός.
31. -γδ-: perhaps ἄπριγδα [adv.].
32. -γρ- (cf. on -ρ-): παναγρίς, συαγρίς.
33. -εδ-: TN Τένεδος, Λέβεδος, perhaps in Λακεδαίμων.
34. -εζ-α: see below sub 73. on -ισ-.
35. -ειρ-ο- (may continue -er<sup>w</sup>-, -ar<sup>w</sup>-): αἴγειρος, κύπειρον, σάβειρος (σαπέρδης); Κάβειροι.
36. -ελ-α/ο- (cf. the next): ἀμυσγέλα, ἀσφόμελος, βρίκελος, δρύψελα, (ἐπι)ζάφελος, ιθέλα, κύβελα, perhaps δυσπεμπελος.
37. -ελλ-α/ο- (cf. 36.): ἀκρόσπελλος, βάτελλα, βδέλλα, πάτελλα, πέλλα.
38. -εμ-ο- (Fur. 151<sup>42</sup>): ἰάλεμος, κοάλεμος, π(τ)όλεμος (if not IE), θελεμόν.
39. -εμν-(ο-) (Fur. 151<sup>44</sup>): ἀμφι-κέλεμνον, Καρτεμνίδες. TN Σέλεμνος (Fick: 95).
40. -ενν-α (I wonder whether n<sup>w</sup> could give νν): τήβεννα. Cf. βλέννος. Cf. Lat. (from Etruscan) (*doss*)-*ennus*, *Porsenna*.
41. -ερ-α/ο-: διφθέρα, ἀσκέρα (also -ηρα), κασσίτερος. TN Ὑλλερος (Crete).
42. -ετ-ο- (Fur. 115<sup>4</sup>): καιετός, καίπετος, μάσπετον, νέπετος, τηλύγετος? TN Ξυπέτη (Att.), Ταῦγετος.

- 42a. -ευ- as in nom. -εύς: βασιλεύς; several PNs like Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς, Ὀδυσσεύς.
43. -ευρ-: see -αυρ-.
44. -ευτ- (Fur. 173, 181<sup>7</sup>): βασκευταί, κρατευταί.
45. -ηβ-α/ο-: κύριβος. TN Κάνδηβα, Τένδηβα, Τορρηβός (all in Lydia).
46. -ηθ-(ο-): TN Πεπάρηθος, Σεσάρηθος (Fick 67), Κικύνηθος (Pagas.), Πάρνης, -ηθ- (Att.). Cf. -αθ-.
47. -ηκ-, -ηχ- (Fur. 199, 245<sup>70</sup>): βήριξ, δάνδιξ, λώβηξ, πήληξ, τράφιξ, φήληξ; κύμηξ / κύμηχα.
48. -ηλ-ο- (Fur. 115<sup>5</sup>): ἀβρόκιλος, ἀβύρβηλος, ἀσύφηλος, βάκιλος, κάβηλος, κίβδιλος, νενίηλος, τράχηλος, φάσιλος.
49. -ήν (Fur. 172<sup>118</sup>): ἀτιμήν, ἀτταγήν, αὐχήν (ἄμφην), βαλ(λ)ήν, δοθιήν, ἐσσήν, καμασήν (-ασός), κυφήν, σειρήν, σωλήν, ταγήν, τιβήν, perhaps ἀδήν. TN Θηρήν (Crete, Fick: 25), Τροϊζήν, Ἀραδὴν (Crete).
50. -ην-: γλαβρήνη.
51. -ηρ: σπίνθηρ; Αἰγλάηρ? TN Ιοθηρεύς (Crete), Κύθηρα.
52. -ηρ- (Fur. 204<sup>10</sup>): ἄβδηρα, ἄνδηρα, αἰψηρός, ἀσκάληρον, ἀσκηρά (-έρα); ἱμβήρις, κύπηρις, λεβήρις.
53. -ησ(σ)-α/ο- (cf. -ασσ-): TN Μάρπησσα (M Paros), Μυκαλησσός (Boeotian, Fick 80); Ἀρδηττός (Att.), Ὑμηττός (Att.).
54. -ητ-(ο-) (Fur. 172<sup>118</sup>): ἀλ(λ)άβης, κάνης, λέβης, μάσθλης, τάπης (Myc. *tera*). Perhaps also ἄν(ν)ητον (also -θον, -σον)? TN Μάσητα (Fick 71).
55. -ηττ-: see -ησσ-.
56. -ηψ-ο-: TN Αἰδηψός (Euboea), Γαληψός (Thracia).
57. -θ-ο- (see Chantraine 1933: 368, and cf. -νθος): βρένθος, κανθός, σπέλεθος, μίνθος.
58. -θρ-α/ο-: κύριθρα, μάραθρον; HN Λίβηθρα. On -αθρον see Fur. 303<sup>39</sup>: κάν(ν)αθρον, σπάλαθρον. Cf. on -στρ-ον.
59. -ιβ-: ἐρυθίβη.
60. -ιγ-: μαστίγ-, πεμφιγ-.
61. -ιγγ/κ/χ-: ἄστλιγγας, βρυτιγγοί, ἔλμιγγος, θρίγγος (also -ιγκ-, -ιγχ-), θώμιγξ, -γγος, ὀλιγγος.
62. -ιδ- (cf. -ινδ-, Fur. 324<sup>7</sup>): βαλβίς, γελγίς, κηλίς, κρηπίς, σφρᾶγίς.
63. -ιδ-να (probably a combination of two suffixes, cf. on -ν-): ἀράχιδνα (cf. ἄρακος, -χ-).
64. -ιθ-, -ιθ- (cf. -ινδ-): ἄγλις, -ιθ-, αἰγιθαλος, αἰγιθος, γάλιθοι, ἡλίθιος, κάλιθος.
65. -ικ- (cf. -ιχ-, Fur. 226<sup>102</sup>): κάλικον, κύρνικα, λέ(ί)κρικα, μυρίκη (later ἰ), νώρικον, σώσικες.
- 65a. -ϊκ-: Φοίνικες.
66. -ιλ-, -ιλ-: αἰγίλωψ, κονίλη, μέσπιλον, μαρίλη, μυστίλη, (σ)πατίλη (-ιλ-) = παστίλη, στρόβιλος. TN Σκανδίλη (Cos).
67. -ιλλ-α/ο-: ἄργιλλος, ἄμιλλα, ἄριλλα, ἄσιλλα, ρόβιλλος.
68. -ιμν-α/ο- (Fur. 246<sup>71</sup>): μέδιμνος (also -ί-), μέριμνα, σίδριμνον.
69. -ιν-α/ο-: ἄκινος, ἀπόλινον, (βα)βάκινον, γοσσύπινον, κότινος, ὀξίνα. TN Μύρινα (Lemnos), Σίκινος (Cyclades).

70. -iv-(o-): κύμινον, πυτίνη, ρητίνη, σέλινον, φοξίνος, φορίνη. TN Σαλαμίν-.
71. -ινδ- (cf. -ινθ- and -ιδ-, -ιτ-): κύβινδης, ἄλινδον. TN Κραυσίνδων (R), Πύρινδος (Caria).
72. -ινθ-(o-) (cf. -ινδ-): αἰγίνθος, ἀσπίνθιον, λαβύρινθος, λίμινθες. TN Κήρινθος (Euboea), Κόρινθος (Fick 74).
- 72a. -ιξ-: κοτίξις, κυνίξις, σόρνιξα.
- 72b. -ιπ-ο-: TN Εὐρίπος.
73. -ισ-α/ο-: ἄρπισα (-εζα), κύτισος. TN Λάρισα, Κεδρισός, Κηφισός (-ῖσος = -ισσος, Fick 25, 61).
- 73a. -ισκ-ο-: ἀλθίσκον, ἱβίσκος, μαρίσκος, ὑρίσκος (and variants).
74. -ιτ-α/ο- (cf. -ιδ-, -ιθ-, Fur. 163): βάρβιτος, βόλ(β)ιτον, πόρφιτον. TN Σύβριτα (Crete).
75. -ιχ- (cf. -ικ-): ἄρσιχος.
76. -κν- (probably a combination of -ν- with a preceding consonant; see sub 78 on -ν-): ἄβαρκνα, δορύκνιον, πισάκνα, φιδάκνη.
77. -μ-: TN Λάτιμος (Caria), Πάτιμος.
78. -ν- (Fur. 132<sup>65</sup>), where a preceding velar may become aspirated: ἀράχνη, δαυχνα-, κέρκνος, κύδνος, κυλίχινον, πελίχνη, σαταρνίς, ὕτνον / ὕδνον, ψύδνος; Κάβαρνος. TN Κύθνος (Cyclades).
79. -οξ- (cf. -ιξ-): μοροξός (also -χθ-).
80. -οπ- (Fur. 107), often there is a variant with -αβ-: ἔλ(λ)οψ, καλαῦροψ, -πος (-όφης), κόλλοψ, σκάλοψ. TN Κορόπη (Thess.), Κασσιόπη (Corc.).
81. -ορ- (see also the section on word end): ἄχορα (-υρα), λέπορις.
82. -οσσ-α, -οττ-α: TN Ἑρμώνοσσα (Chios), Ἀζιοττηνος (Lydia).
83. -ουλ-: φασίουλός (-ωλός)?
84. -οур- (may contain -ar<sup>w</sup>-): ἴνδουρος, κάβουρος, λιγγούριον (also λο-, λυ-), παλίουρος, πάνδουρα, σάγουρον, τάγχουρος. TN Λυκόσουρα (Arc., the oldest town of all; Fick: 93).
85. -ουσ(σ)- (Fur. 197<sup>55</sup>): ἄγχουσα (also ἔ-), αἴθουσ(σ)α (also αἰδωσσα), κádουσα. TN Ἀκίδουσα, Κηλοῦσα (M Κήλωσσα).
86. -πν- (this may rather be a suffix -ν- after a root): θεράπνη, ὄμπνη.
87. -πτ- (this suffix probably consisted of one phoneme p<sup>v</sup>): μαρυπτόν, πέσσυ(μ)πτον, σάναπτιν.
88. -ρ- (Fur. 124<sup>37</sup>; 215<sup>62</sup>): βάλαγρος, γήλιγρος, σίγραι; Ἰδαγρος (= Lyc. *idākre*?). See also the suffixes -ρν-, -ργ- and -γρ-.
89. -ργ-: λάθαργος (also -αι-, -η-).
90. -ρδ-: TN Κύαρδα (Caria).
91. -ρν- (Fur. 48<sup>126</sup>, 215<sup>62</sup>): ἀκαρνάν (ἀκάρναξ), κυβερνάω, λιπερνέω (also λιφ-), σκέπαρνος. We also find variants without -ν-: σίσυρνα / σίσυρα, κυβερνάω / κυμερῆναι, σαταρνίδες / σαταρίδες, κίσρινις / κίσσιρις. Therefore, the cluster probably arose by addition of the suffix -ν-. Note that -rn- is found in Etruscan and already in Cappadocian (Fur. 48<sup>126</sup>). See also the suffix -ρ-. TN Φαλάσαρνα (Crete), Λέρνα, Ἀλίκυρνα (Aet.).

92. -σα: There are several words in -σα: δέψα, δίψα, κόψα (κοψία), κάψα (κάμψα), perhaps λάψα.
93. -σκ-: ὑρίσκος (-χ-, -σσ-).
94. -σ- (Fur. 254<sup>27</sup>, in several cases this does not seem to be a suffix, but rather the end of a root; cf. on -ασ-, -ισ-, -υσ-): ἄλσος, κάβαισος (also -ασ-), μύσος, πῖσος, φάρσος. TN Πρίανσος (Crete).
95. -σσ-: κύπασσις, κυπάρισσος, σάρισσα.
96. -στ-: ἀλάβαστος, θεμιστ- (cf. Myc. *temitija* / *timitija*), λεπαστή, πλατάνιστος. TN Κάρυστος, Φαιστός.
97. -στρ- (cf. -θρ-): ἀλάβαστρον, δέπαστρον (also λ-), ἔνυστρον (also ἥ-), ζύγαστρον, λαι(σ)τρόν, σίγιστρον.
98. -τ-: ἄσφαλος, ἄτρακτος, ἄφλαστον.
99. -ττ- (see 5.5 on ττ / σσ): κυριττοί, προκόττα; Φέρεφαττα.
100. -υβ-: ἔντυβον, θόρυβος, ἴντυβος (also -ουβ-), σίλλυβος, σκόλυβος (also -μ-), σκολύβρα (-οβ-); cf. ὀχθοιβός.
101. -υγγ-: λάρυγξ, πῖσυγγος, σπῆλυγγ-, φάρυγξ.
102. -υδ-: ἀμύς, -δος, ἐμύς, κορυδός, πηλαμύς, χλαμύς.
103. -υδνα: TN Καλυδνά (Cos).
104. -υθ-, -υθ-: ἀγνύς, λήκυθος.
105. -υι-α: ἄγυια, κώδυια; Ἄρπυια. TN Κινδυία (Crete, also Κινδύη, Fick 18, 24).
106. -υκ-: ἄμπυξ, ἴδυξ, σκαρδάμυκτος. TN Νάρυξ (Locris).
107. -υκ-: δοῖδυξ, κῆρυξ, -υκος, καρύκ(κ)η, σάνδυξ.
108. -υλ- (Fur. 205<sup>14</sup>): ἀρβύλη, δάκτυλος, κανθύλη, κρωβύλη, μιμαίκυλον (also με-), σφόνδυλος (also σπ-).
109. -ύλ-: (σ)κορδύλη, σφονδύλη (also σπ-). TN Καρδαμύλη (Mess.).
110. -υλλ-: Σίβυλλα.
111. -υμ-: γέρσυμιον, γίγγλυμιος, -θέλυμιος. TN Κάρυμαι (Crete).
112. -υμβ-: ἴθυμβος, κόλυμβος.
113. -υμν- (cf. Fur. 243<sup>66</sup> on -um<sup>n</sup>- in Etruscan and Cappadocian): αἰσυμνάω, σίγυμιος. TN Πίτ/θυμνα (Crete), Λάρυμνα (Locr.).
114. -ύν- (see also the suffix -υνν-): βόθυνος, σιγύνη (cf. -υνν-), λάγυνος. TN Γόρτυν (Crete).
115. -υνν-: σίγυννος, Δίκτυννα. Cf. on -ύν-.
116. -υνδ- (cf. -υνθ / τ-): Βερεκύνδαι. TN Καμύνδιος (Rhodes).
117. -υνθ/τ-: βόλυνθον, ὄλυνθος; Βερεκύνθ/ται. TN Ζάκυνθος (+88), Τίρυνς.
118. -υξ-: TN Ὀλόφυξος (Athos).
119. -υπ-: ἴσσυπος (older ὕσσωπος), μάρσυππος, οἰσύπη, τολύπη.
120. -υρ-: ἀήσυρος, ἄχυρα (also -ορα), ζέφυρος, μαυκυρόν, λάθυρος, ὄνυρίζεται, σατύρος. TN Ἐλυρος (Crete), Τέγυρα (Boeotia), Νίσυρος (Cos).
121. -ϋρ-: ἄγκυρα, ἀνάγκυρος (also ὄνό-), γέφυρα, λάφυρον, πλημυρίς, πίτυρον.
122. -υσ- (on -υστρον see -στρον): ἄρυσος.
123. -υτ-: πιτυτός, νηπύτιος. TN Λαγινάπυτον (Crete), Κολλυτός (Crete).
124. -υφ-: κελύφος.
125. -υχ-: βό(σ)τρυχος. TN Μόσυχλον (Lemnos).

126. -φθ-: κροσσόφθον, λάκαφθον, μόλοφθος, νά(σ)καφθον, σαρρυφθεῖν.  
 127. -φ- (on -αφ-ο- see Chantraine *Form.* 263): ἀργέλοφοι (also -ιλ-), μαστροφός (also -πός), σέριφος, σέσυφος.  
 128. -ωκ-: TN Κοθωκίδαι (Att., Fick 70).  
 129. -ωλ-: ἀποφώλιος (?), φάσκωλος. TN Κίμωλος (Cyclades).  
 130. -ωμ-: βάρωμος.  
 131. -ων- (Fur. 303<sup>39</sup>): ἀλκυών, ἡϊών, σανδών, σινδών, σχαδών.  
 132. -ωπ- (a variant is -ουπ-): θυμαλωψ, αἰγίλωπ-, κινώπετον (κυνούπες). TN Εὐρωπός / α (Crete), Κασσώπη (Epirus).  
 133. -ωρ- (Fur. 211<sup>50</sup>): ἀχώρ, ἀμάνωρ, βιάτωρ, ἰχώρ, λείτωρ. TN Πίλωρος (Chalc., Fick 22).  
 134. -ωσσ- (see -ουσσ-): TN Διρφωσσός (Euboea), Πιδωσσός (Caria, Fick 26).  
 135. -ωτ- (Fur. 283<sup>83</sup>; 384<sup>132</sup>): ἀσκαλαβώτης, -καυδωτόν, κῖβωτός, κράμβωτον, οἰσπώτη. TN Θεσπρωτοί.

### 3. Word end

Word end provides an interesting situation, as some original finals of the Pre-Greek language may have been preserved. Of course, Greek endings must be removed, notably -ος, -ον. Thus, -ιον, -υον may often continue original -ι, -υ: cf. Myc. *dunijo* next to *duni*. The words in -νθος have replaced almost all of those in -νθ- (as in Τίρυνθ-).

#### 3.1. words ending in a vowel

**a. -α.** A short -α can only come from \*-ya < \*-ih<sub>2</sub> in inherited Greek words. In all other cases, we may be dealing with a Pre-Greek ending -a that was originally short. It is often difficult to see whether -α is short or long; the material requires further study. Examples: ἄβαρκνα, ἀγάννα, ἀγέρδα, ἄδαλτα (?), αἰκουδα, ἄβδηρα, ἄκαρνα, ἄκορ-να, ἀκόστιλα, ἀκτάρα, ἄλαρα, ἀμουχρά, ἄρδα, ἀσταγάννα, ἄφθα, βρούκα, γόδα, γόλα, δάξα, δάρδα, δαλάγχα, θάπτα, μόδα, ρόμιξα, σάττα, σόρνιξα, σοῦα, κέδροπα (also χ-), etc. Note forms in -να, like ἄρνα, and in -εννα. Note, further, σαλαμάνδρα, σκολόπενδρα.

For words ending in -σα, see the list of suffixes.

**b. -ι.** IE words (neuters) in -ι are very rare in Greek. Examples of Pre-Greek words in -ι: ζάκτι, κόρι, σίναπι, τάγυρι (ταγύριον), ἀκαρί. We may assume that many words ending in -ιον, -υον originally ended in -ι, -υ. Final -ις is frequent, too.

**c. -υ.** ἄβαρύ, κόνδυ, μῶλυ. For -υον, see the foregoing. Final -υς is also found several times: ἄγδυσ, ἄρπυς, ἀτράφαξυς, βίθυν, βλέτυς, -μένδυσ, μίμαρκυς, μῶυς, πηλαμύς, ράπυς.

**d. -εϋς.** Though the ending may also be inherited from IE, in many words it is clearly of Pre-Greek origin, e.g. βασιλεύς (Myc. *qa-si-re-u*), Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς. I withdraw my considerations in FS Kortlandt on this point.

**e. -ω.** κοθῶ, κόρθω, μοτῶ, τίτῶ, Γελλῶ. The suffix also makes feminine names in -ῶ: Λητῶ, Σαπφῶ. It is usually assumed that the original inflection of all words in -ῶ

derives from stems in \*-oi-; I assume that Pre-Greek words secondarily joined this inflection. Words in -ως are masculine: ἀχαρνῶ(ς), ἥρω(ς); Μίνως, Τάλως.

#### 3.2. words ending in -ρ

**a. -αρ.** ἄσαρ(ον)?, ἀκχάνταρ, βάκαρ, ἐλίμαρ, κύδαρ, νέκταρ, νῶκαρ, σελίαρ.

**b. -ορ.** Examples: ἀδιγόρ, ἀκκόρ, κακκόρ, κέμμορ (also -μπ-), πίσορ.

**c. -υρ.** Examples: ψίθυρ, (Dor.) μάρτυρ.

**d. -ωρ.** Examples: ἄχωρ, ἰχώρ, κέλωρ, ψόθωρ.

#### 3.3. words with a nom. in -ξ or -ψ.

**a. -ξ** (stem in -κ-) is found quite often:

-αξ: ἄβαξ, ἀκάρναξ, ἄμβαξ, ἀνδράφαξ, ἄνθραξ, βύσταξ, μάλβαξ, σαῦσαξ. ἄναξ has a stem in -κτ-.

-ᾱξ: φέναξ, ράξ, σφήξ

-ηξ: δάνδηξ, βήρηξ

-ιξ: ἄδδιξ, ἀνθέριξ, ἀπρίξ, κόλιξ, ἄρπιξ

-οξ: βέβροξ, βίρροξ

-ουξ: βρούξ

-υξ: βλίτυξ, γόρτυξ; Πινύξ, Στύξ.

Note acc. βάλλεκα; acc. βρίγκα.

**b. -ψ:** λάτραψ, λαῖλαψ, ἄλιψ, κόριψ, αἰγίποψ, κόλλοψ, μέροψ, γύψ, μόνωψ. Monosyllabic: χρέμψ.

**4. words in -ν:** βαλλήν, καρβάν; Ωγήν. κίνδυν, μόσσυν, ῥώθυνες.

**5. words ending in -ας (ā-stems):** ἄβάς, ἄβλας, ἄθρας(?), ἀμφίας, ἀσκαλώπας, ἀσκωνδας, ἀτταγᾶς, βαδάς (βατᾶς), βασκᾶς, βύας, καλαβάς, κασᾶς; Ἀθάμας, Ἀσγελατας.

With a stem in -αντ-: ἀλίβας (-ντ-), λυκάβας (-ντ-) etc.; see the suffix section.

With stem in αδ-: ἀχράς, βουνιάς, πρημνάς; see the suffix section.

### D. The unity of Pre-Greek

The material itself shows that we are largely dealing with one language, or a group of closely related dialects or languages. Of course, we cannot demonstrate in each and every case that the words that are non-Greek belong to this same language. The bulk of the known non-Greek words, however, seem to fit the general picture of the Pre-Greek substrate. For example, κότθυβος / κόσσυμβος does not only show the element σσ / τθ, well-known from geographical names, but also the suffix -υβ- with prenasalization. The pair κρόσσιον / κρότιον also shows the element σσ / τ, but κρόσσοφθον has a suffix added that is also typical for this language. The word δαλάγχαν next to θάλασσα (-ττα) again has the suffix σσ / ττ, but also prenasalization. ἄστλιγξ / ὄστλιγξ has both the typical (prenasalized) suffix -ιγγ- and variation α / ο. In μήρινθος / σμήρινθος we have the 's-mobile' and the well known suffix, while μέρμυς, -ιθος has the variant without prenasalization, and σμήριγγες has



a different Pre-Greek suffix. In ἄ(μ)βρυττοι / βρύττος (βρύσσοις) we have a combination of a prothetic vowel and prenasalization.

Other languages may well have existed in the area. Thus, it is not certain that Hieroglyphic Minoan reproduces the same language as Linear A. Further, Eteocretan has not yet been connected with other elements and seems isolated.

Another matter is that (non-Indo-European) loanwords from old Europe may have entered Greece, cf. Beekes 2000: 21-31. Moreover, these may have already been adopted in Pre-Greek, as is suggested by ἐρέβινθος, which has a Pre-Greek suffix, but a root which is attested (with some variation) in other European languages. Sometimes, elements from other IE languages may also have been adopted at a very early date, such as πέλεκυς.

However, I think that it is methodologically more sound to start from the assumption that non-Greek words are Pre-Greek. Only when there is reason to assume that they have a different origin, should we consider this option.

#### E. Pre-Greek is non-Indo-European

Our knowledge of Indo-European has expanded so much, especially in the last thirty years (notably because of the laryngeal theory) that in some cases we can say almost with certainty that an Indo-European reconstruction is impossible. A good example is the word γνάθος. In order to explain the -a- of this word, we need to introduce a  $h_2$ . However, a preform  $*gnh_2d^h$ - would have given Gr.  $*γνᾶθ$ -. One might think that assuming  $*h_2e$  would remedy the problem, but  $*gnh_2ed^h$ - would yield  $*γαναθ$ -. The conclusion is that no Indo-European proto-form can be reconstructed, and that the word cannot be of Indo-European origin. Another example is the word κρημνός 'overhanging bank', for which a connection with κρέμαμαι 'to hang (up)' used to be evident. However, we now know that most long vowels go back to a short vowel plus a laryngeal, and that long vowels cannot be postulated at random. In this particular case, there are simply no conceivable formations that would contain a long root vowel. This morphological objection is strengthened by the fact that there is no trace of the expected root-final -α- <  $*-h_2$ - (as in κρέμαμαι <  $*kremh_2$ -). Positively, one can say that landscape terms are frequently borrowed from a substrate language. The inevitable conclusion is that the word is Pre-Greek.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

### A. LANGUAGES

Aegin.	Aeginetan	Gm.	Germanic
Aeol.	Aeolic	Go.	Gothic
Aetol.	Aetolian	Gr.	Greek
Alb.	Albanian	H.	Hesychius
Arc.	Arcadian	Heracl.	Heracleian
Arc.-Cypr.	Arcado-Cyprian	Hitt.	Hittite
Arg.	Argive	HLuw.	Hieroglyphic Luwian
Arm.	Classical Armenian	IA	Ionic-Attic
Att.	Attic	IE	Indo-European
Av.	Avestan	IIr.	Indo-Iranian
AV	Atharvavedic	Ion.	Ionic
Balt.	Baltic	Ir.	Irish
Bel.	Belorussian	It.	Italic
Boeot.	Boeotian	Khot.	Khotanese
Bret.	Breton	Lac.	Laconian
BSl.	Balto-Slavic	Lat.	Latin
Bulg.	Bulgarian	Latv.	Latvian
CLuw.	Cuneiform Luwian	Lesb.	Lesbian
Co.	Cornish	Lith.	Lithuanian
Corcyr.	Corcyrean	LG	Low German
Cret.	Cretan	Locr.	Locrian
CS	Church Slavonic	Luw.	Luwian
Cypr.	Cyprian	Lyc.	Lycian
Cyren.	Cyrenaean	Lyd.	Lydian
Cz.	Czech	MBret.	Middle Breton
Dan.	Danish	MCo.	Middle Cornish
Delph.	Delphian	MDu.	Middle Dutch
Dor.	Doric	ME	Middle English
El.	Elean	Meg.	Megarian
ep.	epic	Mess.	Messenian
Epid.	Epidaurian	MHG	Middle High German
Etr.	Etruscan	MIr.	Middle Irish
Fal.	Faliscan	MLG	Middle Low German
Gaul.	Gaulish	MoDu.	Modern Dutch
gloss.	in glosses	MoE	Modern English

MoFr.	Modern French	PAlb.	Proto-Albanian
MoHG	Modern High German	Pamph.	Pamphylian
MoIr.	Modern Irish	PAnat.	Proto-Anatolian
MoNw.	Modern Norwegian	PCl.	Proto-Celtic
MoP	Modern Persian	PGm.	Proto-Germanic
MoSw.	Modern Swedish	Phoc.	Phocian
MP	Middle Persian	Phryg.	Phrygian
MW	Middle Welsh	PIA	Proto-Ionic-Attic
Myc.	Mycenaean	PIAr.	Proto-Indo-Aryan
NPhr.	New Phrygian	PIE	Proto-Indo-European
NWGr.	North-West Greek	PIr.	Proto-Iranian
Osc.	Oscan	PIt.	Proto-Italic
OAlb.	Old Albanian	Pol.	Polish
OAv.	Old Avestan	PSl.	Proto-Slavic
OBret.	Old Breton	PTo.	Proto-Tocharian
OCor.	Old Cornish	QIE	Quasi-Indo-European
OCS	Old Church Slavonic	Rhod.	Rhodian
OCz.	Old Czech	Ru.	Russian
OE	Old English	RuCS	Russian Church Slavic
OFr.	Old Frisian	RV	Rigvedic
OHG	Old High German	SCr.	Serbo-Croatian
OIc.	Old Icelandic	Sicil.	Sicilian
OIr.	Old Irish	Skt.	Sanskrit
OLat.	Old Latin	Sln.	Slovene
OLFr.	Old Low Franconian	Sogd.	Sogdian
OLG	Old Low German	Sw.	Swedish
OLith.	Old Lithuanian	Swi.	Swiss German
OP	Old Persian	Thess.	Thessalian
OPhr.	Old Phrygian	ToA	Tocharian A
OPo.	Old Polish	ToAB	Tocharian A and B
OPr.	Old Prussian	ToB	Tocharian B
ORu.	Old Russian	U	Umbrian
OS	Old Saxon	Ukr.	Ukrainian
Oss.	Ossetic	Ven.	Venetic
OSw.	Old Swedish	VLat.	Vulgar Latin
OW	Old Welsh	W	Welsh
Pael.	Paelignian	WGm.	West-Germanic
Pal.	Palaic	YAv.	Young Avestan

## B. RECONSTRUCTION, GRAMMAR AND TEXT

abl.	ablative	lit.	literally
acc.	accusative	litt.	literature
acc. to	according to	loc.	locative
act.	active	m.	masculine
AD	anno domini	med.	middle
adj.	adjective	n.	neuter
adv.	adverb	neg.	negative
aor.	aorist	nom.	nominative
athem.	athematic	num.	numeral
BC	before Christ	obl.	oblique
c.	century	opt.	optative
cf.	compare	p.	page
coll.	collective	p.c.	personal communication
compar.	comparative		
conj.	1. conjecture	pcl.	particle
	2. conjunction	perf.	perfect
dat.	dative	pers.	personal
desid.	desiderative	pl.	plural
dial.	dialectal	PN	personal name
DN	theonym	postpos.	postposition
du.	dual	ppp.	passive past participle
e.g.	for example	pres.	present
EN	ethnonym	pref.	prefix
encl.	enclitic	prep.	preposition
et al.	and others	pret.	preterite
f.	feminine	prev.	preverb
fthc.	forthcoming	pron.	pronoun
fut.	future	pass.	passive
gen.	genitive	ptc.	participle
H	any PIE laryngeal	rel.	relative
HN	hydronym	subj.	subjunctive
id.	idem	sg.	singular
ind.	indicative	superl.	superlative
indecl.	indeclinable	s.v.	sub voce
inj.	injunctive	them.	thematic
ins.	instrumental	TN	toponym
inscr.	inscription(s)	trans.	transitive
interr.	interrogative	v.	verb
intr.	intransitive	var.	variant
ipf.	imperfect	vel sim.	or similarly
ipv.	imperative	viz.	namely, to wit
irr.	irregular	voc.	vocative

## C. AUTHORS AND WORKS

Only the most common authors and works are mentioned here. Please refer to LSJ for a complete list.

A. = Aeschylus	D. L. = Diogenes Laertius
AB = <i>Anecdota Graeca</i> , v. I	D. P. = Dionysius Periegeta
A.D. = Apollonius Dyscolus	D. S. = Diodorus Siculus
A.R. = Apollonius Rhodius	D. T. = Dionysius Thrax
Aesch. Alex. = Aeschylus Alexandrinus	Dam. = Damascius
Agath. = Agathias	Din. = Dinarchus
Alc. = Alcaeus	Diog. = Diogenes
Alcm. = Alcman	Dioph. = Diophantus
Amm. Marc. = Ammianus Marcellinus	Dsc. = Dioscorides Medicus
And. = Andocides	E. = Euripides
Ant. Diog. = Antonius Diogenes	EM = <i>Etymologicum Magnum</i>
Ant. Lib. = Antoninus Liberalis	Ep. = in the Epic dialect
Antip. = Antipater	Epic. = Epicus
Antiph. = Antiphanes	Epig. = Epigenes
Ap. Ty. = Apollonius Tyanensis	Epin. = Epinicus
Apollon. = Apollonius	Et. Gen. = <i>Etymologicum Genuinum</i>
App. = Appianus	Et. Gud. = <i>Etymologicum Gudianum</i>
Ar. = Aristophanes	Eub. = Eubulus
Ar. Did. = Arius Didymus	Euc. = Euclides
Arc. = Arcadius	Eup. = Eupolis
Arch. = Archias	Euph. = Euphorio
Arist. = Aristoteles	Eust. = Eustathius
Ascl. = Asclepiodotus or Asclepius	Eustr. = Eustratius
Asclep. = Asclepiades	Foed. = Foedus
Asp. = Aspasius	Gal. = Galenus
Ath. = Athenaeus	Gramm. = Grammarians
Aus. = Ausonius	<i>h. Ap.</i> , etc. = <i>Hymnus ad Apollinem</i> , etc.
B. = Bacchylides	<i>h. Hom.</i> = <i>hymni Homeric</i>
Bacch. = Bacchius	H. = Hesychius
Call. = Callimachus	Halic. = Halicarnassus
Call. Com. = Callias Comicus	Hdn. = Herodianus
Call. Hist. = Callias Historicus	Hdt. = Herodotus
Callin. = Callinus	Heracl. = Heraclas
Cerc. = Cercidas	Herod. = Herodas
Cercop. = Cercopes	Herod. Med. = Herodotus Medicus
Com. = Comedy, Comic	Hes. = Hesiodus
D. = Demosthenes	Hld. = Heliodorus, Scriptor Eroticus
D. C. = Dio Cassius	Hom. = Homer
D. Chr. = Dio Chrysostomus	Hp. = Hippocrates
D. H. = Dionysius Halicarnassensis	Hsch. = Hesychius

<i>Hymn.</i> = <i>Hymnus, Hymni</i>	Pl. = Plato
Il. = Iliad	Plb. = Polybius
Is. = Isaeus	Plin. = Pliny
J. = Josephus	Poet. = Poeta, poetica
Leon. = Leonidas (two epigrammatists)	post-Hom. = post-Homeric
Leonid. = Leonidas Medicus	Prisc. = Priscus Historicus
Lyc. = Lycophron	Quint. = Quintilianus
Lyr. = Lyricus, Lyric poetry	Rhet. = Rhetorical, Rhetoric
Lys. = Lysias	Ruf. = Rufus
Lysim. = Lysimachus	S. = Sophocles
Mel. = Meleager	S. E. = Sextus Empiricus
Meliss. = Melissus	Sext. = Sextus Philosophus
Men. = Menander	Sm. = Symmachus
Moer. = Moeris	St. Byz. = Stephanus Byzantius
Mosch. = Moschus	Str. = Strabo
NT = Novum Testamentum	<i>Tab. Heracl.</i> = <i>Tabulae Heracleenses</i>
Nic. = Nicander or Nicias	Th. = Thucydides
Nic. Dam. = Nicolaus Damascenus	Them. = Themistius
Od. = Odyssey	Themist. = Themistocles
Orac. = Oraculum	Theo Sm. = Theon Smyrnaeus
Oratt. = Oratores Attici	Theoc. = Theocritus
Orchom. = Orchomenus	Theod. = Theodorus
Pall. = Palladius or Palladas	Thgn. = Theognis
Parm. = Parmenides	Thphr. = Theophrastus
Ph. = Philo	Ti. Loc. = Timaeus Locrus
Phan. = Phanas	Tim. = Timotheus Lyricus
Phil. = Philippus Epigrammaticus	Tim. Com. = Timotheus Comicus
Philet. = Philetas	Tim. Gaz. = Timotheus Gazaenus
Philipp. Com. = Philippus Comicus	<i>Tim. Lex.</i> = Timaeus Grammaticus
Philol. = Philolaus	Trag. = Tragic, Tragedy
Philonid. = Philonides	Tryph. = Tryphiodorus
Phld. = Philodemus Philosophus	X. = Xenophon
Phlp. = Philoponus	Xenoph. = Xenophanes
Phoen. = Phoenix	Zen. = Zenobius
Pi. = Pindarus	Zon. = Zonas

## D. SYMBOLS

>	becomes by regular phonological development
<	reflects by regular phonological development
>>	is replaced by way of analogy
<<	replaces by way of analogy
◀XX▶	the origin of the word (see preface above)
⇒	see also the entry
►	see s.v.
(?)	meaning uncertain <i>or</i> appurtenance uncertain
*X	a reconstructed item of a proto-stage
<X>	spelled with the symbol X
/X/	the phoneme X
[X]	phonetically pronounced as X

## A

## ἀ- 1 copulative prefix (ἀ ἀθροιστικόν). ◀IE \*sm-▶

•VAR E.g. in ἀπαξ; by Grassmann's dissimilation or by psilosis also ἀ-, which was analogically extended: ἄλοχος, ἀδελφός; ἀπεδος 'even', ἄβιος 'rich'. A form like Hom. ἄκοιτις was not aspirated because the Attic redactors of the text did not know the word, so they followed the Ionic pronunciation (cf. ἥλιος next to ἡέλιος).

•ETYM From IE \*sm- in Skt. *sa-* (*sá-nāman-* 'with the same name'), Lat. *sem-*, *sim-* (*sim-plex*), from PIE \*sm-, a zero grade to \*sem in Skt. *sám* 'together', ►εἷς. Within Greek, cf. also ►ὁμός, ►ἄμα. From the meaning 'together, provided with', the so-called ἀ ἐπιτατικόν (intensive) developed, e.g. ἄ-εδνον· πολύφερνον 'with much dowry' (H.), cf. ►ἔδνα. It has been supposed that in some cases a comparable ἀ- arose from \*ḡ- (the zero grade of \*h<sub>1</sub>en 'in'), e.g. ἀλέγω (Seiler KZ 75 (1957): 1-23), but the alleged instances are probably all wrong.

## ἀ- 2 privative prefix (ἀ στερητικόν). ◀IE \*n-▶

•VAR Prevocalic ἀν-.

•ETYM The antevocalic form ἀν- arose because of a following laryngeal (Indo-European roots always started with a consonant), which led to vocalization of the nasal: \*ḡ-HV- > \*anV-. In Greek, the loss of initial consonants (\*ḡ-, \*s-) disturbed the original distribution: thus αἰσος (< \*ḡ-φισος) next to the reshaped ἄνισος. Sometimes this led to analogical forms, like ἄ-οζος next to original ἄν-οζος. In the Myc. PN *a-u-po-no* /Ahupnos/, the *a-* stands before *h-*, like in classical ἄπνος. In ἀόριστος (to ὄρος < \*worwo-), we see that the initial f- was originally retained before \*o as well.

If the second member began with laryngeal + cons., this yielded Greek νη-, νᾱ-, νω- like in νήγρετος, νωδός < \*n-h<sub>1</sub>gr-, \*n-h<sub>3</sub>d-. These adjectives were later reshaped, e.g. into ἀνώνυμος (see Beekes 1969: 98-113). In ἀνάεδος, ἀνά-ελπτος and ἀνάπνευστος, which seem to show ἀνα- 'un-', the last two are analogical, and the first may stand for ἀν-εδν-. On pleonastic ἀ(v)-, cf. ►ἀβέλτερος.

ἀ(v)- was originally limited to verbal adjectives and bahuvrīhis, both in Greek and in other IE languages; see Frisk 1941: 4ff., 44ff., Frisk 1948: 8ff., Wackernagel 1920-1924(2): 284ff., Wackernagel 1920-1924(1): 282f., and Moorhouse 1959. In other languages, we have e.g. Skt. *a(n)-*, Lat. *in-*, Go. *un-*, all from PIE \*ḡ-. The sentence negative was \*ne, in Lat. *ne-scio*, *ne-fas*, etc., but this use is not attested for Greek (not in ►νέποδες).

## ἀ- 3 ◀PG(V)▶

•ETYM In Pre-Greek substrate words, a “prothetic vowel” occurs, e.g. ἄσταχυς next to στάχυς. In other words, the prothetic vowel may be present in the reflex of a substrate word or not.

Without a doubt, a phonetic process was at the origin of these variations. It is rather frequent, see Fur.: 368-378. The vowel was almost always ἀ- (only very few exceptions can be recorded, see *Pre-Greek*).

ἀ- 4 in Anatolian place names, e.g. Ἀπαισός / Παισός, Ἀθυμβρα / Θύμβρα. <LW>

•ETYM The origin of the phenomenon is unknown, and could be different from that of the Pre-Greek prothetic vowel. It is probably due to adaptation from a non-IE language.

ἄ 5 interjection (Il.). <ONOM>

•DER ἄζω [v.] ‘to sigh, groan’.

•ETYM Onomatopoeic; see Schwyzler: 716.

ἀάατος Mg. unknown. In νῦν μοι ὅμοσσον ἀ. Στυγὸς ὕδωρ (Ξ 271) ‘inviolable’?, ἄεθλος ἀ. (φ 91, χ 5) ‘infallible’?, κάρτος ἀ. (A. R. 2, 77) ‘invincible’? <?>

•VAR For the varying length of the vowel, see *Lfgre* s.v.

•ETYM Comparable to ▶ ἄτη and ▶ ἄδω ‘to damage’. Cf. perhaps ἀάβακτοι· ἀβλαβεῖς ‘undamaged’ (H.). Note that the privative prefix is ἀ-, not ἀν-.

ἄαδα· ἔνδεια. Λάκωνες ‘want, lack (Lacon.)’ (H.). <?>

•DER ἀαδεῖν· ἀπορεῖσθαι, ἀσιτεῖν ‘to be in distress, abstain from food’ (H.), see on ▶ ἄδην. We also find ἀαδεῖν· ὀχλεῖν, λυπεῖσθαι, ἀδικεῖν ‘to disturb, be vexed, be wronged’ (s.v. ▶ ἀνδάνω, ▶ ἡδύς).

•ETYM The forms and meanings are uncertain; see DELG for an uncertain suggestion by Frisk. Latte assumes ἄδδ = ἄζα, contrary to the alphabetical order.

ἀάζω [v.] ‘to breathe with the mouth wide open’ (Arist.). <ONOM>

•DER ἀασμός (Arist.).

•ETYM Probably onomatopoeic. Another suggestion by Solmsen 1901: 284 relates it to ▶ ἄημι. Cf. perhaps ▶ ἄζω 2, from ▶ ἄ.

ἀάνθα [f.]· εἶδος ἐνωτίου παρὰ Ἀλκμᾶνι ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ‘a kind of earring in Alcm., acc. to Ar.’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Schulze 1892: 38 explained it as \*αὖσ-ανθα to the root of οὖς < \**h<sub>2</sub>ous-*, but since the suffix is unclear (cf. οἰνάνθη), this analysis cannot be substantiated. Cf. also Bechtel 1921, 2: 366.

ἄαπτος [adj.] In χεῖρες ἄαπτοι (Hom., Hes.), later of κῆτος (Opp.), perhaps ‘invincible’. <?>

•ETYM Aristophanes read \*ἄέπτους, which is also unclear. Meier-Brügger’s explanation of ▶ ἀπτοεπής does not convince me. Cf. ▶ ἄεπτος and ▶ ἑάφθη.

ἄ(α)τος = ἄητος.

ἀάσχετος = ἔχω.

ἄάω [v.] ‘to damage’, med. ‘act in blindness’ (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>eu<sub>h</sub>₂-*>

•VAR Beside pres. ἄται (T 91 = 129) < \*ἄῤῥεται only aor. ἄσα (contracted ἄσα) < \*ἄῤῥα, med. -άμην, pass. ἀσθην. With -σκ-: ἀσκει· φθείρει, βλάπτει ‘destroys, damages’ (H.); difficult κατέβασκε· κατέβλαπεν ‘damaged’ (H.), for \*κατ-ἄβασκε?

•COMP ἀεσίφρων (wrong for ἄσαι-) ‘damaged in mind’ (Il.), cf. ἀσιφόρος· βλάβην φέρων ‘bringing damage’ (H.); ἀνατ(ε)ί ‘without harm, with impunity’ (A.).

•ETYM For PGr. \**awa-je/o-*, we may mechanically reconstruct an IE root \**h<sub>2</sub>eu<sub>h</sub>₂-*, but there are no known cognates. A verbal noun \**awá-teh₂-*, with which compare αὐάτα (Alc.), yields ▶ ἄτη ‘damage, guilt, delusion’. Not connected to ▶ ὠτειλή.

ἄβα· τροχὸς ἢ βοή ‘wheel or screaming’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM In the sense of ‘screaming’, Specht compared ἄβα with Hom. αὔε [ipf.] ‘called’. See further the glosses ἀβήρει· ἄδει ‘sings’ and ἀβέσσει· ἐπιποθεῖ, θορυβεῖ ‘yearns for, makes noise’ (both H.); lastly also ἄβωρ with the meaning βοή. See ▶ αὐδή, ▶ αἰδω.

ἄβαγνα· ῥόδα Μακεδόνες ‘roses (Maced.)’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM See Kallérís 1954: 66-73; Belardi *Ric. ling.* 4 (1958): 196.

ἄβακῆς [adj.] <?>

•VAR Only Aeol. ἀβάκην φρένα [acc.sg.] (Sapph.), explained as ἡσύχιον καὶ πρᾶον ‘quiet and gentle’ (EM).

•DER ἀβάκησαν (δ 249) ‘ἡσύχασαν’ (?) and ἀβακίζομενος ‘quiet’ (Anacr.). Further ἀβακήμων· ἄλαλος, ἀσύνετος ‘unspoken, not understood’ (H.), and ἀβάκητος· ἀνεπίφθονος ‘without reproach’ (H.).

•ETYM Perhaps it belongs to ▶ βάζω (βέβακται, βάξας) ‘to speak’.

ἄβακλή = ἄμαξα.

ἄβαλῆ· ἀχρεῖον, Λάκωνες ‘useless, foolish (Lacon.)’. οἱ δὲ νωθρὸν ‘bastard’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Fur.: 167, 348 compares ἄβελλον· ταπεινόν ‘vile, low’ (H., Cyr.) and ἄβαλις· μοχθηρὰ ἐλαία ‘worthless olive tree’ (H.), but not ▶ ἀφελής.

ἄβαλις = ἀβαλῆ.

ἄβάντασιν· ἀνάβασιν ‘mounting’ (H.). <GR?>

•ETYM For earlier \*ἄ(μ)βάντασιν [dat.pl.]? See Schwyzler: 50.

ἄβαξ, -κος [m.] ‘board for calculating or drawing’ (Cratin., Arist.). <PG?(V)>

•ETYM Etymology unknown. The assumption of a loan from Hebr. *’abāq* ‘sand, dust’ (Lewy 1895: 173) is semantically weak (rejected by E. Masson 1967: 97). On the meaning, cf. Bruneau *REGr.* 80 (1967): 325-330; see also Kratzsch *WZHalle* 23 (1973): 126, who defends the connection with Hebrew. Borrowed as Lat. *abacus*. Kuiper compared ἀμάκιον· ἄβαξ. Λάκωνες (H.), but Fur.: 221 doubts this. Yet, if the comparison is correct, the word is Pre-Greek (variation β/μ).

ἀβαριστάν· γυναικίζομένην, καθαιρομένην καταμηνίους. Κύπριοι ‘being made to play a womanly role, being cleansed or purified during the menses (Cypr.)’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Related to ▶ σαβαρίχας, with Cyprian loss of s-?

**ἄβαρκνα** [f.] · λιμός ‘hunger’ (H.). <PG?>

- ETYM Fur.: 122 connects it to μαργός ‘mad, gluttonous’, which is not convincing. The formation with -να after -κ- suggests Pre-Greek origin.

**ἄβαρταί** ⇒ ἀφαρεύς.

**ἄβαρτος** · ἀπληστος ‘greedy’, οἱ δὲ ἄμαργος ‘greedy’ (H.). <PG?(V)>

- VAR ἄβαρτία. ἀπληστία ‘greediness’ (H.).
- ETYM Fur.: 217 connects it to μάργος, which seems difficult formally; or do we have to read \*ἄβαργος? If so, the word clearly shows a prothetic vowel, which points to substrate origin.

**ἄβαρύ** [n.] · ὀρίγανον <τὸ ἐν> Μακεδονία (or Μακεδονίας?) ‘oregano (Maced.)’ (H.). <LW>

- ETYM Related to ἀμάρakon ‘origanum’, acc. to Fur.: 210. Cf. also βαρύ· τινὲς μὲν φασὶ θυμίαμα εὐώδες ‘acc. to some, an odoriferous incense’ (H.); see Latte. The suggestion of Kalléris 1954: 75f., who assumes connection with βαρύς as ‘having a strong (heavy) odor’ (with prothetic α), is untenable.

**ἄβδελλον** [adj.] · ταπεινόν ‘low, abased’ (H.). <PG(V)>

- VAR Hesychius also has ἄβελλον with the same mg.; Latte rejects it as a corruption of the other form, which is unnecessary.
- ETYM See Fur.: 167. If the variation βδ / β is real, it is a Pre-Greek word, which is likely anyway for a form with βδ.

**ἄβδηρα** [f.] · καὶ ἄβδια ἢ θάλασσα (EM 3, 8). <PG?>

- ETYM Fur.: 309 connects it with the TN Ἄβδηρα.

**ἄβδης** [m., f.] · μᾶστιξ παρ’ Ἱππώνακτι ‘whip (Hippon.)’ (H.). <PG(V)>

- ETYM Probably a foreign word in Hipponax; see O. Masson 1962: 170 (fr. 130). Fur.: 388 convincingly compares ἀβριστήν· μᾶστιγα (H.). The word is Pre-Greek because of the cluster βδ (see ibid.: 318), with -βρ- perhaps representing earlier -βδ-.

**ἄβεις** · ἔχεις ‘vipers; you have’ (H.). <?>

- ETYM Perhaps Illyrian, with β from IE \*g<sup>wh</sup>, as in νίβα· χιόνα. It is unlikely, however, that ἔχεις should be reconstructed as \*h<sub>1</sub>eg<sup>wh</sup>-i-. Maybe the gloss is just Lat. *habēs* (see Pisani *Paideia* 10 (1955): 279).

**ἄβελλον** ⇒ ἀβαλη, ἄβδελλον.

**ἄβέλτερος** [adj.] ‘simple, stupid’ (Ar.). <?>

- ETYM Wackernagel GGN (1902): 745ff. connected it with βέλτερος, assuming that an original mg. ‘morally good’ developed into ‘too good, simple’, with an unclear prefix. This is unlikely; see Osthoff MU 6 (1910): 177 and Hatzidakis *Glotta* 11 (1921): 175f for different analyses.

**ἄβέρβηλον** [adj.] · πολύ, ἐπαχθές, μέγα, βαρύ, ἀχάιστον, μάταιον ‘much, heavy or burdensome, great, empty, rash’ (H.). <PG(V)>

- VAR ἀβύβηλον (H.) is glossed in the same way; also -ητος (EM).

- ETYM The variation points to a Pre-Greek word. Fur.: 374 compares MoGr. βύρβηλο ‘abundance’.

**ἄβήρ** [m./f.]? · οἶκημα στοὰς ἔχον, ταμεῖον. Λάκωνες ‘house provided with store-houses, treasury (Lacon.)’ (H.). <?>

- ETYM Unknown. Not identical with ▶ ἀήρ ‘air’ (as in Frisk, who compares MoSw. *vind* 1. ‘wind’ 2. ‘bottom’).

**ἀβίλλιον** ⇒ ἀμίλλακαν.

**ἄβιν** [acc.m./f.] · ἐλάτην, οἱ δὲ πεύκην ‘silver fir; pine’ (H.). <LW?>

- ETYM Comparing Lat. *abiēs*, Mayer KZ 66 (1939): 96f. assumed that PIE \*ab- ‘tree’ occurs in several Illyrian and Iranian names, such as Ἄβαι, Ἄβροι, Ἀβική = Ὑλαία (St. Byz.). If this is the case, is the root from a non-IE language in Europe?

**ἀβιτώριον** [n.] ‘latrine’ (IGR I, 599, Istropolis, Scythia Minor). <LW Lat.>

- ETYM From an unknown Lat. \**abitōrium* ‘latrine’, in turn from *abire* (DELG *Supp.*): a case in which a Latin word is known only from Greek.

**ἄβλαδέως** [adv.] · ἡδέως ‘sweet’ (H.). <?>

- ETYM A connection with \*βλαδύς ‘powerless’ leaves the initial vowel unexplained (see on ▶ βλαδεῖς); the semantic development is also problematic. Connection with ▶ ἀμαλδύνω ‘to make weak’ would point to \*h<sub>1</sub>mld- (with -αλ- analogically after the full grade \*ἀμελδ-), but in this case one would expect \*ἀμβλαδ- for our word; there is yet no etymology.

**ἄβλαροι** [m.] · ξύλα ‘wood’ (H.). <PG(V)>

- ETYM Fur.: 370 compares βδαροί· δρύες, δένδρα ‘trees’ (H.); the word is Pre-Greek (with prothetic vowel and βδ alternating with βλ). It is less probable that ▶ βάρυες also belongs here.

**ἄβληχρός** ⇒ βληχρός.

**ἄβλοπές** [adj.] · ἀβλαβές. Κρήτες ‘sound, undamaged (Cret.)’ (H.). ⇒ βλάπτω.

**ἄβολεῖς** [m./f.] · περιβολαὶ ὑπὸ Σικελῶν ‘garments (Sicilian)’ (H.).

- ETYM Probably related to ▶ ἀβόλλης.

**ἀβολέω** [v.] ‘meet’ (A. R., Call.), = ἀντιβολέω. <GR?>

- VAR ἀβολῆσαι· ἀπαντῆσαι ‘to encounter’ (H.).
- DER ἀβολητύς ‘meeting’ (H.).
- ETYM Cf. ἡβολον ἡμαρ· καθ’ ὃ ἀπαντῶσιν εἰς ταῦτόν, ἢ εὐκαιρον, ἱερόν (H.), which may have its length for metrical reasons, or alternatively have arisen by decomposition; cf. ▶ ἐπήβολος. The ἀ- could be copulative (see ▶ ἀ- 1).

**ἀβόλλης** [m.] ‘kind of coat’ (imperial period). <LW>

- VAR Also ἀβόλλα (Peripl. M. Rubr.).
- ETYMLW from Lat. *abolla* (Varro). Cf. ▶ ἀβολεῖς.

**ἄβραμῖς** a fish, a kind of mullet (Opp.). <LW? Eg.>

- VAR Also ἄβραμς, ἀβραβίς (*PLond.* ined., III<sup>p</sup>).
- ETYM The fish was salted in Egypt (Ath. 7, 312b). Fur.: 220 thinks that the form with β is due to a recent assimilation. It is either Pre-Greek, or a loan from Egyptian.

**ἀβριστήν** = ἄβδης.

**ἀβρός** [adj.] ‘graceful, delicate, pretty’ (Hes.); mostly of young girls and women. <?>

- VAR Fem. ἄβρα ‘favorite slave’ (not a Semitic loan, E. Masson 1967: 98).
- DER ἀβρότης ‘splendor, luxury’, ἀβροσύνη ‘id.’; denominative ἀβρόνομαι [v.] ‘to live a delicate life’, act. ‘to treat soft-heartedly’.
- ETYM No etymology. Not related to ἥβη ‘youthful power’, which has η- < \*ē (< \*eh<sub>1</sub>). On the feminine substantive, see Francis *Glotta* 53 (1975): 43-66.

**ἀβροτάζω** [v.] ‘to miss’. <GR>

- VAR Only in ἀβροτάζομεν [aor.subj.] (K 65).
- DER ἀβρόταξις (H., Eust.).
- ETYM Perhaps formed on the basis of ἡμυροτον, the aorist of ▶ἀμαρτάνω. Could it be an artificial archaism of the Doloneia (DELG)? On -βρ- instead of -μβρ-, see Schwyzler: 277. Is it metrically conditioned?

**ἀβρότονον** [n.] ‘wormwood’ (Thphr.). <?>

- VAR Also ἄ-.
- ETYM Unknown; probably a loanword, perhaps from the Greek substrate. Connected with ἀβρός by folk etymology. From Akk. (*a*)*murdennu* ‘flower with thorns’, acc. to Bailey *TPS* 1955: 82.

**ἄβρυνα** [n.pl.] ‘mulberries’ (Parth. *apud* Ath.). <?>

- VAR Also ἄ-.
- ETYM Unknown.

**ἀβρυτοί** [m.] · ἐχίνων θαλασσίων εἶδος ‘kind of sea urchin’ (H.). <PG(V)>

- VAR Also ἀμβρυττοι· εἶδος ἐχίνων θαλασσίων ‘id.’, βρύττος (Ar.), βρύσσος (Arist.).
- ETYM The formal variation (prothetic vowel and prenasalization) is typical of Pre-Greek substrate words.

**ἀβυδόν** [adj.] · βαθύ ‘deep’ (H.). <PG?(V)>

- ETYM von Blumenthal *IF* 49 (1931): 175 considers it to have an Illyrian origin (“bottomless”, related to βυθός). If the connection with βυθός is correct, it is not necessarily Illyrian, but could also be a substrate word with prothetic ἄ-. See ▶βυθός.

**ἀβύρβηλος** = ἀβέρβηλος.

**ἀβυρτάκη** [f.] a sauce of leek, cress and pomegranate seeds (Pherecr.). <PG?(V)>

- ETYM Defined as ὑπότεριμμα βαρβαρικόν ‘a foreign dish’ (Suid.). Theopompus wrote: ἦξει δὲ Μήδων γαῖαν, ἔνθα ποιεῖται ἀβυρτάκη ‘he will arrive in Media, where the ἄ. is made’ (Suid. 17 Kock), so perhaps it is an Iranian loan. But the structure ἀβυρτ-ἀκ-η is reminiscent of Pre-Greek words; for the suffix, cf. βατιάκη, καυνάκη, πιστάκη. See also Fur.: 158<sup>64</sup>.

**ἄβυσσος** = βυθός.

**ἀγα-** intensifying prefix, e.g. ἀγα-κλειής ‘of great renown’. <IE \*megh<sub>2</sub>- ‘great’>

- DER Verbs: ἄγαμαι [v.] ‘to admire, envy’, ἀγάομαι (Hes.), ἀγαίομαι (Od.), ἀγάζω ‘to have too much’ (A. *Supp.* 1061). Nominal derivatives: ἄγη ‘admiration, envy’ (Il.), ἀγάσματα (S. *Fr.* 885), ἄγα(σ)σις (H., *EM*). See also ▶ἄγαν.
- ETYM The same stem as μέγα-, continuing a PIE zero grade \*még<sub>h</sub>-. It has a counterpart in Av. *aš-*, e.g. *aš-aojah-* ‘with great strength’ (from a zero grade \*még<sub>s</sub>-); see Schindler 1987: 345. See ▶ἀγάλλομαι, ▶ἄγαν, ▶ἀγανακτέω, ▶ἀγανός, ▶μέγας.

**ἀγαθίς 1, -ίδος** [f.] ‘ball of thread, clew’ (Pherecyd.). <?>

- ETYM No etymology. Under ἀγαθός, Frisk connects Skt. *gadhya-* ‘was festzuhalten ist’. Cf. ▶ἀγαθίς 2.

**ἀγαθίς 2, -ίδος** = σησαμίς H.; σησαμίς = σησαμή ‘a mixture of sesame seeds, roasted and pounded with honey’, an Athenian delicacy given to guests at a wedding. Note the expression ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθίδες ‘quantities of goods’. <PG?(V)>

- ETYM Belardi *Ric. ling.* 4 (1958): 196 compared γάθια. ἀλλάντια ‘sausages (vel sim.)’ (H.); see ▶ἀλλᾶς. If this is correct, the word is Pre-Greek, because of the prothetic vowel. Fur.: 370 also compares ▶γήθιον.

**ἀγαθός** [adj.] ‘good, fit, noble’ (Il.). <IE?, LW?>

- VAR ἀκαθόν ἀγαθόν ‘good’ (H.); χάσιος· χρηστός ‘good, useful’ (H.). Dor. χάϊος ‘noble, good’ (long ā).
- DIAL Cypr. ἄζαθος must probably be read ἀγαθος, see Egetmeyer *Kadmos* 32 (1993): 145-155.
- ETYM The older comparison with Gm. forms like Go. *gōps*, MoHG *gut*, MLG *gaden* ‘to fit’ etc., and Slavic words like OCS *godbnъ* ‘pleasant’, *goditi* ‘be pleasant’ and Ru. *gódnyj* ‘useful’ should be forgotten, as these require a root \*g<sup>h</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>- (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.), from which Skt. *gad-* ‘to take, seize’ derives. ἀγαθός is considered to be from a European substrate by Beekes *KZ* 109 (1996). An Indo-European attempt by Pinault *MSS* 38 (1979): 165-170, who derives the word from \*még<sub>h</sub>-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-o- ‘made great’, or ‘whose deeds are great’ (Ruijgh 1991b). I find this semantic development difficult. Moreover, as Pinault admits, a suffix -d<sup>h</sup>o- is rare (see Chantraine 1933: 366). Finally, there are forms like ἀκαθόν and χάσιος; if these variants are reliable, the word could be Pre-Greek.

**ἀγαιος** [adj.] epithet of a sacrificial calf in the Labyadai inscr. (Schwyzer: 323). <?>

- ETYM Unknown. Connected with ▶ἀγα-, based on comparison with ἀγαῖον· ἐπίφθονον ‘liable to envy’ (H.); see Buck 1955: 245.

**ἀγαλλίς** [f.] ‘dwarf iris, Iris attica’ (h. *Dem.*). <?>

- VAR Also msc. (H.). On Nic. *fr.* 74, 31 see DELG.
- DER ἀγαλλίς· ὑάκινθος ἢ θρυαλλίς, ἢ ἀναγαλλίς ‘hyacinth, plantain, pimpernel’ (H.).
- ETYM No etymology; see DELG, André 1956 s.v. *anagallis* and Strömberg 1940: 78.

**ἀγάλλομαι** [v.] ‘to be proud, exult in’ (Il.). <?>

- DER ἄγαλμα 'glory, delight, honor; statue'. In later language, ἀγάλλομαι is replaced by ἀγαλλιάομαι, -ιάω after the verbs in -ιάω; thence ἀγαλλίασις, -ίαμα. ἀγάλλιος· λοιδόρος 'slandering' (H.), ἀγαλλιάζομαι· λοιδορεῖσθαι, Ταραντῖνοι 'to slander (Tarent.)' (H.); Fur.: 370 compares γαρριώμεθα, but there is no support for this. The plant name ἀγαλλίς (*h. Cer.*, Nic.) probably does not belong to ἀγάλλομαι.
- ETYM Looks like a denominative of \*ἀγαλός, but such a form is unknown.

**ἀγάλοχον** [n.] 'eagle-wood, *Aquilaria malacensis*' (Dsc.). <LW>

- ETYM One suspects an Oriental loanword; cf. Schrader-Nehring 1917: 39f. On Pahlavi *ʾwlg* < \**agalūk*, see Henning BSOAS 11 (1943-1946): 728.

**ἄγαμαι** ⇒ ἀγα-.

**Ἀγαμέμνων** [m.] the Greek commander before Troy (Il.). <GR>

- VAR Att. vases Ἀγαμέσιμων, also Ἀγαμέμιων, -μέν(ν)ων (Nachmanson *Glotta* 4 (1913): 246).
- ETYM Since Prellwitz *BB* 17 (1891): 171f., a pre-form \*Ἀγα-μέδ-μων has been assumed, with the root of μέδομαι. The development -δμ- > -νμ- > -μν- is known in various Greek dialects (other examples in Lejeune 1972: 77<sup>s</sup>, where also on the development to -σμ-).
- Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 330f. connected the second part with μένος and μένειν (which von Kamptz 1982: 181 and 209 finds improbable), explaining -σμ- as a kind of popular assimilation.

**ἄγαν** [adv.] 'much, too much' (Pi.). <IE \**mg'-eh<sub>2</sub>-m*>

- DIAL Aeolic or Doric in origin, which explains the long α.
- ETYM The old accusative of the adjective ► μέγας. The form is important, as it points to the type nom. \**CeC-C*, acc. \**CC-eC-m*, which I assume is the original hysterodynamic inflection in Indo-European (see Beekes 1985: 103f.). Cf. also ► ἀγα-.

**ἀγανακτέω** [v.] 'be indignant or irritated' (Hp.). <GR?>

- ETYM Expressive formation in -ακτέω like ὑλακτέω (to ὑλάω), so from original \*ἀγανάω? Cf. ἀγάνημαι· ἀσχάλλω, ἀγανακτῶ (H.). Pinault *RPh* 65 (1991 [1993]): 196-198 derives it from \*ἀγα-νακτος 'pressed too much', from ► νάσσω. Uncertain.

**ἀγάννα** ⇒ ἀχάνη.

**ἀγανός** [adj.] 'mild, gentle' (Il.). <?>

- ETYM No etymology. The connection with ἄγαμαι or γάνος [n.] 'splendor' (Bechtel 1914) is semantically unconvincing.

**ἀγαπάω** [v.] 'to receive with friendship; to like, love' (Il.). <IE?>

- VAR Also ἀγαπάζω (Il.). Retrograde ἀγάπη '(Christian) love' (late, especially LXX and NT).
- ETYM Pinault *RPh* 65 (1991 [1993]): 199-216 assumes it derives from \*ἀγα-πᾶ- 'to protect greatly', referring to similar expressions in Sanskrit; cf. ► ἐμπάζομαι. The Christian use may have been influenced by Hebr. *ḥābā* 'love'; see Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 306.

**ἀγαρικόν** [n.] name of several mushrooms (Dsc.). <GR>

- ETYM Perhaps from the TN Ἀγαρία (Sarmatia)? See André 1956 s.v. *agaricum* and Strömberg 1940: 122.

**ἀγασυλλίς** [f.] plant that produces ἀμμωνιακόν, *Fecula marmarica* (Dsc.). <PG(V)>

- ETYM Fur.: 254 connects it with ► γηθυλλίς (Dor. γᾱ-), which is Pre-Greek. Comparing the latter with ἀγασυλλίς, we note the prothetic vowel and the interchange θ/σ. See André 1956 s.v. *agasyllis*.

**ἀγαυός** [adj.] 'admirable, noble' (Il.). <?>

- ETYM Acc. to Schwyzler *IF* 30 (1912): 430ff., Aeolic = ἀγα-φός; perhaps related to ► ἄγαμαι. An expressive gemination of the φ has been proposed (e.g. Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970)). But since a suffix -μσ- is doubtful in Greek (cf. Chantraine 1933: 124: "le suffixe était mort en grec"), the word may rather be Pre-Greek.

**ἀγαυρός** [adj.] not quite certain, perhaps 'proud' (Hes., Hdt.; rare). <?>

- ETYM Was ► γαῦρος reshaped after ἀγαυός? A pre-Greek origin should also be considered.

**ἄγγαρος** [m.] 'Persian mounted courier' (X.). <LW>

- VAR Rarely as an adjective, e.g. ἄγγαρον πῦρ 'signal fire' (A. Ag. 282).
- DER ἀγαρήϊος = ἄγγαρος (Hdt.), substantivized ἀγαρήϊον 'institution of the ἄγγαροι' (Hdt. 8, 98, with a description of it). Denominative ἀγγαρεύω [v.] 'press into service' (*Ev. Matt.*, pap., inscr.); thence ἀγγαρευτής 'impressed laborer' (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>) and ἀγγαρεία 'service' (pap., inscr.), plur. ἀγγαρεῖαι 'cursus publicus' (inscr. III<sup>p</sup>); ἀγγαρικός (pap.). Hell. and late by-forms are ἐγγαρεύω, -έω, -ία, by folk-etymology after the preverb ἐν-.
- ETYM The exact source is unknown. Not from Akk. *agru* 'hired man'; see Eilers *IJ* 5 (1962): 225; Happ *Glotta* 40 (1962): 201. On the *realia* see Rostowzew *Klio* 6 (1906): 249ff. and R. Schmitt *Glotta* 49 (1971): 97-100 (who defends an Iranian origin). Mancini *Glotta* 73 (1995): 210-222 reconstructs a form OP \**angarā-* > \*ἄγγαρη- as the basis of ἀγαρήϊον (Hdt. 8, 98), which must be the oldest Greek form. Extensively on this word Brust 2005: 17ff.

**ἄγγελος** [m.] 'messenger' (Il.). <LW>

- DIAL Perhaps Myc. *a-ke-ro*.
- DER Denominative ἀγγέλλω [v.] 'to convey a message'. Did ἀγγελίης [m.] 'messenger' (Hom.) arise from a false interpretation of the genitive (τῆς) ἀγγελίης? See Leumann 1950: 168ff. Thence ἡ ἀγγελίη 'female messenger' (Hes. *Th.* 781). From ἀγγελία: ἀγγελιώτης, -ῶτις '(female) messenger' (*h. Merc.* 296); from ἄγγελος: ἀγγελικός 'of a messenger' (late); from ἀγγέλλω: ἄγγελμα 'announcement' (E., Th.), ἀγγελτικός 'premonitory' (late), ἀγγέλτειρα 'female messenger' (Orph. *H.* 78, 3; not certain).
- ETYM The connection with Skt. *āṅgiras-*, name of mythical beings, has now been abandoned. Perhaps an Oriental loan, like ► ἄγγαρος.

**ἀγγεράκομον** ⇒ ἀγερράκαβος.



**ἄγγοπηνία** [n.pl.] · τὰ τῶν μελισσῶν κηρία ‘honeycombs’ (H.). <LW>

- ETYM From Iranian *angurēn*, see Bailey *BSOAS* 20 (1957): 51 (does not belong to ▶ ἄγγος).

**ἄγγος** [n.] ‘vessel’ (Il.). <PG(V)>

- DIAL Probably Myc. *a-ke-ha* [pl.].
- ETYM Possibly a Mediterranean loanword (cf. Chantraine 1933: 418), as kitchen utensils are often borrowed. Fur.: 275, 307<sup>2</sup> compares ἄγδους· ἄγγος Κρητικόν, which is quite tempting.

**ἄγγουρα** [f.] · ῥάξ, σταφυλή ‘grape, bunch of grapes’ (H.). <?>

- ETYM Cf. MoGr. ἄγωρος, ἄγουρος ‘unripe, green, young man’ and ἀγουρίδα ‘unripe grape’, from ἄ-ωρος ‘unripe, green’, with the spirant as a transitional sound; secondary nasalization as in MoGr. Cret. ἄγγουρος ‘young, youngster’ and ἀγγούρι ‘gherkin’. The MGr. and MoGr. word was borrowed as MP *angūr* ‘grape’ and Eg-Arab. *aǧǧūr* ‘gherkin’. See Kretschmer *Glotta* 20 (1932): 239f.; also Cocco *Arch. glott. ital.* 54 (1969): 98.

**ἄγγουρος** ‘cake’. = γοῦρος.

**ἀγείρω** [v.] ‘to gather’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ger-* ‘gather’>

- DIAL Myc. *a-ke-re*, *a-ko-ra* /agorā/, *a-ma-ko-to me-no* /<sup>h</sup>am-agortō mēnos/ ‘in the month of the Assembly?’ See Taillardat *REGr.* 97 (1984): 365-373.
- COMP ὀμιγηρής ‘gathered together’ (Il.), νεφεληγερέτα ‘cloud-gatherer’ (Il.).
- DER ▶ ἀγορά s.v.; ἄγορος ‘gathering’ (E.). Often ἄγυρ- (cf. Schwyzler: 351): ἄγυρις ‘gathering, mass’ (Il.), with πανήγυρις ‘gathering of all’ (Arc. πανάγορις, παναγορία); ἀγύρτης ‘beggar’, denominative ἀγυρτάζω ‘to beg’, ἀγυρτεύω (Str.), whence ἀγυρτεία, adjective ἀγυρτικός (Str., Plu.). Also ἀγυρτήρ ‘beggar’, ἀγύρτρια ‘beggar-woman’ (A. Ag. 1273). Also ἀγυρμός ‘gathering’ and ἀγυρμα ‘anything collected’. The formations in ἀγερ- kept the connection with the verb: ἀγερσις ‘gathering, inspection of the army’ (Hdt.), ἀγερμός ‘gathering of funds, troops, etc.’ (inscr., Arist.), ἀγερμοσύνη (Opp.), ἀγέρτας ‘collector’ (IG 14, 423: I 35 [Taurom.]). ἄγαρ- is found in ἄγαρρις ‘meeting’ (IG 14, 759: 12 [Naples]); also ἄγορρις· ἀγορά, ἄθροισις ‘gathering’ (H.) which may be Aeolic, see Chantraine 1933: 280.
- ETYM No direct cognates, but the reconstruction \**h<sub>2</sub>ger-* is unproblematic. See further ▶ γέργερα · πολλά ‘lots, often’ (H.) and τὰ ▶ γάργαρα ‘heaps, lots’. ἡγερέθονται and -to have a present suffix -θ- (cf. Schwyzler: 703); ἡγερέθονται (Γ 231) and ἡγερέθεσθαι (K 127, Aristarchus) have an unexpected long vowel; the forms were built on frequent ἡγερέθοντο.

**ἀγέλη** [f.] ‘herd, troop’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eǵ-* ‘drive’>

- ETYM From ▶ ἄγω, with a suffix \*-l-. Comparison with Lat. *agilis*, Skt. *ajirā-* ‘mobile, quick’ and Lat. *agolum* ‘staff of a shepherd’ makes little sense; the formations are probably independent.

**ἀγέρδα** = ἄχερδος.

**ἀγερρακάβος** [m.] · σταφυλή ‘bunch of grapes’ (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR ἄγγεράκομον· σταφυλήν ‘id.’; ἀγράκαβος· σταφυλή ‘id.’ (both H.).

- ETYM Latte rejects two of these forms (how to decide which?), followed by Fur.: 221. I think this is indefensible. The word is Pre-Greek in any case, like so many words concerning wine (e.g. ἀρασχάδες). Note the element -αβ-. The -ε- is a prop vowel (see Fur.: 378ff.); variation α/ο and β/μ are also well-known in Pre-Greek (which means all the glosses are real); the γγ may represent a prenasalized consonant, one of the clearest characteristics of Pre-Greek words.

**ἀγέρωχος** [adj.] ‘magnanimous, proud’ (Il.). <?>

- DER ἀγερωχία ‘magnanimity’ (LXX, Plb.). Uncertain is Dor. γερωχία (Ar. *Lys.* 980).
- ETYM No etymology.

**ἀγέτρια** [f.] · μαῖα. Ταραντῖνοι ‘midwife (Tarent.)’ (H.); ἀναγέτρια· ἡ ταῖς τικτούσαις ὑπηρετοῦσα γυνὴ παρὰ Ταραντῖνοις ‘woman who watches over the midwives in Tarent.’ (H.). <?>

- ETYM McKenzie *Class. Quart.* 15 (1921): 48 assumes that it stands for earlier \*ἀγρέτρια, from ▶ ἀγρέω with a suffix -τρία and subsequent dissimilation. This seems quite improbable semantically.

**ἄγη** ⇒ ἀγα-.

**ἀγήνωρ** [adj.] epithet of θυμός of uncertain mg.; perhaps ‘proud’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eǵ-* ‘drive’>

- VAR PN Ἀγήνωρ.
- DER ἀγηνωρίη (Hom.), whence ἀγηνωρέω (Nonnos).
- ETYM First part probably related to ἄγω (Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 39f), rather than to ἀγα- (Sommer 1948: 169f.); cf. also Kuiper *MKNW* 14: 5 (1951): 5 : 207. On the evolution of the meaning, see DELG.

**ἀγήρατον** [n.] a plant, ‘Origanum onites’ (Dsc.). <?>

- ETYM Assuming an original meaning ‘unaging’, it can be connected to γηράσκω, γῆρας. Semantic parallels are given by Strömberg 1940: 103; these are unconvincing.

**ἀγήρατος** [m.] stone used to polish women’s shoes (Gal.). <?>

- ETYM A connection with the word for ‘age’ does not seem appropriate. Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 641-75 proposes ἀγ-ήρατος ‘very lovely’, which is not much better.

**ἀγήτωρ** ⇒ ἡγέομαι.

**ἄγιος** [adj.] ‘holy’ (Hdt.). <IE \**Hieh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-*>

- DER Yod-present ἄζομαι [v.] ‘to honor’ (Il.), from \*ἄζιομαι. Late nouns ἀγιότης and ἀγιωσύνη (LXX), verbs ἀγίζω ‘to consecrate, dedicate’ (Pi., S.) and ἀγιάζω ‘id.’ (LXX), whence ἀγισμός ‘offering to the dead’ (D. S.), ἀγιασμός ‘consecration’ (LXX, NT), ἀγίασμα ‘id., sanctuary’ (LXX); ἀγιστήριον ‘holy vessel’ (*Inscr. Perg.* 255, 9), ἀγιαστήριον ‘sanctuary’ (LXX) and ἀγιστύς ‘ceremony’ (Call.). ἀγιστεύω [v.] ‘be holy, be pure; consecrate’ (Pl., E.) also presupposes a nominal form in -στ- (ἀγιστός

only in *Et. Gud.* s.v. ἀγιστεία); thence ἀγίστευμα ‘sanctuary’ (Procop.) and ἀγιστεία ‘ritual, service’ (Isoc.).

•ETYM The connection with Skt. *yājati* ‘honor with sacrifice and prayer’ is semantically unobjectionable and formally explained by Lubotsky’s rule (Lubotsky MSS (1981): 133-8), i.e. in *\*Hieh₂ǵ-*, the glottal element of the pre-glottalized *\*ǵ* was lost before a consonant. This means that it is unnecessary to assume *a*-vocalism for this root in PIE, as is done by many scholars (e.g. LIV² s.v. *\*H₂ǵ-*). The primary noun ἄγιος seems to have a suffix *\*-iHo-*. A different formation is found in ► ἄγνός.

**ἀγκύλος** [adj.] ‘curved, bent’ (Il.). ◀IE *\*h₂enk-* ‘bend’▶

•COMP ἀγκυλομήτης ‘who thinks crooked thoughts’ (Il.), from an old verb *\*μη-μ* (cf. Skt. *māti*), see Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 306.

•DER Denominatives ἀγκύλλω [v.] ‘to bend backwards’ (Aret.) and ἀγκυλώω [v.] ‘to bend’ (Ar.); from the latter ἀγκύλωμα ‘loop’ (Gal.), -ωσις medical term, name of various lame or stiff conditions (Gal.); ἀγκύλη ‘strap, loop, hook, hinge of a door, etc.’ (B., Hp., S., E.). Thence ἀγκυλητός ‘provided with ἀγκύλαι’ (A.), ἀγκυλῖς [f.] ‘hook’ (Opp.), to which ἀγκυλιδωτός ‘provided with a loop’ (Hp. *apud* Gal.), ἀγκύλιον ‘loop, etc.’ (medic.).

Many derivatives built on the root *\*h₂enk-* with a different suffix:

a) With *\*-l-*: ἀγκάλη [f.] ‘curved arm, armful’ (Archil.), mostly plur.; diminutive ἀγκαλῖς, mostly plur. -ίδες (Il.), which is more frequent in the epic for metrical reasons. ἄγκαλον [acc.sg.] ‘armful, sheaf’ (*h. Merc.* 82) is not entirely certain. Denominative ἀγκαλίζομαι [v.] ‘to embrace’ (Semon.), action nouns ἀγκάλισμα (Tim. Pers.), ἀγκαλισμός (pap.). A derivation in *\*-l-* without suffixal vowel is found in ἀγκλόν· σκολιόν ‘curved, bent, crooked’ (H.), provided that the gloss is correct.

b) With *\*-n-*: ἀγκών, -ώνος [m.] ‘elbow’ (Il.), dat.pl. ἀγκάσι (Opp.), said of many protruding objects; cf. ἀγκάς below. Late diminutives ἀγκώνιον, -ίσκος, -ίσκιον; denominative ἀγκωνίζω [v.] ‘to lean on the elbows’ (*Com. Adesp.*, gloss.), whence ἀγκωνισμός (Eust.). Further ἀγκοῖναι [f.pl.] ‘arms’ (Il.), enlargement with -ία. An old *e*-grade may be found in ἐπ-ηγκενίδες ‘long planks on a ship’ (see Bechtel 1914).

c) With *\*-s-*: ἄγκος [n.] ‘mountain glen’ (Il.), formally comparable with Skt. *āṅkas-* [n.] ‘curve’.

d) With *\*-tro-*: ἄγκιστρον ‘hook’ (Od.; from *\*ἀγκίζω*), the formation of which is unclear (see Chantraine 1933: 333f.); thence ἀγκίστριον, ἀγκιστρεύω, ἀγκιστρευτικός and ἀγκιστρεία (only marginal attestations).

Unclear is the formation of ἀγκάς· ἀγκάλας ‘armful, sheaf’ (H., see Bechtel 1914). Adverbs ἄγκαθεν [adv.] ‘in(to) the arms, on the elbows’ (A.), ἀγκάς ‘into the arms’ (Il., only antevocalic except in Ψ 711), probably the elided dat.pl. with a zero grade suffix belonging to ἀγκών; thence ἀγκάζομαι [v.] ‘to lift up in the arms’ (Il.).

•ETYM All forms derive from a widespread IE root *\*h₂enk-*, found in e.g. Skt. *āñcati* ‘to bend, curve’ and *ācati* ‘id.’. Not connected with this group of words is Hitt. *hai(n)k-<sup>ta</sup>* ‘to bestow’, med. ‘to bow’ (see Kloekhorst 2008). In Greek, we also find ► ὄγκος ‘barb’ continuing *\*h₂onk-o-*. For the stem in *-u-*, cf. Skt. *aṅku-rá-* ‘hook’ (note the operation of Wheeler’s Law in Greek). The *l*-suffix is found in OHG *angul* ‘fishhook’, ON *ól* [f.] ‘belt’ (perhaps an old formation; cf. ἀγκύλη), *óll* ‘germ’ etc.

One generally connects it with ► ἄγκυρα ‘anchor’ (Alc.), but I suggest that this is a substrate word.

**ἀγκάλη** •VAR ἀγκών, ἄγκος, etc. ⇒ ἀγκύλος.

**ἄγκυρα** [f.] ‘anchor’ (Alc.).

•DER Derivatives are scarce: ἀγκυρωτός ‘anchor-shaped’ (Ph. Bel.), ἀγκύριον (Ph. Bel.), ἀγκυρίζω [v.] ‘to make sbd. stumble’ (old com.).

•ETYM The suffix *-ῦρα* is typically Pre-Greek, as in γέφυρα, γόργυρα; it therefore does not continue an inherited formation *\*-ur-ia-*. Borrowed as Lat. *ancora*.

**ἀγλαός** [adj.] ‘splendid, beautiful, famous’ (Il.); formulaic epithet, e.g. of υἱός. ◀?▶

•VAR The Cretan and Cyprian gloss ἀγλαόν· γλαφυρόν ‘hollow(ed), polished’ are due to misunderstanding of the Homeric usage, acc. to Leumann 1950: 272<sup>18</sup>.

•DER ἀγλαΐα ‘splendor, beauty’ (Il.), also PN; ἀγλαΐζω [v.] ‘to embellish, glorify’, med. ‘to take delight in’.

•ETYM Probably from *\*ἀγλαφός*. Connected with γαλήνη, ἀγάλλομαι (cf. Szemerényi 1964: 155), or to ► ἀγανός, ► ἀγαυός. The connection with ἀγάλλομαι enjoys a certain popularity.

*\*ἀγλῖς* ⇒ *\*αἰγλῖς*.

**ἄγλῖς, -ιθος** [f.] ‘clove of garlic’ (Ar.). ◀PG(V)▶

•DER ἀγλίδιον in: ἀγλῖδια· σκόροδα ‘garlic’ (H.), with interchange θ/δ (Fur.: 194).

•ETYM Fur.: 127, 282 connects it with ► γέλγῖς, -ιθος, -ιδος as γελ-γ-: ἀ-γλ-, for which cf. κέρ-κ-α: ἀ-κρ-ίς. This seems quite possible.

**ἀγλύεσθαι** [v.] · βλάπτεσθαι ‘to be hindered, damaged’ (H.). ◀?▶

•ETYM von Blumenthal *IF* 49 (1931): 176 thinks it is Hyllaeian or rather Messapian, connecting it with Go. *agls*. Quite uncertain.

**ἀγνός** [adj.] ‘(ritually) pure, holy’ (Od., mostly poet.). ◀IE *\*(H)ih₂ǵ-no-* ‘holy’▶

•DER ἀγνότης ‘purity’ (NT, etc.). Verbal derivations: 1. ἀγνεύω [v.] ‘to consider holy, be pure, purify’ (IA), whence ἀγνεία ‘purification’, ἀγνευμα, ἀγνευτήριος, ἀγνευτικός; 2. ἀγνίζω [v.] ‘to purify, consecrate’ (poetic), whence ἄγνισμα, -ισμός, -ιστικός, etc., ἀγνίτης ‘purifier’ (Lyc.) after nouns in -ίτης, cf. Redard 1949: 11.

•ETYM Related to ► ἄγιος; it may be the same formation as Skt. *yajñá-* ‘sacrifice’.

**ἄγνος** [f., m.] tree name: ‘withy’, ‘Vitex agnus castus’ (*h. Merc.*), = λύγος. The name probably also denotes a fish and a bird, see DELG s.v. ◀EUR?, PG?▶

•VAR Also ἄγονος; cf. ἄγονον = μυρσίνη ἀγρία ‘wild myrtle’ (Fur.: 381).

•ETYM Comparable with OCS *jagneďb* ‘black poplar’ (Lidén *IF* 18 (1905-1906): 506); if this is correct, it is perhaps a European substrate word (on which phenomenon, see Beekes 2000). On the folk-etymological connection with the notion of chastity (ἀγνότης), see Strömberg 1940: 154.

**ἄγνυμι** [v.] ‘to break’ (Il.). ◀IE *\*ueh₂ǵ-* ‘break’▶

•VAR Fut. ἄξω, aor. ἔαξα or ἤξα, perf. ἔαγα, pass. aor. ἄγην or ἔαγην (on verse-final ἔαγην *Λ* 559 see Wackernagel 1916: 141, Chantraine 1942: 18).

•COMP Mostly in κατ᾿ἀγνυμι, with ā from -α-φαγ- (Björck 1950: 42, 147).  
 •DER ἀγή ‘fragment’ (A., E.), long ā- certainly in A. R. 1, 554; 4, 941; further ἰωγή < \*φι-φωγ-ή ‘shelter’, if originally ‘breaking of the wind’ (ξ 533), also in composition ἐπωγαί, -ή ‘place of shelter’ (ε 404), perhaps dissimilated from \*ἐπι-φιφωγαί (but see Bechtel 1914). Further ἀγμός ‘fracture, cleft’ (Hp., E.), ἄγμα ‘fragment’ (late); ἄξος = ἀγμός (Crete), but hardly from the σ-aor.; appurtenance of the TN Ὀάξος (Hdt. 4, 154) as φάξος is uncertain. Cf. also γακτός (= φ-)· κλάσμα ‘fragment’ (H.). On φαγανο- (Thespiae), see CEG 6, and Taillardat *RPh.* sér. 3: 40 (1966): 76. Also ἄγανος [adj.] ‘broken’ (S. fr. 231).

•ETYM From \*φᾱγνυμι (the φ is clearly visible in Homer) < \*uh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-n(eu)-, belonging to ToB wāk- ‘to go apart’, caus. ‘to split’ and perhaps also to Hitt. uāk- / uakk- ‘to bite’ (cf. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). A palatovelar is best reconstructed based on Skt. vājra- ‘thunderbolt’ and its Indo-Iranian cognates. Greek -φωγ- is from \*uoh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-. Perhaps Lat. vāgīna is also related; cf. MoHG *Scheide* ‘id.’ related to *scheiden* ‘to separate’.

ἄγνύς [f.] ‘weaving stones’ (Plu.). <PG(S)>

•VAR -ῶθες [pl.].

•ETYM See Chantraine 1933: 366. Probably a substrate word; suffixes of the type -ῶθ- are typical of Pre-Greek.

ἄγορά [f.] ‘gathering, assembly, market, trade, traffic’ (Hom.).

•DER ἀγορητής ‘speaker’ (epic), which perhaps rather derives from ἀγοράομαι (Fraenkel 1910: 25f.). Denominative verbs: 1. ἀγοράομαι ‘to speak (in public, in the assembly)’ (epic Ion., poet.), only in isolated forms; ἀγορητής ‘eloquence’ (epic), ἀγορατρός ‘speaker’ (inscr. Delphi, cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 151); 2. ἀγορεύω ‘id.’ (Hom.), as a simplex rare in Attic (Wackernagel 1916: 220ff., Fournier 1946: 41ff.), whence ἀγορευτής ‘speaker’, -τήριον ‘podium’, -σις ‘speech’ (all rare and late); 3. ἀγοράζω ‘to be on the market, do shoppings’ (IA); thence ἀγόρασις ‘purchase’ (Pl.), Boeot. ἀγόρασις (Holt 1941: 49f.), ἀγορασία ‘id.’, ἀγορασμός ‘id.’ (LXX), -ασμα, usually plur. ἀγοράσματα ‘purchased wares’ (D.); agent noun ἀγοραστής ‘purchaser’ (X.), fem. ἀγοράστρια (pap.), ἀγοραστικός ‘pertaining to trade’ (Pl.).

•ETYM Verbal noun related to ▶ ἀγείρω.

ἄγος [n.] ‘pollution, guilt; expiation’ (Hdt., A., Th.); the word denotes the notion of ‘sacredness’ in ἄγεα· τεμένη ‘consecrated piece of land’ (H.), for which Bechtel 1921, 1: 115 suggests Lesbian origin, and also in S. *Ant.* 775, A. *Ch.* 155, etc. <IE? \*(H)ieh<sub>2</sub>ǵ- ‘sacred’>

•COMP ἐν-αγής ‘under a curse or pollution’ (Hdt., S.), whence ἐναγίζω [v.] ‘to sacrifice to the dead’, ἐναγισμός, -ισμα. Rare and late ἐνάγιος [adj.] (after ἄγιος), ἐναγικός. The opposite εὐ-αγής ‘immaculate’ (Parm., S.) is found as Εὐθαγής (IG 12(9), 56 [Styra V<sup>a</sup>]); the simplex ἀγής (of the sun, Emp. 47) is clearly secondary.

•ETYM Formerly connected with Skt. āgas- [n.] ‘fault, sin’, but the long vowel of Sanskrit cannot be accounted for. DELG s.v. explains it as a psilotic form of \*āgos belonging with ▶ ἄγιος (cf. Chantraine and Masson 1954: 85-107), which certainly fits the attested meaning ‘sacredness’ well. As Chantraine remarks, all forms can easily be derived from the root \*hag- ‘sacred’, except for ἄγος, the psilosis of which has not

received a convincing explanation. At any rate, it did not serve to distinguish the word from ἄγιος (per DELG).

ἀγοστός [m.] in Homer only in the formula ἔλε γαῖαν ἀγοστῶ, which is usually taken to mean ‘with the hand (bent like a claw)’ (Λ 425). Taken by Hell. imitative poets (A. R., Theoc.) as ‘arm, elbow’. <?>

•ETYM Solmsen 1909: iff. proposed an original \*ἀγορ-στος ‘collector’, derived from ▶ ἀγείρω ‘to gather’ with a suffix \*-st- found in semantically close παλαστή ‘flat hand, breadth of four fingers’, Skt. hāsta- ‘hand’, MoHG *Faust* ‘fist’, OCS gr̥stv ‘handful’ etc. Not really convincing.

ἄγρα [f.] ‘hunting, way of catching; prey’ (Od.). <?, PG?(V)>

•COMP Instruments: πυράγρα ‘fire tongs’ (Il.), κρεάγρα ‘meat tongs’ (Ar.); as medical terms ὀδοντάγρα ‘tooth tongs’; diseases: ποδάγρα ‘podagra’, χειράγρα ‘gout in the hand’. Compounds in -ἀγρετος: παλινἀγρετος ‘to be taken back’ (epic since Il.), αὐτάγρετος ‘self-chosen’ (Od.). βοάγρια ‘what was taken from a cow (= shield)’, ἀνδράγριον ‘spoils of a slain enemy’. The interpretation of these compounds is debated, see DELG.

•DER ἀγρεύς ‘hunter’ (Pi., A., etc.), more common is ἀγρεύω [v.] ‘to hunt’ (Hdt., S., E., X.), whence ἀγρευτής ‘hunter’ (Sol., S. [lyr.]), ἀγρευτήρ ‘id.’ (Theoc., Call.), ἄγρευμα ‘catch, hunting net’ (Sol., A., E., X.); on the mg. of ἀγρέτης see Redard 1949: 236<sup>58</sup>. Further ἀγρώσω [v.] ‘to catch’ (Od.), cf. Schwyzer: 733; ἀγρέω [v.] ‘to take, seize’ (Il., Sapph., Archil.), in Hom. only ipv. ἄγρει, -τε (see Wackernagel 1916: 166f.), Aeol. κατάγρετον [ipv.]; aor. ptc. ἀγρέθεντα, -τες, verbal adj. ἀγρεταί (Cos). Agent noun ἀγρέμων (also -μών) ‘hunting spear, hunter’, etc. (A., H., EM), whence ἀγρέμιον ‘catch’ (AP).

•ETYM The relation between ἄγρα and ἀγρέω is unclear. Schwyzer: 727<sup>1</sup> pleads against ἀγρέω as a denominative from ἄγρα. McKenzie *Class. Quart.* 15 (1921): 46f. and 125 separated the two words: ἄγρα and ἀγρεύς would belong to ἀγρός ‘field’, whereas ἀγρέω would derive from the compounds in -ἀγρετος, which themselves belong to ▶ ἀγείρω ‘to gather’.

The existence of compounds like αὐτάγρετος beside αὐθαίρετος could indicate that αἰρέω and ἀγρέω were associated, and this may explain formal variants like -αίγρετος. Connection with Indo-Iranian (Skt. ghāsē-ajra-, Av. vāhrkām azrōdaidīm, both hapaxes of which the mg. is uncertain) and Celtic words (OW *hair*, MW *aer* ‘battle’ < \*agrā, OIr. ár [n.] ‘defeat’ < \*agro-, Gaul. EN *Veragri*) is rejected by DELG, where it is remarked that none of these words bear the concrete meaning of ‘catching’ that is attested in Greek.

Fur.: (see index) thinks that ἀγρέω is a substrate word because of the prenasalized forms (Thess. αγγρε-), the form with αι for α (PN Ἐξαίγρετος on coins from Asia Minor, on which see Vendryes 1938: 331-334; this form can hardly be reliable), the variant ἐγρέω, and the metathesized form ἀγρεῖτε. See ▶ ζωγρέω.

ἀγράκαβος = ἀγεppάκαβος.

ἀγρεῖφνα [f.] ‘harrow’ (AP 6, 297). <PG?(V)>

•DER ἀγρίφη [f.] 'harrow' (Hdn., H.).

•ETYM One compares γριφᾶσθαι· γράφειν. Λάκωνες. οἱ δὲ ξύειν καὶ ἀμύσσειν 'to write (Lacon.), others: to plane and scratch' (H.). The ἀ- would remain unexplained. But note that the attestations are very late. Pre-Greek origin with a prothetic vowel is possible. The form in -να also suggests Pre-Greek, cf. Fur. 132<sup>65</sup>.

**ἀγρινόν** [n.] · <ἔνδυμα> δικτυοειδὲς ὃ περιτίθενται οἱ βακχεύοντες Διονύσῳ. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ αὐτὸ καλεῖ [γρήνυν] ἢ γήνον 'garment like a net which those possessed by Dionysus put on. Eratosthenes calls it a γ.' (H.). <?>

•VAR ἀγρινα· δίκτυα καὶ ἔνδυμα 'nets and clothing' (H.); cf. ἀγρινόν ποικίλον ἔρεοῦν δικτυοειδὲς καὶ ἔνδυμα δὲ ποιόν (EM 14, 2).

•ETYM Does the word have a prothetic vowel? Cf. also γρήνη· ἄνθη συμμεκτά 'mixed flowers' (H.), cf. Strömberg 1944: 15. A derivation from ἄγρα (DELG) is quite uncertain. Nilsson 1941(1): 204 says that the net on the Omphalos was called ἀγρινόν; this statement is ascribed to Hesychius and Pollux (4, 116), but neither author says so: it was only a guess by PW s.v. ("wohl auch"). In fact, Hesychius states that it was called ► γάγγαμιον.

**ἀγρήσκεται** · πικραίνεται 'is made bitter, tastes bitter' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Latte suggested that it stands for ἀγρίσκεται and derives from ἄγριος, comparing ἀλθίσκω / ἀλθήσκω to ► ἀλθαίνω. Semantically not convincing.

**ἄγριπος** [m.] Laconian name for the wild olive (Zen.). <PG(V)>

•VAR ἄγριφος· γένος τι ἀγρίας ἐλείας 'species of wild olive' (H.).

•ETYM Fur.: 158 notes that these words have the variation π/φ, characteristic of Pre-Greek words.

**ἄγρός** [m.] 'field' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>eg-ro- 'field'>

•VAR Myc. a-ko-ro / agros/; PN a-ko-ro-qo-ro / Agrok<sup>w</sup>olos/.

•COMP ἄγροικος 'who lives in the country' (ἀγρο-φοικ-), ► ἄγρωστις; also ἄγρυπνος 'who sleeps outside', which developed into 'sleepless, awake' (IA); cf. ἄγρ-αυλος (Il.) 'who has his bed/lair in the field'.

•DER Thence ἄγριος 'wild', with derivations: ἀγριότης [f.] 'wildness' (Pl., D., X.), ἀγριομαι, ἀγριώω, ἀγριαίνω [v.] 'to become (make) wild'. ἀγρότης [m.] 'countryman, rustic' (π 218, E.), ἀγροτήρ [m.] (E.) 'id.', also ἀγρώτης (E.) and ἀγρώστις (S., E.), of unclear formation (see Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἄγρωστις, but also Meier-Brügger KZ 103 (1990) above).

ἀγροιώτης (Il.) for ἀγρώτης would have arisen at verse end (Risch 1937: 32). On ἀγρέτης see ► ἄγρα. Comp. ἀγρότερος 'wild', cf. ὀρέστερος, 'living in the mountains (as opposed to the fields)'.

•ETYM Old IE word, originally designating the uncultivated field: cf. Skt. *ájra-*, Lat. *ager*, Go. *akrs* and Arm. *art*. Derivation from \*h<sub>2</sub>eg- 'drive' is probable.

**ἄγρυπνος** = ἄγρος.

**ἄγρωστις, -ιδος, -εως** [f.] 'dog's-tooth grass' (Od.). <GR>

•ETYM Formerly supposed to be the fem. of ἀγρώστις 'countryman', from ► ἀγρός (Bechtel 1914 s.v., Strömberg 1940: 117). However, Meier-Brügger KZ 103 (1990): 33f. convincingly explained the word as \*h<sub>2</sub>egro-h<sub>2</sub>d-ti- 'Feld-Futter', comparing ► νήστις for the formation.

**ἄγυια** [f.] 'street, road' (Il.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Plur. ἀγυιαί.

•DER Ἀγυιεύς [m.] 'guardian of the streets', epithet of Apollo (com., E.), whence the month name Ἀγυίος (Argos); Ἀγυιάτης [m.] 'id.' (A.), also 'inhabitant of an ἄ.' (Pharsalos), cf. ἀγυιῆται· κωμῆται 'village dwellers' (H.); fem. ἀγυιάτις (Pi., E. [lyr.]).

•ETYM Mainly a poetic word. Generally considered to be a perf. ptc. of ► ἄγω 'to drive' without reduplication, but this makes little sense as the formation is without a parallel (save archaic ἰδυῖα); more probably a substrate word in -υια, for which cf. ► κώδυια, see Szemerényi 1964: 203ff. and Beekes 1998: 25f.

**ἄγχι** [adv., prep.] 'near' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>emǵh- 'tie, betroth'>

•COMP ἀγχέ-μαχος (Il.) probably after τηλέ-μαχος (only as a PN), see Triimpy 1950: 113f.

•DER Further adverbial forms ἀγχό-θι, -θεν; ἀγχοῦ. Comp. ἄσσον, ἄσσοτέρω, superl. ἄγχιστα, -ον, also ἄσσιστα, Elean ασιστα (see Peters 1980a: 288). From the superl. ἀγχιστίνος 'near each other' (Il.), see Chantraine 1933: 204. On Locr. ἀγχιστεδᾶν = ἀγχιστήδᾶν see Fraenkel *Glotta* 20 (1932): 84f. More forms in DELG.

•ETYM Considered to be the locative of a root noun related to ► ἄγχω (Schwyzer: 622), or a direct derivation from ► ἄγχω after πέρι, ἄντι. West *Glotta* 77 (1999): 118f. suggests reconsidering the reading ἀγχισητῖνοι, -αι for ἀγχιστῖνοι, -αι, which is a v.l. at all Homeric places, and which he interprets as ἄγχι + ἐδ-τι- 'a sitting close together'. More probable is the suggestion by Watkins (*apud* West l.c.) that the compound contains the root ἦσ- 'to sit'.

**ἀγχίλωψ** [f.] 'swelling which obstructs the lacrymal duct' (Gal. 19, 438). <PG(V)>

•VAR Synonym αἰγίλωψ (Cels.).

•ETYM Galen analyzes it as ► ἄγχι and ► ὥψ. Strömberg 1944: 95f. follows this, and explains the -λ- from the synonym αἰγίλωψ. Frisk suggests that the first member is from ► ἄγχω instead. Not very convincing. The synonym points to a Pre-Greek origin, due to variation α/αι and γ/χ and prenasalization. Influence of ἄγχι/ ἄγχω on αἰγίλωψ is improbable. Note that αι before NC is not tolerated in Greek; perhaps the first *i* derives from a palatalized /g'/. The analysis in terms of Pre-Greek is \*a(n)g'-il-ōp-.

**ἀγχόνη** [f.] = μανδραγόρα 'mandrake' (Ps.-Dsc.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**ἄγχουρος 1** [m.] 'gold' (AP, Plu.), presumably the name of the son of Midas (Plu. 2, 306f.). <?>

•ETYM Fur.: 391 compares τάγχουρος γὰρ ὁ χρυσός, ἢ λέξις Περσική 'τ. means gold in Persian' (sch. Theoc., p. 351 W.) and τάγχαρας 'gold' (Cosmas ad OGI 199). If the

word is Pre-Greek, I propose a sequence *-ar<sup>w</sup>-* giving either *-αρ-* or *-οῦρ-*; see ▶ ἀγχοῦρος 2 and, most notably, ▶ ἀρασχάδες.

**ἀγχοῦρος 2** [m.] 'dawn' (Call.). <?>

•VAR ἀγχοῦρος· ὀρθρός. Κύπριοι. ἢ φωσφόρος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ 'dawn (Cypr.); bringer of light, and what comes with him' (H.). Variant ἄγχαυρος 'near the morning' (AP 4, 111); 'time near dawn' (Call.), see LSJ Supp.

•ETYM Unknown. The interchange ου/αυ is reliable, as both occur in Callimachus (so if αυ is explained from αὔριον, we cannot understand -οῦρ-). Perhaps PG *-ar<sup>w</sup>-* yielded variants in *-αυρ-* (with anticipation of the labial element) and *-οῦρ-* (with additional coloring of the vowel); cf. ▶ ἀρασχάδες.

**ἄγχουσα** [f.] a plant, 'Anchusa tinctoria' (Thphr., Dsc.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ἔγχουσα (Ar.).

•COMP Also κατάγχουσα (Ps.-Dsc.); cf. ψευδάγχουσα (Plin.).

•ETYM The variant ἔγχουσα excludes derivation from ▶ ἄγχω (which is defended by Strömberg 1940: 64). A typical substrate word; see Fur.: 346 and 197<sup>55</sup> on the suffix -ουσα. Not related to ▶ ἀγγύνωψ.

**ἄγχραν** [adj.] · μύωπα. Λοκροί 'short-sighted (Locrian)' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Bechtel 1921 compares ἄκαρον· τυφλόν 'blind' (H.). These forms show typical variations of Pre-Greek: κ/χ and prenasalization (see Fur.: 127).

**ἄγχω** [v.] 'to squeeze, strangle' (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>emǵh-* 'narrow, strangle'>

•DER ἀγχόνη 'hanging, strangling', for the suffix cf. ▶ περόνη, etc.; Lat. LW *angina* (Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 205, but see E-M s.v.). Thence ἀγχόνιος 'fit for hanging' (E., Nonn.), ἀγχονάω 'to strangle' (Man.). ἀγκτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'tool for sewing up wounds' (Cels. Med., Plu.).

•ETYM An exact correspondence for the thematic present is found in Lat. *angō* 'to bind together, strangle'. Hitt. *hamank-<sup>i</sup>*, *hame/ink-* has a nasal present *\*h<sub>2</sub>m-(e)n-ǵh-*. The widespread *u*-stem adjective *\*h<sub>2</sub>emǵh-u-* in Skt. *amhú-* 'narrow', Go. *aggwus*, Arm. *anju-k*, OCS *ozv-kъ* is not found in Greek. See ▶ ἄγχι.

**ἄγω** [v.] 'to drive, lead, bring, carry; to draw, etc.' (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eg-* 'drive, lead'>

•VAR Aor. ἤγαγον, perf. ἤχα (Att.); Dor. ἀγήγοχα, whence ἀγήοχα, ἀγέωχα.

•DIAL Myc. *a-ke* /agei/.

•COMP With ἀπ-, εἰσ-, ἐξ-, κατ-, etc.; στρατηγός 'leader (of the army), commander'. On -αγέτης in compounds (ἀρχηγέτης, etc.) see Fraenkel 1910: 59ff., Sommer 1950: 11f.

•DER ἀγός 'leader' (poet. since Il.), which is formally identical with Skt. *ajā-* 'driver', but perhaps a parallel formation; ἀγή 'transport' (Chios), 'winding' (Arat.); ἀγών, -ῶνος [m.] 'gathering, rally (to see games)' (Il.), whence ἀγώνιος, ἀγωνία, ἀγωνιάω, ἀγωνιάτης; verb ἀγωνίζομαι 'to contend for a prize, etc.', whence ἀγωνισίς, ἀγώνισμα, ἀγωνιστής, ἀγωνιστικός, etc. Further ἄκτωρ, -ορος 'leader' (A.), also a PN (Il.), but Lat. *actor* may be an independent formation; ἄγμα· κλέμμα 'theft' (H.). Reduplicated nouns: ἀγωγός [m.] 'leader' (IA), ἀγωγή 'carrying away' (IA), formation unclear, whence ἀγωγεύς, ἀγώγιμος, ἀγώγιον, ἀγωγαῖος, ἀγωγικά.

ῶγανον 'spoke' seems unrelated (in spite of Frisk 1938: 17f.). Unclear is the formation of ἀγινέμεναι, ἀγινέω 'to lead, carry' (Il.), and the relation with Dor. Aetol. ἀγνέω 'id.'.

Cf. further on ▶ ἀγέλι, ▶ ἄξιος, ▶ ἄξων, ▶ ὄγμος; also ▶ ἀγρός. Not here ▶ ἄγνια.

•ETYM Old thematic present, also found in Skt. *ájati*, Av. *azaiti*, Arm. *acem*, Lat. *agō*, OIr. *-aig*, ON *aka* and ToAB *āk-*, all 'to drive, lead' vel sim. Originally the verb was present (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*h<sub>2</sub>eg-*). ▶ ὄγμος 'furrow, etc.' derives from *\*h<sub>2</sub>og-mo-*, neatly corresponding to Skt. *ájma-* 'trajectory', and proves that the regular reflex of *\*h<sub>2</sub>o* in Greek was *o*, not *α* (as was contended by Ruijgh).

**ἄδαγμός** [m.] · κνησμός 'itch' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also in S. Tr. 770 acc. to Phot. (codd. ὀδαγμός).

•DER Cf. ἀδακτῶ· κνήθομαι 'to itch', ἀδαξῆσαι· κνήσαι 'to scrape, scratch', ἀδαχῆ· κνῆ, κνήθει κεφαλὴν. ψηλαφᾶ 'scratches the head, gropes' (H.).

•ETYM The old explanation of ἄδαγμός as assimilated from ὀδα- is due to the desire to reduce everything to Indo-European roots; see Van Beek fthc.b. There is no compelling reason to connect a word for 'scratch' with 'tooth'; the vocalic variation points to PG origin. See ▶ ὀδάξ.

**ἀδαής, -ές** = δαῖναι.

**ἀδαλός** [m.] · ἄσβολος 'soot' (H.). <LW Maced.>

•ETYM Macedonian for αἶθαλος; see von Blumenthal 1930: 5. See ▶ ἀδῆ, ▶ ἄδραια.

**ἀδάμας, -αντος** [m.] a strong metal, 'steel' (Hes.); 'diamond' (Thphr.). <?>

•VAR PN Ἀδάμας (Hom.).

•DER ἀδαμάντινος (Pi., A.).

•ETYM Both the appellative and the PN are often derived from ▶ δάμνημι as 'indomitable'; for the formation, cf. ▶ ἀκάμας and Chantraine 1933: 269. But semantically, the etymology is rather strange. It is rather a loanword that was adapted by folk etymology. Acc. to Troxler 1964: 19-21 and Barb 1969: 66-82, it is a loan from Semitic, comparing Akk. *adamu*. Lubotsky 1998: 414<sup>3</sup> refers to NPhr. (α)τεαμα 'stone'.

**ἀδάρεξα** · εἰρήνη 'peace' (H.). <?>

•ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 24 compares ἀταραξία and thinks the word is of Illyrian origin. Very uncertain.

**ἀδάρκη** [f.] 'salt deposit on the herbage of marshes' (Dsc., Gal.). <LW Celt.>

•VAR Also -ης [m.], ἄδαρκος [m.].

•ETYM Like Lat. *adarca* (Plin.), a loanword from Gaulish: cf. Ir. *adarc* 'horn', which is from Basque *adar* 'horn', with a Celt. suffix *-k-* (Pokorny *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.* 14 (1923): 273; Pokorny *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.* 16 (1927): 112).

**ἄδδανον** = ἄζω 1.

**ἄδδιξ, -ιχος** [f.] a measure of four choinikes (Ar. fr. 709). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. The suffix is also found in χοῖνιξ (which has -ικ-). Geminated δδ is rare in IA, and names for measures are often borrowed. Cf. κάδδιχος s.v. ▶κάδος, which is combined by Fur.: 130<sup>99</sup>, who assumes a substrate word with the alternation κ/zero. Cf. also Szemerényi 1969b: 248.

ἀδεαλτωχαιε [3sg.opt.aor.] unknown (inscr. Elis [approx. 350<sup>a</sup>]). <?>

•ETYM DELG (see s.v. for more details) thinks of δέλτος ‘writing tablet’, referring to Buck 1955: 263.

ἀδελφεός [m.] ‘brother’ (Il.). <GR>

•VAR Att. ἀδελφός (shortened form); ἀδελφεή ‘sister’ (Pi. -εά, Att. -φή). Cret. αδευπιος.

•DER ἀδελφιδέος, -δέη (Att. -δοῦς, -δῆ) ‘nephew’, ‘niece’. ἀδελιφήρ· ἀδελφεός, Λάκωνες ‘brother (Lacon.)’ (H.) is due to contamination with φράτηρ. Diminutive ἀδελφίδιον (Ar.), ἀδελφικός ‘brotherly, etc.’ (Arist.), ἀδελφότης ‘brotherhood’ (LXX), ἀδελφίζω [v.] ‘to accept as a brother’ (Hecat.), ἀδελφίξιν (Hp.).

•ETYM Derived from a word for ‘womb’ with copulative α < \*ση-, meaning ‘from the same womb’; cf. ἀδελφοί· οἱ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς δελφύος γεγονότες, δελφὺς γὰρ ἡ μήτρα (H.). However, the -ε- cannot be from -εφ- because of Cret. -ιος; acc. to Wackernagel 1916: 52f., it must derive from \*-eio-, which forms material adjectives. We may also assume a ntr. \*δελφός as a base noun, thus \*ha-g<sup>w</sup>elp<sup>h</sup>eh-o-. Att. ἀδελφός is from contracted forms like ἀδελφοῦ < -εοῦ. The inherited word for ‘brother’, φράτηρ, was primarily used in a religious or political sense (e.g. φράτρα, φρατρία), and could perhaps also be used for other members of the extended family, like nephews. Greek probably introduced the expression \*φράτηρ ἀδελφεός ‘brother proper’, cf. Skt. *sagarbhya-* and, within Greek, ὁμογαστριος. It has been suggested that the word derived from pre-Greek matrilinear societies (Kretschmer *Glotta* 2 (1910): 201ff.), but the word may instead point to a society with concubines (παλλακαί); see Gonda *Mnem.* 15 (1962): 390-2. See ▶δελφός.

ἀδευκής, -ές [adj.] unknown, said of ὄλεθρος, πότμος, φῆμις (Od.). <IE? \*deuk- ‘care’?>

•DIAL Perhaps Myc. *de-u-ka-ri-jo* /Deukaliōn/.

•ETYM Like Πολυ-δεύκης, it presupposes a noun \*δεῦκος [n.], for which no cognates can be suggested. Not to Lat. *dūco* ‘to lead’, etc., as per Lagercrantz KZ 35 (1899): 276. Cf. δεύκει· φροντίζει ‘consider, ponder’ (H.), ἐνδυκέως ‘careful’; ἀδευκής would then mean ‘careless, thoughtless’, which fits the meaning very well. In a sch. on A. R. 1, 1027, δεῦκος is glossed as γλεῦκος, which seems most improbable. Is it a mistake for ΓΔΕΥΚΟΣ? The name Δευκαλίων may derive from \*Λευκαλίων; see Bechtel 1914 s.v. ▶ἀδευκής.

ἀδῆ· οὐρανός. Μακεδόνες ‘heaven (Maced.)’ (H.). <LW Mac.>

•ETYM Identical with ▶αἰθήρ, which features the typical Macedonian *Lautverschiebung* (δ for Gr. θ, etc.).

ἀδηκότες [perf.ptc.nom.pl.] in καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες ἡδὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ (K 98), mg. uncertain. <?>

•ETYM Connected with ▶ἄδην or ▶ἡδύς, and ἀαδεῖν (cf. ▶ἄαδα). For discussion, see DELG.

ἀδημονέω [v.] ‘to be restless, scared’ (Hp., Pl., X.). <?>

•VAR With short ἄ- (Nic. fr. 16).

•DER ἀδημονία (Epicur., Plu.), ἀδημοσύνη (Democr., X.).

•ETYM An Ionic word. Allen *Class. Rev.* 20 (1906): 5 connected it with δαῖνα; Debrunner 1937: 266 assumed a contraction from \*ἀδαημονέω; semantically not compelling. Not related to ἡδύς, nor to ἀηδής (Leumann 1950: 309<sup>82</sup>).

ἄδην, -ένος [f.] ‘gland’ (Hp.). <IE?, PG?>

•VAR Later [m.].

•ETYM One compares Lat. *inguen*, -inis [n.] ‘groin, swelling on the groin’ and MoIc. *økk* [m.] ‘growth, tumor’ < PGm. \*enkwa- < \*eng<sup>w</sup>o-. However, since PIE had no words beginning with a vowel, this would be reconstructed as \*h<sub>1</sub>eng<sup>w</sup>-, but a zero grade \*h<sub>1</sub>ng<sup>w</sup>-e- would give Gr. \*ένδε- acc. to Rix’ Law (\*HRC- > Gr. α/ε/oRC). This implies that the Greek word cannot be cognate with the Germanic one (the latter can be cognate with the Latin word, of course, as \*h<sub>1</sub>eng<sup>w</sup>-, see Schrijver 1991: 58). Greek ἄδην thus remains isolated. Fur.: 172<sup>118</sup> suggests a substrate origin (words in -ην). For a recent challenge of the validity of Rix’s Law, see Nikolaev 2005, and on the present word, p. 50<sup>54</sup>.

ἄδην [adv.] ‘to one’s fill’ (Il.). <IE \*seh<sub>2</sub>- ‘satiety’>

•VAR In epic with psilosis. The α- may undergo metrical lengthening.

•DER ἄδος [m., n.] ‘satiety’ (Il.), ἀδινός ‘crowded, thronging, vehement, etc.’ (mainly epic), ▶ἄδρός. From \*ἀδην-: ἀδαῖος ‘leading to satiety, unpleasant’ (Sophr., H.). Cf. further the glosses ▶ἄαδα and ἀαδεῖν (H.), and ▶ἀδμωλή and ▶ἄση.

•ETYM Old accusative of a noun supposed in the first member of ἀδην-φάγος ‘glutton’ (but what kind of compound is it?). Often connected with the root \*seh<sub>2</sub>- ‘to satisfy’, which is found in several Greek verbal forms: ἄμεναι (Il.), aor. ▶ἄσαι, ἄσασθαι (epic) ‘to become satiated’ and ▶ἄατος. ἄδην was analyzed by Frisk as containing a stem ἄδ- and connected with Arm. *at-ok* ‘full, ripe’ (cf. ▶ἄδρός); but, as Clackson 1994: 170f. remarks, ἄδην itself may simply contain a suffix -δην. Still, this does not explain the other derivations with -δ-. Other languages have an enlargement in -t(i)-: Lat. *satis* ‘enough’, Go. *saþs* ‘satiated’, *ga-sopjan*, Lith. *sótis* ‘satiety’ etc. (see ▶ἄσαι).

ἀδιαντον [n.] name of a plant, ‘Adiantum’ (Thphr.). <IE?, GR>

•VAR ἀδιαντος [m.].

•ETYM Explained as ‘what cannot be irrigated’ (▶διαίνω); see Strömberg 1940: 74f.

ἀδίκη [f.] ‘nettle’, = ἀκαλήφη (Ps.-Dsc. 4, 93). <PG?>

•ETYM Cf. ▶ἐλίκη ‘willow’. The connection with OHG *nazza*, *nezzila* etc. as \*ṇd-ikā (cf. Frisk) is most improbable; it is rather a substrate word.

ἄδινός = ἄδην, ἄδρός.

ἄδις [?] · ὥς Ἀπίων, ἀθρόοι, ἦ ἐσχάρα ‘in masses, hearth’ (H.). <LW Mac.>

•ETYM In the meaning ἀθρόοι, probably a mistake for ἄλις; in the sense ἐσχάρα, Macedonian (= Lat. *aedēs*), acc. to von Blumenthal *IF* 49 (1931): 179.

**ἀδμωλή** [f.] · ἀπορία, ὀλιγωρία, ἄγνοια, ἡσυχία ‘difficulty, contempt or negligence, ignorance, rest or quiet’ (H.); cf. Hdn. Gr.1, 324, etc. <?>

•VAR ἀδμωλία· ἡ ἄγνοια ‘ignorance’ (Suid., Call. fr. 717 Pf.), ἀδμολίη (EM). Further ἀσμωλεῖν = ἀγνοεῖν (H., EM 155, 33).

•DER ἀδμωλῶ· ἀκηδιῶ ‘am careless’ (Suid.), ἀδμωλεῖν· ἀγνοεῖν ἢ ἀγνωμονεῖν ἢ ἀκηδιᾶν ‘to be ignorant, act or treat unfairly, be careless’ (EM). ἀδμωλεῖ· χωρὶς δόλου ‘without resource’ (Suid.).

•ETYM Frisk derived it from ἄδ- (in ▶ ἄδην) with “suffixal” -μωλ- (Frisk *Eranos* 41 (1943): 52), which is highly improbable. Acc. to Fur.: 263<sup>8</sup>, the word can hardly be inherited. On the interchange δμ/σμ, see Schwyzler: 208 (unclear).

**ἄδμωνες** [pl.] a sea-fish (Opp. *Hal.* 3, 371). <?>

•VAR Also ἄδμωες.

•ETYM Unknown; see Thompson 1947.

**ἄδνόν** [adj.] · ἀγνόν. Κρήτες ‘holy (Cret.)’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Is it a hypercorrect form, caused by the development δν > γν? Or just a form invented to explain Ἀριάδνη? See Bechtel 1921(2): 777.

**ἄδολέσχης** [m.] ‘idle talker’ (Ar.). <?>

•VAR On ἄ see Björck 1950: 142, 41.

•DER Later ἀδόλεσχος; thence ἀδολεσχία, -έω, -ικός.

•ETYM Perhaps from \*ἀαδο-λέσχης to ἀαδεῖν· ὀχλεῖν (H.), with λέσχη as a second member in the sense of ‘conversation’, and a first member \*ἀ-σφαδ- (see ▶ ἀνδάνω, ▶ ἡδύς); cf. Schulze 1892: 452f. Quite uncertain. See DELG for more details.

**ἀδραία** · αἰθρία ‘clear weather’ (H.). <LW Mac.>

•ETYM Probably Macedonian; see von Blumenthal 1930: 5.

**ἀδράφαξ** ⇒ ἀτράφαξ.

**ἀδουσιάσασθαι** [v.aor.] ‘to accept the membership of, φυλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας (IG 2<sup>2</sup>, 553: 15, LSJ *Supp.*). <GR>

•DER ἀδούσιον· ἀρεστόν, σύμφωνον ‘pleased, harmonious, agreed’ (H.), ἀδουσιασάμενοι· ὁμολογησάμενοι ‘who agreed’ (H.).

•ETYM Probably connected with ἄδος ‘decree’ < ‘decision’.

**ἄδρός** [adj.] ‘thick, strong, full-grown, ripe’ (Hdt.). <IE \*seh<sub>2</sub>- ‘satisfy’>

•DER ἀδρότης ‘strength’ (Hell.); on Hom. ἀ(ν)δροτήτα [acc.] see ▶ ἀνὴρ. ἀδρύνω [v.] ‘to make ripe’, med. ‘to ripen’, whence ἄδρυνσις; sometimes also ἀδρέω, ἀδρόομαι. Plant name ἀδρώδης (Strömberg 1940: 82).

•ETYM From root ἄδ- in ▶ ἄδην, with a suffix -ρο-.

**ἄδρυα** · πλοῖα μονόξυλα, Κύπριοι ‘ships made out of one piece of wood (Cyp.)’. Λέγονται δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἀρότρῳ στῦλοι ‘the poles in the plough’. Σικελοὶ δὲ ἄδρυα λέγουσι τὰ μήλα ‘apples’ (Sicilian), παρὰ δὲ Ἀττικοῖς ἀκρόδρυα ‘fruits grown on

upper branches of trees (Att.)’ (H.). Also ἄδρυα· οἱ στῦλοι ἀρότρου, δι’ ὧν ὁ ἰστοβοεὺς ἀρμόζεται ‘by which the plough beam is fixed’ (H.). <IE \*dru- ‘tree’, PG>

•ETYM In the first gloss, it seems to continue \*ἄ-δρυα ‘(consisting) of one single tree’, a compound from ἄ- < \*ση- and ▶ δρῦς. This can also be assumed for the second, agricultural meaning. For the meaning ‘one single’ of ἄ-, cf. μώνυχες s.v. ▶ ὄνυξ. But in the third meaning, ‘apples’, it is probably folk-etymological, as it is a variant of ▶ μιάδρυα, which is non-IE. Compounds with a second member -δρυ- are rare and doubtful; see DELG s.v. δρῦς.

**Ἄδωνις, -ιδος** [m.] theonym. <LW?>

•VAR Also Ἄδων, -ος.

•ETYM Supposed to be a loan from Semitic (Hebr. *ādōn* ‘Lord’). But no cult connected with this name is known in the Semitic world, nor a myth parallel to that in Greece. See Burkert 1985: 176f., arguing against Kretschmer, e.g. Kretschmer *Glotta* 7 (1916): 29ff. and Kretschmer *Glotta* 10 (1920): 235f. Fur.: 328<sup>21</sup> points to the proper name Ἄδων, an Armenian general and a Phrygian flute-player.

**ἄεθλος** [m.] ‘burden, contest, prize of a contest’ (Il.). On the mg. Trümper 1950: 150f.

<IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>uedh- ‘contest’?>

•VAR Also -ον [n.] (Il.).

•DIAL Arc. [ἄ]φεθλα (IG 5(2), 75), Att. contr. ἄθλος, -ον.

•DER ἀέθλιον ‘id.’ (epic), ἀέθλιος ‘of the contest’ (Thgn., Call.), ἄθλιος ‘unhappy’ (Att.), ἀθλιότης; ἀ(ε)θλέω, -εύω [v.] ‘to contend for’, ἀ(ε)θλητήρ, -τής, ἀ(ε)θλημα, -σις, -τικός.

•ETYM The original meaning probably was ‘contest for a prize’. Not related to Skt. *vāyati* ‘be tired’ (as per Trümper 1950: 150-151), which is from \*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>2</sub>-. The word looks Indo-European; the form suggests a root reconstruction \*h<sub>2</sub>uedh-.

**αἶδω** [v.] ‘to sing (the praises of)’ (Il.). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>ueid- ‘sing’>

•DIAL Att. ἄδω.

•DER αἰοδή, ψδὴ ‘song’, whence αἰοιδίμος, ψδικός. Agent noun αἰοδός, ψδός ‘singer’. Thence, or from αἰοδή, the verb αἰοιδιάω (epic) = αἶδω; derived from ψδὴ: Ὀιδεῖον a building in Athens for musical contests. Further ἄεισμα, ἄσμα [n.] ‘song’ (IA), ἄσματιον (Pl. Com.); ἄσμος [m.] ‘id.’ (Pl. Com.).

•ETYM The ablaut suggests PIE \*h<sub>2</sub>ueid-, but no cognate outside Greek is known. Older speculations, now dated, are found in Frisk and DELG. Harðarson 1993b: 163 assumed the reconstruction \*h<sub>2</sub>ue-(h<sub>2</sub>)ud-, with loss of the laryngeal (which seems difficult) and dissimilation as in ξειπον < \*h<sub>2</sub>e-ue-uk<sup>w</sup>-. See ▶ αὐδή, ▶ ἀηδών.

**αἶρω 1** [v.] ‘to raise’ (Il.). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>uer- ‘raise’?>

•VAR ἄωρτο ‘hung’ (Il.), which Tichy 1983: 364f. explains as an injunctive \*ἄωρτο < PIE \*h<sub>2</sub>uer-tó.

•DIAL Att. αἶρω, for which Frisk suggested a recent formation to the Att. fut. ἀρῶ < \*ἄερῶ. Improbable is a root \*sr-, as per Heubeck *Orbis* 13 (1964): 264-7. Taillardat *RPh.* 57 (1983): 21-25 convincingly assumes a zero grade verb \*awr-je/o- > αἶρω.



•COMP ἀερί-ποδες 'lifting their feet' (Il.); μετήορος '(sth.) in the air', Att. μετέωρος, Aeol. πεδάορος (these are not from ►ἀήρ).

•DER ἄρσις [f.] 'raising' (Arist.); ►ἀρτήρ.

•ETYM Not from ἀήρ 'air' (which has long \*ā-). No cognates are known, but the form requires the reconstruction \*h<sub>2</sub>uer-. See also ►αείρω 2; an important question is whether these are originally the same verb. See ►ἀρτήρ, ►αἰώρα; cf. also ►ἄρμα 2, ►ἡερέθονται.

**αείρω 2** [v.] 'to bind together, join' (Il.); mostly with συν-. Cf. ξυνάιρεται- συνάπτεται 'is attached' (H.). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>uer-? 'bind'>

•VAR Note ἄωρτο 'was hanging'; παρηέρθη 'was made to hang beside' Π 341.

•DIAL Perhaps Myc. *o-pa-wo-ta* /op-āworta/ 'pieces of armor'?

•COMP Nominal stem -aop- 'band, link' in \*τετρ(α)-άορος, τετράορος, contracted τέτρωρος 'which yokes four together' (Od.), whence τετράορία 'four-horse chariot' (Pi.); from συναείρω also συνάορος, συνήορος 'coupled together, spouse', Att. συνωρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'two-horse team', to which belongs συνωρικεύεται 'drives with a team of horses' (Ar. *Nub.* 15), but \*συνωρικός is unattested; from συνωρίς also συνωριαστής 'driver of a συνωρίς' (Luc.), which presupposes a verb \*συνωριάζειν. Contrasted with συνήορος is παρήορος, παράορος (Il.) '(horse) joined beside', also 'outstretched' and 'reckless' (see Leumann 1950: 222ff.); a verb παραείρω seems to have existed beside συναείρω, but it is attested only in a special use παρηέρθη δὲ κάρη (Π 341) 'the head hung on one side', cf. Leumann loc. cit. Isolated ἀπήορος 'far away'. ἐπήορος 'suspended over', κατήορος 'hanging down', and κατωρίς 'band hanging down' rather belong with μετήορος, μετέωρος, see ►αείρω 1.

•DER Action noun ἀορτή \*'attaching', 'sth. attached, bag for tying' (Men.), medic. term referring to the bronchi and the hose-like aorta (Hp., Arist.). Agent or instrument noun ἀορτήρ, -ήρος [m.] \*'attacher', 'sword-belt' (Od.), with unclear *o*-vocalism; also ἀορτής (pap., H.) and ἀορτεύς (H.). Denominative or deverbative ptc. ἀορτηθεῖς 'hanged' (AP). ἄορτρα [n.pl.] 'pulmonary lobe' (Hp.), after nouns in -τρον (Chantraine 1933: 331f.). See further ►ἄορ, -ορος [n.] 'sword' (probably unrelated); related is ►ἀρτάω 'to hang'.

•ETYM Solmsen 1901: 289ff. separated it from ►αείρω 1 'to raise', but DELG tends to consider the second as a specialization of the first (see extensive discussion in DELG). The present entry is mostly connected with a root \*uerH- 'to bind, hang on, strick' in Balto-Slavic, e.g. Lith. *virvė* 'string', OCS *obora* < \*ob-vora 'string, twine', Lith. *vérti* 'to pierce, string', etc., but the exact demarcation from the root \*Huer- 'to open' is unclear; perhaps it was originally one root. For Greek, the closest connection is with Alb. *vjerr* 'to hang, suspend'. See ►ἀρτήρ, ►ἀρτάω, ►ἄορ.

**ἀεκήλιος** [adj.] 'unbearable' (only Σ 77, ἔργα). <GR>

•ETYM The form was based on the root \*uek- 'to wish' in ►έκων, ►ἐκίλος; see Philipp in *Lfgre* s.v.

**ἄελιοι** [m.pl.] · οἱ ἀδελφὰς γυναῖκας ἐσχηκότες 'who have sisters as wives', i.e. 'brothers-in-law' (H.). <IE \*sue-lo->

•VAR αἰλιοι· σύγγαμβροι 'the husbands of two sisters' (H.); εἰλίονες in Pollux 3, 32 (οἱ δὲ ἀδελφὰς γήμαντες ὁμόγαμβροι ἢ σύγγαμβροι ἢ μᾶλλον συκηδεσται καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς εἰλίονες), with metrical lengthening of \*ἐλίονες or \*ἐλίονες.

•ETYM αἰλιοι may be an itacistic notation for \*ἔλιοι (\*ἐλιοι). The ἄ- in ἄελιοι is taken as a 'copulative' α-. Cognate with ON *svilar* [m.pl.] 'brothers-in-law, whose wives are sisters', PIE \*sue-lo-, a derivative in -l- of the reflexive pronoun \*sue.

**ἄελλα** [f.] 'storm wind' (Il.). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>uel->

•VAR ἄελλη (Π 374).

•DIAL Aeol. αὔελλα.

•DER Ἀελλώ, -οῦς [f.] name of a Harpy (Hes.); ἀελλαῖος, also ἀελλάς 'fast like a storm' (S.), ἀελλήεις (Nonn.), ἀελλώδης (sch. Il.). Bird name ἀελλός (H.) and ἄελλον· ταχύ 'quick' (EM). Note ἀελλής (of κονίσσαλος Γ 13), perhaps from ►ἀολλής, but rather not after ἄελλα. Verb ἀέλλεται· πνεῖ (EM).

•ETYM Cf. θύελλα. Direct derivation from the root of ►ἄημι, \*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-, is impossible because of related W *awel* [f.] 'wind', which requires the reconstruction \*h<sub>2</sub>eu-el-. The Greek form can also be derived from \*ἄφελ-ια. The gloss ἀέλιη· πνοή 'breath, etc.' (H.) does not fit in. See ►ἀέτιμον.

**ἄεμμα** [n.] 'bow' (Call.). <?>

•ETYM Assuming an original meaning 'bowstring' (cf. ►νευρά), explained as an artificial form for ἄμμα 'knot, cord' (to ►ἄπτω); this is doubtful.

**ἀετμόν** ⇒ ἀτμός.

**ἀέξω** ⇒ αὔξω, αὐξάνω.

**ἄεπτος** [adj.] of uncertain mg., cf. ἄεπτον· ἰσχυρόν, ἀοίκητον (ἄθικτον) 'strong, uninhabited' (H.). <?>

•VAR Sometimes we find ►ἄαιπτος or ἄελπτος (A. *Supp.* 908, Ag. 141, etc.).

•ETYM Unknown. See Wackernagel *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 5 (1897): 27ff.

**ἄερον** [m.] Boeotian name for the bird μέρον (sch. Ar. *Av.* 1354). <PG? (S, V)>

•VAR Also Ἀέρορες· ἔθνος, Τροϊζήνα κατοικοῦντες, καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ γένος τι. καὶ ὄρνεά τινα 'people inhabiting Troezen; lineage in Macedonia; kind of bird' (H.); the gloss ἀεροπός· κοχλίας 'snail' (H.) is corrupted acc. to DELG following Latte. Variants εἶροι = μέρον, also Boeotian (Arist.); PN Ἡέροπος.

•ETYM See Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 12-34; it is clearly a substrate element. Chantraine thinks that the α- is long because of Ant. Lib. 18, 3 ἡέροπος. Fur.: 243, 246, 352 assumes the interchange μ/ ρ and prothesis ἀ-/ ἐ-/ ἡ-: μέροι- / ἀφέροι- / εἶροι- < \*ἔφεροι- / ἡφέροι- (but this remains uncertain; perhaps εἶ-, ἡ- are secondary lengthenings). Pre-Greek origin of the bird name and the proper name is probable (cf. the suffix -οπ-). See ►μέρον, ►πηνέλοψ.

**ἄεσα** [v.aor.] 'to spend (the night)' (Od.), always with νύκτα(ς). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>ues- 'live, dwell, spend the night'>

•VAR Secondary pres. ἀέσκω (Hdn., H.).



•ETYM Related to Skt. *vāsati* ‘to dwell, live, spend the night’, Hitt. *huiš-zi* ‘to live’, ToB *wās-* [verb] ‘to stay, to wait’, Go. *wisan* ‘to be’, Arm. *gom* ‘I am’ (but rejected by Kortlandt AAL 19 (1998): 19f.) etc. There is also an old present *ιαύω* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>i-h<sub>2</sub>eus-*. Not related to ἄστυ, ἐστία.

ἀεσίφων ⇒ ἀάω.

ἀέσκω ⇒ ἄεσα.

ἄζετον · ἄπιστον. Σικελοί ‘not trustworthy (Sicilian)’ (H.). <?>

•DER ἄζετώ in ἀζετωθεωντι (Delphi, SGDI 2034, 17), but the mg. ‘if they are persuaded’ poses difficulties, as it is the opposite of the gloss; see DELG.

•ETYM Unexplained.

ἄζηχης [adj.] ἄπαυστος, συνεχής, incessant, of noise, pain (Il.). <GR>

•DER In H. also ἀζαχές and ἀζεχές ἀδιάλειπτον ‘incessant’; ἀζηχές ἀδιεχές ‘unceasing’ (Suid.).

•ETYM Probably for *\*ἀζαεχής*, which can be read in all places in Homer, from *\*ἀ-δια-εχής* (cf. συνεχής ‘continuous’) (Schulze 1892: 471, Bechtel 1914 s.v.). But the contraction *\*αε* > *η* is irregular in Ionic. DELG therefore suggests the influence of ἤχη and compounds like δυσσηχής, but also remarks that *\*αε* > *η* may be found in Thessalian, Lesbian and Arcado-Cyprian. For the meaning, Bechtel assumes ‘der ohne Einhaltung etwas tut’, but it simply means ‘without interruption’; διέχω means ‘to stand apart, be separate’.

ἄζον [adj.] · μέλαν, ὑψηλόν ‘black or dark, high’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 33 corrects μέλαν to μέγαν. However, his explanation from *\*ag-izon* (to ἄγαν and μέγας) is quite uncertain.

ἄζομαι ⇒ ἄγιος.

ἄζω 1 [v.] ‘to dry’ (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ed-* ‘dry’>

•VAR Mostly intr. ἄζομαι ‘to parch’.

•COMP ἄδδανον· ξηρόν. Λάκωνες ‘dry (Lacon.)’ (H.) would be a compound of ἄζα (see below) and αῖος ‘dry’ (Fraenkel *Gnomon* 21 (1949): 39, Fraenkel *Glotta* 32 (1953): 22); improbable; Latte corrects the gloss to *\*ἄδδανον*. Cf. ἄζαυτός· παλαιότης καὶ κόνις ‘antiquity, dust’ (H.), which remains unclear.

•DER Hell. ἄζα ‘dryness, heat’, in σάκος ... πεπαλαγμένον ἄζη (χ 184) often interpreted as ‘shield defiled with mold’, which seems unnecessary, cf. ἄζα· ἄσβολος κόνις ‘soot, dust or ashes’, παλαιότης· κόπρος ἐν ἀγγείῳ ὑπομείνασα ‘filth having remained behind in a receptacle’ (H.).

Adjective ἀζαλέος ‘barren, arid’ (Il.), cf. ἰσχαλέος, αὔσταλέος. Verbs ἄζανομαι (h. Ven.), ἄζαίνω (Nic.) ‘to parch’, both deverbative.

•ETYM Acc. to Frisk, the nearest cognates are found in Slavic: OPol. *ozd* ‘dried malt’, Cz., Sln. *ozditi* ‘to dry malt’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>esd-*. Germanic has a group of words with velars in place of dentals: Go. *azgo*, OHG *asca* ‘ashes’. However, it is more probable that Gr. ἄζω is comparable to Hitt. *hāt-<sup>i</sup>* ‘to dry up’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>od-ei*, and should be reconstructed as *\*h<sub>2</sub>ed-ie/o-* (cf. Kloekhorst 2008). What is perhaps originally an extension of the

same root, if *\*h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>2</sub>s-* < pre-PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eds-*, is found in Lat. *arēō* ‘to be dry’, *āra* ‘altar’ (OLat. *āsa*), Hitt. *hašša-* ‘hearth’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>2</sub>s-h<sub>2</sub>*. Skt. *āsa-* [m.] ‘ashes, dust’ probably continues *\*h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>2</sub>s-o-*. Cf. ▶ αὔος, ▶ αὔσταλέος.

ἄζω 2 [v.] ‘to cry, groan’. ⇒ ἄ 5.

ἀηδών, -όνος [f.] ‘nightingale’ (Od.). <PG?(S)>

•VAR Also ἀηδῶ, -οῦς [f.] (S.). Also [m.], but rare.

•ETYM From ἀφιδών; cf. ἀβηδόνα· ἀηδόνα (H.). Connection with ▶ ἀείδω and ▶ αὐδή (which is almost universally accepted) is difficult, since a lengthened grade *\*h<sub>2</sub>uēd-* is improbable. The word could therefore well be Pre-Greek; for the suffix, cf. bird and animals names like ▶ χελιδών ‘swallow’, ▶ τενθρηδών ‘wasp’.

ἄημι [v.] ‘to blow’ (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘blow’>

•VAR Forms in Schwyzler: 680.

•DER ἀήτη [f.], ἀήτης [m.] ‘wind’; rare are the verbal nouns ἄημα, ἄησις. A zero grade *āe-* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>2</sub>-* in ἀετμόν· τὸ πνεῦμα (H.), whence ▶ ἀτμός. Cf. further ▶ ἄελλα; ἄος· πνεῦμα ἢ ἄημα (cod. ἱαμα) ‘breath, wind’ (H.) is an innovation. Unrelated is ▶ ἀήρ, which has long *ā-*.

•ETYM An old verbal root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>2</sub>-* is also reflected in Skt. *vāti*, Go. *waian*, OHG *wāen* and OCS 1sg. *vě-jp*, all ‘to blow’. The word for ‘wind’ is (a thematization of) the participle of this root: *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>2</sub>-nt-o-* > Skt. *vāta-* [m.], Av. *vāta-*, both of which must often be read with three syllables, representing Proto-Indo-Iranian *\*vaHata-*. The same word is found in Lat. *ventus*, Go. *winds*, ToA *want*, ToB *yente*; Hitt. *huyant-* is from unthematicized *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>2</sub>-ent-*. A form with suffix *\*-t-* has been assumed in in ▶ ἀήσυρος ‘airy, quick (as wind?)’ (poet.), for which cf. Skt. *vātula-* ‘windy’, but this gives formal problems (*\*tu* > *συ* is not regular). See ▶ ἄελλα, ▶ αὔρα, ▶ ἀήσυρος, ▶ ἀτμός.

ἄήρ [f.] ‘mist, haze, clouds’ (Il.), later ‘air, atmosphere’. <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-er-*>

•VAR Gen. ἥερος. The nom. ἄήρ (also Att.; thence gen. ἥερος) arose by dissimilation; is it an Atticism in Homer? Later Ion. ἡήρ.

•DIAL Aeol. αὔηρ, Dor. ἀβήρ (= αὐήρ) (H.).

•DER Derivatives: ἡερόεις, ἡεροειδής ‘dim, cloudy’, also ▶ αὔρα.

•ETYM ἄήρ is not cognate with ἄημι. Meillet BSL 26 (1925): 7ff. assumed an original meaning ‘suspension’ and derived the word from αἰρώ ‘raise’. However, this leaves the length of the initial vowel unexplained. Kiparsky *Lang.* 43 (1967): 619, 626 derives the word from *\*ausēr*, arguing that related ▶ αὔρα < *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-r-h<sub>2</sub>* still means ‘morning mist’ in ε 469. See ▶ ἡέριος, ▶ ἡήρι.

ἀήσυλος [adj.] in the hapax ἀήσυλα ἔργα (E 876) ‘criminal acts’. <?, PG?(V)>

•VAR αἰήσυλον· ἄνομον, κακοποιόν ‘lawless, doing ill’ (H.).

•ETYM It has been proposed that the word is a modification of αἰσυλος ‘unseemly, evil’ (αἰσυλα ῥέζειν, E 403, etc.) after ἄημι or ἀήσυρος. Different explanations are found in Bechtel 1914 and Brugmann *Sächs. Ber.* 53 (1901): 94. Fraenkel *Glotta* 34 (1955): 307ff proposed *\*α(φ)ισσυλα*, connecting it with ἴσος (highly doubtful). Fur.:

253 points to the variant αἰ- in the gloss, which may imply a substrate origin (comparing ἄητος, which may have a variant αἴητος).

**ἀήσυρος** [adj.] probably 'light, agile', said of ants (A.). <PG?(S)>

- VAR Cf. ἀήσυρον· τὸ λεπτόν, τὸ μετέωρον καὶ κοῦφον παρὰ τὸ ἀέρι σύρεσθαι ἐπὶ ὀρνέων 'delicate, elevated, light, after being dragged through the air by birds' (Suda).
- ETYM Connection with ▶ἄημι is improbable; rather a substrate word (where the suffix -up- is not infrequent).

**ἄητος** [adj.] in θάρσος ἄητον (Φ 395), mg. uncertain. <PG?(V)>

- VAR Cf. also θάρσος ἄἄτον (Q. S. 1, 217). Also ἄητοι· ἀκόρεστοι, ἄπληστοι 'insatiable, greedy'; ἄητους· μεγάλας. Αἰσχύλος Ἀθάμαντι 'great (Aesch.)' (H.), ἄητος· ὁ ἀκατάπαυστος 'incessant' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 220).
- ETYM The first explanation connects the word with ἄμεναι, ▶ἄσαι 'to satiate', but this would mean that it differs from ἄατος, ἄτος by its long vowel, which is improbable. Perhaps it is the same word as ▶αἴητος (in πέλωρ αἴητον Σ 410, said of Hephaistos). If so, the variation α/ αἰ might point to a substrate word; metrical lengthening is improbable, and α < αἰ impossible. See Fur.: 253, though his connection with ▶ἀήσυλος remains uncertain. Palmer 1963: 339 connects the epithet of Hephaistos with Myc. *a-ja-me-no* as 'artist'; this is improbable. Not related to ἄημι. See Sabbadini *Riv. studi class.* 15 (1967): 78-84.

**ἀθήρη** [f.] 'gruel, porridge' (Ar.). <?>

- VAR Also ἀθήρη, -α [f.] (Hell.); influence of ▶ἀθήρ?
- DER ἀθαρώδης (Ruf. Med.) and ἀθήρωμα 'kind of ulcer' (Gal.).
- ETYM Unexplained; an Egyptian word according to Pliny (*N. H.* 22, 121). The final -η in Attic, which is confirmed by Moeris, would lead us to suppose a pre-form \*ἀθαρῃ. Connection with ἀθήρ is neither formally nor semantically plausible. Not related to Lat. *ador* (Hamp *TPS* (1968): 106), as this belongs to Go. *atisk* and Iran. *ādu* 'grain' (Szemerényi 1969a: 968f.).

**ἀθεלב-** → ἀθέλγειν.

**ἀθέλγειν** [v.] · ἀμέλγειν 'to milk' (H., *EM*), (ἐξ)αθέλγεται (Hp.), explained as παρίεται, διεκλύεται 'lets go, releases' by Galen. Also ἀθέλγεται· θηλάζεται ἢ θλίβηται 'is suckled, compressed' (H.), cf. ἀθέλγεται· Βακχεῖός φησι θηλάζεται ἢ ἐπισπᾶται, καὶ ἐκθλίβηται ὡς καὶ Νίκανδρος 'is suckled, drawn after one; is squeezed (out), crowded' (Erotian. 20, 1; see Hp. *De med. off.* 11). <PG(V)>

- VAR Cf. ἀθέλβεται· διηθεῖται 'is strained through' (AB); ἀθελβεῖ· ἔλκει 'draws' (H.) and ἀθελβάειν· διηθεῖν 'to strain through' (H.); further ἀθέλδεται· διηθεῖται 'id.' (Diocl. *Com. fr.* 7 Kock, An. Bekk. 350).

•ETYM These verbs, meaning 'to press, draw away, filter', have no etymology. The variation β/ δ/ γ should not be explained from an IE labiovelar (as per Solmsen 1909: 9'), as contamination leading to three different forms is improbable. Since Pre-Greek also had labiovelars (cf. βασιλεύς, Myc. *qa-si-re-u*), substrate origin is most probably the source of the alternations. See Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 12f., and cf. γέφυρα beside δέφυρα, see Fur.: 388, 390.

**ἀθελδ-** → ἀθέλγειν.

**ἀθερίζω** [v.] 'to disparage, neglect' (Il.). Originally always with negation. <?>

- DER ἀθερίστος· ἀφρόντιστος (Zonar., *A. Fr.* 128), cod. -ιτον.
- ETYM Unknown. The glosses ἀθερές· ἀνόητον, ἀνόσιον, ἀκριβές 'stupid, not in order, precise' (H.) and ἀθερής· ὁ σίδηρος ἀτειρής ὅταν θερίζῃ, etc. 'indestructible iron when it is heated' (H.) seem unrelated in view of their meaning. An older proposal derives it from \*ἄθερος, connecting it with Skt. *ādharma-* '(be)low' (see Bechtel 1914). Another proposal (DELG) derives it from ▶ἀθήρ, as *floci facio*. Neither is convincing.

**Ἀθήνη** [f.] the goddess (Il.), a common Greek goddess dating from Minoan times, protecting the palace, and depicted with a snake. <PG>

- DIAL Myc. *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* [dat.sg.]? (see Aura Jorro 1985-1993: 112). Dor. (etc.) Ἀθάνα.
- DER The town Ἀθῆναι (Dor. Ἀθάναι) contains the same onomastic element; for the suffix cf. Μυκῆναι. Thence Ἀθηναῖος 'Athenian' (Il.), whence fem. Ἀθηναία, -η, which is also used as the name of the goddess (88 times in Hom.). This form gave \*Ἀθηνάα (Aeol. Ἀθαναα with short va), which was contracted to Att. Ἀθηνᾶ.
- ETYM Like the goddess itself, the name is pre-Greek. Note the suffix \*-ān-. See ▶Ἀττικός.

**ἀθήρ, -έρος** [m.] 'awn', plur. 'chaff, barb of a weapon, spine or prickle of a fish', also 'edge of a weapon' (Hes.). <PG(V)>

- VAR With a nasal ἀνθέριξ, -ικος, etc.; with suffix -εών: ἀνθερέων, -ῶνος (see below).
- COMP ἀθηρηλοιγός 'winnowing-fan', from 'consumer of chaff' (Od. λ 128 = δ 275), but the two η's are surprising.
- DER ἀθερίνη f., -ίνος m. 'kind of smelt, *Atherina hepsetus*' (Arist.), cf. Chantraine 1933: 204, Thompson 1947 s.v. Also ἀθερηῖς, -ίδος [f.] 'prickly' (Nic.), ἀθερώδης (Thphr.).

Variants with nasal: ἀνθέριξ, -ικος [m.] = ἀθήρ, also 'ear' (Il.), ἀνθέρικος [m.] 'stalk of an asphodel, asphodel plant' (Hp.), ἀνθερικώδης (Thphr.). With the suffix of place -εών: ἀνθερέων, -ῶνος [m.] 'chin' (Il.).

- ETYM No etymology. IE ablaut \**h<sub>2</sub>end<sup>h</sup>* : \**h<sub>2</sub>nd<sup>h</sup>* is impossible, as both forms would give Gr. ἀνθ- acc. to Rix's Law. The nasalized forms could be due to folk etymology, but rather point to Pre-Greek prenasalization. Fur.: 296 further adduces ἀνθερίσκοις = ἀνθερικ- with the interchange σκ/ κ; perhaps also ▶ἄνθρυσκος / ἐ- 'chervil'. Not related to Lat. *ador*, both because of the meaning, and because this is kindred with Iran. *ādu*, Go. *atisk*; see Szemerényi 1969a: 958f. The word has nothing to do with names of the wasp or forest bee (▶ἀνθρήνη, ▶ἀνθηρώδης), nor with ▶ἄνθρωπος.

**ἀθραγένη** [f.] a plant, '*Clematis vitalba*' (Thphr.). <PG(V)>

- ETYM Frisk compares ▶ἄθρας 'chariot', which he thinks would fit a climbing plant well, but I don't see what a car has to do with a plant. See Strömberg 1940: 108. Fur.: 288 compares ἀνδράχνη and concludes to a substrate origin (prenasalization), which is probable anyhow.

**ἄθραξ** [m., f.] · ἄρμα. ‘Pódiōi ‘chariot (Rhodian)’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained. Formerly compared with Skt. *vandhúra-* [m.] ‘wagon-seat’, taken as a wicker basket tied upon the wagon, and connected with MoHG *winden*, etc. (Pok.: 1148) as IE *\*uend<sup>h</sup>-* : *und<sup>h</sup>-* >(>) Gr. *\*φαθ-*. As the formation of the Sanskrit word is unclear, and the root is hardly attested outside Germanic, the connection must be false. Bănăţeanu *REIE* 3 (1943): 149 calls the word Anatolian. Connection with *κάνναθρον* is improbable.

**ἄθρέω** [v.] ‘to gaze at, observe’ (Il.). <?>

•DER ἄθρήματα· δῶρα πεμπόμενα παρὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ταῖς γαμιουμέναις παρθέναις παρὰ Λεσβίοις ‘gifts having been sent by kinsfolk to maidens being given in marriage (Lesbian)’ (H.) (Snell *Glotta* 37 (1959): 282-287, cf. Renehan *Glotta* 49 (1971): 66).

•ETYM No etymology. One compares ἐνθρεῖν· φυλάσσειν ‘to guard’ (H.) and θρήσκω· νοῶ ‘to perceive’ (H.), θρησκεύω ‘to observe’ etc., but this leaves the ἄ- unexplained. It cannot be the zero grade of ἐν-, since a zero grade *\*h<sub>1</sub>n-* would still yield ἐν-. The derivation by Hoffmann 1921: 78f. from a noun *\*ἄθρος* ‘directed at a goal’, from IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>er-* ‘to hold’ and copulative α- (cf. ▶ ἄθροος), is most improbable. On the use of ἄθρέω, see Prévot *RPh.* 61 (1935): 246f.

**ἄθροος** [adj.] ‘in crowds, gathered together’ (Il.). <?>

•DIAL Att. ἄθροος (spiritus asper perhaps restored after ἄπας, ἄμα).

•DER ἄθροίζω (ἄ-) ‘to gather together’ (Archil.).

•ETYM Compared with Skt. *sadhry-añc-* ‘united’ (Brugmann 1894: 14ff.), which was formerly analyzed as containing the root *\*d<sup>h</sup>er-* ‘to hold’, but this is no longer maintained by EWAia. It does not belong to ▶ ἄθρέω, nor to ▶ θρόνος. It is probable that ἄ- is from *\*sm-*, but the further analysis is uncertain. Risch 1937: 179 compares ἄλλό-θροος ‘speaking a foreign language’, in which case it would mean ‘calling together’(?).

**ἄθυρω** [v.] ‘to play, sport’ (Il.). <?>

•VAR Only present.

•DER ἄθυρμα ‘plaything, toy’ (Il.), plur. also ‘adornments’, diminutive ἄθυρμάτιον. Deverbative ἄθυρεύεσθαι· παίζειν, μίγνυειν, σκιρτᾶν ‘to play, intermingle, leap’ (H.).

•ETYM From *\*ἄθυρ-γω*. Compared with Lith. *padürmai* ‘impetuous’, Ru. *dur* ‘foolishness’, from PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>uer(H)-* ‘to whirl, rush’. However, ἄ- cannot be the zero grade of *\*h<sub>1</sub>en-* ‘in’ (which would not really make sense semantically anyway), and an initial laryngeal gives the improbable root structure *\*h<sub>2</sub>d<sup>h</sup>uerH-*.

**αἶ** exclamation of surprise, pain, or sorrow. <ONOM>

•VAR Also αἰᾶ.

•ETYM Elementary formation, found in many languages.

**αι** ‘if. ⇒ ei.

**αἶα 1** [f.] ‘earth’ (Il.). <?>

•ETYM By some considered identical with ▶ αἶα 2 (Brugmann *IF* 15 (1903-1904): 94ff., Brugmann *IF* 29 (1911-1912): 206ff.), in which case it would originally mean ‘mother’.

The relation with γαῖα and μαῖα is uncertain; cf. Güntert 1914: 126f., Brandenstein 1954b: 80. Van Windekens assumed *\*as-ya* from *\*h<sub>2</sub>s-* ‘dry’ (but this root perhaps did not exist; see ▶ ἄζω). Woodhouse *KZ* 107 (1994): 99f.) assumes *\*sausīa*, but cf. ▶ αὔος.

**αἶα 2** [f.] ‘mother, grandmother?’ (Il., poet.). <?>

•VAR Cf. αἶα· ὑπὸ Κυρηναίων τηθίς καὶ μαῖα καὶ ἀδελφῇ Κρήτης. καὶ φυτὸν τι. ἔτι δὲ ὁ κάρπος αὐτῷ ὁμώνυμος (*EM* 27, 24).

•ETYM Compared with Lat. *avia* ‘grandmother’; uncertain. Elementary word? See ▶ αἶα 1.

**αἰάνης** [adj.] ‘horrible’ (Archil.); the mg. ‘eternal’ (A.) through association with ▶ αἰεί.

<?>

•VAR Ion. αἰηνής.

•ETYM There is a speculative hypothesis by Wackernagel 1897: 7, who assumed the reconstruction *\*σαιφ-άνης* ‘with terrifying face’ (whence Lat. *saevus*, the word for ‘face’ seen in ▶ ἀπηνής, etc.). See Degani *Helikon* 2 (1962): 37-56.

**αἰβοῖ** exclamation of disgust (Ar.). <ONOM>

•VAR Also αἰβοῖβοῖ, of laughter.

•ETYM Onomatopoeic, elementary formation. See Schwyzler: 600.

**αἰγανή** [f.] ‘hunting spear, javelin’ (Il.). <?>

•ETYM For the suffix, cf. the names of trees and animal skins in -έη, -έα: μηλέη, πετέλη, κυνέη etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 91f.). If named after the material, one compares the word for ‘oak’ in PGm. *\*aik-*, which is also supposed in ▶ αἰγίλωψ and Lat. *aesculus*. Trümpy 1950: 52, 57 explains that the αἰγανή was thrown by a strap. Laser *Gymnasium* 60 (1953): 115-121 connected it with PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eig-* ‘to stir, set in movement’, in Skt. *éjati*, to which αἶγες· κύματα (see ▶ αἶξ) is compared. This is semantically improbable, and if Skt. *ej-* belongs to *ing-* (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 264), then the root contained a labiovelar, which would make the connection impossible. To ▶ αἰχμή, acc. to Bechtel 1914.

**αἶγειρος** [f.] ‘black poplar’ (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR αἶγερος (*Com. Adesp.* 1276, Kock).

•DER αἰγειρών ‘poplar grove’, αἰγείρινος, αἰγειρίτης ‘of the poplar’ (all Hell. and late).

•ETYM The connection with ▶ αἰγίλωψ, ▶ αἰγανή is uncertain. Sommer *IF* 55 (1937): 260 pointed to numerous non-IE words like αἶγιθος and names in Αἶγ- (Αἶγινα, Αἶγαί, etc.), suggesting a Pre-Greek origin. This would be confirmed by the form with -ε-.

**αἰγιαλός** [adj.] ‘sea-shore, beach’; also TN, e.g. the coast of Achaea (Il.). <?>

•DIAL Myc. *a<sub>3</sub>-ki-a<sub>2</sub>-ri-jo* probably /aigihalio-/; see Aura Jorro 1985-1993: 134.

•DER αἰγιάλειος, αἰγιαλεύς, αἰγιαλικός, -λίτης, -λώδης all are late derivations. Also Αἰγιαλεῖς name of the inhabitants of the coast of Achaea Hdt.).

•ETYM The Myc. form seems to confirm that the second element is derived from ▶ ἄλς. For the first member, cf. αἶγες· τὰ κύματα. Δωριεῖς ‘waves (Dor.)’ (H.) and Artem. 2, 12 καὶ γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα κύματα αἶγας ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ λέγομεν ‘we usually call

large waves αἶγας'. This in turn is comparable with Skt. *ej-* 'to storm', but see ► αἰγανέη. It is highly improbable that αἶγες in the sense of κύματα is a metaphorical use of αἶξ 'goat' (as per Heubeck *IF* 68 (1963): 13-21). The word is Pre-Greek acc. to Chantraine 1933: 248, which cannot be excluded, though Chantraine now calls it 'all too easy' in DELG s.v.

**αἶγιθος** [m.] 'titmouse (Parus)' (Ar.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR αἶγινθος (Dionys. *Av.* 1, 12); αἶγινθος μικρός 'parra modica' (gloss.), not mentioned by Frisk or DELG; αἰγίοθος (Arist. *v.l.*), for \*αἶγισθος?

•DER αἰγίθαλλος, -θαλος (Ar.).

•ETYM A typical substrate word, discernible from its prenasalization and the suffix -αλ(λ)- with variation λ/λλ. See Fur.: 267, 288, 254<sup>8</sup>, 304, 387, with further literature.

**αἰγίλιψ** [adj.] 'sheer, steep' (Il.), also as a TN. <?>

•VAR αἰγίλιψ· ὑψηλὴ πέτρα καὶ πόλις καὶ ἰτέα ὑπὸ Θούριων 'high rock, citadel, willow (Thourian)' (H.).

•ETYM The Ancients explained it as 'abandoned even by goats', which is clearly a folk etymology. In modern times, it is connected with Lith. *lipti* 'to clamber' (see Solmsen 1901: 73') as 'what can be climbed only by goats', which is also highly doubtful. The meaning 'clamber' for the root \**leip-* is secondary to 'stick, cleave', and it is far from certain that Greek underwent the same development as Lithuanian. The formation in αἰγι- is unexplained as well (see ► αἶξ). Cf. also ► ἄλιψ· πέτρα 'rock' (H.), the explanation of which from 'what cannot be climbed' is doubtful too; the gloss λίψ· πέτρα ἄφ' ἧς ὕδωρ στάζει 'rock from which water drips' may be due to later interpretation (Solmsen, cf. Persson 1912(1): 152'); Marzullo 1969: 101f thinks it is a mistake for α[ιγί]λιψ.

**αἰγίλωψ, -ωπος** [m.] 'kind of oak' (Thphr.), also 'oat-grass' (Thphr.); 'ulcer in the eye, lacrymal fistula', for which see ► ἀγγίλωψ. On the mg. see Strömberg 1940: 87. <?>

•ETYM As the name of a kind of oak, αἰγίλωψ has been connected with the Gm. word for 'oak', PGm. \**aik-* (Pok.: 13). Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 335 connected -λωψ with λώπη 'cork' (cf. λώψ· χλαμύς 'cloak, mantle' H.), adduced from Pliny (*H. N.* 16, 6, 13): *aegilops fert pannos arentes ... non in cortice modo, verum et e ramis dependentes*. Within Greek, it is doubtful whether one can connect it with ► αἰγανέη and ► αἶγειρος. Strömberg 1940: 137 derives αἰγίλωψ in the second meaning from αἶγιλος 'havergrass' (Theoc.), which is certainly correct.

**αἶγίς** [f.] 'goatskin' (E. *Cyc.*, Hdt. 4, 189), a mantle protecting Zeus and Athena (Il.); later also 'storm wind' (A.); further 'heart-wood of the Corsican pine or the silver fir in Arcadia' (Thphr.). Also 'speck in the eye' (Hp.), on which see ► ἀγλίη. <GR>

•DER αἰγίοχος epithet of Zeus (Il.), cf. γαῖαφοχος. With the last mg. ἐπ-αἰγίζω 'rush upon' (from a storm wind) (Hom).

•ETYM Probably a goatskin in origin (thus Hdt. 4, 189); formation like νεβρίς 'fawn-skin' (see ► νεβρός), etc. In Homer, gods and men are frightened when it is shaken. For the meaning 'storm wind', see Heubeck *IF* 68 (1963): 13-21. Kretschmer *Glotta* 27

(1939): 28, connected it with αἶγλη and αἶγες· τὰ κύματα 'waves' (H.); one might think of Skt. *ējati* 'to move, set in motion'.

\***αἶγλίς, -ίδος** 'speck in the eye' (Gall.). <?>

•ETYM The form is reconstructed in order to account for αἶγίς and ἀγλίη(ς); cf. also αἰγιαλίδες (H.). See RPh. 73 (1999) 81f. s.v. αἶγίς (derived from αἶγλη). Or should we reconstruct \*ἀγλίς?

**αἶγλη 1** [f.] 'light (of sun or moon), gleam, radiance' (Il.). <?>

•DER αἰγλήεις 'gleaming' (Il.), αἰγλάτας, -ήτης epithet of Apollo (inscr. Anaphe, Thera; A. R.); αἰγλάζω 'to shine, gleam' (Man.).

•ETYM The connection with Skt. *ējati* 'to move, tremble' (cf. ► αἰγανέη) is rightly rejected by DELG. The epithets Ἀπόλλων ► Ἀσγελάτας (Anaphe) and Ἀπόλλων Αἰγλάτας (Anaphe, Thera) are often compared. In view of the variation αἶγλ- / ἀσγ(ε)λ-, the epithets must be Pre-Greek. The noun may be of Pre-Greek origin too (it has no etymology), but it does not necessarily have the same origin as the epithets; it is methodically incorrect to clarify the formation of the appellative by that of a name.

**αἶγλη 2** [f.] 'ring' (deduced from glosses). <?>

•ETYM Lewy *KZ* 59 (1932) derived it from αἶγλας· ἀμφιδέας καὶ ψέλια 'iron rings, anklets'. τὰ περὶ τὴν ὕνιν τοῦ ἀρότρου 'things around the plowshare' (H.), from αἶγ<ι>λια· δακτυλῖδια 'small rings' (H.), and other words attested in lexicons. He explained it as a loan from Hebr. *āgil* '(ear-)ring', which remains hypothetical. As Frisk remarks, metonymic use of ► αἶγλη 1 'gleam, splendor' is well possible.

**αἰγυπιός** [m.] 'vulture' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR αἰγίποψ· ἀετός ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων 'eagle (Maced.)' (*EM* 28, 19).

•ETYM The comparison with Skt. *ṛji-pyā-*, epithet of the bird *śyenā-* 'eagle, falcon', *Av. ərəzi-fia-* is formally difficult, since we expect \*αρC-; influence by αἶξ and γύψ 'vulture' has been assumed, but this seems unlikely. Fur.: 364 compares the gloss αἰγίποψ, which is evidently a variant of the same word. Variation between *i* and *u* is well-attested in substrate words (cf. ► μάρσιππος/ μάρσυππος), and -οι- is a Pre-Greek suffix. ► γύψ itself is no doubt a substrate word as well; it may be a variant of \*(a)g'up-, which also gives αἰγυπ-, with prothetic vowel and palatalized /g'/ . No conclusion is reached by Meier-Brügger *KZ* 108 (1995): 50-55.

**αἰγωλιός** [m.] a kind of owl, 'Stix flammea' (Arist.). <?>

•VAR Also αἰγώλιος.

•ETYM The reading αἰτώλιος (Arist. *HA* 563<sup>a</sup> 31) is wrong, as evidenced by forms from modern southern Italy (*agoleo* etc.); see Rohlf's *ByzZ* 37 (1937): 55. Etymology unknown.

**αἶδηλος** [adj.] mg. not quite clear: 'hated; annihilating, destructive; invisible, unseen' (Il.). See the discussion in DELG. <GR>

•ETYM It is difficult to decide what the primary meaning is, but it is rather clear that the word contains a privative α with a form of ἰδεῖν. Ivanov 1999: 283-292 compares

Ru. *nevidal'* for the semantics and assumes the development 'invisible' > 'strange, dangerous'.

**Ἀΐδης, -αο** [m.] Hades (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>-uid-* 'unseen, invisible'>

•VAR With metathesis of quantity gen. -εω; also gen. Ἀΐδος, dat. -ί. Att. Ἀΐδης, -ου; Ἀΐδης is found in later Ionic poetry (Semon., Herodas), the Doric form Ἀΐδας, gen. -α in tragedy. An inscription from Thessaly (SEG 16, 380) gives Αἰδαν.

•DER Ἀΐδωνεύς (Il.), see Risch 1937: 158.

•ETYM Thieme proposed (Thieme 1952: 35-55) that the word derives from \**sm uid-* (Skt. *sám vid-*) as 'das Sichzusammenfinden [gathering of the family in the underworld]'. To my mind, this is not correct, as then Ἀΐδ- should denote the Underworld, not the God of the Underworld. In Homer, it rather seems to denote the God, e.g. in formulaic δόμιον Ἀΐδος εἶσω. The aspiration in Attic is secondary and arose by contraction from ὁ Ἀΐδης (Kamerbeek *apud* Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 307).

The other explanation, as \**h<sub>2</sub>-uid-*, 'the Unseen', seems the correct one. In Beekes 1998: 17-19, I pointed out that the replacement of a root noun, first in the nominative (here as the final element of a compound), is parallel to the case of φυγή : φύγαδε. The initial A- is sometimes lengthened for metrical reasons: it is not lengthened when it is not necessary or impossible, like in Ἀιδόσδε.

**αἰδομαι** [v.] 'to hold back, be ashamed; to honor, respect' (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>eis-d-* 'honor'>

•VAR αἰδεο, αἰδόμενος, αἰδετο, see Chantraine 1942: 310f.; more frequent is denominative αἰδέομαι (from \**aides-je/o-*).

•DER αἰδώς [f.] 'shame, reverence' (Il.), whence 1. αἰδοῖος < \**-os-jo-* 'inspiring αἰδώς' (Il., epic poet.) substantivized ntr. τὸ αἰδοῖον, usually plur. τὰ αἰδοῖα 'private parts' (Il.), whence αἰδοιῶδης and αἰδοϊκός; 2. compound ἀν-αΐδής 'shameless' (Il.), ἀναΐδεια, etc.; 3. αἰδέομαι < \**aides-je/o-* 'to hold back, revere', as a legal term also 'to be reconciled' (Hom., IA), fut. αἰδέσομαι. Thence αἰδεις 'mercy, pardon' (D., Arist.), αἰδεστός 'honorable' (Plu.), αἰδεστικός (sch.); αἰδήμων 'modest' (X., Arist.), αἰδημονικός and -μοσύνη (late and rare). αἰδέσιμος (post-class. prose) 'object of αἰδώς', also αἰδήσιμος (Orph.), whence αἰδεσιμότης (pap.). 4. αἰδοσύνη = αἰδημοσύνη (AB, Phot.).

•ETYM It is formally uncertain that a PIE root \**h<sub>2</sub>eisd-*, from which Go. *aistan* 'to hold back, respect' and Skt. *īḍé* < PIlr. \**Hizd-* 'to praise, honor' derive, would give Gr. αἰδ-: we would expect \**h<sub>2</sub>eisd-* to appear as Gr. αἰζ- (cf. ἱζω < \**si-sd-*). Of course, the connection is semantically very tempting. Without final \**-d*, the root \**h<sub>2</sub>eis-* is found in MoHG *Ehre* 'honor', ON *eir*, etc., and in Osc. *aisusis* [abl.pl.] 'sacrificiis', and perhaps originally in the verb \**h<sub>2</sub>is-ske/o-* 'to demand' > Skt. *iccháti* 'search for', OCS *iskati* 'to search', etc.

**αἰδύλος** [adj.] · θρασύς 'bold, rash' (H., EM). <?>

•ETYM A mistake for αἰδηλος (E 897)? Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 218<sup>4</sup> differs. Fur.: 262f. compares αἰσυλος.

**αἰδῶσσα** [f.] (cod. αἰδῶσσα)· τῆς αὐλῆς τὰ τείχη 'the walls of the court or hall' (H.).

<PG(V)>

•ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 5f. suggested that the word is Illyrian for αἰθουσα. Latte thinks it is a corruption (but on three points?). Fur.: 197 considers it a substrate word, taking ▶αἰθουσα as a variant form, and comparing Κήλωσσα / Κηλοῦσα, a mountain in Sicily.

**αἰεῖ** [adv.] 'always' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ei-u-* 'time of living, well-being'>

•VAR αἰῶ (A. Ch. 350, AB 363), see below.

•DIAL αἰφεῖ (Cypr., Locr., Phoc.), αἰεῖ (Att.), αἰες (Dor.); αἰη (Tarent.).

•DER αἰδιος 'eternal' (Hes., IA), whence αἰδιότης 'eternity' (Arist., Hell.).

•ETYM From \**aiwes-i*, the old locative of an *s*-stem, which is found without ending in Dor. αἰές, and also in the accus. αἰῶ < \**aiwos-ηi*. Beside the *s*-stem, Greek had an *n*-stem in ▶αἰών, from which αἰέν derives. The Tarentine form would be an old instrumental \**h<sub>2</sub>ei-u-eh<sub>2</sub>*, but this is unclear. On the accentuation of the Greek forms see Hamp *Glotta* 67 (1989): 41.

The *s*- and *n*-stems derive from the old PIE *u*-stem \**h<sub>2</sub>oi-u-* > Av. *āiiu-* 'life, time of life', gen. \**h<sub>2</sub>i-eu-s* > OAv. *yaoš*, thematicized \**h<sub>2</sub>ei-u-o-* > Lat. *aevum*, which in Greek may be found in Aeol. αἰ(ν), αἰ(ν) < \**aiw-i(n)*. As Weiss MSS 55 (1994): 151f. suggested, the zero grade \**h<sub>2</sub>iu-* is perhaps found as the first member of Cypr. *u-wa-i-se* 'forever' < \**h<sub>2</sub>iu(u)-h<sub>2</sub>ei-s-* (but see ▶ὑ) and of ▶ὑγιής. Both the *s*-stem and the *n*-stem extensions seem to be found in Sanskrit: *āyu-n-i* [loc.], and *āyu-s-* [n.].

**αἰέλουρος** [m., f.] probably '(wild) cat' (Hdt., Ar.); domestic cats were not found in the Greek world. <?>

•VAR Also αἰλουρος (Arist.).

•ETYM The explanation as a compound of αἰόλος (< \**aielos*) and οὐρά 'with moving tail' (cf. EM 34, 8: αἰλουρος παρὰ τὸ αἰόλλειν καὶ ἀνάγειν τὴν οὐρὰν καὶ κινεῖν) still seems possible, although the -ε- is problematic. The connection with Lat. *viverra* 'ferret' and Lith. *vaiveris* 'male of the polecat / pitchew', starting from \**φαιφέρουρος* (Ehrlich 1912: 128ff.), should be abandoned. Note that the word may well have been adapted by folk etymology, and that from αἰε- we expect an Attic development to αἰε-, not the loss of -ε-.

**αἰέν** [adv.] 'always' (epic poet.). ⇒ αἰών.

**αἰές** ⇒ αἰεῖ.

**αἰετός** [m.] 'eagle' (Il.), also metaph. 'tympanum, pediment'. <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eu-i-* 'bird'>

•VAR Att. αἰετός; αἰβετός; αἰετός, Περγαῖοι (H.), with β = φ; αἰητός (Arat. 522), which is artificial (DELG).

•DER αἰετιδύς [m.] 'young eagle' (Ael., Aesop.), αἰετίτης (λίθος) (Ael.), αἰετώδης (Philostr.), αἰετόεις (Opp.); αἰετιαῖος 'ptng. to the tympanum' (inscr.); ἀέτωμα 'tympanum' (Hp., Att. inscr.), ἀέτωσις 'arched roof of a χελώνη' (Ath. Mech.).

•ETYM From \**aietos* < \**awjetó-*, cf. Lat. *avis*. For the suffix -ετο-, cf. νιφετός, πυρετός. The artificial form αἰητός does not allow us to conclude that it is a substrate word, as per Fur.: 115<sup>4</sup>. Not a Semitic word (Astour JAOS 86 (1966): 278B).

**αιζήος** [adj.] unknown; 'strong'? (Il.). <?>

•VAR Also αιζήϊος; αιζήεις (Theopomp. Col.), αιζᾶεν· εὐτραφὲς βλάστημα 'well-fed offspring' (H.).

•ETYM Danielsson 1892 gives no definitive answer. The gloss suggested a connection with αεί and ζῆν, which may be folk-etymological (DELG). Fur.: 234, who connects it with Αἴσηπος, is incorrect.

**αἴητος** ⇒ ἄητος.

**αιθάλη** [f.] 'soot' (Hp.).

•VAR αἴθαλος [m.] (Hp., E.), also as an adj. = αἰθαλόεις (Nic. Th. 659).

•DER αἰθαλόεις (Il., poet.) 'smoky, dark brown', also of the sheet of lightning (E. Ph. 183 [lyr.]), perhaps 'fiery, burning'; αἰθαλέος 'id.' (A. R., Nic.); αἰθαλίων, -ίωνος (Theoc. 7, 138), epithet of the τέττιγες, probably a color term with verse-final metrical lengthening); αἰθαλώδης 'id.' (Arist., Gal.). Unclear αἰθαλίδας· τὰ ἐν τῷ σίτῳ γινόμενα, ἣ τούς ἐν τῷ ὕδατι σταλαγμοὺς τοῦ ἐλαίου 'what is in the food, or drops of olive oil in the water' (H.). Denominative verb αἰθαλόω 'to make sooty', med. -όομαι 'to soot up' (E., Lyc.); αἰθαλώσεις 'clouds of sooty smoke' (Max. Tyr. 41, 4), perhaps directly from αἴθαλος.

•ETYM See ► αἴθω.

**αιθήρ, -έρος** [f., m.] 'clear sky, heaven' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>eid<sup>h</sup>- 'kindle, ignite'>

•COMP On αιθήρ and αἴθρη as a second member (e.g. in ὑπαίθριος, ὕπαιθρος) see Sommer 1948: 151f.

•DER αἴθρη, -ᾶ 'id.' (Il.); αἰθρίη, -ία 'clear sky, nice weather'; αἴθριος, -ον [adj.] 'of the sky, bright' (IA); the ntr. αἴθριον, diminutive αἰθρίδιον was used in imperial times as a folk-etymological adaptation of Lat. *atrium*.

αἴθρος 'fresh, cold air' (ξ 318 αἴθρῳ καὶ καμιάτῳ δεδμημένον). Cf. αἰθρεῖ· χειμάζει 'to expose to or pass the winter' (H.), αἰθρινόν· πρωϊνόν 'early' (H.); improbable Bouquiaux-Simon *Ant. class.* 31 (1962): 25ff.

With full-grade of the suffix αἰθέριος 'in the air, heavenly' (trag.), beside which rare and late αἰθερώδης, αἰθεριώδης, αἰθερίτης, αἰθερόομαι.

ἰθαρός 'cheerful, bright' (Alc.) may contain an old ablauting form of the root. The verb ἰθαίνειν (A. D., H.) could point to an *r/n*-stem.

•ETYM Generally derived from ► αἴθω; perhaps the formation was influenced by ἄηρ.

**Αἰθίοπες** [m.pl.] ethnonym, 'Ethiopians'(?). <PG(S)>

•DIAL Myc. PN *a-i-ti-jo-qa* /Ai<sup>h</sup>iok<sup>w</sup>s/ (or /-ō-/); for the *u*-stem in *Me-to-qa-u*, *Wo-no-qa-we* (/Woinok<sup>w</sup>ēwei/) cf. Αἰθιοπῆες (Hom.).

•ETYM Since antiquity explained as '(people) with burnt faces'. In Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 12-34, I objected that αἰθ- always means 'burning' in the sense of 'brilliant, emitting light' (cf. αἴθοψ), and never 'burnt'. Also, the -ι- is unexplained, and -οπ- is a typical substrate suffix (as opposed to 'face' = -ωπ-). Therefore, the word must be compared with ethnonyms like Δρύοπες, Δόλοπες and is of Pre-Greek origin.

**αἴθουσα** [f.] 'portico' (Il.); also a plant, cf. ► αἴθω. <PG(V)>

•VAR αἴθουσσα (Hdn. Gr. 2, 919).

•ETYM Generally explained as a ptc. of ► αἴθω meaning 'glowing, place where the sun burns' or 'place where fire can be kindled', which is hardly convincing. A better explanation is that of Fur.: 197<sup>54</sup>, who deems it a substrate word, as a technical term of building, because of the form with -σσ-. The form ► αἰδῶσσα confirms this; it can hardly be a mistake for αἴθουσα (which would imply three mistakes), and it has -σσ-. Of course, a folk-etymological connection with ► αἴθω is likely.

**αἴθω** [v.] 'to kindle', intr. med. 'burn (with light)' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>eid<sup>h</sup>- 'kindle'>

•VAR Only present.

•COMP Cf. ► Αἰθίοπες. On κακ-ιθής see on κέγκει s.v. ► κάγκανος.

•DER αἴθος [m.] 'burning heat' (E.) = Skt. *édha-* [m.] 'firewood', OHG *eit* [m.], OE *ād* 'blaze, pyre'; αἰθός 'sparkling, glowing', also 'dark-colored'; also αἴθων, -ωνος (Il.) and αἴθοψ (on the mgs. see Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 15-17).

αἴθος [n.] 'fire' (A. R.); αἰθήεις 'sooty' (Nic.), also αἰθής 'burning' (Cratin. 88), if this does not stand for αἰθής from αἰθήεις; αἴθινος (H., EM).

Perhaps related is αἰθόλικες 'pustule, pimple' (Hp., Gal.), cf. πομφόλυξ 'bubble' for the formation.

αἰθύσσω 'to stir violently' (Sapph., Pi.), also prefixed with ἀν-, δι-, κατ-, παρ-, is usually considered cognate, but the development of meaning is strange. The verbal noun αἰθυσμία 'spark, glow' (Plb.) did not undergo the metaphorical development of αἰθύσσω, as opposed to αἰθυκτήρ 'stirring violently' (Opp.). But note that these are late derivations. Also καταἰθυξ ὄμβρος· ὁ καταἰθύσσων 'which is floating down' (H.); diff. Pisani *Paideia* 15 (1960): 245f.

αἴθυια [f.] name of a bird (see Thompson 1895 s.v.), also epithet of Athena, see Kock *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 18 (1915): 127ff. but also Kretschmer *Glotta* 9 (1918): 229f., mostly explained as a color term, but rather a substrate word (Szemerényi 1964: 207, Beekes 1998: 25 on the suffix -υια.). On αἴθουσα 'hemlock, Conium maculatum' (Ps.-Dsc.) see CEG 4 (from 'black'). Cf. also ► αἰθήρ, ► αἰθάλη, ► αἴθουσα.

•ETYM Old PIE verbal root, of which the zero grade \*h<sub>2</sub>id<sup>h</sup>- probably appears in ἰθαρός, ἰθαίνω. Sanskrit has the root form *idh-*, with a nasal present *i-n-ddhé* 'to kindle'. Thematic αἴθος can be of PIE date, cf. Skt. *édha-* [m.] 'firewood', OHG *eit* [m.], OE *ād* 'glow, funeral pyre'. αἴθος [n.] 'fire' (A. R.) and Skt. *édhas-* [n.] 'firewood' are independent formations, since the Greek word is late. Remarkable forms in other languages include Av. *aēsma-* [m.] 'firewood', Lith. *iesmė* 'id.', Lat. *aedēs* 'dwelling place, temple', *aestās* 'summer', *aestus* 'heat', and several Germanic forms, e.g. OHG *eit* (see above) and ON *eisa* [f.] 'burning coals'.

**αικάζει** [v.] · καλεῖ 'calls' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Pisani *IF* 58 (1942): 243 compared it to Osc. *aikdafed*, which he interpreted as 'proclamavit'; this is highly dubious. The connection with Latv. *aicināt* 'to call' is doubted by Pok.: 15. Is it a mistake for ► αικάλλω?

**αικάλλω** [v.] 'to flatter, fondle' (trag.), especially said of animals. <?>

•VAR Only present.

- DER αἰκαλος· κόλαξ ‘flatterer’ (H.); αἰκάλη· ἀπάτη ‘deceit’ (Zonar.).
- ETYM Looks like a denominative of the forms given in the glosses (unless these are based on the verb). Etymology unknown.

**αἰκής** [adj.] ‘improper, unseemly’. <GR>

- VAR Att. αἰκής < \*ἀ-φικ-ής, next to αἰκής (Ion. poet.).
- DER αἰκείη, αἰκεία, αἰκία ‘unseemly treatment, disrespect’; αἰκίζω, αἰκίζω, -ομαι ‘to maltreat’, whence αἰκισμα (trag., Lys.), αἰκισμός (D., LXX). αἰκέλιος, αἰκέλιος (Hom., poet.) contain an enlargement of synonymous αἰκής, αἰκής.
- ETYM Privative verbal adjective to ἔοικα, du. ἔικτον < \*we-w(o)ik-. In αἰκής, -ει- is probably secondary after εἰκάω, εἰκών, etc. See ▶ εἰκάω, ▶ ἔοικα.

**αἰκλοι**· αἱ γωνίαι τοῦ βέλους ‘the angles of the missile’ (H.). ⇒ αἰχμή.

**αἰκλον** [n.] ‘evening meal at Sparta’ (Epic.). <PG(V)>

- VAR αἰκλον; <συν>αἰγλία = συναικλία; λυκαιχλίας· ὁ λυκόβρωτος ‘eaten by wolves’ (-βροτος codd.).
- DER ἀναίικλεια· ἀδειπνα ‘supperless’ (H.). Also αἰκνον· δεῖπνον ‘meal’ (H., Suid.); ἐπάικλα (Pl.).
- ETYM Fur.: 139 points to εἰκλον· δεῖπνον and εἰκλεῖ· δεῖπνῃ (H.), and compares ἰκνεῖαν· τροφεῖα ‘nourishment’ and ἰκνεῖος· τροφεύς, ‘Ρόδιοι ‘feeder (Rhod.)’ (H.); he correctly concludes that it is a substrate word. This may be reconstructed as \*(a)wikl/n-: for the prothetic vowel, cf. ἀέροπ- / μέροπ-; the interchange between λ and ν may be secondary. A comparison with αἰκάζει· καλεῖ ‘calls’ (H.) or ▶ αἰκάλλω is completely uncertain.

**αἴλιος** [m.] ‘song of mourning’ (trag.), sometimes as an adj. ‘plaintive’ (E. *Hel.* 171). <?>

- VAR αἴλινα [adv.] (Call.).
- ETYM Etymology unknown. Boisacq’s postulation of a Phrygian origin lacks support (cf. ▶ ἔλεος). It appears to be derived from the interjection ▶ αἶ and ▶ λίνος.

**αἴλιοι** ⇒ ἀέλιοι.

**αἶμα** [n.] ‘blood’ (Il.). <?>

- COMP αἰμακουρῖαι ‘offerings of blood’ to the dead (Pi.); αἰμάλωψ ‘mass of blood’ (Hp.), see CEG 6.
- DER αἰμάς ‘flow of blood’ (S.); diminutive αἰμάτιον, also name of a dish (Arr., M. Ant., inscr. Cos, Miletus, etc.), αἰματία ‘Spartan blood soup’ (Poll.). Derived adjectives: αἰματόεις ‘bloody’ (epic, poet.); αἰματηρός (poet.), αἰμηρός (Man.); αἰματώδης (Hp., Th., Arist., Hell.), αἰμώδης (Luc.), see on ▶ αἰμωδέω; αἰματικός (Arist.), αἰμάτινος (Arist.); αἰμαλέος (AP, Nonnos); αἵμων (E.), αἰμώνιος ‘red as blood’ (Ath.); αἰματίτης ‘like blood’ (Hp., Thphr.); αἰματωπός (E.), αἰμωπός (Ph.). In a similar meaning compounds like ἔναιμος, ὕφαιμος. Denominative verbs: 1. αἰμάσσω, -άττω ‘to make or be bloody’ (A.), whence late nouns αἰμαγμός, αἵμαξις, and adjectives αἰμακτός, αἰμακτικός; 2. αἰματόω (IA), αἰμάτωσις (Gal.); 3. αἰματίζω (A., Arist.).

- ETYM αἶμα replaces the old IE word for blood ἔαρ < \*h<sub>2</sub>esh<sub>2</sub>-r. It has no established etymology. The connection with OHG *seim* ‘virgin honey’, W *hufen* from the uncertain PIE root \*sei- ‘to drip’ (Pok. 889) is accepted by Weiss *HSPH.* 98 (1998): 31-61, but cannot explain the Greek vocalism. Acc. to Sommer 1905: 29ff., it is related to Skt. *iṣ-* ‘refreshment’. See Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 651; cf. also ▶ αἰονάω, ▶ ἰχώρ.

**αἵμασιά** [f.] ‘wall around a terrain’, of stone (thus Hdt. 2, 138) or thorns (Od.). <?>

- VAR Cf. αἰμοί· δρυμοί. Αἰσχύλος Αἰτναίαις ‘copses, thickets (A. *Aitnaiai*)’ (H.).
- ETYM Comparable with Lat. *saepēs* ‘hedge, fence’, which has *p* for *m*. Fur.: 223 finds the variation in other non-IE loans, e.g. Πενέσται / Μενέσται (Schwyzer: 333), γέφυρα / Arm. *kamurj*. On the accentuation, see Scheller 1951: 87f.; on the meaning, Picard *Rev. arch.* (1946): 68f.

**αἰμύλος** [adj.] conventionally translated as ‘flattering’, mostly said of words (Hes.); acc. to Güntert 1921: 103, it means ‘wily’; Weiss *HSPH.* 98 (1998): 31-61 points to the semantics of spellbinding, e.g. in αἰμυλίοισι λόγοισι // θέλγει. <?>

- VAR Also αἰμύλιος (Od.).
- ETYM The suffix is also found in στωμύλος ‘talkative’. A direct connection with OHG *seim* ‘virgin honey’ is impossible (see on ▶ αἶμα), as this etymon originally denoted a ‘thick liquid’. Acc. to Güntert (ibid.), αἰμύλος derives from ▶ αἵμων in the same way as ἀγκών relates to ἀγκύλος. This idea is integrated by Weiss *HSPH.* 98 (1998): 31-61 in his account of ▶ ἵμερος and ▶ αἵμων.

**αἰμωδέω** [v.] ‘to be set on edge’, of the teeth, as caused by sour stuff (Hp.). <?>

- DER αἰμωδία (Hp., Arist., Dsc.); whence αἰμωδιάω ‘to have αἰμωδία’ (Hp., Arist.), whence αἰμωδιασμός (H.). αἰμώδης is a back-formation in the sense of ‘having αἰμωδία’ (Gal.). Further αἰμώδης ‘bloody’, to ▶ αἶμα.
- ETYM The second element can hardly be separated from ὀδών ‘tooth’ (Szemerényi 1964: 81). It is difficult to assume that the first part is from ▶ αἶμα, as we would expect to see a trace of the suffix -ατ-. Solmsen 1909: 25ff. connected the first member with Gm. \*sai-ra- in Go. *sair*, OHG *sēr* ‘pain’, ON *sár* ‘wound’, positing \*ai-μος for Greek.

**αἵμων, -ονος** [adj.] only in Σκαμιάνδριον αἵμονα θήρης (E 49), mg. sometimes glossed as ‘skillful’, but rather ‘eager’ (see below). <IE \*seh<sub>2</sub>i-mon- ‘bond’>

- ETYM The word is found in the Thessalian names Ἰππαίμων, Αἵμονος (see Bechtel 1921, 1: 203). Weiss *HSPH.* 98 (1998): 31-61 assumes a pre-form \*seh<sub>2</sub>i-mon-, from the root \*sh<sub>2</sub>i- ‘to bind’ which he also assumes to be present in ▶ ἵμερος ‘longing, love’ and in ▶ αἰμύλος. The fact that the meaning ‘eager’ fits so well in this passage confirms Weiss’s proposal.

**αἶνος** [m.] ‘meaningful words, praise’ (Il.), also ‘decision’ (inscr.). <?>

- VAR αἶνη (Hdt.). Cf. the primary formation in ἀναίνομαι ‘to deny, refuse’ (Il.), from \*ἀνα-αίνομαι (cf. ἀνα-νεύω), acc. to Bechtel 1914.
- DER αἰνέω [v.] ‘to approve, praise’, also ‘to decide’ (Il., mainly epic Ion. poet.), fut. -ήσω, secondarily -έσω, etc. (see Wackernagel 1916: 180f.); Att. has ἐπαινέω, Aeol. (Hes.) αἶνημι. From αἰνέω: αἶνεσις ‘praise’ (LXX, NT), αἶνησις (Ph.). Rare is



αἰνίζομαι [v.] 'to praise' (Hom.); usually αἰνίσσομαι (-ττ-) (IA) 'to speak in riddles', from 'to speak words full of content, i.e. difficult to understand'; thence with αἰνιγμα 'dark saying, riddle' (Pi.); thence αἰνιγματώδης, αἰνιγματιστής, αἰνιγματίας, αἰνιγματικός; also αἰνιγμός 'id.' (Att.); αἰνιξίς 'id.' (Plot.). αἰνικτήρ 'who speaks in riddles' (S.), αἰνικτής (Timo), αἰνικτηρίως (A.).

•ETYM Etymology unknown. Compared by Pok. 11 with Germanic words for 'oath' (Go. *aiþs*, OHG *eid*), which is mostly rejected.

**αἰνός** [adj.] 'terrible' (Il.). <?>

•VAR On ἐπαινὴ see Leumann 1950: 258f.

•COMP Common as the first member of poetic compounds, but no derivatives.

•ETYM No etymology. Connected with Skt. *énas* 'crime' by Pok. 10. On the expression αἰνόθεν αἰνώς, see Leumann l.c. See also *LfgrE*.

**αἰνῦμαι** [v.] 'to take, seize' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ei-* 'give'>

•VAR Only present.

•DIAL Myc. PN *a<sub>3</sub>-nu-me-no* /Ainumenos/.

•COMP Often with ἔξ-, also in the verbal noun ἔξ-αιτος 'selected' (Il.).

•ETYM The verbal noun \*αἶτος is at the base of ▶αἰτέω. The same root is found in ToB *ai-*, ToA *e-* 'to give (act.), take (med.)', and it was previously thought to be reflected in Hitt. *pai-i* 'to give', which was analyzed as \**pe-ai-*. Recently, however, Kloekhorst 2008 has given a convincing alternative: an *i*-present to the root \**h<sub>1</sub>p-* 'to seize'. Thus, the present root is eliminated as an example for PIE \**a*. In nominal form the root is found in Oscan *aeteis* [gen.sg.] 'part (of a possession)'. YAv. *aētahmāiuiš* does not contain a noun *aēta-* 'punishment', but rather the pronoun *aēta-* 'that'; cf. Fischer and Ritter *MSS* 52 (1991): 9-13. See ▶αἶσα, ▶αἰτία, ▶δαίαιτα.

**αἶνω** [v.] 'winnow' (Pherecr., Hp.), but see the glosses. <?>

•VAR Aor. ἦναι; pres. also ἄνέω (Ar. *Fr.* 694 (uncertain), Ath.), ἀφᾶνέω (Ar. *Eq.* 394 v.l.), ἀφηναι· ἔκοψα 'struck', ἀφηναι· τὸ τὰς ἐπισημένους κριθὰς χερσὶ τρίψαι 'rubbing by hand of the winnowed barley-corns' (H.); further αἶνων· πτίσσω 'winnowing', ἦνας· κόψας 'having struck' and γάναι (= φᾶναι)· περιπτίσαι 'strip off the husk or skin' (cod. -πτύσαι); see Solmsen 1901: 280.

•DER Bechtel *KZ* 46 (1914): 374 compares the name of a phratry φανίδαι (Argos).

•ETYM Comparable with Lat. *vannus* 'winnowing-basket', OHG *wintōn* 'to fan', Go. *dis-winþjan* 'λικμᾶν, to winnow'. The Germanic words seem to derive from the word for 'wind' (cf. Lat. *ventilare* 'to fan'), but αἶνω has no trace of the *-t-*. Derivation of the Greek word from \**h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-* seems to be excluded by γάναι, which has no vowel before the Ϝ. ἄνέω has been explained from \*ἄ-φαν-έω (Solmsen 1901: 272), which beside γάναι would imply a non-IE word. Note that the exact meaning of the word is unclear.

**αἶξ, αἰγός** [f.] 'goat', rarely msc. (Il.). Also a water bird (Janzen 1937: 17, a meteor (Arist.) and a star (Aratos)). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>eig-* 'goat'>

•DIAL Myc. *a<sub>3</sub>-ki-pa-ta* /aigi-pa(s)tās/ (?) 'goatherd'; *a<sub>3</sub>-ki-po-de*, interpretation uncertain.

•COMP αἰπόλος 'goatherd' < \*αἰγ-πολος, see ▶πέλω and ▶βουκόλος (cf. Meier-Brügger 1992a: 92); thence αἰπολέω [v.] 'to herd goats' (A., Lys., Theoc.), only present; αἰπόλια [n.pl.] 'herds of goats' (Il.), also -ιον [sg.]; αἰπολικός (Theoc.).

Further αἰγί-βοτος 'browsed by goats' (Od.); unclear the gloss αἰπόλος· κάπηλος παρὰ Κυπρίους 'peddler (Cypr.)' (H.), see Leumann 1950: 271ff.; to be rejected is Latte's correction αἰ- = αἰεί.

•DER See ▶αἰγίς 'goatskin'. Diminutive of αἶξ: αἰγίδιον (Pherecr., Antiph.). On αἶγες· τὰ κύματα 'waves'. Δωριεῖς (H.), see on ▶αἰγιαλός. Connection with toponyms like Αἰγαί, Αἰγαῖος, Αἰγίνα, etc., is at best folk-etymological.

•ETYM The compounds in -ι- are unexplained (Heubeck *IF* 69 (1964): 13-21 is unclear); the type αἰπόλος is old in any case. αἶξ is cognate with Arm. *ayc* 'goat' (*i*-stem), which is reconstructed as \**h<sub>2</sub>eig-ih<sub>2</sub>* (Clackson 1994: 88-90 after Meillet). The zero grade is often supposed in Av. *īzaēna-* 'of leather', but we do not know if the word referred to the skin of a goat. If the connection is correct, the word could be IE. However, Skt. *ajā-* 'goat' looks similar, but is formally deviant. This could suggest that Avestan, Greek and Armenian borrowed the word from a common source, perhaps Anatolian. On the distribution, see Mallory & Adams 1997 s.v. Connection with \**h<sub>2</sub>eig-* as 'jumper' (Thieme 1953: 571) is rejected by Mayrhofer *EWaia* 1: 264, since Skt. *ējati* did not have a palatovelar, nor does it mean 'to jump'. Cf. ▶αἰγίλος, ▶αἰγίλωψ, ▶δίξα.

**αἰόλος** [adj.] 'agile, glittering, variegated' (Il.). <?>

•DIAL Myc. *a<sub>3</sub>-wo-to* /Aiwołos/ name of a cow.

•COMP As a second member, e.g. κορυθαίολος 'with glittering (colorful) helmet'.

•DER Denominative αἰόλλω [v.] 'to move quickly to and fro' (v 27), (med.) 'to change color' (Hes. *Sc.* 399), 'to make colorful' (Nic. *Th.* 155); αἰολέω = ποικίλλω (Pl. *Cra.* 409a), αἰόλησις 'rapid movement' (sch. Pi. *P.* 4, 412); αἰολίζω 'to trick with words' (S. *fr.* 912), αἰόλισμα 'varied tones' (S. *Ichn.* 319); αἰολάομαι 'to be restless' (Hp. *Mul.* 2, 174b, uncertain). αἰολίας [m.] fish name (cf. Strömberg 1943: 23, Thompson 1947 s.v.), αἰόλειος (EM), αἰολίδας· ποικίλους, ταχείς 'variegated, quick' (H.). PN Αἰόλος, EN Αἰολεῖς.

•ETYM Etymology unknown. Benveniste *BSL* 38 (1937): 107 connected αἰών, Skt. *āyu-* 'vital force' (formally improbable); Risch *Mus. Helv.* 29 (1972): 97 argued that the original meaning was a color. On ▶αἰέλουρος, see s.v. For the type \**Cai-CoR-*, cf. ▶αἰώρα, ▶αιονάω.

**αἰονάω** [v.] 'to moisten, bathe (a wound)' (Hp.). <?>

•DER Verbal nouns αἰόνησις and αἰόνημα.

•ETYM Etymology unknown.

**αἰπόλος** ⇒ αἶξ.

**αἰπύς** [adj.] 'steep, sheer' (Il., mostly epic and poet.) <PG(V)>

•VAR A different stem in αἰπά (αἰπά ῥέεθρα Θ 369) and αἰπήν (πόλιν ... αἰπήν γ 130, etc.), maybe a metrical device.



•DER αἰπήεις (Hom.), is an enlargement of αἰπύς, see Schwyzer: 527. Further αἶπος [n.] 'steepness, precipice' (E.), whence αἰπεινός < \*αἰπεσ-νός 'steep'.

•ETYM ►αἶψα probably belongs here, too. Furthermore, Fur.: 158 connects it with ἐξαίφνης and ►ἐξαπίνης, as well as ►ἄφνω and ►ἄφαρ, which is highly convincing. Variations shown here include π/φ, labial / ψ (cf. ►δέφω / δέψω and βίττακος / ψιττακός), and anticipation of a palatalized consonant \*ap' - as ai-.

**αἶρα 1** [f.] 'sledgehammer' (Call. fr. 115, 12), = σφῦρα, ἀξίνη 'hammer, axe-head' (H.), σφῦρα (Et. Gen.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. Acc. to Schwyzer: 474, it is from ►αἶρω (improbable).

**αἶρα 2** [f.] 'rye-grass, darnel, Lolium temulentum' (Thphr.). <?>

•VAR Often plur. αἶραι.

•DER αἶρινος 'of rye-grass' (Dsc.), αἰρώδης 'mixed with rye-grass' (Thphr.). Denominative ἐξ-αἰρόομαι [v.] 'to change into rye-grass' (Thphr.).

•ETYM Specht KZ 66 (1939): 12 connected it with Skt. *erakā*- [f.] a kind of grass, assuming that both languages borrowed the word from an Oriental language; this is rejected by Thieme 1953: 586. Berger WZKSS 3 (1959): 48 thinks that the Sanskrit word is of Austro-Asiatic origin. On *erakā*-, see now Klaus MSS 57 (1997): 49-64; see ►αἰρόπινον.

**αἰρέω** [v.] 'to take, grasp, seize', med. 'to take for oneself, choose' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Except for late forms like ἀν-ήρησα (Q. S.), ►ελεῖν is used as a suppletive aorist.

•DIAL Cret. αἰλέω is a contamination of αἰρέω and ἐλεῖν; Pamphyl. ἀγλέσθω from ἀγρέω and ἐλεῖν; for other such forms see Vendryes 1938: 331ff.

•DER αἵρεσις 'capture, choice, party, philosophical school (whence *heresy*)' (IA), αἰρέσιμος 'pregnable' (X.); αἰρετός 'what can be taken or chosen' (IA), αἰρετικός 'to be chosen, causing schisms' (late); αἰρετής 'who chooses' (Vett. Val.), καθαιρέτης 'destroyer' (Th.), αἰρετής [f.] 'who chooses' (LXX), back-formation to αἰρετίζω [v.] 'to elect' (Hell.), which is a denominative to αἰρετός. From αἰρετίζω also αἰρετιστής 'adherent' (Plb., D. L.).

•ETYM No etymology.

**αἰρόπινον** [n.] 'sieve' (Ar. fr. 480). <GR?>

•VAR Cf. αἰρόπινον· σκοτεινόν, καὶ κόσκινον ἐν ᾧ πυροὶ σήθονται 'dark, also a sieve through which wheat is sieved'; An. Bk. 359, 24 continues with ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰς αἶρας διελθεῖν 'because it passes through the rye-grass'; also αἰρόπινον· τὸ ἀραιὸν κόσκινον· παρὰ τὸ τὰς αἶρας ποιεῖν ἀπείναι καὶ χωρίζειν ἢ διὰ τὸ αἶρειν τὸν πίνον ὃ ἐστι τὸν ῥύπον 'a porous sieve, after its making the rye-grass go apart; or after its removing the πίνον, i.e. the dirt' (EM 38, 42), the first part of which is clearly folk-etymological.

•ETYM DELG thinks that it consists of αἶρω 'to remove' and πίνος 'filth', like the latter part of the final gloss; for the type of compound, see Schwyzer: 442. Alternatively, it may be a Pre-Greek word reshaped by folk etymology.

αἶρω ⇒ αἰείρω 1.

**αἶσα** [f.] 'share, destiny, decree' (Il., epic and lyr.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>ei- 'give, take'>

•DIAL Myc. *a<sub>3</sub>-sa* /aisa/; also found in Arc.-Cypr.

•DER αἶσιος 'auspicious, opportune'; also with ἐν-, ἐξ-, κατ-, παρ-, whence αἰσιόομαι [v.] 'to take as a good omen' (Plu., App.); αἶσιμος 'destined, fitting' (Hom.), ἐναίσιμος, ἀναίσιμος (Emp.).

Thence prefixed denominative ἀν-αἰσιμῶω [v.] 'to consume (the apportioned share)' (Ion.), whence ἀναἰσιμώματα 'expenses' (Hdt.); καταἰσιμῶω [v.] 'to consume entirely' (com.). Adjectival abstract αἰσιμαί πλούτου 'the due apportionment of wealth' (A. Eu. 996). See on ►αἰσιμνάω, ►αἰσιμνάω, ►αἰσιμνήτης.

Some PNs: Αἶσων, Αἰσίας, etc.

•ETYM αἶσα is from the root seen in αἶνυμαί, derived with -ια from a form in -t- found in Osc. *aetis* [gen.sg.] 'part', Gr. \*αἶτος (see ►αἰτέω), αἶτιος. An ablauting root shape could be found in ►ἴσασθαι· κληροῦσθαι. Λέσβιοι (H.).

**αἶσακος** [?] · ὁ τῆς δάφνης κλάδος, ὃν κατέχοντες ὕμνουں τοὺς θεοὺς 'the branch of the sweet bay; while grasping these, the gods were praised' (H.). Cf. Plu. Mor. 615b. Acc. to EM 38, 49 it indicates the bird ἐρίθακος. <PG(S,O)>

•ETYM Etymology unknown. The word is Pre-Greek (or Anatolian), acc. to Nehring Glotta 14 (1925): 183 and Krause KZ 67 (1942): 214<sup>4</sup>. Note the initial αἰ-, intervocalic -σ-, and the suffix -ακ-. See ►αἰσάλων.

**αἰσάλων** [m.] kind of falcon (Arist.); see Thompson 1895. <PG(V)>

•VAR Cf. αἰσάρων· εἶδος ἱέρακος 'id.' (H.).

•ETYM Fur.: 387 gives it as Pre-Greek form with the variation p/ λ, of which he has more than 30 examples.

**Αἰσηπος** [m.] HN in Mysia (Il.); also PN (Il.). <PG>

•ETYM Fur.: 234 compares αἰζήος. No doubt a Pre-Greek name.

**αἰσθάνομαι** [v.] 'to perceive, apprehend, note' (IA). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>eu-is- 'perceive'>

•VAR Incidentally pres. αἰσθομαι (Th.); aor. αἰσθέσθαι, fut. αἰσθήσεσθαι (IA).

•DER αἰσθησις 'perception, knowledge' (Hp., Pl., etc.), both the act and the object of perception (cf. E. IA 1243, Arist.); αἰσθησίη (Aret.) = αἰσθησις; αἰσθητός 'perceptible' and αἰσθητικός 'able to perceive', both mainly philosophical terms; αἰσθητήριον 'one of the senses' (Arist.), αἰσθητής [m.] 'who perceives' (Pl.).

•ETYM Interpreted as PGr. \*awis-t<sup>h</sup>-, and connected with ►αἶω 'to perceive, hear' < \*awis-je/o-. A similar pre-form is found in Lat. *audiō* 'to hear' < \*h<sub>2</sub>eui-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ie/o- (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.), *oboediō* 'to obey'. It is probable that the Greek suffix -θ-, which builds resultative verbal forms, is from \*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>- 'to do, etc.' as well. Further related to Skt. *āvis*, Av. *āuuīš* 'manifestly', OCS (*j*)avě 'evidently', which are adverbial forms in -is.

**αἶσθων** [ptc.] 'to breathe out, exhale' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Or rather \*αἰσθών (Π 468), αἶσθε (Υ 403), of θυμόν.

•ETYM We can connect it with αἶον (= τὸ ἀπέπνεον Eust.) in ἐπεὶ φίλον αἶον ἦτορ (O 252), but much remains uncertain. See Bechtel 1914 and DELG.

**αἴσσω** [v.] ‘to move quickly, dart, rush (upon)’ (Il.). <?>

•VAR Pres. ἄσσω (Pi.), ἄττω (Att.), fut. αἴξω. The α- is always long in Hom., except in ὑπαίξει (Φ 126), see Chantraine 1942: 110, and in αἴξει (A. R. 3, 1302); elsewhere it is mostly short.

•COMP As a second member in πολυ-αἴξ, κορυθ-αἴξ; also in ▶τριχάϊκες?

•DER αἴκη ‘rush’ (O 709); root noun αἴξ in ἀνέμων αἴκας (A. R. 4, 820), or αἴκας? Both α and ι are long.

•ETYM Unexplained. Comparison with Skt. *vevijyáte* ‘to raise, flee, move quickly’ is formally impossible (no trace of a *f* in Homer, and the long *ī* remains unexplained). Danielsson *IF* 14 (1903): 386ff. reconstructs \*αιf-ικ- and compares ▶αἰόλος.

**αἴσυλος** [adj.] ‘unseemly, evil’ (Hom.), in αἴσυλα ῥέζειν, εἰδέναι, μυθήσασθαι (opposed to αἴσιμα). <PG?>

•COMP αἴσυλο-εργός (Max. Astrol.) after αἴσυλα ῥέζειν (Hom.).

•ETYM The overall appearance is Pre-Greek: initial αἰ-, intervocalic -σ-, suffix -υλ-. Cf. ▶ἀήσυλος.

**αἰσυμνάω** [v.] ‘to be ruler’ (Hom.). <PG(V)>

•VAR αἰσυμνήτηρ (Ω 347) has a variant αἰσυ(ι)ήτηρ, now preferred by West *Glotta* 77 (1999): 119f. Also PNs Αἰσυμνος, Αἰσυήτης (Hom.).

•DIAL Meg. αἰσιμνάω.

•DER αἰσυμνητήρ (Ω 347 v.l.), αἰσυμνήτης (αἰσιμνάτας) title of a high magistrate in several towns (inscr., Arist.), in Homer θ 258 a referee of games; fem. αἰσυμνήτης (Suid.); αἰσυμνητεία ‘office of αἰσυμνήτης’ (Arist.), Verbal noun αἰσυμνητής (Miletus). Further αἰσύμνιον = βουλευτήριον in Megara (Paus.), from the verb or from \*αἰσυμνος.

•ETYM Previously derived from ▶αἴσα, αἴσιμος, \*αἰσιμνος by Solmsen 1909: 36ff. and Fraenkel 1910: 172f. However, Chantraine 1933: 216 and von Blumenthal 1930: 33 assume a Pre-Greek origin, which must be correct: it explains the interchanges μ/φ (cf. Fur.: 244) and υ/ι. The word and its derivations are reminiscent of ▶κυβερνάω. Further details are in the *Lfgre*.

Deroy *Ant. class.* 26 (1958): 404-410 compares Lat. *aerumna* ‘task, distress’.

**αἰσύφιος** ⇒ ἀσύφιος.

**αἴσχος** [n.] ‘shame, ugliness’, plur. ‘disgraceful deeds’ (Il.). <?>

•VAR Comp. αἰσχίων, superl. αἰσχιστος.

•DER αἰσχρός ‘dishonoring, ugly’, denominative αἰσχύνω ‘to dishonor’, med. ‘to be ashamed’ (Il.), back-formation αἰσχύνη ‘shame’ (IA). PN Αἰσχύλος, perhaps an enlargement of an old *u*-stem. Further derivatives: 1. from αἰσχρός: αἰσχρότης ‘ugliness’ (Pl. *Gorg.* 525a, *Ep. Eph.* 5, 4), αἰσχροσύνη (Tz.). 2. from αἰσχύνω: αἰσχυντήρ ‘violinist’ (A. *Ch.* 998), αἰσχυντηλός ‘timid, shy’, also ‘disgraceful’ (Pl., Arist.), αἰσχυντηλία (Plu.); it has -τ- from the opposite ἀν-αἰσχυντος (Alc., Att.), whence ἀναισχυντία, -τέω, -τημα; secondary αἰσχυντός (Ps. Phoc.). Rare αἰσχυντηρός and αἰσχυντικός.

•ETYM The older comparison with Go. *aiwiski* [n.] ‘αἰσχύνη’ is generally abandoned in view of obvious formal difficulties. De Lamberterie 1990: 835-840 plausibly compares ▶αἰδομαι, positing \**aid-sk-* for Greek next to \**aid-st-* in Go. *aistan*.

**αἰτᾶς** [m.] ‘eromenos’ (Ar.), also a fish (pap. *Tebt.* 701, 44). <?>

•VAR Fem. αἰτίς (Hdn. Gr., Alcm. 34 Page). Also αἰτᾶν τὸν ἐταῖρον ‘companion’. Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ τὸν ἐρώμενον ‘eromenos’ (Ar. *fr.* 738; also Theocr. 12, 14, where it is called Thessalian).

•DIAL A Doric or Thessalian word.

•ETYM Uncertain. From ▶αἰώ ‘to hear’ acc. to Diels *Herm.* 31 (1896): 372 and Bechtel 1921, 1: 201; see also Arena *Riv. fil. class.* 96 (1968): 257f.

**αἰτέω** [v.] ‘to ask, request, beg’ (Il.). <GR>

•COMP Often prefixed with ἀπ-, ἐξ-, παρ-, etc.

•DER 1. αἰτήσις ‘demand, request’ (IA), αἰτήσιμος; 2. αἴτημα ‘demand, claim’ (Pl., Arist.), αἰτηματικός and αἰτηματώδης; 3. αἰτητής ‘requestor’ (pap., D. C.); αἰτητικός (Arist., D. L.), 4. αἰτίζω = αἰτέω (epic since Od.).

•ETYM A denominative of \*αἰτος; see ▶αἰνυμαι, ▶αἴσα and ▶αἴτιος.

**αἴτιος** [adj.] ‘guilty, responsible’ (Il.). <GR>

•DER Thence (or directly from \*αἴτος): αἰτία [f.] ‘responsibility, guilt, cause; accusation’, also ‘disease’; thence denominative αἰτιάομαι ‘to accuse, charge with’, secondary αἰτιάζομαι (X., D. C.).

To αἰτιάομαι: αἰτίας (Antipho, Arist.) and αἰτίμα (A., Th.) ‘accusation, charge’; αἰτιατός (Arist., Plot.) ‘having a cause’ (τὸ αἰτιατόν ‘effect’ as opposed to τὸ αἴτιον ‘cause’) is rather directly from αἰτία because of the meaning; from τὸ αἰτιατόν, the grammarians created ἡ αἰτιατικὴ πτῶσις ‘accusative case’, so properly ‘case of what is effectuated’ (Wackernagel 1920-1924(1): 19).

From αἰτία (or τὸ αἴτιον): αἰτιώδης ‘causal’, philosophical term (Hell. and late), likewise αἰτίωμα (pap., *Act. Ap.*) = αἰτίμα, and with the same vocalism αἰτίωσις (Eust.) = αἰτίας.

•ETYM αἴτιος, αἰτία and αἰτέω were derived from \*αἴτος ‘share’ (see ▶αἰνυμαι, ▶αἰτέω), which is semantically understandable. The suffix -ιος may have been added to αἰτ- after the change of \**ti* > *σι*.

**αἴφνης** [adv.] ‘suddenly’ (E. *IA* 1581, Hp. *Int.* 39). <PG(V)>

•DER More common as well as more archaic is ἐξαίφνης (Hom., Pi., trag., etc.). The adjective αἰφνίδιος (A., Th., Arist.), on the other hand, is more common and more archaic than ἐξαίφνιδιος (Pl., Gal.). Adverbial forms αἰφνηδῖς, -δόν (Hdn.).

•ETYM Related to ▶αἶψα, s.v., and also to ▶ἄφνω, ▶ἄφαρ, ▶ἐξαπίνης, etc.

**αἰχμή** [f.] ‘point of a spear, spear’ (Il.). On its use in Homer, see Trümper 1950: 52ff. <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eik-(s)m-* ‘spear’>

•DIAL Myc. *a<sub>3</sub>-ka-sa-ma* /aiksman/.

•COMP αἰχμ-άλωτος ‘prisoner of war’ (Pi.), whence fem. αἰχμαλωτίς, adj. αἰχμαλωτικός, abstract αἰχμαλώσια. Thence denominative verbs αἰχμαλωτίζω and

αἰχμαλωτεύω (Hell. and late); from αἰχμαλωτίζω: αἰχμαλωτιστής and αἰχμαλωτισμός.

•DER αἰχμήεις ‘armed with a spear’ (A., Opp.); αἰχμητής ‘spearman, warrior’ (Il.), αἰχμητᾶ (E 197), fem. αἰχμητις (EM); with secondary suffix αἰχμητήρ (Opp., Q. S., Nonn.); αἰχμητήριος ‘armed with a spear, war-like’ (Lyc. 454 verse-final). Denominative αἰχμάζω [v.] ‘to throw the spear, to arm with a spear’ (Il.).

•ETYM The Mycenaean form proves PGr. \*aiksmā. The word is connected with αἰκλοι· αἰ γωνίαι τοῦ βέλους ‘points of the arrow’ (H.) and with Lith. *iēšmas*, OPr. *aysmis* ‘spit’ which may derive from \**h<sub>2</sub>eik-(s)m-*. The original meaning must have been ‘point’. Within Greek, we further find Cyp. *ικμαμένος* ‘wounded’ (Ruijgh 1957: 136), *ικτέα· ἀκόντιον* ‘javelin’ (H.), and perhaps ▶*ίκτηρ* ‘near’. Uncertain is the appurtenance of ἰγδῖς [f.] (Sol.), ἰγδη (Hp.) ‘mortar’, but cf. Fur.: 321.

**αἶψα** [adv.] ‘quickly, suddenly’ (Il., poet.) <PG>

•DER αἰψηρός ‘quick’ (Il., Pi.).

•ETYM Sommer *IF* 11 (1900): 243 connected the word with ▶*αἰπύς* ‘steep’ as \**αἰπ-σ-α*; the forms can also be understood in substrate terms (with Fur.: 158) as alternation of a labial with ψ. Furnée further connects it with ἐξαίφνης, ▶ἐξαπίνης, ▶ἄφαρ, ▶ἄφνω, etc.

**αἶω** [v.] ‘perceive, hear’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>euis-* ‘perceive’>

•VAR Ip. *αἶον* (see below); verbal adj. *ἐπ-αἶστος* ‘perceived, detected’ (Hdt.) to *ἐπαῖω*, *ἐπάω* (Att. prose), whence aor. *ἐπῆσα* (*ἐπήϊσα*).

•DIAL Cyp. fut. *awiyēsomai*.

•ETYM The ipf. *αἶον* was considered by Schulze *KZ* 29 (1888): 251ff. to be an original aorist, from which a present *αἶω* was formed secondarily. Schulze found traces of an original pres. \**αἰώ* in *αἰ· ἀκούει*, *αἰτε· ἀκούσατε* (H.), and in *ἐπ-αἶν* (E. *HF* 773), but this is difficult to fit in with the etymology prevailing today: *αἶον* < \**awis-e/o-* is generally connected with Skt. *āvīṣ* [adv.] ‘evidently, manifestly’ and OCS (*j*)*avě* ‘id.’, so the Greek verb is probably a denominative from this adverb. As Kloekhorst recently showed, the Hitt. verb *au-i* / *u-* ‘to see’ (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.) can also be connected with it, since in *o*-grade forms \**h<sub>2</sub>ou-*, the laryngeal would regularly be lost. Noteworthy, though improbable, is the connection by Szemerényi *Glotta* 38 (1960): 243 with the word for ‘ear’. Within Greek, compare aor. *ἡσθόμην*, pres. ▶*αἰσθάνομαι*, with -θ- indicating the completion of a process.

**αἰῶ** → **αἰεί**.

**αἰών, -ῶνος** [m., f.] ‘(life)time, long period of time, eternity’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ei-u-* ‘time of living, well-being’>

•VAR *αἰέν* [adv.] ‘always’.

•DER αἰώνιος ‘enduring, eternal’ (Pl., Hell., NT), αἰωνιότης ‘perpetuitas’ (gloss.); αἰωνίζειν ‘to make or be eternal’ (Dam., Phot., Suid.), αἰώνισμα ‘perpetuation, monument’ (Ostr.).

•ETYM From \**αἰφών*, an *n*-stem also found in the old locative ▶*αἰέν* ‘always’, which coexisted with the *s*-stem in *αἰῶ*, *αἰέξ*, ▶*αἰεί* ‘id.’. See also ▶*οὐ*. On the meaning, see

Stadtmüller *Saeculum* 2 (1951): 315ff. A neuter *u*-stem is found in Skt. *āyu-*, Av. *āiiu* ‘(life)time’, OAv. gen. *yaoš*, dat. *yauuōi* < \**h<sub>2</sub>oi-u*, \**h<sub>2</sub>i-eu-s*, \**h<sub>2</sub>i-eu-ei*. Latin has thematicized *aevus* < \**h<sub>2</sub>ei-u-o-*; Gothic has an *i*-stem *aiwins* [acc.pl.]. An old derivation is Lat. *iuvenis*, Skt. *yúvan-* ‘young man’ from \**h<sub>2</sub>iu-Hen-* with the Hoffmann suffix ‘(having vital strength)’. Derived from this are Lith. *jáunas*, OCS *junъ* ‘young’ and Go. *jund* ‘youth’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>iu-Hn-ti-*.

**αἰώρα** [f.] ‘swing, hammock, noose, halter’ (Pl.). <?>

•DER αἰώρέω ‘to raise, hang’ (Pi., IA), also -έομαι ‘to hand, hover’, also prefixed with συν-, ὑπερ-. Thence αἰώρησις (mainly medic.), συν- (Pl.), ὑπερ- (Hp.); αἰώρημα (E. [lyr.], Lyc.).

•ETYM Previously, an intensive (iterative) verb \**φαί-φωρ-έω* was reconstructed, from which \**φαιφώρα* > *αἰώρα* was a derivation. This type is not accepted anymore. Taillardat *RPh.* 57 (1983): 21-25 assumes \**h<sub>2</sub>uōr-eje-* > \**ἄφωρέω* (formation as in *πωλέω*, etc. to the root of *αἰρέω* ‘to hang’); reduplication would then have resulted in \**ἄφαφωρ-*, which would have given \**αφαιωρ-* > *αἰωρ-* (like \**αφαιρ* > *αἶρω*). The reduplication with *ἄφ-αφ-* seems uncertain to me, just like the development to \**ἄφα-ι* and its continuation as (*ἄφ*)-*αι-* before a vowel.

**Ἀκάδημος** [m.] name of a hero. <?>

•DER Ἀκαδήμεια the gymnasium in Athens where Plato taught, the Platonic school (Ar.), *ἡεκαδημείας* (Att. inscr., see LSJ Supp.).

•ETYM Generally identified with the first element of *ἐκάεργος* (which derives from \**uek-m*); and with the PN Boeot. *ἡεκαδαμος*, Thess. *φεκε-*; in Attic this form may have been *Ἐκάδημος* (D. L., St. Byz.); but see Lejeune 1972: §254<sup>3</sup>, who objects that the aspiration was lost.

Fur.: 309 separates it from these words and connects the Lydian TN Ἀκαδαμῖς and the Carian PN Ἀκταδημος. Cf. also *Ταρκονδημος* (Cilicia)? However, the names in Greece seem to have (had) a *φ-*, of which there is no trace in the Anatolian names. The meaning of -*δαμ-* is unknown. If the word was Pre-Greek, the varying vocalism can be better understood (assimilations are rare in Greek).

**ἄκαινα** [f.] ‘spike, prick, goad’ (A. R.), Also ‘ten-foot rod’ in Thessaly (Bechtel 1921, 1: 116, 204), cf. *ἄκαινα δέ ἐστι μέτρον δεκάπουν Θεσσάλων εὗρεμα* (sch. A. R. 3, 1323; Call. fr. 24, 6). In Egypt a measure of 100 square ft. (Hero, pap.). <GR?, PG?>

•ETYM Traditionally derived from the *n*-stem ▶*ἄκων* with the suffix -*ινα*. However, it may also contain the Pre-Greek suffix -*αίνα* (see Fur.: 171<sup>17</sup>) added directly to the stem *ἄκ-*. The measure is in origin the same word; for the semantics, DELG compares *κάλαμος*, Lat. *pertica*, MoFr. *perche*.

**ἀκακαλῖς, -ίδος** [f.] name of several plants (Dsc.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Cf. ἀκακαλῖς ἄνθος ναρκίσσου. Κρήτες ‘flower of narcissus (Cret.)’ (H.). κακαλῖς νάρκισσος (H.), κακαλία = στρύχνον ὑπνωτικόν ‘sleepy nightshade, Withania somnifera’ (Dsc. 4, 72 and 122). Further κάγκανον = κακ(κ)αλία ‘Mercurialis tomentosa’ (Gal., Paul. Aeg.).

•ETYM Frisk assumes an Oriental origin, possibly Egyptian, but why? Fur.: 371, 277 (see also 138) compares κακαλῖς and κάγκανον, variants which prove a Pre-Greek origin. Cf. also ▶ ἀκακία.

**ἀκάκητα** [adj.] epithet of Hermes (Il., Hes.) and Prometheus (Hes.), of unknown mg. <?>

•DER ἀκακήσιος (Call.).

•ETYM If the glosses ἀκακίεις· συνίεις and ἀκακιεῖ· συνιεῖ are reliable, the word could mean 'συνετός' (Hoffmann BB 17 (1891): 328). DELG rejects the glosses without reason and assumes a meaning 'benevolent'. Risch 1954: 395f. thinks it was built on ἄκακος, ἀκάκῃς after μητίετα (which is not easy). See also Fraenkel 1956b: 168, and Lfgre.

**ἀκακία** [f.] name of a tree or plant, 'acacia' or 'Genista acanthoclada' (Dsc.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Probably a substrate word; cf. ▶ ἀκακαλῖς. Fur.: 321 compares κάκτος. There is no reason for an Oriental origin, as DELG assumes. Kramer ZPE 97 (1993): 146 compares Coptic κακε, κεκε, κεκει 'dark', the color of the wood of the acacia; the ἄ would have been taken from ἄκανθος. This is unconvincing.

**ἀκαλανθῖς** •VAR = ἀκανθῖς. ⇒ ἄκανθα.

**ἀκαλαρρείτης** [adj.] only in ἐξ ἀκαλαρρείταιο βαθυρρόου Ὡκεανοῖο (H 422, τ 434).

<GR>

•COMP Similar ἀκαλάρροος (Orph.).

•DER The adverbial first member is only sparsely attested (Hes., Sapph.), and in glosses like ἀκαλόν· ἥσυχον, πῖᾱον, μαλακόν 'quiet, mild, soft' (H.), ἀκαλῶς [adv.] (Eust.).

•ETYM From ἀκαλα-ρρεφέ-της, a compound of ἀκαλά and ▶ ῥέω with suffixal -της. Meier-Brügger Glotta 73 (1995): 9-11, derives the first member from the root \*kelh<sub>2</sub>-, seen in κέλαδος as 'rauschend dahineilen', and interprets ἀ-καλαρρείτης as 'kein rauschendes Fliessen habend, still fliessend'. See ▶ ἀκή 2.

**ἀκαλήφη** [f.] 'stinging nettle, sea anemone' (Eup.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR Thphr. (HP 7, 7, 2) has ἀκαλύφη.

•ETYM Unknown; cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. There is no reason to suppose the influence of ἄκανθα, etc. (Frisk). Semitic etymology in Lewy 1895: 50. Suffixal -b<sup>h</sup>- is quite common in names of trees and plants. The variation υ/ η could point to a Pre-Greek word, although there are no clear parallels to it.

**ἄκανθα** [f.] 'thorn, thistle', name of different thorny plants (Strömberg 1940: 17), also 'backbone, spine' of fish, snake, or man (Od.). <PG?>

•VAR Note ἄκανθος [m.] 'acanthus' (Acanthus mollis).

•DER Many derived adjectives: ἀκάνθινος, ἀκανθώδης, ἀκανθικός, ἀκανθηρός, ἀκανθήεις 'provided with thorns, etc.'. Further diminutive ἀκάνθιον; ἀκανθίας kind of shark or grasshopper (cf. Strömberg 1943: 47, Strömberg 1944: 17); ἀκανθῖς name of a bird ('goldfinch' or 'linnet', cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.), also a plant name; ἀκανθυλλῖς bird name (Thompson s.v.), ἀκανθίων 'hedgehog', ἀκανθέα a plant,

ἀκανθεών and -θών 'thorny break, spinetum' ἀκανθηλή mg. unknown. Denominative verb ἀκανθόομαι 'to be thorny' (Thphr.).

•ETYM The basic meaning is 'thorn', whence 'backbone, spine'. Usually, ἄκανος 'pine-thistle' is considered basic, but a connection with ἄνθος (as \*akan-ant<sup>h</sup>o-; see Frisk) is improbable. Analysis as a compound \*ἄκ-ανθα 'sharp flower' (Kretschmer 1896: 403 A. 1) is a type of etymology of the past. Belardi Rend. Acc. Linc. 10 (1955): 309-331 assumes an Indo-Mediterranean substrate word, connecting Skt. kant(h)a-, but such combinations with Sanskrit are mostly incorrect, and the Indo-Mediterranean hypothesis is quite doubtful. Most probable is a Pre-Greek substrate element, though in this case there is no positive indication except for the ending in short -α (see Pre-Greek); in this respect, there is no reason to assume a secondary Greek formation (as per DELG). Niedermann Glotta 19 (1931): 8ff. connected it with ἀκαλανθῖς = ἀκανθῖς (Ar.), by metathesis of \*ἀκανθαλῖς.

**ἄκανος** [m.] a thistle, 'Atractylis gummifera', 'dorniger Fruchtkopf' (Thphr.). <PG?(S)>

•VAR Also ἄκαν, -νος (LXX).

•DER ἀκανικός, ἀκανώδης, ἀκανίζω (all Thphr.), ἀκάνιον (H.).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. πλάτανος, ῥάφανος, πύανος, etc.; the word is mostly derived from the root ἄκ- 'sharp', but the suffix -ανος rather points to a non-IE word (words like ἄκων, ἀκόνη confirm that the -α- is foreign).

**ἀκαρῆς, -ές** [adj.] 'small, tiny' (Ar.). <?>

•VAR Mostly in fixed expressions, e.g. ἐν ἀκαρεῖ (χρόνου), ἀκαρῇ 'a moment', of time (Ar.); also κατέπεσον ἀκαρῆς τῷ δέει 'it was a hair-breadth escape'; οὐκ ἀκαρῇ 'not at all'. A form ἄκαρ is attributed to Antiphon (Taillardat 1962: §248).

•DER ἀκαριαῖος id. (D.), cf. Chantraine 1933: 49.

•ETYM Traditionally derived from κείρω, ἐκάρην 'to cut' as 'too short to cut': τὸ βραχύ, ὃ οὐδὲ κείραι οἷόν τε (H.); this is doubtful. Perhaps '(not even a) louse'? See ▶ ἀκαρί.

**ἀκαρί** [n.] 'mite' (Arist.). <PG?>

•ETYM Fur.: 371 connects it with κάρνος = φθείρ 'louse' (H.), which is quite attractive. It is usually connected with ▶ ἀκαρῆς, s.v. DELG suggests a contamination of ἀκαρῆς with κόρις 'bug'. I would rather think that κόρις is cognate, as a substrate word, with prothetic vowel and a/o interchange.

**ἄκαρνα** [f.] · δάφνη 'sweet bay' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM The word has been connected with ▶ ἄκαστος 'maple' (and further with OHG *ahorn*), but this must be explained differently. ἄκαρνα is most probably a substrate word (note the sequence -ρν-).

**ἀκάρναν** ⇒ ἀχαρνώς.

**ἄκαρον** ⇒ ἄγχραν.

**ἀκαρός** [m.]? · σημαίνει τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἢ τὴν κεφαλὴν 'brain, head' (EM 45, 13). <?>

•ETYM Cf. ἔγκαρος and ἵγκρος, with the same mg., which point to ἐν and κάρη 'head'. It would be the only relatively certain instance of \**h<sub>1</sub>nC-* yielding ἄ-, but Nussbaum 1986: 72f. remains sceptical, as one would expect \*ἄκρος instead of ἀκαρός if the form is old.

ἄκασκα ⇒ ἀκή 2.

ἄκαστος [m.] · ἡ σφένδαμνος 'maple' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM We may posit \*ἄκαρ-στος and assume that the word is cognate with Lat. *acer*, -*ris* 'maple', OHG *ahorn* (which is sometimes connected with ▶ ἄκαρνα · δάφνη H., s.v.), and Gallo-Rom. \**akar(n)os* 'id.' (Hubschmied *Rev. celt.* 50 (1933): 263f.); see Pok. 20. For the formation, we may compare πλατάνιστος, but the derivation from \*-*id-to-* (cf. Chantraine 1933: 302) may well be wrong. Since plant names are often borrowed, and the formation is unclear, we may envisage a substrate origin. Fur.: 371 compares κάστων· ξύλον. Ἀθαμῖνες 'wood' (H.), and for the meaning σφένδαμνον· ξύλον (H.), o.c. 164. A further comparison with κόστων 'wooden parts of a wagon' (o.c. 343) is less certain.

ἄκατος [f., m.] 'light vessel' (Thgn.), 'boat-shaped cup' (com.). <?>

•DER Diminutives ἀκάτιον, which also denotes a kind of women's shoe (Ar.), and ἀκατηνάριον (Olsson *AfP* 11 (1935): 219); further ἀκάτειος, τὰ ἀκάτεια (sc. ἱστία) 'small sails' (X.); ἀκατίς [f.] 'millipede' (Steph. Med.), see Strömberg 1944: 11.

•ETYM Probably a technical loanword. Often connected with ἄκ- 'sharp' (see ▶ ἀκή), but without any obvious reason. Winter 1950: 12 connected it with κητήνη πλοῖον μέγα ὡς κήτος (H.), which could perhaps belong with ▶ κήτος instead.

ἀκαχίζω ⇒ ἄχομαι.

ἀκαχμένος [perf.ptc.] 'sharpened' (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>ek-* 'sharp'>

•ETYM From the root \**h<sub>2</sub>ek-* 'sharp'; a reduplicated formation \*ἄκ-ἄκ-σ-μένος has been suggested, which remains speculative.

ἀκέανος [m.] a kind of leguminous vegetable (Pherecr.). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained. For the overall structure, cf. Ὠκεανός.

ἀκεύει ⇒ ἀκούω.

ἀκέων •VAR Also -έουσα, -έοντε. ⇒ ἀκή 2.

ἀκή 1 [f.] · ἀκμή σιδήρου 'point of an iron tool' (Suid., H.), cod. αἰχμή. <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ek-* 'point, sharp'>

•VAR A parallel formation is ἀκίς, -ίδος [f.] 'needle, arrow, barb' (Hp.).

•COMP On -ήκης see ▶ ἡκή.

•DER From ἀκίς: ἀκίδιον 'small barb' (BCH 29, 572), ἀκιδώδης 'pointed' (Thphr.), ἀκιδωτός 'id.' (Paul. Aeg.), also plant names like ἀκιδωτόν (Dsc.), passive verbal adj. ἡκιδωμένος (IG 2, 807), also compounded in ἀκιδοειδής (Procl.). ἀκίσκων [gen.pl.] (BGU 1028, 12; 16 [II<sup>p</sup>]), mg. uncertain, was borrowed from Lat. *acisculum* 'small pointed hammer of a stonemason', cf. Schubart's comment ad loc. Reduplicated form in ▶ ἀκωκή 'point (of a lance, sword, etc.)' (Hom., Theoc., Opp.), cf. ἀγωγή.

•ETYM Probably from a root noun; see Schwyzler: 465. Derived from a root ἄκ- 'sharp', seen in several other etyma. Not related to ▶ ἄκαινα, ▶ ἄκανος. See ▶ ἄκων, ▶ ἀκμή, ▶ ἀκόνη, ▶ ἄκρος, ▶ ἄκων.

ἀκή 2 [f.] 'silence, quiet' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Beside the instr. ἀκᾶ, ἀκᾷ (Pi.) only acc. ἀκήν; in Hom. adverbial in ἀκήν ἐγένοντο σιώπῃ, which shows that the original mg. was 'quiet, calm'; cf. ἀκήν ἤγε· ἡσυχίαν ἤγε· 'were bringing quiet or calm' (H.).

•DER ἀκέων, -έοντε, -έουσα is a ptc.; the form in -ων became indeclinable (Δ 422). The optative ἀέοις (A. R. 1, 765) is a late creation.

ἀκήνιον· ἡσυχον 'quiet' (EM 48, 1); ἄκασκα = ἡσυχῶς 'quietly' (H., Crat. 126), ἀκασκᾷ (Pi. fr. 28), formation unexplained; ἀκαλά [n.pl., adv.] (Hes. fr. 218, Sappho 43 LP); ἀκαλαν (Sappho 68, 86 LP); ἀκαλόν· ἡσυχον, πρᾶον, μαλακόν 'quiet, mild, soft' (H.); this adverb also in ἀκαλαρρείταιο < ἀκαλα-ρεφε- (Il.).

•ETYM It may be connected with ▶ ἡκα, assuming ablaut.

ἀκήρατος [adj.] 'undamaged, intact' (Il.). <?>

•VAR ἀκέραιος 'id.' (Hdt.).

•DER ἀκηράσιος 'pure' (Od.), 'untouched' (*h. Merc.*, AP). Similar formations are ἀκήριος 'undamaged (by the κῆρες)' (Od., epic), ἀκέραιος 'unharmful, undamaged' (IA). From ἀκέραιος: ἀκεραιότης (Plb.), ἀκεραιοσύνη (Suid.), ἀκεραιόμοι (Eust.).

•ETYM An epic and poetic word. It is unnecessary to assume a second, independent word meaning 'pure' (Od.), as Frisk does. DELG pleads for a unified meaning 'intact, pure'. Perhaps, ἀκήρατος (not from κηραίνω, A. *Supp.* 999) was metrically lengthened from \*ἀκέρατος, from the stem of κερα-ίζω 'to destroy', but influence of κῆρ is improbable. In some cases, the meaning may have been influenced by ▶ κεράννυμι 'to mix'. Lee *Glotta* 39 (1961): 191-205 connects it with ▶ κείρω, but this leaves the formation unexplained.

ἀκιδνός [adj.] 'weak, small' (Od.). <PG?>

•VAR ἀκιδρός (Cyr.).

•DER ἀκιδρωπάζω· ἀμβλυπῶ 'to be dim-sighted' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. The element -δν- may point to a substrate word. In view of the variant with -ρ-, Fur.: 388 assumes a substrate word with ν/ ρ, though the interchange is rare (cf. πρόκνις). At 360, he compares σκιδάρων· ἀραιόν 'thin, slender' (H.), which cannot be considered certain. Frisk also compares ἀκιδρός 'weak' (Theoc.); cf. ἀκιδρῆ· ἀσθενῆ, οὐκ ἐπιτεταμένα 'weak, not stretched' (H.) and ἀκιδρῶς· εὐλαβῶς, ἀτρέμας 'discreet, quiet' (H.); but ἀκιδρός· βορρᾶς 'the north wind' (H.) cannot belong here. For the interchange δ/ ρ, Fur.: 388 gives only σίβδα, where it is probably conditioned by the preceding β.

ἀκινάκης [m.] 'short sword of Persians and Scythians' (Hdt.). <LW Pers.?, PG?>

•VAR κινάκης (S. fr. 1061); the ι was long in Hor. *Od.* 1, 27, 5.

•ETYM Perhaps an Iranian loan: Benveniste 1940b: 202 compares *kyn'k*; see further Bailey *TPS* 1955: 69. However, κινάκης in Sophocles (Belardi 1969: 202) could suggest that the word is Pre-Greek rather than Iranian. It is supposed that ἀκίναγμα =

τίναγμα (*Lyr. Adesp.* 30 B) and ἀκιναγμός· τιναγμός, κίνησις ‘stirring, movement’ (H.) arose under influence of ἀκινάκης (Mansion 1904: 64).

**ἀκιρίς** [?] · λύχνος ‘lamp’ (H.). <PG?>

- VAR Cf. κίρρις (Lacon.) for λύχνος (*EM* 515, 17), also κίρις (H.).
- ETYM Unknown, but it may well be Pre-Greek in view of the variations.

**ἄκινος** [m.] ‘wild basil, Calamintha graveolens’ (Dsc. 3, 43). <PG(V)>

- VAR Also ἄκονος (ibid.).
- ETYM The vowel interchange, though rare, may point to a substrate word. See Fur.: 191.

**ἀκιρός** ⇒ ἀκιδνός.

**ἄκκῳ, -οῦς** [f.] ‘bogey’ (Plu. 2, 1040b), acc. to others (Zen. 1, 53) ‘vain woman’. <PG, ONOM>

- DER Also as a PN (Plu.); ἀκκίζομαι [v.] ‘to adorn oneself’ (Pl.).
- ETYM A ‘lallwort’ or nursery word; cf. Lat. *Acca* (*Larentia*) and Skt. *akkā* (gramm.). Cf. also ἄκκῳ· γυνή ἐπὶ μισθῷ διαβαλλομένη, ἥ φασι νύκτωρ ἐπιτιμωμένην τῇ ἰδίᾳ εἰκόνι ὡς ἐτέρᾳ διαλέγεσθαι ‘woman slandered to be crazy, etc.’ (Suda 1, 87).

**ἀκμή** [f.] ‘point, edge; culminating point, prime, zenith’ (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>ek- ‘point, sharp’>

- VAR The acc. ἀκμήν is used adverbially in the sense ‘as yet, still’.
- DER ἀκμαῖος ‘in full bloom, timely’ (A.), ἀκμηνός ‘full-grown’ (ψ 191). Denominative verb ἀκμιάζω [v.] ‘to be in one’s prime’ (IA); thence: 1. ἀκμιαστής = ἀκμαῖος (Hdn.), οἱ ἀκμιασταί name of a gymnastic club in Thyatira (inscr.); 2. ἀκμιαστικός = ἀκμαῖος (Hp., Gal.).
- ETYM Derivative in -μή of the root in ▶ ἀκή, ▶ ἄκρος, etc.

**ἄκμηνος** [adj.] ‘fasting (from food)’ (Il., only in T). <IE \*kemh<sub>2</sub>- ‘get tired’>

- ETYM A scholion on T 163 derives it from Aeol. ἄκμια, which Hesychius explains as νηστεία, ἔνδεα ‘fasting, need’. Bechtel 1914 compares κομῶσα· γέμουσα ‘filling’ (H.), which would point to privative ἀ- and a zero grade -κμη- ‘to fill’; this is highly uncertain. Fur.: 369 compares Old Georg. *si-ḡmili* ‘hunger’, etc., which is very uncertain too. Blanc 1999: 317–338 proposes a derivation from \*kemh<sub>2</sub>- (κάμνω) in the sense ‘to care (for)’, which yields ‘not properly cared for, neglected’ (see also DELG *Supp.*). This seems attractive (cf. πολύκμητος).

**ἄκμων, -ονος** [m.] ‘anvil’ (Il.), also ‘meteoric stone’ (Hes. *Th.* 722), = οὐρανός ἢ σίδηρον ‘heaven, iron’ (H.), = ἀλετριβανός, Κύπριοι ‘pestle (Cypr.)’ (H.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>ek-mon- ‘stone, heaven’>

- COMP ἀκμίο-θετον [n.] (Hom.) ‘base of an anvil’, with the root of ▶ τίθημι.
- DER Diminutive ἀκμόνιον (Aisop.).
- ETYM Old word for ‘stone’, found in several languages: Skt. *ásman-* [m.] ‘stone, heaven’, cf. the glosses meaning of ἄκμων as ‘heaven’; Av. *asman-* ‘stone, heaven’, OP *asman-* ‘heaven’; Lith. *akmuō, -eñs* ‘stone’ (with regular depalatalization before *m*; *āšmens* ‘sharp side, edge’ with *aš-* from other positions). The relation of these words to OCS *kamy, -ene* ‘stone’ and the Germanic group ON *hamarr* ‘hammer’

(originally made of stone) is much discussed. One supposes the root *ak-* ‘sharp’ in ▶ ἀκή, etc. On these questions see the litt. in Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 137, e.g. Maher *JIES* 1 (1973): 441ff. and Mallory & Adams 1997: 547.

**ἄκνηστις** [f.] ‘backbone’ (A. R. 4, 1403: ἐπ’ ἄκνηστιν); name of a plant (Nic. *Th.* 52). <GR>

- ETYM It is supposed that κατ’ ἄκνηστιν stands for older κατὰ κνήστιν ‘rasp’ (κ 161), (Wackernagel *Glotta* 2 (1910): 1, Fraenkel *Glotta* 4 (1913): 42, Leumann 1950: 49); on κνήστις see ▶ -κναίω.

**ἄκοιτις, -ου** [m.] ‘bedfellow, husband’ (Il.). <IE \*kei- ‘lie, be situated’>

- COMP παράκοιτις (Il.).
- ETYM Secondly built on ἄκοιτις [f.], on which see Chantraine *REGr.* 59–60 (1946–1947): 225f.: the idea that the woman is the one sharing the bed of the man is more natural than the other way around; also, the feminine is more frequent. With copulative ἀ- and κοιτή or κοιτός ‘bed’ (Chantraine 1933: 26ff. and 113f.). The psilosil may be analogical after ἄλοχος or dialectal (Lesbian, Ionic). See ▶ κείμαι.

**ἄκολος** [m.] ‘bit, morsel’ (ρ 222.). <PG?>

- VAR Boeot. acc. to Stratt. 47, 7.
- ETYM Possibly of foreign origin; cf. Phrygian βεκος ακκαλος (Haas 1966: 84). A connection with Skt. *asnāti* ‘to eat’ does not explain the formation. A suggestion by Fur.: 371 is to connect it to κόλον, a type of food preserved in pots (pap. III<sup>a</sup>); Ath. 6, 262a and Eust. explain it as ἡ τροφή. Nothing suggests an identity with ἄκυλος ‘acorn’.

**ἀκόλουθος** [adj.] ‘following; corresponding’ (Att., com.).

- VAR Often substantivized [m., f.] ‘follower, companion’.
- DER Diminutive ἀκολουθίσκος (Ptol. *Euerg.*), abstract ἀκολουθία ‘retinue, attendants; sequence, succession, consequence’ (S., Pl.), mostly as a philosophical term. Denominative ἀκολουθέω [v.] ‘to follow’ (Ar.), whence ἀκολουθήσις (Arist.) and ἀκολουθητικός [adj.] (Arist.).
- ETYM Derived from ▶ κέλευθος ‘path’ with copulative ἀ-. The double ablaut seems surprising, but there are parallels (see Van Beek *fthc.b*); it does not point to vowel assimilation.

**ἀκόνη** [f.] ‘whetstone’ (Pi.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>ek- ‘sharp, point’>

- DER ἀκονάω [v.] ‘to whet’ (IA), nominal derivations ἀκόνησις (H., Suid.), ἀκονητής (*Ed. Diocl.*, Hdn.); further ἀκόνιον name of a medicine for the eye (Dsc.), ἀκονίας fish name (Numen. *apud* Ath. 17, 326a).
- ETYM Formation in -όνη like περόνη, βελόνη, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 207), with ἀκ- as in ▶ ἀκή, ▶ ἀκμή, etc. For the suffix -n-, cf. ▶ ἄκων.

**ἀκόνιτον** [n.] the poisonous plant ‘Aconitum’ (Thphr.), but also other plants, see André 1956. <PG?>

- DER ἀκονιτικός (X.).

•ETYM Derived by the ancients from ἀκονίτι 'without dust', i.e. without struggle / fight (ἀκόνιτος: Q. S.), therefore 'invincible', because of its deadly effect. Semantically, this is hardly possible. Cf. Jüthner *Glotta* 29 (1942): 73ff., Strömberg 1940: 150 A. 1. Fur.: 121 connects it with κονή, κῶνος. A substrate word is in any case probable.

**ἄκορνα** [f.] 'fish thistle, Cnicus Acarna' (Thphr.). <PG(V)>

•VAR (σ)όρνος, see below.

•ETYM On the final short -α, see Chantraine 1933: 100ff. Strömberg 1944: 17 compares κόρνος· κεντρομυρσίνη, Σικελοί 'butcher's broom (plant name)' (H.) and σκόρνος· κόρνος, μυρσίνη τὸ φυτόν 'myrtle'. It seems possible that ἄκορνός (ὀκορνός) 'grasshopper' derives from ἄκορνα (Strömberg), cf. ἀκανθίας 'grasshopper' beside ἀκανθα 'thorn, thistle'. The ἄ- is a Pre-Greek prothetic vowel, and did not arise by connection with ἀκ- 'sharp'. The variation ἄ-/σ-/zero, the cluster -ρν- and the short -α all point to a Pre-Greek word.

**ἄκορον** [n.] 'yellow flag, Iris Pseudacorus' (Dsc., Gal.). <?>

•ETYM The ancients derived the word from κόρη 'pupil of the eye'; it would be used to care for the pupil. See Strömberg 1940: 98. Fur.: 359 compares κύρα, which would be the Libyan form (Ps.-Dsc. 2, 169).

**ἄκος** [n.] 'cure, medicine' (Il.). <?>

•DIAL Myc. *a<sub>2</sub>-ke-te-re* /<sup>h</sup>akestēres/, *ja-ke-te-re* /jakestēres/.

•COMP ἄφ-, ἐφ-αέομαι (Delph.).

•DER Denominative verb ἀέομαι 'to cure; repair' (Il.). Thence 1. ἀκέσματα 'remedy' (Il., Pi., A., inscr.); ἀκεσμός 'healing' (Call.), ἀκέσμιον· ἰάσιμον 'healing' (H.); 2. ἀκεσις 'healing' (Hdt., inscr.); ἀκέσιμος 'id.' (Plu.) and ἀκέσιος epithet of Apollo (Paus.), ἀκεσίας· ἰατρός 'healer' (Phot.). 3. ἀκέστωρ epithet of Apollo (E. Andr. 900), fem. ἀκεστορίς (Hp.), abstract ἀκεστορία 'art of healing' (A. R.). 4. ἀκεστήρ 'tranquilizing' (χαλινός, S. OC 714 [lyr.]), ἀκεστήριος 'healing' (App.) and ἀκεστήριον 'tailor's shop' (Lib.); Ἀκεστηρίδης PN (Styra). Feminines ἀκεστρίς 'midwife' (Hp.) and ἀκέστρια 'tailor woman' (Antiph., Luc.). 5. ἀκεστής [m.] 'patcher, tailor' (X., Lyc.), fem. ἀκεστίδες 'bars in furnaces' (Dsc. 5, 74). Instrument nouns: 6. ἀκέστρα [f.] 'darning needle' (Luc., pap.), 7. ἄκεστρον [n.] 'medicine' (S.). Adjectives: ἀκεστός 'curable' (N 115, Hp., Antipho), originally from ἄκος, but interpreted as derived from ἀέομαι; ἀκεστική τέχνη 'tailor's trade' (Democr., Pl.). Also ἀκή 'healing' (Hp.), probably from ἀέομαι. From ἀκή perhaps \*ἄκιμος (Cic. Att. 10, 12a, 4), see Arbenz 1933: 93, Thomas 1912: 125ff. Also νήκεστος (Hes.), which (beside ἀνάκεστος, ἀνήκεστος) seems to be from \**n-h<sub>2</sub>k-*, but could be analogical in view of the Myc. form with *j-*. PN Ἐξηκίας (Attica; Pailler *Lettre de Pallas* 4 (1996): 8).

•ETYM Etymology unknown. The compounds with ἄφ- and ἐφ-, as well as the Myc. form with *j-*, seem to point to original *yod*. DELG's reconstruction \**iēk-/iāk-* is impossible, as \**eh<sub>1</sub>/h<sub>1</sub>* would have resulted in \**ēk-*. An original root \**Hieh<sub>2</sub>k-* seems possible. It is quite thinkable that the psilotic forms are epicisms or Ionic forms. A

connection with OIr. *hícc* 'healing' has been suggested, but its relation to MW *iach* 'healthy' is uncertain (Schrijver 1995: 103).

**ἀκοστή** [f.] 'barley' (Nic. Al. 106). <?>

•VAR ἀγοσταί, -έω (AB 213 [gramm.]).

•DER Denominative verb in the ptc. ἀκοστήσας (Z 506, O 263) 'well-fed', of ἵππος. Unclear is ἀκόστιλα· ἐλάχιστα 'slightest, not at all' (H.). κοσταί = ἀκοστή (H.) may have lost its vowel, see Kuiper 1956: 221.

•ETYM Hesychius calls the word Cyprian; the scholion on Z 506, Thessalian, as a word for food in general (cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 204). It is compared with Lat. *acus* -eris [n.] 'chaff', Go. *ahs* and OHG *ahir* [n.] 'ear (of corn)' (see Frisk), but the analysis, in which a suffix -τή with substantivizing function is added to \**akos-* (comparing Lat. *onus-tus*, *venus-tus* and perhaps *locus-ta*), is rather weak; an *e*-grade \**akes-* would be expected. Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1961): 652 proposes \**ako(n)stā* < \**akont-tā* 'barbed', from the word for 'javelin', ▶ ἄκων. However, the forms with -γ- and κοσταί, if these are old, rather point to foreign origin. See ▶ ἄχνη.

**ἀκούω** [v.] 'to hear', also 'to obey, be called' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>keus-* 'hear'>

•VAR Perf. ἀκήκοα. ἀκεύει τηρεῖ, Κύπριοι 'watches (over), observes (Cypr.)' (H.).

•COMP νηκουστέω < \**h<sub>2</sub>k-*. Often prefixed: ὑπακούω 'to be obedient', ὑπήκοος, ἐπακούω, ἐπήκοος, κατακούω, κατήκοος, etc.

•DER ἀκουή (Il.), ἀκοή 'hearing, tiding; ear' (with shortening in hiatus) < \**akōhā* < \**akōhā* < \**akowhā* < \**akowsā*. Diminutive ἀκοῖδιον (gloss.), denominative verb ἀκοάζει· ἀκούεις (H.), cf. the discussion on ἀκουάζομαι below, whence ἀκοαστήρες· ἀρχή τις παρὰ Μεταποντίοις 'kind of magistrature (Metap.)' (H.). 2. ἀκουσις 'hearing', plur. 'sounds' (Arist.), ἀκούσιμος 'fit for hearing' (S.). 3. ἀκουσμα 'sound, rumor, (oral) teachings' (S. OC 518 [lyr.], X., Arist.). Diminutive ἀκουσμάτιον (Ps.-Luc. *Philopatr.*), ἀκουσματικός (Iamb.). 4. ἀκουστής 'listener, pupil' (Men., D. H., Phld.), ἀκουστήριον 'lecture hall, audience' (Gal., Them., Porph.). 5. ἀκουστός 'audible' (h. Merc., IA), ἀκουστίζω 'to make hear' (LXX); ἀκουστικός 'ptng. to hearing' (Arist., Epic.). Deverbative ἀκουάζομαι [v.] 'to hear, listen' (Hom., Hp.), rarely act. -άζω; formally, this could also derive from ἀκουή. Desiderative ἀκουσείω (S., H.).

•ETYM Related to Go. *hausjan* 'to hear' as \**h<sub>2</sub>kous-ie/o-*. ἀκούω is from \*ἀκουσ-γω; cf. ἀκουστός, ἤκουσμαι. The primary verb may be found in the gloss ἀκεύει. The word has often been explained as a compound from ἀκ- 'sharp' and οὖς, but this is not certain. In support of such a compound, ὤτ-ακουστέω 'to eavesdrop' may be compared within Greek. See ▶ κοέω.

**ἀκραῖης**, -ές ⇒ ἄκρος.

**ἀκραϊφνής**, -ές [adj.] 'unmixed, pure, sheer; untouched, inviolate' (E.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 159 compares ἀκραϊφνής (mss. Lysipp. fr. 9 *apud* EM 531, 56 = Et. Gud. 338, 15). If this is reliable, it is a substrate word (π/φ, α/αι).

**ἀκραμύλα** ⇒ ἀχραδαμύλα.



ἀκρατίζομαι = κεράννυμι.

ἀκράχολος [adj.] 'raging passionately' (Ar.). <IE \**kerh₂-* 'mix'>

- DER Abstract ἀκράχολία, Ion. ἀκρηχολίη (Hp.); denominative ἀκράχολέω [v.] (Pl.).
- ETYM Literally "with unmixed bile", from \*ἀκράτ-χολος, with \*ἀκράς = ἀκράτος, cf. ἀκρητό-χολος (Hp.) and εὐκράς = εὐκράτος 'well-mixed'. Later, it was changed to ἀκρόχολος (Arist.). Brugmann *IF* 17 (1904-1905): 174ff. assumes the same first member occurs in ἀκρήπεδος ἡ ἀγαθή (scil. γῆ) (H.). See ►κεράννυμι.

ἀκρεμών, -όνος [m.] 'bough, branch' (Simon.); on the mg. see Strömberg 1937: 141f., 54f. <PG(V)>

- VAR Accentuation after Hdn. Gr. 1, 33; the mss. mostly have -έμων.
- ETYM The old etymology with ἄκρος is improbable, as the formation is unclear (see Chantraine 1933: 172f.). It is most improbable that κρεμών (Eratosth.) is due to ►κεράννυμι. Like the etymology, it is a desperate attempt to reduce the word to known elements. Fur.: 115 adduces ἀγρεμών· κάμαξ, λαμπάς, δόρυ 'pole, torch, shaft' (H.), which shows that it is a substrate word.

ἀκριβής, -ές [adj.] 'exact, precise' (Hp.). <GR?>

- COMP ἀκριβο-λογία (Arist.).
- DER ἀκριβεία 'precision' (IA); denominatives: 1. ἀκριβόω [v.] 'to investigate accurately, etc.' (Att.), also intr. 'to be exact' (Arist.). Thence ἀκριβώσις 'exact observance' (J.) and ἀκριβωμα 'precise account, exact knowledge' (Phld., Epicur.). 2. ἀκριβεύω [v.] 'to use accurately, give precise instructions' (S. E., Did., pap.). 3. ἀκριβάω [v.] 'to investigate accurately, etc.', also pass. 'to be proud' (LXX, Aq., Thd.), whence ἀκριβασμός, -ασμα 'precise investigation', also 'law, legislation', -αστής 'investigator', also 'legislator'.
- ETYM The explanation by Schwyzler *Glotta* 12 (1923): 12ff., that the word is from ἄκρος and εἴβω with early itacism, is hardly acceptable. Tichy *MSS* 36 (1977): 151-172 explains the word from ἀκρις 'mountain top', in the dative-locative in -ῖ, and βῆναι 'to go'.

ἀκρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'grasshopper' (Il.). <PG(V)>

- ETYM Hardly related to κρίζω 'creak' (Strömberg 1944: 15ff), which leaves the ἀ-unexplained. Winter 1950: 15 connects it to κέρκα· ἀκρίς (H.); Fur.: 127 accepts this, comparing γέλις next to ἄγλις for the variation. Of course, a substrate word for a grasshopper is not unexpected. However, Furnée's further comparison with ἄχηρον· ἀκρίδα (H.) (< \**āxerδon* [Bechtel 1921, 2: 671]) is less convincing.

ἀκριστιν · κλέπτριαν, ἀλετρίδα, Φρύγιοι 'female thief, female slave who grinds corn (Phrygian)' (H.). <?>

- ETYM Unknown. Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 205f. suggested that the suffix -(i)stis is Phrygian; a suffix -st- could be Pre-Greek.

ἀκροάομαι [v.] 'to hearken, obey' (X.), ὁ ἀκροώμενος may secondarily mean 'reader' (Philostr.). <GR>

•DER ἀκρόασις 'hearing, obeying', also 'lecture (hall)' (IA). ἀκρόαμα 'what is heard', e.g. 'rumor, lecture, song' (X., Arist., Plb.), plur. also personified as 'lecturer, singer' (Plb.); thence ἀκροαματικός 'fit (only) for hearing' (Plu.); ἀκροατής 'listener, pupil', also 'reader' (Att., Hell.), whence ἀκροατικός; ἀκροατήριον 'lecture hall, audience' (Act. Ap., Ph., Plu.); ἀκροάζομαι (Epich.).

•ETYM Commonly derived from a univerbation of ►ἄκρος and ►οὖς that denoted the top of the ear, whence 'to prick the ears, be keen to hear' (Frisk *GHA* 56 : 3 (1950): 21); however, cf. Szemerényi *SMEA* 3 (1967): 69ff. The derivation is straightforward semantically, but some formal difficulties remain.

ἀκροβυστία = πόσθη.

ἄκρος, -α, -ον [adj.] 'at the farthest point, topmost, outermost' (Il.). <IE \**h₂ek-* 'sharp, point'>

•VAR Old substantivized forms ἄκρα [f.], ἄκρον [n.] 'highest or farthest point, headland, cape', Hom. κατ' ἄκρης (πόλιος) 'from the highest point down', hence 'completely, utterly', also κατ' ἄκρηθεν (which became κατὰ κρήθεν by association with κάρα); see Leumann 1950: 56ff.

•COMP ἀκρόπολις (Od.), the Iliad still has ἄκρη πόλις, see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 20; ἀκραίης epithet of the wind (β 421, ξ 253, Hes. *Op.* 594) is often interpreted as 'blowing vehemently', but probably originally 'blowing on/ from the heights'; also adverbial ἀκραεὶ πλεῖν (Arr.).

•DER ἄκρις, -ιος [f.] 'hill-top, mountain peak' (Od.), always plur., see on ►ῥκρις; sing. only *Epigr. Gr.* 1035, 8. ἀκραῖος 'dwelling on heights', epithet of several gods, also = ἄκρος (Opp.). ἀκρία· ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν Ἀργεῖ (H.), also name of other goddesses, ἀκρία· τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὀρέων 'mountain-tops' (H.). Substantives: ἀκρότης 'highest point, completion, perfection' (Hp., Arist., Phld.). ἄκρων, -ωνος [m.] 'extremity' (*Hippiatr.* 7), diminutive ἀκρωνάριον (ibid.), abstract ἀκρωνία (A. *Eu.* 188), probably 'mutilation' (cf. the discussion on ἀκρωτηριασμός below). ἀκρωτήριον 'projecting part, e.g. promontory, sternpost of a ship, etc.', plur. also 'extremities of the body' (IA), probably directly from ἄκρος, cf. δεσμός; δεσμιωτήριον. From ἀκρωτήριον: ἀκρωτηριάω 'to remove the stern, mutilate, amputate' (IA), cf. ἀκρωτερῆσαι· κόψαι ἢ ἀχρεῖῳσαι 'to beat, render useless' (H.), also 'to jut out like a promontory' (Plb., Str.). Verbal nouns ἀκρωτηριασμός (Dsc.), ἀκρωτηρίασις (gloss.). Denominative verbs to ἄκρος: ἀκρίζω 'to go on tiptoe' (E.), 'τὰ ἄκρα ἐσθίειν' (sch. Φ 12); on ἀκρώσσει· ἀκροᾶται, ἐκὼν οὐχ ὑπακούει, προσποιεῖται (H.) see Frisk *GHA* 56 : 3 (1950): 22.

•ETYM The root \**h₂ek-* is widespread in IE, and several *r*-derivatives from it are found: Skt. *ásri-* [f.] 'corner, sharp side', *catur-ásra-* 'quadrangular', Lat. *ācer*, -ris, -re (with unexplained length), Gaul. *Axrotalus* PN 'with high forehead', OIr. *ér* 'high', OLith. *aštras*, OCS *ostrb* 'sharp'. Hitt. *hekur* 'rock sanctuary' is unrelated; cf. Puhvel *HED* s.v. See further ►ἀκή, ►ἀκμή, and ►ῥκρις. A connection with the root \**h₂ek-* has been assumed unjustly for many words, e.g. ►ἀκαλήφη, ►ἀκόστη, and ►ἄκορνα.

ἀκταίνω [v.] 'to erect' (A.), of στάσιν, βάσιν. <?>



•VAR Aor. ἀκταινῶσαι (Anacr.), see Immisch *PhW* 48 (1928): 908. Unclear are ἀκταίρων· ἀκταίων, προθυμούμενος, ἢ ὀρμῆς πληρῶν, ἢ μετεωρίζων ‘willing, full of impulse, or lifting (the spirit)’ (H.), ἀκταίνειν· μετεωρίζειν ‘to lift (the spirit)’ (H.); ὑποακταίνοντο· ἔτρεμον ‘were trembling’ (H.), as a v.l. for ὑπερικταίνοντο (ψ 3), of πόδες. Also ἀπακταίνων· ὁ κινεῖσθαι μὴ δυνάμενος ‘unable to move’ (H.).

•ETYM The only suggestion is that it derives from ἄγω through \*ἀκτάω or \*ἄκτω (cf. Schwyzer: 705f., Schwyzer 1937: 70), but this is doubted by DELG. Cf. Bechtel 1914.

**ἀκτέα** [f.] ‘elder-tree, *Sambucus nigra*’ (Emp.). <?>

•VAR Contracted ἀκτῆ; also ἀκτέος [m.].

•DER ἄκτινος (Thphr.).

•ETYM On the suffix -έα, which forms tree names, see Chantraine 1933: 92 (ἰτέα, πετέα). Witczak *Linguistica Baltica* 1 (1992): 201-211 connects it with Arm. *hac’i* ‘ash’, which he disassociates from ▶όξύα. Borrowed from Greek are Lat. *acte* (Plin.) and OHG *atuh*, *at(t)ah*.

**ἀκτῆ 1** [f.] ‘promontory, rocky coast, rough shore, edge’ (Il.). <PG?, IE?>

•DER ἀκταῖος, -α, -ον ‘located at or belonging to the coast’ (Th., Hp., Call.); the fem. ἀκταία is also the name of a plant (Plin.); see Strömberg 1940: 115 (also on ἄκτιον and ἀκτίνη). ἄκτιος epithet of Pan (Theoc.) and Apollo (A. R.), ἄκτιον = ἀκτῆ (Ael.). ἀκτίτης [m.] ‘who lives on the coast’ (A. P.), ἀκτίτης λίθος ‘stone from Piraeus or Argolis’ (IG, S.). ἀκτάω [v.] ‘to banquet’ (which would derive from \*‘to banquet on the shore’, Plu. 2, 668b) is rather from ▶ἀκτῆ 2.

•ETYM Derivation from ἀκ- ‘sharp’ is possible acc. to Frisk and DELG, but if Fur.: 127 is right in comparing ὄχθη, -ος ‘shore, bank’ (which seems quite convincing), it could be a substrate word (variations α/ο, κτ/χθ). Cf. ▶ἀκτῆ 2.

**ἀκτῆ 2** [f.] ‘corn’ (Il.), often Δημήτερος or ἀλφίτου ἀκτῆ, for which reason it cannot mean ‘flour’, as DELG rightly points out. Cf. ἀκτῆ τροφή ‘nourishment’ (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM There is no trace of initial digamma. Fur.: 127 compares \*ὄχθη in ▶εὖοχος; see also ibid. 320 on ὄχη. This evidence cannot be ignored, and ἀκτῆ ‘corn’ is a substrate word. Skoda 1993: 275-283 thinks that the word means ‘ear (of corn)’ and therefore belongs to ἀκ- ‘sharp’.

**ἀκτηρίς, -ίδος** [f.] ‘staff’ (Achae. 21), ‘bar of wood supporting a chariot-pole’ (Poll. 10, 157). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. The explanation as a univerbation of ἀκταίνω (\*ἀκτάω) and ἐρείδω (Frisk) seems most improbable.

**ἀκτίς, -ῖνος** [f.] ‘ray, beam of light’ (Il.), also ‘spoke of a wheel’ (AP). <?>

•COMP Frequent as a first member.

•DER ἀκτινωτός ‘provided with ἀκτίνες’ (inscr. Delos IV<sup>a</sup> *Michel* 815, Ph.), ἀκτινώδης [adj.] ‘like beams’ (Philostr.), ἀκτινηδόν [adv.] ‘id.’ (Luc.).

•ETYM ἀκτίς is built like δελφίς, γλωχίς, and ὠδίς, and probably derived from a noun. It resembles Skt. *aktí-*, but the meaning of the latter is very difficult (see Renou 1937: 6; Kuiper *Vāk* 2 (1953): 81f., 89f.); one meaning seems to be ‘night’, another has been

derived from *añj-* ‘to smear’, but Kuiper thinks it means ‘ray, light’. This has been connected with \**no/ek<sup>w</sup>t-* ‘night’, the zero grade of which is also found in Go. *uhtwo* [f.] <PGm. \**unhxtwōn-* < \**ḡk<sup>w</sup>t-u-n-* ‘dawn’ (Lith. *anksti* ‘early’ requires an initial laryngeal, which excludes derivation from ‘night’, as Gr. νύξ shows that there was no laryngeal.) Relation of ἀκτίς to the word for ‘night’ is excluded, however, as it shows no trace of a labiovelar. Thus it remains without an etymology.

**ἄκυλος** [m., f.] the edible acorn of the *Quercus Ilex* (κ 242). <PG(S)>

•ETYM Connection with Skt. *asñāti* ‘eat’ or with ▶ἄκολος is improbable. It is rather a substrate word (Fur.: 255<sup>32</sup>) because of ἀκυλαῖον, since -υλ- is a frequent Pre-Greek suffix.

**ἀκωκή** [f.] ‘point of a lance or sword, etc.’ (Il., Theoc., Opp.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ek-* ‘sharp, point’>

•ETYM Reduplicated formation of unknown structure: \**h<sub>2</sub>(e)k̑-h<sub>2</sub>ōk-* or (hardly feasible) \**h<sub>2</sub>k-o-h<sub>2</sub>k-*, from the root \**h<sub>2</sub>ek-* ‘sharp’ (see ▶ἀκή).

**ἄκων, -οντος** [m.] ‘javelin, dart’ (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>ek-* ‘sharp, point’>

•DER Diminutive ἀκόντιον (*h. Merc.* 460, Hdt., Pl.), ἀκοντίας [m.] ‘kind of snake’, also ‘meteor’, because of its speed (Nic.), ἀκοντίλος [m.] = ἀκοντίας ‘id.’ (H.). Verb ἀκοντίω [v.] ‘to throw a javelin’ (Il.), verbal nouns 1. ἀκοντιστής ‘game of the dart’ (Il.); 2. ἀκόντισις ‘throwing the javelin’ (X.); 3. ἀκοντισμός ‘id., shooting (of stars)’ (X., Str., Arr.); 4. ἀκόντισμα ‘distance of a dart’s throw’ (X.), ‘javelin’ (Str., Plu.); 5. ἀκοντισία = ἀκόντισις (SIG 1060, 1062), cf. Chantraine 1933: 86. Agent nouns: ἀκοντιστής [m.] (Il.), cf. Schwyzer: 500a; more recent ἀκοντιστήρ ‘id.’ (E.); also used as an adjective in Opp. and Nonn.; ἀκοντιστήρ also as ‘spring, fountain’, see Zingerle *Glotta* 19 (1931): 72f. Further ἀκοντιστήριον ‘ballista’ (Agath.); ἀκοντιστικός ‘ptng. to throwing the dart’ (Pl., X.).

•ETYM ἄκων is considered to be a derivative -*n-* of the root in ▶ἀκή, etc. But there is no proof for this, as ▶ἄκαινα need not be a derivation of the stem of ἄκων, so perhaps the -ντ-suffix is original. From other languages, we can compare Skt. *asāni-* ‘point of an arrow’, Lat. *agna* ‘ear (of corn)’ (which could be a substrate word, cf. De Vaan 2008 s.v.), Gm., e.g. Go. *ahana* ‘chaff’, and ON *agn*, pl. *agnar* ‘id.’.

**ἀλάβα** · μέλαν ᾧ γράφομεν ‘black [stuff] with which we write’ (H.); ἀλάβη· λιγνύς, σποδός, καρκίνος ‘soot, embers, crab’, ὑπὸ δὲ Κυπρίων μαρίλη ‘coal-dust (Cypr.)’ (H.); ἀλάβη· ἄνθρακες ‘coals’ (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM See Petersson *IF* 34 (1914/1915): 241. Because of its structure, it is probably a Pre-Greek word (note -αβ-).

**ἀλάβαστος** [m.] ‘vase without handles for storing perfumes’, often made of alabaster (Hdt.). <LW>

•VAR Later ἀλαβάστρος [m.], -τρον [n.].

•DER Diminutive ἀλαβάστιον (Eub.); further ἀλαβάστιον [n.] and ἀλαβαστρίνη (scil. λιθοτομία) ‘alabaster quarry’ (pap.); ἀλαβαστρίτης (λίθος) [m.] ‘alabaster’, ἀλαβαστρίτης πέτρα (Callix.); ἀλαβάστρινος (pap.); ἀλαβαστρών [m.] ‘alabaster quarry’, ἀλαβαστρωνίτης ‘worker in an alabaster quarry’ (pap.).

•ETYM Sethe *Berl.Ak.Sb.* 1933: 888f. explained the form as Egyptian: \**a-la-baste* 'vase of the goddess Ebāste' (= Bubastis); this is doubtful. Fur.: 329<sup>26</sup> uses the -p- as evidence for a substrate word, but it could be analogical. The sequence -st- could be Pre-Greek.

ἀλάβης ⇒ ἀλλάβης.

ἀλαζών, -όνος [m., f.] 'charlatan, quack, braggart, boaster' (Arist.). <?>

•VAR Also as an adjective.

•DER ἀλαζονικός 'boastful' (Hp., X., Arist.), ἀλαζονίας = ἀλαζών (Hdn.), ἀλαζοσύνη 'bragging' (Aq.).

•ETYM ἀλαζών is identical with the Thracian EN Ἀλαζών. Perhaps it simply became an appellative, just like *vandal* (though with a different meaning). See Burkert *RhM* 105 (1962): 50f. Of course, this interpretation remains uncertain. Implausible is the connection with Hitt. *halzai-* 'to cry, invoke' by Van Windekens *KZ* 100 (1987): 307f., which Kloekhorst 2008: 276f. analyses as \**h<sub>2</sub>lt-(o)i-*.

ἀλαιθερές [adj.] · χλιαρόν, ηλιοθερές 'warm, warmed in the sun' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

ἀλαλά interjection (Pi.), also personified Ἀλαλά. <ONOM>

•VAR Also ἀλαλαί (Ar.), also as a plur. substantive 'war cry, exultation' (Pi.).

•DER ἀλαλητός [m.] 'cry of war, of fear, of victory' (Il.); improbable Leumann 1950: 211 (connecting ἀλάλημαι 'to wander'). Denominative verb ἀλαλάζω 'to call ἀλαλά' (mainly poetic), whence ἀλαλαγμός (Hdt., E., Arr.), ἀλάλαγμα (Call., Plu.), ἀλαλαγή (S.).

•ETYM An elementary cry, like Skt. *alalā-bhāvant-* (RV, 'making cheerful', of water). See Theander *Eranos* 15 (1915): 98ff. and Kretschmer *Glotta* 9 (1918): 228ff. Cf. ▶ ἐλελεῦ, ▶ ὀλολύζω.

ἀλάλυγξ, -υγγοσ [f.] 'gulping, choking' (Nic. *Al.* 18). <ONOM>

•ETYM One suggests contamination of λύγξ 'hiccup' and another word, like ▶ ἀλύω or ▶ ἀλάομαι; this is not very convincing. Does it contain ἀλαλά? It is rather a primary onomatopoeic formation (with the Pre-Greek element -υ[γ]γ-).

ἀλάομαι [v.] 'to wander, roam; to be banished' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>elh<sub>2</sub>-* 'wander, roam about'>

•VAR Aor. ἀλήθην (Hom.), perf. ἀλάλησθαι, ἀλαλήμενος (Hom.) with present mg. (cf. the accent, see Wackernagel *Gött. Nachr.* 1914: 117f., Chantraine 1942: 190). Late ἀλαίνω (see Schwyzler: 733).

•DER Deverbal ἄλη (Od., Hp., trag.), whence ἀλεία (AB, H.); ἀλήτης [m.], also [adj.] 'wanderer, rover; vagrant' (Od.), Dor. ἀλάτας, also a PN; ἀλήτις, -ιδος [f.] 'beggar, refugee; roaming about' (Od., Hdt., trag.), ἀλητικός (D. Chr.). To ἀλήτης denominative ἀλητεύω [v.] 'to roam about (as a beggar or refugee)', thence ἀλητεία, ἀλατεία (A., E. [lyr.]). Rare ἀλητήρ name of a dance (Aristox.), ἀλήτωρ· ἱερέυς 'priest' (H.), perhaps originally "beggar priest", on which see Masson *RPh.* 89 (1963): 214-218.

Further ἀλήμων 'roving' (Od.), ἀλημοσύνη (Man.). Action nouns: ἀλητύς 'roving' (Call., Man.), ἄλημια· ὁδοιπορία 'journey' (H.). ἀλάλαγξ· ἡ πλάνη 'wandering' (H.) has a strange formation; acc. to Leumann 1950: 211 also ἀλαλητῶ (Π 78), but cf. on ▶ ἀλαλά.

•ETYM ἀλάομαι is an old intensive verb in -άομαι, which can be compared with Latv. *aluōt* 'id.' and Pit. \**ala-* in Lat. *ambulō* 'to walk', U *amb-oltu* 'must go around'. LIV<sup>2</sup> reconstructs a root \**h<sub>2</sub>elh<sub>2</sub>-* for PIE. See ▶ ἀλέομαι, ▶ ἄλιος, ▶ ἀλύω, ▶ ἡλάσκω.

ἄλαός [adj.] 'blind' (Il., trag. [lyr.], A. R.). <?>

•VAR Cf. κ 493 = μ 267 μάντιος (-ηος?) ἀλαοῦ, which provides a metrical problem.

•DER Denominative verb ἀλαώω (Od., AP), cf. Wackernagel 1916: 127. Thence ἀλαωτύς (ι 503) 'blinding, blindness'.

•ETYM No etymology. The explanation from ▶ λάω 'see' is problematic, as a privative formation should have barytone accentuation. A. B. 1095 says that the word was Cypriot, which may mean that it belongs to the Achaeian layer in Homer (Ruijgh 1957: 160). The usual word for 'blind' is ▶ τυφλός.

ἀλαπάζω [v.] 'to drain, plunder, destroy' (Hom.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Aor. ἀλάπαξα, fut. ἀλαπάξω. The future λαπάξειν is found twice in A. (*Th.* 47, 531; doubtful in Ag. 130); pres. λαπάσσω 'to empty' is used as a medical term. A. *Eu.* 562 probably has λαπαδνόν (cod. λέπ-) = ἀλαπαδνόν. Cf. further λαπάζειν· ἐκκενοῦν, ἀφ' οὗ και τὸ ὄρυγμα 'to empty out, whence also digging' (H.).

•DER ἀλαπαδνός 'exhausted, feeble' (Hom.), often with negation, and with analogical -δ- (Schwyzer: 489); ἀλαπαδνοσύνη (Q. S.).

•ETYM A connection with Skt. *ālpa-* 'small' and Lith. *alpsti* 'to faint' is formally impossible. The interchange of the prothetic vowel points to a substrate word. Fur.: 371 compares λαπαρός (like ἀκιδνός; ἀκίρός), which is not evident semantically. The original meaning seems to have been 'to empty'; cf. the compounds with ἐξ-. The word has been compared (but hardly correctly) with λάπαθος, λαπάρη by DELG and Fur.: 371.

ἄλαρα · τὸ τοῦ δόρατος εἰς τὸν αὐλὸν τῆς ἐπιδορατίδος ἐμπίπτων. ἡ κάρνα Ποντικά. <καὶ δένδρα ἀλαρίαι> ἀφ' ὧν γίνεται τὰ δόρατα (H.), cf. *EM* 57, 53. <PG(V)>

•VAR ἐλάραι· τὰ ἐν τῷ αὐλῷ τῶν δοράτων ἀρμοζόμενα (H.).

•ETYM The interchange α/ε clearly points to a substrate word. See Fur.: 347.

ἄλαστος [adj.] uncertain mg. (also of related words), see DELG. Perhaps 'insufferable', as an epithet of πένθος and ἄχος? Perhaps 'accursed' as a vocative (ἄλαστε, e.g. X 261)? <?>

•DER Original noun ἀλάστωρ 'avenging spirit' or 'he who does deeds which merit vengeance', either from ἀλαστέω or directly from ἄλαστος; attributively of gods, but also of men; a PN in Hom. Also ἀλάστορος (A., S.); derivative ἀλαστορία (J.). Denominative verb ἀλαστέω (Hom., Call.), ἐπαλαστήσας (α 252), denoting an emotion, perhaps 'full of wrath', or 'distracted'? Also ἀλασταίνω· δυσπαθέω 'to suffer a hard fate' (H.).

•ETYM Uncertain. One connects ▶λανθάνω, assuming an original meaning 'one who cannot forget or be forgotten'. Frisk correctly considers it formally impeccable, but hypothetical with regard to the meaning. DELG accepts it. Muller's explanation (Muller in Teeuwen 1929: 649ff., Muller *Mnem.* 57 (1929): 116ff.), that it is from ▶λάω 'to see' with ἀ- from \*h<sub>2</sub>-, zero grade of ἐν ('invisus, invisior, qui invidendo nocet'), is artificial and formally problematic (\*h<sub>2</sub>n- giving ἐν-).

ἄλγος [n.] 'pain, grief' (Il.). <?>

•DER ἀλγινός 'painful, grievous' (A.) < \*ἀλγεσ-νός, ἀλγερινός (epic), see ▶ἀλέγω; ἀλγινόεις 'id.' (poet.), metrical device, see Chantraine 1933: 271; ἀλγηνρός 'id.' (LXX) belongs to ἀλγέω (see below); ἀργαλέος 'id.' (Hom.), dissimilated from \*ἀλγαλέος; thence ἀργαλεότης (Ph., Eust.). Denominative verbs: 1. ἀλγέω 'to suffer, be worried' (IA), fut. -ήσω. Thence ἀλγησις 'suffering' (S., Ar.) and ἀλγημα 'pain' (Hp., S., E., Men.), further ἀλγηδών 'pain' (Ion. poet., Pl.); on ἀλγηνρός see above. 2. ἀλγύνω 'to cause pain', , -ομαι 'to suffer pain' (trag.). Thence ἀλγυνσις (Phlp., Olymp.) and ἀλγυντήρ (Zos.). Primary grades of comparison ἀλγίων and ἀλγιστος (Hom., trag.).

•ETYM The word is often connected with ▶ἀλέγω. Although this has a different meaning 'to take care, mind, heed', a development to 'worry, grief' is conceivable (cf. MoDu. *zorgen* 'to take care' beside MoE *sorrow*). Cf. Seiler 1950: 85, Seiler *Word* 11 (1955): 288, and Szemerényi 1964: 148ff, who defends the identity.

ἀλδαίνω [v.] 'to make grow, strengthen' (A.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>el- 'feed, rear'>

•VAR ἤλδανε (σ 70 = ω 368), rather impf. of ἀλδάνω.

•COMP As a second member -αλδής, in ἀναλδής 'infertile' (Hp., Ar., Arat.), νεαλδής (Opp.) and νεοαλδής (H.) 'newly grown', all direct derivations from the verb.

•DER ἀλδήσκω intr. 'grow' (Ψ 599), also trans. (Theoc.), ἀλδισκάνω (Hdn. Gr. 2, 716). Iterative preterite ἀλδήσασκε (Orph. L. 370). Deverbal ἄλδη 'growth' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 311); ἀλδήεις 'growing' (Max.), ἀλδήμιος 'causing growth' (Method. *apud EM*).

•ETYM ἀλδαίνω, ἤλδανε, and ἀλδήσκω replace an unattested root verb, an extension in -δ- from the root of ▶ἀναλτος and ▶νεαλδής; cf. ▶ἀλθαίνω. The root \*h<sub>2</sub>el- is found in Lat. *alō* 'to feed' and Go. *alan* 'to grow up'.

ἄλέα 1 [f.] 'warmth', specifically of the sun (Hom.). <IE \*suelH- 'sing, burn'>

•VAR Ion. ἀλέη. Perhaps also ἄλέα, cf. on ἀλεαίνειν below.

•COMP See ▶ἐπᾶλής.

•DER ἀλεινός 'exposed to the sun, hot' (Ion., X., Arist.), after φαεινός etc. (Chantraine 1933: 196); ἀλυκρός 'lukewarm' (Nic.), after θαλυκρός or from false split of θ' ἀλυκρός? Cf. ἀλυκτρών. εὐδινον 'splendid (of weather)' (H.); ἀλεόν. θερμόν ἢ χλιαρόν 'hot, warm' (H.); ἀλεής (S. Ph. 859), not ἀδεής as per Reiske. Denominative verb: ἀλεαίνω 'to warm (oneself)' (Hp., Archil., Ar., etc.), aspirated ἀλ- in Attic acc. to Eust. 1636. Thence ἀλεαντικός 'fit for warming' (S. E.). 2. ἀλεάζω 'to be warm, warm up' (Arist., Gal., H.).

•ETYM Derived from the verb seen in Germanic and Baltic (OE *swelan* 'to burn slowly', MoHG *schwelen*, Lith. *svilti* intr. 'to singe'), with a suffix -έα (Chantraine 1933: 91). For \*h<sub>2</sub>φαλ-, this implies a reconstruction \*sūlH-e-, see ▶εἶλη. The etymology was rejected by Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 653, who connects it with

MIr. *allas* 'sweat', Hitt. *allani-ia-zi* 'to sweat, perspire', as well as Lat. *adoleō* 'to burn (as an offering)'.

ἄλέα 2 = ἀλέομαι.

ἀλέγω [v.] 'to care for, mind, heed' (Il.), mostly with negation. <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>leg- 'care, mind'>

•VAR Only pres.

•COMP δυσ-ηλεγής originally 'who does not care, pitiless', secondarily associated with ἄλγος (Hom.); ἀν-ηλεγής 'id.' (Q. S.), to be read for Hom. τανηλεγής (Bechtel *Herm.* 39 (1904): 155f., Leumann 1950: 45; cf. ἀνηλεγές· ἀφρόντιστον 'unmindful', probably for older \*νηλεγής < \*h<sub>2</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>leg-.

•DER Enlargements ἀλεγίζω and ἀλεγύνω, both only pres. and impf.

•ETYM Although there is no etymology, the structure of the word suggests an IE origin. An identity with ἄλγος is semantically improbable. De Lamberterie *RPh.* 71 (1997): 150 defends the connection with λέγω, which is unacceptable from the perspective of laryngeal theory.

ἄλεισον [n.] 'drinking cup with two handles' (Il.), also 'hip socket' (Marsyas *apud Ath.* 479c). <?>

•VAR ἄλεισος [m.] (Ar.).

•ETYM No etymology; probably a loan.

ἀλείτης [m.] 'offender, criminal' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>leit- 'offense' (?)>

•COMP From the stem of the aorist ἀλι τό-ξενος 'offending against a friend' (Pi.), with metrical lengthening, e.g. ἡλι τό-μηνος 'missing the right month', i.e. 'born untimely' (Il.). νηλείτιδες (Od.) to be read \*νηλείτεες (Beekes 1969: 108f., 289), cf. νηλείτης Antim. 177W; νηλείτης· ἀναμάρτητος 'blameless' LSJ Supp.; νηλιτέες· ἀναμάρτητοι, ἀναίτιοι, [ἄχρηστοι] 'blameless, guiltless, [useless]' (H.) with νη- < \*h<sub>2</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>leit-.

•DER ἀλειτεία· ἡ ἁμαρτία 'fault' (Suid.); ablauting ἀλοίτης 'avenger' (Emp.), Ἀλοιτίς epithet of Athena (Lyc. 936); ἀλοιτός 'criminal' (Lyk. 136); ἀλοιταί· κοιναί, ἁμαρτωλαί, ποιναί 'common, faults, requitals' (H.); ἀλοιτήεσσαν· κοινήν, ἄνανδρον 'common, husbandless' (EM).

Zero grade aor. ἤλιτον, secondary pres. ἀλιταίνω 'to offend against, transgress' (Hom.). From ἀλιτεῖν: ἀλιτήμων 'criminal' but also 'cursed' (Il.), ἀλιτημοσύνη 'crime' (Opp.), ἀλίτημα 'id.' (AP). Also ἀλιτήριος 'breaking the law' (Att.); \*ἀλιτήρ is unattested, but is also suggested by ἀλίτρια· ἡ ἁμαρτωλός 'transgressing woman' (Et. Gud. 2) and ἀλιτρός (below); ἀλιτηρός 'id.' (S. OC 371), if not a mistake for -ήριος in ἀλιτηριώδης 'cursed' (Pl., D. C.). From ἀλιταίνω further ἀλιτρός [m.] 'criminal, rogue', also [adj.] (Hom.). Thence ἀλιτραίνω = ἀλιταίνω (epic poet.), also ἀλιτρέω (A. Eu. 316: ἀλιτρῶν codd., but ἀλιτῶν Dorat). Abstracts ἀλιτρία (S., Ar.), ἀλιτροσύνη (A. R., AP).

•ETYM On the relation of the Greek forms, see Tichy *Glotta* 55 (1977): 160ff. The ablaut suggests an old IE form. The only cognate proposed is PGm. \**laiþa-* in OHG *leid* 'harm' and ON *leiðr* 'offensive'. On ἀλιτήμων, Keany *Glotta* 59 (1981): 76-69 is of doubtful value.

**ἀλείφω** [v.] ‘to anoint with oil’ (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>leib<sup>h</sup>*- ‘ointment’, PG?>

- DIAL Myc. *e-na-ri-po-to* /en-aliptos/; *a-re-pa-te* /aleip<sup>h</sup>atei/; *a-re-pa-zo-o* /aleip<sup>h</sup>a-zohos/ ‘boiler (ζέω) of unguent’.
- DER 1. ἄλειφαρ, -ατος [n.] ‘unguent, anointing oil’ (Il.) and ἄλειφα [n.] (> Lat. *adepts*), with -α perhaps from \*-*nt*, Szemerényi *SMEA* 2 (1967): 23<sup>64</sup>. Thence ἀλειφατίτης (ἄρτος) ‘bread baked with oil’ (Epich.). 2. ἀλοιφή ‘anointing, ointment, grease’ (IA), ἀλοιφαῖος [adj.] (Lyc. 579), also ἀλοιφεῖον ‘Salbungszimmer’ (Eust.), see Chantraine 1933: 60f., and ἀλοιφάω [v.] ‘to smear with pitch’ (Aq.). 3. ἀλειψις ‘anointing’ (Ion. Hell.). 4. ἄλειμμα ‘ointment, unguent’ (IA), ἀλειμματίον (Diog. *apud* D. L.) and ἀλειμματώδης (Hp.); Aeol. ἀλιππα (*EM* 64, 40). 5. ἀλειφάς [f.] ‘spreading [of ointment], shaving’ (pap.). 6. ἀλείφιον· ᾧ χρῶνται οἱ ἀλείπτει ‘which is used by anointers’ (H.). Agent nouns: ἀλείπτης ‘anointer, trainer of athletes’ (Arist., Hell.), ἀλειπτικός (Plu.); ἀλειπτήρ ‘id.’ (Man.), fem. ἀλείπτρια (Lys., com.). Thence, or directly from ἀλείφω, ἀλειπτήριον (Alex. Com.). ἀλειφεύς (inscr. Priene).
- ETYM Generally connected with ▶λίπος ‘fat’, but this is impossible because of the \*-*p*- and the “prothetic” ἄ-. A connection with ▶ἀλίνω is formally (\**h<sub>2</sub>lei(b<sup>h</sup>)*-) and semantically easier. The suggestions by Szemerényi *Gnomon* 42 (1971): 653 are improbable. Semantically close is Skt. *limpāti* ‘smear, stick, adhere’ (cf. Mayrhofer *EW Aia* s.v. *rep-*), but Gr. -φ- makes the comparison impossible (see ▶λίπος); perhaps it is rather related to Go. *bileiban* ‘to stick’, etc.? Cf. Pok. 670 (\**leip-*). In principle, the interchanges observed could also point to substrate origin.

**ἀλεκτρούων, -όνος** [m., f.] ‘cock’ (Thgn.). <GR?>

- DIAL Myc. PN *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* /Alektruōn/.
- ETYM The word seems to be built on ἀλέκτωρ, -ορος [m.] ‘cock’ (Pi.), with the suffix -ων, as in ▶ἀλκυών ‘kingfisher’; however, note that the suffix is rare. ἀλέκτωρ itself is an agent noun from ▶ἀλέξω ‘to ward off’.

**ἀλέξω** [v.] ‘to ward off, defend’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>elk-*, \**h<sub>2</sub>lek-s-* ‘ward off’>

- VAR ἀλεξήσω, -ησα (Hom.); without -η- med. aor. ἀλέξασθαι (Hom.), fut. ἀλέξομαι (S.).
- DIAL Myc. *A-re-ke-se-u* /Alekseus/; *a-re-ko-to-re* /Alektorei/.
- COMP As a first member ἀλεξί(-), e.g. in ἀλεξί-κακος (Hom.); also Ἀλέξανδρος, from which comes the Hittite rendering *Alakšanduš*. Sommer’s view that it is Anatolian in origin (Sommer *IF* 55 (1937): 187ff., Sommer 1948: 186ff.) is now abandoned.
- DER ἀλέξιον ‘medicine’ (Nik.), ἄλεξις ‘Hilfe, Abwehr’ (Aristid., *EM*). On ἀλέκτωρ, from which ▶ἀλεκτρούων is derived.
- From the stem with -η- (cf. ἀλεξήσω): ἀλεξήσις ‘defense, help’ (Ion.), ἀλέξημα ‘defense, medicine’ (Ion. poet.); ἀλεξητήρ ‘defender’ (Hom.), fem. ἀλεξήτειρα (AP, Nonn.), derivations ἀλεξητήριος ‘helping out’, ἀλεξητήριον ‘medicine’ (Hp., Thphr.); ἀλεξήτωρ (S.); ἀλεξητικός (Alex. Aphr.).
- ETYM ἀλέξ- corresponds exactly with Skt. *rākṣati* ‘to protect’. Besides ἀλέξ-, a stem ἀλκ- exists in Greek; see ▶ἀλκή. These continue \**h<sub>2</sub>(e)lk-*: \**h<sub>2</sub>lek-s-*, with a different

full-grade slot as in \**h<sub>2</sub>eug-*: \**h<sub>2</sub>ueg-s-*. A connection with Lat. *ulcīscor* ‘to avenge’ presupposes \**h<sub>2</sub>l-* > \**ol-* (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**h<sub>2</sub>elk-*), and is not likely from the semantic side.

**ἀλέομαι** [v.] ‘to avoid, shun, flee’ (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>leu-* ‘escape, ward off’ (?)>

- VAR Also ἀλεύεται (Hom.); aor. ἤλευατο (Hom.); act. ἀλεύω (trag. [lyr.]).
- COMP νηλεής (Hom.) ‘inescapable’ < \**ἡ-h<sub>2</sub>leu-*.
- DER Verbal noun ἀλέα ‘avoiding, escape, shelter’; - ἀλεωρή ‘escape, shelter’ (Il.), dissimilated from \*ἀλεφ-ωλή (Chantraine 1933: 243). Denominative verb ἀλεείνω = ἀλέομαι, from a noun \*ἀλεφ-εν-, perhaps an *r/n*-stem (cf. ἄλεαρ· ἀλεωρίαν ἢ πολυωρίαν ‘ἀ. or consideration’ H.), for which one expects \**h<sub>2</sub>leu-γ*, gen. \**h<sub>2</sub>lu-en-s*. ἀλεάζειν· κρύπτειν ἢ προβάλλειν, καὶ εἴργειν, ἀφανίζειν ‘hide, ward off, make invisible’ (H.) either denominative to ἀλέα or deverbative to ἀλέομαι. A zero grade of the root in ἀλύσκω (epic, trag.) ‘to avoid, flee’, fut. ἀλύξω with analogical ξ. Enlargements to this are ἀλυσκάζω and ἀλυσκάνω (epic).
- ETYM A connection with ▶ἀλύω is very doubtful because of its deviant mg. ‘to be distraught, beside oneself’. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**h<sub>2</sub>leu-* ‘fernhalten’ follows Hackstein 1995: 214-216, who connects it with ToB *ālyintrā* [subj.] ‘they shall keep away’.

**ἀλέω** [v.] ‘to grind’ (Od., with κατ-). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>elh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘grind’>

- VAR Aor. ἤλεσα (IA), epic ἄλεσσα, perf. ἀλήλεκα, -ε(σ)μαι.
- DER 1. ἀλέατα ‘wheat-groats’ (inscr. Milete [VI<sup>a</sup>]) < \*ἀλέφατα, also ἀλείατα (Hom.) with metrical lengthening, cf. Schulze 1892: 226 and Hdn. 2, 472, 12, who explains ἄλεαρ from ἄλεαρ. Thematicized in ἄλευρ-ον, mostly plur. ἄλευρα ‘flour’ (Hdt.). Thence ἀλεύρινος and ἀλευρώδης (medic.), ἀλευρίτης (ἄρτος). 2. ἄλητον, -τα ‘flour’ (Hp., Sophr.) with η after ἄμητος or as the result of contraction of ἀλεατ-. Thence ἀλήσιον· πᾶν τὸ ἀληλεσμένον ‘anything ground’ (H.), Lacon. ἀλησιον (with h < \*s < \*t before i). 3. ἀλετός [m.] (Plu.) and ἀλητός (Babr.) ‘mealings’. 4. ἄλεσις and ἄλησις ‘id.’ (Gp.). 5. ἀλεσμός ‘id.’ (J.) and ἄλεσμα (*EM*), with secondary -σ-. 6. ἄλημα [n.] ‘flour’ (S.).
- Agent nouns: ὄνος ἀλέτης ‘grinder (upper millstone)’ (Gortyn, X.), also ὄνος ἀλετών (Alexis). 2. ἀλετρίς ‘woman who grinds corn’ (Hom.), ἀλετρεύω ‘to mill’ (ep.). Instrument noun: ἄλεστρον ‘fee for milling’ (pap.); adj. ἀλετικός ‘of milling’ (pap.). On ἀλετριβάνος [m.] ‘pestle’ (Ar.) cf. Schwyzler: 263, 438.
- Lengthened verbal stem ἀλήθω (Hp., Thphr.). Unclear ἀλίνω = λεπτύνω ‘to crush, pound’ (Phot. ex S.); cf. ἀλιν[ν]όν· ἀμυδρόν ‘dim’ (H.), see Güntert *IF* 45 (1927): 345.
- ETYM ἀλέω is probably an athematic present \*ἀλε- < \**h<sub>2</sub>elh<sub>1</sub>-*. The formation of \*ἀλε-*φαρ* may be compared with Arm. *aliwr* ‘flour’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>leh<sub>1</sub>-uγ*. The verb is Arm. *alam*. Further cognates are found in Indo-Iranian, e.g. MInd. *ātā* ‘flour’ (+ Hindi, Bengali), MoP *ārd* ‘id.’, Av. *aša-* ‘ground’ < \**arta-*. Cf. the PIE root \**melH-*, with the same meaning, and ▶μάλευρον.

**ἀληθής** [adj.] ‘true, real’ (Il.). <IE \**leh<sub>2</sub>d<sup>h</sup>*- ‘be hidden’>

- DIAL Dor. ἀλᾱθής.
- DER ἀληθείη, -εῖα ‘truth, reality’; younger is ἀληθεία, Schwyzler: 469. Denominative verb ἀληθεύω ‘to speak the truth’ (S.), ἀληθίζομαι ‘id.’ (Hdt.); ἀληθίζω (*PHolm.*) in the technical meaning ‘to dye with genuine purple’. Late derivatives: ἀλήθευσις

‘Wahrhaftigkeit’ (S. E.) and ἀληθευτής ‘who always speaks the truth’ (Max. Tyr.); adj. ἀληθευτικός ‘truthful, who loves the truth’ (Arist.). Enlarged ἀληθινός (IA) and ἀληθικός (Ps.-Callisth.).

•ETYM ἀληθής is a compound with privative ἀ-; the second member is either from \*λήθος (Dor. λᾱθος) or λήθη (Hom.), or from the verb λήθω, λαθ- ‘to be hidden, be unknown’. Cf. Luther 1935.

ἀλής [adj.] ‘thronged, crowded’ (Hdt.). <IE \*uel- ‘press’>

•VAR Or ἀλής: the spiritus asper is uncertain. It is regular in ἀλής, but not for Dor. ἀλία.

•DER ἀλίζω ‘to gather’ (Ion. poet.); abstract ἀλίη ‘(public) assembly’ (Dor. ἀλία). From it Dor. ἀλιαία ‘id.’, Att. ἡλιαία ‘tribunal’, where the ἡ- must be a false Ionicism of a Doric LW, see Meyer *Phil.* 48 (1889): 187. Thence ἡλιάζομαι [v.] ‘to be seated in the ἡλιαία’ (Ar.) with ἡλιαστής (Dor. ἀλ-) ‘member of the ἡ-’, which may also be derived directly from the noun after δικαστής: δίκη, etc.; adj. ἡλιαστικός. Action nouns: ἡλίασις ‘being a member of the ἡ-’ (Att.), ἀλίασις (Tegea) ‘meeting’; ἀλίασμα unclear mg. (Gela). ἀλιακτήρ· τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἄθροίζονται οἱ Σικελοὶ ‘place where Sicilians convene’ (H.). Cf. the month name Ἀλιαῖος (Dreros), to ἀλία.

•ETYM Aeol. ▶ ἀολλής has the same meaning as ἀλής. If the formations are identical, both may go back to \*ἀ-φαλνής or \*ἀ-φολνής, with copulative ἀ-, ἀ- < \*ση- and \*wa/oln- < QIE \*-ul-n-. We may suppose a noun \*φέλ-νος ‘crowd, throng’, suffixed like ἔθνος, σμήνος (Chantraine 1933: 420), which would belong to ▶ εἶλω. The expected full grade may be found in the hapax ἀελλής (Γ 13). Finally, ἀλανέως· ὀλοσχερῶς, Ταραντῖνοι ‘completely (Tarant.)’ (H.) and αφλανεως (meaning uncertain, Elis) might also be the same word. Cf. ▶ ἄλις, ▶ ἀολλής.

ἀλθαίνω, -ομαι [v.] ‘to cure’, med. ‘to become whole and sound’ (Hp.). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>el- ‘grow’>

•VAR ἄλθετο (Il.). Fut. ἀλθήσομαι, -σω (Il.). The fut. ἀλθέξομαι (Aret.) was perhaps formed after its opposite πυρέξομαι of πυρέσσω (but DELG comments: “l’hypothèse reste en l’air”); cf. also ἄλθεξις ‘healing’ (Hp.). On these forms see van Brock 1961: 198-207 (“capricieuses formations”, all late).

Note ἀλθεῖν· ὑγιαίνειν ‘to make sound’ (Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 76); further presents ἀλθήσκω and ἀλθίσκω (Hp.).

•DER Glosses: ἄλθα· θερμασία ἢ θεραπεία ‘warmth or heat, service’ (H.); ἄλθος· φάρμακον ‘drug’ (EM); ἀλθεύς· ἰατρός ‘physician’ (H.); ἀλθαίνει· αὔξει, θεραπεύει, ὑγιαίνει· φάρμακον γὰρ ἄλθος ‘increases, attends to, for ἄλθος means “drug”’ (H.). ἀλθήεις ‘curing’ (Nic.) was formed directly to the verb. Probably the mythical name Ἀλθαία, also a plant name, a kind of mallow (Thphr.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 81 (partly incorrect); ἀλθίσκος (Ps.-Dsc.), cf. synonymous ἰβίσκος. ἀλθεστήρια ‘medicine’ (Nic.), cf. χαριστήρια, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 63f.).

On the PN Ἀλθηπιος, also Ἀλθηφος, see Bechtel *Herm.* 56 (1921): 228 and the mythical name Ἀλθαία, see below.

•ETYM Ἀλθαίνω has often been connected to the root of ▶ ἄναλτος (Schwyzer: 703 β), \*h<sub>2</sub>el-, seen in Lat. *alō* ‘to rear’, Go. *aland*s ‘growing up’, etc. (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. and also on ▶ ἀλδαίνω).

However, DELG remarks that the word was originally used for the growth of scar tissue, translating ἄλθετο χεῖρ with “le bras se guérit”. The meaning ‘to heal’ is not evidently connected with ἀλ- ‘grow, feed’; the glosses systematically give the meaning ‘to heal’ etc. θεραπεία may mean ‘medical or surgical treatment’; θερμασία is less clear (is it a false reading?), and αὔξει also deviates semantically (is it for ▶ ἀλδαίνω?).

The name Ἀλθηπιος is clearly Pre-Greek (cf. the river Αἴσηπος), and perhaps the mythical name Ἀλθαία as well (the suffix -αία, -εα is also known in Pre-Greek words); at any rate, we cannot be sure that the names belong to the verb.

An alternative etymology connects it with Skt. *rdhnóti* ‘to succeed, accomplish, thrive’ (Rix *MSS* 27 (1970): 88 and Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 118 [taken up in LIV<sup>2</sup> as \*h<sub>2</sub>eld<sup>h</sup>-]).

ἀλίβας, -αντος [m.] ‘corpse, dead person’ (Pl. *Resp.* 387c, H.), also of the Styx (S. *Fr.* 790) and metaph. of wine-vinegar (Hippon.). <PG>

•VAR ἀλίβας· νεκρός ἢ βροῦχος ἢ ποταμός ἢ ὄξος ‘corpse, βροῦχος, river, vinegar’ (H.); for other glosses see Peiffer ad Call. *fr.* 216 (v.l. ἄ-; perhaps the vowel is long).

•ETYM The ancient explanation as ‘sapless’, with privative ἀ- and λιβάς, is based on popular etymology. The conjecture of Immisch *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 14 (1911): 449f.) is incorrect. Kretschmer *Glotta* 28 (1940): 269 connected it with Etr. *lupu* ‘he died’ and Lat. *Libitina*, which is possible but uncertain. The deviant shape of the word, as well as forms like ὀκρίβας, κιλλίβας, λυκάβας and Κορύβαντες (which does not belong to ▶ βαίνω), clearly point to a substrate origin.

ἀλιβδύω [v.] ‘to sink, submerge into the sea; to hide’ (Lyc.). <PG>

•VAR Tzetzes ad Lyc. 351 gives ἀλυβδησαι.

•ETYM The ancients connected the word with ἄλις and \*βδύω, which is allegedly Aeolic for δύω, but this must be a popular etymology. The strange structure of the word and the group -βδ- make substrate origin almost certain. The elements ἀλι- and -δύω may have been influenced by the Greek words.

ἀλίγκιος [adj.] ‘like, resembling’ (Il.). <?>

•VAR More frequent is ἐναλίγκιος.

•ETYM Unexplained. The comparison with OCS *lice* ‘face, cheek’ etc. is uncertain. The ἀ- has been interpreted as the zero grade of ἐν-, but this is not likely. See Beekes 1969: 25ff. *contra* Seiler *KZ* 75 (1957): 11-16. Note that an IE root cannot have the structure \*lein(k)-.

ἄλιζα [f.] · ἡ λεύκη τὸ δένδρον (τῶν -ῶν ms.), Μακεδόνες ‘Populus alba, abele (Maced.)’ (H.). <EUR?>

•ETYM Kretschmer (*Kretschmer Glotta* 15 (1927): 305f., *Kretschmer Glotta* 22 (1934): 104f.) compared OHG *elira*, Go. \**alisa* in Span. *alisa* and Ru. *ol’xa* ‘alder’, as well as old Germanic TNs and HN, e.g. *Alisa* (Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 3 (1951-1952):

165ff.); we may also compare the Thessalian place name Ὀλιζών. Hatzidakis *Glotta* 23 (1935): 268ff. assumes a loan in Macedonian from a northern language, supposing that the suffix is the same as in ῥίζα, φύζα, κόνυζα. The word seems non-Indo-European. For European substrate words in Greek, see Beekes 2000: 21ff.

**ἀλίη** · κάπρος, Μακεδόνες ‘boar (Maced.)’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained. E. Maaß’s suggestion (Maaß *RhM* 74 (1925): 472) that it originally means ἀσθενής, ἀδύνατος ‘weak’, and belongs to ▶ἄλιν (= ἡλίθιον, μάταιον, κενόν, ἐλαφρόν [H.], s.v.) makes no sense.

**ἀλικάκκαβος** [?] plant name, ‘Physalis Alkekengi’ (Dsc., *BGU* 1 120, 37). <GR>

•VAR Also -κάκαβος, -κάκαβον? Cf. ἀλικάκκαβα· ὁ τοῦ λωτοῦ καρπός. καὶ πῶας εἶδος ‘fruit of various plants; kind of grass’ (H.).

•ETYM Plant of which the fruit resembles a κάκκαβος; ἀλι- would mean ‘salt’, thus ‘salt-cellar’? See Amigues *Journal des Savants* 1984: 151-154.

**ἀλικύρκης** · φύλλα μήκωνος μετὰ ὄξους λειανθέντα. ἡ ὑπότριμμα ἐκ πλειόνων κρεῶν ‘leaves of the poppy pounded with vinegar, dish consisting of various kinds of meat’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM There is no support for Latte’s proposal to read -κύκην, which would resemble κυκεών. DELG suggests a connection with κυρκανᾶν ‘to mix’, which is quite probable.

**ἄλιν** [adj.] · ἡλίθιον. μάταιον. κενόν. ἐλαφρόν ‘vain, empty, idle, light’ (H.). <?>

•VAR Or is it an adverb?

•ETYM Fur.: 391 compares forms with δ-: δαλός = μωρός (Cyr.), as well as δαλής (H., Cyr. acc. to Wendel and Latte), δαλῖς (codd.); cf. δαλεῖς = οἱ ἀμαθεῖς (sch. Theocr. 9, 33e). See ▶ἀλίη.

**ἀλινδέω** [v.] ‘to roll’, med. ‘to roll in the dust; roam’ (Ar.). <PG?>

•VAR Also ἀλίνδω; aor. ἤλισα.

•DER ἄλινδον· δρόμον ἀρμάτων ‘race of chariots’ (EM, H.), ἀλινδησις ‘rolling’ (in the dust, of athletes; Hp.), ἀλινδήθρα ‘place for rolling’ (Ar., Phryn.).

•ETYM Formation like ▶κυλίνδω, κυλινδέω, which are close in meaning, but the nature of their relationship with ἀλινδέω is uncertain. One connects the latter with ▶εἰλέω, ▶ἴλλω, etc., comparing φάλη (cod. ὑάλη)· σκώληξ ‘worm, larva’ (H.). DELG assumes the root \*uel- which, lengthened with -d-, is seen in OS *wealtan*, OHG *walzan* (Pok. 1140). Taillardat *REA* 58 (1956): 191<sup>3</sup> reconstructs a present \*ul-n-ed-mi with anaptyctic -i-. The i-epenthesis is without parallel, and an old nasal present is improbable. The suffix -ind- is rather non-Indo-European; even in this case, however, the root could still be Indo-European. Yet Fur.: 130<sup>59</sup> compares καλινδέομαι ‘id.’ as a variant with initial k-; several words with variation k/ zero exist among the substrate words.

**ἀλίνειν** [v.] (cod. -νεῖν)· ἀλείφειν ‘to anoint the skin with oil’ (H.). ἀλῖναι· ἐπαλεῖψαι ‘to smear over’ (H.). ἰν-αλαλισμένα ‘engraved’ (Cyprus). καταλῖναι· καταλεῖψαι ‘to

pour down’ (H.) is now confirmed by an inscr. from Selinous, see *RPh.* 69 (1995) 128, l. 16. <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>lei(H)- ‘smear’>

•DER Verbal noun ἄλινσις τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου (Epid.).

•ETYM ἀλίνω, which probably derives from < \*ἄλιν-ιω, is cognate with Lat. *linō* ‘to smear, rub’, which is originally an n-present; the root is \*h<sub>2</sub>li- > ἀλι-. One would like to reconstruct \*h<sub>2</sub>li-n-H-, but Lat. *litus* has short i (cf. the discussion in De Vaan 2008, as well as LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*h<sub>2</sub>leiH-, with more forms). Probably the same root as in ▶ἀλείφω.

**ἄλινον** [adj.] · ἀμυδρόν, Κρήτες ‘weak, faint’ (Cret.)’ (H.). <?>

•VAR Cf. ἀλινεῖν = λεπτύνω ‘to crush’ (S. fr. 995).

•ETYM See Güntert *IF* 45 (1927): 345. DELG mentions the word s.v. ▶ἀλέω.

**ἄλιξ, -κος** [m.] ‘groats of rice-wheat’ (Chrysipp. Tyan. *apud* Ath.), also a fish sauce, called *hallēc* in Latin (Dsc 4, 148). <LW?>

•ETYM Walde 1910: 25 derived the word from ▶ἀλέω; this is unconvincing. The formation is like ἔλιξ, χόλιξ (Chantraine 1933: 382f.). The nature of the connection with Lat. *alica* is unknown. A loanword from an unknown language.

**ἄλιος, -α, -ον** [adj.] ‘fruitless, idle’ (Hom.). <?>

•VAR Also [adv.] ‘in vain’.

•DER ἀλιόω ‘to prevent’ (epic, S.).

•ETYM An old term, which was gradually replaced by μάταιος. The connection with ▶ἡλίθιος, ▶ἡλάσκω, and further to ▶ἀλάομαι is correctly rejected by DELG; it does not explain the spiritus asper. There are no traces of f-; cf. Sommer 1905: 98. Schwyzler: 461 points to the expression εἰς ὕδωρ γράφειν, suggesting the word belongs to ἄλς ‘sea’. DELG supports this by remarking that the word is often used of βέλος, indicating an arrow that misses its target and falls into the sea – but why would it fall into the sea?

**ἄλις** [adv.] ‘in crowds, enough’ (Il.). <IE \*uel- ‘turn, wind’>

•VAR The form γάλι· ἱκανόν ‘sufficient’ (H.) shows initial f-.

•ETYM Connected with ▶εἴλω ‘to press’, ▶ἄλης, ▶ἀολλής. It could be an old nominative, but the form γάλι rather suggests that the -s is an adverbial marker like in ἄνις, χωρίς (cf. Skt. *bahíḥ*).

**ἀλίσβη** [f.] · ἀπάτη ‘deceit’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. The sequence -σβ- is hardly Indo-European.

**ἀλισγέω** [v.] ‘to pollute’ (LXX). <?>

•ETYM Ritual term of unknown origin. Fur.: 298 compares λιγνύς ‘smoke, soot’, which supposes a prothetic vowel and interchange σ/zero before velar (highly uncertain). Still, the group -σγ- often occurs in substrate words, see *Pre-Greek* 2a, 17.

**ἀλίσκομαι** [v.] ‘to be caught’ (Il.). <IE \*uelh<sub>3</sub>- ‘seize, catch’>

•VAR Homer only has the aor. ἀλῶναι; further fut. ἀλώσομαι, aor. ἐᾶλων < \*ἡ-φαλω- (IA).

•DIAL Thess. φαλισκῆται and Arc. φαλόντοις prove the initial f-.

•DER ἄλωσις ‘capture’ (Pi.), ἀλώσιμος ‘seizable, etc.’; ἄλωμα = ἀνάλωμα ‘expenses’ (Boeot. inscr.), cf. ἀναλίσκω. The gloss ἀλωνάκη ἀνάλωμα. Χαλκιδεῖς (H.) is probably corrupt.

•ETYM The initial aspiration may have been taken from αἰρεῖν, ἐλεῖν. The aor. ἐᾶλιν is from \*ἦ-ῥᾶλιν. ἀλίσκομαι has the suffix -ισκ-. A root \*uelh<sub>3</sub>- explains all the forms: the zero grade \*ulh<sub>3</sub>- gives \*ῥλω- before a consonant (e.g. 1/2pl. aor.) and \*ῥαλ- before a vowel (e.g. 3pl. aor.); contamination then gives \*ῥαλω-. Perhaps it is better to assume a passive aorist with -η-: \*ulh<sub>3</sub>-eh<sub>1</sub>- > \*ῥαλω- like \*g<sup>w</sup>ih<sub>3</sub>-eh<sub>1</sub>- > βιω- (defended by Normier KZ 92 (1978): 132ff.; cf. Harðarson 1993a: 208); an objection could be that this form must be terribly old. Cognates are Lat. *vellō* ‘to pluck, tear out’, Hitt. *uallh<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to strike’, ToA *wällästär* [3sg.pres.] ‘to die’ (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*uelh<sub>3</sub>-), and perhaps also Go. *wilwan* ‘to rob, plunder’, Arm. *gotanam* ‘to steal’. Cf. ▶ ἀναλίσκω and ▶ εἴλωτες.

**ἄλισμα** [n.] ‘water-plantain, Alisma Plantago’ (Dsc. 3, 152). <?>

•ETYM The word does not contain ▶ ἄλς. See Strömberg 1940: 115.

**ἀλίφαλος** [?] · γένος δρυός ‘species of tree’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Cf. ▶ ἀλίφλοιος. However, it seems less probable that ἀλίφαλος would be just a corruption of that word (Latte); rather, the word in -φλοιος is a secondary formation.

**ἀλίφλοιος** [m., f.] ‘sea-bark oak, Quercus pseudosuber’ (Thphr. HP 3, 8, 2). <?>

•ETYM Belongs with φλοιός ‘bark’, but hardly with ἄλις, as suggested by DELG. A different name for ▶ εὐθύφλοιος. See ▶ ἀλίφαλος.

**ἄλιψ** [adj.] · πέτρα ‘rock’ (H.). <PG?(V)>

•ETYM Beside λίψ· πέτρα (H.), Fur.: 372, 378 also compares ἡλίβατος, which in Homer is always said of πέτρη. Quite possible, but not certain. If ▶ αἰγίλιψ also belongs here, its second element is certainly non-Indo-European, whereas its first part probably is.

**ἀλκή** 1 [f.] ‘defense, help’ (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>elk-, \*h<sub>2</sub>lek-s- ‘ward off, defend’>

•VAR Aor. ἀλαλκεῖν (Hom.), late epic forms: fut. ἀλαλκήσω (A. R.), present ἀλάλκω (Q. S.).

•COMP As a second member, after the s-stems, in ἐτερ-αλκή ‘helping one side’ (epic poet.), etc. Old i-stem in ἄν-αλκίς (epic), with ἀναλκείη (epic) after other nouns in -είη.

•DER TN Ἀλαλκομεναί (Boeotia), or is the resemblance fortuitous? Thence Ἀλαλκομενῆς epithet of Athena ‘from A.’ (Il.; the interpretation ‘protectress’ is probably secondary).

A root noun only in ἄλκ-ι [dat.sg.] (Hom.).

Thence ἀλκήεις ‘brave’ (h. Hom., Pi.), Dor. ἀλκᾶς, enlarged ἀλκηστής (Opp.) after ἀλφηστής, ὤμηστής; ἀλκαῖος (E. Hel. 1152 [lyr.]).

The basis of ἄλκιμος (poet. since Hom.) is unclear (see Arbenz 1933: 13 and 31. The gloss ἀλκιμαῖος· νεανίσκος ‘boy’ (H.) is probably a mistake for or a contamination with ἀκμαῖος ‘in one’s prime’.

ἄλκαρ [n.] ‘defense’ (epic, lyr.).

Agent noun: ἀλκτήρ, -ῆρος ‘warden, protector’ (Hom., Pi.), ἀλκτήριος ‘curing’ (Nonn.) and ἀλκτήριον [n.] ‘medicine’ (Nic.).

Also from ἀλκ-: ἀλκάθω [v.] ‘to assist’ (A., S. [acc. to gramm.]), cf. ἀμυνάθω; further ἀλκάζω [v.] ‘to show strength’ (EM), ἡλκάζοντο· ἡμύνοντο ‘they ward off’ (H.); thence ἀλκάσματα (S.).

PNs: Ἀλκμάν, -μέων (-μαίων, cf. Björck 1950: 111), -μήνη, etc.

•ETYM From the same root as ▶ ἀλέξω, with \*h<sub>2</sub>(e)lk- beside \*h<sub>2</sub>lek-s-.

**ἄλκη** 2 [f.] ‘elk’ (Paus.). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>el- ‘red, brown’>

•ETYM Like Lat. *alcēs*, *alcē* (Caesar), ἄλκη is a loan from Germanic: ON *elgr* < PGm. \**alzi-*, besides which a form PGm. \**álχ-* with initial stress is supposed, from which *alcēs* and ἄλκη could be traced. West Germanic forms like OHG *elahho*, OE *eolh* presuppose the stem PGm. \**élχα(n)-*, which arose secondarily. Slavic forms like Ru. *los* ‘elk’ presuppose PIE \**olki-*, and are compared with ON *elgr*. The root is connected with a great number of words for animals, e.g. ▶ ἔλαφος (s.v.; see Pok. 302), and it is assumed that the root indicated a color. I think that an IE word or root must be doubted; it may well be a loan from a non-Indo-European language.

**ἀλκυών, -όνος** [f.] ‘kingfisher, Alcedo ispida’ (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Also ἀλκυών (after ἄλς).

•DER Thence ἀλκυονίδες ‘id.’ (A. R.), ἀλκυονίδες (ἡμέραι) ‘period of the wintersolstice, when the kingfisher nests’ (Ar.), also called ἀλκυόνειοι (Arist.). ἀλκυδών (Hdn. Gr. 2, 285) is after other bird names in -δων (thence Lat. *alcēdo*).

•ETYM See Thompson 1895 s.v. Origin unknown; probably a loan from a non-IE language (cf. Fur.: 303<sup>39</sup> on substrate words in -ων.) For the suffix, cf. ▶ ἀλεκτρύων (Ruijgh *Minos* 9 (1968): 152f.).

**ἄλλά** [adv.] ‘but, however’ (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>el-io- ‘other’>

•DIAL Cypr. αἶλα.

•ETYM The acc.pl. of ἄλλος, used as an adverb. Cf. MoHG *übrigens*, Lat. *ceterum*, etc.

**ἀλλάβης** [f.] ‘Nile fish, Labeo Niloticus’ (Str.). <PG?>

•VAR Also ἀλάβης.

•ETYM From Eg. *repi* or *lepi* (Thompson 1947 s.v.). Fur.: 145 etc. connects ▶ ἔλλοψ (with \*a realized as e before \*b) and ἀλλοπίης, and concludes that it is a substrate word. The ἀλλάβης must not be an Egyptian fish.

**ἄλλᾱς, -ᾱντος** [m.] ‘sausage, black pudding’ (Hippon.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. Kretschmer *Glotta* 1 (1909): 323 compared ἄλλην· λάχανον· Ἱταλοί, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρτυνθέντος περικόμματος, ἐξ οὗ ἀλλαντοπώλης (H.), and assumes \*ἄλλᾱ-φεντ-. This would contain an Oscan word; cf. Lat. *ālium* ‘garlic’. But Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 653 notes that origin in southern Italy is implausible for a word from Hipponax.

**ἀλλάσσω, -άττω** [v.] ‘to change, alter’ (Hom.). <GR>

•VAR Aor. ἀλλάξαι.



•DER ἀλλαγὴ (cf. ἀλλαγήναι) ‘(ex)change’ (Att.); ἀλλαγμα ‘exchange, price’ (Hp., LXX), ἀλλαγμός ‘id.’ (Man.). ἀλλαξίς ‘exchange, trade’ (Arist.), ἀλλάξιμα (pap., gloss.), scil. ἱμάτια, ‘changes of raiment’. ἀλλακτικός ‘pertaining to exchange’ (Pl., Arist.), ἀλλάγδην ‘alternating’ (Hdn.). Note ἀλλάξ· ἐνηλλαγμένως ‘exchanged’ (H.), ἐπ-, παρ-, ἀμφ-αλλάξ (Hp., Th., S., X.).

•ETYM ἀλλάσσω is derived from ἄλλος, either through a stem in a velar (for which, compare ἀλλάξ and ἀλλαχοῦ, -χῆ [though direct connection is improbable]) or with a suffix -άσσω.

**ἀλλήλους, -ων, -οις** [adj.] ‘each other’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>el-io-* ‘other’>

•ETYM From repeated ἄλλος, i.e. \*αλλο-αλλο-, in which the color of the second initial vowel was restored. Cf. Lat. *alius alium*, Skt. *anyo’nyam*. On the single second -λ- see Schwyzler: 260.

**ἄλλιξ, -ῖκος** [f.] ‘men’s upper garment’ (Euph.), = χλαμύς ‘a short mantle’, also = ἐμπόρημα ‘garment secured by a brooch’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM For the glosses (EM, Suid.), see DELG. Origin unknown. The word is supposed to be Thessalian. Lat. *alicula* also belongs here.

**ἄλλοδαπός** [adj.] ‘from another land, foreign’ (Il.). <?>

•ETYM Derived from ἄλλος; for the formation, see τηλεδαπός, παντοδαπός, ποδαπός, ἡμεδαπός. It has been explained as ἄλλοδ-απός, preserving the old neuter pronominal marker \*-d (Lat. *aliud*); the latter part would be the same as Lat. -*inquius* < PIE \*-*nkʷo-* in *longinquus*, etc. Meillet BSL 28 (1927-1928): 42ff. expresses doubt: -δαπός is an unknown suffix. Moreover, suffixes are not added to case forms like the neutral -d.

**ἄλλομαι** [v.] ‘to jump, leap’ (Il.). <IE \**sel-* ‘jump’>

•VAR Hom. has an aor. ἄλτο, of unknown quantity, which could be an unaugmented Aeolic form (Schwyzler: 751’).

•COMP προαλής (Hom.) ‘sloping, rushing forward’

•DER ἄλμα ‘jump’ (Hom.), ἄλσις ‘jumping’ (Hp., Arist.); ἀλτήρ (Crates Com.), in sports, ‘weights kept in the hands while jumping’.

•ETYM From \**hal-je/o-*. A yod-present is probably also found in Lat. *saliō*, which could perhaps derive from \**sl-je/o-* (LIV<sup>2</sup>, who reconstruct a root \**sel-*). A root \**sal-* is impossible, as PIE had no phoneme *a*, but De Vaan suggests a root \**sh<sub>2</sub>l-* in order to account for the Italo-Celtic reflexes like OIr. *saltraid* ‘to trample’ < \**sal-tro-*. Also related to Skt. *ásarat* [3sg.aor.] ‘to run, rush’ (Narten MSS 26 (1969): 77ff.), ToB *salāte* [med.pret.] ‘jumped’; further forms in LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 1. \**sel-*. See ►πάλλομαι.

**ἄλλος** [adj.] ‘other’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>el-io-* ‘other’>

•DIAL Cyp. αἶλος.

•COMP ἀλλοπρόσαλλος ‘unreliable, fickle’ from ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλον λέγων, Bechtel 1914; ἀλλοφρονέω ‘to give no heed, be senseless’ with a special development of ἄλλο- (improbable Aeol. ἄλλος = ἡλεός, Bechtel 1914); ἀλλοφάσσω ‘to be delirious’ (Hp.) with an unclear second element. Cf. s.v. ►ἡλάσσω.

•DER Abstract ἀλλότης [f.] (comm. Arist.); ἄλλοιος ‘of another kind, different’ (Hom., IA), an adjectival formation in -οῖος after τοῖος, ποῖος, οῖος; thence ἀλλοιότης ‘being different’ (Hp., Pl.) and ἀλλοιώδης ‘of strange appearance’ (Aret., Vett. Val.). Denominative verb ἀλλοιόω ‘to change’ (IA), ἀλλοιώσις ‘change, difference’ (Pl., Arist.), ἀλλοίωμα ‘id.’ (Damox.) and ἀλλοιωτικός (Arist., Gal.). On ►ἀλλάσσω, see s.v.

Several adverbs: ἄλλοθεν, ἀλλαχῇ, etc. On ►ἀλλοδαπός and ►ἀλλήλους, see s.v. From an adverb with -τρ- (cf. Skt. *anyā-tra* ‘elsewhere’) comes ἀλλότριος ‘alien, strange, belonging to someone else’ (Il.). Thence ἀλλοτριότης (Pl., Arist.), ἀλλοτριόω [v.] (IA), whence ἀλλοτριώσις (Th., Hell.).

•ETYM ἄλλος < \**h<sub>2</sub>el-io-* ‘other’, like in Lat. *alius*, Go. *aljīs*, OIr. *aile*, ToB *alyek*, ToA *alak* (depalatalized) < \**h<sub>2</sub>el-io-k-*, Arm. *ayl*. Beside \**h<sub>2</sub>el-io-*, a similar adjective is reconstructed for Iir. \**Hania-* > Skt. *anyā-* ‘other’, etc., but this form is most probably due to contamination of \**h<sub>2</sub>elio-* with the comparative \**h<sub>2</sub>entero-*.

**ἄλμα** [n.] ‘(sacred) grove’ (Lyc. 319). <?>

•ETYM The word has the same meaning as ►ἄλσος. Is it from the root ἄλ- ‘to feed’ in ►ἀλδαίνω, etc.?

**ἀλοάω** ‘to thresh’. ⇒ ἄλωή.

**ἀλόη** [f.] ‘bitter aloe, Aloe vera’ (Dsc.). <LW Or.>

•ETYM As for ►ἀγάλοχον, an Oriental loanword is suspected (Lewy 1895: 36).

**ἄλοξ, -κος** [f.] ‘furrow’ (trag., com.). <PG>

•VAR Also αὔλαξ (Hes.), ὠλκα [acc.sg.], -ας [acc.pl.] (Hom.), Dor. ὠλαξ (EM 625, 37), also in ὄμ-ὠλακες (A. R. 2, 396). Further εὐλάκᾱ ‘plough’, with Lacon. εὐλαξεῖν [inf.fut.] (Orac. *apud* Th. 5, 16); αὐλάχα· ἡ ὕνις ‘plowshare’ (H.) and \*ὄλοκες (cod. ὄλοκεύς)· αὐλακες ‘furrows’ (H.).

•DER ἀλοκίζω [v.] ‘to draw furrows, plough’ (Ar., Lyc.); αὐλακίζω ‘id.’ (pap.), verbal noun αὐλακισμός (pap.). Rare and late αὐλακόεις (Max.), αὐλακώδης (Eust.), diminutive αὐλάκιον (schol.).

•ETYM The exact relation between this cluster of forms has always been unclear. Solmsen 1901: 258ff. explained ὠλκα as from \*ἄφολκα (κατὰ ὠλκα N 707 for original \*κατ’ ἄφολκα), but it is strange that there are no further traces of this form. The zero grade of \*ἄφολκ- would then give \*ἄφλακ-, seen in αὐλαξ. In laryngealistic terms, a root \**h<sub>2</sub>uelk-* has been supposed in Lith. *velkù*, OCS *vlěkr*, Av. *varək-* ‘to draw’. This is tempting, but cannot be correct. If the Balto-Slavic words are isolated (there is further only Av. *varək-*), the verb may be non-IE. Moreover, for Balto-Slavic and Iranian we would rather reconstruct \**uelkʷ-* with a labiovelar, which is impossible for Greek. Furthermore, there is no trace of the verbal root in Greek, which has ἔλκω ‘to draw’ < \**selk-*.

Pisani IF 53 (1935): 29 derived αὐλαξ from αὐλός and separated it from ἄλοξ, etc., which is improbable. The variants are strongly reminiscent of substrate words, as Beekes 1969: 40 maintained (withdrawn *ibid.* 275-7). Variation of prothetic ε/ α/ ο/ αυ/ ευ, and also that of κ and χ (αὐλάχα), are what one often finds in substrate



words, so Pre-Greek origin is most probable. The Homeric form is the only one without a vowel between λ and κ, and therefore it is suspect. If we assume labialized phonemes like /lʷ/ for Pre-Greek, a reconstruction \*alʷak- can explain all the different variants: αῦλαξ (by anticipation of the labial feature), which gives ὠλαξ by contraction; ἄλοξ (coloring of the second vowel by the labialized liquid), ὀλοκ- (influence on both vowels; I see no reason not to take the gloss seriously). Cf. ▶ ἄρασχαδες, etc. The interchange of initial α/ ε (which gave εὐλακ-) is difficult to understand phonetically, but it may be related to plain α/ ε.

**άλοσύννη** [adj.] epithet of Thetis (Y 207), of the Nereids (A. R. 4, 1599), name of a sea goddess (δ 404). Mg. unknown. <IE? \*seh<sub>2</sub>-l- 'salt', \*ud-n- 'water', PG?>

•DIAL Myc. *a<sub>2</sub>-ṛo[ ]u-do-pi* has been interpreted as /halos hudo(t)pʰi/.

•ETYM Connected with ▶ ἄλς and ▶ ὕδωρ as "wave of the sea". The glosses ὕδναι- ἔγγονοι, σύντροφοι 'born inside, raised together with (?)' and ὕδνης- εἰδώς, ἔμπειρος 'knowing, experienced' (H.) may have been extracted from ἄλοσύννη. The relevance of the Myc. words is unclear; cf. DELG. Since the meaning is not very clear, and the structure *aCVC-udn-* is typically Pre-Greek, we may doubt the traditional interpretation. Chantraine's Καλυδών, -ύδνα (which is typically Pre-Greek) is an example; cf. Καλυκαδνος. Schwyzer: 475, 5 wonders if the nom. was -ύδνα, in which case Pre-Greek origin would be even more probable.

**άλοχος** ⇒ λέχεται.

**άλπιςτος** [adj.] see below (Pi. I. 5 (4), 12). <?>

•VAR ἔπαλπιος 'amiable' (Pi. P. 8, 84) = ἡδύς, προσηνής 'sweet, gentle' (sch.); ἀπαλέον· ἀγαπητόν 'amiable' (H.), from which perhaps ἀρπαλέος, by influence of ἀρπάξω; the gloss ἀπάλιμα· ἀρπακτά, προσφιλή 'robbed, beloved' shows the double mg.; cf. also ἀρπαλίζομαι· ἀσμένως δέχομαι 'to accept gladly' (H.). Here also the PN Ἀλπονίδης (inscr. Karthaia), see Bechtel 1917a: 5f., from Ἄλπων.

•DIAL Uncertain ἄλπιταρ (inscr. Crete).

•ETYM Wackernagel KZ 43 (1910): 377 reads \*ἄλπιστος for ἄλπιςτος; a primary superlative formation, which could be attested as a PN in A. Pers. 982 (but the text is uncertain). The assumption of an old *r/n*-stem, to which the Cretan form would point, is unnecessary. It is doubtful to interpret ἄλπ- as \*φαλπ-, a zero grade of \*φαλπ- in ▶ ἔλπομαι, ▶ ἔλπις (for wouldn't one expect \*φαλπ-?).

**ἄλς, ἄλός** [m.] 'salt' (Il.), very often plur. <IE \*seh<sub>2</sub>-l- 'salt'>

•VAR As fem. (only sg.) a poetical word for the sea (after θάλασσα, or as a collective?). Since Arist. also ἄλας, -ατος [n.] from the acc.pl., see Leumann 1950: 160f.

•DIAL Myc. *o-pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ra* /opi-hala/ 'coastal regions' cf. ▶ ἔφαλος; *a-pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ro* /Ampʰihalos/, *a<sub>2</sub>-ri-e* perhaps /haliēn/, see Perpillou 1973: 61<sup>2</sup>, 161.

•COMP ἄλι-πλοος, -πόρφυρος (for ἄλ- after the *i*-stems, not locative with Schwyzer: 476 : 5, 1. On ἄλι-μυρήεις see μύρομαι. On ἄλουργός 'who exploits a salt mine' see DELG Supp.

•DER 1. ἄλμη 'seawater, brine' (Od.), whence ἁλμαία 'id.' (Ar., Nic.), ἁλμιάς (ἐλαία) 'pickled olive' (com.), ἁλμυρός 'salty, bitter' (Od.), which would stand for \*ἄλμυρός (Schwyzer: 482: 6); thence ἁλμυρώδης, ἁλμυρότης and verbs ἁλμυρίζω, ἁλμυρώω, further ἁλμυρίς [f.] 'brackish soil, salty liquid', cf. πλημυρίς and ἁλιμυρήεις (see ▶ μύρομαι); from ἄλμη also ἁλμήεις (A.) and ἁλμεύω 'to pickle' (Dsc.), whence ἁλμευσις, ἁλμευτής.

2. ἄλιος, (-α), -ον 'of the sea' (epic poet.), ἁλιάς [f.] 'fishing boat' (Arist., D. S.). 3. ἁλία [f.] 'salt tub' (com., Hell.). 4. ἄλινος 'consisting of salt' (Hdt., Str.). 5. ἄλιμος 'of the sea' (Trag. Adesp., LXX), ἄλιμον plant name, cf. Strömberg 1940: 97, 114. 6. ἁλίτης 'salty, of the sea'. 7. ἁλίζω 'to salt' (Arist.), ἁλισμός (Sor.), but not ἄλισμα 'Alisma plantago' (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 115, which is unexplained. 8. After ἄλιος, ἄλινος and ἄλι- as a first member for ἄλ-: ἁλιεύς 'fisherman' (Od.), ἁλιεύω [v.] 'to fish' (LXX, NT, Plu.), -εύομαι (also com.), ἁλιευτικός 'belonging to fish(ermen)' (Pl., X., Hell.); from ἁλιεύω: ἁλιευτής 'fisherman' (Cerc.), from ἁλιεύς or ἁλιεύω: ἁλιεία 'fishery' (Arist., Str.), from ἁλιεύω: ἁλιεύμα 'id.' (Str.). 9. ἁλι-άδης 'sailor' (S. [lyr.]). 10. ἁλιάρος 'salty' (Eust.). 11. ἁλυκός 'salty' (Hp., Arist.), ἁλυκότης (Arist.), ἁλυκίς [f.] 'salt mine' (Str.), ἁλυκώδης (Hp.; also in Thphr. HP 9, 11, 2 instead of codd. ἁλικώδης), ἁλυκεία 'pickling' (Ptol.). 12. From the neuter τὸ ἄλας, late formations like ἁλάτιον (diminutive), ἁλάτινος, ἁλατίζω and ἁλατικόν 'salarium' (gloss.) are derived.

•ETYM Old word found in most IE languages: Lat. *sāl*, OIr. *salann*, Arm. *at*, Latv. *sāls*, OCS *solb* 'salt', as well as OCS *slanb* 'salted' < \*solnō, ToB *salviye*, ToA *sāle*. An enlargement in *-d* is found in Germanic (Go. *salt*), Arm. *alt*, and Balto-Slavic, e.g. Lith. *sald-ūs* 'sweet', OCS *sladъ-kъ* 'id.'. Lith. *sólymas* is an important form, since it points to \*seh<sub>2</sub>-l-, while other languages require \*sh<sub>2</sub>-el-. This points to an original paradigm of nom. \*seh<sub>2</sub>-(ō)l, acc. sh<sub>2</sub>-el-m, gen. \*sh<sub>2</sub>-l-os. On possible Sanskrit cognates, see Thieme ZDMG 111 (1961): 94ff. ▶ ἄλοσύννη.

**ἄλσος** [n.] 'sacred grove' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•DER ἁλσώδης 'belonging to the grove' (E. [lyr.], Thphr.), ἁλσηίδες νύμφαι (A. R.), after Νηρηίδες, etc.; ἁλσωμα and ἁλσών = ἄλσος (Aq.). Further ἁλσίνη a plant (Dsc.), see André 1985, and cf. CEG 6.

•ETYM Ἄλτις [f.], the name of the temple domain in Olympia, would be identical with ἄλσος (see Paus. 5, 10, 1); on this basis one reconstructs ἄλσος as \*alt<sub>2</sub>ios. Fur.: 249, 253 accepts the equation, but interprets it in the context of other instances of an interchange of dental and sibilant in substrate words (ἄννηθον/ ἄνησον). Van Windekens KZ 100 (1987): 308f. connects it with Hitt. *alš-* 'owe fealty, give allegiance', which is hardly convincing. See ▶ ἄλμα.

**ἄλυζα** [f.] · ἄλυπον 'herb terrible, Globularia alypum' (H.). <?>

•ETYM The hypothesis of von Blumenthal 1930: 34 (from \*ἄ-λυγ-ια to λυγρός, λευγαλέος) is doubtful.

**ἄλυκ(ρ)όν** = θαλυκρός.

**ἄλυκτοπέδη** [f.] 'bond' (Hes., A. R., etc.). <?>

•ETYM Designation of a shackle. For the formation, we may compare ἱστοπέδη (Od.); see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 26. Schulze *KZ* 28 (1887): 280 connects the first element with Skt. *ruj-* 'to break', which Risch doubts. The latter assumes the contamination of ἄλυτος and ἄρρηκτος (πέδας ... ἄρρηκτους ἄλύτους N 36f.) under the influence of ἄλυσκω (see on ► ἄλύω). All of this remains highly uncertain.

**ἄλυσις** [f.] 'chain', also as a woman's ornament (Hdt.). <IE \*uel- 'wind'>

•DER Thence Hell. diminutives ἄλυσιον and ἄλυσίδιον, further ἄλυσιδωτός 'consisting of chains' (Plb., D. S.), ἄλυσιδόν 'in chains' (Man.).

•ETYM Originally 'winding', derived from \*ῥάλυ-τις, belonging to \*ῥέλυτρον, ► εἰλύω, etc.; see Frisk *Erano*s 43 (1945): 225ff. However, the α-vocalism remains unexplained, as the root contained no final laryngeal. For the aspiration, cf. ► ἔλιξ.

**ἄλυσσον** [n.] name of a plant (Dsc.). <GR?>

•ETYM With privative α from λύσσα 'rage', because of the curing effect of the seeds (Dsc. 3, 91). Cf. Strömberg 1940: 91.

**ἀλύτας** [m.] = ῥαβδοφόρος ἢ μαστιγοφόρος (*EM* 72, 15), policemen in Elis (inscr.). <EUR>

•COMP ἀλυστάρχης 'commander of the ἀλύται' (inscr., Luc.).

•DER Denominative ἀλυστάται (cod. ἀλύταται)· παρατηρεῖ 'observes' (H.).

•ETYM Explained as \*ῥάλυ-τᾶς 'staff-bearer' with Go. *walus* 'staff', ON *vplr* 'id.'; see Bechtel 1921, 2: 863. The Greek word is hardly inherited, in which case it would have to be from \*ulHu-. A direct loan from Germanic is improbable, so there may have been a third intermediary source. Krahe *Glotta* 22 (1954): 123f. supposed an Illyrian origin, but the word may also be non-IE (words with this meaning are very frequently borrowed).

**ἀλύω** [v.] 'to be distraught, be beside oneself, from pain, anguish, etc. (Il.). <?>

•VAR only present, except ἀλαλύσθαι· φοβεῖσθαι, ἀλύειν 'put to flight, scare; be excited' (H.).

•DER Medical terms ἄλυσμός, whence ἄλυσμώδης, ἄλυσις, ἀλύκη 'fear, agitation', see ► ἀλάλγξ. Backformation ἄλυσ 'id.' (Hp.); with -κ-: ἀλύκη 'distress, anguish'; see also ► ἀλάλγξ.

Verbs: ἄλυσκω (on ἄλυσκάω and ἄλυσκάνω see ► ἀλέα 2), ἀλύσσω, fut. ἀλύξω = ἀλύω (Hom.), perhaps all from an enlarged stem ἄλυκ-, which is also found in ἄλυκτέω, perf. ἀλαλύκτημαι 'to be afraid' (Hom.), ἄλυκτάω 'to be afraid, wander' (B., Hdt.), cf. Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἀλύω. Further ἄλυστάω, ἄλυσταιν (H., *EM*), cf. perhaps ἄλυσθένεια· ἀσθένεια (*EM* 70, 45); also ἄλυσθμαίνω 'to be weak' (Call.), ἄλυσθμαίνειν· ἀλύειν, ἀπορεῖν 'to be beside oneself' (H.).

•ETYM ἀλύω is considered to be a derivation in -u- from the root ἄλ- in ► ἀλάομαι, and / or from ἀλέομαι. This remains just a guess. Puhvel's connection with Hitt. *aluanz-* 'bewitched' is doubtful (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.).

**ἄλφα** [n.] name of the first letter of the alphabet (Pl.). <LW Sem.>

•COMP Collocation ἀλφάβητος [m., f.]; also [n.pl.]? (Irenaeus of Lyon), see Schwyzer *KZ* 58 (1931): 199ff.

•ETYM From Hebr. *'aleph* (see Schwyzer: 140 γ and Schwyzer *KZ* 58 (1931): 177-183). For the final vowel, cf. βῆτα, from Hebr. *bêth*. See Einarson *Class. Phil.* 62 (1967): 1-24 and 262f.

**ἀλφάνω** [v.] 'to earn, gain' (E.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>elg<sup>wh</sup>- 'earn'>

•VAR ἀλφαίνω (H., *EM*); Aor. ἀλφεῖν (Hom.).

•COMP ἀλφεσίβοιος of girls, 'bringing in (many) oxen'; type τερψίμβροτος, with shortening for \*ἀλφησι- as in ἐλκεσίπεπλος.

•DER ἀλφή 'produce, gain' (Lyc.).

•ETYM A counterpart to the thematic aorist ἀλφεῖν is found in the Indo-Iranian present Skt. *ārhati* 'to earn', YAv. *arəjaiti* 'is worth' < \*h<sub>2</sub>elg<sup>wh</sup>-. Further, ἀλφή formally corresponds with Lith. *algà* 'wages', but they are probably independent formations. From Hittite, one adduces *halkuēššar* 'supplies for a festival'. The Greek aor. is from the zero grade \*h<sub>2</sub>lg<sup>wh</sup>- with Rix's Law. On ἀλφαίνω = ἀμείβω in Aetius, see Benveniste *L'année sociologique* 5 (1951): 19-20.

**ἀλφηστής, -ου** [m.] 'grain-eating', in the epic expression ἀνέρες ἀλφησταί (Od.). <GR>

•DIAL Also a fish name in Dor. ἀλφηστάς 'Labrus cinaedus' (Epich.); also called κίναιδος, cf. Strömberg 1943: 56; also Thompson 1947.

•ETYM Clearly from ἄλφι, in opposition to ὠμηστής, plus \*h<sub>2</sub>ed- 'eat', in the expression ἀνέρες ἀλφησταί. In antiquity, the word was strangely enough not understood; cf. the strange gloss ἀλφηστήσι· τοῖς εὐρετικοῖς καὶ συνετοῖς 'intelligent' (H.). The -i- was lost for metrical reasons; see Fraenkel 1910: 38.

**ἄλφι** [n.] 'barley-groats' (h. Cer. 208). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>elb<sup>hi</sup> 'barley'>

•VAR Plur. ἄλφιστα (Il.), from which the sing. ἄλφιτον, in Hom. only in ἀλφίτου ἀκτῆ.

•DER ἀλφιτηρός (Antiph., Herod.), ἀλφιτεύς 'miller' (Hyp.), ἀλφιτεύω 'to grind barley' (Hippon.), ἀλφιτεία (Hyp., Poll.) and ἀλφιτεῖον (Poll., AB). Further ἀλφιτισμός 'mixing with barley groats' (inscr. Delos) as if from \*ἀλφιτίειν; ἀλφιτηδόν (Dsc.).

•ETYM One previously assumed an *i/n*-stem ἄλφι, plur. \*ἄλφατα, as in Skt. *ásthi*, gen. *asthnás* 'bone', on the basis of ἀλίφατα· ἄλφιστα ἢ ἄλευρα (H.). But *i/n*-stems are doubtful, and ἀλίφατα has been read as \*ἀληφατα (Latte); cf. DELG, which compares ἀλήφατον ἄνθος ἐλαίης (Peek 1897); the form would have been derived from ἀλέω 'to grind'.

ἄλφι may be identical with Alb. *elb*, -i 'barley' from \*alb<sup>hi</sup>; see Demiraj 1997. Further origin is uncertain; perhaps the word is from PIE \*h<sub>2</sub>(e)lb<sup>h</sup>-i. Also related is Turc. *arpa* 'barley', which is perhaps from an Iranian form \*arbi; see Vasmer 1921: 16ff. See Mallory & Adams 1997: 51 for Iranian forms.

On the meaning, see Moritz *Class. Quart.* 43 (1949): 113ff., who connected ἄλφι with ἀλφάνω, but this is judged improbable by DELG. Connection with ► ἀλφός 'leprosy' and Lat. *albus* 'white' (cf. λεύκ· ἄλφιστα Σ 560) is rejected by Demiraj 1997.

**ἀλφός** [m.] 'dull-white leprosy' (Hes.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>elb<sup>h</sup>o- 'white'>

•DER άλφώδης 'leprous' (Gal.). As an adjective άλφούς· λευκούς 'white' (H.), άλφούς· λευκούς 'id.' (see below). Thence άλφινία· ή λεύκη. Περραιβοί (H.).

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *albus* and U *alfu* 'alba'. Extended forms with PIE \**d* may be found in the word for 'swan', e.g. OHG *albiz*, OCS *lebedь*, but this could also be a European substrate word. The main comparanda are geographical names, especially river-names like Άλφειός, Lat. *Albula*; Lat. *Albis* = MoHG *Elbe*; also ON *elfr* 'river'. On the river names, see Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 4 (1953): 40ff. Most of these names, however, are probably of non-IE origin.

The word plays a role in discussions about the existence of PIE \**a*, since Hittite has *alpa-* 'cloud'. However, if this is related, it could easily represent thematic \**h<sub>2</sub>olb<sup>h</sup>o-*. IE \**b<sup>h</sup>* is frequent in color terms (e.g. ἄργυρος).

The form άλφός (H.) was compared with Arm. *atawni* 'pigeon' < IE \**alH-b<sup>h</sup>-n-*, but now there is a different explanation of the word: \**plh<sub>2</sub>-b<sup>h</sup>-ni-* (see Klingenschmitt 1982: 68<sup>n</sup>). The relation between άλφός and άλωφός cannot be explained in Indo-European terms; perhaps άλωφός is a simple mistake due to misreading of φ as ω?

άλωή [f.] 'threshing floor, garden' (Il.), also 'halo' (around sun and moon) (Arat.); also 'disk' of the sun or moon, or of a shield. <?>

•VAR Also ἄλως, gen. -ω, -ως or -ωνος; recent ἄλων.

•DIAL Cyp. ἄλουα· κήποι 'gardens' (H.), probably ntr. plur.; Cyp. gen. *alawo*, = ἄλφω? Dor. αλος in Sicily is probably from \**alwo-*.

•COMP μητρ-αλοιάς 'matricide' (A.); Schwyzler 451 : 4.

•DER ἄλωεύς 'farmer' (A. R., Arat.), also PN in Hom.; ἄλωεινός (AP) and ἄλώϊος (Nic.) 'of the threshing floor', Ἄλωιάς epithet of Δηώ (Nonn.). ἄλωνία 'grain on the threshing floor' (pap., Ath.), diminutive ἄλώνιον (Gr., Hdn.); ἄλωνικός (pap., *Ed. Diocl.*). Denominative verbs ἄλωνεύομαι (App.), ἄλωνίζω (H.) 'to work at the threshing floor'; further ἄλοάω, ἄλοιάω (Il.) 'to thresh, crush', epic -οι- stands for original length; as a second member in πατρ-αλοιάς etc. (Att. and late), see Schwyzler: 451 : 4. Thence ἄλοισμός 'threshing', ἄλοιστής 'thresher', ἄλόιστρα [pl.] 'wages for threshing', all known from papyri. Auch ἄλοιστήρ 'thresher' (Nonnos, AP), ἄλο(ι)σις (*EM*, gloss.).

•ETYM Perhaps from earlier \*ἄλωφι. ἄλως and the Cyp. forms might derive from a hysterodynamic noun of the type πάτρως, with nom. \**-ōu-s*, acc. *-ou-ηι*, gen. *-u-os*; see Beekes *Mnem.* 24 (1972): 350-2. If MoSw. *lō* 'threshing floor' is cognate, we might also reconstruct a root \**h<sub>2</sub>(e)l-*. The explanation by Schwyzler: 479: 7 (from PIE *uel(u)-* 'to wind', original meaning 'round') must be rejected, as it does not explain the Cyprian forms without initial *w-*, nor the meaning 'garden'. Semantically, we probably have to think of a small piece of land near the farm, used for growing fruits and vegetables (garden) and for threshing. From threshing-floor, we can understand the development to 'disk' and then to 'halo'; see Ure *Class. Quart.* 49 (1955): 225-230. The conjecture of Van Windekens *KZ* 100 (1987): 309f. is to be rejected.

ἄλώπηξ, -εκός [f.] 'fox' (Archil.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>lop-* 'fox'>

•VAR On the gender see DELG. A shortened form is ἄλωπά (Alc.), ἄλωπός (Hdn.); on its origin see Sommer 1948: 5. Denominative ἄλωπεύει· ἀνιχνεύει 'tracks' (H.).

•DER Diminutive ἄλωπέκιον (Ar.); ἄλωπεκέη, -ῆ 'fox-skin' (Hdt.); ἄλωπεκία a disease of the skin (Arist.); also ἄλωπεκίασις (Gal.) in the same meaning; ἄλωπεκίας [m.] 'branded with a fox' (Luc.); ἄλωπεκίς f. = κυναλώπηξ (X.), also 'head-gear of fox-skin' (X.) and 'kind of vine' (Plin.), see details in Strömberg 1940: 139; ἄλωπεκιδεύς [m.] 'young fox' (Ar.); ἄλωπέκειος [adj.] (Gal.), ἄλωπεκώδης (H., *EM*). Denominative ἄλωπεκίζω [v.] 'to behave like a fox', i.e. 'to be cunning'.

•ETYM ἄλώπηξ may correspond to Arm. *aluēs*, gen. *-esu* 'fox'. Cf. further Lith. *lāpė* and Latv. *lapsa*. Schrijver *JIES* 26 (1998): 421-434 connects it with the Celtic words like W *llywarn*, etc., which he derives from \**lop-erno-*, and reconstructs \**h<sub>2</sub>lop-*. The Greek long *ō* is explained from an old nom. \**h<sub>2</sub>lōp-s*. (Skt. *lopāsā-* 'jackal' and MP *rōpās* 'fox' have an original diphthong in the root and cannot be connected; Lat. *volpes* 'fox', Lith. *vilpišys* 'wild cat' should also be kept apart; Schrijver starts from a root \**ulp-*).

The inflection ἄλώπηξ, -εκός is unique in Greek. There is no support for the paradigm *-ōk-s*, *-ek-os* assumed by Rix 1976: 143. In the Armenian form, the *ē* presents difficulties and is probably secondary, the word rather showing old short *e*; see Clackson 1994: 95.

De Vaan *IJ* 43 (2000): 279-293, disassociates the suffix from the Indo-Ir. one (as above the words were disassociated) and doubts that Skt. *-āśa-* etc. are of IE origin. He follows Chantraine 1933: 376 in assuming that the Greek (and Armenian) suffix *-ek-* was taken from a non-IE language; Greek would have lengthened the vowel in the nominative. But this does not explain the Greek ablaut: one would expect that the long vowel had been introduced everywhere. Rather, the suffixes are IE, and the long vowel of Sanskrit and the short one of Armenian confirm the Greek ablaut as archaic. See also Blažek *Linguistica Baltica* 7 (1998): 25-31.

ἄμα [prep., adv.] 'at the same time (with), together (with)' (Il.). <IE \**sem-* 'one'>

•DIAL Dor. ἄμᾱ, originally instrumental, see Schwyzler: 550. ἄμει [loc.] (Delphi). ἄμάκις· ἄπαξ, Κρήτες 'once' (Cret.) (H.); Tarent. ἄμάτις 'together' (H.).

•COMP ἄμαμηλὶς plant growing at the same time as the apple tree, 'medlar', = ἐπιμηλὶς.

•DER ἄμυδις (Aeol.) 'together'.

•ETYM Probably the zero grade of the root \**sem-*, \**som-* in ► εἶς, ► ὅμός; perhaps from \**σηη<sub>2</sub>-* (see ► ὅμός). For the adverbial ending -α, see Schwyzler: 622 : 8; on κάρτα, Ruijgh 1980: 189ff. See ► ἄμάομαι 2, ► ἄμαξα.

ἄμάδρυα = μάδρυα.

ἄμαθος [f.] 'sand' (Il.). <EUR>

•DER ἄμαθίτις [f.] 'living in the sand' (Epich.), of κόγχος; also TN (J.); ἄμαθώδης 'sandy' (Str.); TNs Ἡμαθίη (Il.), Ἄμαθος (Cyprus) < \*-οφεντ-, cf. ἡμαθόεις 'sandy' (Od.). Denominative verb ἄμαθύνω 'to turn into dust, etc.' (epic poet.).

•ETYM It is mostly assumed that ψάμαθος was created from ἄμαθος on the model of ψάμμος, and that ἄμμος was secondarily created to ψάμμος. Beekes 2000: 26 finds these assumptions far from convincing, as they depend on the etymology of ψάμμος. ἄμαθος has been connected with MHG *sampt*, and a pre-form PIE \**samadh<sup>o</sup>-* was

reconstructed. But DELG already warned that the connection does not guarantee IE origin. Kuiper *NOWELE* 25 (1995): 67 favors European substrate origin because of the *a*-vocalism and the varying consonantism. On possible Albanian connections, see Çabej 1969: 174f. See ▶ ἄμμιος, ▶ ψάμαθος, ▶ ψάμμιος.

**ἄμαιμάκετος, (-η), -ον** [adj.] Homeric epithet of unknown mg. (Il.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. Connections with μακρός, μαιμάω, μάχομαι should probably all be rejected; see discussion in Tichy 1983: 314ff. One might conceive of a Pre-Greek word, \**a-mai-mak-eto-* (with prothetic vowel and reduplication).

**ἄμακρῶτις** ⇒ μόκρων.

**ἄμαλδύνω** [v.] 'to destroy, weaken' (Il.). <?>

•ETYM One assumes that the verb is a denominative from an otherwise unknown pre-form \*ἄμαλδύς. The first question is whether the word has the same root as ▶ βλαδεῖς. The ἄ- must then have been added after the privative formations (which always express some lack), but this is not very probable; influence of ἄμαλός is not very likely either. Connection with μέλδομαι 'to smelt' is not compelling because of the meaning. However, it has a variant ἀμέλδεν, which shows the same problem as in ἄμαλδύνω / βλαδύς, and in this case we are certain of cognate forms with *s-*, viz. OHG *smelzan*. Does this point to an old interchange of \**h<sub>2</sub>m-* / *sm-*? The question has not yet been solved. μαλθακός, μαλακός, ἄμαλός and ἀμβλύς differ too much to be useful. βλέννα and μύλη do not belong here.

**ἄμαλλα** [f.] 'sheaf' (Soph.). <PG?>

•COMP ἄμαλλοδετήρ 'binder of sheaves' (Il.).

•DER ἄμαλλεύω 'to bind sheaves' (EM) and ἄμαλλεῖον (ἀμάλλιον) (Call. Com., H., Eust.).

•ETYM Considered to be a derivation in -ια from an older *l*-stem, eventually from the verb ▶ ἀμάομαι 'to gather'. However, if ἀμάομαι is used primarily for drawing liquids, it can hardly be connected with ἄμαλλα. One might also think of ▶ ἀμάω 1 'to reap corn'. Words in -λλα may well be Pre-Greek. See ▶ ἄμη.

**ἄμαλογία** [f.] see below (v.l. for ὀμο- Alciph. 4, 18, 10). <?>

•VAR = ἀβδηριτισμός 'foolery', *garrulitas* (gloss.); ἀμαλόγος· φύλαρος 'id.', *garrulus* (gloss.).

•ETYM According to Latte *Glotta* 32 (1953): 37f., it is haplogical for \*ἄμαλλολογία, which properly meant 'collecting sheaves', then 'the accompanying song' > 'bragging'. This is rightly called "sehr hypothetisch" by Frisk. Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 7 (1957): 40 assumed \*ἄμαλο-λογία.

**ἄμαλός** [adj.] 'weak, soft' (epic poet.), said of young animals and men (Il.). <PG?>

•DER Perhaps here ἄμαλ[λ]οῖ· ἀφανίζει 'makes invisible' (H.) and ἀμαλάπτω (S.), which would equal ἄμαλδύνω 'to soften' (H.), after ▶ βλάπτω, ▶ δάπτω, see Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 212.

•ETYM Uncertain. Mostly connected with ▶ ἄμαλδύνω, but this is just a guess. One further connects ἀμβλύς < \*ἄμλύς, but this, too, is doubtful. Fur.: 224 connects it

with ▶ ἀπαλός, with the Pre-Greek interchange labial / μ. This is possible, but remains uncertain.

**ἄμαμαξυς, -υος** [f.] 'vine trained on two poles' (Epich., Sapph.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also gen. -υδος (Sapph.). Acc. to H. = ἄμπελος ἢ γένος σταφυλῆς 'grape-vine or kind of grape-bunch'; σταφυλῆς γένος, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀναδενδράδα οὕτω καλεῖσθαι 'kind of grape-bunch, thus a vine that grows up trees' (Suid.).

•ETYM Fur.: 212 compares ἀμαξίς· γένος σταφυλῆς ἀπὸ ἀναδενδράδος (H.), which must be correct. It is a typical substrate word, showing reduplication. Furnée's further connection with βῆκα· ἀναδενδράς (H.) is very doubtful; better, though still doubtful, is the comparison with Hitt. *māhla* 'grape-vine' (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). Cf. also Kuiper 1956: 215<sup>15</sup>.

**ἄμαμηλῖς, -ίδος** [f.] 'a tree or bush with edible fruits', probably 'medlar, Mespilus germanica' (Hp.). <GR>

•ETYM Description in Ath. 14, 650 c-e; the speakers are uncertain about the plant, and also about the name: we also find ὁμομηλῖς 'which resembles the μ.', and ἐπιμηλῖς. It should probably be analyzed as 'which blossoms at the same time as the apple tree'. See Strömberg 1944: 32.

**ἄμάναν** [f.]· ἄμαξαν 'chassis, wagon' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 34 assumes a loan from an unknown IE language, from \**smi-aks-nā* (cf. ▶ ἄμαξα); this is highly uncertain. We may compare ▶ ἀπήνη 'id.' (s.v., cf. also ▶ καπάνα), with Kuiper 1956: 213 and Fur.: 224. A variation π/ μ is well-known in substrate words. Latte's suggestion of a corruption is therefore gratuitous.

**ἄμάνδαλον** [adj.] = ἀφανές παρ' Ἀλκαίῳ 'unseen (Alcaeus)' (Hdn.; *Et. Gen.* A p. 20 Reitzenstein; *EM* 76, 52). <?>

•DER ἄμινδαλοῖ· ἀφανίζει, βλάπτει 'makes unseen, damages' (H.).

•ETYM Acc. to Hdn. it belongs to ἄμαλδύνω; is it then dissimilated from \*ἄμιάδαλος (Schwyzer: 258)? This is doubtful.

**ἄμᾶνῖται** [m.pl.] 'kind of mushroom' (Nic.). <?>

•ETYM Perhaps derived from a place name, e.g. the mountain Ἄμιανος in Asia Minor, but it occurs frequently (Koukoules *Ep. Et. Byz.* 17 (1948): 75; Chantraine *RPh.* 91 (1965): 201-3). For the suffix, cf. ἀκονίτον, βωλίτης. The gloss ἀμάνορες· δοθηῖνες 'small abscess, boil' (H.) may be unrelated.

**ἄμάνορες** ⇒ ἀμᾶνῖται.

**ἄμαξα** [f.] 'framework, chassis of a four-wheeled wagon; wagon' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•COMP ἄμαξιτός 'practicable for a wagon' (ὁδός, Pi.), mostly substantivized [f.] 'carriage-road' (Il.), from ἰέναι 'to go' and a suffix -το-.

•ETYM Usually derived from ἄμα and ἄξ- (in ▶ ἄξων) with a suffix -ια, e.g. Adrados *Emerita* 17: 146f. However, the interpretation as 'one-axler' (Meringer *KZ* 40 (1907): 217ff.) does not fit the ἄμαξα; one would rather expect 'two-axler' (cf. ▶ δίφρος). It hardly belongs to ToB *amākspānta* 'wagon-master' (for which, Adams 1999: 19 reconstructs unclear IE \**h<sub>2</sub>em-*), unless as a loan from Greek. Also improbable is

Adams KZ 97 (1984): 230-232 ('containing axles'). Finally, Forssman 1966: 8-11 argues that the aspiration is late, which suggests that the word does not contain ἄμα.

Fur.: 221 compares ἀβακλή- ἄμαξα (Cyr.), i.e. the interchange ἀμακ-/ ἀβακ-, from which we must conclude that the etymon is Pre-Greek. Note that Bănăţeanu REIE 3 (1943): 136f. already assumed an Anatolian origin.

**ἀμάομαι** [v.] 'to draw (milk), gather' (Od.). <?>

•VAR The act. ἀμάω occurs late only.

•COMP In compounds with ἐπ-, κατ-, etc.

•DER ἄμη 'shovel' (Ar.), 'hod' (inscr.), 'water-bucket, pail' (Plu.; Lat. *hama*, Cato), 'spade' (Gp.); probably derived from the verb, not the other way around; from here ἄμης f. 'chamber-pot' (Hp.).

•ETYM Mostly connected with ἄμη, but even this seems not quite certain (Schulze 1892: 365<sup>3</sup> and Solmsen 1909: 195 separate them). As the basic meaning of the verb and of ἄμη are unclear, the etymology is uncertain. It has further been connected with ▶ ἀμνίον and ▶ ἄντλος; a relationship with ▶ ἄμαλλα has also been suggested; all are uncertain. Cf. Bechtel 1914 and Solmsen 1909: 180ff. Originally, the meaning was no doubt quite specific, so the verb should not be connected with ▶ ἄμα. Connection with Skt. *āmātra*- [n.] 'vase' is also quite uncertain (the treatment of Mayrhofer EWAia is unsatisfactory; words for vases mostly have no etymology). One has connected it with Lith. *sėmti*, 1sg. *semiū* 'to scoop, ladle', *sámtis* 'ladle' < \**semH*-, to which perhaps belongs Lat. *sentīna* 'bilge-water' (see ▶ ἄντλος). See ▶ ἀμάω.

**ἀμάρᾱ** [f.] 'trench, channel' (Il.). <?>

•VAR ἄμ-? (Frisk); Ion. ἀμάρη. Cf. ἀμάρευμα· ἀθροίσματα βορβόρου 'collection of filth' (H.) and ἡ ἐν τοῖς κήποις ὕδρορρόη, παρὰ τὸ ἄμα καὶ ἴσως καὶ ὁμαλῶς ῥεῖν, ἢ οἶόν ἀμαρόη τις οὖσα 'irrigation in gardens (...) ' (H.).

•ETYM The second gloss from Hesychius is a typical example of folk etymology. Formerly connected with δι-, ἐξ-αμᾶν in the meaning 'to dig out', and with ἄμη 'shovel' (Schulze 1892: 365f., Solmsen 1909: 194ff.), which is improbable. Others considered a relationship with Hitt. *amijar(a)*- 'canal': see Puhvel HED s.v. But note that the words only have initial *am*- in common. The word could belong to the Greek-Anatolian substrate. A third option is a connection with Alb. *amë* 'river-bed, source' and river names like *Amantia*, *Amana*, *Amara*, etc.; see Krahe Beitr. z. Namenforsch. 4 (1953): 52f. and Kuiper NOWELE 25 (1995): 73-5. This comparison is formally better than that with Hittite. See ▶ ἀμαρία.

**ἀμάρᾱκον** [n.] 'Origanum Majorana, marjoram' (Pherecr.). <PG?>

•VAR Also -ᾱρ-, -ος [m.].

•ETYM The long ā in Ionic-Attic points to recent origin; cf. ἀβαρύ· ὀρίγανον <τὸ ἐν> Μακεδονίᾳ (H.). If this is accepted, the variation β/μ points to a Pre-Greek substrate word, which is probable anyhow. Connection with Skt. *maruva(ka)*- 'id.' must be wrong. See Fur.: 210f., who further compares βᾱρος/v 'a kind of spice'. From Greek comes Lat. *amaracum*, -us, MLat. *maioracus*, *maiorana*, whence the modern forms.

**ἀμαρεῖν** [v.] · ἀκολουθεῖν, πείθεσθαι, ἀμαρτάνειν 'to follow, believe, miss the mark' (H.). <GR, IE \**sm*- 'one' and \**h<sub>2</sub>er*- 'join'>

•ETYM The last explanation of the gloss can hardly be reconciled with the first, so they should be separated. One may compare Ἀμάριος, epithet of Zeus and Athena in Achaia (Aymard 1938: 455-470); the word might mean 'who brings together' (cf. Ὀμαγύριος). Further comparison with ▶ ἀμαρτή, ▶ ὁμαρτέω and ▶ ὄμηρος.

**ἀμαρία** [?] · ὁμοῦ, παραγῶγος 'together, by a slight change' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Not understandable. One would think that the meaning belongs to another gloss, as ἀμαρία can hardly be an adverb.

**ἀμαρτάνω** [v.] 'to miss the mark, fail' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>mert*- 'miss, fail'>

•VAR Aor. ἀμαρτεῖν.

•DIAL Aeol. ἡμβροτον (Hom.).

•COMP νημερτής, νᾱμι- (Hom.) 'infallible, unmistakable', Dor. νᾱμέρτεια (S.). Younger ἀναμάρτητος 'without fault'.

•DER ἀμαρτία 'fault' (Att.); ἀμαρτίον (A.), ἀμαρτάς (Ion. and late), ἀμαρτήμα (Att., Hell.), ἀμαρτωλή (Thgn.), ἀμαρτωλία (Hp., com.); secondary ἀμαρτωλός 'sinner' (Arist., Hell.), whence ἀμαρτωλός 'erroneous, erring' (Arist.).

•ETYM νημερτής presupposes \**h<sub>2</sub>mert*-, and seems old because of the full grade root (cf. ἀναμάρτητος). Probably, the -αρ- in ἀμαρτάνω replaces -ρα- after the full grade (note that Aeolic has ἀμ[β]ροτ-). The aspiration must be analogical. The word has no known cognates, but the reconstructed root looks perfectly IE. Cf. Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 308f.

**ἀμαρτή** [adv.] 'at the same time, together' (Il.). <IE \**sm-h<sub>2</sub>er-t*-, GR>

•VAR -ή in Aristarchus; elsewhere -ῆ, -ῆ, but probably wrongly.

•DER ἀμαρτήδην (sch. Φ 162, H.), which is also a probable reading of N 584 ὁμαρτήδην (Wackernagel 1916: 70).

•ETYM Old instrumental (in \**-eh<sub>1</sub>* > -ή, which also explains the accent) of a verbal adjective \*ἄμαρτος 'joined together, meeting' (ἄμα and ἀραρίσκω). Also from here probably comes ἀμαρτέω 'to meet, get together', which is mostly written ▶ ὁμαρτέω (Il.). See also ▶ ὄμηρος.

**ἀμαρύσσω** [v.] 'to sparkle, twinkle' (of the eye) (h. Merc., Hes.). <PG>

•VAR Only present.

•DER ἀμαρυγή 'twinkling' (h. Merc.), ἀμαρυγμα 'id.' (Hes., Sappho), with ῶ by metrical lengthening, while Aeolic has -χμα; ἀμάρυγξ 'id.' (Hdn.). Perhaps a nasalized form in Ἀμαρυγκεύς (Ψ 630) and in ἀμαρυγκυσία· βοστρυχία 'curly things' (H.) (rather unclear; mistake?). ἀμαρύττα· τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς 'eyes' (H.); taken as a Cret. dual = ἀμαρύκτα 'the twinkling ones'.

•ETYM Compare with ▶ μαρμαίρω (s.v.; cf. μαρμαρυγή). As -ύσσω is typically Greek (Schwyzer: 733), a comparison with Lith. *mérkti* 'to close the eyes, twinkle', etc. is not admissible. The word may well be of Pre-Greek origin, with ᾱ- interchanging with reduplication and the suffix -υξ/-υγξ, which is typical of the substrate language and shows prenasalization. See Kuiper 1956: 221.

**άματα** [n.pl.]? disputed; hapax in SIG 421 A 5 and 26 (III<sup>a</sup>). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>(s)-mōr 'day'>

•ETYM Leumann 1950: 276 reinstated the view that this form is simply ήματα 'days', which is no doubt correct.

**άμαυρός** [adj.] 'hardly seen, dim, faint' (Od.); on the mg. see McKinley *Ant. class.* 26 (1957): 12-39, Neugebauer *Ant. class.* 27 (1968): 373f. <PG?>

•VAR Rarely μαῦρος or μαυρός (Hdn., Gal., H.), probably from μαυρόομαι, -όω (Hes.).

•DER άμαυρότης (Gal.), άμαυρία = *caligo* (gloss.). Denominative verb άμαυρόομαι 'to become dim', rarely άμαυρώ 'to make dim' (Ion., poet., Hell.). Thence άμαύρωσις 'obfuscation' (Hp., Arist.), άμαύρωμα 'id.' (Plu.).

•ETYM It is assumed that μαυρόομαι arose through loss of the initial vowel (see the material in Strömberg 1944: 44f.). However, it could also be a case of a prothetic vowel vs. its absence, and therefore a substrate phenomenon. Substrate origin is probable anyhow, as the word has no etymology. It is a Scythian loan acc. to Puhvel 1957: 237: from *maurva-*.

**άμάω 1** [v.] 'to reap corn, cut, mow down' (Il.). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>meh<sub>1</sub>- 'mow'>

•VAR Homer often has long α-, no doubt metrical (Chantraine 1942: 111).

•COMP Especially in άπ-, διαμάω 'to cut off, mow, harvest' (Od.).

•DER άμητος [m.] '(time of) harvest' (Hom.), on the accent see LSJ; άμητύς [f.] (*Hymn. Is.*); άμητήρ 'reaper' (Il.), άμήτειρα [f.] (*EM*), άμητρίς [f.] (Poll. 1, 222). Daneben άμητής (Porph.). Instrument noun άμητήριον 'sickle' (Max. Tyr.), άμητικός [adj.] 'made for cutting'.

•ETYM Connected with OHG *māen*, OE *māwan* 'to mow', which means we have a root \*h<sub>2</sub>meh<sub>1</sub>-; άμητος could then be identical with MHG *māt*, OE *mæd* 'reaping'. The Anatolian form Hitt. *hamešha(nt)-* 'spring, time of harvest' is important, as it shows that the \*h<sub>1</sub> belonged to the root. άμάω probably derives from άμη < \*h<sub>2</sub>mh<sub>1</sub>-eh<sub>2</sub>-, acc. to Schrijver 1991: 20 (no vowel assimilation from \*amē-, as per Peters 1980a: 91<sup>41</sup>). For άμη, Morgenstierne *Acta orientalia* 7 (1929): 200 connects Pashto *yūm* 'spade' (cf. Pok. 502, but it is doubtful whether a PIE root \*ieh<sub>2</sub>m- is permissible). The verb δι-αμάω is separated from άμάω 'to mow' by Irigoin in the *LfgreE*. On ►άμαλλα 'sheaf' and ►άμάρα 'canal', see s.vv.

**άμάω 2** ⇒ άμάομαι.

**άμβη** ⇒ άμβων.

**άμβιξ, -ίκος** [m.] 'spouted vessel' (Ath. 11, 480d), also 'alembic' (Zos. Alch.). <?>

•VAR Also άμβικός m. (Posid.).

•ETYM Explained as 'φοξίχειλος κύλιξ' and εις όξυ άνηγγμένη (Ath. 11, 480d); see Diehl on Semon. *fr.* 24. Statements about these words in the handbooks are unclear. The suffix is no doubt a substrate element, as it is in κύλιξ. It is often connected with ►άμβη, ►άμβων, but correctly so? Chantraine 1933: 376 calls these words Semitic, but without references. Derivation from άναβαίνω seems most improbable.

**άμβλακίσκω** ⇒ άμπλακίσκω and άμβλίσκω.

**άμβλίσκω** [v.] 'to cause to miscarry' (S.). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>mlh<sub>3</sub>->

•VAR Pres. also (έξ-)αμβλόομαι, -όω (IA), -ώω (Max.), -ώσκειν· τὸ άτελές γεννήσαι, τὸ φθεῖραι βρέφος 'uneffected birth, miscarriage of a foetus' (Suid.), -ώσσειν· ώμοτοκεῖν 'to miscarry' (H.); aor. (έξ-)αμβλῶσαι.

•DER From αμβλόομαι: αμβλωσις 'miscarriage' (Lys., Arist.), αμβλώσιμος (Max.), αμβλωμα (Antipho Soph., Aret.), αμβλωσιμός (Aret.); instrument noun αμβλωτήριον (Orib.), adjective αμβλωτικός (Gal.). The formation of αμβλωθρίδιον 'abortive child' (Ph.), 'drug causing abortion' (Poll.), also -ίδιος [adj.] (Aret.), looks strange. A secondary suffix -ίδιον was added to -θρο- (Chantraine 1933: 373 and 68ff.).

•ETYM The connection with μύλη as 'miscarriage' (Hp.), *recte* 'hard formation in a woman's womb', should be given up; Chantraine thinks it may be the same word as 'mill', and Frisk, who gives the suggestion under άμβλίσκω, does not mention it s.v. μύλη. Rix *MSS* 27 (1970): 105<sup>41</sup> considers the root \*h<sub>2</sub>mlh<sub>3</sub>- and a connection with ►άμβλύς (but see there).

**άμβλύς, -εῖα, -ύ** [adj.] 'blunt; dim, faint (of sight)' (IA). <?>

•DER άμβλύτης 'bluntness, weakness' (Arist., Plu.); denominative verbs: 1. άμβλύνω [v.] 'to make blunt, weaken' (IA); άμβλυνσις (comm. Arist.), άμβλυντήρ (Poeta *de herb.*), άμβλυντικός 'causing weakness' (Dsc.). 2. άμβλυώσω (-ώπτω) [v.] 'to be short-sighted' (Hp., Pl.), from \*άμβλυ-ωψ, cf. άμβλυ-ωπός, also άμβλωπός, άμβλῶψ; Schwyzer: 733 ζ, Sommer 1948: 3ff.

•ETYM άμβλύς can be from \*άμυλ-ύς. It cannot be from \*h<sub>2</sub>mlh<sub>3</sub>u-, as per Rix *MSS* 27 (1970): 90, as this would give \*άμαλυσ. The connection with άμαλός is a mere guess and it explains nothing. Perhaps related to άμβλ(ακ)ίσκω; there have also been attempts to compare it to άμαλδύνω, lastly Nikolaev 2005.

**άμβρόσιος** ⇒ βροτός.

**άμβων, -ωνος** [m.] 'rim or edge of a cup (especially one that curves inwards)' (A.). <?>

•VAR Attic for Ion. άμβη 'raised edge, protuberance' (Gal. 18a 340); άμβη· ή τής ἴτιος όφρυς τῶν κυλλῶν άσπίδων 'rim of a shield (...)' (H.), 'rim of a wheel' (Democr.). One compares also άνάβωνες· βαθμοῦ είδος 'kind of step or threshold' (H.).

•ETYM On the formation, see Chantraine 1933: 162 and Schwyzer: 487; on the meaning, Ross *Glotta* 49 (1971): 244-258. Probably a loanword. Connection with Lat. *umbō* is quite uncertain; Chantraine (and, tentatively, Frisk) connect it with ►άμβιξ.

**άμέθυστος, -ον** [adj.] 'not drunken, not intoxicating' (Plu., Dsc.); substantivized 'remedy against drunkenness' (Plu.), also as the name of a plant, see Strömberg 1940: 91; 'amethyst' (LXX). <IE \*med<sup>h</sup>u 'sweet; honey, wine'>

•ETYM Compound of privative ά- and μέθυ. The stone 'amethyst' was named after its color: the red of wine diluted with water such that it is no longer intoxicating (Clausing *Glotta* 20 (1932): 292).

**άμείβω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to change, exchange', med. also 'to answer, repay' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>meig<sup>w</sup>- 'change'>

•VAR άμείβοντες 'rafters that meet and cross each other' (Ψ 712).

•DER ἀμοιβή 'change, exchange, requital, recompense, answer, etc.', ἀμοιβαῖος 'abwechselnd' (Pi., Emp., Hdt.), ἀμοιβάδιος 'id.' (Opp.); ἀμοιβαιῶν 'payment, reward' (IGRom., Lydia). ἀμοιβεύς name of Poseidon in Lyc. 617. Adverbs: ἀμοιβηδῖς, (ἐπ)αμοιβαδῖς (Hom.), cf. Schwyzler 631. Late denominative ἀμοιβάζω [v.] 'to swap' (Men. Prot.). ἀμεινῖς (Plb., LXX) '(ex)change, etc.', ἀμειπτικός. ἀμοιβός 'one who exchanges' (Il.), also adjective 'in requital' (S.), frequent as a second member.

•ETYM No exact correspondence. It has been compared to Lat. *migrare* 'to wander' as if from *\*migros* 'changing (place)'. The -β- probably goes back to *\*gʷ*, as *\*b* is rare in PIE. Therefore, the root was *\*h<sub>2</sub>meigʷ-*, which may be an extension of *\*h<sub>2</sub>mei-* 'to change' (as in Skt. *máyate* and Lat. *com-mūnis*), but an enlargement -gʷ- is rare.

ἀμείνων [adj.] 'better, stronger, more advantageous' (Il.). <?>

•ETYM No etymology. Attic proper names with Ἀμειν- are supposed to show that the -ει- is a real diphthong, so it does not derive from *\*ἀμεινων*. DELG therefore remarks that the word could be an old positive. Seiler 1950: 120 assumed *\*ἀμεινῖων*, from *\*μινύς* with privative ἀ-; this is improbable. Note that a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>mei-* would violate the IE root structure constraints, so it would have to be from *\*h<sub>2</sub>mei-n-*.

ἀμείρω [v.] 'to bereave' (Pi.). <?>

•COMP ἀπαμείρω (p 322 v. l., Hes.).

•ETYM Solmsen KZ 29 (1888): 354 took the verb as an innovation for ἀμέρδω to ἀμέρσαι, ἀμερθῆναι. Perhaps related to ▶ἀμέρδω. A reconstruction *\*h<sub>2</sub>mer-ie/o-* is perfectly possible.

ἀμέλγω [v.] 'milk' (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>melǵ-* 'milk'>

•COMP ἱππ-ημιολγοί 'Mare Milker', name of Scythians and other nomads (N 5, Hes.).

•DER ἀμελῖς 'milking' (Pi., LXX); plant name ἀμελξίνη (Ps.-Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 160 (who compares ἀμερσίνη and ἐλξίνη). ἀμελκτῆρα (H.) explaining ἀρακτῆρα.

ἀμιολγός, ἀμιολγή (Hdn.); ἀμιολγεύς and ἀμόλγιον 'milking pail' (Theoc.), ἀμιολγάδες βόες 'dairy cows' (S. Ichn. 5). On ἀμιολγαῖος, ἀμιολγάζει see ▶ἀμιολγός.

•ETYM An old verb, also found with full grade root in OHG *melchan*, OE *melcan*, Alb. *mjel*, ToA *mālkant* [ptc.], Lith. *mélžu*, with the acute due to the following *\*ǵ* (Winter's Law). The zero grade root appears in OCS *mlъzъ*, Ml. *bligim*, Lat. *mulgeō*. This points to an old ablauting athematic root present sing. *\*h<sub>2</sub>mélǵ-ti*, plur. *\*h<sub>2</sub>mlǵ-énti*. Not connected with Skt. *māṛjmi*, *mṛjānti* 'to wipe off' (see ▶δμόργνυμι).

ἄμειναι [v.] 'to satiate, take one's fill'. ⇒ ἄσαι.

ἀμενηνός [adj.] 'without power' (Il.). <GR, IE *\*men-s-*>

•DER ἀμενήνωσεν (N 562).

•ETYM Built on ἀμενής (E.), from μένος, perhaps modelled after ἀκμηνός (Od.).

ἀμέργω [v.] 'to pluck', of flowers (Sapph.), also of olives = 'squeeze out'? (Com. Adesp. 437); ἀμέργω· τὸ ἐκπιέζω 'to press out' (Hdn.). <IE?, PG?>

•DER ἀμόργη 'watery part which runs out when olives are pressed' (Hp.), borrowed as Lat. *amurca*, *amurga*; also ἀμόργης, ἄμοργος, ἄμοργις. Agent noun ἀμοργοί· πόλεως ὄλεθροι 'destructions of a city' (Cratin.). ἀμοργεύς 'squeezer of olive oil' (Poll.), ἄμοργμα· σύλλεγμα, ἄρτυμα 'collection, condiment' (H.). Unclear ἀμοργίς, -ίδος [f.] 'stalks of mallow, Malva silvestris' (Ar.); perhaps named after the island Amorgos (Taillardat RPh. 33 (1959): 66; cf. also Taillardat REGr. 64 (1951): 11ff.). Adjective ἀμόργινος epithet of χιτῶν and other garments (com., Aeschin.), cf. ἀμόργεια· χρώματος εἶδος, ἀπὸ νήσου Ἀμοργοῦντος 'kind of color, from the island of Amorgos' (Suid.).

•ETYM Lat. *mergae* 'pitchfork' could be related. It seems that the Greek root is related to Skt. *marj-* (see ▶δμόργνυμι), but it is unclear how the initial vocalism could be explained. Although a PIE root *\*h<sub>2</sub>merg-* is perfectly possible, the word may also be a technical term borrowed from the substrate language.

ἀμέρδω [v.] 'to deprive of' (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>merd-* 'cause injury'>

•VAR μέρδει· κωλύει, βλάπτει 'hinders, disables' (H.); μερθεῖσα· στερηθεῖσα 'deprived' (H.).

•ETYM If the form without the initial vowel is secondary, the root may have been *\*h<sub>2</sub>merd-*, which is cognate with Skt. *mṛdnāti*, *mardati* 'zerreiben, zerdrücken' (cf. ▶μαραίνω), OAv. *mōrandaṭ* 'destroys', Lat. *mordeō* 'to bite', OE *smeortan* 'to cause pain' (with initial s- of Germanic origin). Perhaps related to ▶ἀμείρω.

ἀμέσω· ὠμοπλάται 'shoulder blades' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Compare with ▶ᾠμος; if this represents *\*Hom(e)s-*, we could assume *\*h<sub>2</sub>mes-*, but then the language can hardly be Greek, given the preserved intervocalic -σ-. Is it then Macedonian? It can hardly be Phrygian, which does not preserve intervocalic -s- either. The word may have quite a different origin (see Beekes *Sprache* 18 (1972): 127).

ἀμεύσασθαι [v.] 'to surpass, go beyond' (Pi., Euph.), also 'to trade, exchange' in Cret., cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 778. <IE? *\*h<sub>2</sub>meu(H)-* 'move, push'>

•VAR διαμευστάς· ἀλαζόνας 'vagrants' (H.); διαμευτής· ψεύστης, ἀπατεών 'liar, cheat' (H.).

•DER ἀμεύσιμος = πορεύσιμος (A. R. 4, 297 after EM 82, 11), cf. ἀμευσίπορος, -επής (Pi.).

•ETYM The meaning 'trade' could derive from 'to go to the other side'. The comparison with ἀμύνω 'to push back', further with Lat. *moveō*, Lith. *máuti*, 1sg. *máuju* 'to tear off', Skt. *mīvati* 'move, push' < *\*miH-(e)u-* (the European forms continuing *\*mieu-*), is rather uncertain. If it is Indo-European, the root may be *\*h<sub>2</sub>meu-*, cf. Heubeck *Glotta* 65 (1987): 37-44 and s.v. ▶ἀμύμων.

ἄμη ⇒ ἀμάομαι.

ἀμήκωα [adj.]· δεινά. Ταραντῖνοι 'fearful (Tarantian)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Acc. to von Blumenthal 1930: 14, the word is Messapian. A mere guess.

ἄμης, -ητος [m.] 'cake' (Ar.). <?>



- DER Diminutive ἀμητίσκος 'kind of cake' (com.).
- ETYM Unknown. It has been compared to ▶ἄμιθα. The latter word has a reduplicated variant ἀμαμιθάδες, typical of substrate words, but it need not be cognate with ἄμις.

**ἀμία** [f.] 'kind of tunny which swims up rivers', perhaps 'bonito' (Sotad. Com.). <?>

- VAR Also -ίας [m.].
- ETYM Unknown. Thompson 1947 s.v. supposes an Egyptian origin (*mehi*, *mhit* name of a fish). Cf. Strömberg 1943: 128 and De Saint Denis 1947 s.v.

**ἄμιθα** [f.] - ἔδεσμα ποιόν, καὶ ἄρτυμα ὡς Ἀνακρέων 'kind of meat, condiment' (H.); for Anacr. see 467 Page. <PG(V)>

- VAR *P. Hamb.* 90, 18 has an acc. pl. ἄμιθας. Cf. ἀμαμιθάδες ἥδυσμά τι σκευαστὸν διὰ κρεῶν εἰς μικρὰ κεκομμένων δι' ἄρτυμάτων (Photius 86 R.).
- ETYM The variant with reduplication is typical of substrate words. The word has been connected with ἄμις, but this is quite uncertain.

**ἀμιλλα** [f.] 'contest' (Pi.). <PG(S)>

- DER Denominative verb ἀμιλλάομαι 'to compete' (IA); ἀμιλλητήρ 'competing' (S.), ἀμιλλητήριος 'of the competition' (Philostr., Aristid.); ἀμιλλητικός 'id.' (Pl.); ἀμίλλημα 'competition' (S. [Iyr.], inscr. Cyr.).
- ETYM Derived from \*ἄμ-ιλ-ια by Frisk (comparing θύελλα, ἄμαλλα), but this is problematic. All words in -ιλλ(α) look non-IE (i.e. Pre-Greek), so an IE suffix of this shape is very doubtful (cf. Benveniste 1935: 41). For the form, cf. ἀμίλλακαν· οἶνον 'wine' (H.).

**ἀμίλλακαν** [f.]? · οἶνον. Θηβαῖοι 'wine (Theban)' (H.). <?>

- ETYM Unknown. See Fur.: 221 (also on ▶ἀβίλλιον). Cf. ▶βῆκα.

**ἀμιχθαλόεσσα** [adj.] 'rich in almonds', epithet of Lemnos (Ω 753). <PG>

- ETYM Call. fr. 18, 8 has ἀμιχθαλόεσσαν ... ἥερα, so he connects ὀμίχλη. This must be a folk etymology, since ὀ- comes from \*h<sub>3</sub>-. Scholion BT on Ω 753 gives = εὐδαίμων, which is no more than a noncommittal guess (\*ἄμικτο-θαλοεσσα [Lagercrantz IF 50 (1932): 277-80] is a construct that would hardly have been syncopated to our form). The ancient interpretation as ἀπρόσμικτος 'inhospitable' does not explain the form of the word. The connection with Go. *maihstus* 'mist' has the objection that the latter word is not known in Greek. Leumann 1950: 214 and 273, accepts the solution of Doederlein, who identified the form with ἀμύγδαλον 'almond'. This explanation fits well and gives no difficulties for the formation. The variation may be confirmed by ἄμικτο· γλυκὺ· οἱ δὲ ἄμικτον (H.) and ἄμικλῖς· γλυκὺς, ἥδύς (H.); for κτ/ κλ, cf. ἀράκτη / ἄροκλον etc. See Fur.: 140, 388.

**ἀμμία** [f.] 'mamma, mother; nurse', τροφός καὶ μήτηρ καθ' ὑποκορισμὸν 'rearer and mother (hypocoristic)' (EM 84, 22). <ONOM>

- VAR ἀμμία (Hdt.).
- ETYM Nursery word. Cf. Lat. *amma*, and Chantraine REGr. 59-60 (1946-7): 242ff.

**\*ἄμμιξ** · συγκομιστὸς ἄρτος, Ταραντῖνοι 'bread of unbolted meal (Tarantian)' (H.). <?>

- ETYM Gloss 3662 has ἀμικονιστος, 3702 ἀμμισκομιστον; thus \*ἄμι(ς)?

**ἄμμιος** [f.] 'sand' (Pl.). <LW>

- DER ἀμμώδης (Hp., Arist.), ἄμμινος (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*), ἀμμίτης [m.] (sc. λίθος), also ἀμμίτις [f.] 'sandstone' (Plin.).
- ETYM Considered to be a contamination of ▶ἄμαθος and ▶ψάμμος, but this assumed starting point fails to appreciate that the word is non-Indo-European and, as such, may not have followed the sound laws of IE words. On Ἀμμίτης as a river name, see Redard 1949: 130 etc.

**ἄμνᾱμιος** [m., f.] 'grandchild' (Call.). <GR>

- VAR Also ἄμναμιος; plur. ἀμνάμονες (Poll. 3, 19). Cf. the gloss cited by DELG.
- DIAL Oros in Reitzenstein 1897: 5: ἄμναμοι· οἱ ἀπόγονοι· κυρίως παρὰ τὴν τῶν Κυρηναίων διάλεκτον οἱ τῶν ἀμνῶν ἀμνοὶ ἄμναμοι λέγονται· τουτέστιν τῶν ἀρνῶν ἄρνες (...).
- ETYM Probably a reduplicated form of ἀμνός; cf. παιδόπαις (DELG). See Dobias-Lalou REGr. 111 (1998): 403-417.

**ἀμνίον** [n.] 'patera, vase to receive the blood of a sacrifice' (γ 444); see Brommer *Herm.* 77 (1942): 357 and 364. <?>

- ETYM Connection with ἀμιάομαι is no more than a guess.

**ἀμνός** [m., f.] 'lamb' (S.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>eg<sup>w</sup>-n-, \*h<sub>2</sub>og<sup>w</sup>-n- 'lamb'>

- VAR ἀμνόα· πρόβατον, οἱ δὲ ἀμνός 'cattle, lamb' (H.), unreliable.
- COMP ἀμνοκῶν 'stupid like a sheep' (from κοέω, Taillardat 1962: § 453) ἀμνοκόμος (Latte for -κόπος). ποιμήν 'herdsman' (H.).
- DER Special feminine forms: ἀμνή, -ά (Cos, Gortyn, etc.), ἀμνάς (LXX), ἀμνίς (Theoc.). Adjectives: ἀμνεῖος (Theoc.), ἀμναῖος (pap.) 'made of lambskin'; thence ἀμνεῖον, ἀμνίον, also ἀμνειός, ἄμνιος 'inner membrane surrounding the foetus' (Emp.), also -ός.
- ETYM Identical with Lat. *agnus* < \*h<sub>2</sub>eg<sup>w</sup>-no-, OIr. *úan* < \*h<sub>2</sub>og<sup>w</sup>-no-, OCS *agnę* < \*h<sub>2</sub>eg<sup>w</sup>-n-ent- (with long vowel and acute from Winter's Law). OE *ēanian*, E *yeen*, Du. *oonen* < PGM. \**awnōn* seem to presuppose -g<sup>w</sup>h-, but see Schrijver 1991: 39, 438.

**ἀμο-** 'some, someone, somebody', indefinite pronominal stem in οὐδαμός, etc. <IE \*smH-o- 'some'>

- VAR Also in ἀμοῦ, ἀμῆ, ἀμοῖ, ἀμωσ-γέ-πως; also μηδαμό-.
- ETYM Identical with Skt. *sama-* 'someone' and Go. *sums* 'id'. The Greek and Germanic forms require \*smH-o-, and the Skt. form may also go back to this. A similar form is at the basis of OIr. *samail* and Lat. *similis* 'like' < \*semh<sub>2</sub>-l-, see on ▶όμαλός. The forms seem to be an enlargement of \*sem- 'one' (see ▶εἷς), but the exact relation is unclear.

**ἄμοινα** [?] unknown (only IG 5(2), 4: 22). <?>

- ETYM Unknown.



**ἄμιοις** [adj.] · κακός. Σικελοί ‘bad (Sicilian)’ (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR μοῖος· σκυθρωπός ‘sullen, sad’ (H.), see on ►σμοιός = σκυθρωπός (Hdn. Gr. 1, 109), σμοῖος (Theognost.), σμυός (H.).

•ETYM Given the plausible connection with ►σμοιός (see above and s.v.), the initial displays a number of variations, which are typical for Pre-Greek (Fur.: 368). Not related to ►μοῖτος (s.v.; pace von Blumenthal 1930: 15f.).

**ἄμολγός** [m.] ‘darkness’. Only (έν) νυκτός ἄμολγῶ (Λ 173, O 324, X 28 and 317, δ 841). <?>

•VAR ὁμολγῶ· ζόφω ‘in darkness’ (H.), where the ms. has ὁμολογῶ. As an adjective (which is probably a secondary, learned development) in E. fr. 104: ἄμολγὸν νύκτα· Εὐριπίδης Ἀλκμήνη ζοφεράν καὶ σκοτεινήν ‘dark’. οἱ δὲ μέρος τῆς νυκτός καθ’ ὃ ἀμέλγουσιν ‘part of the night during which they milk’ (H.).

•DER ἄμολγαῖος in μάζα ἄμολγαίη ‘barley-cake made with milk’ (Hes. Op. 590), see below; ἄμολγαῖον μαστὸν ἀνασχόμενος ‘who held up a breast full of milk’ (AP 7, 657, Leon.). ἄμολγάζει· μεσημβρίζει ‘passes the noon’ (H.).

•ETYM The meaning had already been lost in antiquity. If a verbal noun of ἀμέλγω, ἄμολγός, it means ‘the milking’ (and the oxytonesis has to be secondary). The expression μάζα ἄμολγαίη in Hesiod is interpreted by Proclus and in EM s.v. μάζα as ἀκμαία ‘at its height, in full bloom’: τὸ γὰρ ἄμολγὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀκμαίου τίθεται. Thus also Eustathius on O 324: Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς γλωσσογράφους ἄμολγὸν τὴν ἀκμήν φασι. However, this meaning may have been derived from the text (see Leumann 1950: 274). Nilsson 1920: 35f. took it as the time of milking at the beginning of the night. DELG judges this interpretation to be more probable than that of ‘fullness’. Older literature is mentioned in DELG and Frisk; see also Bolling *AmJPh.* 78 (1958): 165-172; Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 654. Parvulescu *Glotta* 63 (1985): 152-158 argues that νυκτός ἄμολγῶ indicates the evening twilight, and adduces parallels from other languages for an original meaning ‘night milking’. Still, if ὁμολογῶ points to \*ὁμολγός, the alternation ἀ-/ὀ- could point to a substrate word.

**ἄμώρα** [f.] ‘sweet cake’ (Philet.). <?>

•VAR ἄμώρα· σεμίδαλις ἐφθῇ σὺν μέλιτι ‘fine wheat flour boiled with honey’ (H.).

•DER ἀμορίτης ἄρτος (LXX), also written ἀμορβίτης (Ath.) and ἀμοργίτας· πλακοῦντας ‘flat cakes’ (H.), both = ἀμορφίτης, with a suffix -ίτης.

•ETYM From original \*ἄμωρφα. Etymology unknown; perhaps Pre-Greek \*(a)mar<sup>w</sup>-a?

**ἄμορβός** [m., f.] ‘follower, shepherd’ (Call.). <?>

•DER Adjective ἀμορβαῖος, said of χαράδραι ‘gravel’ (Nic. Th. 28, 489), mg. unclear; scholiasts render it with ποιμενικάι ‘of herdsmen’ or σκοτεινώδεις ‘dark’ (which may be mere guesses); cf. EM 85, 20: ἀμορβῆς καὶ ἀμορβές· σημαίνει τὸ μεσονύκτιον παρὰ τὴν ὄρην ... σημαίνει καὶ τὸν ἀκόλουθον ‘the time of midnight; companion’. Denominative verbs ἀμορβέω (Antim.) and ἀμορβεύω (Nic.) ‘to accompany’. ἀμορβίτης belongs to ►ἄμώρα.

•ETYM Unknown. Improbable analysis by Pisani *RILomb.* 77 (1943-44): 541.

**ἀμόργη** ⇒ ἀμέργω.

**ἀμοργίς** [f.] kind of dress (Cratin. fr. 96). <PG>

•VAR λαμπτήρες ἀμοργούς (Emp. fr. 84), perhaps lanterns clothed in muslin (cf. Lat. *lintea lanterna*, Pl. *Bacch.* 446).

•DER Unclear ἀμοργίς, -ίδος [f.] ‘stalks of mallow, *Malva silvestris*’ (Ar.); perhaps named after the island Amorgos (Taillardat *RPh.* 33 (1959): 66; cf. also Taillardat *REGr.* 64 (1951): 11ff.). Adjective ἀμόργινος epithet of χιτῶν and other garments (com., Aeschin.), cf. ἀμόργεια· χρώματος εἶδος, ἀπὸ νήσου Ἀμοργοῦντος ‘kind of color, after the island of Amorgos’ (Suid.).

•ETYM The name of the island may have been used to designate clothes, cf. MoE *jersey, jeans*, etc. Cf. Taillardat 1962: section 262.

**ἄμοτον** [adv.] ‘incessantly, without pause’ (Il.), especially in the phrase ἄμοτον μεμαώς. <IE \*meh<sub>3</sub>- ‘get tired’>

•VAR Thence the adj. ἄμοτος (Theoc.).

•ETYM Uncertain, as the exact meaning is unknown. Seiler *KZ* 75 (1957): 17-20 assumes zero grade of ἐν + zero grade of μεν-, like in ἐμμεμαώς; yet a zero grade of ἐν is uncertain. Forssman 1986: 329-339 explains it as \*ἡ-μη-tom memmēōs as ‘Unerstrebtes/-bares erstrebend’, with Greek and Sanskrit parallels. This is tempting, but for the oldest formula with Eris (twice at verse end), the proposed meaning does not fit. There, it clearly means ‘incessantly, indefatigable’, which rather suggests a connection with \*meh<sub>3</sub>-, as seen in ►μῶλος, OHG *muojan* ‘to tire’, *muodi* ‘tired’, Go. *af-mauips* ‘id.’ < \*mō-etos), Ru. *májat*, 1sg. *máju* ‘to wear out’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*meh<sub>3</sub>-).

**ἄμπελος** [f.] ‘grape-vine, *Vitis vinifera*’ (Il.). <PG?>

•DER Diminutives: ἀμπέλιον (Ar., Hp.), ἀμπελίς (Ar.), also a bird name = ἀμπελίων, see below.

Adjectives: ἀμπελόεις ‘rich in vines’ (Il.); ἀμπέλινος ‘of the vine’ (Hdt., Arist., Plb.), ἀμπελικός ‘id.’ (Hell.), ἀμπέλιος ‘id.’ (Ph., Ach. Tat.), ἀμπελώδης ‘rich in vines’ (Poll., H.). ἀμπελίτις (γῆ, χέρσος) ‘viniculture’ (pap.), ἀμπελικός (pap.).

ἀμπελών [m.] ‘vineyard’ (Aeschin. 2, 156 [v.l.], Hell.); ἀμπελεών (Theoc., AP), diminutive ἀμπελωνίδιον (pap.); ἀμπελεία ‘id.’ (inscr. Cherson.), after φυτεία. ἀμπελίων [m.] name of an unknown bird (Dionys. Av.), see Thompson 1895 s.v.

•ETYM Cannot be explained in IE terms, and generally considered to be a substrate word (although there are no further indications for this).

**ἀμπλακίσκω** [v.] ‘to miss, fail; to be bereft of; to transgress’ (Archil.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ἀμβλακίσκω; late and rare present to the aor. ἤμπλακον (also ἤμβ-), pass. perf. ἤμπλάκημαι. Note ἀπλάκων (E. Alc. 242, IA 124) and ἀναπλάκτης (S. OT 472).

•DIAL Does not occur in Attic.

•DER ἀμπλακία ‘fault’ (Hp.) with ἀμπλακίως f. = ἱερὰ νόσος (Poet. *de herb.*). Further ἀμπλάκιον (Pi. P. 11, 26) and ἀμπλάκημα (poet., late prose).

•ETYM Compared with ►ἀμβλίσκω, which DELG rejects for both formal and semantic reasons. are typical for substrate words (see Fur.: 281f.). Blanc 1994: 79-85 connects it with ►πλάζομαι. As Van Beek suggests to me (p.c.), this is quite attractive, provided that πλάζομαι (which has no convincing etymology) is a substrate word. The group would then display a prothetic vowel (which is otherwise

rare in verbal forms!), prenasalization, and interchange β/ π (if we include ἀμβλίσκω), and we could reconstruct a Pre-Greek verbal root *\*(a)<sup>m</sup>pla<sup>n</sup>k-*.

**ἀμπρόν** [n.] ‘rope for drawing loads’ (inscr. V-IV<sup>a</sup>). <?>

•VAR Accentuation after *Et. Gen.*, H.

•DER ἀμπρεύω [v.] ‘to draw along, drag’ (E. *apud* Phot., Call.); ἐξ-αμπρεύω (Ar. *Lys.* 289), whence a retrograde derivative ἑξαμπρον ‘team of oxen’ (gloss.); συν-αμπρεύω (Arist.). ἀμπρευτής ὄνος (S. *apud* Phot.).

•ETYM Technical term of unknown origin.

**ἄμπυξ, -υκος** [f., m.] ‘women’s diadem; horse’s bit; rim of a wheel’ (Il.). <PG>

•DIAL Myc. *a-pu-ke* /ampukei/ in a context of horses’ harnesses, *a-na-pu-ke* /an-ampukes/ of ἡνίαί, *a-pu-ko-wo-ko* /ampuk(o)-worgos/.

•COMP χρυσ-ἄμπυξ ‘with a golden bit’ (Il.).

•DER ἀμπυκτῆρες (A.), ἀμπυκτῆρια and ἀμπυκώματα (S.) are poetic enlargements. Denominative ἀμπυκάζω [v.] ‘to tie up with a headband’ (AP, EM).

•ETYM Formerly considered to be a root noun πυξ prefixed with ἀμ- = ἀνα-, belonging to πύκα ‘solidly’, πυκνός, etc., and cognate with Av. *pusā* ‘diadem’ < IE *\*pukeh<sub>2</sub>*- (Lidén 1932: 148ff.); this is seconded by Benveniste BSL 34 (1933): 41, who adduced further forms and borrowings from Iranian. However, Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 655 points out that ἀνα- would not fit the meaning, as *\*ἀμφι-πυκ-* would be expected. As this form could hardly give ἀμπυκ-, the etymology is doubtful. The notion ‘thick, solid’ does not seem to fit the objects in question. Szemerényi also doubts the connection with Iranian.

A word for such objects is easily borrowed. If we analyze the word as *\*amp-uk-*, it contains a typical substrate suffix (Beekes 2003: 12-15).

**ἄμπωτις** [f.] ‘ebb’ (Hp.). <GR>

•DER ἀμπωτίζω ‘to ebb’ (Ph., Eust.).

•ETYM Variant of ἀνάπτωτις (Pi.), a fem. agent noun of ἀναπίνω; ἄμπωτις (θάλασσα) = *resorbens unda* (Hor.). See Schulze KZ 56 (1929): 287, Schulze KZ 57 (1930): 275, as well as Fraenkel 1910: 116; but see also the critical notes in DELG.

**ἀμυγδάλη** [f.] ‘almond’ (Hp.). <PG(V)>

•VAR ἀμύγδαλον [n.], ἀμύγδαλος [f.] (Luc.). Also ἀμυσγέλα, -υλα (Cyrene).

•DER ἀμυγδαλῖς [f.] = ἀμυγδάλη (Philox., Plu.), diminutive ἀμυγδάλιον (Hp.). Adjectives: ἀμυγδάλινος ‘made of almond’ (X., Thphr.), ἀμυγδάλιος ‘almond-shaped’ (pap.), ἀμυγδαλόεις ‘id.’ (Nic.), ἀμυγδαλώδης ‘id.’ (Thphr.). ἀμυγδαλέα, -ῆ ‘almond tree’ (Eup., Hp., Arist., Thphr.), ἀμυγδαλίτης ‘spurge’ (Dsc., Plin.).

•ETYM A typical substrate word (note -γδ-, which interchanges with -σγ-), which is confirmed by the identification with ▶ἀμυγθαλόεσσα; on the variation see *Pre-Greek*. Fur.: 140 further compares ▶μύκηρος and Hitt. *mitgaimi-* ‘sweet bread’, Luw. *mitgaimi-* ‘sweet(ened)’. Borrowed into Lat. as *amygdala*; also *amiddula*, *amyndala*, *amandula*, whence OHG *mandala*.

**ἀμυδρός** [adj.] ‘dim, faint, obscure’ (Archil.). <?>

•VAR ἀμυδᾶναι· κρύψαι ‘hide, cover’ (H.).

•DER ἀμυδρῆεις ‘id.’ (Nic.); ἀμυδρότης ‘darkness, weakness, etc.’ (Ph., Gal., Plot.). Denominative ἀμυδρόομαι ‘become dark’, -όω ‘to make dark’ (Ph., comm. Arist.); thence ἀμυδρωσις (comm. Arist.).

•ETYM Unknown. ἀμαυρός is close in meaning and form, but the two cannot be combined in Indo-European terms. Influence of φαιδρός has been proposed, but such contaminations are often rather gratuitous. In principle, ἀμυδ- may continue a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>mud-*. The Slavic root *\*mъd-* ‘weakness etc.’ cannot continue *\*mud-* in view of Winter’s Law (so it is from *\*mud<sup>h</sup>-*).

**ἀμύκαρις** ⇒ μύκη.

**ἄμυλος** [m.] ‘cake of fine meal’ (Ar.). <GR?>

•VAR ἄμυλον [n.] ‘starch’ (Dsc.).

•DER Diminutive ἀμύλιον 1 [n.] ‘cake’ (Plu.), whence ἀμυλάτον ‘id.’ (sch. Ar. *Pax* 1195); ἀμύλιον 2 ‘starch’ (Hp., Arist.), whence ἀμυλιδωτόν ‘kind of (starched) chiton’ (Hermipp.). For the formation cf. ἀλυσιδωτός, χειριδωτός (Chantraine 1933: 305).

•ETYM Starch is made from unground grain, which suggests that ἄμυλος derives from μύλη (cf. ἄμυλον· στερρόν, ἄκλαστον ‘firm, unbroken’ EM) with privative ἀ-. However, given the form, we expect a basic meaning ‘having no mill’, not ‘unground’, which casts some doubts on the etymology. Lat. LW *amulum* > MoFr. *amidon*.

**ἀμύμων** [adj.] ‘noble, excellent’ (Il.), never of gods. <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>meu-*>

•VAR ἄμυμιος, ἀγαθός, ἀμώμητος, ἄμειπτος καὶ ἀμύμων ‘good, blameless’ (H.).

•ETYM Traditionally connected with μῦμα· αἰσχος, φόβος, ψόγος ‘shame, fear, blame’ (H.) and μυμιαρίζει· γελοιάζει ‘jests’, which is taken to be Aeolic for μῶμιαρ, ▶μῶμιος ‘blame’. ἀμύμων would then originally mean ‘without blame’, and relate to μῦμαρ as ἀπείρων to πείραρ. However, Heubeck *Glotta* 65 (1987): 37-44 proposed a derivation from ἀμυ- < *\*h<sub>2</sub>mu-* in ἀμείυσασθαι ‘to surpass’, i.e. ‘who surpasses others’ (with metrically lengthened υ in the sequence of three shorts). This seems to be an improvement. The root (Pok. 743) would mean ‘to bend the motion, (re)move’, found in Lat. *moveō* and in ἀμύνω ‘to ward off’, but this is not entirely convincing.

**ἀμύνω** [v.] ‘to ward off, defend, help’ (Il.). <?>

•VAR Pret. ἡμύναθον (impf. or aor.? See Schwyzler: 703).

•DER ἀμύντωρ ‘warden, defender’ (Il.), also as a PN; ἀμυντήρες ‘brow tines of a stag’s antlers’ (Arist.); ἀμυντήριος ‘fit for warding off’ (Pl., Hell.), ἀμυντήριον (Pl., Hell.); ἀμυντικός ‘id.’ (Pl., Arist.). ἀμυντρόν (A. *apud* Phot.), not glossed. ἀμύντης ‘defender’ (Phot., Hdn.), also PN, cf. κηρ-αμύντης (Lyc.); ἀμυνίας ‘id.’ (Ar. *Eq.* 570). ἄμυνα ‘defense, revenge’, etc. (Theopomp. Com.); retrograde formation, see Schwyzler: 475, Chantraine 1933: 101. χειμ-ἄμυνα = χλαῖνα παχεῖα (A. *fr.* and S. *fr.*).

•ETYM If the nasal is originally a present marker, as in κλίνω, πλύνω, we have a root ἀμυ-, which may be found in ▶ἀμείυσασθαι ‘to excel, transcend’, but the semantics are not quite clear. So a thematicized nasal present *\*ἀμυ-νφ-ω*?

**ἀμύς, -ύδος** [f.] ‘freshwater turtle’, χελώνη λιμναία (Archig. *apud* Gal.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ἐμύς (Arist. *HA* 588a 8, H.).

•ETYM Considered to be a contamination of ἐμύς 'id.' and ἀμία 'tunny' by Strömberg 1943: 81, but this is improbable. The form with ἐ- rather shows a substrate origin; see Fur.: 347. Perhaps found in ►πήλαμυς?

**ἀμύσσω** [v.] 'to scratch, tear, lacerate' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR ἀμύσσεσθαι. τό ξέειν τὰς σάρκας τοῖς ὄνυξιν 'the laceration of the flesh with claws' (H.); ἀμυχή 'rent, wound'.

•DER 1. ἀμυχή 'rent, wound' (Hp.), ἀμυχιαῖος mg. uncertain (Pl. Ax. 366a) and ἀμυχώδης 'cracked' (Hp., Thphr.), ἀμυχηδόν 'superficially, lightly' (EM); 2. ἀμυχιός 'id.' (Theoc.), ἀμυγιός (conj. in A. Ch. 24); 3. ἀμυγμα 'rending' (S., E.); 4. ἀμυξίς 'scratching' (Orph., Ach. Tat.). Adverb ἀμύξ (ἐμφῶσα Nic.) = μόλις (Euph.); adjective ἀμυκτικός 'scratching, irritating' (Plu., medic.). Also ἀμυκάλαι· αἱ ἀκίδες τῶν βελῶν 'the barbs of arrows' (H., EM), cf. Chantraine 1933: 245ff., Schwyzer: 483. Cf. ἀμύσσεσθαι. τό ξέειν τὰς σάρκας τοῖς ὄνυξιν 'laceration of flesh with claws' (H.).

•ETYM A root \*ἀμυκ/χ- is assumed, which would continue IE \*h<sub>2</sub>muk/g<sup>h</sup>-; this is then compared with Lat. *mūcrō* 'sharp point, sword' (cf. De Vaan 2008 s.v.). Further comparanda include Lith. *mūšti* 'to beat' and OE *gemyscan* 'to afflict, tease' (Holthausen IF 48 (1930): 266). This seems a rather small basis for reconstructing an IE root. Fur.: 347 accepts the comparison with Latin, but as a substrate word (though his assimilation rule α- > ε- before υ/ι [346<sup>33</sup>] seems doubtful to me). The form ἀμυσχ- shows a typical Pre-Greek variation (insertion of -σ- before stop).

**ἀμυστί** ⇒ μύω.

**ἀμυσχρός** [adj.] 'immaculate, pure' (Parth.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ἀμυχρός (S. *apud* Phot., Suid.) and ἀμυχνός, ἀμυγνός, ἀμύσκαρος (Suid.); ἄμουχα· καθαρεύουσα. Λάκωνες 'clean or pure (Lacon.)' (H.). ἀμυσχῆναι· καθάραι, ἀγνίσαι 'to cleanse' (H.).

•ETYM The variations κ/ γ/ χ and σ/ zero suggest a Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 299); perhaps also σκ/ ξ, if Furnée is right in connecting ἀμύξανος· ἀνόσιος 'impure' (H.), with privative α- (cf. Fur.: 393). Also related is μύσκος· μιάσμα, κῆδος 'defilement, care' (H.). Not related to ἀπομύσσω (see ►μύσσομαι and μύξα). See ►μύσος.

**ἀμύω** ⇒ ἡμύω.

**ἀμφασίη** [f.] 'speechlessness' (P 695 = δ 704), of ἐπέων. <GR>

•ETYM Equivalent of ἀφασίη (E.) from ἄφατος (►φιμί), with ἀμ- indicating a long syllable, acc. to Chantraine 1942: 99. Perhaps modelled after ἀμβροσίη.

**ἀμφην, -ενος** ⇒ αὐχὴν.

**ἀμφί** [adv., prep.] 'around, on both sides' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>nt-b<sup>h</sup>i 'on both sides, around'>

•VAR Also ἀμφίς [adv.] 'id., apart', more rare as a prep. 'around, outside of' (epic).

•DIAL Myc. *a-pi*, e.g. in *a-pi-qo-ro-i* /amp<sup>h</sup>i-k<sup>w</sup>oloi<sup>h</sup>i/ 'servants' [dat.pl.]. Also in PNs, e.g. *a-pi-a-ro* /Amp<sup>h</sup>ihalos/.

•ETYM This old adverb is originally a case form of the word for 'face', as is clearly shown by the cognate ToB *āntpi*, *antapi* 'both' < \*h<sub>2</sub>ent-b<sup>h</sup>o(i)-; cf. Jasanoff BSL 71 (1976): 123-131 (see ►ἄμφω). Greek ἀμφί and Lat. *amb(i)-*, *am-*, *an-*, continue the

instrumental \*h<sub>2</sub>nt-b<sup>h</sup>i. Further forms: Alb. *mbi* 'at', W *ambi-*, OIr. *imb-*, OHG *umbi* 'around', Skt. *abhi-*, OAv. *aibi* 'towards'. Grassmann's dissimilation law gave ἀμπ- in ἀμπ-έχω etc. The word is important in historical phonology, because it shows that a zero grade \*h<sub>2</sub>n- (cf. the OHG and Ilr. forms) gives ἀν- in Greek (so-called Lex Rix).

**ἀμφιάζω** [v.] 'to clothe, put on' (Alciph.). <GR>

•ETYM Hellenistic innovation for ἀμφιέννυμι beside ἀμφιέζω, which was built on the aor. ἀμφι-έσαι.

**ἀμφιάς, -ου** [m.] name of a mediocre Sicilian wine (com.); cf. Ath. 31e, Suid. <GR>

•VAR Cf. ἀμφής· οἴνου ἄνθος· οἱ δὲ μέλανα οἶνον 'the flower of the vine; red wine' (H.).

•ETYM -ιας is a suffix used in names of wines. See Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 356; is there a connection with ἀμφί, -ω? Fur.: 341 connects the gloss with ἀμφιάς, and also ►ῥομφαξ 'unripe grape', which is quite possible.

**ἀμφίγυος** ⇒ γύης.

**ἀμφιέζω** ⇒ ἀμφιάζω.

**ἀμφικέλεμνον** [m., n.] · ἀμφιβάρεις· οἱ δὲ τὸν βασταζόμενον ὑπὸ δύο ἀνθρώπων δίφρον, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀμφίκοilon ξύλον 'chariot-board borne by two men; wood hollowed on both sides' (H.). <?>

•VAR ἀμφικελεμνίς· κατ' ὀβελῶν περικρέμασις ἰσορρόπως 'hanging down from a bar in equipoise' (H.).

•DIAL Myc. *o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi* /opi-kelemniā<sup>h</sup>i/ [ins.pl.] part of a chair (connection with κρεμάννυμι, supposing /-krēmn-/ is impossible; see ►κρημνός).

•ETYM Connected with ►κελέοντες by Fur.: 245. This seems quite possible, but he assumes a variation μ/ ϕ, which is unlikely. One might rather assume a suffix -μν- beside another formation.

**ἀμφιλαφής** ⇒ λάφυρα.

**ἀμφίον** [n.] 'garment' (S.). <GR>

•VAR Or ἄμφιον (sch. D. T. 196).

•ETYM Shortened form of ἀμφίεσμα. See Grégoire *Byzantion* 13 (1938): 396ff.

**ἀμφίπολος** [f., m.] 'servant, handmaid' (Il.), also 'priest(ess)' (Pi.), i.e. 'one who takes care of the gods'. <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>mb<sup>h</sup>i-k<sup>w</sup>ol(h<sub>i</sub>)-o- 'servant'>

•DIAL Myc. *a-pi-qo-ro* /amp<sup>h</sup>i-k<sup>w</sup>olos/.

•DER ἀμφιπολεῖον 'servant dwelling' (IG 4, 39 [Aigina V<sup>a</sup>]), ἀμφιπολία 'servanthood' (D. S.). Denominatives ἀμφιπολεύω [v.] 'to work as a servant, ply, take care of' (epic, Hdt.), ἀμφιπολέω 'id.' (Pi., B.).

•ETYM From \*h<sub>2</sub>mbi-k<sup>w</sup>ol(h<sub>i</sub>)-o-, identical in origin with Lat. *anculus* 'servant' and Skt. *abhičārā-* 'witchcraft' (AV+); cf. Lat. *anc(u)lāre* 'to serve the gods' and Ved. *pari-carā-* 'servant'. See ►πέλομαι and ►βουκόλος.

**ἀμφισβητέω** [v.] 'to go asunder, disagree, dispute' (Att., Hdt.). <GR>

•VAR Also -βάτέω (Ion., perhaps also Lesb., Rhod.?).

•DER ἀμφισβήτησις ‘dispute, controversy, claim’, juridical term (Att.), ἀμφισβητήσιμος ‘controversial’, ἀμφισβητητικός ‘belonging to the dispute’ (Pl.). ἀμφισβήτημα ‘dispute’ (Pl., Arist.), ἀμφισβητηματικός (Aps.). From ἀμφισβατέω: ἀμφισβασίη (Hdt.).

•ETYM Compounded from ἀμφίς and βαίνειν (βῆναι) ‘to go apart’, as if from \*ἀμφισβήτης or \*ἀμφισβάτης ‘who goes apart’ (cf. ἐμπυριβήτης, παραι-βάτης).

**Ἀμφιτρώων** [m.] name of a king of Tiryns, later Thebes (Il.). <?>

•ETYM Neumann 1983: 334 rejects the connection with τρώω, and starts from \**Amphi-tōr*, with a suffix *-uōn* like in ► ἄλεκτρώων.

**ἀμφορεύς** [m.] ‘jar with two handles’, also a measure (Ar., Hdt.). <GR>

•VAR Also ἀμφοροεύς (Il.).

•DIAL Myc. (KN) *a-pi-po-re-we* /amp<sup>h</sup>i-p<sup>h</sup>orēwes/, *a-po-re-we* /amp<sup>h</sup>orēwe/ [du.].

•DER ἀμφορίδιον (Ar.), or -εῖδιον, see Schwyzler 471; ἀμφορίσκος [m.] (D., inscr.); ἀμφορίον (gloss.); unclear ἀμφορείω· φορτίω ‘load’ (H.). ἀμφορίτης as an adjective, of ἀγών, ‘contest with an ἄ. as a prize’, Call. fr. 80; as a substantive of uncertain mg. (PSI 5, 535, 31, see Redard 1949: 106f.; ἀμφορικός (sch.); ἀμφορίζ [adv.] (Eust.), whence a verb ἀμφορίζω was derived (Eust.).

•ETYM From ἀμφι-φορεύς, i.e. ‘born on two sides’, but with -εὺς from the instrument nouns. Borrowed as Lat. *amphora*, diminutive *ampulla*.

**ἀμφουδῖς** [adv.] hapax of uncertain mg. (p 237): ἀμφουδῖς αἰέρας. <?>

•ETYM Interpreted as if ἀμφωδῖς, from \*ἀμφωφαδῖς ‘by both ears’. Cf. ἐξωβάδια· ἐνώτια. Λάκωνες ‘earrings (Lacon.)’ (H.). See Bechtel 1914 s.v. and DELG.

**ἄμφω** [pron.] ‘both’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>(e)nt-b<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>2</sub>*>

•VAR Later replaced by ἀμφοτέρως.

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *ambō*. The original form of the anlaut is found in ToA *āmpi* (ToB *antapi*, *āntpi*; see ► ἀμφί). Other languages have forms without the nasal: Skt. *ubhāu*, Av. *uua*; OCS *oba*, Lith. *abū*. Germanic has no initial vowel, e.g. Go. *bai*. There is no overall explanation for the forms, but connection with ἀμφί seems clear.

**ἄμωμον** [n.] an Indian spice-plant, ‘*Amomum subulatum*’ (Hp.). <LW India>

•DER ἀμωμῖς [f.] ‘false *Amomum*’ (Dsc.), from Armenia; ἀμωμίτης λίβανος (Dsc.).

•ETYM An Oriental loanword; cf. ► κιννάμωμον. See André 1956 s.v. *amōmum* and E. Masson 1967: 50<sup>3</sup>.

**ἀμώσας** [v.] · κρεμιάσας, Ταραντῖνοι ‘hung up (Tarantian)’ (H.). <GR?>

•ETYM Immisch *Leipz. Stud.* 8 (1885): 276 thinks this is an allegro-form of ἀνεμώσας. Latte suggests ἄμωσας from \*ἀμμιώω, which would be a denominative from ἄμμια ‘something tied’. Possible, but hypothetical.

**ἀμωσγέπως** ‘in some way’.

•ETYM From ἄμιως γέ πως. See ► ἀμό-.

**ἄμωτον** = καστάνειον. ⇒ μότα.

**ἄν** [pcl.] modal particle (IA, Arc.). <?>

•ETYM The identification with the questioning particle Lat. *an*, Go. *an* (see Lee *AmJPh.* 88 (1967): 45ff.) becomes superfluous because of the ingenious connection with κε(v), which derives from \**ken*. We have to assume that \*οὐ καν < \**Ho<sub>2</sub>u k<sub>2</sub>n* was analyzed as οὐκ αν; see Forbes *Glotta* 37 (1958): 179-182.

**ἀνά** [prep.] ‘up along’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>en-* ‘up, on high’>

•VAR With elision and apocope ἄν, ἄν; adverbial ἄνα.

•DIAL Myc. *a-na-ke-e* /an-age<sup>h</sup>en/ [inf.]; perhaps /anō-/ in *a-no-qa-si-a* /anō-g<sup>w</sup>asiā/ ‘expedition (?)’, etc. Lesb., Thess., Arc. and Cypr. have ὄν, giving ὄν- in Arc. and Cypr., cf. Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 309.

•DER Adverb ἄνω, whence ἄνωθεν, ἄνωτέρω, ἄνωτάτω; on -ω see Schwyzler: 550.

•ETYM On the use of ἀνά, see DELG. It is an old adverb, also found in Iranian and Germanic: Av. *ana*, OP *anā* ‘upwards, along’; Go. *ana*, OHG *an(a)*, OE *on* ‘on, at’. Perhaps also in Lat. *an-hēlare*, *an-testārī*, Arm. *am-baṛnam* ‘to raise’, etc. It is doubtful that Skt. *ānu* ‘along’ derives from \**h<sub>2</sub>enu*.

**ἀναγαλλίς, -ίδος** ⇒ ἀγαλλίς.

**ἀνάγκη** [f.] ‘force, necessity’ (Il.). <?>

•VAR ἀναγκαίη (Il.) cf. Schwyzler: 469

•DER ἀναγκαῖος ‘constrained, forced’, also ‘related by kinship’ (since Il.), whence ἀναγκαιότης [f.] ‘kinship’ (Att., Hell.), also ‘necessity’ (S. E.); ἀναγκαιώδης ‘indispensable’ (ἀναγκαιωδέστερα sch.). Denominative verb: ἀναγκάζω [v.] ‘to force, compel’ (IA, not in Hom.), whence ἀνάγκασμα ‘means of coercion’ (J.); ἀναγκαστήρ ‘coercer’ (Amorgos), ἀναγκαστήριος ‘compelling’ (D. H.); ἀναγκαστικός ‘id.’ (Pl., Arist.). κατανάγκη kind of vetch, ‘*Ornithopus compressus*’, used in making philtres.

•ETYM The word has been compared with Celtic words for ‘necessity, fate’ (OIr. *écen*, W *angen*), which may go back to \**ank-* < \**h<sub>2</sub>enk-*, and also the Germanic group of OHG *āhta*, MoHG *Acht* ‘outlawry’. However, Matasović 2008 s.v. \**anku-* reconstructs the Celtic group as belonging to \**neku-* ‘violent death’. NPhr. *anavkai* has an uncertain meaning and possibly a Greek loanword. Oettinger 1979: 175f. argued for the connection with Hitt. *henkan-* ‘death’ (with *he-* < \**h<sub>2</sub>ē-* by Eichner’s Law), but acc. to Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *hai(n)k-<sup>ta(n)</sup>*, the *-e-* must go back to a diphthong.

It is not excluded that ἀνάγκη is a substrate word; for the field of meaning, cf.

► ὄβρις, which has no good etymology either.

**ἀνάγυρος** [m.] ‘stinking bean-trefoil, *Anagyris foetida*’ (Ar.). <?>

•VAR -ις [m.], also ὀνόγυρος (Nic.), where folk etymology after ὄνος (Strömberg 1940: 155) is improbable, as ἀνα- is very common in Greek.

•DER Thence the Attic deme Ἀναγυροῦς (Ar., Pl.).

•ETYM Unknown. The form with ὄνο- might point to a substrate word, as α/ o is frequent in such words. Amigues *RPh.* 73 (1999): 147-154 starts from MLat. *faba inversa* ‘inverted bean’ and connects it with γυρός (CEG 6).

**ἀναίνομαι** ⇒ αἶνος.

ἀναισιμώω ⇒ αἶσα.

ἀνακάρδιον ⇒ κάρδαμον.

ἀνακῶς [adv.] ‘attentively, heedfully’ (Hdt.). <GR>

- VAR Only in ἀνακῶς ἔχειν τινός ‘to pay attention to sth.’
- ETYM From \*ἀνακόω, adverb of \*ἀνα-κόος, which is a verbal adjective from \*ἀνα-κοέω ‘to look after’; see ►κοέω. Cf. ἀμνο-κῶν ‘simpleton’, literally ‘sheep-minded’ (Ar.) < \*ἀμνο-κῶν.

ἀνακωχή ⇒ ἀνοκωχή.

ἀναλεῖ [v.] · σχολάζει, Ταραντῖνοι ‘is at leisure (Tarantian)’ (H.). <?>

- ETYM Unknown. Latte corrects it to ἀναλεαίνει ‘to brush, crush’ (highly uncertain, see DELG).

ἀνᾱλίσκω [v.] ‘to use up, spend, consume’ (A.). <GR>

- VAR Fut. ἀνᾱλώσω, aor. ἀνήλωσα, new present ἀνᾱλόω.
- DER ἀνᾱλῶσις ‘expenditure, consumption’ (Thgn.), ἀνᾱλῶμα ‘id.’ (Att.), ἀνήλωμα (pap., inscr.); secondary simplex ἄλωμα (Boeot.), see Fraenkel 1910: 119; diminutive ἀναλωμάτιον (Ph., pap.). ἀναλωτής ‘squanderer’ (Pl.), whence ἀναλωτικός (Pl., Ph.).
- ETYM From \*ἀνα-φαλίσκω, originally ‘to tear up’; cf. HG *verzehren* ‘to consume’. See ►ἀλίσκομαι.

ἀναλτος [adj.] ‘insatiable’ (Od.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>el- ‘grow; make grow, feed’>

- VAR Cf. ἄλτρον· μισθός ‘reward’ (H.); from ‘what guarantees food’ (DELG)?
- ETYM Negative verbal adjective of the root seen in Lat. *alō*, OIr. *alim*, ON *ala* ‘to feed’ and Go. *aland* ‘τρεφόμενος, nourished’, which in Greek only exists as a verbal root in enlarged form: ►ἀλθαίνω, perhaps ►ἀλθαίνω. Perhaps ►νεᾱλής ‘fresh, not tired’ is from the same root as well.

ἄναξ, -κτος [m.] ‘lord, ruler’ (Il.). <PG>

- VAR Voc. ἄνα (Il.); plur. (f)ἄνακες name of the Dioskouroi (Hom.); fem. (f)ἄνασσα < \**wanak(t)-ia* ‘mistress’ (Il.).
- DIAL Myc. *wa-na-ka* /wanaks/; *wa-na-ka-te* /wanaktei/; *wa-na-ka-te-ro* = φανάκτηρος, -ον, with -τερος indicating opposition like in ἀγρότερος, ὀρέστερος. *wa-na-so-i* /wanassoiin/ [dat.du.], also *wa-na-se-wi-jo* /wanass-ēwios/, -e-wi-ja /-ēwia/, of vases.
- COMP Ἀναξαγόρας, etc., Ἰππῶναξ, etc.
- DER ἀναξία ‘command, rule’ (Pi., A.), which may also derive from ἀνάσσω; adjective ἀνάξιος ‘royal’ (sch.). From (f)ἄνακες derives (f)ἀνάκειον ‘temple of the Dioskouroi’ (Att., NWGr.), Ἀνάκεια [pl.] festival for the Dioskouroi (Lys.), ἀνακῶσιος [adj.] (Rhegion). Denominative ἀνάσσω [v.] ‘to be lord, rule’ (Il.).
- ETYM No IE etymology, and probably a substrate word. Are OPhr. *vanaktei*, NPhr. *ouanaktan* loans from Greek? The word is important for the interpretation of the Myc. signs of the z- and s-series: is *wa-na-s°* derived from the stem in -kt-, or from the stem in -k-? See Crespo *Minos* 19 (1985): 91-104, and Viredaz 1993. It is probable

that the forms without -t- are younger, but see e.g. Ruijgh 1957: 112 and Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 309ff.

ἀναξυρίδες [f.] ‘long, wide trousers’, worn by the Persians and other eastern peoples (Hdt.). <LW Iran.>

- ETYM Persian loanword. Cf. R. Schmitt *Glotta* 49 (1971): 96.

ἀναξυρίς = ὄξαλις ‘sour wine’ (Dsc.). <?>

- ETYM Unknown.

ἀναρίτης ⇒ νηρίτης.

ἀναρριχάομαι [v.] ‘to climb with hands and feet’ (Ar.). <?>

- VAR Also ἀρριχάομαι (Hippon.); called obsolete by Lucian; perhaps shortened from ἀναρρ-.
- ETYM Unknown. See Solmsen *IF* 13 (1902/03): 132ff. and Ehrlich 1912: 53.

ἀνάρσιος [adj., m.] ‘incongruous’, hence ‘strange, hostile’ (Il.); equivalent of δυσμενής.

<GR>

- DER Cf. ἄρσιον· δίκαιον ‘just, lawful’ (H.), which is explained as a back-formation to ἀνάρσιος (see Frisk 1941: 7).
- ETYM Generally assumed to be a derivative of ►ἀραρίσκω ‘not fitting’.

ἀνασταλύζω [v.] ‘to burst into tears’ (Anacr. 43, 4). <PG?(V)>

- VAR ἀστυλάζει· λυπεῖ μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ ‘grieves with weeping’ (H.) probably stands for \*ἀσταλύζει.
- ETYM Cf. ἀσταλύχεν (read -ύζειν?)· ἀνα[β]λύζειν, κλαίνει ‘weep’ (H.), νεόσταλυξ· νεοδάκρυτος ‘who just cried’ (H.); cf. also στάλυξ, to be read for στάληξ in Zonar., = σταλαγμός ‘drop’. Cf. ►σταλάσσω, -άζω ‘to drip, drop’. The suffix is also in other words for ‘crying etc.’: γρύζω, ιύζω, ὀλολύζω, ὀτοτύζω. The prothetic ἀ- of ἀσταλυγ- beside στάλυξ could be a prothetic vowel; if so, this points to substrate origin.

ἀναστίδωνος [adj.] · ἀνατεταμένος ‘lifted up’ (H.). <?>

- ETYM Unknown.

ἀνασυρτόλις ⇒ σύρω.

ἄνατεῖ ⇒ ἄάω.

ἄναυρος [m.] ‘torrent’ (Mosch.); also a river name in Thessaly (Hes. Sc. 477) and Acarnania. <PG>

- ETYM Kretschmer *Glotta* 10 (1920): 51ff. interpreted the word as “waterless”, from the dried up river-bed in summer, comparing ἄναυρος: ὁ ἐξ ὑετῶν συνιστάμενος ποταμός ‘river arising out of heavy showers’ (EM); see discussion on χαράδρα s.v. ►χέραδος. It was therefore analyzed as a privative ἀν- and a word for ‘water’, which is not attested but supposed in ►Αῖγλαυρος (but see there), and further in θησαυρός and Κένταυρος (Kretschmer l.c.). The source name Αὔρα (Nonnos) was also compared, and Krahe *IF* 48 (1930): 216 connected it with Italic (Illyrian?) HN like *Metaurus*, *Pisaurus*, as well as HN like *Avara*, *Avantia* (Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.*

4 (1953): 49 and 115). Having thus been etymologized, the second element was further compared with Skt. *vār(i)* and the Gm. group of ON *aurr* [m.] ‘wheat, water’ (Pok. 80f.), but since that root contains no initial laryngeal, it could never yield Gr. αὐ-. No doubt, the word is non-Greek, and probably non-IE (if the connection with Krahe’s river names is correct). The assumption of a privative ἀν- is highly improbable; such assumptions are due to the desire to interpret everything as Greek and as Indo-European as possible, even when all facts point in a different direction. The further comparison with HNs without -r- in Fur.: 230 is doubtful.

**άνδάνω** [v.] ‘to please’ (Il.); used in a political context as ‘it pleased the people (to decide)’, hence ‘to decide’. <IE \*sueh<sub>2</sub>d- >

•VAR Aor. ἀδεῖν (Aeol. εὔαδον in Hom.), perf. ἔαδα. Present also Att. ▶ ἥδομαι.

•DIAL Dor. ἄδάνω should perhaps be assumed on the basis of ἄδάνοντα· ἀρέσκοντα ‘pleasing’ (H.); Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 353; cf. ληθάνω.

•COMP αὐθάδης (see s.v.).

•DER ἄδος ‘decision, resolution’ (Halic., Thasos), ἄδημα· ψήφισμα ‘decree, law’ (H.); also φάδιξις in γάδιξις· ὁμολογία and ἄδιξις· ὁμολογία παρὰ Ταραντίνους ‘agreement (Tarantian)’ (H.) (to \*φάδιζομαι).

•ETYM The initial f- is seen in Aeol. εὔαδε, Cret. ἔφαδε < PGr. \*e-swad-e and in Locr. φεφαδηρότα. The root is that of ▶ ἥδομαι, ▶ ἡδύς; see also ▶ αὐθάδης. Sanskrit has *svádati* ‘to make savory’, which derives from \*suh<sub>2</sub>-η-d- acc. to LIV, but is rather from \*sueh<sub>2</sub>d-e- with loss of laryngeal per Lubotsky’s Law (Lubotsky MSS 40 (1981): 133). The factitive in Lat. *suādeō* ‘to advise, recommend’ is reminiscent of the Greek meaning ‘to decide’.

**άνδηρα** [n.pl.] ‘raised bank of a river or ditch; dike, border of the sea, seed-bed’ (Hyp.). <PG? >

•VAR Rarely sing. άνδηρον.

•DER άνδηρευτής ‘workman employed on dikes’ (pap.).

•ETYM Neumann 1961: 91 points to the fact that many words connected with irrigation look non-Indo-European: beside άνδηρα, he mentions ἄρδω ‘to irrigate’ and γοργύρα ‘underground drain’. Fur.: 204<sup>10</sup> thinks that -ηρον is a non-IE suffix. Ibid. 347, he compares the Thracian place name Ἐνδηρον, but there is little support for this.

**άνδινος** [m.]? · περίπατος (cod. περί παντός) ‘walking about’ (H.); acc. to Hemsterhuis, <παρὰ Ταραντίνους> from the following line belongs in this gloss too. <? >

•DER άνδινίω (cod. αναδινίω)· περιπατῶ ‘to walk up and down’ (H.) is Doric.

•ETYM Uncertain. On Illyrian and Messapian hypotheses, see Frisk s.v. Alternatively, is it from δινέω (s.v. ▶ δῖνη)? See Forssman 1966: 61f.

**άνδράποδον** [n.] ‘prisoner of war sold as a slave, slave’ (Il.); on the spread of the word see Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 76. <GR >

•DER Diminutive άνδραπόδιον (Hyp., Diph., pap.). Adjective άνδραποδώδης ‘slave-like’ (Pl., Arist.), whence άνδραποδωδία ‘servile attitude’ (Arist., Plu.). Denominative

verb άνδραποδίζω, -ομαι [v.] ‘to enslave, sell as slaves’ (IA); thence άνδραπόδισις ‘enslavement’ (Xen.), -ισμός ‘id.’ (Att.). άνδραποδιστής ‘slave trader’ (Att.); άνδραποδιστικός ‘ptng. to slave trade’ (Pl., Eur.); άνδραποδιστήριος ‘id.’ (Tz.).

•ETYM The plural άνδράποδα ‘of whom only the feet are human’ is original; this form was modelled after τετράποδα ‘quadruped’ and is originally a consonant stem (cf. [dat.pl.] άνδραπόδεσσι [H 475]). From άνδράποδα, the thematic sing. άνδράποδον was derived. See Wackernagel *KZ* 30 (1890): 298 and Leumann 1950: 157f. On the -α-, see Bader *RPh.* 43 (1969): 31.

**άνδράχνη** [f.] plant name ‘Portulaca oleracea’, also ‘Sedum stellatum’ (Thphr.).

<PG(V) >

•VAR With dissimilation άνδράχλη (Thphr.); also άνδραχνος [f.] (Paus.).

•ETYM Fur.: 288 compares ἄθραγένη, which is formally quite acceptable, i.e. \*(a)<sup>n</sup>trak(V)n/l-, with metathesis of aspiration (197<sup>2</sup>, 393), variation n/ l (388), the common phenomenon of prenasalization, and anaptyxis of ε. Substrate origin is probable anyhow.

**άνδρεΐφόντη** [adj.] in Ἐνναλίῳ Ἄ. (B 651). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>nr-g<sup>wh</sup>on-teh<sub>2</sub>- ‘man-slayer’ >

•ETYM The epithet was changed after ▶ ἀργεΐφόντης: it should be read as άνγφοντ- ‘slaying men’, with an extremely old zero grade of \*h<sub>2</sub>nr-. Cf. ▶ άνδροτής, and see R. Schmitt 1967: 124f.

**άνδριάς** ⇒ άνήρ.

**Άνδρομάχη** [f.] the wife of Hektor (Il.). <GR >

•ETYM Called this way because her husband is a famous warrior. Likewise, Hektor’s son has the name Ἀστυάναξ (‘ruler, protector of the city’), after his father’s deeds. See Kretschmer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 103.

**άνδρόμητον** · συσπαστόν ἐγχειρίδιον τραγικόν ‘stage-dagger (in tragedy)’ (H.). <? >

•ETYM A Tarentine gloss; see Latte. DELG derives the word from ανά and δρόμος, which seems doubtful; the structure remains unclear.

**άνδροτής** [m.] ‘manhood, strength’ (II 857, etc.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>ner- ‘man’ >

•ETYM άνδροτήτα only fits the hexameter if it is read \*anṛtāta, with old vocalic \*-ṛ. Arguments in favor of the antiquity of this epithet are found in Ruijgh 1995: 85-91. Arguments against this interpretation were developed by Berg following Tichy *Glotta* 59 (1981): 55.

**άνεμος** [m.] ‘wind’ (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>enh<sub>1</sub>-mo- ‘wind’ >

•DIAL Μyc. (KN) a-ne-mo (i-je-re-ja) /anemōn (<sup>h</sup>iereiā)/.

•COMP νηνεμία ‘calm’ < \*η-h<sub>2</sub>n-, see on ▶ νήνεμος.

•DER ἡνεμόεις ‘windy’ (epic poet.), metrically lengthened; άνεμώλιος ‘idle, useless’ (Il.), after ἀποφώλιος (Bechtel 1914, Chantraine 1933: 43; Risch 1937: 122 reminds of ἀπατήλιος); see on μεταμώνιος. Further άνεμώδης ‘windy’ (Hp., Arist., Hell.); άνεμιαίος ‘windy, vain’ (Pl., com., Alciph.), after adjectives of measure in -ιαίος? άνεμώτας· ὄνος ἄφετος, ἱερός, τοῖς άνέμοις θυόμενος ἐν Ταραντίνους ‘a donkey let loose, sacred, being offered to the winds (Tarent.)’ (H.); άνεμώτις epithet of Athena

(who calms the wind; Paus.). ἀνεμία 'flatulence' (Hp.); on ▶ἀνεμώνη s.v. Denominative verbs: ἀνεμόομαι 'to be(come) inflated' (Hp., Pl.); ἀνεμίζομαι 'to be driven with the wind' (Ep. Jak.).

•ETYM Gr. ἀνεμος agrees with Lat. *animus* < \**anamo-*; Skt. *ānila-* [m.] 'wind, air' has -*lo-*. Further, Arm. *hołm* 'wind' arose by dissimilation of *n--m* and has *o*-vocalism. This may point to an original *m*-stem nom. \**h<sub>2</sub>onh<sub>1</sub>-m*, obl. \**h<sub>2</sub>nh<sub>1</sub>-em-*. The verbal root \**h<sub>2</sub>enh<sub>1</sub>-* is present in Skt. *āniti* 'breathes', OIr. *anaid*, -*ana* 'to wait, remain' and in Go. *us-anan* 'to exhale'; a different present formation is in PTo. \**anask-* < QIE \**h<sub>2</sub>enh<sub>1</sub>-ske/o-*. See ▶ἄσθμα, ▶ἄνται.

**ἀνεμώνη** [f.] the plant 'anemone' (Cratin.). <LW?>

•DER ἀνεμωνίς [f.] = ἀνεμώνη ἡμερος (Nic.).

•ETYM Derivation from ἀνεμος is supported by Strömberg 1940: 77. An improbable Semitic etymology was proposed by Lewy 1895: 49. It is more likely a loanword, perhaps from the substrate.

**ἀνενετεῖ** [v.] · ἀρνείται 'denies' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Acc. to von Blumenthal 1930: 34, we should read \*ἀνανετεῖ (cf. ἀναίνομαι); or is it rather misspelled for ἀναίνεται?

**ἄνευ** [adv.] 'far from, without' (Il.). <IE \**sn(H)-* 'without'>

•DIAL ἄνευ (Epidauros), ἄνευς (Olympia), ἄνις (Megara *apud* Ar.); cf. χωρίς.

•DER ἄνευθε(ν) (Il.) and ἀπάνευθεν.

•ETYM No exact correspondence exists. ἄνευ looks like the old locative of a *u*-stem. The comparison with Germanic forms like Go. *inu* 'without' < \**enu* and OHG *ānu* 'id.' < \**ēnu* cannot explain the Greek ἀ- (the suggestion that the Germanic forms contain a lengthened grade \**h<sub>2</sub>ēn(e)u-* (Nikolaev 2007: 165) is morphologically unwarranted, and Eichner's Law that long vowels are not colored by an adjacent laryngeal is unacceptable).

A better comparison is with Skt. *sanutár* 'away, off, aside' < \**sen(H)u-ter* (or \**snHu-*?), Lat. *sine* 'without' < \**seni* < \**snH-i*, and ToA *sne*, ToB *snai* < \**snH-i*. Thus, the Greek form could be from \**snh<sub>1</sub>-eu* > \**saneu*. In this case, ἄνευ must be a psilotic form. Within Greek, ▶ἄτερ may be cognate, but it would exclude a root-final laryngeal. I have no solution for this problem.

**ἀνεψιός** [m.] 'cousin' (Il.). <IE \*(*h<sub>2</sub>*)*nepot-* 'grandson'>

•DER Secondary fem. ἀνεψιά 'id.' (Isoc., X.). Further ἀνεψιαδούς [m.] 'cousin's son' (com., D.), cf. ἀδελφιδοῦς; also ἀνεψιάδης (Pachnemunis, Iamb.), to which ἀνεψιαδῆ 'cousin's daughter' (Ar.). ἀνεψιότης, -ητος [f.] 'cousinhood' (Pl.).

•ETYM Corresponds with Av. *naptiia-* 'descendant' and OCS *netii* 'nephew', derived from the word for 'grandson, nephew' seen in Skt. *nāpāt*, Lat. *nepōs*, etc. The ἀ- can be \**h<sub>2</sub>-*, but possibly represents \**sn-*, expressing the reciprocity of the relation (Benveniste 1969(1): 234). Not related to ▶νέποδες.

**ἄνεω, ἄνεω** [adv.] 'silent(ly)' (Il.), a predicate of plural subjects except in ψ 93 ἄνεω ἦστο. <GR?>

•VAR Recent ἀνεως· ἄφωνος 'mute' (Gal. *Lex. Hp.*).

•COMP ἀνεοστασίη· θάμβος 'amazement' (H.).

•ETYM Eust. ad Ψ 93 takes the form as an adverb (perhaps Aristarchus as well, see Buttmann 1825(2): 2); the notation with -ι was supposed to be due to the interpretation as an adjective with plural subjects. Acc. to traditional interpretation (see Chantraine 1942: 249), it is an old instrumental in -ω. However, Peters 1993b: 85ff. asserts that it is an occidental Ionic form continuing \**an-āwo-* 'without voice' (with quantitative metathesis), for which he compares the gloss ἄβα· βοή. The form ἄνεω is the original nom.pl., while ἄνεω arose by reanalysis as an adverb.

**ἄνηθον** [n.] 'dill, Anethum Graveolens' (Aeol., Att.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ἄννηθον (Ar.); ἄνητον (Alc.), ἄννητον (Thphr.).

•DER ἀνήθινος 'made of dill' (Theoc., Dsc.), ἀνηθίτης οἶνος (Gp.).

•ETYM Cf. λάπαθον and other plant names in -θον (-θος) (Chantraine 1933: 368). The word is Egyptian, acc. to Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 240. Fur.: 254 compares ▶ἄννησον; for the equation, cf. the gloss s.v. ▶ἄνθρυσκον. On the gemination, see ibid. 387; for variation θ/σ, see ibid. 253ff.

**ἀνήνοθεν** [v.] 'gushed forth, mounted up' (Λ 266, ρ 270). <?>

•ETYM The relation of this form to ἐπ-εν-ήνοθε and παρ-εν-ήνοθε is unclear, and therefore the etymology uncertain. See ▶ἐνθεῖν; not related to ▶ἄνθος. Nikolaev 2007: 165<sup>15</sup> assumes a root \**h<sub>2</sub>ned<sup>h</sup>-* 'to move/stick out' [not in LIV<sup>2</sup>], but the Schwebeablaut makes connection with ἄνθος improbable.

**ἀνηπελίη** ⇒ νηπελέω.

**ἀνήρ** [m.] 'man' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ner-* 'man'>

•VAR Gen. ἀνδρός, acc. ἄνδρα (analogical; Hom. has the old form ἀνέρα < \**h<sub>2</sub>ner-m*, whence gen. ἀνέρος, etc.).

•DIAL Myc. *a-di-ri-ja-te* /andriantei/, *a-di-ri-ja-pi* /andrian(t)p<sup>hi</sup>/, *A-ta-no* (see below on compounds).

•COMP As a first member ἀνδρο-: -κμητος, -κτασία; on ▶ἀνδράποδον s.v. As a second member -ήνωρ, e.g. ῥηξ-, φθεις- (Hom.); in PNs Ἄγ-ήνωρ, Myc. *A-ta-no* /Antānōr/; fem. ἀντι-άνειρα, κυδι-άνειρα; as a second member -άνδρος in ἄν-ανδρος, ἔλ-ανδρος; PNs especially in Asia Minor and Cyprus: Ἠγήσ-ανδρος, Τέρπ-; Hom. Ἀλέξ-.

•DER Diminutive ἀνδρίον (com.), whence (with an unclear suffix -*nt-*) ἀνδριάς, -άντος 'statue' (Pi., IA). ἀνδρίς [f.] 'woman' (Sm.); ἀνδρ(ε)ών [m.] 'men's room' (Hdt.), ἀνδρώνιον (Delos) and ἀνδρωνίτις 'id.' (Lys., X.).

Abstracts: ἀνδρεία (-ήνη, -ία) 'manliness, courage' (A.); ἀνδροτής, -τήτος 'id.' (Π 857, Ω 6), on which see Ruijgh 1995: 88ff.; ἡνορέη 'id.' (Hom.) for Aeolic ἀνορέα < \**-ρία*, perhaps from a compound, cf. εὐανορία (Pi.). Thence ἀνόρεος (S.).

Adjectives: ἀνδρείος (Ion. ἀνδρήϊος, cf. Chantraine 1933: 52, Schwyzler: 468 : 3) 'manly, courageous', whence ἀνδρειώω [v.] 'to make courageous' (LXX); ἀνδρικός 'of the man, manly' (Att.), ἀνδρόμεος 'human' (Il.), with -μεος = Skt. -*maya-* (?); ἀνδρώδης 'manly' (Emp.).



Denominative verbs: ἀνδρόομαι [v.] 'to become a man' (Hdt., Hp., E.), -όω 'to turn into a man (trans.)' (Lyc.); ἀνδρόνομαι [v.] 'to become a man' (Ps. Callisth.); ἀνδρίζομαι [v.] 'to become a man, represent a man' (Att.), -ίζω 'to turn into a man (trans.)' (X.).

•ETYM ἀνὴρ is identical with Arm. *ayr*, gen. *aṛn* 'man', Skt. *nā*, obl. *nār*-, NPhr. *anap*, Italic *ner*- in Osc. *nerum* 'virorum', Lat. *Nerō* (Sabellic), W *ner* 'chief', and Alb. *njeri* 'human being, person'. The gloss ►νωρεῖ does not belong here.

άνθεμον ►άνθος.

άνθερων •VAR άνθέρηξ. ►άθηρ.

άνθιας, -ον [m.] a fish, 'Labrus anthias' (Anan.). ◀?►

•ETYM Connected with άνθος 'flower' by Strömberg 1943: 26 because of its color; Thompson 1947 s.v. differs on this.

άνθος [n.] 'flower' (Il.). ◀IE? \**h₂endʰ*- 'sprout'►

•DER 1. Substantives. Diminutives άνθύλλιον (M. Ant., Dsc.), also a plant, like άνθυλλίς (Dsc.) and άνθυλλον (Ps.-Dsc.); άνθηλίον v.l. for άνθύλλιον (Dsc. 3, 156; 4, 121), also = κανθήλιον (Charax); άνθάλιον a plant, cf. Chantraine 1933: 74; άνθάριον-έρυθημα 'redness, blush' (H.).

Further άνθήλη 'a crown of flowers' (Thphr.), or from άνθέω? Thence άνθηλας [m.] 'flower trader' vel sim.; άνθεών [m.] 'flowerbed' (Amasia), άνθών (gloss.).

άνθηδών [f.] 'bee' (cf. άνθηδών and Chantraine 1933: 361), also a plant. άνθοσύνη 'Blüte' (AP). On ►άνθιας see there. Άνθεστήρια [n.pl.] 'spring festival' (IA), see Chantraine 1933: 63, Schwyzer: 470), month name Άνθεστηριών.

Independent formation άνθεμον [n.] 'flower, rosette' (Sappho); acc. to Frisk, it cannot be a recent back-formation (as per Leumann 1950: 249ff.), as there are many derivatives; for the formation cf. άργεμον and Chantraine 1933: 132, Ruijgh 1957: 102f. Thence άνθεμώδης 'rich in flowers' (poet. since Sappho), άνθεμωτός 'id.' (Attica), άνθεμίς plant name, also 'little flower' (Nic.), άνθεμίσιον plant name (Alex. Trall.), άνθέμιον 'blossom' (X., Thphr.); Hom. PNs Άνθεμίων and Άνθεμίδης (acc. to Leumann l.c.), TN Άνθεμοῦς (Macedonia). Derived poetic verbs άνθεμίζομαι and επανθεμίζω (A., S. [lyr.]).

2. Adjectives: άνθινος 'made of flowers, variegated' (ι 84, Hp., Arist.); άνθηρός 'rich in flowers', metaph. 'fresh, lush' (S., E., Ar., etc.) is rather from άνθέω (Chantraine 1933: 232). Other adjectives are isolated and late (see Frisk).

3. Verb άνθέω 'to bloom, blossom' (Od., IA), often metaph.; thence άνθισις 'blossom' (Thphr., Plu.), εξ-ανθέω, εξάνθισις (Hp., Th.) and εξάνθημα (Hp., Arist.). Backformation άνθη 'flowering' (Pl., Nic., Ael.); verbal adj. άνθητικός = άνθικός (Thphr.). άνθίζω 'to cover with flowers, decorate', with several preverbs (Hdt., S., E., Arist.).

•ETYM άνθος has been equated with Skt. *ándhas*- [n.] 'sprout of the soma plant', but see the objections by Burrow *Archiv. Linguist.* 6 (1954): 61 and Chantraine. Uncertain is the appurtenance of Alb. *endë* 'flour'; see Meyer 1891: 5. The word is perhaps also related to Arm. *and* 'field'. The comparison with EFrisk. *āndul* 'marsh grass' and its

Germanic cognates does not inspire confidence. A connection with ►άνήνοθεν (Schwebeablaut \**h₂endʰ*- : *h₂nodʰ*-) is improbable.

άνθραξ, -άκος [m.] 'charcoal' (Ar.), metaph. 'carbuncle' (Arist.). ◀PG(V)►

•VAR Mostly plur. άνθρακες.

•DER Many derivatives: diminutive άνθράκιον (Thphr.), άνθρακιά 'heap of coals' (I 213); άνθρακίας 'coal-man' (Luc.); άνθρακίτης [m.] name of a gem (Plin.), -ίτης [f.] 'kind of coal' (Plin.); άνθρακών [m.] 'heap of coals' (Hdn.), άνθράκωμα 'id.' (Dsc.); άνθρακάριος carbonarius (gloss.). Adjectives: άνθρακώδης 'like charcoal' (Hp., Arist.), άνθρακηρός 'of charcoal' (Alex., Delos), άνθράκινος 'of carbuncle' (LXX, pap.).

Denominative verbs: 1. άνθρακόομαι 'to be burnt to coals' (A., E., Thphr.), 'to develop an ulcer' (Aët.); thence άνθράκωσις 'carbonization' (Dsc.), also 'ulcer' (Paul. Aeg., Gal.). 2. άνθρακεύω 'to burn charcoal, carbonize' (Ar., Thphr.); deverbal άνθρακεύς 'charcoal burner' (App., Aesop., Them.; φιλανθρακεύς already in Ar.); άνθρακευτής 'id.' (And., Ael.), άνθρακεία 'carbonization' (Thphr.). 3. άνθρακίζω 'to roast on charcoal' (Ar., pap.); back-formation άνθρακίδες 'small fish for roasting' (Philyll.); cf. επανθρακίδες 'id.' (Ar.) to επανθρακίζω.

•ETYM One compares Arm. *ant'el* 'charcoal', and further Georg. \**nt'* in *v-a-nt'-ab* 'to kindle' (Vogt NTS 9 (1962/63): 333), but the formations are different. Fur.: 197, 393 compares άνδράχλη 'warming-pan, brazier' (Eust.) (cf. άνθράκιον 'brazier'), and furter (391) κάνδαρος-άνθραξ (H.), with the interchange κ/ zero. Also note the suffix -ακ- (see *Pre-Greek*). Therefore, a substrate origin is clear; a comparison with Hitt. *āant*- 'warm' is useless, as it does not explain the formation of the Greek word.

άνθηδών, -όνος [f.] 'hornet' (D. S.). ◀PG(V)►

•DER άνθηρήνη [f.] 'bee, wasp' (Ar., Arist.); thence άνθηρήνιον [n.] 'wasps' nest' (Ar.), άνθηρινιώδης 'built like a wasps' nest' (Plu.).

άνθηδών [f.] 'bee' (Damocr. *apud* Gal.).

Further ►τενθηδών [f.] (Arist., Dsc.), ►πεμφρηδών [f.] 'kind of wasp' (Nic.).

•ETYM No doubt a substrate word. Beside άνθηδών, άνθηρήνη, we find τενθηδών (Arist.), τενθηρήνη (Nic.); τενθηρήνιον (Arist.). There are several forms which lack the first nasal: τεθηρινιώδης (Hp.), άθηρήνη (Suidas, etc.), and forms without reduplication or initial ά-, e.g. θηρήνη (Eust.) and θηρινιώδης (Democr. *apud* Ael.). Cf. further θρώναξ-κηφήν. Λάκωνες 'drone (Lacon.)' (H.), though I know of no other cases with the interchange η/ ω. Further note πεμφρηδών [f.] a wasp (Nic.).

In sum, we have a root θρηγ/ων- with a prothetic vowel or reduplication (cf. κεκρύφαλος, Σίσυφος) and prenasalization; see Kuiper 1956: 221f. We may reconstruct PG \*(a)*Ntrān*-, \**ta-Ntrān*-. For the interchange ν/ δ, we may perhaps compare φλιναφάω : φληδώντα. Πεμφρηδών could show that the word had a labiovelar (see Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 12f.). There is no ground to assume that τενθηρήνη, τενθηδών are dissimilated from \*τερθρ-; relation to άθήρ, άνθέρηξ is improbable. Needless to say, the connection with ►θρέομαι, ►θόρυβος (Frisk) makes no sense. τεθηδών-πρωρεύς 'officer in command at the bow' (H.) is a joking



formation from the language of sailors, modelled after animal names in -ιδών (see Chantraine 1933: 360f.).

A difficult problem is the relation to Germanic and Balto-Slavic words for 'drone': OS *dren*, *drāno*, MoHG *Drohne*, Lith. *trānas*; on this, see Kuiper 1956: 222.

**ἄνθρυσκον** [n.] 'chervil, Scandix australis' (Sapph.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ἔνθρυσκον (Pherecr.).

•DER ἄνθρίσκος [m.] (Pollux 6, 106); ἄνθρίσκιον· λάχανον ἔχον ἄνθος, ὡς ἄνηθον, ἢ τὸ ἄννησον 'garden herbs, such as dill' (H.).

•ETYM No etymology. Connected with ἄθηρ, ἀνθέριξ because of the prickly fruits (Frisk). Fur.: 364 points to the interchange ι/υ; for ε/α, he considers the assimilation α > ε before ι/υ, which is doubtful. He rejects θρύσκα· ἄγρια λάχανα 'wild herbs' (H.) as a mistake for ἄνθρυσκα. Because of the variations, a substrate origin seems certain.

**ἄνθρωπος** [m.] 'man' (Il.). <PG(S)>

•DIAL Myc. *a-to-ro-qo* /anthrōkʷos/.

•DER Diminutives, usually depreciatory: ἀνθρώπιον (E., com.), ἀνθρωπίσκος (E., Ar., Pl.), ἀνθρωπάριον (com.).

Further derivatives: ἀνθρωπιώ· ἡ γυνὴ παρὰ Λάκωσιν 'woman (Lacon.)' (H.); ἀνθρωπέη, -πιή [f.] 'human skin' (Hdt., Poll.); ἀνθρωπότης [f.] 'humanity' (Ph., S. E.). Adjectives: ἀνθρώπιος 'human' (Ion. etc. -ήϊος), ἀνθρώπινος 'id.' (IA), ἀνθρωπικός 'id.' (Pl., Arist.). Denominative verbs: 1. ἀνθρωπίζομαι 'to behave like a man' (Ar., Luc.); thence ἀνθρωπισμός 'humankind' (Aristipp.); 2. ἀνθρωπεύομαι [v.] 'to behave like a man' (Arist.); 3. ἀνθρωπιόομαι 'to be human' (Plu.).

•ETYM ἄνθρωπος resembles Hitt. *antuiyahhaš-* / *antuihš-* 'man', but it has nothing to do with it, as the latter derives from a compound *\*h<sub>2</sub>en-d<sup>h</sup>u(e)h<sub>2</sub>-s-* 'having breath/spirit inside' (cf. θυμός < *\*d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-mó-*). As no IE explanation has been found, the word is probably of substrate origin. The occurrence of -oq- in Mycenaean does not prove Indo-European origin, as the substrate language also had labiovelars (e.g. βασιλεύς, Myc. *qa-si-re-u*). Kuiper had already given a substrate interpretation on the basis of δρώψ (Kuiper 1956: 211f and Kuiper *Lingua* 21 (1968): 275f., defended by Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 13-15). Rosén *KZ* 99 (1986): 243f., incorrectly assumes that the laryngeals had an aspirating effect. Improbable suggestions are offered by Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 312 and Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 655f.

**ἀνία** [f.] 'grief, distress' (Od.). <?>

•VAR Att. either ἰ or ῑ; Hom. always -ῑη. ἄνια [n.pl.] 'id.' (A. Pers. [lyr.]) is taken to be a back-formation after e.g. φιλία: φίλιος.

•DIAL Aeol. ὀνία (Sappho 1, 3).

•DER ἀνιαρός, -ηρός (Od., IA) 'uncomfortable, grievous'. Denominative verbs: ἀνιάω 'to grieve, distress' (Od., IA); also ἀνιάζω (epic since Il.).

•ETYM The connection with Skt. *ámivā* [f.] 'disease, pain' requires an unwarranted dissimilation *m* - *u* > *n* - *u*, and should be rejected. Kuiper *AION* 1 (1959): 157ff. assumes a pre-form *\*an-is-yā* < *\*u-is-io-*, from the root of Skt. *iṣ-* 'to desire', comparing Skt. *an-iṣṭa-* 'unwished for'.

As remarked by Nikolaev 2006, derivation from *\*h<sub>2</sub>eis-* 'to search' is semantically not very convincing. He proposes instead to connect the root *\*h<sub>2</sub>eis(h<sub>2</sub>)-* 'to refresh, etc.', reconstructing *\*u-(h<sub>2</sub>)is(h<sub>2</sub>)-i<sub>2</sub>o-* (sic!). The suffix -i<sub>2</sub>o- is assumed to explain the length of ī, but a collective *\*n-His-i<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>* > PGr. *\*anijha* would do better both formally and semantically (the transition to a feminine is trivial).

The reflex of the vocalized nasal in Aeolic is debated: see the discussion by Nikolaev (ibid.: fn. 21), who adduces a suggestion by Bechtel that the PNs Πανσανίας and Λυσανίας contain the genuine Aeolic variant.

**ἀνιγρός** [adj.] 'unpleasant' (Nic.). <?>

•VAR ἀνιγρόν· ἀκάθαρτον, φαῦλον, κακόν, δυσῶδες, ἀσεβές 'foul, mean, bad, malodorous, impure' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Connection with ▶νίζω is improbable, as this had a labiovelar *\*-gʷ-*.

**ἄννησον** [n.] 'anise, Pimpinella Anisum' (Hp.). <PG(V)>

•VAR ἄνησον (v.l. in codd.); ἄνησσον (Dsc.); ἄννησσον (inscr. Delos II<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Probably the same word as ▶ἄνηθον. The variation ν/νν (perhaps also σ/σσ) and the intervocalic -σ- demonstrate substrate origin.

**ἀννίς** [f.] · μητρὸς ἢ πατρὸς μήτηρ 'mother of one's mother or father' (H.; also IG 7, 3380 [Boeotia]). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>en-* 'grandmother'>

•VAR ἀνώ in acc. ἀνών (IG 9(2), 877 [Larisa]).

•ETYM Perhaps an elementary formation, like Hitt. *anna-* 'mother'. However, Hitt. *hanna-* and Lyc. *xñma-* 'grandmother' have an initial laryngeal, like Arm. *han* 'grandmother', Lat. *anna* 'foster-mother' and OHG *ana* 'grandmother, ancestor'.

**ἀνόκαιον** · ὑπερῶν 'upper part of a house'. γράφεται καὶ ἀνώγειον (H.). ⇒ ἀνώγειον.

**ἀνοκωχή** [f.] 'cessation', especially 'cessation of arms, truce' (Th.). <GR>

•VAR Also ἀνακωχή.

•DER Denominative ἀνοκωχεύω [v.] 'to hold back, hinder' (Hdt., S., etc.), also ἀνακ-; ἀνακωχέω (Hp.).

•ETYM Reduplicated derivative of ἀνέχω, like διοκωχή from διέχω; cf. ▶ἀκώκη. The form with ἀνα- was introduced after the formation had become opaque. The formation is clearly recent, as there is no trace of the initial aspiration (root *\*hek<sup>h</sup>-*). See ▶ἔχω.

**ἀνόπαια** [adv.]? hapax of uncertain mg. (α 320); also the mountain (in the Oeta) and the pass through which the Persians circumvented the pass of Thermopylae (Hdt. 7, 216). <GR?>

•VAR ἀνοπαία Hdn. 2, 133; ἀνόπαιος epithet of fire (Emp. 51), perhaps 'up by the hole in the roof(?)'.

•ETYM Already unclear in antiquity (see DELG). Bechtel 1914 thinks that it is a hypostasis of ἀνὰ τῇ ὀπῇ 'on high through the hole of the roof'; Chantraine thinks it must be an adverb (ntr.plur.) because of the short -α.

**ἄντα** [adv.] 'over against, face to face' (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ent-* 'face'>

•VAR Also άντην.

•DER άντάεις ‘hostile’ (Pi.). Denominative verb άντάω ‘to come towards, meet with’ (Il.); άπ-αντάω ‘to meet’ (IA), άπάντησις ‘encounter’ (S., Arist.) and άπάντημα ‘id.’ (E., LXX).

•ETYM The root noun \*άντ- gave rise to a derivative άντομαι ‘to meet, implore’ (Il.). άντα is the accusative of this noun; the locative is ►άντί, and the old instrumental \**h<sub>2</sub>nt-b<sup>h</sup>i* is continued in ►άμφί; see there for further etymology. άντην was perhaps formed after δήν, πλήν, etc.; the case form is still apparent in έναντα = έν άντα, etc. For the meaning, we may compare especially Go. *and(a)*- ‘against’, Lith. *añt* and OLith. *antà* ‘towards’.

**άνται** [f.pl.] · άνεμοι ‘winds’ (H.). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>*- ‘blow’>

•VAR άντάς· πνοάς ‘breezes, breaths’ (H.).

•ETYM To be corrected to άήται, άήτας? Derivation from \**h<sub>2</sub>enh<sub>1</sub>*- ‘breathe’ (see ►άνεμος) is impossible, as this would give \*άνεται < \**h<sub>2</sub>enh<sub>1</sub>-t*- or \**ātai* < \**h<sub>2</sub>ñh<sub>1</sub>-t*-). See discussion on άήτης s.v. ►ήμι.

**άντακαίος** [m.] a kind of sturgeon (Hdt.). <LW>

•VAR Also adjectival (Antiph.).

•ETYM Unknown. Probably an adapted foreign word; cf. Hdt. 4, 53: κήτεά τε μεγάλα ανάκανθα, τὰ άντακαίους καλέουσι (the fish is found in the Borysthenes = Dniepr).

**άνταρ** [n.] · άετός ύπο Τυρρηγών ‘eagle (Etruscan)’. Εύφορών δέ διάσμα ‘warp’ (H.) <Etr., GR?>

•ETYM These are clearly two glosses. The first is Etruscan; for the second, cf. άντίον ‘(part of the) loom’, so it probably derives from άντ- in άντί etc., with the inanimate suffix -αρ (or from ►άραρίσκω?).

**άντάτας** m. ‘surety, guarantor (Cretan)’. <GR>

•ETYM Lit. “who pays (gets the damage, άτη) for another”; see Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 91.

**άντήρης** [adj.] ‘set over against, opposite’ (S.). <GR>

•ETYM From άνταείρω ‘to raise against’, thus \*άντ(ι)-άφέρ-ης (cf. \*ήφελιος > ήλιος), acc. to Blanc *RPh.* 66 (1992): 247-254.

**άντηρίς, -ίδος** [f.] ‘prop, support’ (E.). <GR>

•VAR άντήριος· στήμων, και κανών ό προσκείμενος τη θύρα ‘warp; bar placed on a door’ (H.).

•ETYM Backformation from άντερείδω ‘to lean against’, with lengthening of the initial root vowel, and reshaping of -ρειδ- after the suffix -ιδ- (as in έγκρίς; cf. έγκλίσ to έγκλίνω, έμπίς to έμπίνω. For the formation in -ιος, cf. παγίς : πάγιος, βώμης : βώμιος.

**άντηστις** [?] ‘confronting’, only in κατ’ άντηστιν θεμένη περικαλλέα δίφρον (υ 387).

<GR>

•ETYM From άντην ίστασθαι, with άντη- as a first member. The second member is the zero grade -στ- with suffixal -ι-, cf. έξαστις < \*έξ-αν-στ-ις. See Bechtel 1914 s.v.

**άντί** [prep.] ‘opposite, over against; instead of’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ent*- ‘front, face’>

•DIAL Myc. *a-ti-pa-mo* /Antip<sup>h</sup>amos/, etc.

•COMP έναντι, άπέναντι, κατέναντι (Dor., Hell.); άνάντης ‘uphill, steep’ (Hdt.); see also ►άντιάνειρα.

•DER άντίος ‘opposite, opposed to’ (Il.; Att. prose has έναντίος), thence άντιάδες [f.pl.] ‘tonsils’ (medic.). Denominative άντιόομαι [v.] ‘to oppose’ (Hdt.). άντιάω ‘to come towards, participate, etc.’ (epic Ion. poet.) was derived from the ntr.plur. άντία [adv.] ‘opposite’; post-Homeric is άντιάζω.

•ETYM Identical with Skt. *ánti* ‘facing’, Lat. *ante* ‘before’, and Hitt. *hanti* ‘opposite, separate’. It is the old locative of a root noun preserved in Hitt. *hant*- ‘front, forehead’. Another case form of the same noun is ►άντα.

**άντιάνειρα** [f.] epithet of the Amazons (Il.); further only in Pi. *Ol.* 12, 16, στάσις άντιάνειρα ‘(faction) in which man is set against man’. <GR>

•ETYM Cf. κυδι-άνειρα and βωπι-άνειρα. The words is a compound from άντί and άνήρ, with the original meaning ‘a match for men’ (cf. άντίθεος ‘godlike’), but often taken as ‘hostile to men’.

**άντικρύ** [adv.] ‘right opposite’ (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Att. άντικρυς, καταντικρύ (with stress after ιθύ?).

•DIAL Att. κατ-, άπ-αντροκυ (*IG* 2<sup>2</sup>, 1672: 25 and 1668: 88) perhaps from \*άντα-κρυ (see Beekes and Cuypers below).

•ETYM Assuming a compound with άντι- does not help much (the connection with άντικρούω ‘to come into collision’ by Kretschmer *Glotta* 4 (1913): 356 is improbable, as are other attempts). Beekes and Cuypers *Mnem.* 56 (2003) argue that the -υ is short, but metrically lengthened in Homer.

The Attic form may have developed from άντα-κρυ with anticipation of the ρ and assimilation α > ο.

**άντλος** [m.] ‘bilge-water’ (Od.). <?>

•DIAL Myc. *a-ta-ra*, a vase, has been interpreted as /antla/, but this may be doubted.

•DER άντλία ‘bilge-water, hold of a ship’ (S., Ar.), ‘container’ (pap.), άντλίον ‘id.’ (Ar.). Denominative verb άντλέω ‘to bale out bilge-water, pump’ (Hdt.); late verbal nouns άντλησις, άντλησμός; άντλημα ‘bucket’.

•ETYM Connection with Lat. *sentīna* ‘bilge-water’ (Solmsen 1909: 189; Chantraine 1933: 375), for which preforms \*άντλος (psilosis) < \*ām-θλο- are assumed, is impossible in Indo-European terms, as \*ση- would give ά-, not άν-. If reliable, the Myc. form would exclude an original \*s-. Quite convincing is the proposal by Benveniste *BSL* 50 (1954): 39 to compare Hitt. *hān*-<sup>i</sup> ‘to draw water’, although it requires an unusual suffix -τλος (cf. DELG). This is accepted by both Puhvel *HED* and Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. The comparsion with Lat. *sentīna* remains tempting, but in this case the word cannot be Indo-European, which seems quite well possible for a technical term.

**άντομαι** ⇒άντα.

**άντομος** [m.] ‘country road’ (*Tab. Heracl.* 1, 12), probably not ‘palisade’. <?>

- VAR ἀντόμους· σκόλοπας, Σικελοί ‘anything pointed (Sicilian)’ (H.).
- ETYM Explained as \*ἀνάτομος to ἀνατέμνω ‘to cut open’, but the semantics are not very convincing. Hardly related to Lat. *antenna* ‘yard’ (as per von Blumenthal 1930: 16).

**ἄντρον** [n.] ‘cave’ (Od.). <PG?>

- DER ἀντρώδης ‘with many caves’ (X., Arist.), ἀντραῖος ‘living in caves’ (E.), ἀντριάδες [f.pl.] ‘cave nymphs’ (AP, Phryn.), cf. κρηνιάδες, ὄρεστιάδες; ἀντρηῖς [f.] ‘living in caves’ (Antip. Sid.).
- ETYM Derivation of ἄντρον and Arm. *ayr* ‘grotto’ from a pre-form \**antēr* (De Lamberterie BSL 73 (1978): 243f.) is impossible, as was shown by Clackson 1994: 98. Connection with ἄνεμος (Schwyzer: 532) is formally impossible since the root is dissyllabic \**h<sub>2</sub>enh<sub>2</sub>-*. Giannakis *Glotta* 76 (2000): 192-198 incorrectly explains the form as from \**anti-trh<sub>2</sub>-om*, with the root \**terh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to cross’. The disappearance of \*-*ti*- and the loss of the laryngeal are both improbable. Lat. *antrum* is a loan from Greek. It is best to return to Chantraine 1933: 331 and assume a substrate word.

**ἄντυξ, -γος** [f.] ‘edge, rim of anything round; rail of a chariot’ (Il.), cf. Delebecque 1951: 177f. <?>

- ETYM Previously explained as ἀνά plus a root noun -τυξ as belonging to τεύχω, τετυκεῖν. However, since these have -χ- or -κ-, the etymology is highly questionable. The word resembles ▶ἄμπυξ (gen. -κος), which has no etymology either; see also on ▶καταῖτυξ, which is unclear as well.

**ἄνυμι** [v.] ‘to effect, accomplish’ (Il.). <IE \**senH-* ‘win, accomplish’>

- VAR Thematic ἀνύω, ἀνύω; \*ἄνψω > ἄνω; enlarged with dental ἀνύτω, Att. ἀνύτω (see Schwyzer: 704: 1), aor. ἤνυσσα (secondary, see below), ἤνεσα (Strunk, below). Glosses κασάνεις· ἀνύεις, Λάκωνες (H.) < \*καθάνεις; ἀανές· οὐ τελεσθῆσόμενον ‘not about to be fulfilled’ (H.).
- DIAL Myc. *a-nu-to* /Anutos/; *a<sub>2</sub>-nu-me-no* /<sup>h</sup>anumenos/.
- DER ἄνυσις ‘success, accomplishment’ (epic poet., late prose), whence ἀνύσιμος ‘successful’ (X., Pl.); ἄνυσμα ‘id.’ (sch.). ἀν-ῆνυ(σ)τος ‘unfeasible, without end’ (Od.); from this ἀνυστός (ἀν-) ‘feasible’ (E., X.), ἀνυ(σ)τικός ‘effective’ (X., Arist.). ἀνυτής = Lat. *exactor* (Just.).
- ETYM ἄνυμι is related to Skt. *sanóti* ‘to win, obtain’ < \**sn<sub>2</sub>-n-eu-*. Acc. to Strunk 1967: 116, the aorist ἤνεσα < \**senh<sub>2</sub>-s-* is old and corresponds to Skt. *asāniṣam*. If this is correct, Hitt. *ša(n)h<sub>2</sub>-zi* ‘to search, try, mean’ < \**senh<sub>2</sub>-* cannot be related. Cf. also the group of OHG *sinnan* ‘to strive for’. See ▶αὐθέντης.

**ἄνωγα** [v.] ‘to command, order’ (Il.), perf. with present mg. <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eḡ-* ‘say’, or \**h<sub>2</sub>eḡ-*>

- VAR Plpf. ἠνώγεα; secondary pres. ἀνώγω, aor. -ξα (Schwyzer: 767).
- DIAL An Achaeon word, see Ruijgh 1957: 128ff.
- ETYM Originally, a compound ἄν-ωγα ‘to proclaim loudly’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>e-h<sub>2</sub>oḡ-*, ablauting with ἦ ‘he said’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>e-h<sub>2</sub>eḡ-t*. Related to Lat. *aiō* < \**āḡ-īo-H* (probably from \**h<sub>2</sub>ḡ-*, but the development remains difficult; see Schrijver 1991: 485; *adagiō* ‘proverb’ is probably unrelated; see De Vaan 2008 s.v. *aiō*). Also related to Arm. *aṛac*

‘proverbium’, pres. *asem* ‘say’ (*s* < \**ḡ*); Arm. *a-* < \**h<sub>2</sub>-* before consonant would be regular. Hackstein 1995: 332-4 assumes initial \**h<sub>2</sub>-* because of ToB *ākṣām*, but his connection with Gr. ▶ἄζω is improbable; this is followed by LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**h<sub>2</sub>eḡ-* ‘sagen’. Cf. ▶ἡμί.

**ἀνώγαλον** [n.] ‘anything raised from the ground’ (X.), ‘prison’. <GR>

- VAR Also ἀνάγαλον and ▶ἀνόκαιον.
- ETYM Clearly a compound of γῆ with ἄνω. See ▶γῆ.

**ἄξινη** [f.] ‘axe’ (Il.), δίστομος πέλεκυς ‘two-edged axe’ (H.). <LW>

- ETYM Compared with Lat. *ascia* ‘axe’ and Germanic words for ‘axe’, Go. *aqizi*, etc., but this does not lead to an IE reconstruction. Ruijgh *BiOrbis* 54 (1997): 540<sup>n</sup> notes that -*in-* is a typical substrate suffix, and that the sign for *a* in Linear B is a double axe. Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 656 remarks that Akk. *haššinu* and Aram. *haššīnā* are so close that they must be the same word. I propose that the Semitic and Greek words are loans from an Anatolian language.

**ἄξιος** [adj.] ‘worth’ (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>eḡ-* ‘carry’>

- DER Abstract ἀξία ‘value, wages’ (IA). Denominative ἀξιόω, -όομαι [v.] ‘to deem worthy, esteem; require’ (S., IA); thence ἀξίωμα ‘estimation, requirement, decree, etc.’ (Att., Hell.), diminutive ἀξιωματίον (Arr.), adjective ἀξιωματικός ‘high in rank’ (Hell.); ἀξίωσις ‘valuation, assessment, opinion’ (Hdt., Th., E.).
- ETYM Generally assumed to be derived from ἄγω in the sense of ‘to weigh’ (cf. Lat. *agīna*), perhaps first from \*ἄξιος ‘weight’. Some doubts remain, as no such derivative in -*ti-* is known from ἄγω, and the semantics are not really strong.

**ἄξουγγία** → ὀξύγγιον.

**ἄξων, -ονος** [m.] ‘axle, axis’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ek<sub>2</sub>s-*>

- DIAL Myc. *a-ko-so-ne* /aksones/.
- ETYM Old noun, also found in Skt. *ākṣa-* [m.], Lat. *axis*, Lith. *ašis*, OCS *osъ*; OHG *ahsa* [f.], all ‘axle, axis’. Derivatives in -*l-* are found in ON *ṛxull* [m.], W *echel* [f.], Lat. *āla* ‘arm-pit, wing’ < \**aks-lā* (cf. *axilla*). The word has been connected with ἄγω (Benveniste 1935: 7, 24, 121), but this is uncertain. It is improbable that ἄξων is contained in ▶ἄμαξα.

**ἄοζος** [m.] ‘servant (of a god)’ (A. Ag. 231 [lyr.], Call. fr. 353, IG 9(1), 976 [Corcyra, metr. inscr.]). <PG?(v)>

- VAR ἄοζοι· ὑπηρεταί, θεράπωντες, ἀκόλουθοι ‘servants, attendants, followers’ (H.); ἄζος = θεράπων or θεράπεινα (Seleucus, gloss. *apud* Ath. 6, 267c = Eust. 1024, 44 and 1090, 56).
- DIAL Myc. *a-o-ze-jo* probably does not belong here.
- DER ἄοζία ‘service of a god’ (epigr.); denominative ἀοζέω [v.] ‘to serve’ (A. fr. 54, H.).
- ETYM In the same sense as ὄζος in epic ὄζος Ἄρηος, if this means θεράπων; cf. ὄζεια (cod. ὄζειά)· θεραπεία (H.). This ὄζος has been considered identical with ▶ὄζος ‘branch’ from antiquity onwards: ὁ κλάδος τοῦ πολέμου ‘the branch of war’ (H.).

Modern scholars have taken it as 'sprout', but DELG notes that ὄζος does not have this meaning. Although DELG accepts the connection with ὄζος < \*o-sd-o- (prefix o- and zero grade of sed- 'sit down'), but it is not very convincing semantically. Brugmann *IF* 19 (1906): 379 argues against Schulze 1892: 498, who explained ὄζος from \*ἀ-σοδ-ιο-ς (to ὄδος), but Frisk and DELG do not reject this.

Fur.: 341 cites the form ἄζος, and concludes from the interchange α/ο that the word is Pre-Greek. He assumes (374, following Frisk) that ὄζος has a secondary copulative α- under influence of ▶ ἀοσσέω 'to accompany', but this must remain uncertain, as it could also be a real Pre-Greek prothetic vowel.

**ἀολλής, -ες** [adj.] 'all together, in throngs' (Il.). <IE \*uel- 'press'>

•DER ἀολλίζω [v.] 'to press together, assemble' (epic poet.) and ἀολλεῖ· συνάγει 'brings together' (H.), whence ἀόλληις (EM). Adverb ἀολλήδην 'together' (Mosch., Opp.).

•ETYM ἀολλής < \*ἀ-φολνής is probably the Aeol. form of \*ἀ-φαλνής; see ▶ ἄλής.

**ἄορ, -ορος** [n.] 'sword' (Il.). <IE? \*h<sub>3</sub>s- 'sword'>

•VAR For ἄορας [acc.pl.] ρ 222 read ἄορα γ'. See Trümper 1950: 60ff.

•DIAL Note the tribe of the Ἀορεῖς in Corinth and the Ἀφοροί on Corcyra.

•COMP χρυσάορος, also χρυσάορ-α, -ι (Il.), epithet of gods and goddesses, also of Orpheus, 'with golden sword', but others take it as 'with golden pendant' (below); also PN Χρυσάορ (Hes.).

•ETYM ἄορ was taken as a root noun related to αἰρώ with the original meaning 'what hangs'; this would fit χρυσάορος well. Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 312f. rejected this, assuming \*h<sub>3</sub>s-γ, with the o-grade from an Aeolic (or Achaeon) zero grade. This would be cognate with Lat. *ēnsis* 'sword' and Skt. *asi-* (both from \*h<sub>3</sub>s-i-), though the Skt. word means 'butcher's knife'. Scholars have also pointed to Pal. *hašira-* 'dagger', but \*h<sub>3</sub>ns- would have given Gr. \*ἄν-. All in all, the etymology remains a bit uncertain.

**ἄορον** [m.] · μοχλόν, πυλῶνα, θυρωρόν. Κύπριοι 'bar or bolt, gateway, porter' (Cypr.) (H.). <IE? \*h<sub>3</sub>uer- 'shut, cover'>

•ETYM Comparable forms are OCS *za-vorъ* 'μοχλός', Ru. *za-vór* 'passage blocked with bars', related to OCS *za-vrěti* 'to shut' < earlier \**ver-ti*, and Lith. *su-vėrti* 'id.', Skt. *api-vṛjoti* 'to lock', and Lat. *operiō* 'id.'. Previously, an action noun \**sih-uoro-* 'locking' was assumed for the Greek word, but the meaning of \**sih-* would be unclear. Therefore, a root \**h<sub>3</sub>uer-* is preferable, which nicely confirms Lubotsky's analysis of Skt. *vṛjōti* 'to shut' as \**Huer-* in view of forms like *āvar*, *āpāvrta-*, *āpīvrta-*, see Lubotsky 2000a: 315-325. The acute in the Balto-Slavic forms is probably secondary.

**ἀορτή** •VAR ἀορτήρ. → αἰρώ 2.

**ἀοσσέω** [v.] 'to help, support'. <IE \*sekʷ- 'follow'>

•VAR Only aor. ἀοσσῆσαι (Mosch. 4, 110).

•DER ἀοσσητήρ [m.] 'helper, protector' (Il.); cf. ὀσσητήρα· βοηθόν 'assistant' and ἑοσσητήρ· ἐπικούρος, τιμωρός, ἀντί τοῦ ἀοσσητήρ 'ally, avenger (instead of α.)' (H.), but the forms are unexplained.

•ETYM ἀοσσέω is an iterative deverbative or denominative from \*ἄοσσος < \**sm-sokʷ-*io- (an old formation, cf. Lat. *socius*) from the root of ▶ ἔπομαι, Lat. *sequor*. On account of the aspiration in Skt. *sákhi-* 'ally, associate', one often finds the reconstruction \**sokʷh<sub>2</sub>-i-*. Pinault therefore adduced this word as an example for his rule that a laryngeal was lost between consonant and *yod* in PIE (Pinault 1982: 265-272), but the so-called Lex Pinault is still under debate. See on ▶ ἔπομαι, ▶ ὀπάων, and Myc. *e-qe-ta*.

**ἀπαλός** [adj.] 'tender, weak' (Il.). <?>

•DER ἀπαλία 'tenderness' (Gr.) and ἀπαλίας 'sucking-pig' (D. L. 8, 20; uncertain); ἀπάλιον· θῦμα, δελφάκιον 'victim; sucking-pig' (H.) (but the text is doubtful). Denominative verb ἀπαλύνω 'to soften' (X., Hp. usw.), ἀπαλυσμός (Hp.), ἀπαλυντής (Zonar.).

•ETYM Unknown. The formation may be compared with ὁμαλός, ἀταλός, see Chantraine 1933: 245. Fur.: 224 compares ἁμαλός, assuming variation π/μ; this is possible, but uncertain.

**ἀπαντάω** → ἄντα.

**ἄπαξ** [adv.] 'once' (Od.). <IE \*peh<sub>2</sub>g- 'firm, solid'>

•ETYM From ἀ- < \**sih-* 'one' (cf. ▶ εἷς) and -παξ, related to ▶ πήγνυμι 'to fix, coagulate', with adverbial -ς.

**ἀπαργία** [f.] a plant which has its leaves on the ground (Thphr. *HP* 7, 8, 3). <?>

•ETYM Strömberg 1944: 30f. thinks it comes from ἀργός 'brilliant, white' (cf. ▶ ἄργεμον, ▶ ἀργεμώνη) because of the color; unfortunately, we know nothing about the latter.

**ἀπαρίνη** [f.] the plant 'cleavers, Gallium aparine' (Thphr.). <PG?(S)>

•ETYM André *Latomus* 15 (1956): 295 connects it with ἀρήν (?). However, note the suffix -iv-, which is typical of the substrate language.

**ἄπας** [adj.] 'all, whole' (Il.). <GR>

•ETYM From ἀ- (cf. εἷς) and ▶ πᾶς, s.v.

**ἀπάτη** [f.] 'fraud, deceit' (Il.); on the mg. see Luther 1935: 97ff. <PG(S,V)>

•DER ἀπατηλός 'fraudulent, deceitful' (Il., IA), perhaps from ἀπατάω (Chantraine 1933: 241f.), with the metrical variant ἀπατήλιος (Od.); ἀπατεών, -ῶνος [m.] 'deceiver' (Hp., Democr., Pl.); ἀπάτυλλα (Cerc., *POxy.* 1082 fr. 39) is found in ἐξαπατύλλω (Ar.), cf. Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 219.

Denominative ἀπατάω [v.] 'to deceive' (Il.). Thence ἀπάτησις 'deception' (LXX, Phld.), ἀπάτημα 'deceit' (Gorg.), ἀπατήμων 'deceitful' (Orac. *apud* Zos.), ἀπατητικός 'id.' (Pl., Arist.), ἀπατητής 'fraud' (gloss.); ἀπατεύω = ἀπατάω (Xenoph. 11).

•ETYM Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 283 connected ἡπεροπεύς, explaining ἀπάτη as \*ἄπγ-τᾶ from an *r/n*-stem \*ἄπαρ, \*ἄπνός. This is morphologically unconvincing.

Connection with πόντος, πάτος and Go. *finþan* as per Pedersen 1926: 65 is improbable.

Fur.: 234f. connected ἄτη < \*ἄφα-τη, with the substrate variation π/ Ϝ, which is possible but not compelling either. His comparison with ἀπαφεῖν is attractive (for which the variant ἀποφεῖν shows substrate origin, see ▶ ἀπαφίσκω), as this has the same meaning. If ἡπερ-οπ-εὺς is cognate, note the suffix -οπ-, which is also a substrate element (Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 18-25).

**Ἀπατούρια** [n.pl.] the festival 'Apatouria'. <GR, IE \**sm-ph<sub>2</sub>tor-uo*->

•DER As a name of Aphrodite Ἀπατούρια, Ἀπατουριάς, also the back-formation Ἀπατούρη (Troezen, Pantikapaion, Phanagoria); further Ἀπάτουρον 'τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν' (Str. 11, 2, 10). Month name Ἀπατουριών, -εών, also Ἀπατοριών (Amorgos).

•ETYM Old celebration of the Ionians, on the occasion of which new members were accepted to the phratries. It derives from an intermediary adjective \*ἀπάτουρος (e.g. Kretschmer *Glotta* 4 (1913): 336) < \*ἀπατορφορ, which consists of copulative α- and the o-grade of πατήρ, so \**sm-ph<sub>2</sub>tor-u-* 'of the same father'. The -ρ- is compared with Skt. *pítṛnya-* 'father's brother', Lat. *patruus* 'id.', etc. (see on ▶ μητρυιά). Differently Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 656.

**ἀπαφίνιον** [n.] · Λάκωνες κάρδοπον λιθίνην (...) 'stone kneading-trough (Lacon.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. DELG compares ἀφινιάζει, of which the explanation is lost.

**ἀπαφίσκω** [v.] 'to deceive' (Od.). <PG?>

•VAR Aor. ἀπαφεῖν, also ἀπαφήσαι (h. Ap.); ἀποφεῖν· ἀπατήσαι 'to deceive' (H.).

•ETYM The present was probably built on the aorist. Van Windekens connects it with μέμφομαι, but reduplication of ἀφ- < \**ḡb<sup>h</sup>*- is highly improbable. The form ἀποφεῖν, if it was not influenced by ἀπό, suggests substrate origin, as assumed by Fur.: 341; he also connects it with ἀπάτη (234). Perhaps here ▶ ἀποφώλιος.

**ἄπαφος** [m.] · ἔποψ τὸ ὄρνεον 'hoopoe, *Upupa epops*' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM Onomatopoeic, with the suffix -αφος frequent in animal names (see Chantraine 1933: 263). The variation with ἔποψ, -πος suggests a substrate word. Cf. Lat. *upupa*.

**ἀπαφουλίστωρ** [?] · σταφυλίνος Λάκωνες 'carrot (Lacon.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Latte comments: "ἀφ-υλίστωρ cum u.l. ἀπ-"; but the meaning of ἀφυλίζειν 'to strain, filter' does not fit semantically. Could it stand for \*σταφουλ-?

**ἀπειλή** [f.] 'threat', also 'promise' (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>pelH-* (?) 'speak publicly'>

•DER ἀπειλέω [v.] 'to promise, threaten' (Il., IA). ἀπειλητήρ [m.] 'threatener, boaster' (Il., poet.), fem. ἀπειλήτειρα (Nonn.); ἀπειλητής 'id.' (D. S., J.). Adjectives: ἀπειλητήριος 'threatening' (Hdt.) and ἀπειλητικός 'id.' (Pl., X.); agent nouns: ἀπειλήματα 'threats' (S.), ἀπειλησις 'threat' (Phld.).

•ETYM If related to Latv. *pēlt* 'to revile', the root would be \**h<sub>2</sub>pel(H)-*. Assuming s-mobile, ἀπειλή has further been compared with the Germanic group of Go. *spill* [n.]

'fable', and also with Arm. *aṙa-spel* 'legend, proverb', in which case the s- would pose difficulties as Armenian also vocalizes the initial laryngeal. LIV<sup>2</sup> assumes a nasal present \*(s)*pelnH-* with secondary full grade and copulative α-, and compares ToA *pällāntār*, ToB *pällātār* 'to praise'. In view of the many additional hypotheses required, this seems rather far-fetched.

**ἀπειρέσιος** [adv.] 'endless, immense' (Il.). <GR>

•VAR ἀπερείσιος; also ἀπείριτος (Od.).

•ETYM For \*ἀπερέσιος, a derivation in -ιο- from \*ἀ-περ-ετος, a privative verbal adjective to ▶ πείρω, with metrical lengthening (Chantraine 1942: 101). ἀπείριτος (κ 195, Hes. *Th.* 109, etc.), with unclear -ι-, has the same meaning. As Vine 1998: 26ff. remarks, the e-grade root is remarkable in a formation in \*-etó-.

**ἀπέλλαι** [f.pl.] '(people's) assembly' (IG 5(1), 1144: 21, 1146: 41 [Gytheion I<sup>a</sup>]). <?>

•VAR = σηκοί, ἐκκλησίαι, ἀρχαιρεσίαι 'precincts, assemblies, elections of magistrates' (H.).

•DIAL Doric.

•DER Ἀπελλαῖος, -αίων Doric month name (Delphi, Epidauros; Tenos); τὰ ἀπελλαῖα 'sacrifice at the apellai' (Delphi); ἀπελλακάς· ἱερῶν κοινωνοὺς (H.). Denominative ἀπελλάζω, Laconian for ἐκκλησιάζω (Plu., H.).

•ETYM Formally, a connection with IE \**h<sub>2</sub>pel-* would be the most easy solution, but there are no obvious cognates for such a root. In Greek, we find a gloss ἀπέλλειν· ἀποκλείειν, and this may well provide us with the original meaning of ἀπέλλαι, enclosed space, meeting place'. Note that σηκοί in the gloss cited above means 'pen, fold', and compare σάκωσθε· ἀπέκλεισεν.

I have argued that the name of Apollo (see on ▶ Ἀπόλλων) has nothing to do with the ἀπέλλαι (Beekes *JANER* 3 (2003): 1-21).

**ἀπελλόν** [n.] · αἰγείρος 'black poplar' (H.). <?>

•ETYM The word has been connected with Lat. *pōpulus*. Although IE origin is improbable, a reconstruction \**h<sub>2</sub>pel-* > ἀπελ- is possible in principle, with *po-h<sub>2</sub>pel-o-* > \**rōpelo-* > Lat. *pōpulus*. Does HG *Vielbaum* also belong here (Kluge and Seebold 1989 s.v. *Pappel*)?

**ἄπελος** [n.] 'wound' (Call. fr. 343). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. A derivation from πέλας 'skin' with privative ἀ-, or from the root of Lat. *pellō* 'to push', is improbable. Van Windekens *Orbis* 15 (1966): 256 compared ToB *pīle*, ToA *pāl* 'wound', on which see Adams 1999; highly uncertain.

**ἀπεράω** [v.] 'to pour out' (A.). <GR?>

•DER ἀπέρασις (Thphr.). Beside it ἐξ-εράω 'pour out, vomit' (Hp.), ἐξέραμα 'spittle, vomit' (NT), ἐξέρασις 'dye extract' (PHolm. 15, 39). Also δι-, κατ-, κατεξ-, μετ-, συν-εράω (Hell.).

•ETYM Acc. to Debrunner *IF* 48 (1930): 282, the word is a denominative of ἔρα 'earth' (cf. ▶ ἔραζε), cf. the scholion to Ar. *Vesp.* 993: ἐξεράσω· εἰς τὴν γῆν μεταβαλῶ· ἔρα γάρ ἡ γῆ. In this case, ἐξεράω originally meant 'to pour out on the earth', which is possible. On MoGr. ξερνῶ, ἐξεράσα, see Grégoire *Byzantion* 13 (1938): 399f.

ἀπερείσιος ⇒ ἀπειρέσιος.

ἀπήνη [f.] 'four-wheeled wagon' (Il.), synonymous with ἄμαξα, see Delebecque 1951: 174f. <PG(V)>

•VAR πήνα· ἀπήνη 'four-wheeled wagon' (H.). Myc. *a-pe-ne-wo* /apēnēwōn/ [gen.pl.] would be an attribute of drawing animals, but ἀπήνη probably had -ānā (see below).

•ETYM The gloss πήνα· ἀπήνη (H.) suggests that the ἀ- is a real prothetic vowel and that the word is Pre-Greek. This excludes a morphological analysis ἀπ-ήνη. Further, there is the synonym καπάνα (Xenarch. 11, Thess.), with interchange κ-/ zero. Fur.: 224<sup>96</sup> compares γάπος· ὄχημα. Τυρρηνοί 'wagon (Etr.)' (H.), also adducing (285) λαμπήνη 'id.', which has a variant λαπίνη without prenasalization; on variation λ/ zero see Fur.: 392. Further, one has compared ἀμανάν· ἄμαξαν (H.).

Bănăţeanu REIE 3 (1943): 141 thought the word is Anatolian (which amounts to saying that it is a substrate word); Szemerényi JHS 94 (1947): 149f. thought it could be Semitic.

The comparison with καπάνα is the most convincing and shows foreign (substrate) origin, because of the variation κ-/ zero, see Fur.: 391f. This means that some of the other variants adduced by Furnée must be left aside.

ἀπηνής, -ές [adj.] 'unfriendly, harsh' (Il.). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>en-os- 'face'>

•DER ἀπήνεια [f.] 'harshness' (Thphr., A. R.).

•ETYM Formation like πρᾶνής (πρηνής) and προσηνής (προσᾶνής), from ἀπό (πρό, πρὸς) with a second element for which \*ῥνός [n.] 'face' is traditionally assumed. A problem with this analysis is that Skt. \*ānas- does not exist, and that ānana- [n.] 'mouth' is of uncertain interpretation. Blanc CEG 1 connects ▶ ἀναίνομαι, which is doubtful. So there is no clear etymology.

ἀπηύρων ⇒ ἀπούρας.

ἀπινύσσω ⇒ πέπνυμαι.

ἄπιον [n.] 'pear' (Pl.). <?>

•VAR ἄπιος [f.] 'pear tree' (Thphr.), but these are not always distinguished, cf. Wackernagel 1920-1924(2): 17.

•ETYM Related to Lat. *pirum*, *pirus*. Generally considered to be a Mediterranean LW. See Hubschmid 1963: 121. Berger MSS 9 (1956): 15ff compares Burushaski *phežo*, which is improbable. Steinbauer 1989: 68 argues that the word could be from IE \*h<sub>2</sub>pis-o-, which seems even less likely.

ἄπιος [adj.] 'distant, far away' (Il.). <GR>

•ETYM From ἀπό; for the formation, cf. ἀντίος. The word appears in the formula (τηλόθεν) ἐξ ἀπῆς γαίης. In S. OC 1685 it has a long ᾱ-, probably under influence of Ἀπία 'Peloponnese'; see ▶ Ἄπις. See ▶ ἀπό.

ἀπλετος [adj.] 'boundless, immense' (Emp., S., IA prose), said of the sky, height, time, gold. <?>

•ETYM Privative ἀ- plus an unknown second member; not related to ▶ πλέθρον, as per DELG.

ἀπλός [adj.] 'single, simple' (A.). <?>

•VAR Contracted ἀπλοῦς; hapax ἀπλός (An. Ox. 2, 231).

•COMP διπλός, διπλοῦς 'twofold, double, twice' (since Il.), also διπλός (Opp.).

•DER ἀπλοῖς [f.] (Il.), of χλαῖνα. Diminutive ἀπλοῖδιον (pap.); ἀπλοϊκός 'simple, plain' (Hell.). ἀπλότης [f.] 'simplicity, plainness' (X., Arist.). Denominative verbs: 1. ἀπλόω [v.] 'to develop, unfold', whence ἄπλωσις and ἄπλωμα, ἀπλωτικός (all late); 2. ἀπλοῖζομαι 'to act modestly' (X., D. C.).

•ETYM ἀπλός is the opposite of διπλός, διπλοῦς 'twofold, double' (Il.) and late διπλός (Opp.). Direct connection of ἀπλός with Lat. *simplus*, *duplus*, and Gm. forms like Go. *tweifl* [acc.] 'doubt' (assuming a root \*pel- 'to fold') is problematic, as Gr. -πλος is late and rare compared to -πλός. Kretschmer Glotta 12 (1923): 218 considered secondary influence of -πλόφος 'sailing', related to ▶ πλέω. Cf. ▶ διπλάσιος.

ἀπό [prep.] 'far away, away from' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>epo 'from'>

•VAR ἄπο [adv.].

•DIAL Arc.-Cypr., Aeol. ἀπό. Note Myc. *a-pu-do-ke*, *a-pe-do-ke* /apu-dōke/, /ap-edōke/.

•DER Beside ἄπο-θεν also ἄπωθεν 'from afar, far from' (Schwyzer: 628, Lejeune 1939: 332).

•ETYM Old adverb and preverb, identical with Skt. *āpa* 'away from', Lat. *ab*, and Go. *af* 'down'; probably also to Hitt. *appa* 'after' (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). From PIE *h<sub>2</sub>épo*, which has a variant \*h<sub>2</sub>pó- > OCS *po*, >> PGM. *fana* that would also have given ἀπό. See ▶ ἄπιος.

ἀποδιδράσκω ⇒ διδράσκω.

ἀπόερσε [v.] 'swept away' (Il.). <IE? \*uer- 'tear'>

•VAR Only this form occurs.

•ETYM Formerly interpreted as the s-aorist from a root \*uer- or \*uers- (Gil Emerita 32 (1964): 181), which was also supposed in ▶ ἀπούρας, but this probably has a root \*ur-eh<sub>2</sub>-. Forssman 1980: 192 more convincingly reconstructs ἀπόερσε as \*uert-s- from the root for 'turn', also seen in ▶ ἔρρω < \*uert-ie/o-.

ἀπόθεστος [adj.] 'despised, uncared for', said of Odysseus's dog (ρ 296). <GR>

•ETYM The opposite πολύ-θεστος 'much desired' (Call.) and PNs such as Ἑρμό-θεστος, Boeot. Θιό-φειστος, and ἄ-θεστος (of Ἑρινός, H.) show that the word belongs to ▶ θέσσαισθαι, root \*g<sup>wh</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>-. Incorrect hypothesis (ἀ-πόθεστος) by Leumann 1950: 64f.

ἄποινα [n.pl.] 'ransom, fine' (Il.). <GR>

•VAR Sing. ἄποινον (IG 14, 1389: 1; 10).

•ETYM Formerly analyzed as \*ἀπόποινος with hapology, so derived from ἀποτίνω 'to pay, atone', modelled after ποινή: τίνω. Rather, it is simply from \*smi- in the sense of 'equalizing payment, atonement', see West Glotta 77 (1999): 121.

ἀπόκυνον [n.] plant name 'Cynanchum erectum' or 'Marsdenia erecta' (Dsc.). <GR>

•VAR = μάζα μεμιγμένη φαρμάκῳ πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν κυνῶν ‘cake mixed with a drug against the killing of dogs’ (H.).

•ETYM Substantivized from an adjective \*ἀπόκυνος ‘hostile to dogs’, acc. to Strömberg 1944: 26.

**ἀπολάντιον** [n.] probably a herb, in σπάρτα ἀπολάντιου (PMag. Lond. 1, 121, 209 [III<sup>P</sup>]). <PG(V)>

•VAR παλλάντιον (Hippiatr. 66).

•ETYM The proposal of Strömberg 1944: 27 to connect λέντιον ‘linen cloth’ is improbable. Fur.: 344 compares παλλάντιον, a kind of grass, which suggests that the words are Pre-Greek.

**ἀπολαύω** [v.] ‘to enjoy’ (Ar.), “von Haus aus kein feines Wort” (Wackernagel 1916: 229). <IE? \*leh<sub>2</sub>u- ‘seize, capture’>

•DER Verbal nouns ἀπόλαυσις (Att.), ἀπόλαυσμα (late) ‘enjoyment’, adjective ἀπολαυστικός ‘producing enjoyment’ (Arist., Plb.).

•ETYM Mostly connected with λεία ‘booty’, Dor. λᾱῖᾱ (< \*lāf-īā) ‘booty’, for which an IE root \*leh<sub>2</sub>u- could be assumed. This root is also assumed in Lat. *lucrum* ‘gain’, which could be from \*luklo- < \*lh<sub>2</sub>u-tló- (Schrijver 1991: 240), and in Go. *laun* [n.] ‘reward’ < \*leh<sub>2</sub>u-no-. However, the appurtenance of OCS *lovъ* ‘catch, chase’, *loviti* ‘to catch, chase’ would require \*lh<sub>2</sub>eu-, which is an improbable formation. Unrelated is Skt. *lotra-*, *lota-* ‘booty’ (lex.), which is from MInd. *loptra-*, see Wackernagel 1896: 91. The appurtenance of ▶λᾱρός ‘delicious’ is uncertain.

It is best to assume that anteconsonantal \*leh<sub>2</sub>u-C- (e.g. in the *s*-aorist) yielded \*λαυC-, which was generalized to the other tense forms.

See ▶λεία.

**ἀπολεῖν[α]** [?] · ἀποστρέφειν. Λάκωνες ‘turn away (Lacon.)’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM From ἀπο-πολεῖν (Thurneysen *Glotta* 12 (1922): 145). Cf. ▶ἀπυλιῶναι.

**Ἀπόλλων, -ωνος** [m.] theonym (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Voc. Ἄπολλον.

•DIAL Ἀπέλλων (Dor.), Ἀπείλων (Cypr.), Ἀπλουν (Thess.). Perhaps in Myc. *[pe-rjo]* / *[A]peljo[n-]*, see Ruijgh 1967a: 56.

•ETYM Schmidt KZ 32 (1893): 327ff. assumed that the vocative Ἄπολλον was assimilated from Ἄπελλον with unaccented ε, and that the other cases (with accented ε) introduced the *o* analogically. However, such vowel assimilations cannot be assumed so easily in Greek (cf. Van Beek fthc.b). The *e*-vocalism is found in the PNs Ἀπελλίων, Ἀπελλῆς, etc. Moreover, Cypr. Ἀπείλων points to a pre-form \*Ἀπέλιων for Dor. Ἀπέλλων; Thess. Ἄπλουν perhaps derives from Pre-Greek \*Ἀpel’ōn with syncope and -ουν from \*-ōn (Ruijgh *apud* Beekes *JANER* 3 (2003), see below).

In spite of repeated attempts, there is no IE etymology. As Apollo was assumed to come from Asia Minor, one looked there for a connection. But Lyd. *Plādans Artimuk* (see on ▶Ἄρτεμις) had initial *q*-. Burkert’s idea that the name was derived from ἀπέλλαι is impossible (see detailed argumentation in Beekes *JANER* 3 (2003)). The name is probably Pre-Greek, and Hitt. <sup>DINGIR</sup>Appaliunaš, mentioned in a treaty

between Alaksandus of Wilusa and the Hittite king, may well be the Pre-Greek proto-form *Apal’un*. The Hittite rendering shows that the oldest Pre-Greek form had \*a. This became *e* before the palatal \*l’. The *e* was then assimilated (in Pre-Greek) to *o* by the following -ōn.

**ἀπόμελι** [n.] kind of mead, made from the water used to wash honeycombs (Dsc.).

<GR>

•ETYM Derived from μέλι; the prefix has a pejorative meaning (Strömberg 1944: 29f.).

**ἀπομύσσω** ⇒ μύσσομαι.

**ἀπούρᾱς** [aor.ptc.] ‘taking away, depriving’ (Il.). <IE? \*ureh<sub>2</sub>- ‘draw, tear’ (?)>

•VAR Ind. root aorist 2sg. ἀπηυρᾱς, 3sg. -ᾱ, 1sg. -ων (after the type ἐτίμα : ἐτίμων); fut. ἀπουρήσουσι or -ρισσουσι (X 489); see Strunk *Glotta* 37 (1958): 118-127. Ptc. med. ἀπουράμενος (Hes. Sc. 173), which is analogical since a zero grade -urh<sub>2</sub>- would have yielded -φρᾱ-.

•ETYM For \*ἀπο-φρᾱς (see Lejeune 1972: 181 and 228), as if from a root \*ureh<sub>2</sub>-, which is not known from other languages. The 3sg. ἀπ-ηυρᾱ is supposed to stand for \*ἀπ-ηφρᾱ with long augment. The barytonesis is Aeolic (Wackernagel *Gött. Nachr.* 1914: 119). See further on ▶ἀπόερσε, which is unrelated.

**ἀποφράς, -άδος** [adj.] ‘unlucky, wicked’ (Pl.). <GR>

•VAR Mostly fem. (of ἡμέρα), but also msc. (Eup. 309).

•ETYM From φράζω, φραδῆ, φράδμων, with -φράς after the nouns in -άς (Chantraine 1933: 351, Schwyzler: 507).

**ἀποφράση** [f.] term for δούλη (Seleuc. *apud* Ath. 6, 267e). <?>

•VAR -φράτη in Eust. 1090, 57.

•ETYM Unknown.

**ἀποφώλιος** [adj.] ‘worthless (?)’ (Od.). <GR?>

•ETYM Glossed as ἀνεμώλιος, μάταιος ‘futile, idle’. Not related to ὄφελος ‘use’. Probably connected to ἀποφεῖν· ἀπατήσαι ‘to deceive’ (H.), in which case the word originally meant ‘deceiving’. For the formation cf. ἀμαρτωλός, see Chantraine 1933: 43. Derivation from \*ἀπο-φαο-λιος (as per Neitzel *Glotta* 57 (1979): 1-20), like in παυο-φόροι· Αἰολεῖς ἱέρειαι ‘priestesses’ (H.), is doubtful. See ▶ἀπαφίσκω.

**ἀποχειροβίотος** [adj.] ‘living from his hands’ < ‘who obtains his livelihood by his hands’ (Hdt.). <GR>

•VAR Also ἀποχειρόβιος (Poll.), not -βίωτος; see Wackernagel *Glotta* 14 (1925): 55.

•ETYM Compounded of βίотος and ἀπὸ χειρῶν.

**ἄππα** [m.] ‘father’ (Call.). <ONOM>

•DER ἄππας title of a priest (Magnesia, Lydia); Christian priest; also = τροφεύς ‘foster father’ (H.).

•ETYM Acc. to EM 167, 32, the word is Macedonian, but this is doubtful. An elementary word, cf. πάππα, ἄττα, ἄπφα, and ToB *appa-kke* ‘father’.

**ἄπριγδα** [adv.] ‘fast, tight; continuously’ (A. Pers. [lyr.]). <?>



- VAR ἀπρίξ 'id.' (S., Pl.).
- DIALEM 132, 53 also γένος τι ἀκάνθης (Κύπριοι); see ἄρπιξ.
- DER ἀπριγδόπληκτος (also -τό-) 'struck unceasingly' (A.).
- ETYM For adverbs in -(γ)δα, -ξ, see Schwyzer: 620, 626. Frisk analyzed it as containing intensive α- and ►πρίω 'to saw', assuming an original mg. 'as tight as the teeth of a saw'; this is rather dubious, both formally (πριγ- is attested only late, cf. DELG) and semantically.

**ἀπροξίς, -ίδος** [f.] name of a shrub, 'Dictamnus albus' (Pythag. *apud* Plin. *HN* 24, 158).

◄?►

- ETYM Unexplained.

**ἀπτερέως** [adv.] 'promptly, as quick as lightning' (Hes., Parm.). ◄GR►

- DER ἀπτερύσσομαι [v.] 'to flap the wings' (Archil.), cf. πτερύσσομαι to πτέρυξ; ἀπτερύομαι (Arat.) after ἀφύω : ἀφύσσω, etc.
- ETYM From ἄπτερος 'winged, quick' (*Trag. Adesp.*, H.), which is built on copulative ἀ- and πτερόν. The ending -έως is metrically conditioned. Cf. ►πτερόν.

**ἀπτοεπής** [adj.] said of Hera (Θ 209), exact mg. unknown. ◄IE? \*seng<sup>wh</sup>- 'sing'►

- ETYM Analyzed by Wackernagel *BB* 4 (1878): 283f. as \*ἀ-επτο-επής 'who speaks words that should not be spoken' (\*η-uek<sup>wh</sup>-to-uek<sup>wh</sup>-es-), which is not really convincing. Meier-Brügger *MSS* 50 (1989): 91-96 suggests that it contains \*η-sng<sup>wh</sup>-to- 'what cannot be sung', from the root \*seng<sup>wh</sup>- in E *sing*; \*η-sng<sup>wh</sup>-to- would also occur in ►ἄαπτος. Neither hypothesis is really evident.

**ἄπτω** [v.] 'to join, attach, grasp; kindle' (Il.). ◄IE \*h<sub>2</sub>ep- 'join, fit'►

- VAR Mostly med.
- DER ἀφή 'kindling, touching, grip, etc.' (Hdt., Pl., etc.); thence ἀφάω 'to handle, treat' (Il.), only pres.; further ἀφάσσω 'id.' (Ion., Hell.) and ἀφάξει· ἀναδέχεται 'undertake, give security, etc.' (H.).
- ἄψις 'handling' (Hp., Pl., Arist.); ἄψος [n.] 'connection', plur. 'joints' (Od.), see Chantraine 1933: 421; ἄμια 'noose, cord' (Hp., Hdt., et al), whence late ἀμματιζω, ἀμματισμός, diminutive ἀμματίον (Gal.). ἀψίς, -ίδος [f.] 'mesh, rim, etc.', lengthened from ἄψις 'connection'.
- Perhaps ►αὐαψή and χορδαψός (s.v. ►χορδή) contain a derivative of ἄπτω, but this may be doubted.
- ETYM Fur.: 324, 353 took ἀφάω as evidence for Pre-Greek origin, but it is rather a denominative to ἀφή, which has analogical aspiration. As will be argued in Van Beek fth.c.a, ἄπτω derives from the root \*h<sub>2</sub>ep- seen in Hitt. *happ*-<sup>zi</sup> 'to join' and Lat. *aptus* 'fit, apt'. The initial aspiration is secondary after verbs like ἔπω 'to take care of' < \*sep-, and the root-final aspirate -φ- can be explained by analogy with ταφ-, σκαφ-, etc. The same proposal was done already by Kretschmer *Glotta* 7 (1916): 352, but it was neglected e.g. by Frisk.

On the relation between ἄψος 'joint' and other Indo-European forms, see Clackson 1994: 98ff. Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 656 separated two meanings: he connected 'to fasten' with Lat. *apiō* and 'to kindle' with Gm. *sengen* 'to singe', OCS *prě-sqčiti* 'to

dry' < \*senk<sup>w</sup>-. This is now abandoned, as its root is reconstructed as \*sek- 'to dry up', with a pure velar (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.).

**ἀπυλιῶναι** [v.] uncertain (*IG* 5(2) p. xxxvi D 1, 20 [Tegea IV<sup>a</sup>]). ◄GR?►

- ETYM Thurneysen *Glotta* 12 (1922): 145 supposed haplogy from \*ἀπυ-πολιῶναι 'to give back'; cf. ►ἀπολεῖν[α]. A better hypothesis is that of Buck 1955: §162, 10, who understands it as 'to regulate, cancel' and connects it with ἀπο-λειόω 'to erase' (see ►λεῖος), with iotacism and the ending -ωναι of the infinitive.

**ἄπφα** [m.] endearing address between brothers and sisters or beloved ones (Eust.).

◄ONOM►

- DER ἀπφίον (Eust.), ἀπφάριον (Xenarch., Smyrna), ἀπφίδιον (sch.); ἀπφία (Poll., H.), ἀπφῦς [m.] 'papa' (Theoc.), expressive but unexplained.
- ETYM An elementary form of address; cf. unspirited ἄππα, etc. See Chantraine *REG*. 59-60 (1946-1947): 245 and Kretschmer *Glotta* 16 (1928): 184.

**ἄρα** [adv.] 'of course, then, so' (Il.). ◄IE \*h<sub>2</sub>(e)r 'thus, so'►

- VAR Also ἄρ, enclitic ῥα, with elision ῥ'.
- DIAL Cypr. ἔρ(α) (H.), against Latte; see Ruijgh 1971: 433<sup>76</sup>.
- ETYM On final -α, see Schwyzer: 622f. Related to Lith. *iř*, Latv. *ir* 'and, also; even' and (with full grade) the question particle Lith. *ař*, Latv. *ar*. Connection with the root of ►ἀραρίσκω, ►ἄρτι is possible, assuming an original sense 'accordingly' vel sim., and would require \*h<sub>2</sub>r. However, Cypr. ἔρ(α) (if trustworthy) would point to \*h<sub>2</sub>er, but this is impossible since \*h<sub>2</sub>r would have given \*ἔρα, not ἄρα.

**ἄρά** [f.] 'prayer, curse' (Il.). ◄IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>eru- 'prostrate'►

- DIAL Ion. ἄρή, Arc. καταρφος 'cursed'; the interpretation of Myc. *ka-ta-wo* is doubtful.
- COMP πολυαἰρήτος (Od.) 'much prayed for'.
- DER ἀραίος 'belonging to ἄ.' (trag.); ἀράτός (-η-) 'prayed for, accursed' (Il., poet.). Denominative ἀράομαι [v.] 'id.' (Il.), which often occurs with preverbs, e.g. ἐπ-, καταράομαι (IA). Thence ἀρητήρ [m.] 'who prays, priest' (Il.), fem. ἀρήτειρα (Call., A. R.), ἀρητήριον 'place for praying, etc.' (Plu.).
- ETYM Arcadian shows a pre-form \*ἄρῃ, which neatly explains the difference in quantity of ἄ- in Ionic and Attic. The final -α in Attic ἄρά poses problems, however, since we expect -η after \*ř. Perhaps it is from (-)ἀράομαι or from the frequent plural ἀραί (cf. Schwyzer: 188<sup>2</sup>).
- Meillet *BSL* 26 (1925): 19f. compared ἀρύει 'cry'. Not connected to Arm. *uranam* 'to deny' < \*ōr- (see Clackson 1994: 102f.). The connection with Hitt. *aruḫae*-<sup>zi</sup> 'to prostrate, bow', is revived by Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. who proposed that the Hittite verb derives from thematic \*h<sub>2</sub>oruō-. If related, Greek would presuppose a noun \*h<sub>2</sub>(e)ru-eh<sub>2</sub>-.

**ἄραβος** [m.] 'rattle, ring', of armor or teeth (Il.). ◄PG(V)►

- DER Denominative verb ἀραβέω 'to rattle, ring' (Il.).
- ETYM The same suffix is found in θόρυβος, κόναβος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 260). For the stem cf. ►ἄραδος, ►ἀράζω. Perhaps the word is onomatopoeic, see Güntert



1914: 145f. Fur.: 142 compares ἀροπήσαι· πατήσαι ‘to tread’ (H.), which points to substrate origin (with interchange α/ ο). As Furnée remarks, a word can be both onomatopoeic and a substrate word.

**ἀράγην** •VAR ἄραγμα, ἀραγμός. ⇒ ἀράσσω.

**ἄραδος** [m.] ‘disturbance, palpitation’ (Hp.). <ONOM>

•DER ἀραδ<ήσ>ει· θορυβήσει, τaráξει ‘make noise, agitate’ and ἀράδιται· κεκόνηται (?), συγκέχεται ‘has caused to hasten, is confounded’ (H.); also ἀράζουσιν· ἐρεθίζουσιν ‘provoke’ (H.).

•ETYM Cf. κέλαδος, ὄμαδος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 359). Perhaps onomatopoeic (but is it primarily used of sounds?). Cf. ▶ ἄραβος.

**ἀράζω** [v.] ‘to snarl, growl’, of dogs (D. H.). <PG>

•VAR Also ἀράζω; ῥάζω (Cratin.); also ῥύζω (Hermipp.).

•DER ἀρρίζω (AB), reduplicated ἀραρίζω (Ammon.).

•ETYM On the anlaut, see Schwyzler: 310. Is it onomatopoeic and/or Pre-Greek? Cf. ▶ ἄραβος and ▶ ἄραδος.

**ἀραιός** [adj.] ‘thin, slender, with open spaces’ (Il.). <?>

•VAR ἀρ- (Hdn. Gr., also in mss.).

•DER ἀραιότης ‘looseness’ (Hp., Arist.), opposed to πυκνότης; ἀραιώδης ‘porous’ (Gal.). ἀραιώω [v.] ‘to rarify’ (Hp., Arist.), whence ἀραιώμα, ἀραίωσις.

•ETYM The word probably had ʀ- (Sommer 1905: 114), but there is no further explanation. Fur.: 339 etc. compares ἀρβός· διεστός, ἀραιός, ἐλαφρός (H.) if this gloss stands for (or derives from) \*ἀραβος, but this is highly uncertain.

**ἄρακις** [f.] ‘bowl, pan’ (Ath. 11, 502b: Αἰολεῖς τὴν φιάλην ἄρακιν καλοῦσιν). <PG(V)>

•VAR ἄρακις (cod. ἀρά<κ>η<ν>); φιάλην καὶ ἀράκτιν ‘bowl or pan’ (H.); ἐξ ἀρ(α)κίδων (cod. ἄρκιαων)· ἐκ φιαλῶν ‘of bowls’ (H.).

•DER ἀρακτῆρα· ἀμελκτῆρα ‘milking-pail’ (H.), derived from ἀράκτιν.

•ETYM The form with -κτ- proves substrate origin (see Fur.: index). Given this, it is unnecessary to assume -α- in ἀρκίδων. Fur.: 308, 319 further compares ἄροκλον = φιάλη (Nic. fr. 129) with κτ > κλ, for which he gives parallels. The interchange α/ ο is well-known in substrate words.

**ἄρακος** [m.] wild chickling, ‘Lathyrus annuus’ (Ar.). Cf. ἄρακοι· ὄσπριόν τι, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ λάθυρον ‘a pulse, the same as λ.’ (H.). <PG>

•VAR Also [n.]; also a consonant stem ἄραξ [m.] (pap.). Variant ἄραχος (Gal.).

•DIAL Myc. PN *a-ra-ko*?

•DER Diminutive ἀρακίς, ἀρακίσκος (Gal.). Further ἀράχιδνα (Thphr.); ἀραχνοῦς. εἶδος ὀσπρίου ‘kind of pulse’ (H.); ἀράχνη a plant, ‘Heracleum sphondylium’ (Ps.-Dsc. 3, 76).

•ETYM The interchange κ/ χ and the suffix -ιδνα- clearly prove substrate origin (Fur.: 127f.). Unrelated is Lat. *arinca* ‘kind of spelt’.

**ἄραξα** [?] mythical plant growing near the Araxes (Ps. Plu., *Fluv.* 23,2). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**ἀραρίσκω** [v.] ‘to fit together, construct, equip, etc.’ (Il.+). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>er- ‘fit’>

•VAR Them. aor. ἀραρεῖν, s-aor. ἄρσαι, perf. ἄρᾱρα (intr.); pass. aor. ἤρθην; ἄρμενος ‘fitting, equipped’ is an isolated med. root ptc. (Il.), with substantivized ntr.plur.

▶ ἄρμενα.

•DIAL Myc. *a-ra-ro-wo-a* /ararwo<sup>a</sup>/ [n.pl.]; *a-ra-ru-ja* /araruia(i)/; *ka-ka-re-a* /k<sup>a</sup>alk-āreha/ ‘equipped with bronze’.

•DER Many etyma derive from the same root, e.g. ▶ ἄρμα, ἄρμός, ▶ ἄρμονία, ▶ ἄρμόζω, ▶ ἄρτύς, ▶ ἄρθρον. From the perfect ἄραρα derives ἀραρότως ‘well-fitted’ (A., E., Pl.). Further ἀρθμός ‘tie, friendship’ (*h. Merc.* 524), ἀρθμιος ‘allied’ (epic Ion.) and ἀρθμέω [v.] ‘to unite’ (Il., A. R.). ἀρμή ‘junction’ (Hp.), ἄρμᾱ f. ‘union, intercourse’ (Delph., Plu., H.). ἄρσιον· δίκαιον ‘just’ (H.) probably arose from ἀν-ἄρσιος by decomposition. See also ▶ ἀριθμός, ▶ ἀρείων, ▶ ἀρέσκω, ▶ ἀρετή, ▶ ἄρτι, ▶ ὄαρ.

•ETYM The present is based on the aor. ἀραρεῖν; there is also an old perfect ἄρᾱρα. The nearest cognate is the Arm. *arari* ‘I made’, pres. *ar̥nem*, which also has a reduplicated aorist. The root is found in other languages too, e.g. Av. *arəm* ‘fitting’ and Skt. *ṛtá-* ‘order’ (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.).

Hitt. *ārā-* ‘proper’, Hitt. *arā-* ‘friend’ and Lyc. *ara-* ‘rite’, Lyc. *erawazije* ‘monument’ are connected by Kloekhorst 2008 under the assumption of an *o*-grade \*h<sub>2</sub>or-o- (etc.), with neutralization of the laryngeals before \*o.

**ἀράσσω** [v.] ‘to beat, strike’, of rattling, clashing (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aor. ἀράξαι.

•DER ἀραγμός ‘clashing, rattling’ (A.).

•ETYM Unknown. Is the word onomatopoeic? Cf. ▶ ἄραβος. On possible connection with ▶ ῥάσσω, ῥήσσω ‘to beat’ see there.

**ἀρασχάδες** [m./f.pl.] · τὰ περυσινὰ κλήματα ‘last year’s vinetwigs’ (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Cf. ἀρέσχει· κλήματα, βότρυες ‘vinetwigs, bunches of grapes’ (H.) and ὄρεσχάς· τὸ σὺν τοῖς βότρυσιν ἀφαιρεθὲν κῆμα ‘twig with bunches of grapes taken off’ (H.). Clearly related αὔροσχάς = τὸ κατὰ βότρυν κῆμα (Eratosth. 37), also name of a wine (Parth.). DELG s.v. ὄσχη gives ὄρεσχάδα, ‘dit de branches d’ormaux’, from Harp. (as in Nic. *Al.* 109 [not in LSJ]), and further to ὄλοσχος ‘pedicle of the pomegranate’ (Nic. *Th.* 870).

•ETYM ὄλοσχος may have λ for ρ. I am convinced that the four forms of the word (αρα-, αρε-, ορε-, αυρο-) are not old compounds (certainly not if we connect ὄλοσχος). It is rather a vocalic variation in an evident substrate word (Fur.: 302, 342, 348). In *Pre-Greek*, I reconstruct *ar<sup>w</sup>-ask-at-*, which explains interchange α-/αυ-/ο- and -ρα-/ο-.

**ἀράχιδνα** ⇒ ἄρακος.

**ἀράχνη** [f.] ‘spider’s web, spider’ (Hp.). <LW Medit.>

•VAR ἀράχνης [m.] ‘spider’ (Hes.), ἄραχνος [m.] (A.).

•DER ἀράχνιον ‘spider’s web’ (Od., com., Arist.), also diminutive (Arist.), ἀραχνιώδης ‘like a spider’s web’ (Hp., Arist., Dsc.) denominative ἀραχνιόμαι [v.] ‘to

be covered with spider's webs' (Arist., Nonn.). Adjectives ἀραχνώδης (Arist., Ael.), ἀραχνήεις (Nic.) and ἀραχναῖος (AP), denominative ἀραχνάομαι 'to weave a web' (Eust.). ἀράχνηκες· ἀράχναι (H.) is reshaped after σφήκες, μύρμηκες, σκώληκες, etc.

- ETYM ἀράχνη can be from \**araksnā-*, like Lat. *arāneus* [m.] 'spider', *arānea* [f.] 'spider's web'. As the word looks non-IE and since it is limited to these two languages, it is probably a borrowing. Connection with ἄρκυς is impossible in IE terms, and for a substrate element it is difficult, too. See Gil Fernández 1959: 24f.

ἄραχος ⇒ ἄρακος.

ἀρβάλη [f.] · τήγανον ὀστράκινον. Ταραντῖνοι 'earthenware frying-pan (Tarent.)' (H.). <?>

- ETYM Unknown.

ἄρβηλος [m.] 'semicircular knife', used by cobblers (Nic. *Th.* 423). Also metaph. of a geometrical figure (Papp.), see Mugler 1958-1959 s.v. <PG>

- VAR Cf. also ἀνάρβηλα· τὰ μὴ ἐξεσμένα, ἀρβήλοις γὰρ τὰ δέρματα <ξέουσι> (H.).
- ETYM A substrate word, see Fur.: 115<sup>5</sup> on the suffix.

ἀρβίννη [f.] · κρέας. Σικελοί 'flesh, meat (Sicilian)' (H.). <LW>

- ETYM Connected to Lat. *arvina* 'fat, especially around the intestines', from which it is a loan (Campanile 1969: 318f). Acc. to von Blumenthal 1930: 16, the word is Messapian and cognate with *arvina*.

ἀρβύλη [f.] 'shoe that covers the whole foot up to the ankle' (Hp.). <PG(S,V)>

- VAR ἀρβύκη (read ἀρβύλης)· τοῦ ὑποδήματος 'sandal' (H.). Also ἀράβυλας· ὑποδήματος εἶδη φορτικά καὶ βαρβαρικά 'kinds of coarse, non-Greek sandals' (H.). And ἄρμυλα· ὑποδήματα. Κύπριοι 'sandals (Cypri.)' (H.).
- DER κατάρβυλος 'reaching down to the shoes' (S.); cf. καθάρβυλος χλανίς.
- ETYM Clearly a substrate word, as evidenced by the suffix -υλ- (Fur.: 201<sup>4</sup>) and variations β/μ, αρ/αρα, and κατ-/καθ-άρβυλος (Bănațeanu *REIE* 3 (1943): 145, Knauer *Glotta* 33 (1954): 114<sup>1</sup>).

ἀργαλέος ⇒ ἄλγος.

Ἀργεῖφόντης epithet of Hermes (Il.). <?>

- ETYM Since Kretschmer, assumed to be a metrical reshaping of \*Ἀργοφόντης (Kretschmer *Glotta* 10 (1920): 45ff., Kretschmer *Glotta* 24 (1936): 236f., Kretschmer *Glotta* 27 (1939): 33): "killer of Argos", the many-eyed primordial Giant. Ruijgh 1995: 87<sup>306</sup> takes the form at face value (i.e. \**argehi-k<sup>wh</sup>on-tā-*) and assumes that it originally means 'who kills by his flash', from the *s*-stem \*ἄργος seen in ἐναργής and ἀργεννός. The connection of the second member with εὐθένεια by Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 5 (1954): 19ff., assuming a sense "shining in splendour", is unconvincing. Chantraine 1935: 69ff., thinks of a Pre-Greek word, which seems quite possible.
- Further literature: Chittenden *AJA* 52 (1948): 24-33 ("dog-killer"); West 1978: 368f.; Koller *Glotta* 54 (1976): 211-215 (unconvincing).

ἄργελλα [f.]? · οἰκῆμα Μακεδονικόν, ὅπερ θερμαίνοντες λούονται 'Macedonian dwelling-place, where [men] bathe while warming up' (Suid.). <PG(V)>

- VAR ἄργιλλα, ἄργιλα [f.] 'subterranean house' (Magna Graecia, Strabo V 244 = Ephor. [fr. 45], cf. Eust. ad D. P. 1166).
- ETYM From this word comes Alb. *ragál* 'cottage' (Jokl *IF* 44 (1927): 13ff.). See also Pagliaro *Ric. ling.* 1 (1950): 145f. and Hubschmid 1963: 81. The interchanges ε/ι and λ/λλ clearly point to a substrate word. Related to ἄργιλλος 'white clay'? See Kallérís 1954: 104.

ἀργέλοφοι [m.pl.] 'legs and feet of a sheepskin, offal' (Ar. V. 672 only). <PG?(V)>

- VAR Cf. ἀργίλοφοι· λαπάροι κωδίων [read: κωδίων] 'the flanks of sheepskins' · οἱ δὲ πρωκτόν. καὶ μιλωταί 'anus; sheepskin' (H.).
- DIAL Acc. to the sch. and AB 8, the word is Attic for ποδεῶνες 'ragged ends of the skins of animals'.
- ETYM Derivation from ἀργός (in which case the -ε- is unexplicable) or from λόφος "kann jedenfalls unmöglich richtig sein" (Frisk). One is inclined to consider it as a momentary creation of Aristophanes, but how could his audience have understood him? It is rather a word that we simply do not know. Fur.: 358 adduces the gloss with -ι-, which probably demonstrates substrate origin, e.g. \**arg-al'-ap-*. The word clearly denotes the useless parts of a sheep(skin), cf. the meanings 'anus' or 'membrum virile' (attested for ποδεῶν).

ἄργεμον [n.] 'white spot in the eye, albugo' (Hp.), also plant name (Plin.). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>erǵ-* 'brilliant, white'>

- VAR Also -ος [m.].
- DER ἀργεμώνη 'Papaver Argemone' (Crateuas), a remedy against ἄργεμιος, cf. Chantraine 1933: 208. Not from Hebr. 'argāmān 'red purple' (Lagarde *Gött. Abh.* 35 (1888): 205, cf. Lewy 1895: 49f.), because of the mg.
- ETYM Connected to \*ἄργος in ἀργεστής, ἀργεννός, like ἄνθεμιον to ► ἄνθος, yet the latter derivation is difficult; cf. Chantraine 1933: 132. Further connected to ► ἀργός 1.

ἀργεννός •VAR ἀργεστής. = ἀργός.

ἀργής, -ῆτος [adj.] 'brilliant white, gleaming' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>erǵ-* 'brilliant, white'>

- VAR Also -έτι, -έτα (Il.).
- DER Poetical enlargement ἀργησ-τής 'id.' (B.), after ὠμηστής? (Schwyzer: 500<sup>1</sup>). ἄργῆεις (Dor. -άεις, contr. ἀργᾶς) (Pi.).
- ETYM Formation like γυμνής, etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 267) from ► ἀργός. The ablaut -ητ-/ετ- is of IE origin.

ἀργιλίτης [adj.] context and mg. unclear (Archil. 160). <?>

- VAR ἀργίλιπες [pl.] (Nic. *Th.* 213), of ἔχιδναι, acc. to the scholia = ἐκλευκοί 'very white', but see Frisk III s.v. on the mg.
- ETYM Connected with ἀργι- in ἀργι-κέραυνος, etc. (see ► ἀργός). DELG relates the second member to λιπ- 'fat', comparing it with ἀργέτι δημῶ 'with a white greasy shine'.

**ἄργιλλα** = ἄργελλα.

**ἄργιλλος** [f.] 'white clay' (Arist.). <PG?>

- VAR ἄργιλλα [f.] 'id.' (Gal.).
- DIAL ἄργιλος (inscr. Acarnan.).
- ETYM Generally derived from ▶ ἄργός 1, but the suffix (Chantraine 1933: 249, Schwyzler: 483) could be non-IE (cf. ▶ ἄμυλλα); note the interchanges λ/λλ and -ος/-ᾶ. Given the meaning, a substrate word is quite possible, and connection with ἄργός, which means 'brilliant white', is semantically not evident. Lat. *argilla* is a loan from Greek.

**ἄργός 1** [adj.] 'shining white, brilliant', also 'quick, agile' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>rǵ- 'white'>

- DIAL Myc. *po-da-ko* /podargos/ name of a cow; *to-ma-ko* /stomargos/ (? see ▶ στόμα); *tu-ma-ko* /t<sup>h</sup>umargos/?
- COMP As a first member ἄργι- in ἄργι-πους, ἄργι-κέραυνος, ἄργι-όδων, etc. It is also found in epic ἄργι-όεις (B 647, 656), with a v.l. ἄργινόεις, for which cf. Ἀργινοῦσσαί. See also ▶ ἄργιλίτης. For ἄργιόπους: ἀετός, Μακεδόνες read ἄργίπους. As a second member in πόδαργος 'with quick feet'.
- DER Denominative ἀργαίνω [v.] 'to be white' (E., Opp., Nonn.), ἀργίτις (Verg., Plin.), of ἄμπελος.

ἀργᾶς, -ᾶ [m.] (Achaë.), ἀργόλας [m.] (Suid.), types of snake (named after their agility). As a PN, with regular shift of accent, Ἄργος [m.] (Od.), 'the nimble one', of the dog of Odysseus, and Ἀργώ [f.], name of a mythical ship (Od.).

A neuter *s*-stem in ἐν-αργής and in: 1. ἀργεσ-τής [m.] 'clear', epithet of the south wind νότος (Il.) and the west wind Ζέφυρος (Hes.), also substantivized Ἀργέστης (Arist.) the wind itself, with regular shift of accent; in Nic. *Th.* 592 it is an enlargement of ἀργής; 2. ἀργεννός < \*ἀργεσ-νός 'shining white' (Il.), an Aeolic form. ἀργήεις (Dor. ἀργάεις, contracted ἀργᾶς -ἄντος) 'shining white' (A. [lyr.], Pi., Orph.) is just an enlargement of the *t*-stem ▶ ἀργής.

•ETYM Wackernagel already pointed to the similarity of Gr. ἀργός, ἄργι- with Skt. *rjrá-*, in compounds *rji-*, which suggests that \*h<sub>2</sub>rǵ-ró- > \*ἀργρός dissimilated to ἀργός. The root \*h<sub>2</sub>(e)rǵ- is found in several formations in various languages: Lat. *argentum* 'silver' (further cognates see ▶ ἄργυρος), Skt. *árjuna-* 'white, light', ToA *ārki*, ToB *ārki* 'white', Hitt. *harki-* 'white, bright'. The meanings 'white' and 'quick, nimble' are both found in Skt. as well, and must have developed via 'brilliant, sparkling'. See ▶ ἄργεμον.

**ἄργός 2** [adj.] 'idle, lazy' (Hdt.). <GR>

- ETYM Contracted from ἄ-(f)εργός (Il.), with privative ἄ- and (f)έργον.

**ἄργυρος** [m.] 'silver' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>erǵ- 'brilliant white'>

- DIAL Myc. *a-ku-ro* /arguros/.
- COMP Frequent as a first member e.g. ἀργυρό-πεζα (Il.) 'with a foot of silver', epithet of Thetis.
- DER ἀργύρεος > ἀργυροῦς 'of silver' (Il.+), ἀργύρειος 'id.' (Att.), ἀργυρώδης 'rich in silver' (X.). ἀργύριον 'silver coin, money' (IA), ἀργυρικός 'concerning money'

(Hell.); diminutive ἀργυρίδιον (com, Isoc.). ἀργυρίς 'silver vessel' (Pi., Pherecr.), ἀργυρίτης, fem. -ίτις 'containing silver', also as a plant name (Strömberg 1940: 26), also 'concerning money' (X., Plb.), ἀργύριος [m.] plant name (H.), = ἀργύρεος (Alcm.), ἀργυρωταί [pl.] name of a government authority in Sillyon (Fraenkel 1910-1912(1): 170. Denominative verbs: 1. ἀργυρόομαι [v.] 'to be covered with silver', -όω 'to cover with silver' (Pi., *Dialex.*), verbal noun ἀργύρωμα 'silver plate' (Lys., Antiph.), diminutive ἀργυρωμάτιον (Arr.), adjective ἀργυρωματικός (Ephesus). 2. ἀργυρίζομαι [v.] 'to squeeze money from' (Din., J.), ἀργυρισμός (Str., Ph.). 3. ἀργυρεύω [v.] 'to dig for silver' (D. S., Str.); independent of this is ἀργυρευτική [f.] (scil. τέχνη) 'art of the silversmith' (Eustr.).

•ETYM ἄργυρος derives from a *u*-stem also seen in ▶ ἄργυρος and in Skt. *árju-na-* 'white, bright', ToB *ārki* 'white', Lat. *arguō* 'to make clear', Hitt. *arku<sup>u</sup>ae-<sup>zi</sup>* 'to make a plea', etc. Other languages have a thematicized *nt*-stem in the word for 'silver': Lat. *argentum*, OIr. *argat*, Av. *arazata-*, Skt. *rajatá-* [n.], all < \*h<sub>2</sub>rǵ-nt-o-. On the realia see Mallory & Adams 1997 s.v. Silver.

**ἄργυρος** [adj.] 'gleaming white' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>erǵ- 'white'>

- VAR Also ἀργύφεος.
- ETYM From the *u*-stem also continued in ▶ ἄργυρος, with the suffix -φο- (on which see Chantraine 1933: 263).

**ἄρδα** [f.] 'dirt' (Pherecr. 53). <PG?>

•DER ἄρδαλος 'id.' (Erot.), acc. to Erot. also ἄνθρωπος ὁ μὴ καθαρῶς ζῶν; cf. αἰθαλος, πτύαλον for the suffix (Chantraine 1933: 245). Denominative verb ἄρδαλόω [v.] 'to defile' (Hp., LXX).

•ETYM Connection with ἄρδω 'to irrigate' is impossible because ἄρδα has short ᾶ-. Fur.: 391f compares δάρδα· μόλυσμα 'filth' and δαρδαίνει· μολύνει 'defiles' (H.). These glosses cannot be ignored. Is it simply loss of δ- through dissimilation, or does the interchange δ/zero point to a substrate word? The ending has been explained from \*-rdiā > \*-rzdā > -ρδᾶ, but the short -ᾶ may also point to substrate origin.

**ἄρδεις, -ιος** [f.] 'point of an arrow' (Hdt., A. Pr. 880 [lyr.]). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>erd- 'point'>

- DER ἄρδικός· φαρέτρα 'quiver' (H.).
- ETYM Probably related to OIr. *aird* < \*ardi- 'point, direction'; ON *erta* < \*artjan- 'to spur, incite' (but its connection with Skt. *árdati* 'to be scattered' is semantically unconvincing).

**ἄρδω** [v.] 'to irrigate, water' (Pi.). <? PG?>

- VAR Long ᾶ- acc. to Hdn. Gr. 2, 109.
- COMP νεο-αρδής 'recently watered' (Φ 346).
- DER ἄρδμός 'watering place' (Il.), enlarged ἄρδηθμός (Lyc., Nic.); ἀρδάλια· τοὺς πυθμένας τῶν κεραμίδων, οὓς ἔνιοι γοργύρας καλοῦσιν 'the bottoms of tiles, which some call γ.' (H.). Purely formal enlargement in ἀρδεύω (A. Pr. 852, Arist.), whence ἀρδεΐα 'irrigation' (Str., Plu.), ἀρδευσίς 'id.' (Plb.), ἀρδεύσιμος (H.); ἀρδευτής [m.] 'irrigator' (Man.).

•ETYM The connection with ἐρράδαται < \*φερράδαται is most probably wrong, because the δ in ἐρράδαται (which belongs to ►ραίνω) is secondary (thus already Frisk).

Fur.: 241 compares παρδακός 'humid' (highly doubtful) and ἄρσεα· λειμῶνες 'humid meadows' (H.) (254). The latter proposal is attractive, as -σος is a pre-Greek suffix. Furnée also follows the proposal by Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 294f. that ἄ- is due to a pre-form \*ἄφάρδω (comparing νεοαρδής), the prothetic vowel of which he explains as a substrate element. Neumann 1961: 91 noted that several technical terms for irrigation are pre-Greek (►γοργύρα, ►ἄνδηρα).

**ἄρειή** [f.] 'threat(s)' (Il.). <?>

•COMP See ►ἐπήρεια.

•DER Denominative ἀρειάω [v.] 'to threaten' (Hippon.).

•ETYM Formerly connected with Skt. *irasyā* 'malevolence', *irasyāti* 'to be angry, be envious', under the assumption of \**h<sub>2</sub>rh<sub>1</sub>-es-* (see Peters *Sprache* 32 (1986): 371f.). However, the meaning is different, cf. ►ἀρή. Relationship with ἐπήρεια depends on the question if this contains PGr. \*ē. A further comparison is with ἄρος ... καὶ βλάβος ἀκούσιον (H.); yet, damage is not the same as menace, notes DELG.

**ἀρειών** [adj.] 'better, stronger, nobler' (Il.). <?>

•DIAL Myc. *a-rjo-a<sub>2</sub>* /arjoha/.

•ETYM A primary comparative, beside which stands a superlative ►ἄριστος. Acc. to Güntert *IF* 27 (1910): 67, ἀρειών (like λωῖων) was not a primary comparative, but rather formed from an old positive. Seiler 1950: 116ff. finds this positive in ἄρειος, seen in τεῖχος ἄρειον (Il.), and connects it with ἄρος· ὄφελος 'benefit' (H.). The Myc. comparative is formed differently and suggests derivation from the root \**h<sub>2</sub>er-*, if it does not stand for \**h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>1</sub>-ios-* (with the Lex Pinault, loss of laryngeal before *yod*).

**ἀρέσκω** [v.] 'to please, satisfy' (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>1</sub>-* 'please, satisfy' (?)>

•VAR Aor. ἀρέσαι.

•DER ἄρεσις 'grace' (Priene II<sup>a</sup>). ἀρεστός 'pleasing' (Hdt.), ἀρεστήρ [m.] "reconciliator", name of a sacrificial cake for appeasing a deity (inscr., Ael. Dion.), whence ἀρεστήριος 'expiatory' (D. H.), ἀρεστηρία (θυσία) and ἀρεστήριον (inscr.); Ἀρέστωρ PN (Hes., etc.) and ἀρέσιμον 'fee' (Stiris).

From the present ἄρεσκος 'pleasant, flattering' (Arist., Thphr.), ἀρεσκεία 'flattering person' (Arist., Hell.). Backformation from ἀρεσκεία: ἀρεσκεύομαι [v.] 'to flatter' (Clearch., Plu.), ἀρέσκευμα (Plu., Epicur.) and ἀρεσκευτικός (M. Ant.).

•ETYM The word seems to have a disyllabic root \**h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>1</sub>-*, but connection with ἀρειών, ἀρετή is semantically not compelling. The connection with \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* in ►ἀραρίσκω is formally unclear (origin of the -ε-?).

**ἀρετή** [f.] 'excellence' (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>1</sub>-*>

•COMP αἰναρέτη [voc.] 'terribly brave' (Il.).

•DER Denominative ἀρετάω [v.] 'to prosper, thrive' (Od.).

•ETYM Not directly related to ►ἀρέσκω for semantic reasons. Connection with ►ἀρειών is semantically attractive, but formally not clear. Vine 1998: 61f. suggests an

analysis \**h<sub>2</sub>(e)r-etéh<sub>2</sub>-* to the root of ►ἀραρίσκω, which would be formally excellent and for which he adduces semantic arguments. Nikolaev 2005 wants to reconstruct \**h<sub>2</sub>nr-eteh<sub>2</sub>-* from the word for 'man, hero', and tries to reformulate Rix's Law.

**ἄρη** [f.] 'bane, ruin' (Il.). <?>

•ETYM Probably related to the ptc. ἀρημένος 'βεβλαμμένος, damaged' (Il.), but the long ā- poses difficulties. Further connected with ἄρος· (...) βλάβος ἀκούσιον 'involuntary damage' (H., see ►ἄρος), and ἀπαρές· ὑγιές 'healthy' (H.); perhaps also with ►ἄρειή. Finally, one may consider a connection with ►Ἄρης. For Ion. ἄρη 'prayer', see ►ἀρά.

**ἀρήγω** [v.] 'to help, support (against)' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>reh<sub>2</sub>g-* 'help, support'>

•DER ἀρηγών, -όνος m. f. 'helper' (Il.). With old ablaut ἀρωγή 'help, support' and ἀρωγός, -όν 'helper' (Il.).

•ETYM The forms require \**h<sub>2</sub>re/oh<sub>2</sub>g-*, unless \**h<sub>2</sub>rēg-*, \**h<sub>2</sub>rōg-* were root nouns, for which there is no indication. Possibly comparable with Germanic forms such as OHG *geruohhen*, OS *rōkjan*, ON *rōkja*, etc. 'to care for' and MoDu. *roekeloos* 'without care' (with old *ō*); if so, not related to Lat. *regō*, Gr. ὀρέγω, with which Skt. *rājā* 'king' seems to be connected (on which, see Gonda *KZ* 73 (1956): 151ff.).

**ἄρην, ἄρνός** [m., f.] 'sheep, lamb' (Il.). <IE \**urh<sub>1</sub>-en-* 'lamb'>

•VAR Nom. ῥήν (A. R. 4, 1497), taken from compounded forms.

•DIAL Myc. *we-re-ne-ja* /wrēneja/ in a list of leather goods; *wa-ni-ko* /warniskos/, found as a PN in the class. language; *wo-ro-ne-ja* /wroneja/ may perhaps also represent /wolneja/ 'woollen'; The *ῥ-* is found in ῥαρήν (Gortyn) and βάννεια· τὰ ἄρνεια, καὶ τὰ βάννιμα τὸ αὐτὸ (H.); ῥάνα· ἄρνα 'sheep, lamb' is probably Elean, with *η* > *ā*.

•COMP πολύ-ρρην < \*πολύ-ῥρην < \**urh<sub>1</sub>-n-*.

•DER ἄρνειος 'of a sheep or lamb' (Hdt.), like αἴγειος, βόειος (Chantraine 1933: 50f.); ἄρνεία [f.] 'sheepskin' (Hdn.), also 'sheep-breeding' (POxy. 2, 297, 8) like αἰγέα etc. (Chantraine 91); ἄρνακίς 'sheepskin' (Ar.), haplological fem. from \*ἄρνό-νακος? Uncertain is the appurtenance of ►ἄρνειός and ►ἄρνευτήρ. Also ἄρνεϊον 'butcher's shop' (Didym.); diminutive ἄρνιον 'little lamb', also 'sheepskin' (Lys.).

Popular ἄριχα (acc.)· ἄρρεν πρόβατον 'male cattle' (H.), βάριχοι (= *ῥ-*)· ἄρνες 'sheep' (H.) (Chantraine 1933: 403), but the absence of the nasal is unexplained. It is confirmed by the PN ῥαριχος (Tarente).

•ETYM ἄρην < ῥαρήν < \**urh<sub>1</sub>-ēn* matches Arm. *gañ*, -in 'lamb'. Skt. *úrāṇa-* [m.] 'id.' is a thematization of \**urh<sub>1</sub>-en-*, cf. MP *varak* 'ram'. The original inflection was nom. \**urh<sub>1</sub>-ēn*, acc. \**urh<sub>1</sub>-en-m*, gen. \**urh<sub>1</sub>-n-os* > \*ῥαρην, \*ῥαρενα, \*ῥρηνος. This means that the oblique stem ῥαρ-ν- is due to a reshaping. Unrelated is ►εἶρος 'wool', which derives from \*ῥέρος. Cf. Meier-Brügger *KZ* 103 (1990): 26-29.

**Ἄρης, Ἄρεως** [m.] the god of war; also god of vengeance and oaths (Arcadia, Athens, etc., see Kretschmer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 195ff.); metonym. for 'war' (Trümpy 1950: 152f.).

<PG>

•VAR On the inflexion see Schwyzler: 576.

- DIAL Myc. dat. *a-re*, adj. *a-re-(i-)jo*; PN *a-re-(i-)me-ne*. Boeot. Lesb. Ἄρευς.
- DER Fem. Ἄρεια in Arc. τὰν Ἀθάναν τὰν Ἀρειαν; adj. Ἄρειος, Ion. Ἀρήϊος, Lesb. Ἀρεΐος (Ζεὺς Ἄρειος Epirus, Ἄρειος πάγος Athens, whence Ἀρεοπαγίτης). PN Ἀρητάδης (Bechtel 1917a: 11).
- ETYM The ancient grammarians and lexicographers (e.g. EM 140) connected ἀρή 'Schaden, Unheil, Verderben', cf. ἄρος· βλάβος ἀκούσιον (H.). The connection is improbable: IE origin of such a name is not to be expected. On the flection Schulze 1892: 454ff., Bechtel (above) and Kretschmer *Glotta* 15 (1927): 197.

άρθμός = ἀραρίσκω.

ἄρθρον [n.] 'joint, articulation' (Hdt., Hp., S., E.), also 'article' as a grammatical term (Arist.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>er-d<sup>h</sup>ro-* 'fitting'>

- DER ἀρθρίτις (νόσος) 'gout' (Hp.), ἀρθριτικός (Hp., Gal.); ἀρθρικός 'of the joint or article' (Gal., gramm.); ἀρθρώδης 'provided with joints' (X., Arist., Gal.), ἀρθρωδία (Gal.). Denominative verb ἀρθρόομαι 'to be articulated', -όω 'to articulate' (Hp., Hermipp., X.), ἀρθρωσις 'articulation' (Phld., Str.).
- ETYM From \**h<sub>2</sub>er-d<sup>h</sup>ro-*, derived from \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* 'to fit' with the instrument suffix. See ▶ ἀραρίσκω.

ἀρι- 'good, very' (Il.), as a first member in compounds. <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>er-*>

- COMP In ἀρί-γνωτος, -δείκετος, -πρεπής, etc.
- ETYM Willi KZ 112 (1999): 86-100 convincingly disassociates ἀρι- from ἐρι- and maintains the widely accepted connection with ἄριστος. He concludes that the forms with ἐρι- are mainly bahuvrīhis (possessive compounds), while those with ἀρι- are verbal governing compounds. Willi accepts Heubeck's connection of ἐρι- as \**ser-i*, related to Hitt. *šēr* 'above, up', with psilosis (95ff.), see ▶ ἐρι-. This is better than the analysis by Fur.: 348, who thinks the element is Pre-Greek because of the variation ἐ-/ἀ-.

ἄρια [f.] Doric for φελλόδρυς 'holm-oak' (Thphr.). <?>

- DER ἀρείνος 'of oak' (IG 11(2), 161: A 70, Delos).
- ETYM Unknown.

Ἀριάδνη [f.] daughter of Minos, abducted by Theseus (Il.). <PG>

- VAR Ἀριάγνη on a vase; Ἀριήδη acc. to Zenodotos at Σ 592, Call. cf. 67.13 The form is confirmed by Ἀριήδαν· τὴν Ἀριάδην. Κρήτες (H.).
- ETYM The gloss ἀδόν· ἄγνόν. Κρήτες 'pure (Cret.)' (H.) is artificial, as γν > δν is not a Cretan development (Brown 1985: 25). This means that the word probably does not contain ἄγνός. An IE etymology is improbable for a Cretan goddess, and the group -δν- is found in other Pre-Greek words.

ἀριδείκετος [adj.] 'most famous' (Il.). <IE \**deik-* 'show'>

- ETYM A compound from ▶ ἀρι- and a second member which was formerly connected with ▶ διδέχεται, under the assumption of metrical lengthening for \*ἀρι-δέκετος (Schulze 1892: 242). Nowadays, the form is read διεδέχεται and is

considered to be related to ▶ δεικνυμι, which means that ἀρι-δείκετος also derives from this root (which seemed obvious anyhow).

ἀρίζηλος [adj.] 'clear, easily recognizable' (Il.), equivalent of ἀρίδιλος. <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eridih<sub>2</sub>-lo-*>

- ETYM Explained as \**-dih<sub>2</sub>-lo-* to ▶ δέατο by Schulze 1892: 244 (in pre-laryngealist terms: \**-dih<sub>2</sub>los*). Others want to read -ζ- as -δδ-, cf. Shipp 1967: 50ff.; Chantraine 1942: 169.

ἀριθμός [m.] 'number; payment' (Od.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>rei-* 'count'>

- VAR Through metathesis ἀμιθρός (Schwyzer: 268).
- DER Denominative verb ἀριθμέω 'count' (Il.), whence ἀρίθμημα (A., Secund.), ἀρίθμησις (Ion., Hell.) 'count, payment', with ἀριθμητικός 'of counting', 'arithmetical' (Pl., etc.); agent noun ἀριθμητής ([Pl.] *Just.* 373b).
- Perhaps in the PNs Ἐπήριτος, Arc. Πεδάριτος and the Arc. appellative Ἐπάριτοι 'the chosen ones', see Wackernagel 1916: 250 and Wackernagel *Phil.* 86 (1931): 133ff.
- ETYM A derivation in -θμο- from the root of ▶ νήριτος 'countless'. Outside Greek, there are comparable words in Germanic: ON *rím* [n.] 'account', OHG *rīm* [m.] 'row, number', and in Celtic: OIr. *rím* 'number'. Probably, Lat. *rītus* 'religious observance, rite' is related too (< \**h<sub>2</sub>rei-ti-*).

ἄριλλα [f.] unknown (only IG Rom. 4, 1349). <?>

- ETYM Unknown.

ἄρίς 1, -ίδος [f.] 'bow-drill' (Hp.). <?>

- ETYM Technical term of unknown origin. For the formation, cf. ἀκίς, δοκίς, σάνις (Chantraine 1933: 337). Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 7 (1957): 41 connects ἐριώλη.

ἄρίς 2, -ίδος [f.] plant name, 'Arisarum vulgare', also 'δρακοντία μικρά' (Ps.-Dsc.). <?>

- ETYM Diminutive of ἄρον? Cf. also ▶ ἀρίσαρον.

ἀρίσαρον [n.] a plant, 'Arisarum vulgare' (Dsc.). <?>

- ETYM See ▶ ἄρον and ▶ ἄσαρον (Strömberg 1940: 157f.).

ἀριστερός [adj.] 'left' (Il.). <GR>

- DER the plant name ἀριστερών (Plin.) = περιστερών 'dovecoat' was perhaps reshaped after the latter form; see Strömberg 1940: 153,251f. Or is it unrelated to 'left'?
- ETYM Formed with the contrast-marking suffix -τερο-; connection with ἀρις-τος is mostly assumed. A problem is that omens coming from the left side were considered unfavorable in Greece. It is thought that the left side was considered favorable in earlier times, judging by parallels like Lat. *sinister* (but see the doubts in De Vaan 2008 s.v.), OHG *winister*, Av. *vairiia.stāra-* 'left, more favorable' (or are these old euphemisms?).

ἄριστον [n.] 'breakfast' (Il.), taken in the afternoon in classical times (see Athen. 11b ff.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eier-* 'day, morning', \**h<sub>2</sub>ed-* 'eat'>

•DER Denominative ἄριστάω [v.] 'to have breakfast' (IA), ἀριστητής 'who eats twice a day' (Hp.). ἀριστητικός 'who loves breakfast' (Eup.), ἀριστητήριον 'refectory' (BCH 15, 184). 2. ἀριστίζω 'to give breakfast' (Ar.), -ίζομαι 'to have breakfast' (Hp.).

•ETYM An old compound meaning "eaten in the morning", a contraction of a locative ἄρι (< \*αἶερ-ι) and the zero grade of ἐδ- 'eat' (see ►ἐσθίω) + το-suffix: \*h<sub>2</sub>eieri-h<sub>2</sub>d-to-; see Bechtel 1914. Note, however, that ►ἥρι 'early' is now derived from \*h<sub>2</sub>eus-er-i.

**ἄριστος** [adj.] 'the best, first, noblest' (Il.). <PG?>

•DER ἀριστίνδην [adv.] 'according to birth or merit' (Att.), whence substantivized ἀριστίνδης [m.] (Sparta).

ἀριστεύς (mostly plur. ἀριστήες) 'they who excel, chiefs' (Il.); ἀριστεύω [v.] 'to be the best, excel' (Il.), ἀριστεία [f.] 'deed of valor' (Gorg., S.). ἀριστεύς could be a back-formation from ἀριστεύω, if the latter was derived directly from ἄριστος. Also ἀριστεία, Ion. ἀριστήϊα [n.pl.] 'meed of valor' (Hdt., S.), but ἀριστεῖος 'belonging to the ἄριστοι' (D. H., Plu.) directly from ἄριστος. Further numerous PNs, like Ἀρίστων, Ἀριστίων, etc.

•ETYM A primary superlative to the comparative ►ἀρείων. It is sometimes considered to contain the prefix ἀρι-, but this seems improbable to me. Perhaps it is related to ►ἀραρίσκω, as 'the fittest'.

**ἄριχα** ⇒ ἀρήν.

**ἀριχάομαι** ⇒ ἀναρριχάομαι.

**ἀρκάνη** [f.] · τὸ ράμμα ᾧ τὸν στήμινα ἐγκαταπλέκουσι διαζόμεναι 'thread with which the warp is intertwined, when they are setting it up in the loom' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM The connection with ►ἄρκυς is doubtful. The suffix is also seen in δρεπάνη, καπάνη, θηγάνη, etc.; see Chantraine 1933: 198f. Probably a loanword, perhaps Pre-Greek.

**ἄρκευθος** [f.] 'juniper, Juniperus macrocarpa' (Hp.). <PG?, EUR?>

•VAR ἄργετος· ἡ ἄρκευθος. Κρήτες (H.).

•DER ἄρκευθίς, -ίδος [f.] 'juniper-berry' (Hp.), ἄρκευθιδίτης (οἶνος) 'wine from or perfumed with juniper-berries' (Dsc. 5, 46 ed. Sprengel).

•ETYM Within Greek, the gloss ἄργετος is certainly cognate, cf. Brown 1985: 25. In view of this, ἄρκευθος is clearly a substrate word. On the suffix see Fur.: 115<sup>3</sup>, on the material cf. Beekes 2000: 27. The word has always been connected with the Slavic group of Ru. *rakíta* 'willow, Salix fragilis' < \*arkūtā; these can be combined if we assume a loan from the European substrate. The comparison with ἄρκυς 'net' is improbable.

**ἀρκέω** [v.] 'to ward off, defend; suffice' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>erǵ- 'hold, contain'>

•COMP Often -αρκης: e.g. αὐτάρκης 'self-sufficient'; γυιάρκης 'strengthening the limbs' (Pi.), etc. Perhaps ►ποδάρκης.

•DER Verbal noun ἄρκεσις 'help' (S., inscr. Thera); also ἄρκος [n.] 'defense' (Alc.), which is rather deverbative to ἀρκέω because of its limited distribution. Further

ἄρκιος (Il., epic) 'to be relied on, sure, certain, sufficient' (the development of the mg. is difficult). Perhaps here ἄρκιον 'burdock, Arctium Lappa' (Dsc.).

•ETYM Related to Lat. *arceō* 'to hold off, contain, etc.' and Hitt. *ḫark-zi* 'to hold, have', and perhaps also to the noun Arm. *argel* 'hindrance'.

**ἄρκηλος** [m.] 'young panther, kind of panther' (Callix.). <PG?>

•VAR Perhaps ἄρκηλα· ... Κρήτες τὴν ὕστριχα = 'hedgehog, porcupine (Cret.)' (H.), if it is itacistic for ἀρκύλα 'bear'.

•ETYM Unknown. On the suffix (as a substrate element) see Fur.: 115<sup>5</sup>. It is not clear whether the gloss belongs here.

**ἄρκτος** [f., m.?] 'bear' (Il.); also name of a constellation: 'Ursa Major' (Scherer 1953: 131ff.), 'the north'; also a crustacean, 'Arctos Ursus' = τέττιξ (Arist.), see Thompson 1947: 17. <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>rtko- 'bear'>

•VAR Younger form ἄρκος [m., f.] (LXX); the form appears at an early date in names, see Dobias-Lalou 2000: 6. Late ἄρξ (OGI 201, 15).

•COMP Ἀρκτοῦρος (Hes.), with -ορος 'surveyor'; see ►φρουρός.

•DER Diminutives ἀρκτύλος (Poll.), ἄρκυλλος (sch. Opp.), ἄρκιλος (Eust.).

ἀρκτικός 'northern' (Arist.), ἀρκτῶος 'id.' (Luc.), after ἑως 'eastern' from ἔως; ἀρκ(τ)εῖος 'belonging to a bear' (Dsc.), after αἰγείος, βόειος, etc.; ἀρκτῆ < -έη [f.] 'skin of a bear' (Anaxandr.). ἄρκτιος [adj.] 'northern' (Nonn.), ἄρκτιον [n.] plant name, 'Inula candida' (Dsc.), Strömberg 1940: 118. Denominative verb ἀρκεύω, -εὔομαι 'to serve Artemis as a female bear' (Lys., sch. Ar. Lys. 645).

It is uncertain whether the ethonym Ἀρκάδες belongs here; see Sommer 1934: 63f.

•ETYM Old name of the bear found in Skt. *ṛkṣa-*, Av. *arša-*, Arm. *arj*, Lat. *ursus*, Celtic forms like Mlr. *art*, and Hitt. *ḫartagga-* 'some wild animal'. These (especially the latter) lead to a reconstruction \*h<sub>2</sub>rtko-. The late Greek form with single -κ- is confirmed by the derivations. It is probably just a simplification of the cluster; or is it from before the metathesis?

The old etymology as 'destroyer' (Skt. *rākṣas-*, Av. *raš-* 'damage') has become untenable with the laryngeal theory.

**ἄρκυς, -υος** [f.] 'net' (A.). <PG?>

•VAR Mostly plur.

•DER ἄρκυον 'id.' (EM), after δίκτυον; also ἄρκυλον· δίκτυον 'net' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. Acc. to Lidén IF 18 (1905-1906): 507f., in the sense of 'twined, woven', related to ἄρκευθος and ἀρκάνη and the Slavic words for 'willow'. This is improbable, as one expects a derivative suffix. A technical term which may well be a substrate word; for the *u*-stem, cf. μίμαρκυς, ράπυς / ράφυς, etc.

**ἄρμα 1** [n.] 'wagon, car', especially 'war chariot' (Il.); on the use in Homer see Delebecque 1951: 170f. <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>er- 'join'>

•VAR Often plur.

•DIAL Myc. *a-mo* /arm<sup>(h)</sup>o/, dat. *a-mo-te-i*, plur. *a-mo-ta*, but it means 'wheel'. Further *a-mo-te-jo-na-de* /armoteiōna-del/ 'to the wheel-maker's shop'. On traces of the mg. 'wheel' in Homer, see Panagl 1992: 137-44.

•COMP ἄρματο-πηγός (Il.) ‘wheel-maker’, etc. ἄρμάμαξα contains ἄμαξα (Ar.), unless it is an adapted Persian word. On ►βητάρμων, see s.v.

•DER ἄρμάτειος ‘of the chariot’ (E., X.), ἄρματόεις ‘id.’ (Critias), ἄρματίτης ‘using chariots’ (Philostr., pap.), diminutive ἄρμάτιον (gloss.). Denominative ἄρματεύω [v.] ‘to drive a wagon’ (E. Or. 994).

•ETYM Derived from the root ἄρ- ‘to fit’ in ►ἀραρίσκω. It is assumed that the rough breathing (also in ►ἀρμόζω, ►ἀρμονία, etc.) is due to an original suffix *-sm-*. This presupposes that thematic ►ἀρμός is the older form, since only a thematic suffix *-smo-* is known. However, note that the Mycenaean form has no initial aspiration.

Outside Greek, several forms have a suffix *-m-*, e.g. Lat. *arma* [pl.] ‘weapons’, Arm. *y-armar* ‘fitting’. Unrelated is the word for ‘arm’ in Lat. *arma* [m.] ‘arm’, Go. *arms* ‘id.’, because of Skt.*īrmā-* ‘id.’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>rH-mo-* with root-final laryngeal.

**ἄρμα 2** [n.] ‘food’ (Hp. acc. to Hellad. *apud* Phot. [p. 533 B]; also v.l. for ἄρμενα Hes. Th. 639). <?>

•ETYM Connection with αἶρομαι ‘to take for oneself’, or with ►ἀραρίσκω has been suggested (cf. ►ἄρμενα in the meaning ‘food’). Furthermore, it is mentioned in the gloss νωγαλεύματα ἢ νωγαλίσματα· τὰ κατὰ λεπτὸν ἐδέσματα. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὴ εἰς χορτασίαν, ἀλλὰ τρυφερά ἄρματα (H.).

**ἄρμαλά** [?] a plant, ‘rue’ = πήγανον ἄγριον (Dsc.). <LW Sem.??>

•VAR Syrian for πήγανον κηπαῖον (Ps.-Dsc. 3, 45). Also ἄρμαρά (pap.).

•ETYM Cf. Arab. *harmal* ‘rue’. Is ἄρμαλά from Semitic, or the other way round?

**ἄρμαλιά** [f.] ‘ration, food’ (Hes.). <?>

•VAR Also αρμολία, -εα (pap.) and ἄρμωλα· ἀρτύματα. Ἀρκάδες ‘condiments (Arc.)’ (H.). Other glosses may contain mistakes: ἀρμόγαλα· τὰ ἀρτύματα. Ταραντῖνοι ‘condiments (Tarantine)’ (alphabetically wrong) and ἀρμώμαλα (read -ματα?). Cf. further ἡρμαλῶσατο· συνέλαβεν ‘collected’ (H.).

•ETYM On the suffix, see Chantraine 1933: 82. The variation -αλ-, -ολ-, -ωλ- suggests a loanword; connection with ►ἄρμενα ‘food’ or ►ἄρμα 2 ‘id.’ is hardly feasible.

**ἄρμενα** [n.pl.] ‘sail, tackle; instruments; food’ (Hes., epic Ion.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* ‘fit’>

•VAR Rarely sing.

•DER ἄρμενίζω ‘to sail’ (gloss.), MoGr. also ‘to deliver, lead’ (see Browning *Class. Rev.* N.S. 19 (1969): 68.).

•ETYM Literally ‘what has been fitted out’, ‘equipment’, a substantivization of ἄρμενος from ►ἀραρίσκω.

**ἀρμόζω** [v.] ‘to join, fit together, connect’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* ‘fit’>

•VAR Aor. ἀρμόσαι.

•DIAL Att. -όττω; Dor. aor. ἀομόξαι.

•DER ἄρμοστής (Dor. -τήρ) [m.] title of an official, especially of the Spartan governor in dependent cities (inscr., Th.), ἀρμόστρω (A.) ‘commander’, action nouns ἄρμοσμα ‘joined work’ (E. *Hel.* 411), ἄρμοσις ‘tuning of an instrument’ (Phryn., *Theol. Ar.*), ἀρμοστικός (*Theol. Ar.*). With -γ-: ἀρμογή ‘fitting together’ (Eup.), cf. Dor. ἄρμοξα, ἄρμοκται.

•ETYM Denominative verb from ἀρμότᾱς acc. to Ruijgh 1967a: 48<sup>17</sup>, which itself derives from ►ἀρμός ‘joint’ (S.).

**ἀρμονία** [f.] ‘means of joining; frame; covenant, agreement, etc.’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* ‘fit’>

•ETYM Derived from an adjective only known as a PN: Ἄρμων, for which cf. Ἀρμονίδης (Il.). Also found in ►βητάρμων. Like ►ἄρμα 1, this adjective derives from ἄρ- ‘to fit’ with a suffix *-men-*. See ►ἀραρίσκω.

**ἀρμός** [m.] ‘joint’ (S., E., inscr.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>(e)r-smo-* ‘joint’>

•DER Hence the old locative ἀρμοῖ [adv.] ‘just, lately’ (A.). ἀρμόδιος ‘fitting, etc.’ (Thgn.) seems to be a back-formation to ►ἀρμόζω.

•ETYM See ►ἀρμόζω.

**ἄρμυλα** ⇒ ἀρβύλη.

**ἄρμωλα** ⇒ ἄρμαλιά.

**ἀρνακίς** ⇒ ἀρήν.

**ἀρνεῖός** [m.] ‘ram’ (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>ers-n-i-* ‘ram’>

•VAR Cf. ἀρνεῖός· ὁ τριετὴς κριός ‘three-year-old ram’ (H.). Also in Pausanias 159 Erbse, who cites Istros ἄρνα, εἶτα ἀμνόν, εἶτα ἀρνεῖόν, εἶτα λιπογνώμονα. For ἀρνηός, see below.

•DIAL Att. ἀρνεώς [m.].

•DER ἀρνηάδες, -άδων [fem.pl.] (Aeol., *Del.*<sup>3</sup> 644, 15).

•ETYM As the glosses indicate, the word was a designation for a ram of a certain age (Benveniste *BSL* 45 (1949): 103). Att. ἀρνεώς shows that the original form was \*ἀρνηός, which is confirmed by Aeol. ἀρνηάδες. The form with εἰ in Homer may have arisen by reinterpretation of spelled E. We thus have to reconstruct \**ar(s)nēios* or \**ar(s)nēmos*. The old connection with (f)ἀρήν was rightfully rejected by Meillet *IF* 5 (1895): 328f., both because of the meaning and because the word had no digamma. \*ἀρνηός therefore appears to belong to ►ἄρσην ‘male animal’ (see there on the absence of an initial digamma). The same formation, but from a different root, is found in Skt. *vr̥ṣhī-*, Av. *varšni-*, also meaning ‘ram’. An alternative, but less convincing etymology derives the word from the verb ἀρνευω (s.v. ►ἀρνευτήρ); see Bechtel 1914.

**ἀρνέομαι** [v.] ‘to deny, refuse, decline’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>res-* ‘refuse, deny’>

•VAR Aor. ἀρνήσασθαι.

•DER ἄρνησις ‘denial’ (trag., Pl., D.), ἀρνήσιμος (S.), perhaps after ἀμφισβητήσιμος; ἀρνητικός ‘negative’ (Chrysipp., Numen.). Probably deverbal: ἄπ-αρνος and ἔξ-αρνος (IA).

•ETYM Mayrhofer *KZ* 71 (1953): 75ff. connected the word with Av. *rah-* ‘to be disloyal, unfaithful’ (3pl. intens. *rārašiieinti*, caus. *rāṇhaiian*), assuming a nasal present \**h<sub>2</sub>r-n-es-* for Greek. This etymology fits both form and meaning very well, cf. also Beekes *MSS* 38 (1979): 10-11. Unrelated is Arm. *uranam* ‘to deny’, see Clackson 1994: 102f.

**ἀρνευτήρ, -ῆρος** [m.] ‘jumper, acrobat’, also a bird (Il., Hdt., Arat.). <GR>



•VAR Acc. to sch. AT on M 385, the ἄρνευτήρ is ὁ κυβιστήρ, παρὰ τοὺς ἄρνας. οὗτοι γὰρ κυβιστῶσιν ὥσπερ τὸν ἀέρα κυρίττοντες ‘tumbler; ram (for they tumble while butting with the horns)’, but this may be a folk-etymological interpretation after ἄρνειός ‘ram’. Also ἄρνευτής [m.] epithet of a fish (Numen. *apud* Ath.); cf. Strömberg 1943: 50.

•DER ἄρνευτήρια [n.pl.] ‘diving tricks’ (Arat.), ἄρνευω [v.] ‘to dive’ (Lyc.).

•ETYM The connection with ▶ἄρνειός ‘ram’ is uncertain. See Fur.: 235 on ἄρναπον-τὸν ἄρνα (H.) (Latte reads ἀρνάριον); he prefers a separate root for ‘jump’.

**ἄρνυμαι** [v.] ‘to win, gain, acquire’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* ‘take, acquire’>

•VAR Aor. ἀρέσθαι.

•COMP Starting from the expression μισθὸν ἄρνευσθαι, the verb μισθαρνέω ‘to work, serve for hire’ (Hp.) was formed.

•DER ἄρος [n.] ‘benefit’ (A. *Supp.* 885 [uncertain reading], H., Eust.).

•ETYM An old nasal present ἄρνυμαι < \**h<sub>2</sub>r-nu-*, seen in Arm. *aṛnum* ‘to take’, aor. *aṛi*, and in Av. *arənuuain̥ti* ‘they grant’. Hitt. *arnu-zi* ‘to transport, deport’ is related to ▶δρνυμι.

**ἄροκλον** = ἄρακιν.

**ἄρον** [n.] a plant, ‘*Arum italicum*’ etc., cuckoo-pint (Thphr.); see LSJ. <LW? Eg.>

•ETYM Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 244 and Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 48 (1970): 54 derived it from Eg. *r* ‘reed, cane’; cf. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* 19, 5, 30, 95: *est inter genera et quod in Aegypto aron vocant*. Perhaps, it is also contained in ▶ἀρίς and ▶ἀρίσαρον. Comparison with Lat. (*h*)*arundo* ‘cane’ is less probable.

**ἄρος** [n.] = ὄφελος ‘advantage’ (H.). <?>

•VAR ἄρος, ὄφελος καὶ <πέτρας> κοιλάς, ἐν αἷς ὕδωρ ἀθροίζεται ὄμβριον, καὶ βλάβος ἀκούσιον ‘advantage; hollows of rocks in which rain water is collected; also involuntary damage’ (H.).

•ETYM In the first sense, usually compared with ▶ἄρνυμαι. For the second, Defner 1923: 47 compares Laconian ἀρέ· λάκκος ‘cistern’. For the third, see on ▶ἀρή.

**ἀρόω** [v.] ‘to plow, plant’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘plow’>

•VAR Aor. ἀρόσαι.

•DIAL Myc. *a-ro-u-ra* /aroura/.

•DER ἀροτήρ [m.] ‘plowman’ (Il.), secondarily ἀρότης [m.] (IA, poet.); ἀροτος [m.] ‘plowing, (plowed) land, etc.’ (Il.); thence ἀροτήσιος ὥρη (Arat. 1053), after adjectives of time in -ήσιος; ἀροτικός ‘fit for plowing’ (Gal.), perhaps directly from ἀρόω; 2. ἀροσις ‘plowing, etc.’ (Arist., Arat., Ael.), ‘farmland’ (Hom.), whence ἀρόσιμος ‘arable’ (Thphr., Str.); sometimes with secondary length ἄρωσις (pap.) and ἀρώσιμος (S. *Ant.* 569), metrically conditioned (Arbenz 1933: 48); 3. ἄρωμα ‘farmland’ (S., com.); 4. ἀροσιμός ‘plowing’ (pap.); 5. Doric \*ἀρατύς (on -α- see below) is perhaps contained in the month name Ἀράτυος.

ἀροτρον ‘plow’ (Il.); thence denominative verbs: 1. ἀροτρεύω [v.] ‘to plow’ (Pherecyd., Lyc., Nic., Babr.), ἀροτρεύς ‘plowman’ (Theoc., Bion, Arat.), ἀροτρευτήρ ‘id.’ (AP), ἀρότρευμα ‘plowing’ (Poet. *apud* Stob.); 2. ἀροτριάω = ἀρόω (Call.,

Thphr.), ἀροτρίασις (LXX) and ἀροτρίαμα ‘plowed land’ (sch. Ar.); 3. ἀροτριάω = -ιάω (LXX); 4. ἀροτριάζω ‘to plow’ (pap.), ἀροτρίαστής (EM) and ἀροτρίασιμός (sch. Opp.).

ἄρουρα ‘arable land’ (Il.), already Myc. *a-ro-u-ra*. Thence ἀρουραῖος ‘rural’ (IA), ἀρουρίτης ‘id.’ (Babr.), diminutives ἀρούριον (AP) and ἀρουρίδιον (pap.); from Egyptian papyri: ἀρουρηδόν [n.] ‘surface measured by ἄρουραι’ (substantivized adverb), ἀρουρισμός ‘measuring in ἄρουραι’.

•ETYM An old *yod*-present derived from the dissyllabic root \**h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-*. The reflex of -*h<sub>3</sub>-* is seen in the aorist, and perhaps also in the present if this directly continues \**h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-ie/o-* (this is one of the very few counterexamples against Pinault’s Law in Greek). The -α- in the Doric forms (ἄρατρον, Ἀράτυος, fut. ἀράσαντι (Tab. Heracl.); Ther. Rhod. ἐνάρατον) is probably due to influence of the verb ἀράω, which must be analogical (though it is hard to indicate a precise model). Cognate *yod*-presents are Lat. *arāre*, Mlr. *airim*, Go. *arjan*, Lith. *árti*, 1sg. *ariù*, OCS *orati*, 1sg. *orjō*.

The formation of ἀροτρον is matched by Arm. *arawr*, Lat. *arātrum* (with secondary length), Mlr. *arathar*, and ON *arðr*; all from an instrument noun \**h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-tro-* ‘plow’; the same formation is continued by Lith. *árti*, OCS *ralo* < PBSL. \**arH-tlo-* or -*dʰlo-*. It is possible that Hitt. *harra-i* ‘to grind, crush’ is cognate, in which case ‘to plow’ was originally called ‘to break the soil’.

ἄρουρα is a derivation in -ια from a verbal noun \*ἄρο-φαρ ‘plowing’; on the details see Peters 1980a: 143ff. This old *r/n*-stem \**h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-ur*, gen. \**h<sub>2</sub>rh<sub>3</sub>-uen-s* is continued in Mlr. *arbor* < \**arur*, gen. Olr. *arbe* < \**aruens* ‘corn’, Skt. *urvārā-* ‘arable land’; a similar formation is found in Lat. *arvum* < \**h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-uo-*.

**ἀρπάζω** [v.] ‘to snatch away’ (Il.). <PG?(S), IE? \**serp-* ‘prune’>

•VAR Aor. ἀρπάξαι (Il.), ἀρπάσαι (Hom.).

•DER From ἀρπαγ-: ἀρπαξ [f.] ‘plundering’ (Hes.), [m.] ‘robber’ (Ar.); ἀρπαγή ‘robbery’ (Sol.), ἀρπάγη ‘hook, rake’ (E.); ἀρπαγος [m.] ‘hook’ (A., S.); ἀρπαγεύς ‘robber’ (Them.) was probably taken from ἀρπαγή; \*ἀρπαγών is found in the Latin borrowing *harpagō* ‘grappling-hook’ (Plaut.).

Deverbal from ἀρπάζω: ἀρπακτήρ [m.] ‘robber’ (Il.), ἀρπακτής (Call.); action nouns ἀρπαγμός ‘robbery, booty’ (Plu., Vett. Val.), ἀρπαγμα ‘id.’ (Lyc., LXX), ἀρπακτύς [f.] ‘robbery’ (Call.); ἀρπάγιον ‘vessel like the κλεψύδρα’ (Alex. Aphr.).

Adjectives: ἀρπάγιμος ‘robbed, stolen’ (Call., AP), lengthened ἀρπαγμαῖος ‘id.’ (Orph.); ἀρπακτικός ‘rapacious’ (Luc.), ἀρπακτήριος ‘id.’ (Lyc.). Adverb ἀρπάγδην ‘snatching’ (A. R., Opp., Aret.).

Forms deriving from the aorist ἀρπάσαι are less frequent: ἄρπασμα (Pl., Men.), ἄρπασμός (Plu.), ἄρπασις (Phryn.), ἄρπαστικός (Arist., Phld.), ἄρπασος name of a predatory bird (Ant. Lib.).

•ETYM ἀρπάζω seems to be a denominative verb from a stem ἀρπαγ-. This may be related within Greek to ἀρπ- (from which ἀρπάζω may have been derived directly), as found in ἀρπη ‘sickle’, also a bird of prey. Less probable is connection with ▶ἄρπυς and ▶ἄρπυια; as DELG remarks, this may be based on folk etymology.

The word for ‘sickle’ is derived from a root \**serp-*. If ἀρπάζω is derived from this, too, it would originally mean ‘to snatch’. However, the etymology is far from certain,



as a suffix -αγ- cannot be explained in IE terms, and forms which contain it seem to be substrate words (Chantraine 1933: 397). Nor can ἀρπ- be easily explained as an IE form, since the zero grade \*srp- would be expected to yield ραπ-.

**ἀρπαλέος** [adj.] 'devouring, greedy, consuming'; thence 'with pleasure, attractive, alluring' (Od.). <GR>

•DER Denominative ἀρπαλίζω [v.] 'to be eager to receive; to exact greedily' (A.), ἀρπαλίζομαι· ἀσμένως δέχομαι 'to receive gladly' (H.).

•ETYM Dissimilated from ἀλπαλέος, which belongs to ▶ἀλπνιστος. The original form is recorded by Hesychius: ἀλπαλαῖον (leg. -έον)· ἀγαπητόν 'amiable'. The secondary connection with ἀρπάζω explains the spiritus asper and the development of the meaning.

**ἀρπεδής** [adj.] 'flat' (Nic. Th. 420). <PG(V)>

•VAR Sometimes with rough breathing ἀρ-. Cf. ἐρπεδόεσσα (-δοσσα ms.)· ἐπίπεδος 'level, flat' (H.).

•DER ἀρπεδοίς (Antim. Col.). Denominative verb ἀρπεδίσαι· ὁμαλίσαι, ἐδαφίσαι 'to make even or level, beat level and firm' (H.).

•ETYM Connection with πέδον (for which one compares ἄπεδος 'flat') leads nowhere. Since antiquity, the word has been derived from ἀρι-πεδής (Did., Hdn.), but this is rightly rejected by Frisk. If the gloss with ἐ- is reliable, it is a substrate word (Frisk refers to ἐρθυρίς = ἐρίθυρίς for ἐρ- from ἐρι-).

**ἀρπεδόνη** [f.] 'cord, yarn', used to ensnare game, etc. (Hdt.). <?>

•VAR Also -εδών [f.] (AP).

•DER ἀρπεδονίζειν· λωποδυτεῖν· καὶ διὰ σπάρτου θηρᾶν 'to steal clothes; hunt by rope' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown; cf. the names of instruments in -δών, -δόνη (Schwyzer: 529f., 490, Chantraine 1933: 361f., 207). Connection with ▶ἀρπάζω is improbable for a word for 'cord'. Grošelj Živa Ant. 7 (1957): 225f. connects the word with Lith. *veřpti* 'to spin', but then the -αρ- must be analogical after -ερ-.

**ἄρπεζα** [f.] 'hedge' (Nic.), cf. ἀρπέζας· τοὺς αἰμασιώδεις τόπους· οἱ δὲ τείχη καὶ περιβόλους· οἱ δὲ τὰ κλιμακώδη χωρία 'places that are hedged in; walls and enclosures; terraced places' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ἄρπεζος [f.] 'id.' (Mylasa). Cf. further ἄρπισαι· αἰμασιαί· ἡ τάφρους 'walls; ditches' and ἄρπιξ· εἶδος ἀκάνθης, Κύπριοι 'kind of thorny plant (Cypr.)' (H.). Also ἀρπάναι· μάνδραι βοσκήματων 'cattle folds'.

•ETYM Connection with ἄρπη, ἀρπεδόνη, ἀρπάζω is not convincing. Chantraine's suggestion that the basic meaning is 'limit of a terrain', and so perhaps connected with ἀρπεδόνη 'cord', is improbable: the ἄρπεζα is clearly something in the terrain, functioning as a boundary (αἰμασιά). The variation -εζα/-ισα (in ἄρπισαι) is typical for substrate words.

**ἄρπη** [f.] 'sickle' (Il.), also a bird of prey (after its claws, see Bechtel 1914 and Thompson 1895). <IE?, ? \*ser(p)- 'sickle'>

•VAR ἄρπης· εἶδος ὀρνέου 'kind of bird' (H.) and ἀρπετόν· ἀκόμιστον ἢ ἰκτίνος· Κρήτες 'untended; a kite (Cretan)' (H.).

•DER Acc. to Leumann 1950: 294, the bird comes from the interpretation of Homer; not convincing.

•ETYM ἄρπη agrees with OCS *srъpъ*, Latv. *sirpe* 'sickle'. Furthermore, one compares Lat. *sarpiō* and *sarpō*, *sarpere* 'trim, prune (vine)', but the vocalism is difficult to account for (see Schrijver 1991: 493: from *sarriō*). If we suppose an IE origin, "ἄρπη a un vocalisme ambigu", say E-M, by which they must mean that it is difficult to explain. I agree with E-M and am inclined to assume a non-IE word (for the concept of European substrate words, see Beekes 2000). The appurtenance of OIr. *serr* is also doubtful; see Vendryes. For a hypothesis of an Oriental origin, see Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 17. It is improbable to take ἄρπη as the basis of ἄρπαξ, ἀρπάγη, ἀρπάζω, as Szemerényi 1964: 205, 213 does.

**ἄρπιξ** [f.]?· εἶδος ἀκάνθης 'kind of thorny plant' (H.). <PG>

•VAR Also ἄπριξ; and ἄπριγδα· εἶδος ἀκάνθης 'id.' (Cypr. EM 132, 53).

•ETYM Unknown. The variation with -γδα and the form itself suggest substrate origin.

**ἀρπῖς, -ῖδος** [f.] 'kind of shoe' (Call.), = κρητῖς 'man's high boot' (EM 148, 36). <?>

•VAR ἀρτίδες· μαλακαὶ κρητῖδες ἢ ὑποδήματα 'soft boots or sandals' (H.). ραπῖς = κρητῖς (H., EM).

•ETYM The word is Laconian, acc. to Hesychius. A formal variant is ▶ραπῖς, so the word must be Pre-Greek.

**Ἄρπυια** [f.] usually plur. 'the Harpies', demons (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Old dual Ἀρεπυῖα (Aigina); the same form (but with -υῖα) is also found in EM 138, 21.

•ETYM The expression Ἄρπυιαι ἀνιρέψαντο (ξ 371 = α 241) was once suggestive of etymological connection with ▶ἐρέπτομαι 'to feed on', but this is impossible in view of the ἐ-. Moreover, apart from οἶδα, perfect forms without reduplication do not exist. The suffix -υα is typical for substrate words, cf. ἄγυια, αἶθυια, etc., and the variation ε/ zero is also a substrate characteristic. It must be concluded that the name is a substrate element, like e.g. Εἰλείθυια. See Szemerényi 1964: 203-213 and Beekes 1998: 24f. The aspiration may have been taken from ἀρπάζω by folk etymology.

**ἄρπυς** [f.] 'love' (Parth.). <?>

•VAR ἄρπυν· ἔρωτα. Αἰολεῖς 'love (Aeol.)' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. Fur.: 327f. connects the word with Ἄρπυια.

**ἄρράβη** [f.]· θύρα· οἶον γέρ<ρ>ον 'door, such as of wickerwork' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. Not related to Hebr. *ʾarab* 'twist', as per Lewy 1895: 130, though Hesychius's gloss may indicate that the door was twisted or twined.

**ἄρραβών 1, -ῶνος** [m.] 'caution money' (Antiph.). <LW>

•VAR Also ἀραβών

•DER ἀρραβωνίζεται· ἀρραβῶνι δίδεται 'is presented with caution money' (H.).

•ETYM A Semitic loan acc. to Lewy 1895: 120, followed by Schwyzer: 153, 316, who compare Hebr. *‘ērābōn* ‘id.’. But the Semitic character of the word is not certain; perhaps the word is a loan from elsewhere (Cohen *GLECS* 8 (1957): 13). Egyptian has *‘rb*. Cf. E. Masson 1967: 30ff. Cf. Lat. *arrabō*, *arra*.

**ἄρραβών 2** [m.]? · ἄγκιστρον ‘fish-hook’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. An attempt at an explanation in Lewy 1895: 130.

**ἄρρατος** [adj.] = σκληρὸς, ἀμετάστροφος ‘hard, unalterable’ (Pl. *Cra.* 407d, *Resp.* 535c, *Ax.* 365a). <?>

•VAR In Euph. 24 the -α- is long.

•ETYM Uncertain. Does it derive from \*ἄ-φρατ-ος, from PIE \*uert- ‘to twist’? If this is correct, the length of the -α- would be spurious. An analysis -φρᾶ-τος is more obvious.

**ἄρρηγής** [adj.] ‘growling’, only in ζάκοτόν τε καὶ ἄρρηγές (Theoc. 25, 83), scil. θηρίον, said of a dog; acc. to H. = ἄγριον, δυσχερές ‘wild, intractable’. <?>

•DER ἄρρηγεῖν· λοιδορεῖν. καὶ <ἐπὶ> γυναικὶ· πρὸς ἄνδρα διαφέρεσθαι ‘to slander, abuse; of a woman, to quarrel with a man’ (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. Is it from ἀρ(ρ)ᾶζω ‘to bark, howl’, remodelled after στρηνγής or ἀπηνγής? See ▶ ἀράζω.

**ἄρρηφόρος** [f.] name of the Athenian girls who carried the symbols of Athena in procession (Paus.). <?>

•VAR ἔρρηφόρος, -έω (inscr.); and ἐρρηφόρος, -ία; also ἐρσε-, ἐρσο- (inscr., sch. Ar.).

•DER ἄρρηφορία ‘procession of ἄρρηφόροι’ (Lys.), denominative ἄρρηφορέω [v.] (Ar., Din.), τὰ ἄρρηφόρια (sch. Ar., *EM*).

•ETYM Unexplained. In antiquity, the word was derived from ἄρρητος ‘unsaid, mysterious’ (with an inexplicable loss of -το-), or from ἔρρη ‘dew’, also the name of a daughter of Kekrops. See Adrados *Emerita* 19: 117-133 and Burkert *Herm.* 94 (1966): 1ff.

**ἄρριχάομαι** = ἀναρριχάομαι.

**ἄρριχος** [f., m.] ‘basket’ (Ar.). <PG?(S)>

•VAR ἀρίσκος· κόφινος ἢ ἀγγεῖον λύγινον ‘basket or vessel of chaste-tree wood’ (H.).

•DER ἄρσιχος (D. S.), diminutive ἄρριχίς [f.] (Ath.).

•ETYM Unknown. The development -ρσ- > -ρρ- is normal in Attic (Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 265); the same suffix occurs in the synonym σύριχος (Schwyzer: 498, Chantraine 1933: 402). Fur.: 348 hesitantly compares ἄρυσος/ ἔρυσος ‘basket’. Probably a substrate word; it does not belong to ἀερσι- (ἀείρω), as DELG suggested.

**ἄρρωδέω** = ὀρρωδέω.

**ἄρρσα** [n.pl.] · λειμῶνες ‘meadows’ (H.). <?>

•VAR Delph. ἄρσια (*F. Delph.* 3, 4, 42, 13)?

•ETYM Unknown. Schwyzer suggested a relation with ἄρδω ‘to irrigate’, with a suffix -σος like in ἄλσος etc. (Schwyzer: 513, cf. Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 254). The suffix

-σος, however, may be a substrate element (Fur.: 254<sup>27</sup>). Gusmani 1969: 512 compares Hitt. *arši-* ‘plantation’.

**ἄρσενικόν** [n.] ‘arsenic’ (Arist.). <LW Orient.>

•VAR Also ἄρρενικόν, fem. ἄρρενική (Gal.).

•ETYM Word of oriental origin, ultimately from MP \**zarnīk* ‘gold-colored’ (cf. MoP *zarnīx*, *zarnīq* ‘id.’ and see ▶ χλόη, ▶ χλωρός), probably via a Semitic intermediary (Syr. *zarnīkā*) and reshaped after ἄρσενικός, ἄρρενικός ‘male’. See Schrader-Nehring 1917 s.v.

**ἄρσιν, -ενος** [adj.] ‘male’ (Il.). <IE \**uers-n-* ‘male’>

•DIAL Att. ἄρρην; Ion., Lesb., Cret. ἔρσιν, Lacon. ἄρσιν.

•DER ἄρρέντερος ‘male’ (Arc.) and ἐρσεναίτερος (El.) are probably secondary after θηλύτερος.

ἄρσενικός (Att. -ρρ-) ‘male’ (Hell.), ἐρσενικός (pap.), ἀρσένιος (Teuthis); ἀρσένιον [n.] ‘male child’ (pap.). Adverb ἄρρενωδῶς ‘male’ (LXX); abstracts: ἀρρενότης [f.] ‘masculinity, masculine gender’ (Stoic.), ἀρσένωμα ‘masculine seed’ (sch. Opp.). Denominative verb ἀρρενόομαι ‘to become man, behave like a man’ (Luc., Ph.).

•ETYM ἄρσιν and ἔρσιν reflect IE \**u(e)rsēn* ‘male animal’, the zero grade ἄρσιν corresponding to Skt. (ν)*ṛṣa-bhā-* ‘bull’, Arm. *aṛn* ‘ram’, and full grade ἔρσιν to OP *aršan-* ‘man, male’, Lat. *verrēs* ‘ram’, Lith. *veřšis* ‘bull calf’. The Gr. forms show no trace of a digamma, cf. especially Gortyn *ερσεν-*. Pronk fthc.b has argued that initial \**u-* was lost in Greek, Armenian and in part of the Indo-Iranian cognates in the compound \**g<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>3</sub>u-ursēn* ‘bull’, attested in ToA *kayurs*, ToB *kaurse* ‘bull’ and ON *kursi* ‘bull calf’ (a brilliant find by Kroonen, p.c.). For the former, textbook view see the discussion in Peters 1993a. Cf. ▶ ἀρνειός, ▶ ἀρνευτήρ.

**ἄρσιον** = ἀνάρσιος.

**ἄρσώμιδες** · ὑπόδημα γυναικείον ‘women’s sandal’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**ἀρτάβη** [f.] a Persian and Egyptian measure (Hdt.). <LW Iran.>

•VAR Also ἀρτέβη.

•DER In papyri: ἀρτάβιος ‘measuring an α.’, ἀρταβιαῖος ‘id.’, ἀρταβίος (or -ιεῖος) ‘id.’; cf. κοτυλῖειος (and -ιεῖος) from κοτύλη (Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 95); abstract ἀρταβεία (also -βεία, -βία) ‘tax for one α.’.

•ETYM The word is of Iranian (Old Persian) origin, acc. to R. Schmitt *Glotta* 49 (1971): 100-102.

**ἄρταμος** [m.] ‘butcher, cook’ (S.). <?>

•DIAL Perhaps Myc. *a-to-mo*.

•ETYM Eustathios 577, 45 explains it as ὁ εἰς ἄρτια τέμνων, in which case it would be haplogical for \*ἀρτί-ταμος or \*ἀρτό-ταμος ‘artful cutting’. DELG objects that we should expect -τομος; to my mind, the whole etymology is most improbable. Fur.: 345 thinks it is a substrate word; although there is no further evidence, this is *a priori* the most likely solution.

**ἀρτάω** [v.] 'to bind to, hang upon, attach to' (Hdt.). <GR>

•DER Verbal nouns: ἀρτημα designation of several objects, such as 'ear-pendant' (Hdt.), 'weight' (Arist.), etc.; ἀρτησις 'hanging' (Papp.), ἀνάρτησις 'id.' (Thphr.), ἀρτησμός 'id.' (AB). Further ἀρτάνη 'rope, noose' (A.), after πλεκτάνη, etc.

•ETYM ἀρτάω is reconstructed as \*ἄφερτάω, from αἰρώ 'to bind, hang', but the derivation is unusual (Schwyzer: 705f.). Cf. ▶ ἀρτήρ and ▶ ἀρτηρία.

**ἀρτεμής** [adj.] 'fresh, healthy' (Il.). <?>

•DER ἀρτεμέω [v.] 'to be healthy' (Nonn.), ἀρτεμία 'health' (Max., AP, Procl.).

•ETYM Unknown. The word has been explained as a haplology, either from \*ἀρτι-δεμής (to δέμας), or as a compound from ἀρ- = ἀρι- (but see on ▶ ἀρπεδής) and \*τέμος (to ▶ τιμελέω), Fick & Bechtel 1894: 439. Both are unconvincing.

**Ἄρτεμις, -ιδος** [f.] name of the goddess (Il.). <PG>

•VAR Gen. also -ιτος.

•DIAL Myc. *a-te-mi-to* /Artemitos/ [gen.]; *a-ti-mi-te* /Artimitei/ [dat.]. Dor. Ἄρταμις, -ιτος; Boeot. Ἄρταμις, -ιδος; Delphi Ἄρτεμις, -ιτος (SIG 671, etc.).

•DER Ἀρτεμίσιος, Ἀρταμίτιος [m.], also the month name Ἀρτεμισίων (Th.); Ἀρτεμίσιον [n.] 'temple of A.' (Hdt.). Ἀρταμίτια [n.pl.] 'festival of A.' (Delphi). ἀρτεμιδήϊον [n.], ἀρτεμισία [f.] plant name, see Strömberg 1940: 100. Ἀρτεμισιασταί [m.pl.] worshippers of A. (Athens), as if from \*ἀρτεμισιάζω; cf. Ἀπολλωνιασταί (Chantraine 1933: 316).

•ETYM The forms show an interchange *e/i*, which may point to Pre-Greek origin. We further find *e/a* (see Fur.: 185), which is rather an old phenomenon than a recent assimilation. The variation *t/d* is due to a recent replacement of the suffix: Myc. has *-t-*, and the forms in *-σιον-* presuppose a *-t-* too.

The name is found in Lydian inscriptions (*Artimus*, *Artimu-*), and Lycian has *ertermi*, but this does not prove that the name comes from Lydia or Asia Minor. Improbable is Illyrian origin (Ruipérez *Emerita* 15 (1947): iff. and Ruipérez *Zephyrus* 2 (1951): 89ff., who assumed Illyr. \**artos* 'bear'). Against the interpretation as 'bear-goddess' and connection with ἄρκτος see Kretschmer *Glotta* 27 (1939): 34, who connects ἄρταμος 'butcher', which seems very improbable. The Indo-European interpretation by Peters 1989: 214ff. involves many difficulties and should be rejected.

**ἀρτέμων, -ονος** [m.] 'foresail' (Act. *Ap.* 27, 40); mg. uncertain in *Lyd. Mens.* 2, 12. <?>

•ETYM A technical word, for which a precise explanation of meaning and history is lacking. Connection with ▶ ἀρτέομαι or ▶ ἀρτάω with a suffix *-μων* (Chantraine 1933: 172, Schwyzer: 522) does not explain the meaning. Borrowed as Lat. *artemo(n)* name of a sail (since Lucil.); it also means 'principal pulley' (Vitr. 10, 2, 9). Cf. Vart 1887: 101-106 and Rougé 1966: 58f.

**ἀρτέομαι** [v.] 'to prepare, make ready' (Hdt.). <GR>

•COMP Prefixed ἀν-, παρ-αρτέομαι (Hdt., Arr.).

•DER ἄρτησις (Hdt.), with a v.l. ἄρτισις, from ἀρτίζω; ἀρτίζω 'to prepare, equip' (Theoc.), καταρτίζω (Hdt.), cf. the pair αἰτέω : αἰτίζω. The *s*-stem in ἐπαρτής 'ready' (Od.) does not presuppose an *s*-stem noun.

•ETYM Derived from the root ἀρ- in ▶ ἀραρίσκω, via an intermediary noun in *-τ-*; not directly from ▶ ἄρτι.

**ἀρτήρ** [m.] 1. that by which anything is carried (LXX *Ne.* 4, 17 [11]); 2. kind of shoe (Pherecr. 38, H.). <GR>

•ETYM 1. derives from \*ἄφερ-τήρ, from ▶ αἰρώ 1 'to raise'; 2. could be analyzed as 'what is bound to', from ▶ αἰρώ 2 'to bind', or from ἀρτάω with haplology for \*ἀρτη-τήρ.

**ἀρτηρία** [f.] 'artery', 'windpipe' (Hp., Pl., Arist.); see Strömberg 1944: 60. <GR>

•DER ἀρτηριακός (medic.) and ἀρτηριώδης (Gal.); ἀρτηρίασις 'bronchitis' (Isid. *Etym.* 4, 7, 14), as if from a verb of disease \*ἀρτηριάω, cf. ψωρίασις, ἐρυθρίασις.

•ETYM Like the semantically comparable ἀορτή (see ▶ αἰρώ 2), it probably derives from αἰρώ 'to bind, hang up'. On the formation, see Chantraine 1933: 81 and Scheller 1951: 59.

**ἄρτι** [adv.] 'just, just now, recently' (A.); in Homer only in compounds and derivatives). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* 'fit'>

•COMP Frequent as a first member, first meaning 'right, fitting': ἀρτι-επής 'who knows well how to use the word', ἀρτί-φρων, 'sensible, intelligent'; ἀρτί-πος (all Hom.), ἀρτί-χειρ, ἀρτι-μελής (Pl.). In later compounds, it means 'recently'.

•DER ἄρτιος (Il.) 'right, fitting', also 'even' (of numbers), ἀρτιότης [f.] (Arist.), ἀρτιάκις [adv.] 'an even number of times' (Pl.), ἀρτιάζω [v.] 'to play at odd and even' (Ar.); ἀρτιασμός (Arist.). Perhaps ἀρτίζω 'to order, equip, etc.', if not from ▶ ἀρτέομαι; usually ἀπ-, ἐξ-, καταρτίζω, with a number of derivatives; from the simplex ἀρτιστήρ[ες] [pl.] title of an officer in Elatea.

•ETYM Probably a locative of the *t*-stem \**h<sub>2</sub>er-t-* 'order', from the root of ▶ ἀραρίσκω. The word neatly corresponds with Arm. *ard* 'just now', cf. *ard-a-cin* 'just born, ἀρτι-γενής', and with Lith. *arti* 'close by'. Lat. *ars*, *artis* reminds of ἀρτίφρων and ἀρτίχειρ, where the first element may mean 'skillful'. See ▶ ἀνάρσιος.

**ἀρτίαλα** [n.pl.] 'decoration of the ear' (Poll. 5, 97). <?>

•DIAL Doric.

•ETYM Unexplained. Connection with ἄρτιος, with a suffix *-αλο-* (Schwyzer: 483f., Chantraine 1933: 245f.), has been suggested.

**ἄρτος** [m.] 'bread' (Od.). <?>

•DIAL On Myc. *a-to-po-qo* /arto-pok<sup>w</sup>os/ 'baker', see ▶ πέσσω.

•COMP Frequent as a first member, note ἄρτο-κόπος 'baker' (Hdt.) with metathesis (cf. Lith. *kepù* beside OCS *pekъ*); further ἀρτοποιός 'id.' (X.), etc.

•DER Diminutive ἀρτίσκος [m.] (Hp., Dsc., Gal.) and ἀρτίσκιον (Damocr.).

•ETYM Unknown; connection with ἀρ- 'fit' is improbable. Pisani *Ric. ling.* 1 (1950): 141 derives it from Iranian \**arta-* 'flour' as a borrowing, which is impossible for a word already attested in Mycenaean. Hubschmid 1953b: 104 adduces Basque *arto* 'id.', OSpan. *artal* 'especie de empanada', etc. and considers it to be a substrate word (or is it a loan from Greek?).

**ἀρτύω** [v.] 'to arrange, prepare', also of food 'to season' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>(e)r-tu- 'order'>

•COMP Frequently prefixed, e.g. ἐξ-, κατ-αρτύω (Il.).

•DER 1. ἄρτυμα 'condiment' (Hp., S.), with late derivations ἀρτυμάτιον, ἀρτυματώδης, ἀρτυματικός; ἀρτυμῆς and ἀρτυματῆς [m.] 'spice trader' (pap.). 2. ἄρτυσις 'arrangement, seasoning' (Ph., D. S.). 3. ἀρτυτήρ name of an official (Thera). 4. ἀρτυτικός [adj.] 'fit for seasoning' (sch.); ἀρτυτικόν [n.] 'herb' (Sammelb. 5224, 50). A variant is ἀρτύνω = ἀρτύω (Il.); see Schwyzler: 727f.

•ETYM The verb is denominative in origin, but the noun is found only in ἀρτύς- σύνταξις 'ordering', ἀρτύν- φιλίαν καὶ σύμβασιν ἢ κρίσιν 'friendship, coming together, decision' (H.). It is a derivation in -tu- from h<sub>2</sub>er- 'to fit' as in ▶ ἀραρίσκω, and may well be old, cf. Skt. ṛtú- [m.] 'fixed time, order, rule' < \*h<sub>2</sub>rtu-, Arm. ard, gen. ardu 'order', Lat. artus, gen. -ūs [m.] 'joint, limb'.

**ἄρνα** [n.pl.] · τὰ Ἡρακλεωτικὰ κάρνα 'Heracleian filberts' (H.). <LW>

•VAR Cf. αὐαρά- τὰ Ποντικά κάρνα 'nuts from the Pontic area' (H.).

•ETYM ἄρνον is considered a variant of κάρνον; see Strömberg 1940: 155f.; thus also Fur.: 391. The variation κ/zero points to substrate origin. One would conceive of a Pre-Greek form \*qar-, of which the first phoneme (a uvular) was rendered as k- or zero in Greek.

Alb. arrë [f.] 'nut, nut-tree', OCS orěxъ 'nut', Lith. rėšas, rėšutas 'nut', Latv. riēksts 'nut', and OPr. buccareisis 'beech-nut' (first element bucus 'beech') are too different to be compared to the Greek forms: the BSl. forms have \*a/or- beside \*r-, followed by -ei-.

**ἀρύβαλλος** [m.] 'bag or purse which can be tied together' (Stesich.), 'globular oil flask' (Ar.). <PG?(S)>

•DIAL ἀρβυλίδα- λήκυθον. Λάκωνες 'oil flask (Lacon.)' (H.). Also ἀρυβάσσαλον- κοτύλη ἢ φλάσκων 'small vessel, flagon' (H.).

•ETYM Hesychius explains it as ἀρύβαλλοι- τὰ μαρσύπτια 'pouches'. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρύειν καὶ βάλλειν εἰς αὐτούς 'because sth. is scooped and put into them'. This explanation (though defended by Chantraine) is folk-etymological and is not worth discussion. It is not even certain that the meaning 'flask' is primary. Most probably Pre-Greek (note the suffix -αλλος, cf. ▶ βαλλάντιον).

**ἀρύω** 1 [v.] 'to draw water' (Hes.). <?>

•VAR Aor. ἀρύσαι.

•DIAL With an enlargement -τ- (Schwyzler: 704): Att. ἀρύτω, Lesb. ἀρυτήμενοι (Alc.).

•COMP As a second member in ἐτν-ήρυσις 'soup ladle', ζωμήρυσις, οἰνήρυσις etc. (com.).

•DER ἀρυστήρ, -ήρος [m.] 'spoon' (Alc., Semon., Hdt.), ἀρυτήρ (Dsc., pap.); fem. ἀρυστρ-ίς, -ίδος (AP), more common ἀρύταινα 'id.' (Ar., Antiph., Thphr., pap.), after ἀρύτω, see Chantraine 1933: 109; diminutive ἀρυνταίνιον (Lebena [II<sup>a</sup>]).

ἀρυστις [f.] 'ladle' (S.), diminutive ἀρύστιχος [m.] (com., Aegina); ἀρυσάνη 'id.' (Timo), cf. names for utensils like λεκάνη; ἀρυσᾶς (Delos) probably denotes the profession 'water drawer'; for ἄρυσος [m.] 'wicker basket' (Hdn.), cf. τάμιος,

πέτασος, etc.; ἀρυτήσιμος and ἀρύσιμος 'potable' (sch.); ἀρυστικός 'fit for scooping' (Ael.).

•ETYM Unknown. Frisk *Eranos* 50 (1952): 1-8 takes it as \*φαρύω (comparing [F]αρυσσάμενος Hes. *Op.* 550), and connects it with Arm. *gerem* 'to take prisoner', εὐρίσκω 'to find', assuming a root \*uer-; but the Greek -α- creates difficulties for this etymology. It could be from a u-present \*urh<sub>1</sub>-u-, but there is no further support. For other doubtful attempts see DELG.

**ἀρύω** 2 [v.] 'to speak, cry', only in glosses: ἀρύει- ἀντὶ <τοῦ> λέγει, βοᾷ 'shouts, instead of speaks'; ἀρύουσαι- λέγουσαι, κελεύουσαι 'who are speaking, urging'; ἀρύσασθαι- ἐπικαλέσασθαι 'to summon' (H.). <?>

•DIAL It is Syracusan acc. to EM 134, 12.

•ETYM Unknown. Not related to ▶ ἀρνέομαι 'to refuse, deny', as per Meillet BSL 26 (1925): 19f. Latte corrects it to ἀπύει = ἡπύει.

**ἀρχή** [f.] 1. 'begin, origin' (Il.); 2. 'reign' (Pi.). <GR>

•DER From 1: ἀρχαῖος 'original, ancient, old' (Pi.), ἀρχαιότης [f.] 'antiquity' (Pl., D. H.); late denominatives ἀρχαῖζω [v.] 'to be old-fashioned', of style (D. H., Plu.), ἀρχαῖσμός 'old-fashionedness, etc.' (Men., D. H.); ἀρχαιωθείς (χρόνος) 'aged' (pap. VI<sup>a</sup>). Also ἀρχαῖκός 'old-fashioned' (Ar., Antiph.).

From 2: ἀρχικός 'ptng. to power, etc.' (A., Th., Pl.), later also taken to 1. (Phld.); diminutive (scornful) ἀρχίδιον (Ar., D.), ἀρχήϊον, ἀρχεῖον 'government building', ἀρχεῖωτης (Dig.) and ἀρχειωτικός (Lyd.); Dorianized ἀρχέτας [m.] 'ruler' (E.), which could derive from ἄρχω directly; ἀρχίτις (Thasos), ἀρχίνη (Syros), both incorrectly written with -ει-, and ἀρχηῖς (Amyklai) are names of priestesses.

•ETYM ἀρχή is a verbal noun of ▶ ἄρχω.

**ἀρχός** 1 = ἄρχω.

**ἀρχός** 2 [m.] 'rectum, anus' (Hp.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. Frisk asks if it could be a joking formation for ▶ ἀρχός 1.

**ἄρχω** [v.] 'to be the first', thence 1. 'to begin' (Il.); 2. 'to rule' (Il.). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>r-ske/o- 'start, rule'>

•VAR Aor. ἄρξαι.

•DIAL Uncertain is the interpretation of Myc. a-ke- in PNs: /ark<sup>h</sup>e-/ or /age-/? Uncertain too is Myc. o-ka, see Aura Jorro 1985-1993.

•COMP ἀρχέκακος 'who initiated the evil' (Il.); ἀρχιτέκτων (Hdt.) after τερπικέραυνος (?); ἀρχι- is never found in poetry.

•DER ἀρχός [m.] 'leader' (Il., poet.); ἀρχεῦω [v.] 'to be the first, command' (epic since Il.), which is also used as an official term (Paphos, Cos) could be denominative to ἀρχός or be an enlargement of ἄρχω after βασιλεύω, ἀριστεύω. The usual term is ἀρχων, -οντος [m.] 'commander', name of the highest official in Athens, fem. ἀρχοντίς (Cat. Cod. Astr.), short form ἀρχίς (Tenos). Late derivations: ἀρχοντικός 'ptng. to the a.' (AP, pap.), ἀρχοντεύω [v.] 'to be a.' (Olbia), ἀρχοντιάω [v.] 'to wish to command' (sch., Lyd.). ἄργματα [n.pl.] 'first fruits' (ξ 446), ἀπάργματα (Ar.), ἀπαρχαί; also ἀρχματα (H.) with restored -χ-. On ▶ ἀρχή, see s.v.

•ETYM Klingenschmitt 1974: 274<sup>1</sup> suggested to derive ἄρχω from a present *\*h<sub>2</sub>r-ske/o-* ‘(der Reihenfolge und dem Range nach) der erste sein’. The reconstruction was pleaded for more recently by Matzinger KZ 113 (2000): 287-288<sup>27</sup>, who also derives Arm. *ark’ay* ‘king’ from the same root. Frisk and Chantraine only mention the connection with ►ῥρχαμος ‘commander’ (Il.). The variation α-/ο- between these words has been taken to point to substrate origin by Fur.: 342, but this proposal does not seem compelling, since the morphological analysis of ῥρχαμος is unclear.

LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*regh<sup>h</sup>-* follows Tichy, who reconstructed *\*(h<sub>2</sub>)rgh<sup>h</sup>-ske/o-* to a root found in MHG *ragen, regen* ‘to rise, stir’ and Lith. *regėti* ‘to watch’. This seems possible only if we assume a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>rg<sup>h</sup>-*, because a PIE root could not start in *\*r-* (cf. Beekes 1995: 148), but also because of the Greek imperfect ἤρχε. The present ἄρχω may have specialized its meaning from ‘start to join’ to ‘undertake’.

**ἄρωμα** [n.] ‘condiment, aromatic plant’ (Hp.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. See Schmeja 1968: 133. For the suffix -ωμα, see Chantraine 1933: 184ff.

**ἄσαι** [v.aor.inf.] ‘to satiate, take one’s fill’ (Il.). <IE *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘satisfy’>

•VAR Inf.pres. ἄμεναι, subj. ἔωμεν < *\*ḥ<sub>1</sub>-o-mēn*; fut. ἄσειν; them. pres. ἄεται (Hes. Sc. 101 cod. Laur.; the other mss. have ἄται, which may be athem. or stand for contracted *\*ἄται*; cf. ἄται· πληροῦται ‘is filled’ [H.]). See Solmsen 1901: 93f.

•DIAL Myc. *a-se-so-si* /asēsōsi/ [fut.].

•DER ἄ-ατος > ἄτος ‘insatiable’.

•ETYM Derivatives from this old athematic root aorist are ►ἄδην and ►ἄση. PIE *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-/sh<sub>2</sub>-* is found as a verbal root in Hitt. *šāḥ<sup>i</sup>* ‘to clog, to stuff’, and further in isolated nominal derivations: Lith. *sotūs* ‘satiated’, Lat. *satis* ‘enough’, OIr. *sáith* ‘fullness’, and Lith. *sótis* ‘satiety’ (all < *\*s(e)h<sub>2</sub>-ti-*); Go. *gasōþjan* ‘to satiate’ (denominative) etc. On *\*εᾰ(ζ)ω* ‘to satiate’ see Peters 1993b: 89ff.

**άσαλής** [adj.] = ἄφροντις, ἀμέριμος ‘careless, thoughtless’, attribute of μανία (EM 151, 49 = A. fr. 319). <?>

•DER ἀσάλεια (cod. ἀσαλέα) = ἀμεριμνία καὶ ἀλογιστία ‘freedom from care, thoughtlessness’, EM = Sophron (113).

•ETYM Acc. to EM, the word derives from σάλη in the sense of φροντίς ‘thought, care’. Modern scholars derive it from σάλος (with regular transition to an s-stem), which is glossed by Hesychius as φροντίς, ταραχή ‘agitation’, and is identified with ►σάλος ‘turbulent movement’. σάλη (also σάλα H.) would be a back-formation of ἀσαλής and ἀσαλεῖν (cod. ἀσάλειν)· ἀφροντισθῆναι. It is uncertain, however, if we are dealing with one and the same word.

**ἀσάμινθος** [f.] ‘bathtub’ (Il.). <PG(S)>

•DIAL Myc. *a-sa-mi-to* /asamint<sup>h</sup>os/.

•ETYM A clear substrate word because of the suffix in -νθ-, like in the TNs Κόρινθος, Ὀλυνθος, etc. Gaerte PhW 1922: 888 and von Blumenthal IF 48 (1930): 50 pointed to Sum. *asam*, Akk. *assammu(m)*, *ansammum* ‘earthenware water-vessel’. Improbable speculations by Szemerényi Gnomon 43 (1971): 657.

**ἄσαρον** [n.] ‘hazelwort, Asarum europaeum’ (Crateuas). <PG?>

•VAR Short, unadapted form ἄσαρ (Aët.), whence ἀσαρίτης (Dsc.), of οἶνος.

•ETYM Unknown. Lewy 1895: 47 thinks it is Semitic. *A priori*, a Pre-Greek word is most probable. Cf. perhaps ►ἀρίσαρον, and Strömberg 1940: 158.

**ἄσβεστος** [adj.] ‘unquenchable, unextinguishable’, also ‘unslaked’ (Il.). <GR>

•ETYM Verbal adjective of ►σβέννυμι. As a substantive, it indicates either unslaked lime (τίτανος) or an unknown combustible mineral. It never means ‘asbestos’ (ἀμίαντος), see Diels KZ 47 (1916): 203ff.

**ἄσβολος** [f., m.] ‘soot’ (Hippon.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ἀσβόλη [f.] (Semon.). In the gloss ἀσβολόεν· μέγα, ὑψηλόν, μέλαν ‘big, high, dark’ (H.), Latte reads the second as ψολόεν: for μέγα, we may also posit μέλαν, but its final ν was read as υ. This led to the interpretation of υσολοεν as ὑψηλόν.

•DER ἀσβολώδης ‘sooty’ (Dsc.), denominative verb ἀσβολόομαι in ἡσβολωμένος (Macho), also ἀσβολάω (Aesop.), ἀσβολαίνεται· *fuscatur* (gloss.).

•ETYM Fur.: 154f. posits substrate origin, which must be correct in view of the rare cluster -σβ- and the variant σποδός ‘soot’, which was hitherto unexplained. This means that ἄσβολος has a Pre-Greek prothetic vowel. Furnée further points to σποδίτης (ἄρτος) ‘bread baked in hot ashes’, which is also called σπολεύς (Philet. *apud* Ath. 3, 114e); note that the latter is unnecessarily corrected to *\*σποδεύς* by Frisk! For the interchange δ/λ, cf. ►λαβύρινθος beside Myc. *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-*. Finally, Fur.: 393<sup>21</sup> asks whether the group is identical with ψόλος ‘soot’ (A.), which seems most probable to me (but identification with ψόθος ‘dirt’ is less obvious). On variation σπ/ψ in Pre-Greek words, see Fur.: 393.

The analysis as a compound ἄσ-βολος, with elements derived from *\*h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s-* ‘to dry’ and βάλλω, must be abandoned; it was semantically unlikely anyway.

**Ἀσελάτας** [m.] epithet of Ἀπόλλων on Anaphe. <PG>

•VAR Ἀπόλλων Αἰγιάτας (Anaphe, Thera).

•ETYM The explanation in Greek terms by Schwyzler: 27 (who assumes a development ασ > αι[σ]) is rightly criticized by Chantraine s.v. αἴγλη; part of Schwyzler’s evidence is itself Pre-Greek. The variation in these epithets is typical of Pre-Greek words, as can clearly be seen in the name ►Ἀσκληπιός: *aC-/aiC-* and *asC-/aisC-*. In the present case, we only have *aiC-* and *asC-*, but the principle remains the same (Fur.: 293, 295; see also *Pre-Greek*). Furnée’s (ibid.: 234, 335) further connection with ἀγλα(φ)ός and ἄγλαυρος deserves consideration. The resemblance of Akkadian *azugallatu* ‘great physician’ (Burkert 1992: 78) is remarkable. Thus, the word is probably a loan via (Pre-)Anatolian and Pre-Greek. A connection with ►αἴγλη cannot be proven.

**άσελγής** [adj.] ‘elated, wanton, unconstrained’ (Lys.). <?>

•VAR Unclear ἀσάργαν· ὕβριν, ἀμέλειαν ‘insolence, indifference’ and ἀσαλγάνας· φοβερός, εἰρηκε δὲ οὕτως παραβαρβαρίζων ‘fearful’ (H.); as the final remark says, this may be just a vulgar or ‘barbarian’ pronunciation.

•DER ἀσελγεία ‘licentiousness’ (Pl.). Denominative ἀσελγαίνω ‘to be elated’ (D.); sporadically ἀσελγέω (sch.); ἀσελγῆμα (Plb., pap.).

•ETYM The interchange α/ε is frequent in Pre-Greek words, but it is unclear if the glosses belong here: ἀσάλα could perhaps be a Pre-Greek formation meaning ἀσελγεία, but the formation of the second gloss and its semantic relation to our word are unexplained. I am not sure whether the conclusion of a substrate origin is admissible. Havers *IF* 28 (1911): 194ff., stated that the word is Boeotian for \*ἀθελγής, but this is semantically difficult.

**ἄση** [f.] 'disgust, loathing, dissatisfaction' (Hp.). <GR?>

•DIAL Aeol. ἄσᾱ.

•DER ἀσηρός (-ᾱ-) 'causing discomfort, feeling disgust' (Aeol. Ion.), ἀσώδης 'id.' (Hp.). ἀσάομαι [v.] 'to feel nausea' (Aeol. Ion., Arist.), probably denominative.

•ETYM If the word originally meant 'surfeit', then ἄση is from ▶ἄσαι, but the formation poses difficulties. Unlikely is the suggestion by Solmsen 1909: 242ff., who assumed an analogically preserved suffix -σᾱ- from the zero grade root ᾱ- < PIE \*sh<sub>2</sub>-, rejecting a pre-form \*sh<sub>2</sub>-t<sub>i</sub>-eh<sub>2</sub>-. It would be better to posit \*(h)ad-s-ā, an old collective from the s-stem in ἄδος 'satiation' (Il.); problematic, however, is the failure of a geminate -σσ- (only in ἀσσαροτέρας Sapph. 77) to appear in Aeolic. The simplification to -σ- would be due to epic influence acc. to Schwyzler: 321, but all in all, the explanation is not entirely convincing. See ▶ἄδην, ▶ἄδμιολίη.

**ἄσθμα** [n.] 'short-drawn breath, panting', as a medical term 'asthma' (Il.). <?>

•DER Medical term ἀσθματικός [adj.], also ἀσθματίας, ἀσθματώδης; denominative ἀσθμαίνω [v.] 'to pant, breathe with difficulty' (Il.); late ἀσθμάζω (AB); uncertain ἀσθμάομαι (pap.), ἄσθμησις (gloss.).

•ETYM Unclear. -θμα is known as a suffix (cf. ἴθμα), but derivation from \*h<sub>2</sub>enh<sub>1</sub>- 'to breathe' (in ▶ἄνεμος) seems impossible: it would have to yield ἄνε-, even as the result of a zero grade \*h<sub>2</sub>nh<sub>1</sub>-. The -σ- is also found in ἰ-σθμός. Chantraine offers an unclear comment: "dans le cas de ἄσθμα, le σ donne une certaine valeur d'harmonie imitative." If he means that it is onomatopoeic, the same could be supposed for the word itself.

**ἄσιδα** [f.] 'stork' (LXX). <LW Sem.>

•VAR Cf. ἀσίδα (-ον cod.): ἐρωδιόν 'heron' (H.).

•ETYM A loanword from Semitic, cf. Hebr. *h<sup>2</sup>sidhah*.

**ἀσίδαρος** [adj.] 'ἐπισκάζων. ἢ ἀσίδαρος 'limping upon' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 391<sup>14</sup> takes it as Pre-Greek (adducing other cases of variation dental/zero).

**ἄσιλλα** [f.] 'yoke for carrying baskets, etc.' (Simon.). <PG(S)>

•ETYM An improbable Semitic etymology is offered by Lewy 1895: 110. Most probably, ἄσιλλα is a substrate word in view of the suffix -λλα, cf. ▶ἄμιλλα.

**ἀσίρακος** [m.] 'locust' without wings (Dsc.). <?>

•ETYM Considered to be an Egyptian loanword (Strömberg 1944: 16, Gil Fernández 1959: 238), but no argument is given. A substrate word is more probable.

**ἄσις, -ιος** [f.] 'slime, mud' (Il. Φ 321). <?>

•DER ἀσώδης (A. *Supp.* 31), perhaps for \*ἀσιώδης after the homonym that belongs to ἄση? Ancient commentators derived the reading Ἀσίω (instead of Ἀσίω) in B 461 from this word (Eust.), instead of from Ἀσία.

•ETYM The comparison with Skt. *ásita*- 'dark, black' (for -ta-, compare Skt. *hári*- 'yellow' beside *hári-ta*- 'id.') presupposes that the s in ἄσις was preserved after \*-ḡ-. Nikolaev 2005: 50f. pleads for a reconstruction \*h<sub>2</sub>nsi- for these words, arguing against the Lex Rix, but there is no compelling evidence for \*h<sub>2</sub>-. Cop compared Hitt. *hanzana*- 'black', but see the critical remarks in Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. The etymology must be regarded as uncertain.

Fur.: 80<sup>426</sup> compares ἄσ- σύστημα ὕδατος (H.), but variation σ/zero is further unknown in Pre-Greek words.

**ἀσκάλαβος** [m.] 'lizard, gecko' (SGDI 3123 [Corinth], Nic.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ἀσκαλαβώτης (Ar.), σκαλαβώτης (Orac. *apud* Eus. *PE* 5, 12), καλαβώτης (LXX), cf. γαλεώτης to γαλεός; further Argive καλαβύστης (H.) and ἀσκόλαχα (read \*ἀσκάλαβα?), cf. Chantraine 1933: 403; κωλώτης (Arist.); see κῶλον; καλαβάς; καλαβώτης (H.).

•ETYM Clearly a substrate word. The ending -βος is often found in animal names, see Chantraine 1933: 266ff. Several variations are typical for substrate words: prothetic vowel, σ-mobile, etc. On the suffix -ωτ-, see Fur.: 283f. Less probable is a connection with ▶σκάλοψ 'mole' (Fur.: 154).

**ἀσκάλαφος** [m.] name of an unknown bird, perhaps an owl (Arist.), see Thompson 1895 s.v. Also a PN (Il.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Also κάλαφος; ἀσκάλαφος. Μάγνητες (H.).

•ETYM The suffix -φος in animal names is well known. Clearly a substrate word, like ▶ἀσκάλαβος.

**ἀσκαλώνιον** [n.] of κρόμμυον, 'onion from Askalon', in Palestine (Diocl.). <GR>

•ETYM Cf. Strömberg 1940: 125 and André 1956 s.v. *Ascalonia*. Lat. *ascalōnia*, whence MoFr. *échalotte* > MoHG *Schalotte* and MoE *scallion*, was borrowed from Greek.

**ἀσκαλώπας** [m.] 'woodcock, Scolopax rusticola' (Arist.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Ending with long ā (DELG)?

•ETYM Probably identical with ▶σκολόπαξ. A substrate word with typical variations.

**ἀσκάνδης** [m.] ἄγγελος, ἡμεροδρόμος 'messenger, courier' (Plu.). <LW Iran.>

•VAR Also ἀσγάνδης, ἀστάνδης.

•ETYM An Iranian word, cf. Buddhist Sogdian *zy'nt*, *st'nyk* 'messenger', as well as Bab. *ašgandu* (Happ *Glotta* 40 (1962): 198ff., Schmid *Glotta* 40 (1962): 321). Cf. Arm. *astandel* 'waner'.

**ἀσκάντης** [m.] 'pallet, bier' (Ar.). <PG(V)>

•DIAL ἀκχάνθαρ (codd. ἀκχαλίβαρ)· κράββατος. Λάκωνες 'couch (Laconian)' (H.); σκάνθαν· κράββατον 'id.' (H.).

•ETYM The variations are due to substrate, rather than "vulgar" or "popular" origin (which solves nothing).

ἀσκαρίζω ⇒ σκαίρω.

**ἀσκαρίς, -ίδος** [f.] 'worm in the intestines, larva of the gnat' (Hp.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR Also σκαρίδες· εἶδος ἐλμίνθων 'kind of worm' (H.).

•ETYM Generally taken to be from ἀσκαρίζω 'to jump', e.g. in Strömberg 1944: 24; Frisk thinks this is semantically not strong. German *Springwurm* is a calque from Greek. In view of the prothetic vowel, it is rather a substrate word.

**ἄσκαρος** [m.] 1. a kind of shoe, cf. ἄσκαροι· γένος ὑποδημάτων ἢ σανδαλίων (H.); also 2. a musical instrument, cf. Poll. 4, 60: ἐνιοι δὲ τὴν ψιθύραν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι τῷ ἀσκάρῳ ὀνομαζομένῳ νομίζουσιν. <?>

•ETYM The musical instrument was a square with strings, so it probably has nothing to do with the shoe. Fur. analyses the shoe as a suffix -αρος added to ἀσκός 'skin, bag made of a skin'. The gloss ἀσκαροφόρον· φορτηγόν 'carrier of cargo' (H.) is unclear; does it imply that ἄσκαρος means 'bag, pack, load'? Cf. ► ἀσκέρα and ► ἀσκηρά.

**ἀσκελής** [adj.] 'obstinate', also 'weak, soft'? (Il.). <GR?>

•DER Adverb ἀσκελές, -έως. Note the gloss ἀσκαλεῶς· ἄγαν σκληρῶς 'very hard' (H.), wrong for ἀσκελέως?

•ETYM Mostly derived from ► σκέλλω 'to dry up', either with privative ἀ- in the sense of 'not withered, soft' (cf. περι-σκελής 'completely dried up, hard'), or with copulative ἀ- in the sense 'dried up, hard' (note the contradiction). The latter meaning fits ἀσκελὲς αἰεί, with the notion 'obstinately', but not κ 463, where it seems to mean 'weak'.

**ἀσκέρα** [f.] 'winter shoe with fur lining' (Hippon.). <PG?(V)>

•DIAL Ion. -η. Also in Attic inscr., SEG 13, 13: 148.

•DER Diminutive ἀσκερίσκος [m.] (Hippon.).

•ETYM A loanword, but is it from Lydian (see Kretschmer *Glotta* 27 (1939): 37, O. Masson 1962: 125) or a substrate word (it is also attested in Attic inscr.)? Fur.: 348 compares ► ἄσκαροι.

**ἀσκέω** [v.] 'to process raw materials, shape by art' (Il.), 'to exercise, train' (Hdt.). <?>

•VAR Aor. ἀσκήσαι.

•DIAL Myc. *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* /askētriai/, also *a-ke-ti-ra*., 'workers', of textile or wool?

•DER ἄσκησις [f.] '(gymnastic) exercise' (Hp.), 'ascetism, way of life' (Luc.); ἄσκημα [n.] 'exercise' (Hp., X.); ἀσκέα (H.); deverbal ἄσκη [f.] = ἄσκησις (Pl. Com.). Agent nouns: ἀσκητής [m.] 'skilled worker', 'athlete' (Att.), 'hermit' (Ph.); ἀσκητήρ (Poet. *apud* Gal. *Protr.* 13), fem. ἀσκήτρια 'nun' (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*); ἀσκητικός [adj.] 'industrious' (Pl. *Lg.* 806a), 'of an athlete' (Ar.), 'ascetic' (from ἀσκητής or from ἄσκησις, or even directly from ἀσκέω).

•ETYM The oldest meaning may be 'to fashion material, embellish or refine it'. As DELG remarks, it could be a denominative of ἀσκός, implying an original meaning 'to prepare a skin', but this remains uncertain.

**ἀσκηθής** [adj.] 'unhurt, unscathed' (Il.). <?>

•VAR ἀσκηθέες = -θεῖς (ξ 255), not ἀσκεθέες as per Eustathius (see Leumann 1950: 263).

•ETYM Presupposes a noun \*σκῆθος [n.] 'damage', which has been connected with a Germano-Celtic group: e.g. Go. *skabis* [n.] 'damage'. However, the comparison is impossible, as θ does not match Gothic þ.

**ἀσκηρά** [f.] · εἶδος τι τῶν καστανίων 'kind of chestnut' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 131<sup>59</sup> compares Arm. *kask* 'chestnut'; for alternation κ/zero, cf. ► ἄδδῖξ. See ► κάστανα.

**Ἀσκληπιός** [m.] hero, later god of medicine (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Dor. -ᾱπιός.

•DIAL Αἰσκληπιός (Epid., Troiz.), Ἀσκληπιός (Boeot.), Αἰσκληπιός, Ἀσκαλαπιός (Thess.), Ἀσκαλιός (Gort.), Αἰσκληπιός (on a bronze figure from Bologna with Corinthian letters; see Kretschmer *Glotta* 30 (1943): 116), Ἀγλαπιός (Lac.), Αἰγλαπιός.

•DER ἀσκληπιάς [f.] name of a plant (Dsc); see Strömberg 1940: 99. Patronymic Ἀσκληπιάδης [m.] (Il.), Ἀσκληπιάδειος name of a metre (Heph.); Ἀσκληπίεια (-ίδεια) [n.pl.] 'festival for A.' (Pl.); Ἀσκληπιεῖον [n.] 'temple for A.' (Plb., Str.); Ἀσκληπιακός (Aristid., Dam.); Ἀσκληπιασταί (-ᾱπ-) [m.pl.] name of worshippers of A. (Rhodos), cf. on Ἀρτεμισιασταί s.v. Ἄρτεμις). ἀσκληπιάς [f.] plant name (Dsc., Gal.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 99.

•ETYM Szemerényi's etymology (Szemerényi *JHS* 94 (1947): 155) from Hitt. *aššula* 'well-being' and *pai-/pi-* 'to give' cannot be correct, as it does not explain the velar.

The name is typical for Pre-Greek words: apart from minor variations (β/ π, αλ(α)/ λα, κ/ χ/ γ), we find α/ αι (a well-known variation, see Fur.: 335-339) followed by -γλαπ- or -σκαπ-/ -σχλαπ/β-. To my mind, this goes back on a voiced velar without -σ-, or a voiceless velar with -σ-. The -σ- was probably palatalized and we must reconstruct \*(a)-s<sup>h</sup>klap-. As the group -σγ- is rare in Greek, especially before another consonant, the loss of -σ- can be understood. The palatal character was sometimes expressed as a preceding or following ι (see on ► ἐξάιφνης, ► ἐξαπίνης and ► πινυτός beside ► πνυτός).

Fur. 233f., 296 attempts to connect αἰγλή and ἀγλαός as found in the epithets of Apollo Αἰγλητής, Ἀσγελάτας 'the shining one'. However, this must be rejected, as here there are no variants with αἰσ- < as' as in Asklepios.

**ἀσκός** [m.] 'animal skin, hide', mostly 'bag made of it' (Il.). <?>

•DIAL ἄκκόρ· ἀσκός. Λάκωνες (H.).

•DER Diminutives ἀσκίον (Hp., Crates Com.), ἀσκίδιον (Ar., Posidon.). ἀσκίτης (sc. ὕδρωψ) [m.] 'dropsy, patient with this illness' (Epicur.); ἀσκωμα 'leather padding', of the hole which served for the rowlock (Ar.). Denominative verb ἀσκώσατο· ἤχθεσθη 'was vexed' (H.). See ► ἀσκόλῳ.

•ETYM Unknown. Boeot. furnishes a PN φασκώνδας, but there is no trace of f- in Homer. Not related to φάσκωλος, as per Fur.: 241.

**ἄσκρα** [f.]? · δρῦς ἄκαρπος 'tree without fruits' (H.). <LW Medit.>



- DER Note the place name Ἄσκρα in Boeotia.
- ETYM Hubschmid 1953b: 83f. compares Basque *azkár* 'kind of oak' and Lat. *aesculus* 'id.', which suggests that it is a Mediterranean word.

**ἄσκυρον** [n., m.] 'St. John's wort, *Hypericum perforatum*' (Dsc.), also = ἄλισμα (Ps.-Dsc.). See André 1956 s.v. *ascyron*. <PG(V)>

- VAR σκύρον (Nic. *Th.* 74).
- DER σκυράω [v.] 'to go mad', from eating α. (Nic.).
- ETYM The prothetic vowel points to a substrate word (Fur.: 373).

**ἄσκώλια** [n.pl.] festival for Dionysus (sch. Ar. *Pl.* 1129). <?>

- DER ἄσκωλιάζω [v.] (Ar. *Pl.* 1129), which acc. to the sch. means 'to hop on greased wine-skins at the ἄ.', whence ἄσκωλιασμός (Poll. 9, 121); elsewhere it means 'to hop on one leg; jump up and down with the legs held together' (Arist.).
- ETYM Chantraine 1933: 243f. derived ἄσκώλ- from ἄσκός 'hide, bag, etc.' with a suffix -(ō)lo-, but given the different meaning, the connection with ἄσκός must be secondary. Better seems the comparison by Schulze 1892: 141<sup>2</sup> with σκωλοβατίζω 'to walk upon stilts' (Epich.), ἀγκωλιάδεν· ἄλλεσθαι. Κρήτες 'to jump (Cret.)' (AB 1, 327, 5), and ἀγκωλιάζων· ἀλλόμενος τῷ ἐτέρῳ ποδί (H.). Schulze assumed that \*ἄσκωλος derives from \*ἄν-σκωλος; likewise, DELG derived the forms in ἀγκωλ- from ἀνα- and ►κῶλον 'member'. However, it seems clear that the ἄ- is a prothetic vowel. σκωλοβατίζω itself is clearly derived from ►σκῶλος 'pole'.

**ἄσμενος** [adj.] 'well-pleased, glad' (Il.). <?>

- DER ἀσμενίζω [v.] 'to receive with joy, to be content' (Plb.), ἀσμενισμός 'satisfaction' (Ph.); ἀσμενέω [v.] (Din.).
- ETYM An isolated participle, which has been interpreted as a sigmatic aorist \*ῥάδ-σμενος from the root of ►ἀνδάνω, ►ἥδομαι, but note that the form has no aspiration. Wackernagel 1897: 6 proposed connection with ►νέομαι 'to return' as \*ἡs-s-menos, assuming an original meaning 'safe' (see DELG). Not compelling.

**ἀσπάζομαι** [v.] 'to welcome kindly, greet' (Il.). <?>

- VAR Aor. ἀσπάσασθαι.
- DIAL Myc. PN *a-pa-si-jo-jo*, perhaps /Aspasioio/.
- DER Verbal nouns ἀσπασμός (Thgn.), ἄσπασμα (E., Ph.), ἀσπαστός [f.] (Call.) 'greeting, caress'. An old adjective is ἀσπάσιος 'welcome, cheerful' (Il.), after other adjectives in -σιος (Schwyzer: 466, Chantraine 1933: 41), cf. θαυμάσιος. Verbal adjective ἀσπαστός 'welcome' (Od.), ἀσπαστικός 'cheerful, friendly' (Plb.). On ἀσπακάζομαι (Com. *Adesp.*), ἀσπακῶς· φιλοφρόνως 'friendly' (H.) see Frisk 1934: 62ff.
- ETYM No etymology. Connection with ►σπάω in the sense of 'to draw to oneself' has been proposed, but then the ἄ- would have to be the Pre-Greek prothetic vowel. Kretschmer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 189f. derives it from \*ἄν-σπάζομαι.

**ἀσπαίρω** [v.] 'to pant, struggle, resist' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>sperH- 'kick with the foot'>

- VAR Only pres.; also σπαίρω (Arist.).
- DER ἀσπαρίζω (Arist.), cf. ἀσκαρίζω to ►σκαίρω.

- ETYM The conviction that ἄ- in ἀσπαίρω is secondary (Frisk) has no basis; it does not derive from ἀνα- (Kretschmer *KZ* 33 (1895): 566, etc.). Rather, the form without ἄ- will be secondary (perhaps after the pair ἀσκαρίζω : σκαίρω?).

Related forms are Lith. *spiriù* 'to kick with the foot', Skt. *sphurāti* 'id.', Lat. *spernō* 'to despise', ON *sperna*, among others. Lubotsky 2006 reconstructs the verb as \**TsperH-* 'to kick with the heel' in view of the irregular correspondences in the anlaut. The words may be old compounds of \**pd-* 'foot' and \**per(H)-* 'to beat, kick'.

**ἀσπάλαθος** [f., m.] name of several types of thorn-bush (Thgn.), see Dawkins *JHS* 56 (1936): 7. <PG?(S)>

- ETYM Solmsen 1909: 21 connected σπαλύσσεται· σπαράσσεται, ταρασσεται 'to rip, agitate' (H.), σφαλάσσειν· τέμνειν, κεντεῖν 'to cut, sting' (H.), etc. (see ἀσπάλαξ), but this is semantically unconvincing. It is rather a loanword (substrate?); the suffix -θος often occurs in plant names, see André 1956: 234.

Alessio compares Lat. *palla* 'genesta alba' (Alessio *RILomb.* 74 (1940-1941): 737ff., Alessio *Studi etruschi* 15 (1941): 219. See also Fournier *RPh.* 1950: 172-176.

**ἀσπάλαξ, -ακος** [m.] 'mole, *Sphalax typhus*' (Arist.), see Thompson *Class. Rev.* 32 (1918): 9ff. <PG(V)>

- VAR Also σπάλαξ [m., f.] (Arist.), ἀσφάλαξ [m.] (Babr.) and σφάλαξ (Paus.).
- ETYM The suffix -αξ in animal names is well known, e.g. κόραξ, σκύλαξ (Chantraine 1933: 378). The connection with a root \**sp(h)el-* 'to split, tear off' (Pok. 985) is hardly credible. The variations (prothetic vowel, π/φ) in combination with the suffix -ακ- virtually ascertain substrate origin. The synonym σκάλωψ may be a variant, or a recent metathesis. ►σπάλαθρον 'poker' does not belong here.

**ἀσπάλιεύς** [m.] 'fisher' (Nic.). <PG?>

- VAR ἀσπάλους· τοὺς ἰχθύας. Ἀθαμᾶνες 'fish (Athamanian)' (H.). Cf. ἄσπαλον· σκύτος 'skin, hide' (H.) (unrelated?).
- DER ἀσπαλία· τοῦ ἀλιέως ἐργασία 'trade of the fisherman' (H.) for \*ἀσπαλιεία? Cf. ἀσπαλίσαι· ἀλιεῦσαι, σαγηνεῦσαι 'fish, catch as in a net' (AB 183).
- ETYM Cf. ἀλιεύς. The etymology is unknown; the old comparison with Lat. *squalus* name of a big fish, ON *hvalr* 'whale' must be forgotten. Rather a substrate word, with Huber 1921: 21. DELG strangely doubts the connection of ἀσπαλιεύς and ἄσπαλος.

**ἄσπαλον** = σπολάς.

**ἀσπάραγος** = ἀσφάραγος.

**ἀσπάσιος** = ἀσπάζομαι.

**ἀσπερχές** [adv.] 'unceasingly' (Il.). <IE \**sperǵh-* 'hurry'>

- ETYM Derived from σπέρχω 'to (be in a) hurry', with copulative (intensive) α-; see Chantraine 1933: 427.

**ἄσπετος** [adj.] 'endless, immense' (Il.). <IE \**sekʷ-* 'say'>



•ETYM From *\*n-sk<sup>w</sup>-eto-*, literally ‘unspeakable’, a negative verbal adjective to ἐννέπω < PGr. *\*en-hek<sup>w</sup>-*. The omission of *\*k<sup>w</sup>e* > τε in this word, which is probably due to the preceding σ-, has given rise to the name ἄσπετος-rule.

**ἀσπιδής** •ETYM A hapax in δι’ ἀσπιδέος πεδίοιο, which some read instead of διὰ σπιδέος πεδίοιο. Doubtful; further details s.v. ▶ σπιδίος.

**ἄσπιλος** = σπιλάς 1.

**ἀσπίς 1, -ίδος** [f.] ‘shield’ (Il.), a round shield, as opposed to ▶ σάκος, see Trümper 1950: 20ff. and *LfgreE* s.v. < IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>esp-* ‘cut’? >

•DER Diminutive ἀσπίδιον (Hermipp.), also as a plant (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 55; ἀσπιδίσκη and -ίσκος (LXX, inscr.), ἀσπιδίσκιον (inscr.), ἀσπιδισκάριον (Lyd.); ἀσπιστής ‘warrior with shield’ (Il.), secondary ἀπιστήρ (S, E.) and ἀπίστωρ (A. Ag. 404 [lyr.]), see Chantraine 1933: 327 and 325f.; ἀσπιστικός (D. H.). Further ἀσπιδίτης (S. Fr.), probably after ὀπλίτης; more common ἀσπιδιώτης (Il, Theocr., etc.), metrically conditioned in origin; ἀσπιδόεις ‘consisting of shields’ (Opp.). ἀσπιδεῖον mg. uncertain (inscr., pap.); cf. forms in -εῖον in Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 12ff.; note the gloss ἀσπιδεῖα· τὰς πτύχας τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ μέρος τῆς νεῶς πρὸς τῇ πρύμνῃ ‘plates of shields, also a part of the ship near the stern’ (H.). Denominative ἀσπίζω ‘to shield, protect’ (Lydia, H., Suid.).

•ETYM No remotely convincing suggestions have been made (see older litt. in Frisk) until Melchert 2007: 253-8, who finds the root of CLuw., Hitt. *hasp-* in Lat. *asper* ‘rough, harsh’ and also in Gr. ἀσπίς, starting from an *i*-stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>esp-i-*, with meaning specialized to ‘skin, leather’, thence ‘shield’.

**ἀσπίς 2, -ίδος** [f.] name of the Egyptian cobra, ‘Coluber haie’ (Hdt.). < GR >

•ETYM Perhaps identical with ▶ ἀσπίς 1, after the shield formed by the snake’s neck when it attacks. Rather not a loanword.

**ἄσπληνον** [n.] a plant (Dsc.). < GR >

•VAR Also -ος [m.].

•ETYM Perhaps from privative ἀ- and σπλήν: the plant would cure anthrax. Rather not a loanword.

**ἄσπρις** [f.] kind of oak, ‘Quercus Cerris’ (Thphr.). < ? >

•ETYM No etymology. It is not related to OHG *aspa* ‘asp’, as this originally had -ps-, and the Greek -r- would remain unexplained.

Hubschmid 1953b: 98 compares Basque *tšapar* ‘oak’, but this does not fit well.

**ἄσσα** [n.pl.] indefinite pronoun, = τινά.

•VAR Att. ἄττα; ἄσσα, Att. ἄττα = ἄτινα. ⇒ τίς.

**ἄσπρος** [adj.] ‘rough’ (Ael.). < LW Lat. >

•ETYM A loan from Lat. *asper*. For the later history of the word, see DELG.

**ἀστακός** [m.] 1. ‘the smooth lobster’ (Philyll.), 2. ‘hollow of the ear’ (Poll.). < PG(V) >

•VAR ὀστακός (Aristom.), Attic acc. to Ath. 3, 105b.

•ETYM Often analyzed as a *k*-derivation of the word for ‘bone’ (Gr. ὀστέον, Skt. *ásthi*, obl. *asth(ā)n-*); so *\*h<sub>3</sub>esth<sub>1</sub>-n-kó-*. However, this etymology dates from a time when every Greek word had to be given an IE origin. The formation is unparalleled in Greek, and the assimilation ἄστα- < ὀστα- is highly improbable. The comparison with Skt. *an-ástha-ka-* ‘without bones’ (Frisk) is irrelevant: it is formed with a suffix productive in that language; neither does MInd. *aṭṭhi-taco* ‘lobster’ < *\*asthi-tvacas-* ‘with bony skin’ prove anything for Greek.

Rather, we are dealing with a substrate word, with variation ἄ-/ὀ-. See Fur.: 137. See ▶ ἀστράγαλος, ▶ ὀστέον, ▶ ὄστρακον.

**ἀστάλη** [f.] · πολύπους ὁ ἐν τῇ μυκτῆρι ‘excrescence in the nostril’ (1.), ἔνιοι σκώληκα οὐρὰν ἔχοντα ‘worm with a tail’ (2.) (H.). < ? >

•ETYM Fur.: 379 compares (1.) with ἀστλιγῆ and ὄστλιγῆ ‘anything curled’, which is also used for the arms of the cuttle-fish. This cannot be substantiated. The etymology of (2.) is completely unknown. Chantraine adduces ἀσταλύειν, but this must be a mistake; see ▶ ἀνασταλύω.

**ἀσάνδης** = ἀσκάνης.

**ἀσταφίς, -ίδος** [f.] ‘dried grapes, raisins’ (Hdt., IA, inscr. Tegea [V<sup>a</sup>]); σταφίς ἀγρία ‘stavesacre, Delphinium Staphisagria’ (Hp.), see André 1956 s.v. *pedicularia herba*. < PG(V) >

•VAR Also ὀσταφίς (Cratin.), σταφίς (Hp.).

•DER σταφίδιος (Hp.) and σταφιδίτης (Orib.), of οἶνος. Also σταφιδευταῖος (Hp.), as if from *\*σταφιδευτής* or *\*σταφιδεύω*. Denominative verb σταφιδόω [v.] ‘to dry grapes, produce raisins’ (Dsc., Gr.).

•ETYM The formation reminds of κεδρίς, κεφαλίς and other parts or products of plants; the stem recalls ▶ σταφυλή ‘grapes’. A typical substrate word, with prothetic vowel and variation α/ο-.

**ἄσταχυς** [m.] ‘ear of corn’ (Il.), ‘bandage’ (Gal.). < PG(V) >

•VAR στάχυς (Il.+), -ύς (E.); see ▶ στάχυς.

•ETYM Previously connected with OHG *stanga*, *stengil*, etc. Undoubtedly a substrate word in view of the prothetic vowel.

**ἀστέλεφος** [m.]? · τὸ περὶ τὴν κιθάραν δέρμα ‘the skin around the thorax’ (H.). < ? >

•ETYM Unknown. Fur.: 373 compares ▶ στέρφος ‘skin, etc.’, with variation ρ/λ and prothetic vowel. However, substrate origin is unlikely for the latter word, as it has a decent Indo-European etymology.

**ἀστεμφής** [adj.] ‘firm, stiff’ (Il.). < ? >

•VAR ἀστεμφέως [adv.] (Od.).

•ETYM Unclear. The ἀ- is assumed to be either copulative (“stamped tight”) or privative (“unmoved, unshaken”, which is the meaning given by LSJ). This presupposes a noun *\*στέμφος* or a verb *\*στέμφω* ‘to press, stamp’, but these are not known in Greek (only ▶ στόμφος and ▶ στέμβω, with the wrong stop). Unrelated is

►στέμφυλα. Appurtenance to the PIE roots in Pok. (\**stebʰ-* 1012, \**stem-* 1021) is difficult.

**ἀστεροπή** [f.] 'lightning' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR More common is στεροπή (Il.); ἀστραπή (Hdt.); τροπά· ἀστραπή. Πάφιοι 'lightning (Paphian)' and στορπάν (cod. -τιάν·) τὴν ἀστραπήν 'id.' (H.); Στορπᾶος epithet of Zeus (Tegea). Note τροφαί· ἀστραπαί (H.).

•DER ἀστεροπητής, -οῦ [m.] epithet of Zeus (Il.), ἀστεροπητὰ κεραυνόν (IG 14, 641) after ἀργήτα κεραυνόν (Hom.); ἀστεροπαῖος (Corn.).

From ἀστραπή: ἀστραπαῖος (Arist.) and ἀστράπιος (Orph.); ἀστραπηδόν (Aristobul.). Denominative ἀστράπτω [v.] 'to thunder' (Il.), aor. ἀστράψαι; late ἀστραψις (Suid.) and ἀστραπτικός (sch.).

A variant which occurs in poetry is στράπτω (S., A. R.), whence the back-formation στραπή (EM).

•ETYM Mostly analyzed as a compound from ἀστήρ 'star' and ὄπ- 'eye', meaning 'star-eye'. For the semantics of the formation, Arm. *p'ayl-akn* 'lightning' is compared (*p'ayl* 'glow, splendour' and *akn* 'eye'), as well as Arm. *areg-akn* 'sun' (*arew* 'sun' and *akn*). However, 'glow, splendour' is not the same as 'star' and, more importantly, the variants στεροπή and ἀστραπή cannot be explained in this way (also note π/φ in στροφή). Also, if ἀστράπτω is not a very recent formation, one would expect \*ἀστρασσω from the IE pre-form, as DELG points out. The word must therefore belong to the substrate layer, as Kuiper and Furnée already saw. See Beekes MSS 48 (1987): 15-20.

**ἄστηνος** [adj.] 'miserable' (Call.), acc. to EM 159, 11 παρὰ τὸ μὴ στάσιν μηδ' οἴκησιν ἔχειν. <GR?>

•VAR Remarkable is the athematic plural in ἀστήνες· ταλαίπωροι, δυστυχεῖς 'distressed, unfortunate' (H.).

•DER Denominative ἀστηνεῖ· ἀδυνατεῖ 'is unable' (H.).

•ETYM The gloss of EM is clearly a guess. Possibly from privative α- and the second member of ►δύστηνος.

**ἀστήρ, -έρος** [m.] 'star' (Il.). <IE \**h₂ster-* 'star'>

•VAR Plur. mostly ἄστρο, whence secondary sg. ἄστρον.

•DER Diminutives: ἀστερίσκος (Call., Thphr.), ἀστερίσκιον (Apollon.); ἀστηρίδιον 'star-like ornament' (pap.).

Adjectives: ἀστερόεις 'starry' (Il.); ἀστερωτός 'id.' (inscr. III<sup>a</sup>); ἀστέριος 'star-like' (Arat., Call.), ntr. ἀστέριον, which is also found as a plant name (Crateuas); see Strömberg 1940: 48, 50; ἀστεριαῖος 'like a star' (Cleom.); ἀστερικός 'belonging to the stars' (Theol. Ar.), ἀστερώδης (sch.).

Substantives: ἀστερίας fish and bird name (Philyll., Arist.), cf. Strömberg 1943: 28, Thompson 1895: 57; ἀστερίτης, of λίθος, name of a mythical stone (Ptol. Heph.), fem. ἀστερίτις plant name (Ps.-Apul.).

From the zero grade in ἄστρο (ἄστρον): ἄστριον 'star-like ornament' (inscr.); ἀστρώος 'starred, of the stars' (AP, Phlp.); ἀστρικός 'belonging to the stars' (Philostr.); ἀστραῖος 'starred' (Nonn.).

Rare denominatives: ἀστερίζω [v.] 'to arrange in constellations' (Hipparch.); ἀστερώ [v.] 'to change into stars, provide with stars' (Placit., sch.).

•ETYM The reconstruction of the word for 'star' is straightforward: hysterodynamic nom. \**h₂stēr*, acc. \**h₂ster-m*, gen. \**h₂str-os*, seen in Hitt. *hasterza* /hstert<sup>s</sup>/, Arm. *astl*, OIr. *ser* < \**h₂ster-h₂*, Go. *stairno* << \**h₂ster-no-*, ToB *šcirye*, Av. *stār-am* [acc.sg.], Skt. *tārah* [nom.pl.] (the absence of the *s-* is unexplained), *stf-bhih* [instr.pl.]; Lat. *stella* < \**stēr-lā* or rather \**stēl-nā*.

►ἀστεροπή, etc. do not belong here. The connection with PIE \**h₂eh₂s-* 'to burn' seems quite probable; Sumerian-Babylonian origin (*Ištar* 'Venus'), on the other hand, is highly improbable in view of the initial laryngeal. On the internal derivation of the word, see most recently Pinault 2007: 271-279.

**ἄστυλιγξ** = ὄστυλιγξ.

**ἀστός** = ἄστυ.

**ἀστραβδα** [adv.]? mg. unknown; used with δορκάσιν παίζειν (Hdt. 3, 64). <?>

•VAR Accent unknown.

•ETYM Formation like κρύβδα, κύβδα, μίγδα (Schwyzer: 626), of unknown etymology.

**ἀστράβη** [f.] 'comfortable saddle for an ass or a mule' (Lys.), see RE 4, 1792. <PG(V)>

•VAR On ἀστράβην (Anon. in Rh. 8, 668) see below. Note Lat. *astrama* = σάνις, ὑποπόδιον (gloss. II 22, 15, see RE), where the *-m-* for *-b-* may point to (Pre-Greek) substrate origin.

•ETYM Connection with ►ἀστραβής 'steadfast' (as per DELG) is improbable. Neumann *Inc. ling.* 1 (1974): 103-8 connects Hitt. *ašatar* 'seat' (from *aš-* 'to sit'), but *-ba-* is rare in Hittite. Fur.: 143 mentions ἀστράβην (-απὴν trad.), referring to Sturtevant *Class. Phil.* 6 (1911): 208. Variation αβ/απ is well-known in substrate words (Fur.: 107), so it may well be a Pre-Greek word. This analysis is rejected without good reason by Neumann (who points to other words in -βα/ος, but these are probably loanwords too).

**ἀστραβής, -ές** [adj.] 'straight, steadfast, rigid' (Pi., Hp., Pl.). <GR>

•DER ἀστραβαλίζειν· ὁμαλίζειν, εὐθύνειν 'to make even or level, direct' (H.). ἀστραβιστήρ. ὄργανόν τι ὡς δίοπτρον 'an instrument, as that for seeing through' (H.).

•ETYM Commonly assumed to belong to ►στραβός 'squinting', ►στρεβλός 'twisted, crooked', etc., with privative α-.

**ἀστράγαλος** [m.] 'one of the neck vertebrae; anklebone; knuckle-bones (used as dice); dice' (Il.). Also a plant, see DELG Supp. <PG(V)>

•VAR ἀστραγάλη [f.] 'id.' (Anacr.), στράγαλος (Vita Aesop. (G) 69, see LSJ Supp.).

•DER ἀστραγαλωτός (μάστιξ) 'whip' made from ἄ. (Crates Com.), ἀστραγαλωτή a plant (Philum.); see Schwyzer: 503, Chantraine 1933: 305.

ἀστραγάλειος 'covering the ankles, talaris' (Aq.), ἀστραγαλίτις 'kind of iris' (Gal.), ἀστραγαλῖνος 'bull finch' (Dionys.). Denominative ἀστραγαλίζω [v.] 'to play with ἄ.'

(com., Pl.), whence ἀστραγάλις ‘dicing’ (Arist.), ἀστραγαλιστής ‘dice player’ (com.), ἀστραγαλιστικός [adj.] (Eust.). Hypocoristic ἄστρις [f.] = ἀστράγαλος (Call.); with the hypocoristic suffix -χ- also ἄστριχος [m.] (Antiph.), see Schwyzler: 498.

•ETYM Generally considered to be a derivation in -λ- (Chantraine 1933: 247) of the inherited word for ‘bone’ (see ▶ ὀστέον). The same etymology is often assumed for ▶ ἀστακός and ▶ ὄστρακον, ▶ ὄστρειον, but this cannot be correct. There is no good explanation for the -γ-. Therefore, it is probably a substrate word (Beekes 1969: 51).

**ἀστραλός** [m.] · ὁ ψαρός ὑπὸ Θεταλῶν ‘starling (Thess.)’ (H.). <LW?>

•ETYM Closely resembles words for ‘tern’ and ‘starling’, like Lat. *sturnus*, OHG *stara* [f.], etc. However, the reconstruction \*ἀστργλός, assumed by Schwyzler (see Frisk), is improbable. A much simpler solution is to assume independent suffixes -no- and -lo-. Although we may mechanically reconstruct \**h<sub>2</sub>str-lo-* for Greek and \**h<sub>2</sub>stor-no-* for the European branches, it is more likely that the word is non-IE. See Thompson 1895 s.v.

**ἀστραπή** ⇒ ἀστεροπή.

**Ἀτρεύς** [m.] father of Agamemnon, son of Pelops, etc. (Il.).

•ETYM West *Glotta* 77 (1999): 262-266 remarks that the form in -εύς is extremely rare (the nom. in Homer only in B 106, while Ἀτρεός υἱός occurs 11 times). The name was interpreted as ἄτρεστος ‘undaunted’. West supposes that the name may have had Ἀτρε(h)- followed by -ίας (there is a variant Ἀτρέας) or by -ίων (Ἀτρείων occurs as a patronymic). This possible form explains the Hittite name *Attar(i)ššiia-*, mentioned as a man from *Ahhiya-* = Achaea. This name may represent \*Ἀτερσιας or \*Ἀτρεσιας; a man with the same or a related name.

**ἄστρις** •VAR ἄστριχος. ⇒ ἀστράγαλος.

**ἄστν** [n.] ‘town’ (Il.). <IE \**ueh<sub>2</sub>stu-* ‘town’>

•VAR Att. -εως, Ion. -εος.

•DIAL Myc. *wa-tu* /wastu/, Boeot. *φαστιος* [gen.]; Myc. *wa-tu-o-ko* /wastuok<sup>h</sup>os/, Arc. *φαστυοχῶ* [gen.].

•DER ἀστικός ‘of a town’ (A., etc.), which could also be derived from ἀστός (see below); sometimes ἀστυκός after ἄστν; ἀστεῖος ‘id.’, also ‘fine, polite’ (Att., Arist.), whence ἀστεϊότης (Vett. Val.), ἀστεϊοσύνη (Lib.), denominative ἀστεῖζομαι [v.] (Str., J.), ἀστεῖσμός (Demetr. *Eloc.*, D. H.), ἀστέϊσμα (Tz.); further ἀστεῖεύομαι (sch.). Curious formation in ἄστυρον ‘(small) town’ (Call., Nic.). ἀστός [m.] ‘citizen’ (Il.) < \*ἀσφός, Thess. *φαστος*; thence ἄστιος = ἀστικός (inscr. Crete, Stymphalos, Delos). ἀστίτης [m.] ‘fellow citizen’ (S.) after πολίτης.

•ETYM ἄστν < *φάστν* resembles Skt. *vāstu* [n.] ‘residence, abode’ (younger *vastu* [n.] ‘place, thing’), Messap. *vastei* [dat.] and ToA *wašt*, ToB *ost* ‘house’. Together with ἄστν, this requires ablauting \**ueh<sub>2</sub>stu-*, \**uh<sub>2</sub>steu-*, the latter form being generalized in ἄστν (see Beekes *IF* 93 (1988): 24). The root shape implies that the word cannot belong to Skt. *vāsati* ‘to dwell, live’, Gr. aor. ▶ ἄεσα ‘to spend the night’, Hitt. *huiš-zi* ‘to live’. Recently, some scholars have therefore assumed metathesis of \**h<sub>2</sub>us-* to

\**uh<sub>2</sub>s-*, either restricted to Greek or in PIE (see litt. in Balles 2007: 17, especially Neri KZ 118 (2005 [2006]): 208<sup>32</sup>), but this does not convince. It is not probable either that the group of ἄστν is related to Lat. *vāstus* ‘desolate’, OHG *wuosti* ‘barren’, OIr. *fás* ‘empty’, which rather belong to the root \**h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to lack, disappear’.

**ἀστνλάζει** ⇒ ἀνασταλῶ.

**ἀσυρής** [adj.] ‘lewd, filthy’ (Hdt. 4, 51). <GR?>

•ETYM Uncertain. Perhaps copulative α- and \*σύρος, which would be an old verbal noun to ▶ σύρω ‘to drag, sweep’, with the same semantic shift as in σύρμα, συρφετός ‘refuse, litter’.

**ἀσύφη** [f.] kind of κασία ‘cinnamon’ (*Peripl. M. Rubr.* 12, Dsc. 1, 13). <LW>

•VAR ἀσυφήμων (v.l.).

•ETYM Unknown loanword, see André 1956 s.v. *asufi*.

**ἀσύφηλος** [adj.] uncertain, ‘headstrong, insulting’ or ‘foolish’ (Il.)? <PG?(V)>

•ETYM The scholion on Ven. A and Bechtel 1914 connect σοφός, with privative ἀ-. For the vocalism, Σίσυφος and σέσυφος· πανούργος (H.) are compared. Fur.: 337 further compares the gloss αἰσύφιος· δεινός, ψευδής, ἀπατεῶν ‘awesome, deceptive, treacherous’ (H.), -ος (Cyr.), which seems to fit well. In view of the interchange α-/α-, substrate origin is more probable than the traditional etymology.

**ἄσφαλτος** [f., m.] ‘asphalt, bitumen’ (Hdt.). <PG?>

•VAR Also -ον [n.].

•DER ἀσφάλτιον ‘treacle clover, Psoralea bituminosa’ (Dsc.), named after the smell (see Strömberg 1940: 62); ἀσφαλτίτις ‘bituminous’ (Str.), of βῶλος, etc.; ἀσφαλτώδης ‘like α.’ (Arist., Str.), whence ἀσφαλτωδεύομαι [v.] ‘to cover with α.’.

Denominative verb ἀσφαλτῶ ‘to smear with α.’ (LXX), whence ἀσφάλτωσις (Suid.); ἀσφαλτίζω [v.] ‘to smell like α.’ (Dsc.).

•ETYM Generally taken as a negated verbal adjective of σφάλλεσθαι, under the assumption that it denoted the material that protects walls from tumbling down (σφάλλεσθαι). For the ‘causative’ meaning of the verbal adjective one compares ἀμέθυστος; still, this semantic point makes the etymology weak. It is rather a substrate word. Diels KZ 47 (1916): 207ff. noted that sources occur everywhere in the Greek world, e.g. on Zakynthos and near Dyrrhachium.

**ἀσφάραγος 1** [m.] ‘throat, gullet’ (X 328, Plu.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR σφάραγος (σφάραγος Latte)· βρόγχος, τράχηλος, λαμός, ψόφος ‘windpipe, neck, throat, noise’ (H.); = φάρυγξ (Apion *apud* Phot.).

•ETYM Fur.: 227 connects φάραγξ, -γγος ‘gorge’ and compares σφάραγες (codd. -ές) sine expl. (H.). The combination of the variations and the suffix -αγ-/αγγ- (prenasalization) proves substrate origin. He further compares μάραγοι· οἱ ἀπόκρημνοι τόποι ‘overhanging places’ (H.), which seems improbable to me.

**ἀσφάραγος 2** [m.] ‘asparagus, young shoots’ (Cratin.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ἀσπάραγος (com., Thphr., Plb., etc. [not given separately by LSJ]).

•DER ἀσφαργία ‘rootstock of the asparagus’ (Thphr.) and ἀσφαργωνία ‘wreath of asparagus’ (Plu.), cf. βρυωνία, ροδωνία.

•ETYM The word has been compared with ▶σφαργέομαι ‘to burst with a noise, teem’, but it is rather a substrate word, as is made probable by the variation π/φ.

**ἀσφόδελος** [m.] ‘asphodel, Asphodelus ramosa’ (Hes.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also σφόδελος (H.), σφοδελός (Ar.); σποδελός (v.ll. acc. to Hdn. Gr. 2, 152).

•DER ἀσφοδελός ‘grown with α.’ (Od.), on the accent see Schwyzer: 420; ἀσφοδελώδης ‘like α.’ (Thphr.), ἀσφοδέλιος ‘made of α.’ (Luc.).

•ETYM A substrate word, as is shown by the variants. Fur.: 288 further compares σφονδύλ(ε)ιον, σπονδύλιον ‘Heracleum sphondylium’, which would show prenasalization. A speculative attempt by Biraud 1993: 35-46, who finds the same suffix in στυφελός, ζάφελος, ράκελος, etc.

**ἀσχαλάω** [v.] ‘to be distressed, grieved’ (Il., Archil., E.). <?>

•VAR ἀσχάλλω (Od., IA) is more usual; fut. ἀσχαλεῖ (A. Prom. 764).

•ETYM Commonly derived from \*ἄσχαλος ‘who cannot hold himself, with privative α- and the root of σχεῖν, to which a suffix -αλο- would have been added. Highly doubtful.

\***ἀσχέδιον** · τραχύ, Κρήτες ‘rough (Cretan)’ (H.). ⇒ ἀσχέλιον.

**ἀσχέδωρος** [m.] ‘wild boar’ in Magna Graecia (A. Fr. 191). <?>

•ETYM Kretschmer KZ 36 (1900): 267f. proposed a Doric form \*ἄν-σχε-δορ-ος ‘who resists the lance’, which would originally be an epithet. Comparable formations are μεν-έγχις, μεν-αίχμης. Possible at best.

**ἀσχέλιον** · τραχύ, Κρήτες ‘rough (Cretan)’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Latte notes: “non coharens ideoque asperum”, and corrects to ἀσχέδιον. DELG connects the corrected form with σχεδ-όν and ἔχω (which may be what Latte meant). However, Latte’s correction is too uncertain to be printed in the edition of Hesychius.

**ἀσχιον** [n.] ‘puffball, Lycoperdon giganteum’ (Thphr.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. Semitic etymology in Lewy 1895: 31.

**ἄσχυ** [n.] ‘inspissated juice of the fruit of the bird cherry (Prunus Padus)’, used by the Scythians (Hdt. 4, 23). <LW Iran.>

•ETYM See the note ad loc. in the edition of Legrand.

**ἄσωτος** •VAR ἄσωτία. ⇒ σωός.

**ἄτα** ⇒ οὖς.

**ἄταβυρίτης** [adj.] scil. ἄρτος, a kind of bread from Rhodes (Sopat.). <GR>

•ETYM Cf. Ἀταβυρία· ἡ Ῥόδος πάλαι (H.) and the mountain Ἀταβύριον. The suffix -ίτης is common for kinds of bread, cf. Redard 1949: 88.

**ἀτάλαντος** ⇒ τάλαντον.

**ἀταλός** [adj.] ‘tender, delicate’ (Il.). <PG?(V)>

•DER Denominative verb ἀτάλλω (pres. only) ‘to skip in childish glee’, trans. ‘to bring up (a child)’ (Il.); ἀτάλματα· παίγνια ‘toys’ (H.). With internal reduplication (Schwyzer: 648) ἀπιτάλλω ‘to rear, tend’ (Il.), aor. ἀτίτηλα; ἀπιτάλτας ‘foster father’ (Gortyn).

•ETYM Extensive discussion in DELG. Leumann *Glotta* 15 (1927): 153ff. (also Leumann 1950: 139ff.) derives ἀταλός from the expression ἀταλά φρονέων, which arose by reanalysis of ἀταλαφρονέων. This is based on ἀταλάφρων, and this again is the negation of ταλάφρων. Although it explains the compositional vowel α, the whole analysis is too complicated. Derivation from ἄττα (Benveniste 1969(2): 85ff.) seems improbable too. What remains is an adjective ἀταλός of unknown origin, with a verb that means ‘to treat tenderly’. Fur.: 262 compares ἄζαλαί· νέαι καὶ ἀπαλαί and concludes that it is a substrate word. This is quite probable.

**ἀτάλυμος** [f.] = κοκκυμηλέα, ‘plum tree’ (Nic.). <PG(S)>

•ETYM Unknown, but no doubt a substrate word (suffix -υμος).

**ἀτάρ** [adv.]? ‘nevertheless, but’ (Il.). <GR>

•ETYM A combination of \**h<sub>2</sub>et* = Lat. *at* ‘but’ (also in Go. *abþan* ‘but’) and ▶ἄρ (s.v. ▶ἄρα). Cf. ▶αὐτάρ and Ruijgh 1957: 43ff.

**ἀτάρβακτος** [adj.] ‘fearless’ (Pi., B.). <PG?, ?>

•ETYM A privative verbal adjective, which presupposes an unattested \*ταρβάσσω or \*ταρβάζω that would belong to τάρβος, ▶ταρβέω, see Fur.: 219. Cf. ἀτάρμυκτος (Euph., Nic.) to ▶ταρμύσσω ‘to scare’ (Lyc.). See ▶τάρβος.

**ἀταρπιτός** •VAR ἀταρπός. ⇒ ἀτραπός, ἀτραπιτός.

**ἀταρτηρός** [adj.] ‘mischievous, baneful’ (Il.), mg. not quite certain. <?>

•DER ἀταρτᾶται· βλάπτει, πονεῖ, λυπεῖ ‘hinders, labors, grieves’ (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. Stürmer *IF* 47 (1929): 299 assumes a pre-form \*ἄταρτος ‘unfatiguing’, comparing ▶ἀτέραμνος and ▶τείρω. This is impossible because the roots concerned are dissyllabic (\**terh<sub>1</sub>*- ‘to pierce’, \**terh<sub>2</sub>*- ‘to overcome’).

**ἀτάσθαλος** [adj.] ‘reckless, wicked’ (Il., Aeol.). <?>

•DER ἀτασθαλῖαι (always plur. in Hom.), sing. -ίη, -ία (Hes., Hdt., Pi.); ἀτασθάλλον [pres.ptc.] (Od.).

•ETYM Unexplained. As DELG remarks, connection with ἄτη is impossible as the latter has long ᾶ-. The gloss from Hesychius ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῖς ἄταις θάλλειν is clearly a folk etymology. The proposal by Frisk *Eranos* 31 (1933): 21ff. to posit \*ἄ-θαρστος = Skt. *á-dhṛṣṭa*- ‘irresistable’, to θάρσος, is a desperate attempt. See also Fur.: 379.

**ἀτειρής** [adj.] ‘indestructible, stubborn, hard’ (Il.). <?>

•ETYM Mostly connected with ▶τείρω ‘to tire’, Lat. *terō* ‘to rub’, in which case the proposal by Bechtel 1914 s.v. to posit \*ἀτερφ-ής (with the \*-u- of τέρυ) makes some sense. Improbable is the proposal by Wackernagel 1897: 14ff., who assumed \*ἀτερσ-ής to ▶τέρσομαι and an original meaning ‘not dried up, fresh’.

**ἀτέμβω** [v.] 'to maltreat', med. 'to be bereft of' (Il.), also 'to revile' (A. R.) by a false interpretation of φ 312, acc. to Leumann 1950: 33. <?>

•VAR Only pres.

•DER ἀτέμβιος· μεμπίμοιος 'criticizing' (EM).

•ETYM Unknown. Traditionally connected with Skt. *dabhnóti* 'to damage' < \**d<sup>h</sup>ebh-*, but aspiration is not lost after nasal in Greek (Schwyzer: 333).

**ἀτενής, -ές** [adj.] 'tense, fixed, attentive' (Hes.). <IE? \**ten-* 'draw, stretch'>

•DER ἀτενίζω [v.] 'to stare' (Hp.), ἀτενισμός (Thphr.) and ἀτένεις (Paul. Aeg.).

•ETYM Perhaps 'with tension', if derived from a substantive \*τένος [n.] = Lat. *tenus* [n.] 'cord' with copulative α- (and Ionic psilosis), from the root of ▶τείνω.

**ἄτερ** [prep.] 'without, far from' (Il.). <IE? \**sn-ter*, \**snHu*, \**snHi* 'without'>

•DER ἄτερθε(ν), Aeol. ἄτερθα 'id.' (Pi., A. and S. [lyr.]); ἀπάτερθεν, also as adv. (Il.).

•ETYM A psilotic form (perhaps Aeolic) from \*ἄτέρ, identical with OHG *suntar* 'separated, but' < PIE \**sn̥-tér*. There was also a form \**snH(e)u* giving Greek ▶ἄνευ and remade in Skt. *sanu-tár* 'separate from, far away' (cf. Av. *hanarə*). Again differently formed are ToA *sne*, ToB *snai* 'without', Lat. *sine* 'id.' < \**seni*, OIr. *sain* 'particular, different'. However, these words require a laryngeal (\**snH-*), which is impossible for ἄτερ. This is problematic, but remains unsolved to date (in spite of Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 66 (1988): 137-141). The suggestion by Nikolaev 2007: 165 that ἄτερ continues \**h<sub>2</sub>n-ter* is unacceptable, in view of the problems this creates for ▶ἄνευ (which he derives from \**h<sub>2</sub>n-eu*). The fact that the word is psilotic shows that it is a poetic (epic and Ionic) word.

**ἀτέραμνος** [adj.] 'hard, stubborn, merciless' (Od.). <IE? \**terh<sub>2</sub>-* 'overcome'>

•VAR Athematic ἀτέραμων 'id.' (Ar.).

•DER ἀτεραμνία (Hp.), ἀτεραμνότης (Thphr.), ἀτεραμνώδης (Gal.).

•ETYM Analyzed as a privative formation to a noun \*τέραμα, from the root of ▶τείρω, ▶τέρην, which implies an original meaning 'without weakness'. This is semantically a bit strained, and worse, there is no evidence for \**h<sub>2</sub>* in this root (\**terh<sub>2</sub>-*). It seems more natural to connect \**terh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to overcome', as found in Hitt. *tarra-ta(rí)* 'to be able', Skt. *tiráte* 'to overcome'. There is also an adjective ▶τεράμων, but Frisk and Chantraine think that it may be secondarily derived from ἀτέραμνος.

**ἄτερος** ⇒ ἔτερος.

**ἀτέων** [ptc.] unknown, 'mad' vel sim. (Il.). <?>

•VAR ἀτέει (Call. fr. 633).

•ETYM Connection with ἄτη (Bechtel 1914) seems impossible because there the ἄ- is long. It has therefore been proposed to read Υ 332 as ἀτέοντα with synizesis, or even as ἀ(φ)ατέοντα.

**ἄτη** [f.] 'damage, guilt, blindness, dazzlement' (Il.), 'penalty, fine' (Gortyn). <?>

•COMP ἄν-ατος, ἄπ-ατος (Gortyn).

•DER ἀτηρός 'blinded, bringing disaster' (Thgn., A.), ἀτηρία (Pl. Com., X.); ἀτάομαι (ἀφατάομαι; see below) 'to suffer or sustain damage' (S., E.), 'to lose a suit, be fined' (Gortyn, Gytheion).

•ETYM As appears from αὐάτα (Alc.) and denominative ἀφατάται (Gytheion), ἄτη derives from \*ἄράτη. Note ἀγατάσθαι (= ἀφα-)· βλάπτεσθαι 'to be damaged' (H.). The ἄ- is long except in Archil. 73 (where it is possible to read ἄγη, see Page *Entretiens Hardt* 10 (1964): 110), and in A. Ag. 131 (where Hermann reads ἄγα).

\*ἄράτη is a verbal noun to \*ἄρά-σαι (see ▶ἄάω), which could mechanically derive from PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>2</sub>-*. Fur.: 234 compares ἀρατή with ἀπάτη (interchange f/π). Cf. DELG *Supp.* s.v. ▶ἄάω on the parallelism with Hitt. *waštul* 'fault', which is semantically very neat - but this does not prove that there is an etymological relation with ἄτη.

**ἀτημελής** = τιμελέω.

**ἀτίζω** [v.] 'not to heed, to despise' (Il.). <GR>

•VAR Aor. ἀτίσ(σ)αι.

•ETYM Formation in -(i)ζω to the stem of ▶τίω; cf. the synonym οὐκ ἀλεγίζω.

**ἀτιτάλλω** = ἀταλός.

**ἀτίω** [v.] 'to dishonor' (Thgn. 621, Orph. L. 62). <GR>

•ETYM Incidental formation, antithetic to ▶τίω after the pattern of τιμάω : ἀτιμάω (which derives from ἀτιμός, but has been reshaped after τιμάω). Cf. the older form ▶ἀτίζω.

**Ἄτλας, -αντος** [m.] 'Atlas' (Od.), name of the god who carries the pillars of heaven.

<PG>

•DER Ἀτλαντίς [f.] (Hes.), among other things the name of a mythical island, plausibly interpreted as Minoan Crete (Castleden 1998); thence Ἀτλαντικός (E.) and Ἀτλάντειος (Critias).

•ETYM Originally the name of an Arcadian mountain god; the name was transferred to the mountain chain in Western Africa, see Solmsen 1909: 24.

The old interpretation is that the word is built from copulative α- and the root \**telh<sub>2</sub>-* of τλῆναι, and that it was later reshaped to an *nt*-stem (cf. Ἀτλαγενέων Hes. Op. 383). The name of the African mountain is also compared with Berber *ádrār* 'mountain' (Steinhauser *Glotta* 25 (1936): 229ff.). Brandenstein *Arch. Orbis* 17:1 (1949): 69ff. plausibly suggested folk-etymological reshaping of Berb. *ádrār*.

The assumption of initial \**sn̥h-* is clearly a desperate guess. It cannot be expected that this ancient Titan carries an Indo-European name; moreover, Pre-Greek words often end in -*ant-*. See Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 12<sup>1</sup>.

**ἀτμήν, -ένος** [m.] 'servant, slave' (Call.). <PG(V)>

•VAR ἄτμενος [m.] (Archil., POXu. 8, 1087 column 2, 38, Call. fr. 538), also as an adjective = δουλικός (H.).

•DER ἀτμενίς 'female servant' (EM); also ἀδμενίδες (EM), after δμῶς? ἀτμενία 'slavery' (Man., AP), ἀτμένιος 'laborious' (Nic.); denominative ἀτμεύω (Nic.), for \*ἀτμενεύω.

•ETYM The variation τ/δ points to a substrate word. Fur.: 179 (also 95) adduces λατμενεία· δουλεία (H.); other instances of λ-/zero are found ibid.: 392.

**ἀτμός** [m.] 'steam, vapor, odor' (A.). <?>

•VAR ἀτμή [f.] 'id.' (Hes.).

•DER ἀτμίς [f.] 'steam' (Hdt., Pl., Arist.), whence ἀτμιδώδης (Arist.) and ἀτμιδόομαι [v.] 'to be changed into steam' (Arist.). Also ἀτμώδης (Arist., Thphr.), ἀτμίζω [v.] 'to steam, evaporate' (S., X., Arist.), which may also derive from ἀτμίς.

•ETYM Contracted from ἀετμός, cf. the glosses ἀετμόν· τὸ πνεῦμα 'wind', ἀετμα· φλόξ 'flame' (H.)? Compared with ▶ ἀημι, and further with ▶ ἀῦτμή, but the vocalism is unexplained. DELG points to the difference in meaning with ἀημι (see Solmsen 1901: 271f.). Not to Skt. *ātman-* 'soul', OHG *ātum* 'breath' < \**h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>t-m-*.

**ἄτος** = ἄατος.

**ἀτρακίς** = ἄτρακτος.

**ἄτρακτος** [m., f.] 'spindle' (Hdt.), also 'arrow' (S., A. fr. 139); Laconian acc. to Th. 4, 40. <PG(V)>

•VAR ἄδρακτος (H., gloss.), see LSJ Supp.

•DER Diminutive ἀτράκτιον (Epic. anon. in *Arch. Pap.* 7, 9, fr. 10; *POxy.* 14, 1740, 2). ἀτρακτυλ(λ)ίς, -ίδος 'spindle-thistle, *Carthamus lanatus*' (Arist., Thphr., Theoc.), ἀτρακίς kind of thistle (Gal.), see Strömberg 1940: 105.

•ETYM The connection with Lat. *torqueō*, τρέπω and Myc. *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no* /*trok<sup>w</sup>eiomenos*/, etc. is impossible in view of the -κ-; moreover, the ἄ- would remain unexplained.

It is rather a loan from the substrate; this may find support in ἄδρακτος and ἀτρακίς, if the variation κ/κτ is old and not due to simplification. Skt. *tarku-* has formerly been compared, but it derives from *tark-* 'to turn' and is unrelated.

**ἀτραπός** [f.] '(foot)path' (Hdt.). <PG?(V), EUR?>

•VAR ἀταρπός (Il.), ἀταρπιτός (Il.), ἀτραπιτός (Od.) after ἀμαξιτός (s.v. ▶ ἀμάξα); ἀτραπιτός (AB 460).

•ETYM Often taken as copulative α- and the verbal root τραπ- seen in ▶ τραπέω 'to tread (grapes)', the o-grade of which is seen in τροπέοντο· ἐπάτουν 'were treading' (H.). Possible, though the formation is strange (cf. the doubts in DELG). It is rather a substrate word, of which the interchange αρ/ρα could also be an indication. In IE words with this variation, one of the variants is analogical, but this seems impossible here: the root has a full grade II τρεπ-, so we cannot understand the vocalization -αρ-. Ru. *tropá* 'id.' (Fraenkel 1956a: 104) could point to a European substrate word (cf. Beekes 2000).

**ἀτράφαξυς, -υος** [f.] 'orach, *Atriplex rosea*' (Hp.). <PG(V)>

•VAR ἀδράφαξυς (ἀδρ-), ἀνδράφαξυς, ἀτράφαξις, cf. Hdn. Gr. 1, 539; 2, 49; 467 and Strömberg 1940: 160.

•ETYM Clearly a substrate word, as is shown by the variants δ/τ, the prenasalization and perhaps the interchange υ/ι. Folk etymology (after ἀδρός, ἀνήρ) does not explain all the variants. See Fur.: 179, etc. Lat. *atriplex* is a loan from Greek (Frisk) rather than a parallel borrowing (as suggested by André 1956 s.v.).

**ἀτρεκής** [adj.] 'exact, precise' (Il.); see Luther 1935: 43ff.; Leumann 1950: 304f. <?>

•VAR Homer has only adverbial ἀτρεκές and ἀτρεκέως.

•DER ἀτρέκεια 'what exactly happened, truth' (Hdt., Pi.), Ion. also -είη (-ίη); ἀτρεκότης 'id.' (sch.). Denominative verb ἀτρεκέω [v.] 'to be sure, etc.' (E. fr. 315).

•ETYM Unknown. The analysis as a compound of privative α- and an s-stem \*τρέκος, in the sense 'undistorted', finds no further support: connection with the root of Lat. *torqueō* is impossible, because a reflex of the labiovelar would be lacking.

**ἀτρέμα** •VAR ἀτρέμας. = τρέμω.

**ατροπανπαις** [adj.] uncertain (IG 5(1), 278 [Lacon. I<sup>p</sup>]). <GR>

•DER Also πατοπανπαις.

•ETYM Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1911): 269f. (also Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 211) reads ἀδροπάμπαις = 'the ripe πάμπαις'. Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 658 objects that a boy cannot be ἀδρός if he is in his 5th year (LSJ Supp.) of state education (at the age of 12). He convincingly interprets the first element as 'second' (ἄτερος), see Szemerényi 1964: 271.

**ἀτρύγετος** [adj.] uncertain (Il.), epithet of the sea and the aether. <IE? \**trug-* 'dry'>

•ETYM In antiquity connected with ▶ τρυγάω and interpreted as 'unfruitful', but this is formally not easy. Vine 1998: 62-64 proposes \**ḡ-trug-eto-* 'un-dry-able', cf. ἔτρυγεν· ἐξηράνθη and τρυγητός = ξηρασία. This is quite possible. Leukart 1986 analyzed it as intensive ἄ- and τρύζω, assuming the sense 'strongly murmuring'; this is less probable.

**ἄττα 1** [m.voc.] 'father' (Il.). <IE *atta* 'father'>

•VAR ἄττειν [acc.] 'grandfather' (Thespiae).

•DIAL Thess. acc. to Eust. 777, 54, used to address one's foster father.

•ETYM A nursery word which is found in several IE languages, and may be inherited: Lat. *atta* inflected Hitt. *atta-*, Go. *atta*, gen. *-ins*, etc.; suffixed OCS *otbъ*. See also ▶ ἄππα.

**ἄττα 2** = τινά. •VAR ἄττα = ἄτινα. = τίς.

**ἄτταβυγᾶς** = ἄτταγᾶς.

**ἄτταγᾶς, -ᾶ** [m.] kind of partridge, 'francolin, *Tetrao francolinus*' (Ar.). See Thompson 1895 s.v. <PG?(S)>

•VAR ἄτταγῆν, -ῆνος (Arist.), which is the scientific form; also ἄτταγῆς, -έος (Opp.); without α-: ταγῆν = ἄτταγῆν (Suid.).

•DER Diminutive ἄτταγνήριον (gramm.), ταγνήριον (Suid.). Fish name ἄτταγῖνος (Dorio *apud* Ath., ms. -εινός), perhaps after the color (Strömberg 1943: 120), but see Lacroix *Ant. class.* 6 (1937): 295.

•ETYM On the formation see Chantraine 1933: 31 and 167, Björck 1950: 63 and 272, Strömberg 1944: 45, also Hubschmid 1963: 119. Unexplained; it is called onomatopoeic (after the cry) by Ael. *N. A.* 4, 42. It could be a substrate word (note the suffix -ην, for which see Fur.: 172<sup>118</sup>). On the variant without prothetic vowel, see Fur.: 374.

**ἄττακῆς, -ου** [m.] 'kind of locust' (LXX). <LW>

•VAR Also ἄττακός (LXX), ἄττακος [m.] (Aristeas, Ph.).

•ETYM Probably a loanword, but from the orient, or from the substrate? See Gil Fernández 1959: 238. Cf. ► ἄττελαβος.

**ἄτταλίζομαι** [v.] · πλανῶμαι. Σικελοί 'to cause to wander (Sicilian)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Acc. to Lobeck 1843: 147 it is a denominative of ἄταλός; this remains hypothetical.

**ἄττανα** [n.pl.] · τήγανα. καὶ πλακοῦς ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῶν σκευαζόμενος 'frying-pan; flat cake which is prepared on it' (H.). <LW>

•DER Diminutive ἄττανίδες· πλακοῦντες, ἔνθρυπτοι 'flat cakes, sops' (H.). Further ἄττανίτης 'a cake', beside τηγανίτης (Hippon.) and ταγηνίτης (Ath.), see Redard 1949: 87f.

•ETYM Unknown. Because of the form in Hippon., Kretschmer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 282f. supposed that the word was Anatolian, see O. Masson 1962: 119. Ernout 1946: 28 = Ernout *BSL* 30 (1930): 92 compares Lat. *atena*, *adtanus*, *atanuuium*, *atanulus*, cups for religious service, which he considers to be Etruscan (but the Greek words are not cups).

**ἄττάραγος** [m.] 'crumb, morsel of bread' (Ath., Call.), τὸ ἐλάχιστον. οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄρτων φλυκταῖνας. οἱ δὲ τὰς καλουμένας ψίχας 'blisters on cakes or loafs of wheat-bread; morsels' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Certainly a loanword, possibly Pre-Greek.

**ἄττάρωμα** [n.]? · πόμα, σόφισμα Κρητικόν 'drink, Cretan device' (H.). <GR>

•ETYM Brown 1985: 35 thinks σόφισμα should be understood in the sense 'invention, specialty'. He derives ἄττάρωμα from the place name Ἄπταρα (with Cretan assimilation). Like Latte, he considers a mistake for \*ἄτταρικά.

**ἄττελαβος** [m.] an edible locust (Hdt.). <PG(S)>

•VAR ἄττελεβος (LXX), cf. ἄττελεβόφθαλμος (Eub.); also Thess. PN Ἀττελεβεῖ[ος], ἄτ(τ)ελεβαία Masson *Mus. Helv.* 43 (1986): 486. Also ἄττελάβη· ἀκρίδας 'locusts' (H.).

•ETYM Clearly a substrate word (note -βος). Semitic etymology by Lewy 1895: 17; Strömberg 1944: 16 reckoned with Egyptian origin.

**ἄττηγός** [m.] 'male goat' (Magnesia Mae. [II<sup>a</sup>]; Eust. ad 1 222). <LW Anat>

•ETYM Acc. to Eust., ἄττηγός was used by certain Ionians; Arnobius 5, 6 calls the word *attagus* 'hircus' Phrygian. So probably an Anatolian loan.

**Ἀττικός, Ἀθίς** [adj.] 'Attic'. <PG(V)>

•VAR Also Ἀτθικός (*IG* 4<sup>2</sup>(1), 104), Ἀθικός (*IG* 4<sup>2</sup>(1), 102). Fem. Ἀθίς 'Attic', especially the land 'Attica'.

•ETYM Derived from the same source as the name of Athens, displaying θ, geminated τθ, and unaspirated ττ, which are typical Pre-Greek variants. See ► Ἀθῆναι.

**ἄττομαι** [v.] 'to set the warp in the loom, i.e. start the web' (Hermipp. 2). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>et- 'stick, pierce'>

•DER ἄσμα 'warp' (AB), cf. διάσμα (Call., etc.) from διάζομαι = ἄττομαι (Nicophon), see below. Cf. ἄττεσθαι· διάζεσθαι στήμονα (H.).

•ETYM ἄττομαι derives from \*ἄτ-ιομαι; δι-άζομαι must be analogal after verbs in -ζω. Bechtel 1914: 130f. connected ► ἥτριον. The connection with Alb. *end*, *ind* 'to set the warp in the loom' (for which Klingenschmitt 1982: 113<sup>8</sup> reconstructs \*h<sub>2</sub>nt-ie-) is impossible, as \*h<sub>2</sub>nt- gave Greek \*ἄντ- (in spite of Nikolaev's recent attempt, Nikolaev 2005).

Van Beek (p.c.) proposes to connect Hitt. *hatt*-<sup>a(r)</sup> 'to pierce, prick' and reconstruct \*h<sub>2</sub>et-ie/o- for ἄττομαι. In Greek, the verb was restricted in its meaning to weaving; cf. also ► ἔξαστις, which may derive from \*h<sub>2</sub>et-ti-. The development of meaning is trivial; compare MoE *stitch* beside *stick* (into), and MoDu. *insteken* 'to insert' (in knitting).

**ἀτύζομαι** [v.] 'to be frightened, amazed, terrified' (Il.). <PIE \*h<sub>2</sub>tug- 'be terrified'>

•VAR Aor. pass. ἀτυχθεῖς, later ἀτύζω, aor. ἀτύξαι.

•DER ἀτυζήλος 'terrible' (A. R.).

•ETYM The comparison with Hitt. *hatuki*- 'terrible' and Skt. *tujyáte* 'to be seized by panic' (the usual mg. of Skt. *tuj-* is 'to push, set in motion') convinces both formally and semantically.

**αὐ** [adv.] 'again, on the other hand, on the contrary' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>eu 'away, again'>

•DER As a prefix in ► αὐχάττειν.

•ETYM To Lat. *au-* in *au-fugiō*, etc., Lith. *au-*, OCS *u-* 'away from', further to Skt. *áva* 'down'. It is frequently found in adverbs and particles, e.g. αὐτε (αὐτάρ), αὐτις, αὐτιν (αὐτίκα), αὐθι, αὐθις, αὐθε, and in the pronoun ► αὐτός. Cf. Osc. *auti* = Lat. *aut*, and Lat. *autem*.

**αὐαίνω** •VAR αὐαλέος. ⇒ αὐός.

**αὐανή** [f.] = αὐαντή, ξηραντική νόσος, atrophy' (Hp. gloss. XIX 86, 18 K) [not in LSJ]. <GR>

•ETYM Concatenation of αὐός 'dry' (αὐαίνω, αὐαντή), and a second element, cf. χορδαῖνός 'disease in the great guts'. Connection with ἄπτω 'to fasten' may be doubted.

**αὐγή** [f.] 'light, glow, ray of light', e.g. of the sun (Il.). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>eug- 'shine'>

•COMP On μελαναυγής, etc., see DELG.

•DER αὐγῆεις ‘clear-sighted’ (Nic.), αὐγίτης (λίθος) name of a precious stone (Plin.); αὐγίτης plant name = ἀναγαλλίς ἢ Φοινικῇ (Ps.-Dsc.), see Redard 1949: 67, 70 and Strömberg 1940: 25).

Denominative verbs: 1. αὐγάζομαι (-άζω) ‘to see clearly, lighten, shine upon’ (Il., poet., LXX), verbal nouns αὐγασμα (LXX) and αὐγασμός (Placit.); αὐγάστειρα ‘lightening’ (Orph.). 2. αὐγέω [v.] ‘to illuminate’ (LXX).

Note αὐγος (H.) as an explanation of ἠώς; Αὐγώ [f.] name of a bitch (X.) is probably a term of endearment.

•ETYM Probably an old verbal noun, cf. Alb. *ag* ‘dawn’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>eug-*, see Demiraj 1997. Perhaps further to OCS *jugъ* ‘South, south wind’. Connection with the root \**h<sub>2</sub>eug-* ‘to increase, grow strong’ seems plausible, in view of the limited distribution of the words meaning ‘light’.

**αὐδή** [f.] ‘(human) voice, sound, speech’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ued-* ‘speak’>

•VAR \*οὐδήεσσα is a suggestion of Aristotle for αὐδήεσσα, meant as ‘ἐπίγειος’; on this see Beekes *Sprache* 18 (1972): 127f.

•DER αὐδήεις ‘with (human) voice’ (Il.); denominative verb αὐδάω, aor. αὐδήσαι ‘talk, speak, speak to’ (Il.). (Chantraine’s opposition of a god(dess) with a human voice, language as opposed to the language of the gods is wrong. It means ‘having a voice [to speak with]’, which may be ‘human’ or ‘beautiful’ as the context requires; see Beekes, l.c. 128 n.3.)

•ETYM Mostly derived from a root \**h<sub>2</sub>ued-* that is assumed for ▶αείδω, and with lengthened grade for ἀ(φ)ηδ-ών. An *o*-grade \**h<sub>2</sub>uod-* is assumed for the name Ἡσί(φ)οδος and in φοδόν (written γοδόν)· γόητα ‘sorcerer’, φοδᾶν (written γ-)· κλαίειν ‘to weep’ (H.), but DELG considers the glosses unreliable. Note that this would presuppose the Saussure Effect (loss of the initial laryngeal before *o*-grade of the root), which is not certain (see Van Beek 2009). The problem with this whole account is that an alternation \**h<sub>2</sub>u-ed-* beside \**h<sub>2</sub>u-ei-d* is suspicious, and that a long vowel in \**h<sub>2</sub>u-ēd-* is not very probable either.

There has also been discussion whether \**h<sub>2</sub>ud-* gave ὕδ- (Beekes) or αὐδ- (Peters 1980a: 65ff., 72). The zero grade is seen in ▶ὑδέω, cf. ἰθαρός < \**h<sub>2</sub>id<sup>h</sup>-*. Outside Greek, a root \*(*h<sub>2</sub>ued(H)*- is found in Skt. *vādati* ‘speak’, ptc. *uditá-* and in OCS *vaditi*. A root-final laryngeal is improbable, as we would then expect aspiration of the stop in Sanskrit. Hitt. *uttar* ‘word, thing, story, reason, etc.’ is probably unrelated, while Lith. 1sg. *vadinù* ‘to call, name’ points to \*-*d<sup>h</sup>*- on account of Winter’s Law. See ▶ἀηδών, ▶οὐδήεσσα.

**αὐερύω** ⇒ ἐρύω.

**αὐθάδης, -ες** [adj.] ‘conceited, presumptuous, arrogant’ (Hdt.). <GR>

•DER Thence αὐθάδεια ‘conceit, presumption’ (Att., Hell.), also -ία; αὐθαδικός (Ar.). Denominative αὐθαδίζομαι [v.] ‘to be presumptuous, etc.’ (Pl., Them.), αὐθάδισμα (A.); also αὐθαδιάζομαι (J.) ‘id.’.

•ETYM From \*αὐτο-φάδης, a compound of αὐτός and the root of ἀδεῖν < \**swad-* with crasis. A contracted Ionic form αὐτώδης is given by A. D. *Pron.* 74, 9 and H. See ▶ἀνδάνω.

**αὐθέντης, -ου** [m.] ‘author, perpetrator’, also ‘murderer’ (Hdt.). <IE \**senH-* ‘win, accomplish’>

•DER Only late, e.g. fem. αὐθέντρια = κυρία (Lydia); αὐθεντία ‘dictatorship’ (LXX, pap.); αὐθεντικός ‘authentic, correct, etc.’ (pap.), etc.

•ETYM The forms αὐτο-έντης (S.) and συνέντης· συνεργός ‘working together’ (H.) point to earlier \**ἐντης*, the full grade of the root of ἀνύω ‘to accomplish’, combined with αὐτός. The root is *aniṭ* from forms where the laryngeal was lost before vowel, acc. to Rikov *Orpheus* 4 (1994): 63-66. On the later history of the word see DELG.

**αὖθι** [adv.] ‘right here, there, immediately’ (Il.); later contaminated with αὖθις ‘again’ (Call.). <GR>

•ETYM Probably, αὖθι arose from αὐτόθι by haplology (Meillet *MSL* 20 (1920): 106f.). Att. αὖθις and Rhagin. αὖθιν seem to be conflation of αὖθι and αὖτις/ αὖτιν (see Schwyzler: 629); on -ς and -ν see Schwyzler: 619f.

**αὐίαχοι** in N 41-2 φλογί Ἰσοι ἀολλέες ἡ ἐ θυέλλη || ἄβρομοι αὐίαχοι <?>

•ETYM Acc. to Frisk, Aeolic for \**ἄ-φίφαχοι* (Schwyzler: 224) which would belong to ἰαχή < \**φιφαχή*. Acc. to Aristarchus, ἄ- is copulative or intensive: ‘shouting intensely’; acc. to Apion and Hesychius it contains privative ἀ-, meaning ‘without a sound’; less probable. The application of βρόμος to fire, wind, etc. is found more often. See ▶ἰάχω.

**αὐιδετος** [adj.] ‘invisible’, in αὐιδέτου· ἀφανούς, ἀοράτου (H.). <IE \**uid-* ‘see’>

•ETYM Probably from \**ḡ-uid-eto-*, where \**-etó-* has potential value. Vine 1998: 33-35 argues for the interpretation of Myc. *o-wi-de-ta-i* as a dat.pl. /owidetā<sup>h</sup>i/ ‘to the invisible deities (of the nether world?)’ < \**ḡ-uid-eto-*.

**αὐλαξ** ⇒ ἄλοξ.

**αὐλή** [f.] ‘open court, courtyard’ (since Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eus-leh<sub>2</sub>*>

•VAR Another formation in αὐλῖς, acc. -iv, gen. -ιδος [f.] ‘night camp (in open air)’ (Il.).

•COMP ἄγραυλος ‘who passes the night outside’ (Il.); ἔπαυλος (Od.).

•DER αὐλειος ‘of the courtyard’ (Od.), after ἔρκειος; αὐλαῖος (LXX) is rare and late, substantivized as αὐλαία [f.] ‘curtain’ (Hyp., Thphr.), also αὐλεία (Andania); αὐλιον [n.] ‘cottage, fold, cave’ (*h. Merc.*); αὐλιος [adj.] ‘belonging to the αὐλή or αὐλιον’ (A. R.); αὐλία· ἔπαυλις ἢ ἡ μικρὰ αὐλή (AB 463); αὐλικός ‘of the court’ (Plb., Phld.). Diminutive αὐλίδιον (Thphr.). αὐλίτης (αὐλήτης H.) ‘farm servant’ (S., A. R.). αὐλιάδες (APL), of νύμφαι, cf. κρηνιάδες.

Denominative verb αὐλίζομαι [v.] ‘to lie in the courtyard, camp (in the open), pass the night’ (IA), late verbal nouns αὐλισίς (Ael.), αὐλισμός (Sm., H.), αὐλισμα (sch.); αὐλιστήριον (Herm., Aq.).

•ETYM αὐλή, αὐλῖς are derivations of the root of ▶ἰαύω, ▶ἄεσα ‘to spend the night’, which is also seen in Arm. *aw-t* ‘place to spend the night’ and *aganim* ‘to spend the night’. The formation in -*l-* has also been supposed in ToB *aulāre*, ToA *olar* ‘companion’, if from \**h<sub>2</sub>eu-l(e)h<sub>2</sub>-* + -*ro-*.



As remarked by Clackson 1994: 104ff. (already Peters 1980a: 39f.), all Greek forms may derive from *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-l-*. Clackson sees no reason to assume a separate root *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-* just for Armenian, and assumes old Schwebeablaut *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus- ~ \*h<sub>2</sub>ues-*.

αὔληρα ⇒ εὔληρα.

αὔλις ⇒ αὐλή.

αὐλός [m.] ‘hollow tube, pipe, flute’ (Il.); also ‘cow-bane, *Cicuta virosa*’ (Ps.-Plu.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-l-* ‘tube’>

•DER Diminutive αὐλίσκος (Thgn., Hp., S., Arist.), αὐλίδιον (Alex. Trall.).

αὐλῶν [m., f.] ‘defile, glen, etc.’ (Hdt.); on -ών, see Chantraine 1933:164; diminutive αὐλωνίσκος [m.] (Thphr.), αὐλωνιάδες (Opp.), of νύμφαι, cf. αὐλιάδες to ► αὐλή), Αὐλωνεύς epithet of Dionysus (Attica), αὐλωνίζω (H.). αὐλωτός ‘provided with pipes’ (A.).

Denominative verb αὐλέω [v.] ‘to blow (a flute)’ (Alcm.), αὐλησις ‘flute-playing’ (Pl., Arist.), αὐλημα ‘piece of music for the flute’ (Pl., Ar.); αὐλητής ‘flutist’ (IA) and αὐλητήρ (Ion.) ‘flute-player’, fem. αὐλητρίς (IA), whence diminutive αὐλητρίδιον (Theopomp. Hist.), also αὐλήτρια (D. L.); αὐλητικός [adj.] ‘concerning the flute or flutist’ (Pl., Arist.), from αὐλητής or from αὐλέω, αὐλός. TN αὐλητήριον (H.) and αὐλητηρία· αὐλῶν θήκη ‘place for storing flutes’ (H.).

αὐλιξ (cod. αὐλιξ)· φλέψ ‘blood-vessel’ (H.), cf. χόλιξ ‘guts, bowels’. On the mg. of αὐλώπις, epithet of the helmet (Il.), see Trümper 1950: 44. Also αὐλωπία a kind of tunny(?), perhaps = ἀνθίας (Thompson 1947: 20)?

•ETYM Several cognates with a suffix *-l-* are found, e.g. Lith. *aūlas* [m.] ‘leg of a boot’, MoNw. (dial.) *aul* ‘hollow stalk of Angelica’, Lat. *alvus* ‘belly, cavity, etc.’ (with metathesis). Hitt. *auli-* [c.] ‘tube-shaped organ in the neck’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ouli-*, OPr. *aulis* ‘shin’. The words adduced all denote hollow or tube-like objects. The correspondences αὐλός : Lith. *aūlas*, καυλός : Lith. *káulas* < *\*keh<sub>2</sub>u-ló-* are noteworthy, see Güntert 1914: 154. See ► ἔναυλος.

αὔνος ⇒ βαῦνος.

αὔξω [v.] ‘to increase, strengthen, magnify; grow’ (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eug-*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueg-s-* ‘grow’>

•VAR ἀέξω (Il.), αὐξάνω (Ion.-Att.), αὐξύνω (Aesop.), aor. αὐξῆσαι, late ἀεξῆσαι (Nonnos). It is unfortunate that αὔξω and αὐξάνω are not treated separately in LSJ.

•DER Action nouns αὐξησις (IA), αὐξησία (Hdt.), αὐξημα (Hp., E.), αὐξη (Pl.), αὐξίς (H., v.l. in Pl. *Phlb.* 42d) ‘increase, growth’. Agent noun αὐξητής [m.] ‘booster, promotor’ (Orph.), Αὐξώ name of a goddess of growth (Paus., Poll.).

αὐξίς, -ίδος [f.] ‘young of the tunny’ (Phryn. Com., Arist., Nic.), see Strömberg 1943: 127, either from αὔξω or αὐξη.

Adjectives: αὐξητικός ‘increasing, furthering’ (Hp., Arist.), αὐξίμιος ‘id.’ (Hp., A.), uncertain αὐξηρός (Nic.).

•ETYM Derived from the PIE root *\*h<sub>2</sub>uegs-*, where the *-s-* is probably presentic in origin. *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueg-* is found in Gm. (e.g. Go. *wahsjan*), Skt. *vakṣáyati* ‘to make grow’, Av. *vaxš-* ‘id.’.

A root *\*h<sub>2</sub>eug-*, without *-s-*, is found in Lat. *augeō* ‘to increase (tr.)’, Go. *aukan*, Lith. *augti* ‘to grow’; the zero grade in Skt. *ugrá-* [adj.] ‘big, strong’. An *s*-stem is found in Lat. *augur* ‘prophet’, Skt. *ójas-* [n.] ‘strength’, enlarged in Lat. *augustus* ‘venerable’. With *-s-*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>eugs-* is found in ToB *auks-* ‘to grow (intr.)’. Zero grade *\*ug-s-* is found in Skt. pres. ptc. *úksant-*, med. *ukṣámāṇa-*, and Av. pres. *uxšiieiti* ‘grows’.

The conclusion to be drawn from all these forms is that *\*h<sub>2</sub>eug-* and *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueg-s-* are old, where the full grade slot changed in the latter because of the root structure. The same phenomenon is found in ἀλκή < *\*h<sub>2</sub>elk-* beside ἀλέξω < *\*h<sub>2</sub>lek-s-*.

αὔος [adj.] ‘dry’ (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>s-us-* ‘dry’>

•DIAL Att. αὔος.

•DER Abstract αὐότης [f.] ‘drought’ (Arist.); αὐονή (Archil., A. [lyr.], Herod.), cf. καλλονή, ἡδονή (Chantraine 1933: 207).

αὐαλέος ‘dry’ (Hes., poet.) like ἀζαλέος etc.; αὐηρός (AP), cf. αὐστηρός; also αὐσόν· ξηρόν ‘dry’ (H.) with a suffix *-s-* like in ῥυσός, γαυσός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 454). On αὐσταλέος, αὐστηρός, see below.

Denominative verb αὐαίνω [v.] ‘to dry’, also αὐάινω (compounded with ἀπ-, ἀφ-, κατ-, καθ-αυαίνω); thence αὔανσις ‘drying, dehydration’ (Arist.), αὐασμός ‘id.’ (Hp.); αὐαντή name of a disease ‘dehydration’ (Hp.).

A primary verb seems to be implied by the gloss αὔω· ξηραίνω ‘dry up’ (Hdn.), which finds support in ἀφαύει (Ar. *Eq.* 394), unnecessarily corrected in ἀφᾶνεϊ by Solmsen 1901: 277, and perhaps in προσαύση (S. *Ant.* 619). It may be denominative, however (Schwyzer: 723). Thence αὔσις (EM).

Two adjectives with related mg.: αὐσταλέος ‘dried up’ (Od.), cf. αὐαλέος; and αὐστηρός ‘harsh’ (Hp.) presuppose a verbal adj. *\*αὔστος*; but cf. the synonym καύστειρα.

•ETYM αὔος, αὔος is cognate with Lith. *saūsas*, OCS *suxъ*, OE *sēar* all ‘dry’. Skt. *śoṣa-* [m.] ‘drying’, assimilated from *\*soṣa-*, is secondary. Uncertain is the appurtenance of Alb. *than* ‘dry’, see Demiraj 1997 s.v. Forms pointing to *\*sus-* are Skt. *śúṣka-* = Av. *huṣka-*, OP *uška-* ‘dry’, perhaps also Lat. *sūdus* ‘dry, bright’ < *\*suzd-* (but see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). From *\*sus-*, verbs like Skt. *śúṣyati*, Latv. *sust* ‘to become dry’ are derived.

Lubotsky KZ 98 (1985): 1-10 argues that the Greek form goes back on *\*h<sub>2</sub>sus-*. This root shape is found in αὐσταλέος, which has five syllables. Lubotsky further analyzes αὔος as a perfect ptc. of *\*h<sub>2</sub>es-* ‘to be dry’ (not ‘to burn, glow’), as seen in ἄζω and in Lat. *āreō*. The reconstruction of the root has altered slightly: Lat. is from *\*h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>2</sub>s-*, and Gr. ἄζω < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ed-ie/o-*, but this does not affect the analysis, as a zero grade *\*h<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>s-* is simplified to *\*h<sub>2</sub>s-*. Balto-Slavic and Germanic are derived from *\*h<sub>2</sub>sous-* with secondary *o*-grade. In this way, the awkward reconstruction *\*saus-* with PIE *\*a* can be avoided.

Doubtful criticism on Lubotsky by Berg and Lindeman *Glotta* 70 (1992): 181-196, based on the reconstruction of a proto-hexameter; they end with assuming IE *\*a*, and a prothetic vowel of non-laryngeal origin, etc. See ► αὐχμός.

αὔρα [f.] usually ‘breeze, fresh air’ (ε 469, etc., poet.), but see below.

•ETYM Kiparsky *Lang.* 43 (1967): 619, 626 connects ▶ ἀήρ < \**h<sub>2</sub>eus-ēr*, showing that αὔρα still clearly means ‘morning mist’ in ε 469.

**αὐρι** [adj.] · ταχέως ‘quickly’ (AB 464). <?>

•COMP αὐρι-βάτᾱς ‘walking quickly’ (A. fr. 280), in the gloss αὐριβάτας· Αἰσχύλος το αὐρι (ms. αὔριον) ἐπὶ τοῦ ταχέως τίθησι, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς Ψυχοστασία οὕτως φησὶ τὸ ὄνομα (fr. 207 M) ταχυβίμων (H.).

•ETYM αὐριβάτᾱς derives from αὐρι βαίνειν (βῆναι), with the suffix -της. Etymology unknown. Perhaps the compound contained αὐρι ‘early in the morning’ (see ▶ αὔριον) and was later misunderstood. Cf. ▶ αὔροί.

**αὔριον** [adv.] ‘tomorrow’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eus-r-* ‘dawn’>

•DER αὐρίζειν· ῥιγοῦν καὶ τὸ εἰς αὔριον ὑπερτίθεσθαι ‘be cold or shiver; defer until tomorrow’ (H.).

•ETYM Derived from \*αὐρι, the old locative of an *r*-stem also found in Lith. *aušrà* ‘dawn’, Skt. *usrā-* [f.] ‘morning’, and, within Greek, in ▶ ἀήρ (see on ▶ ἔως) and ▶ ἥρι. The same stem is also found in ἄγχ-αυρος (νύξ) ‘near the morning’ (A. R. 4, 111), perhaps for earlier \*ἀγχαύριος, which itself would derive from the expression ἄγχι τῆς αὔριον.

**αὔροί** [?] · λαγοὶ [ἴσαυροι] ‘hares’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Perhaps related to αὐρι· ταχέως (H.). Acc. to Keil *Herm.* 23 (1888): 317 and Latte *Glotta* 32 (1953): 41f. we should read αὔροί (= ἀβροί)· λάγ<ν>οί. Doubtful.

**αὔροσχάς, -άδος** ⇒ ἀρασχάδες.

**αὔσιος** ⇒ αὐτός.

**αὐσταλέος** •VAR αὐστηρός. ⇒ αὔος.

**αὐτάρ** ⇒ ἀτάρ, αὖ.

**αὐτέω** •VAR αὐτή. ⇒ αὔω 1.

**αὐτίκα** [adv.] ‘immediately’ (Il.). <GR>

•ETYM For the ending cf. τηνίκα, ἡνίκα, πόκα, ὅκα, etc.; for the first element see αὖ, αὐτιν, and especially αὐτός. Cf. ἐξαυτῆς ‘id.’ (Thgn.) from ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ (Wackernagel 1916: 41<sup>4</sup>). See Monteil 1963: 296.

**αὐτμή** [f.] ‘breath; scent’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>seut-* ‘seethe’>

•COMP νήυτμος < \**h<sub>2</sub>sut-mo-*.

•DER Also αὐτμήν, -ένος [m.] (Ψ 765, γ 289).

•ETYM Fritz KZ 106 (1993): 288-299 solved the problem by connecting OHG *siodan* ‘sieden’, reconstructing \**h<sub>2</sub>seut-*. Greek αὐτ- is from \**h<sub>2</sub>sut-*; the *o*-grade \**h<sub>2</sub>sout-* is found in Go. *sauþs* ‘sacrifice’; Fritz also gives a discussion of the semantics. Not to ἀετμα· φλόξ or ἀετμόν· τὸ πνεῦμα (H.), nor to ▶ ἀτμός ‘steam, vapor’.

**αὐτόδιον** [adv.] probably ‘immediately’ (only θ 449). <IE \**dieu-* ‘light of day’>

•ETYM In antiquity, interpreted as ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐλθόντα. Schulze KZ 29 (1888): 258 supposed \*αὐτό-διφον, derived from the root \**dieu-* (Lat. *diēs*, ▶ Ζεύς), comparing αὐτ-ἡμαρ ‘on the same day’, and Skt. *sa-dínah* ‘at once’. Quite possible.

**αὐτοκάβδαλος** [adj.] ‘improvised, extempore’ (Arist.); also subst. plur. ‘buffoons, improvisers’ (Eup.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 316 compares καυαλός· μωρολόγος (not to Lyd. καύης ‘priest’, as per Latte), with interchange βδ/ β/ ɸ. The group -βδ- is almost certainly of substrate origin. To my mind, the word is cognate with κόβαλος, etc. (see Kuiper 1956: 215), Fur.: 237.

**αὐτοκράτωρ, -ορος** [m., f.] ‘one’s own master, independent’, = Lat. *imperator* (Th.).

<GR>

•ETYM For older \*αὐτοκρατῆς after the agent nouns in -τωρ.

**αὐτόματος, (-η), -ον** [adj.] ‘spontaneous, automatic, of one’s own accord’ (Il.). <IE \**mn-to-* ‘thought’>

•ETYM Formed of αὐτός and the zero grade of the root of ▶ μέμονα, μέμαμεν, ▶ μένος. The second member -ματος agrees with the second element of Lat. *commentus* and with Skt. *matá-*, Lith. *miñtas* ‘thought’, etc. Cf. Chantraine 1933: 303f., Schwyzler: 502f.

**αὐτός** [pron.] ‘self’ (Il.), ὁ αὐτός ‘the same’; in the oblique cases also as an anaphorical pronoun of the 3rd person. <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eu* ‘again’ + \**to-* ‘that’>

•COMP Very many compounds; cf. Sommer 1948: 83ff., 153ff. and DELG s.v. See ▶ κασίγνητος, ▶ αὐτόδιον, ▶ αὐτόματος.

•DER αὐτίτης (sc. οἶνος) ‘local wine(?)’, see Redard 1949: 96; also ‘all alone’ (Arist., hapax); αὐτότης [f.] ‘identity’ (S. E.), ταυτότης [f.] ‘id.’ (Arist.). Denominative verbs: ταυτόομαι ‘to become identified’ (Dam., Procl.), ταυτίζω [v.] ‘to use as a synonym’ (Procl., Eust.).

αὐτως [adv.] ‘just like, like it was, merely, etc.’ (for the accent see Schwyzler: 384); αὔσιος ‘idle, in vain’ (Ibykos) reminds of αὐτόματος.

See further ▶ αὐτόθι, ▶ αὐτίκα.

•ETYM Risch 1937: 312 derives it from \*αὖ τόν. On Go. *auþs*, *auþeis*, MoHG *öde*, etc. see Mezger KZ 82 (1968): 288ff.

**αὐχάττειν** [v.] · ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐμμένειν ἐγχαττειν ‘to go back’ (H.). <GR>

•DIAL Doric

•ETYM The forms are Cretan, with -χάττειν standing for χάζειν (Buck 1955: 71). It is supposed that αὐ-, as a prefix, corresponds with Lat. *au-* (e.g. *auferō*), Lith. *au-*, Slav. *u-*. See ▶ αὖ.

**αὐχέω** [v.] ‘to boast’ (Hdt.). <?>

•COMP κενε-αυχῆς ‘idle boasting’ (Il.).

•DER αὔχημα ‘boasting’ (Pi., S., Th.), whence αὐχηματίας ‘boaster’ (sch., Eust.) and αὐχηματικός (Eust.); αὔχησις ‘id.’ (Th., Aq.); back-formation αὔχη ‘boasting, pride’ (Pi.), αὐχάν· καύχησιν ‘boasting’ (H.), wrong Güntert 1914: 153f.; αὐχῆις (Opp., AP);

αὐχος 'id.' (sch.). αὐχαλέος [adj.] 'boasting, proud' (Xenoph., H.), cf. θαρσαλέος to θάρσος, θαρσεῖν; αὐχητής [m.] 'boaster' (Poll.), αὐχητικός 'boasting' (sch.).

•ETYM Unrelated to ►εὔχομαι, which goes back on a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueg<sup>wh</sup>-*. Adontz 1937: 10 derived the word from ►αὐχίν, assuming an original sense 'to keep one's neck proudly'; unconvincing formally as well as semantically. On Oettinger's connection with Hitt. *h<sub>2</sub>uek<sup>zi</sup> / huk-* 'to conjure, treat by incantation' is followed with due hesitation by Kloekhorst 2008 s.v., as formal (*\*h<sub>2</sub>ueg<sup>wh</sup>-* > Gr. ὑχ-) as well as semantic objections can be made against it. Discussion in Peters 1980a: 18ff.

Fur.: 391 considers non-IE origin, connecting ►καυχάομαι with interchange κ-/zero. Probably from a Pre-Greek uvular, see *Pre-Greek*.

**αὐχίν, -ένος** [m.] 'neck, throat; isthmus' (Il.). <IE? *\*h<sub>2</sub>emg<sup>h</sup>-u-* 'narrowness'>

•VAR Aeol. acc. ἄμφενα (Theoc. 30. 28), αὐφην in Jo. Gramm. *Comp.* 3, 16 is very doubtful, cf. Solmsen 1909: 118<sup>2</sup>. Further ἄμφην· αὐχίν, τράχηλος 'neck, throat' (H.); also ἄμφην· αὐλήν 'id.' (H.).

•DER αὐχένιος 'of the neck' (Od.), diminutive αὐχένιον (*An. Ox.*, Eust.), αὐχενίας [m.] 'provided with bull's necks' (gloss.). Denominative verb αὐχενίζω [v.] 'to cut the throat' (S.), 'to bind by the throat' (Ph., *Hippiatr.*), whence αὐχενιστήρ [m.] (Lyc., *Hippiatr.*).

•ETYM The variants ἄμφην and αὐχίν are generally assumed to reflect *\*amg<sup>wh</sup>-ēn* with assimilatory loss of nasality in αὐχίν (Pisani *Ric. ling.* 1 (1950): 182f., most recently Pronk fthc.a). The Greek words are then derived from the IE *u*-stem adjective reflected in Skt. *amhú-*, OCS *ozekъ*, Go. *aggwus* 'narrow', which derive from the root *\*h<sub>2</sub>emg<sup>h</sup>-*, see ►ἄγχω. One further connects Arm. *awji-k'* [pl.] 'neck', with a similar assimilation of the nasal to the following labiovelar, which is a controversial development (see Clackson 1994: 107ff.).

Alternatively, the variants may show that the word is Pre-Greek. Variation labial/velar, however, is rare (Fur.: 388, φ/χωριαμός, but cf. γέφυρα/ βέφυρα); also α/αυ is rare; μ/φ occurs mostly before *n* or intervocalically (Fur.: 242-247).

Therefore, I think we must compare the type δάφνη / δαυχνα-, which Fur.: 229-233 explains as showing variation labial/φ. In my opinion, these forms had a labiovelar *\*g<sup>wh</sup>*, which either gave φ (in Aeolic) or -υχ- with anticipation of the labial element (see *Pre-Greek*). So we have *\*ἀφ-ην* beside αὐ-χίν; ἄμφ-ην then shows the well-known prenasalization.

The Armenian form does not prove IE origin, as it can be a loan from an Anatolian language, cf. γέφυρα - *kamurj* (Beekes *Glotta* 78 (2004)).

**αὐχμός** [m.] 'drought; squalor' (Hp.). <GR>

•DER αὐχμηρός 'dry, dirty' (Hp.; Chantraine 1933: 232f.), whence rare abstracts αὐχμηρότης, αὐχμηρία, αὐχμηρώδης; αὐχμώδης 'id.' (Hdt., E., Arist.). Hapax αὐχμήεις (*h. Hom.* 19, 6); αὐχμαλέος (Choeril., Amynt.), after ἀζαλέος etc. Denominative αὐχμέω [v.] 'to be dry, dirty' (Od., IA), also αὐχμάω. αὐχμωσις 'dirt' (Gal. 16, 88) is probably an enlargement of αὐχμός. Late by-form αὐχμή [f.] (Q. S., Phryn.).

•ETYM A compound of ►αῦος 'dry' and -χμ- from the word for earth (see ►χθών), see Pronk fthc.a. A similar formation may be preserved in νεο-χμ-ός 'new', see Wackernagel KZ 33 (1895): 1f.

**αὔω 1** [v.] 'to cry aloud, call' (Il.). <?>

•VAR The *u* is long everywhere. Ip. αὔε (dissyllabic), mostly aor. αὔσαι, fut. αὔσω.

•DER αὔτή '(battle) cry' (cf. Trümper 1950: 153ff.), Corcyr. αὔτα, with αὔτέω = αὔω (Il.), only pres. except for late ἡὔτησα (Nonn., *Epigr. Gr.*); αὔτέω can either be denominative from αὔτή or deverbative from αὔω (Schwyzer: 705f.). Also αὐονή 'shouting' (Semon. 7, 20).

•ETYM The word may be onomatopoeic, but nothing more can be said. Specht KZ 59 (1932): 121 mentioned ἄβα· τροχὸς ἢ βοή (H.).

**αὔω 2** [v.] 'to get a light, light a fire' (ε 490). On the mg. Borthwick *Class. Quart.* 63 (1969): 296. <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-* 'scoop, take'>

•DIAL Myc. *pu-ra-u-to-ro* /puraustrō/ [du.], ἔναυον· ἔνθεσ, Κύπριοι 'put in(to) [ipv.]' (H.).

•COMP ἐναύω 'to kindle' (Hdt.), med. 'to scoop fire' (IA); ἔναυσμα 'spark, etc.' (Hell.) and ἔναυσις (Plu. *Cim.* 10), also of drawing water; ἐξαὔσαι· ἐξελεῖν 'to take out' (H., Pl. *Com.*), whence ἐξαστήρ 'fire-tongs, κρεάγρα' (A., inscr.); καταὔσαι· καταντλήσαι (cod. καταυλῆσαι), καταδῦσαι 'to pour down, go down' (H.); also καθαὔσαι· ἀφανίσαι 'to hide' (H.).

Uncertain are καταύσεις (Alcm. 95) and προσαύση (S. *Ant.* 619 [lyr.]).

Further πυραύστης [m.] 'moth that gets singed in a candle' (A.), πυραύστρα [f.] 'pair of fire-tongs', πύραυστρον [n.] 'id.' (Herod.), cod. πύραστρον; all from πῦρ αὔειν (see the Myc. form above). With analogical loss of σ: γοιναῦτις· οἰνοχόη 'vessel (for pouring wine)' (H.).

•ETYM αὔω may be from *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-e/o-* or from *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-ie/o-*; most Greek forms show psilosis. IE cognates are ON *ausa* 'to scoop' < *\*ausanan* and Lat. *hauriō* 'to scoop' (with hypercorrect *h-*). The predominant connection with fire seems to be a secondary development of Greek. See ►ἀφύσσω.

**αὔω 3** ⇒ αὔω.

**αὔω 4** ⇒ αὔος.

**ἀφαδία** [f.] 'enmity' (Eup. 34). <GR>

•DER ἄφαδος 'displeasing, odious' (EM) and ἀφάδιος 'id.' (Hdn.).

•ETYM Derivations from ἀφανδάνω, ἀφαδεῖν (Od.); see ►ἀνδάνω.

**ἀφάκη** [f.] 'vetch, Vicia angustifolia' (Pherecr.). <PG(V)>

•VAR ἄφακος (Schwyzer 1950: 30).

•ETYM Dsc. and Galen think it comes from φακός 'lentil'. The suggestion by Fur.: 373 is attractive: he takes ἀ- as a prothetic vowel and considers the word to be a substrate word (note the change of inflection -ος : -η). Likewise Pisani *Paideia* 11 (1956): 296.

**ἀφαμιῶται** [m.pl.] slaves in Crete (Str.). Also ἀφαμιῶται· οἰκέται ἀγροῖκοι 'rural household slaves' (H.). <GR>

•ETYM Literally, 'those in a state of ἀφαμία (= ἀφημία)' who have no φήμη. Cf. ἀφημιούντας ἀγροίκους (H.).

**ἄφαρ** [adv.] 'forthwith, immediately' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR ἀφνός· ἐξαίφνης 'suddenly' (H.).

•DER ἀφάρτερος (Ψ 311) 'quicker'; ἀφαρεί (ἀφάρει DELG)· ταχέως καὶ ἀκόπως 'quickly and indefatigably' (EM, H., Suid.).

•ETYM One connects ἄφνω, assuming a neuter *r/n*-stem. Van Windekens 1941: 28 connects Go. *abrs* 'strong', comparing for the meaning MoE *fast*. Fur. (see index) brilliantly connected ἐξαίφνης and ▶ἐξαπίνης, and further ▶αἴψα, -ηρός, assuming a substrate element with variation α/αι, π/φ. He also connected ▶αἰπύς etc., which is quite possible (cf. MoHG *jäh*, both 'steep' and 'immediate').

**ἀφαρεύς** [m.] 'belly-fin of the female tunny' (Arist. HA 543a, uncertain), τοῦ θήλεος θύννου τὸ ὑπὸ τῇ γαστρὶ πτερύγιον 'id.' (H.). <PG?(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 174 compares ἀβαρταί· πτηναί, Κύπριοι 'flying, wings'; for -τος in substrate words see ἄτρακτος, ἄσφαλος. The suggestion in DELG that it could belong with ἄφαρ is ununderstandable.

**ἀφάρκη** [f.] name of an evergreen tree, 'Arbutus hybrida' (Thphr.). <PG?(V)>

•ETYM Improbable theory by Strömberg 1944: 27ff. (compound from ἀπο- and ἄρκυς), see Frisk. Unclear is ἀφαρκίδευτον· ἀγρευτόν, ἀθυσίαστον 'caught, unsacrificed' (H.), see DELG. Fur.: 175 refers to Schwyzler: 530, comparing Thess. Φαρκαδών, which would point to a prothetic vowel. A substrate word is probable anyhow.

**ἀφάσσω** •VAR ἀφάω. ⇒ ἄπτω.

**ἀφατεῖν** [?] uncertain (IG 5(1), 209: 34); not an infinitive, see Bourguet 1927: 110, 4 and 124, 1. <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**ἀφαιρός** [adj.] 'weak' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•DER ἀφαιρότης [f.] (Anaxag.). Denominative verb ἀφαιροῦται (Erot., v.l. ἀμαυροῦται), as an explanation of ἀμαλδύνεται 'becomes weak'.

•ETYM Unknown. These words are often explained as contaminations (see Frisk), but there is no reason to assume such processes; it only testifies to our ignorance. Much more probably, Fur.: 330 compares φαῦρος· κοῦφος 'light' (H.), φλαῦρος 'indifferent, bad' (with inserted λ?) and φαῦλος 'insignificant'. I would suggest that ἀμαυρός / μαυρός is also cognate (with interchange μ/ labial stop, cf. e.g. λαφύσσω/ λαμυρός, etc., see Fur.: 224ff.). Note the v.l. of the verb cited above, and note that -αυρος can hardly represent something IE (\*-eh<sub>2</sub>u-ro-?).

**ἀφελής, -ές** [adj.] 'plain, simple' (IA). <GR>

•DER ἀφέλεια, -είη [f.] (Hp.), late ἀφελότης [f.] (Act. Ap., Vett. Val.); Chantraine 1933: 298.

•ETYM Highly improbable is the proposal by Persson 1912(2): 797<sup>3</sup>, who connects φελλεύς 'stony terrain' and analyzes it as 'without a stone, even'. This etymology is

even given by LSJ as the meaning of the word! Chantraine points to the geminate in φελλεύς. New analysis by Taillardat *RPh.* 71 (1997): 153f., see DELG *Supp.*: the word means 'without quality', be it positive or negative, and is derived from ἀφελεῖν 'to take away, deprive'.

**ἄφενος** [n.] 'wealth' (Il.). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>b<sup>h</sup>en- 'rich'>

•VAR Also msc., after πλοῦτος, acc. to Fehrle *PhW* 46 (1926): 700f.

•COMP εὐηφενής (Il.); the better attested v.l. εὐηγενής can hardly be correct, see Bechtel 1914. As a second member in the PNs Δι-, Κλε-, Τιμ-αφένης.

•DER With loss of vowel and remarkable final accent: ἀφνειός (Il.), also ἀφνεός 'rich' (Il.). Thence back-formation ἄφνος [n.] (Pi. fr. 219). Lengthened ἀφνήμων (Antim.), after πολυκτημῶν, etc.

Denominative verb ἀφνύει, ἀφνύνει· ὀλβίζει 'is blissed' (H.); ῥυδὸν ἀφνύνονται· πλουτοῦσιν 'are wealthy' (Suid.).

•ETYM The old connection with Skt. *āpnas-* [n.] 'possessions, riches' is now generally rejected. ἄφενος was one of the corner stones of the Pelasgian theory, which must now be abandoned (see my Introduction).

The agreement with Hitt. *ḫappina(nt)-* 'rich' is remarkable, but cannot be correct in view of the more likely comparison with Lat. *ops* 'power', *opulentus* 'wealthy' (which is probably not directly related to the Hitt. word, see De Vaan 2008 s.v. *ops*).

Balles KZ 110 (1997) starts from \*h<sub>2</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>n-o-, parallel to a formation in -io- in Skt. *āghnyā-* '(the valuable animal which is) not to be killed'. She explains the adjective with final accent from \*h<sub>2</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>n-es-ó- > ἀφνεό-, with metrical lengthening in Homer. However, the explanation of the full grade as analogical after σθένος is improbable; the whole construction is not convincing.

The Greek word looks IE (ablaut; cf. also archaic εὐηφενής). For Greek a root \*h<sub>2</sub>b<sup>h</sup>en- is the obvious reconstruction. The accent and the form ἀφνεός may be explained following Balles: \*h<sub>2</sub>b<sup>h</sup>nes-ó-, with ablaut as in ἄλγος / ἄλεγινός (metrical lengthening in Homer is probable as \*ἀφνεοιο is impossible in the hexameter and \*ἀφνεος, -v, etc. are difficult). The recent attempt to connect ἄφενος with IE \*h<sub>2</sub>eb<sup>h</sup>- 'stream' by Willi 2004 does not convince.

It cannot be connected with the Hittite word (reading \*ḫpina- is doubtful). A loan from Anatolian would probably have κ-, and the φ, the s-stem, and the adjective would be unclear.

**ἄφήτωρ, -ορος** [m.] epithet of Apollo (I 404). <GR>

•VAR ἀφητορεία· μαντεία 'power of divination' (H.). σαφήτωρ· μάντις ἀληθής, μηνύτης, ἐρμηνεύς 'true diviner, informer, interpreter' (H.).

•ETYM Eustathios and the scholia explained it, among other things, as 'prophet' (Eust. ὁμοφήτωρ), i.e. from copulative α- and φημί. This cannot be correct. It rather derives from ἀφίημι, in the sense 'who sends off'. This could well mean 'archer' ('to discharge'). Kraus *Wien. Ak. Anz.* 87: 516ff. suggests 'who sends off people on a journey'.

**ἄφθα** [f.] a pediatric illness, 'thrush' (Hp.). <PG?>

•VAR Mostly plur. ἄφθαι.

•DER ἀφθώδης, ἀφθάω (Hp.).

•ETYM Hardly related to ἄπτω. Fur.: 318<sup>s</sup> thinks it is a substrate word because of the group -φθ- (but I see no reason to follow him in supposing that the dental is secondary).

**ἀφία** [f.] 'lesser celandine, Ranunculus ficaria' (Thphr. *HP* 7, 7, 3). <PG?(V)>

•ETYM The connection with ἀφιέναι (τὸ ἄνθος) in Thphr. is untenable. The word is rather a loan. Krahe 1955: 44 connected Lat. *apium* 'parsley' (further to \*ap- 'water'). Fur.: 167 objects that these are quite different plants. Himself, he proposes to compare ἄφρισσα 'id.' (Apul. *Herb.* 15), see *ibid.*: 330, with parallels for the insertion of -p-.

**ἀφίας** [?] · βωμός 'step, altar' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown; Maaß *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 23 (1925): 228 can be forgotten.

**ἀφλαστον** [n.] 'curved poop of a ship, with its ornaments' (O 717, Hdt.). <PG?>

•ETYM Bechtel 1921(3): 285 posited 'that which prevents destruction', from privative ἀ- and φλάω; improbable. Rather Pre-Greek, thus already Hermann Gött. *Nachr.* (1943): 1f. For a PG suffix -το- cf. ▶ ἄτρακτος. Borrowed from Greek: Lat. *aplustr(i)a, -drum*.

**ἀφλετῆρες** ⇒ φλέω.

**ἀφλοισμός** [m.] 'foaming at the mouth' (O 607). <?>

•ETYM Possibly a verbal noun in -σμός to ἐφλιδεν· διέρρεεν 'flowed out'; cf. διαπέφλοιδεν· διακέχεται 'has been poured out'; πεφλοιδέναι· φλυκταινοῦσθαι 'to have blisters' (H.), etc., see ▶ φλιδάω. Is the ἀ- copulative, or after ▶ ἀφρός 'id.'?

**ἄφνω** [adv.] 'suddenly' (A.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Late ἄφνω (Epigr. Gr. 468; Schwyzer: 405, 624<sup>s</sup>).

•ETYM Related to ▶ ἄφαρ; often interpreted as a frozen case form of a heteroclitic stem (Schwyzer: 520). More probable is Furnée's brilliant proposal to connect ἐξαίφνης and ▶ ἐξαπίνης, etc. By-forms are ἀφνός· ἐξαίφνης (Schwyzer: 624) and ἀφνίδια· ἀφνίδαν, ἄφνω (both H.); on αἰφνίδιος cf. ▶ αἰφνης.

**ἀφόρδιον** [n.] 'excrement' (γαστρός, Nic.). <?>

•ETYM Frisk suggests that it is from \*ἀφόδιον (ἄφοδος 'excrements'), reshaped euphemistically (after φόρος) or drastically (after πορδή)? Not entirely convincing.

**ἄφρα** [f.] 'kind of plaster' (Aët. 15, 14). <GR>

•ETYM Perhaps a shortening of Ἀφροδίτη in the same sense (Aetius).

**ἀφρατίας** [m.] · ισχυρός. Κρήτες 'strong (Cretan)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Latte corrects to ἀφραττίας, a development of \*ἀφρακτιάς, from ἄφρακτος. Uncertain.

**ἀφρίους** [acc.pl.m.] · ἀθέρας 'chaff' (H.). <IE? \*He/ob<sup>h</sup>ri- 'awn'>

•ETYM Hoffmann *BB* 18 (1892): 287 compared Skt. *ābhri-* 'hoe, pickaxe', which Wackernagel accepts, see Latte's edition of Hesychius. However, Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 658 rightly asks whether the meanings are compatible.

**ἄφρις** · μύρτον (H.), i.e. *pudendum muliebre*. <GR>

•ETYM Hypocoristicon of Aphrodite (DELG).

**ἄφρισσα** [f.] a plant = ἀσκληπιάς (Apul. *Herb.* 15). <PG(S,V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 330 connects ▶ ἀφία. The suffix -ισσ- suggests a Pre-Greek word.

**Ἀφροδίτη** [f.] goddess of love (Il.). <LW Sem.??>

•DIAL Cyp. Ἀφοροδίτα, Cret. Ἀφορδίτα.

•DER Ἀφροδίτῳ an eyesalve (Gal.), Ἀφροδίταρίδιον 'darling' (Pl. Com.); adj. Ἀφροδίσιος 'belonging to A.' (IA), substantivized Ἀφροδίσιον 'temple of A.'; ἀφροδίσια [n.pl.] 'sexual intercourse', ἀφροδισιακός; denominative ἀφροδισιάζω [v.] 'to have intercourse' (IA), whence ἀφροδισιασμός, ἀφροδισιαστής 'lecher', ἀφροδισιαστικός.

For Ἀφροδισιασταί 'worshippers of A.' (Rhodos), cf. Ἀπολλωνιασταί.

•ETYM The connection with ἀφρός (Kretschmer *KZ* 33 (1895): 267) and other older explanations (e.g. Maaß *N. Jb. f. d. klass. Altertum* 27 (1924): 457ff.) are now abandoned. A recent Indo-European attempt was made by Witczak 1993: 115-123.

As the goddess seems to be of oriental origin (see Burkert 1985: 152ff.), the name probably comes from the East too. A possibility is the Semitic name of the goddess *Aštoret, Astarte*; cf. Burkert op. cit. 248<sup>18</sup>. It may have entered Greek via another language. Less probable is the connection with Pre-Greek πρύτανις, Etr. (e)pr̥thni as 'lady, mistress' by Hammarström *Glotta* 11 (1921): 215f.

West *Glotta* 76 (1998): 134-138 rejects the idea that the name renders Aštart (Ugaritic *ʾAttartu*), but he thinks it may well be of Semitic origin. It is not easy either to connect the root *pr̥d*, from which a word for 'pigeon' was formed. West ends with the suggestion that the name may have rendered a title 'She of the villages', but this seems not very adequate. Still, it seems possible that the name came from the one languages which on historical grounds we should expect to be relevant: Cypriot Phoenician.

**ἀφρός** [m.] 'foam, slaver' (Il.). <?>

•DER ἀφρώδης 'foaming' (Hp.), ἀφρίεις 'id.' (Nic.; metri causa, see Chantraine 1933: 272). ἀφρίτις, -ιδος f. 'kind of ἀφύη' (Arist.), see Redard 1949: 81.

Denominatives ἀφρέω [v.] 'to foam' (Il.), ἀφρίζω 'id.' (IA), whence ἀφρισμός (medic.) and ἀφριστής [m.] (AP); ἀφριάω [v.] 'id.' (Opp.); ἀφρόομαι [v.] 'id.' (Theol. Ar.).

•ETYM Meillet *BSL* 31 (1931): 51f. connected Arm. *p'rp'ur* 'foam' (which does not belong to σπείρω), but the ἀ- is problematic (\*h<sub>2</sub>- would give a- in Armenian), and the \*b<sup>h</sup> presupposed by Greek did not give p'. Not to Skt. *abhrá-* [n.] 'cloud' (because of the meaning), not to ▶ ὄμβρος, because the rule of de-aspiration before resonant is not valid. Not here ▶ ἀφρίους· ἀθέρας (H.).

**ἀφύη** [f.] 'small fry of various fishes' (Epich., Ar.), only plur. in Att. acc. to H. s.v. ἀφύων τιμή. See Thompson 1947: 19f. <IE \*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>u- 'grow'>

•VAR Mostly plural. Also ἀφύα, cf. ἀφύα· μεμβράς 'sprat' (H.). The gen.pl. is ἀφύων, not -ῶν, which means it is ntr.

•DIAL Perhaps Myc. *a-pu<sub>2</sub>-we, -de* (TNs) /Ap<sup>h</sup>uwei/, /Ap<sup>h</sup>ün-de/; see below.

•DER ἀφύδιον (Ar.), with ū (see Schwyzler: 199); ἀφύωδης 'whitish' (Hp.). Denominative ἀφύω [v.] 'to become whitish' (Hp.); see Chantraine 1933: 431.

•ETYM From privative ἀ- and φύω (one compares *nonnats* 'Aphua pellucida' in Nice) seems folk etymology, but is defended by Meier-Brügger MSS 52 (1991): 123-125: \**h<sub>2</sub>-b<sup>h</sup>uH-o-* 'without growth' (the root is actually \**b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>u-*), which is a recent formation compared with Skt. *ābhva-* 'monster' < \**h<sub>2</sub>-b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>u-o-* (with loss of laryngeal). The accentuation of the gen. pl. ἀφύων (not -ῶν, Hdn. Gr. 1. 425, 13) points to an unextended stem ἀφῦ- (nom. \*ἀφῦ-ς), cf. φυγή, φύγα-δε. DELG also keeps open the possibility of a substrate word.

**ἀφυσγετός** [m.] 'mud', carried by a stream (Λ 495). <?>

•VAR As an adj. 'filthy' (Nic. Al. 432), but ἀφυσγετόν is better; also 'abundant' (ibid. 584). ἀφύσγετος (Tyrannion).

•ETYM Unknown. Nicander did not understand the meaning any longer, and connected it with ▶ ἀφύσσω. Formation like συρφετός (Schwyzer: 501, Chantraine 1933: 300).

**ἀφύσσω** [v.] 'to draw or scoop liquids' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Also ἀφύω in ἐξ-αφύοντες (ξ 95), ἐξαφύουσιν· ἐξαντλήσουσιν 'they will drain' (H.); aor. ἀφύσ(σ)αι, fut. ἀφύξω.

•DER ἀφυσμός (Suid.) and ἀφύσιμος (sch.), also ἀφύξιμος (Nic.) with transition to the flexion with velar.

ἀφυσσαν· τήν κοτύλιν <παρά> Ταραντίνους 'cup (Tarantine)' (H.). Also ἀφύστα· κοτύλη, στάμιος 'cup, jar' (H.) and ἀφυτρίς (cod. ἀφύτρίς)· ἀρύταινα (cod. ἄρπαινα) 'ladle or cup' (H.). Uncertain κατηνδράφυξας· κατέκτεινας (H.).

•ETYM Oehler (see Schulze 1892: 311) explained the form as ἀφ + ὕσ- < \**h<sub>2</sub>us-*, the zero grade of αὔσ- found in ▶ αὖω 2 'to light a fire' and Lat. *hauriō* < \**h<sub>2</sub>(e)us-*, which is quite possible. The presents ἀφύσσω and ἀφύω are probably derived from the aorist.

**Ἀχαιμένης** [m.] Achaimenes, ancestor of the Persian royal house (Hdt.). <LW Persian>

•VAR Gen. -εος, -ους.

•DER Ἀχαιμενίδαι [pl.] descendants of Ἀ., a Persian clan to which the Persian kings belonged (Hdt.); Ἀχαιμενίος 'Persian' (A. Pl.); Ἀχαιμενία a part of Persia (St. Byz.); Ἀχαιμενίτις [f.] epithet of Babylon (Epiphan.). ἀχαιμενίς, -ίδος [f.] a plant (Ps.-Dsc.); see Strömberg 1940: 134ff. and André 1956 s.v. *achaemenis*.

•ETYM From OP *Haxāmaniš*, which probably means 'having the mind (-man-) of a friend'. Greek -αι- in Ἀχαι-μένης (instead of -ā- in *Haxā-maniš* is probably an adaptation to names like Ταλαι-μένης, Πυλαι-μένης, etc. (Schwyzer: 448). Jacobsen

KZ 54 (1927): 261f. explained -αι- from the stem *haxāi-* = Skt. *sakhāy-* 'friend', which is cognate with Lat. *socius*.

**ἀχαινεῖ** [v.]· σαίνει, παίζει, κολακεύει 'fawns, plays, flatters' (H.). <?>

•ETYM No etymology.

**ἀχαινή** [f.] 'kind of bread, made by women for the Thesmophoria' (Semus 13). <?>

•ETYM No etymology.

**ἀχαινης, -ου** [m.] 'brocket, two-year-old stag' (Arist.). <?>

•VAR ἀχαινή [f.], also ἀχαινή 'roe' (Arist.).

•DER ἀχαινή [f.] 'deerskin' (A. R.).

•ETYM The word has been derived from Ἀχαιά, the supposed habitat of the animal; cf. Keller 1909: 350; Keller 1887: 77, 79, 91. Brands 1935: 81 points to EM, sch. A. R. 4, 175, who derive it from a town Ἀχαινεά in Crete.

**Ἀχαιοί** [m.pl.] name of a Greek tribe (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Sg. Ἀχαιός 'Achaean', fem. Ἀχαιαί, sing. -ά (see Schwyzler: 460).

•DER Ἀχαιίς, -ίδος [f.] (scil. γαῖα) 'the land Achaea' or 'the Achaean woman' (scil. γυνή), also Ἀχαιιάς [f.] (Il.); Ἀχαιικός, Att. Ἀχᾶϊκός (cf. Schwyzler: 265f.) 'Achaean'; Ἀχαιή, Att. Ἀχᾶϊα [f.], the Thessalian and Peloponnesian regions 'Achaea'; also a town (Rhodos, etc.), perhaps trisyllabic.

•ETYM The name Ἀχαιοί < Ἀχαιφοί (cf. Lat. *Achivī*) is known from Egyptian sources as 'qjw's', to be read as *Aqaiwaša*, and also in Hitt. *Ahhiya*, later *Ahhiya* (e.g. Kretschmer *Glotta* 21 (1933): 227). In spite of strong opposition (e.g. Sommer 1934, Sommer *IF* 55 (1937): 169ff.), the equation is now generally accepted, but the Hittite form has not been satisfactorily explained (why is there no reflex of the second α in Hittite?). Recently, Finkelberg *Glotta* 66 (1988): 127-134 derived the Greek form from Hitt. *Ahhiya*, with -hi- giving χ, but this is doubtful. The name is no doubt Pre-Greek, e.g. /Akay'a-/.

**ἀχάλιον** [n.] a plant, = σιδηρίτις, ἀλθαία (*Hippiatr.* 11), but these are two different plants; they are both used as medicaments. <?>

•ETYM No etymology.

**ἀχάνη** [f.] name of a measure = 45 μέδιμνοι (Ar.); 'chest, box' (Phanod.). <?>

•ETYM Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 54 compares Eg. *hn* 'chest' (Akk. *hannū*). Fur.: 138 compared Hitt. (Hurr.) *aganni*, but this means 'bowl' (and is connected with Akk. *aganu* 'bowl', Kronasser 1962-1987: 245, and with Eg. 'ikn' 'pot'). He also compares ἀγάννα· ἄμαξα <ἐρά> καὶ ἡ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄρκτος (H.) (with ἄμαξα taken as 'box'; and the Bear seen as a box?); ibid.: 392, he compares λαχάννα (H.). No solution can be offered.

**ἀχαρνός, -ώ** [m.] a sea fish, = ὀρφός, perhaps 'bass' (Callias Com. 3). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ἄχαρνος; ἀχάρνας, with gen. ἀχάρνου (Arist. *fr.* 566). Comparable forms: ἀχάρνα· εἶδος ἰχθύος 'kind of fish' (H.), ἀχέρνα (cod. -λα)· ἰχθύς ποιός 'id.' (H.); ἀκαρνάν (Ath.), ἀκάρναξ· λάβραξ 'bass' (H.).

•ETYM The variation χ/κ and the ending -ω(ς) point to Pre-Greek origin; the group -ρν- is also frequent in such words. Cf. Thompson 1947: 6f.

**ἀχάτης, -ου** [m.] 'agate' (Thphr.). <LW>

•ETYM Borrowing from an unknown source. Semitic etymology in Lewy 1895: 56. The river *Achates* on Sicily and the PN *Achates* are probably called after the stone.

**ἄχερδος** [f.] 'wild pear, *Pyrus amygdaliformis*' (Od.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also [m.] (Theoc.); ἀγέρδα (cod. -αα)· ἄπιος, ὄγλην 'pear-tree, pear' (H.). ἄχηρον· ἀκρίδα Κρήτες 'locust (Cretan)' (H.), with Cretan development ερδ > ηρ; ἀκρίδα is changed by Latte into ἀχράδα, which is doubtful; cf. ▶ ἀκρίς.

•ETYM Theoretically, ἀγέρδα could be Macedonian, but there are no further indications.

Comprared with Alb. *dardhë* 'pear' < \**g<sup>h</sup>ord-*. In this case, the ἄ- must be a real prothetic vowel, and the word a non-IE loan word. Connection with ▶ ἀχράς is evident.

**ἀχερωΐς, -ιδος** [f.] 'white poplar, *Populus alba*' (Il.). <PG?>

•ETYM Connection of -ωΐς (< \**-ōsis*) with Lith. *úosis* 'ash' is most improbable. Derivation from Ἀχέρων is a mere formal guess. The stem ἀχερω- suggests a Pre-Greek word (type ▶ ἥρω; cf. on ▶ ἀχαρνώς).

**Ἀχέρων, -οντος** [m.] name of several rivers, also the mythical river of the Underworld (Od.). <?>

•DER Ἀχερούσιος (A.), fem. -ιάς (Pl., X.); younger Ἀχερόντ(ε)ιος, fem. -ιάς (E.).

•ETYM Connected with the Balto-Slavic group of Lith. *ẽžeras*, *āžeras*, OPr. *assaran*, OCS *jezero* 'lake', under the influence of which Ἀχέρων has been interpreted as 'forming lakes'. Acc. to Derksen 2008 s.v., the BSL group may be related to the group of Lith. *ežia* 'boundary(-strip)', ORu. *ẽzъ* 'fish weir', and also with Arm. *ezr* 'bank, border' as PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>ed<sup>h</sup>gh-* (the group of Lith. *ẽžeras* then goes back to \**h<sub>2</sub>oǵ<sup>h</sup>-er-o-*). This reconstruction implies that the Greek name cannot be related, in view of its initial Ἀ-. The gloss ἀχερούσια· ὕδατα ἐλώδη 'marshy waters' may be based on ideas of the Underworld river, and cannot be used as a testimony for the original meaning of the name.

**ἀχεύω** ⇒ ἄχυνμαι.

**ἄχην, -ήνος** [m.] 'poor' (Theocr.), a Doric word. <PG?(s)>

•VAR ἀεχῆνες· πένητες '(day-)laborers, poor (men)' (H.) must be due to folk etymology (privative α and ἔχω).

•DIAL ἡχῆνες· κενοί, πτωχοί 'bereft, beggar(ly)' (H.) must be from IA.

•COMP κτεαν-ήχις· πένις '(day-)laborer, poor (man)' (H.).

•DER ἀχηνία 'poverty, lack' (A.), with short α- after the negation. Other formation in ἀχηνεῖς· κενοί (H.); verb ἡχάνω· πτωχεύω 'to beg' (Suid.), perhaps to be read \*ἡχάνω, see below. Also ἀχαιος (IG 3, 1385)?

•ETYM Connection with ἡχανάω 'desire' (Hom.) has been proposed (cf. Wackernagel 1897: 11f.), with an alternation *i* / *ā*. Indo-Iranian forms with a similar alternation

exist: Skt. *īhate* 'to desire', Av. *iziieiti* 'to strive, long for' beside Av. *āzi-* [m.] 'desire', etc. In laryngealistic terms, this alternation would continue \**h<sub>2</sub>e-h<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>h</sup>-* beside \**h<sub>2</sub>i-h<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>h</sup>-*. But if Av. *āzāh-* 'desire' belongs to this group rather than Av. *āzi-*, which is far more likely, the root should be reconstructed as \**Heiǵ<sup>h</sup>-* (Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 273) and Greek ἄχην cannot be connected. ToA *ākāl*, ToB *akālk* 'desire' are supposed to be Iranian loans.

Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 659 proposes that ἄχην is from ἀ-εχ- (doubtful). Not related to ἴχαρ (A.), which has short ι-.

Since an IE etymology is unknown, the word might be Pre-Greek (Chantraine 1933: 166: "vocabulaire technique et populaire"; "cette fois encore il semble s'être produit une collision entre un suffixe indo-européen et une finale méditerranéenne"). IE adjectives in -ιην, -ιηνος are hardly known (cf. Chantraine *ibid.*), but the suffix is well-known in Pre-Greek, cf. ▶ ἀτιμήν and see Fur.: 172<sup>118</sup>.

**ἄχθομαι** [v.] 'to be loaded', mostly of mental oppression: 'to be vexed or grieved' (Il.).

<IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ed<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>-* 'squeeze, (op)press'>

•VAR Aor. ἀχθεσθῆναι.

•DER ἄχθος [n.] 'load', also metaph. 'burden, trouble' (Il.). Thence ἀχθεινός 'burdensome' (E., X.), and rare forms like ἀχθηρός (Antiph. 94, uncertain), ἀχθήεις (Marc. Sid. 96), ἀχθήμων (Man. 4, 501). Denominative verb ἀχθίζω 'to load' (Babr.), perhaps ἀχθήσας (for ἀχθίσας?)· γομώσας, ἡγουν πληρώσας 'stuffed, filled' (H.). ἀχθηδών, -όνος [f.] 'weight, burden' (A.); cf. ἀλγηδών.

•ETYM Former comparisons (ἄχθος 'load' with ἄγω 'to carry'; ἄχθομαι 'to be grieved' with ἄχομαι, ἄχυνμαι 'to be sad' were formally not very convincing (a verbal suffix -θ- is not well represented). One also compared ▶ ὀχθέω, but this is more plausibly connected with ἔχθομαι 'to be hated'.

Risch *IF* 69 (1964): 78 etymologically connected ἄχθομαι with Hitt. *ḫatk-* 'to shut, close, make tight', which would mean that we have to reconstruct \**h<sub>2</sub>ed<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>-*. Both Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. and Puhvel *HED* s.v. accept this etymology, noting that it is corroborated by the fact that neither the -t- nor the -k- is ever spelled with a geminate in Hittite. The meaning 'to shut' in Hittite must have developed from 'to squeeze'.

**Ἀχιλλεύς** [m.] the son of Peleus and Thetis (Il.). <PG>

•VAR Also Ἀχιλεὺς (Il.).

•DIAL Myc. *a-ki-re-u*, dat. *a-ki-re-we*.

•DER Ἀχιλλῆϊος (Hdt.), Att. Ἀχιλλεῖος (E.); also a plant.

•ETYM The variation λλ ~ λ (like σσ ~ σ in Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς) is typical of Pre-Greek words, and probably points to a palatalized phoneme /lʲ/. Any metrical explanation of the origin of this interchange is vicious. I do not believe that the name is hypocoristic for an older compound, or that it belongs to ▶ ἄχος 'pain'.

Holland *Glotta* 71 (1993): 17-27 gives a new proposal for Achilles. He connects it again with ἄχος, though he admits that it does not mean 'fear' as in Germanic: although he translates it as 'grief' in some passages, in Greek it means 'distress'. He cites instances where Homer mentions the ἄχος of Achilles, but these can easily be



understood as folk-etymological explanations of the name. Holland explains the geminate as hypocoristic, and then assumes an element -ιλο- for which he cites ὀργίλος 'inclined to anger', but here without any meaning; it contradicts his interpretation of the λ as a remnant of λαός 'army', for which there is no evidence. The most serious mistake is that he does not accept the evidence of Mycenaean, where we find *a-ki-re-u* = Ἀχιλλεύς. Holland admits (19) that the word enjoyed a certain popularity, and that "the name was not invented for the Homeric hero". It shows that the name existed in this form centuries before Homer. The name can easily be understood as Pre-Greek: note the suffix -εύς, and the variation between geminate and simple consonant (Fur.: 387). Holland sweeps this explanation away as "nebulous pre-Greek" (17), but this is no argument. In doing this, he takes us back to the period before we knew Mycenaean, and his interpretation must be fundamentally rejected. Achilles is clearly a hero taken over from other stories. The meaning of the name remains unknown, but this is unimportant.

**ἀχλύς, -ύος** [f.] 'mist, darkness' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>eg<sup>h</sup>lu- 'mist, dark weather'>

•VAR Later -ύς.

•DER ἀχλυνώδης 'hazy, murky' (Hp., Arist., Hell.); ἀχλύνει 'cloudy, dark' (Epigr. *apud* Hdt., Hell., late epic). Denominative verbs: ἀχλύνω [v.] 'to become (make) dark' (Od., epic), ἀχλυσίς 'obfuscation' (Syn. Alch.); ἀχλύνομαι 'to become dark' (Q. S.); ἀχλυνόομαι 'to become dark', -όω 'to get dark' (Thphr.).

ἀχλυνδίαν· θρύπτεσθαι 'to break small' (H.) after the verbs for diseases in -ιάω (Schwyzer: 732), perhaps by contamination with χλιδάιν (χλιδιάν).

•ETYM Seems identical with OPr. *aglo* [n.] 'rain' (which need not be a *u*-stem); Arm. *ałja-m-ulj-k'* [pl.] 'darkness' requires metathesis of -g<sup>h</sup>l-, and subsequent palatalization of g<sup>h</sup> to j. The reduplication is typical of Armenian.

**ἄχνη** [f.] 'foam, froth; chaff' (Il., poet., Hp.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM With a different velar, we find Lat. *agna* 'ear of corn' < \*akna, Go. *ahana* 'chaff', etc., from the root \*h<sub>2</sub>ek- 'sharp'. Connection with this root has been proposed for ἄχνη too, assuming a suffix -snh<sub>2</sub>-, but this seems ad hoc: the more obvious connection with ▶ ἄχυρον 'chaff' shows that it is a Pre-Greek word.

**ἄχνομαι** [v.] 'to grieve, lament for' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>eg<sup>h</sup>- 'distress, fear'>

•VAR Ptc. also ἀχεύων, ἀχέων (Il.; see below); aor. ἀκαχέσθαι, ἀκαχεῖν, ἀκαχῆσαι, perf. ἀκάχημαι (ἀκηχεμένη metr. cond.?); thence a new pres. ἀκαχίζομαι, -ίζω; ἄχομαι occurs only twice (Od.). Rare presents are ἀκαχύνω (Antim.), ἀκάχομαι (Q. S.) and ἀχνάσδηνι (Alc. 81), a re-formation in -άζω from \*ἄχνημι, \*ἄχναμαι.

•DER An old noun is ἄχος [n.] 'sadness, pain' (Il.); ἀχνύς, -ύος [f.] 'id.' (Call.) after ἄχνομαι.

•ETYM Although a difference in meaning exists, ἄχος corresponds with the *s*-stem in Go. *agis* [n.], OE *ege* [m.] 'fear'. Further, Gm. has a preterito-present Go. *og* 'to fear', and the Go. ptc. *un-agands* 'fearless' is thematic, like ἄχομαι. Further cognates are OIr. *-ágadar* 'id.', and PIr. \*Hag<sup>h</sup>a- > Skt. *aghá-* [adj.] 'evil, bad, dangerous' (RV+), YAv. *aya-* [adj.] 'bad, evil'.

ἀχεύων is tentatively interpreted as a participle built on an athematic present \*ἄχευμι (DELG) or aorist \*ἤχευα (Frisk). For ἀχέων beside ἄχος, one compares κρατέων to κράτος. See Strunk 1967: 105ff., and cf. West ZPE 67 (1987): 17-19.

**ἄχραδάμυλα** [?] · ὁ κοχλίας 'snail' (H.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Cf. ἀκραμύλα· κοχλίας, Ταραντίνους (H.); χραμαδοῖλαι· χελῶναι 'tortoises'. καὶ αἱ νωθρόταται τῶν κυνῶν 'the most hybridized of bitches'. οἱ δὲ τοὺς κοχλίας 'snails' (H.). Here the last explanation has clearly been added later, as the case forms do not agree.

•ETYM As two forms have both δ and μ, the syllable with δ was probably lost in ἀκραμύλα (either in reality or only graphically: in ΑΔΑ?). Since two forms end in -μυλα, the original form will have been ἄχραδαμυλα. Variation οἰ/υ is well known in Pre-Greek words. The analysis will be \*(a)krad-am-ul-a, with well-known Pre-Greek suffixes. The word closely resembles the town Καρδαμύλη (Il.), also on Chios; for the metathesis see Fur.: 392 (on τέρμινθος/τρέμιθος).

**ἄχρας, -άδος** [f.] 'the wild pear and its fruit, *Pyrus amygdaliformis*' (com., Arist.).

<PG(V)>

•ETYM One connects ▶ ἄχερδος. Acc. to Frisk and Chantraine, it is possibly a loanword; to my mind, it is Pre-Greek, with ἄχερδ- beside ἄ-χραδ-, with metathesis and α/ε (cf. Fur.: 392 στεργίς / στρεγγίς). Admittedly, the alternation can also be understood in IE terms, but such an origin is highly improbable for a word for 'pear'. DELG points out that -άς, -άδος is frequent in plant names.

**ἄχρεϊον** [acc.sg.n.] not quite certain: ἄχρεϊον ἰδών (B 269); ἄχρεϊον δ' ἐγέλασσε (σ 163); ἄχρεϊον κλάζειν (Theoc. 25, 72). <GR>

•COMP ἄχρειό-γεῶς [adj.] (Cratin.); ἄχρειῶς γεῶν (APl.).

•ETYM It may be the same word as ἄχρειος 'useless, idle' (see ▶ χρή).

**ἄχρι, ἄχρις** [adv., prep., conj.] 'to the uttermost; as far as, until, as long as' (Il.). <IE \*me-ǵ<sup>h</sup>sri 'until'>

•DER ἄχροι (Corcyra; after the locatives in -οἰ).

•ETYM This is the zero grade of ▶ μέχρι. On the variant with -ς, see Schwyzer: 404f., 650.

**ἄχύνωψ** ⇒ κύνωψ.

**ἄχυρα** [n.pl.] 'chaff' (com.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Rarely sing. -ον; collective sing. ἄχυρός or ἄχυρος [m.] 'heap of chaff'. Note ἄχορα· τὰ πίτυρα. ἔνιοι δὲ κρανίον 'chaff, skull; head' (H.).

•COMP ἄχυροθήκη (X.).

•DER ἄχυρώδης (Arist.), ἀχύρινος (Plu.), etc.; ἄχυρών, -ῶνος [m.] 'storehouse for chaff' (Delos), ἀχύριος [m.] 'heap of chaff' (Heraklea). Denominative verb ἄχυρόω [v.] 'to mix with chaff, etc.' (Arist., Thphr.), whence ἀχύρωσις (Arist.).

Remarkable is ἄχυρμαι [f.pl.] 'heap of chaff' (E 502, AP 9, 384, 15), which is a form in -ιά from a noun in -μος. The form in -αί is probably an old locative; see Dürbeck



MSS 37 (1978): 39-57. The same formation is found in ἀχύρμιος (Arat. 1097), said of ἄμιτος. Doubtful ἀχυρμῖος (Ar. V. 1310; conj. by Dindorf for ἀχυρός).

•ETYM The analysis as an old *r/n*-stem to ἄχνη is impossible, as the -υ- would remain unexplained. The word is clearly identical with ἄχορα (see ▶ ἄχωρ), a gloss not mentioned in the literature. It shows that the word is Pre-Greek (Fur.: 362). This explains the relation to ἄχνη: Pre-Greek has often a suffix with -υ- beside the more frequent suffixes -VC-; moreover, -υ- is well known.

ἀχυρμαί ⇒ ἄχυρα.

ἄχωρ, -ορος [m.] 'scurf, dandruff' (Ar. fr. 410, Hdn. Gr. 2, 937). <PG(V)>

•VAR ἄχώρ, -ῶρος (Alex. Tract.). Cf ἄχώρα· τὸν ἄχώρα· εἴρηται δὲ τὸ πιτυρῶδες τῆς κεφαλῆς 'the scurf of the head' (H.) and ἄχορα· τὰ πίτυρα· ἔνιοι δὲ κρανίον 'chaff, skull; head' (H.).

•DER ἄχωρῶδης (Aët., v.l. in Hp. *Liqu.* 6); ἄχωρέω [v.] 'to suffer from ἄχωρ', or -ιάω (conj. in Paul. Aeg. 3, 3).

•ETYM The connection with ▶ ἄχυρα 'chaff' is proven by the glosses. The vocalic interchange points to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 211, 302, 362). See also Skoda *RPh.* 60 (1986): 215-222.

ἄψ [adv.] 'back(wards), again' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ep-* 'from, away'>

•DER ἄψερον = ὕστερον, πάλιν (Alc., H., Zonar.), after ὕστερον.

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *abs* 'away, back'. For the -ς cf. ἔξ and Schwyzler: 620. The relation to ἄπο, etc. is unclear.

ἀψίνθιον [n.] 'wormwood, Artemisia Absinthium' (Hp.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Also ἄψινθος [f., m.] and ἀψινθία [f.].

•DER ἀψινθίτης οἶνος (Dsc.); ἀψινθάτον 'drink prepared with ἀ.' (Aët.) and ἀψινθάτιον (pap.); cf. Lat. *absinthiatum* (*vinum*).

•ETYM The suffix -νθ- proves Pre-Greek origin.

ἀψίς, -ῖδος ⇒ ἄπτω.

ἄψορρος [adj.] 'going backwards' (Il.). <GR>

•VAR Also -ον [adv.].

•ETYM Forssman 1980: 185ff. convincingly derives the second member from the verbal root *ferp-* 'to go away', see ▶ ἔρρω. The problem with the older analysis "with the ὀρρος backwards" is that ▶ ὀρρος is an Attic word; in the epic language we find παλίν-ορρος with the expected treatment of -rs-. The form ἀψόρρος in ἀψορρόου Ὀκεανοῖο (Σ 399, v 65) is either from ἄψ and ῥόος with compositional -ο-, or rather from ἄψορρος reshaped after ῥόος (discussion in Forssman l.c.).

ἄω 'to eat one's fill'. ⇒ ἄσαι.

\*ἄω 'to blow'. ⇒ ἄημι.

ἄών, -όνος 1 [?] a fish (Epich., H.). <?>

•ETYM Epich. 63 has ἀόνες φάγροι τε. No etymology.

ἄών, -όνος 2 [?] Plur., a kind of garment (*P. Amh.* 2, 3a, II, 21). <LW Eg>

•VAR αἰών (αἰ) (B. 17, 112, S., H. s.v. ἔλυμα, see LSJ Supp.).

•ETYM The text in B. (αἰόνα πορφυρέαν) shows that it was ἄών. An Egyptian word, see Latte *Phil.* 87 (1932): 271f. and Latte *Glotta* 34 (1955): 192.

ἄωροι 1 [adj.] uncertain, epithet of the πόδες of Scylla (μ 89), also in opposition to the ὀπίσθιοι πόδες (Philem. 145). <?>

•ETYM Acc. to scholia H and Q, it means ἄκωλοι: τοὺς γὰρ Ἴωνας λέγειν φασι τὴν κωλὴν ὥρην καὶ ὠραίαν (sch. μ 89). In *SIG* 1037 (Milete IV-III<sup>a</sup>), ὥρη is a part of the sacrificial animal, but different from κωλῆ. Bechtel 1914 s.v. translates 'Beine, die keine Waden haben', so 'legs without calfs', but his comparison with Lat. *sūra* seems impossible. Van Windekens proposes to understand ἄωροι (H.), i.e. 'wakeful' (belonging with ὥρος 'sleep'). The meaning in Philem. may be artificial.

ἄωρος 2 [m.] 'sleep' (Sapph. 57). <?>

•VAR Call. fr. 177, 28 (Pfeiffer) has ὥρον.

•ETYM Acc. to *EM* 117, 14, it stands for ὥρος: κατὰ πλεονασμὸν τοῦ ἄ μηδὲν πλέον σημαίνοντος. ὥρος γὰρ ὁ ὕπνος 'the ἄ does not mean anything, for ὥρος means ὕπνος'. Cf. ἄωρος (cod. ἄορος)· ἄυπνος. Μηθυμναῖοι (H.). See ▶ ἄωτέω.

ἄωτέω [v.] 'to sleep'(?), with ὕπνον as an object (K 159, κ 548). <?>

•VAR Only present.

•ETYM In the same meaning, but without object, in Simon. 37, 5. H. glosses ἄωτεῖτε (γλυκὺν ὕπνον, κ 548) with ἀπανθίζετε τὸν ὕπνον 'pick sleep (vel sim.)'. Derived from ▶ ἄωτος; connection with ▶ ἄωρος 2 'sleep' seems impossible.

ἄωτος [m.] 'flock of wool, down; the choicest, the flower of its kind' (Il.). Raman *Glotta* 53 (1975): 195-205 shows that the word means 'nap, tap'. <?>

•VAR Also -ον [n.].

•DER ἄωτεύειν· ἀπανθίζεσθαι 'to pluck off flowers' (H.), ὑφαίνειν 'to weave, plan' (AB).

•ETYM Considered to be a verbal noun to ▶ ἄημι, so \*'blowing'; this was also argued by Jacquinod *REA* 90 (1988): 319-323, assuming \**h<sub>2</sub>uoh<sub>1</sub>-to-*. But semantically, there is no support for the connection with 'blow'; the etymology was merely suggested by the formal appearance. Rather the word is a technical term, as remarked by DELG; it remains without etymology.

## B

**βᾱ 1** [interj.] imitation of the bleating of a lamb (Hermipp. 19). <ONOM>

•ETYM Onomatopoeic word. Cf. ►βῆ.

**βᾱ 2** Abbreviation of βασιλεὺς 'king' (A. *Supp.* 892, lyr.). <GR>

•ETYM Cf. Schwyzler: 423 A. 2. However, there is a v.l. πα, an abbreviation of πατήρ.

**βαβάζειν** [v.] · τὸ <μη> διηρθρωμένα λέγειν. ἔνιοι δὲ βοᾶν 'to speak [in]articulately; to cry' (H.). <ONOM>

•VAR Also βαβίζω, -ύζω (Zenod.).

•DER βάβαξ [m.] 'chatterer' (Archil.); βάβακοι· ὑπὸ Ἡλείων τέττιγες 'cicadas', ὑπὸ Ποντικῶν δὲ βάτραχοι 'frogs'; βάβακα· τὸν γάλλον 'eunuch' (H.) (see Maas *RhM* 74 (1925): 469f.).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic forms like these are frequent: cf. ►βαβαί, ►βάζω, ►βαῦζω, ►βαβράζω, and ►βάβαλον; cf. also ►βάρβαρος, ►βαβύρτας, ►βόμβος, etc.

**βαβαί** [interj.] Exclamation of surprise (E.). <ONOM>

•VAR Extended βαβαιάξ (Ar.).

•ETYM Cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 254. Lat. *babae* is borrowed from Greek. Cf. ►βαβάζω and ►παπαῖ, as well as ►πόποι.

**βάβακα** ⇒βαβάζειν.

**βαβάκινον, -ος** [m.] (or [n.]?) · χύτρας εἶδος 'kind of earthen pot' (H.). <LW Celt.?, Anat.??>

•VAR Cf. βακάϊον· μέτρον τι 'a measure' (H.).

•ETYM Latte *Glotta* 32 (1953): 41 compared ἐμβακανίτης· τὸ μετὰ τοῦ ταρίχους καὶ στέατος σκευαζόμενον βρώμα 'food prepared with salted [fish] meat and hard fat' (H. and Cyrill. mss.) to reconstruct an unreduplicated form \*βάκινος (-ον), probably also found in Lat. *bacchinon* (Greg. Tur., whence MoFr. *bassin*). The word is supposed to be Anatolian or Celtic. Fur.: 171 connects the word with φάκται· ληνοί, σιπύαι, πύελοι (►φάκτον 2) and Μyc. *pa-ko-to* [du.] /p<sup>h</sup>aktō/. The variation would then point to a Pre-Greek word, but this is uncertain.

**βαβάκτης** [m.] epithet of Pan (Cratin.), Dionysus (Corn.). <ONOM>

•VAR ἐκβαβάξαι· ἐκσαλεῦσαι 'shake violently' (H.) = S. fr. 139. βαβάξαι· ὀρχήσασθαι 'dance' (H.); βαβάκτης· ὀρχηστής, ὕμνωδός, μανιώδης, κραύγαστος, ὅθεν καὶ Βάκχος 'dancer, singer of hymns, like a madman, shouter, whence also Bacchus' (H.); = λάλος 'talkative' (EM 183, 45).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic word to express joy; cf. ►βαβάζω. DELG considers the connection with Lydian to be an etymological speculation on Bacchus. The terms with βαβα(κ)- may sometimes have included other expressions of joy etc., which were not limited to one language only.

**βάβαλον** [n.] · κραύγασον. Λάκωνες 'bawler, shouter; Laconians' (H.). <ONOM>

•ETYM Onomatopoeic word; cf. ►βαβάζω, ►βαβάκτης. On the -λ- in the suffix, cf. ►λάλος; on *bal-*, see also Pok. 91f. On βάβαλον· αἰδοῖον 'private parts', see ►βάμβalon.

**βαβήρ** [m.] · ὁ Ἄρης (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**βάβιον** [n.] 'baby' (Dam. *Isid.* 75). <ONOM>

•DER See L. Robert 1963: 368.

•ETYM A nursery word used in Syria. See ►βαβάζω and Pok. 91 (E *baby*). Also related is βαβάλια 'cradle' (Oehl *IF* 57 (1940): 11ff.).

**βαβράζω** [v.] 'to chirp', of cicadas (Anan., H.). <ONOM>

•ETYM Onomatopoeic word; cf. ►βαβάζω.

**βαβρήν** [?] · ὑπόστασις ἐλαίου κατὰ Μακεδόνας 'sediment of olive-oil (Maced.)' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Hoffmann 1906: 73f. relates it to βάπτω, which is doubtful. The meaning suggests a Pre-Greek word: sometimes it is connected with ►βάβρηξ.

**βάβρηξ** [m./f.] in βάβρηκες· τὰ οὐλα τῶν ὀδόντων, οἱ δὲ σιαγόνες· οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς τροφῆς κατεχόμενα 'the gums of the teeth, the jaws; particles of food stuck between the teeth' (H.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR βέβρηκες· τὸ ἐνδον τῶν σιαγόνων μέρος 'the part within the jaws' (?) (H.).

•ETYM Kallérís 1954: 114f. derives the word from a root βρ- in βίβρωσκω, but this root ends in \*h<sub>3</sub>, and should not be lost in this formation. There seems no apparent reason to connect this gloss with βαβρήν, as per Kallérís and DELG. Is βάρηκες just a mistake? The meaning of βέβρηκες unclear: μέρος can hardly mean 'piece of food'. The word is probably Pre-Greek, in view of the variation α/ ε. See ►βαβρήν, ►βάρηκες.

**βαβύας** [m./f.]? · βόρβορος, πηλός 'mud, earth' (H.); βαβύη· χεῖμαρρος, οἱ δὲ πόλις [read πηλός?] 'winter-flowing mud' (H.); βακίας [read βαβύας?]· βόρβορος, πηλός ὑπὸ Ταραντίνων 'mud, earth [Tarent.]' (EM 186,1). <PG?>

•ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 20 suggests Messapian origin (with the ending -uos). However, the meaning rather suggests a Pre-Greek word.

**βαβύρτας** [m.] · ὁ παράμωρος 'an almost foolish man' (H.). <LW>

•DER Also a PN (Wilhelm 1909: 321).

•ETYM Cf. Lat. *baburrus* 'stultus, ineptus'; cf. the type βάρβαρος (?) and E-M s.v. *babit*.

**βαγαῖος** [m.] · ὁ μάταιος, ἢ Ζεὺς Φρύγιος, μέγας, πολὺς, ταχύς 'foolish/idle; or the Phrygian Zeus; great, many, swift' (H.). <?>

•ETYM The gloss consists of two or more elements; see Solmsen 1909: 139<sup>1</sup>. One may think of a connection with OP *baga-* 'god' (cf. ►βάγος). Schmitt *Sprache* 9 (1963): 38-47 reads Βαλαῖος, but Heitsch *Glotta* 46 (1968): 74f. returns to Βαγαῖος.

**βάγαρον** [adj.] · χλιαρόν, Λάκωνες 'warm (Lacon.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM No etymology.

**βάγος** [m.]? · κλάσμα ἄρτου <ῆ> μάζης, καὶ βασιλεὺς, καὶ στρατηγός, Λάκωνες 'piece of cake or barley-cake; both a king and general (Lacon.)' (H.). <GR>

•ETYM Probably a contamination of γάγος (ἄγνυμι) and ἄγος (Latte). Pisani *KZ* 67 (1940): 111 thinks βασιλεὺς = OP *baga-* 'lord, god' (cf. the people's name Βαγαδάονες [Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 232]), but see Petersen *AmJPh.* 56: 64ff. and Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 197.

**βαδᾶς** = βατάλος.

**βάδην** = βαίνω.

**βάδιον** = βάτος 2.

**βάδρυα** = μάδρυα.

**βάζω** [v.] 'to speak, say' often of nonsense (Il.). <ONOM>

•VAR Only present stem, except for βέβακται (θ 408) and ἐβαξας (H.).

•DER βάξις 'word, rumour' (Emp.), βάγματα [pl.] (A. *Pers.* 637 [lyr.]).

•ETYM Cf. βάσκειν· λέγειν (which Latte deletes), κακολογεῖν (H.) (cf. λάσκειν). Possibly from \*βάκ-σκειν (Schwyzer: 708; cf. Βάκις). ►βάσκανος can hardly be separated from βάσκειν. See also ►άβακῆς. Onomatopoeic; cf. ►βαβάζω (the objections of DELG are hardly decisive).

**βάθρον** = βαίνω.

**βαθύς** [adj.] 'deep, high', metaph. 'rich', etc. (Il.). <IE?>

•COMP Many compounds with βαθυ-: e.g. -κολπος, -λειμος (Hom.).

•DER Grades of compar. βαθύτερος, -τατος, rarely βάθιον, βάσσον, βάθιστος (Seiler 1950: 52). Factitive verb βαθύνω (Il.), 'go down, sink (intr.)' (Ph.). On Βαθύλος, -υλλος see Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 218. Besides βένθος 'depth' (Il.) and βάθος [n.] 'id.' (IA, mainly in an ethical sense).

•ETYM Related to βένθος, but there are no further etymological connections; only an alternation \*-en- : -η- can be reconstructed, which suggests IE origin. βένθος is not analogical after πένθος (as per Schwyzer *RhM* 81 (1932): 201, accepted by Pok. 465). Not related to βάπτω (and βόθρος), as per Szemerényi *Glotta* 38 (1960): 211-216, nor to ►βῆσσα, ►βάσσοις, or ►βυθός.

**βαῖα** [f.] 'grandmother' (Str.). <ONOM, PG?>

•ETYM Nursery word; might be Pre-Greek (Fur.: 217).

**βαῖβυξ, -υκος** [m.] 'pelican' (Hdn. Gr., H. ex Philet., Choerob.). <PG(S)>

•VAR βαυβυκάνες· πελεκάνες (H.).

•ETYM For the suffix, cf. ὄρτυξ, ἰβυξ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 397). βαίβυξ seems to be a typical Pre-Greek word (βαυβυκ- by assimilation?).

**βαίθ-** ⇒ βάτος.

**βαίνω** [v.] 'to go' (Il.). <IE \*g<sup>w</sup>em-, \*g<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>- 'go'>

•VAR Only present stem. Other presents: 1. βάσσω, mostly ipv. βάσκει, -τε (Il.); 2. βιάσσω (Il.), mostly causative; 3. βίβημι (βίβῃμι), -άω (to ἔβην, see below) in βιάς, βιβῶν, βιβῆ 'stride' (Chantraine 1942: 300); 4. causative βιάζω (post-Hom.); 5. βιάσθων in μακρὰ β. (Il.), metrical lengthening of βιάς at verse end (Chantraine 1942: 327, Shipp 1967: 39). Suppletive aor. ἔβην, fut. βήσομαι (factitive ἔβησα, βήσω after ἔστησα, στήσω), perf. βέβηκα (all Il.).

•COMP ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐμ-βαίνω, etc.

•DER 1. βάσις [f.] 'step, base' (Pi., in compounds Il.) = Skt. *gāti-* (see below). 2. βατήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'threshold, basis' (Amips., inscr., etc.). 3. -βάτης, -ου [m.] in compounds with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐμ-βάτης, etc. (Il.), also with nominal first element, e.g. στυλο-βάτης; 4. -βάτος in compounds: ἀνα- (ἀμ-)βάτος, etc. (Il.); as a simplex, βατός 'accessible' (X.) is very rare; see Chantraine 1933: 302ff. Abstracts in -σία are derived from -βάτης and -βάτος, like ὑπερβασία 'transgression' (Il.); also denominatives in -εὺ and -έω, like ἐμβατεύω, etc. 5. -βάς, -άδος [f.] in ►ἐμβαδές. Hence the adverb βάδην 'step by step'. 6. βάθρον 'basis, seat', etc. (IA), βάθρᾱ. 7. βαθμός and βασμός [m.] 'step, basis', etc. (Hell.; βαθμός [f.] Pi.). Unrelated is ►βαμβαίνων.

From the root βη-: βῆμα, βᾶμα [n.] 'step', etc. (h. Merc., etc.), = Av. *gāman-* [n.] 'step'; further, βηλός (βᾶλός) [m.] 'threshold' (Il.), βηλά [n.pl.] = πέδιλα (Panyas.); see Chantraine 1933: 240. Also -βήτης, -ου [m.] in ἐμπυριβήτης (τρίπους) 'standing over the fire' (Ψ 702); see also ►διαβήτης 'circle, etc.' (Ar.) and ►ἀμφισβητέω.

•ETYM The verbal root \*g<sup>w</sup>em- has a number of exact matches in other branches. Greek βαίνω and βάσσω both go back to the root \*g<sup>w</sup>em-. The first is a *yod*-present, from \*g<sup>w</sup>an<sub>1</sub>ie/o- < \*g<sup>w</sup>an<sub>1</sub>ie/o-, identical with Lat. *veniō*; the second is a present in \*ske/o- from \*g<sup>w</sup>an<sub>1</sub>sk-, seen back in Skt. *gacchati*. The full grade is seen in Go. *qiman* 'to come' and Skt. *āgamam* [aor.] 'I went'. Morphologically, βάσις is comparable with Skt. *gāti-*, Lat. *con-ventio*, and Go. *ga-qumþs*. Further, -βάτος = Skt. (-)gata- and Lat. -ventus.

The non-presentic forms ἔβην, βήσομαι, βέβηκα, etc. are derived from a different root βη- (βᾶ-) < \*g<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-. For βίβημι, cf. Skt. *jīgāti* 'he goes'. The aor. ἔβην agrees exactly with Skt. *āgām* 'I went'; the noun βῆμα corresponds to Av. *gā-man-* [n.] 'step, pace'. The root pair g<sup>w</sup>em- :: g<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>- may be compared with \*drem- (see ►δραμεῖν) :: \*dreh<sub>2</sub>- (see ►διδράσκω). See ►βέβαιος, ►βέβηλος, ►βωμός, ►βαστάζω, ►βητάρμων.

**βαιός** [adj.] 'small, slight' (Parm.). <?>

•VAR Cf. ἡβαιός (Il.).

•DER βαιών, -όνος [m.] a small worthless fish = βλέννος (Epich.), cf. Strömberg 1943: 32, Chantraine 1928: 10. On the meaning of μέτρον παρὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι (H.) see ►βαῖς.

•ETYM The word has been compared with ►ἡβαιός. Fur.: 378 takes the ἡ- as prothetic, allegedly indicative of Pre-Greek origin; in my view, this remains uncertain.

**βαῖς** [f.] 'palm leaf' (LXX, pap.). <LW>

•VAR Acc. -iv. Also βάϊον [n.] 'id., measuring rod' (Ev. Jo., pap.).

•DER Adj. βαῖνός (Sm.) 'made of palm leaf', βαινή [f.] 'branch of a palm' (LXX).

•ETYM From Eg. *b'j*, Copt. *bai*. See Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 245f.

**βαίτη** [f.] 'shepherds' or peasants' coat or tent made of skins' (Hdt.), also 'covered hall' (Magnesia, Mantinea; see Gossage *Class. Rev.N.S.* 9 (1959): 12f.). <PG?>

•DER βαίτωνα· τὸν εὐτελῆ ἄνδρα 'shabby man' in opposition to βαιτάς· εὐτελὲς γυνή H.; for the gloss βαίτιον see ►βλίτον.

•ETYM Unknown (see Pisani *Sprache* 1 (1949): 138). Go. *paida* 'χιτών' and other Gm. words, like OHG *pfeit* [f.] 'shirt, coat' etc., are borrowed from βαίτι; from Gm. in turn is Fi. *paita* 'shirt'. With a suffix -k-, we can probably connect Alb. *petk* 'coat'. If the Albanian continues \**paitakā*, the word may have been taken over from a European substrate (Fur.: 158 argues for Pre-Greek origin).

**βαίτιον** [n.] · βοτάνη ἐμφορῆς δικτάμνω, ἡγουν γλήχωνι 'plant resembling dittany, or rather pennyroyal' (H.). <?>

•ETYM βαίτιον was supposed to be a mistake for βλίτιον; see ►βλίτον (not accepted by DELG).

**βαίτυλος** [m.] kind of (magical) stone (Sotacos of Carystos apud Plin. *N. H.* 37, 135) which fell from heaven (Dam. *Isid.* 94, 203). Acc. to Hesychius and others, the stone was given to Kronos instead of Zeus. Also name of a god (Διὶ Βετύλῳ, Dura iii<sup>p</sup>). βαίτυλον ἂν κατέπεε Apostol. 9.24, of a greedy person. <LW Sem.>

•VAR ὕ (LSJ Supp.).

•DER βαιτύλιον (Dam., etc.).

•ETYM Zuntz *Class. et Med.* 8 (1966): 169ff., with special attention for the sources, thought that it was a Mediterranean word, also seen in Sem. *bethel*, interpreted as 'House of God'. Unfortunately, Zuntz postulates a pan-Mediterranean substrate as a common source, which is hardly acceptable. Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 48 (1970): 99f. rather opts for Semitic origin, and likewise Röllig, *Dict. Deities Demons* (s.v. Bethel). The fact that the word appears very late in Greek, and in the context of northern Syria, makes this the most probable solution: *Bayt-el* 'House of El'. An old Pre-Greek word is therefore improbable (cf. further West 1997: 294f.; Davidson *Herm.* 123 (1995): 363-9).

**βαῖτυξ** ⇒ βλέτυες.

**βάκανον 1** [n.] 'Althaea cannabina'. <?>

•VAR Cf. βάκανον· τὸ ἀγριοκάνναβον (Lex. Parisinus gr. 2419).

•DER βακάνιον (Posl.).

•ETYM For the suffix, cf. λάχανον and see Chantraine 1933: 199. Cf. ►βάκανον 2 and DELG Supp. s.v.

**βάκανον 2** [n.] 'Brassica napus oleifera' (pap. IP-II<sup>p</sup>). <LW Eg>

•ETYM See ►βάκανον 1.

**βάκηλος 1** [m.] 'woman-like man' (Antiph.), 'eunuch in service of Cybele' (Luc.). Βάκηλος· ἀπόκοπος, ὁ ὑπ' ἐνίων γάλλος, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρόγυνος, ἄλλοι παρεμμένος, γυναικώδης 'a castrated man, a Gallus or hermaphrodite or a weakened man, a woman-like man' (H.). <LW Anat.>

•ETYM Cf. κάβηλος and κάληβος, with comparable meanings, in Hesychius. Maaß *RhM* 74 (1925): 472ff. and Nehring *Sprache* 1 (1949): 165 assume metathesis. Kretschmer *Glotta* 16 (1928): 192 compares Βάκχος; this is improbable. The word is probably Anatolian (so perhaps Pre-Greek, [Fur.: 116]?). On the meaning, see Lucas *RhM* 88 (1939): 189f. and Masson *RPh*. 93 (1967): 229.

**βάκηλος 2** [adj.] · ὁ μέγας 'big or great man' (H.). <PG(S)>

•ETYM Fur.: 115 compares βάγιον· μέγα (H.). The suffix -ηλο- is well known in Pre-Greek.

**βάκκαρις, -ιδος** [f.] 'unguent from asarum' (Semon.). <PG?, LW Lyd.??>

•VAR Acc. -iv. Also βάκκαρ [n.] = ἄσαρον (Plin.) and βάκχαρι [n.] (Aret.), βάκχαρ [n.] (Ps.-Dsc.).

•ETYM The word is Lydian, according to Sch. A. *Pers.* 42; cf. βάκκαρις· ... ἄλλοι δὲ μύρον Λυδόν (H.). Whereas Fur.: 128 argues for Pre-Greek origin (words in -αρ are well-represented there), E. Masson 1967: 100f. suggests that it is Anatolian. The word is not of Gaulish origin (WH 1, 91); Lat. *baccar* etc. are borrowed from Greek.

**βακόν** [adj.] · πεσόν. Κρήτες 'falling (Cret.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. The word is not to be derived an unknown verb \*βάκω, aor. \*ἔβάκον (as per Bechtel 1921, 2: 782), nor is a connection with βάκτρον ('stick', see ►βακτηρία) or βάκται· ισχυροί 'strong men' (H.) very likely. Cf. ►ἀβακής.

**βάκται** [m.] · ισχυροί 'strong men' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Fur.: 311 etc., connects the word with Hitt. *uakturi-* 'solid, durable' and Lycaon. Ουανγδαμιοις, etc. (with prenasalization), which remains very uncertain.

**βακτηρία** [f.] 'staff, stick, scepter (as a symbol of judges)' (Ar.). <EUR>

•VAR Also βακτήριον (Ar.), βακτηρίδιον (H.), βακτηρίς, -ίδος [f.] (Achae. [?]). Cf. βάκτρον [n.] 'stick, cudgel' (A.).

•DIAL Cyp. *pa-ka-ra* (LSJ Supp.).

•DER Also βάκτρον 'id.', whence βακτρεύω [v.] 'to prop' (arg. metr. in S. OC), βάκτρευμα (E.); βακτρεύω (Suid.) by influenced of βακτηρία.

•ETYM βακτηρία looks like an abstract formation from \*βακτήρ, with a by-form βάκτρον, just as ἀροτήρ beside ἀροτρον. It has been compared with ►βάκται· ισχυροί (H.) (doubtful) and ►βακόν (improbable). The word is related to Lat. *baculum* 'staff, stick', which points to \**bak-tlo-*. From *baculum* in turn is borrowed βάκλον 'stick, cudgel' (Aesop.); also OIr. *bacc* 'hook, crook' etc. Pok. 93 gives other, quite doubtful, forms. Is it a European loanword, given the *a*-vocalism?

**βάκτρον** [n.] · κάμηλος 'camel' (H.). <LW Iran.>

•ETYM If the gloss is correct, rather 'Bactrian', as Bactrian camels were famous (Arist. *HA* 498 b 8).

**βάκχος** [?] a fish, kind of κεστρεύς 'mullet' (Hicesios apud Ath. 306 e). <?>

•ETYM See Thompson 1947, Saint-Denis 1947 and Strömberg 1943: 96.

**βάκχυλος** [m.] = ἄρτος σποδίτης 'bread baked in hot ashes' (Nic. *Fr.* 121). Elean, acc. to H. <PG?>

•ETYM Unexplained. Perhaps PG because of the geminate -κχ- and the suffix -υλ-.

**βάλαγρος** [m.] a freshwater fish, kind of carp (Arist.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also βάλ(λ)ερος, βαλλιρός, βαλίνος (βαρίνος) (Arist.).

•ETYM See Thompson 1947 s.v. and Strömberg 1943: 39. Fur.: 116 compares βάρακος· ιχθύς ποιός 'kind of fish' (H.); this is uncertain. Still, the word is certainly Pre-Greek because of the variants (Fur.: 192).

**βαλανεῖον** [n.] 'warm bath, bathroom' (Ar.). <PG>

•DER βαλανεύς [m.] 'bath-man' (Ar.), as a basis of further derivatives (cf. κναφεῖον· κναφεύς, etc.)? Also βαλανίτης (-είτης) 'bather' (Plb.). βαλανάριον [n.] (pap., inscr.) with the Latin suffix *-arium*.

•ETYM DELG attempts to derive the word from βάλανος 'acorn' as 'stopper', but this is improbable. For a term for bathing in warm water, which is probably an Aegaeian custom, we might expect Pre-Greek origin, like ►ἀσάμινθος. The structure of the word is frequent in Pre-Greek: βαλ-av- (with β-, -α-, -av-). From βαλανεῖον comes Lat. *bal(i)neum*.

**βάλανος** [f.] 'acorn, fruit like an acorn, date', and objects like an acorn, e.g. 'stopper'; also name of a fish (Od.). <IE \*g<sup>w</sup>lh<sub>2</sub>- 'acorn'>

•DER βαλάνιον 'acorn-drink' (Nicoch.), 'suppository' (medic.), βαλανίς 'stopper' (Hp., pap.), βαλανίτις 'kind of chestnut' (Plin.). βαλανωτός 'fastened with a β.' (Parm.), βαλανώδης, βαλάνινος 'made of dates' (Thphr.), βαλανηρός 'like a β.' (Thphr.).

Verbs: 1. βαλανίζω 'to shake off acorns' (AP, Zen.), 'to administer a suppository' (Hp.); 2. βαλανόω 'to fasten with a β.' (Ar.).

•ETYM Old IE word. The closest kin is Arm. *kalin*, gen. *kalnoy* 'acorn', although a pre-form \*g<sup>w</sup>lh<sub>2</sub>-eno- (> βάλανος) would also have to give Arm. *-an-* (so the *-in-* is probably analogical). Several related forms have a dental suffix: Lat. *glāns*, *-andis* (\*g<sup>w</sup>lh<sub>2</sub>-nd-), CS *želudъ* (< \*želudъ < \*g<sup>w</sup>elh<sub>2</sub>-end-), Alb. *lend* [m.], Tosk *lëndë* [f.] 'acorn'. A different formation is found in Baltic, e.g. Lith. *gilė* 'acorn'. Not related to βάλλω, which derives from \*g<sup>w</sup>elh<sub>1</sub>-.

**βάλαρις** plant name = βρύον 'oyster-green', λυχνίς 'rose campion' (Ps.-Dsc.), βοτάνη τριφύλλος 'three-leaved plant' (H.). <PG?>

•VAR Also βάλλαρις.

•ETYM Unknown. Perhaps Pre-Greek because of -λ-/ -λλ-.

**βαλαύστιον** [n.] 'flower of the wild pomegranate' (Dsc., Gal.). <PG>

•VAR βαλώστιον (pap. III<sup>a</sup>).

- COMP βαλαυστιουργός (Alciph. 1, 2), form and mg. uncertain, 'dyer'?
- DER βαλαύστ(ρ)ινος (pap.).
- ETYM The variation αυ/ω is typical of Pre-Greek words. Moreover, the meaning already suggests substrate origin. Fur.: 301 compares ►βαλλωτή 'Ballota nigra' (Dsc.).

**βαλβίς, -ῖδος** [f.] 'rope indicating start and finish of the race-course, turning post' (Att.). <PG>

- DER βαλβιδώδης 'provided with cavities' (Hp.), cf. Wendel *Herm.* 69 (1934): 345.
- ETYM Formation with -ῖδ- like κρητίς, κνημίς, etc. βαλβίς is a technical term borrowed from the Pre-Greek (already Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 4 (1954): 164ff.).

**βάλε** [interj.] with optative: 'o that!' (Alcm.). <GR>

- VAR Also ἄβάλε, ἄβάλε (= ἄ βάλε) with ind. and inf. (Call.).
- ETYM Probably an aor.ipv. of βάλλω. Older litt. is mentioned by Frisk, who compares the Lithuanian permissive particle *te-giūl* (quite uncertain).

**βαλιός** [adj.] 'spotted, dappled' (E.), 'swift' (Opp.; after ἀργός). <?>

- VAR With a different accent (see Schwyzler: 380, 635): Βαλιός, name of a horse of Achilles (Il.).
- DER βαλία· ὀφθαλμία 'an eye-disease' (H.)?
- ETYM Cf. πολιός and other color adjectives in -ι(φ)ός (Chantraine 1933: 123). Since \*b- is rare in PIE, it has been considered a loanword from another IE language: e.g. Thracian/Phrygian (Solmsen *KZ* 34 (1897): 72ff.), Illyrian (Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 3 (1953): 203), Macedonian (Schwyzer: 68<sup>3</sup>, hesitantly). If so, the genuinely Greek cognate would have to be ►φαλιός. Pok.: 118 posits \*b<sup>h</sup>el-. Athanassakis *Glotta* 78 (2000): 1-11 demonstrates with an extensive discussion that the word is of Illyrian origin; cf. Alb. *ballë* 'horse with a white spot on its forehead'. For the Albanian word, Huld 1984: 40 reconstructs \*b<sup>h</sup>ol-; Demiraj 1997 assumes \*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>l-.

**βαλίς** [f.] = σίκυς ἄγριος 'wild cucumber' (Ps.-Dsc.). <?>

- DER βαλιδικά (κάρυα 'nut-bearing tree', pap.).
- ETYM See André *Ét. class.* 24 (1956): 40-2, who connects it with βάλλω, because the fruit throws out its sap and kernel.

**βαλλάντιον** [n.] 'purse' (com., Thphr.). <PG?>

- VAR βαλάντιον (less frequent).
- ETYM Unknown. Krahe (see Frisk) thought it was a word from the northern Balkans, related to Lat. *foliis*. However, it is perhaps Pre-Greek because of the variation -λ- ~ -λλ-. Cf. ►βαλλίον.

**βάλλεκα** [?] · ψῆφον 'pebble' (H.). <PG(S)>

- ETYM The connection with Lat. (Iber.) *bal(I)ūca* 'gold-sand, grain of gold' (WH s.v. *balūx*; Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 198) is improbable, since the gloss does not refer to gold. Apparently, the word contains a suffix -εκ-, which is very rare (compare ►ἀλώπηξ); therefore, we opt for Pre-Greek origin.

**βαλ(λ)ήν, -ῆνος** [m.] 'king' (A.), also name of a mythical stone in Phrygia (Ps.-Plu.). <LW Anat.>

- VAR Less certain βαλήν = παλην (inscr. IV<sup>a</sup> Lycia).
- DER βαλληναῖον (ὄρος) = βασιλικὸν ὄρος.
- ETYM Unexplained. According to H. and others, the word is Thourian or Phrygian; at any rate, it is an Anatolian loan (Solmsen 1909: 138f.). The word is not related to Lat. *dēbilis*, nor to Aram. *ba'lēna* 'our Lord'. The ending -ην is a common feature of Pre-Greek (Fur.: 143).

**βαλλητύς** [f.] Festival in Eleusis during which stones were thrown (Ath. 9, 406d ff.; see Deubner 1932: 69). <?>

- ETYM Because of the incomprehensible formation of the stem (in spite of fut. βαλλή-σω), the word is probably a loanword adapted to βάλλω by folk etymology (Schwyzer: 291). On the other hand, DELG accepts a morphological analysis βαλλη- + -τύς.

**βαλλίζω** [v.] = βάλλω 'to throw' (Sophr.), but = κωμιάζω, χορεύω 'to celebrate; to dance' (Ath., etc.), known from the western colonies (Ath. 8, 362b f.). <GR>

- DER βαλλισμός 'dance' (Alex.). βαλλιστής (Shipp *Glotta* 39 (1960): 149-52) from which Lat. *ballista* 'catapult' (since Plaut.); βαλλίστρα 'id.' (Procop.); as a constellation Scherer 1953: 203.
- ETYM Derived from βάλλω. On the meaning, see Paessens *RhM* 90 (1941): 146ff., Radermacher *RhM* 91 (1942): 52ff., and DELG. Lat. *ballāre* 'dance' is related to βαλλίζω, but is not directly borrowed from it.

**βαλλίον** [n.] = φαλλός 'phallus' (Herod.). <LW>

- DER Βαλλίων PN (Axionic.), Lat. *Ballio* (Pt.); Thracian people's name Τρι-βαλλοί? (but see Detschew 1957: 526).
- ETYM If cognate with ►φαλλός, the word might be from another language (Thracian-Phrygian?). See Haas *Wien. Stud.* 71 (1958): 161-7. See also Fur.: 172, who assumes a Pre-Greek root \*φαλ-/βαλ- 'Hervorspringendes'. Note also ►βά(μ)βαλον 'αἰδοῖον'.

**βάλλις, -εως** [f.] a medicinal plant (Xanth. 16). <?>

- ETYM Unknown. See L. Robert 1937: 156-8. Cf. ►βάλ(λ)αρις, ►βαλλωτή, and ►βαλίς.

**βάλλω** [v.] 'to throw, hit' (Il.), originally probably 'to reach, hit by throwing'. <IE \*g<sup>w</sup>elh<sub>1</sub>- 'hit by throwing'>

- VAR Aor. βαλεῖν (βλεῖν, ξυμβλήτην, ἔβλητο), perf. βέβληκα, -μαι, (βεβολημένος from \*βέβολα, Chantraine 1942: 235?), fut. βαλῶ, also βαλλήσω (see ►βαλλητύς).
- DIAL Arc. δέλλω in ἐσ-δέλλω = ἐκ-βάλλω, also ζέλλω, ἔξελεν (EM, see below).
- COMP ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐμ-, ἐκ-βάλλω, etc.
- DER 1. βόλος [m.] 'throwing, net' (A.); in compounds πρόβολος [m.] 'projecting land', etc. (Od.). 2. βολή [f.] 'throw(ing)' (Il.). Many derivatives of βόλος, βολή: see DELG. 3. βέλος [n.] 'throwing weapon' (Il.); cf. ►βελόνη. 4. βέλεμνον 'arrow, javelin' (Il.), see below. 5. -βλής in compounds, e.g. προβλής, -ῆτος 'projecting' (Il.). 6. βλήμα 'throw, throwing weapon; wound'. 7. -βλησις in compounds, e.g. ἀνάβλησις

'delay' (Il.). 8. -βληστρον (on the σ see Schwyzer: 706) in ἀμφίβληστρον 'net' (Hes.). See ►βαλλήτης, ►βλήτρον.

Few derived agent nouns; from a simplex only βλήτειρα οἰστών (Alex. Aet.); nouns in -εως were derived from the compounds, e.g. -βολεύς (Hell.) in ἀμφιβολεύς, etc.; also διαβλήτωρ (Man.) = διάβολος. Formation in -(έ)της in ἑκατηβελέ-της (Il.) < \*g<sup>w</sup>elh<sub>1</sub>-teh<sub>2</sub>- = ἑκατηβόλος.

Adjectives: from the compounds we have derivations in -βλητικός and -βλήσιμος, and adverbs in -δην, e.g. παραβλήδην (Il.).

Deverbative βολέω has been assumed for the perfect forms in βεβολήατο, βεβολημένος, etc., but see Chantraine 1942: 435.

•ETYM IA βάλλω and Arc. ζέλλω, -δέλλω point to original \*g<sup>w</sup>-. The geminate -λλ- derives either from a yod-present PGr. \*g<sup>w</sup>al-je/o- or from a nasal present PGr. \*g<sup>w</sup>al-n-e/o-, perhaps for originally athematic \*g<sup>w</sup>l-n(e)h<sub>1</sub>-. The full-grade in Arc. δέλλω (ζέλλω) was taken from the aorist ἔζελεν- ἔβαλεν (H.), which represents an old root aorist \*h<sub>1</sub>e-g<sup>w</sup>elh<sub>1</sub>-t (see Hardarson 1993a: 162ff.), while ἔβαλον continues the zero grade of the same root aorist: 3pl. \*g<sup>w</sup>lh<sub>1</sub>-o-nt. The old full grade βελε- is also found in ►ἑκατηβελέτης and in βέλεμνον (note that Fur.: 151 considers the latter to be a substrate word because of the suffix, and connects πελεμίζω). The form βλη- derives from the zero grade \*g<sup>w</sup>lh<sub>1</sub>-C-, which is certain for ἔβλητο (see Francis Glotta 52 (1974): 11-30). On the meaning of ἔβλην, see McCullagh KZ 115 (2002): 59-78.

Remarkably, this seemingly old verb has no certain cognates. Av. *ni-yrāire* probably stands for \*ni-yrā- (Insler KZ 81 (1967): 259-64), while the appurtenance of ToA *klā-*, ToB *klāyā-* 'to fall', Skt. *ud-gūrṇa-*, and OIr. *atbaill* 'dies' is highly uncertain (notwithstanding LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*g<sup>w</sup>elh<sub>1</sub>-). Not related to Skt. *galati* 'to drip', OHG *quellan* 'to bubble up', etc. (= LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 2. \*g<sup>w</sup>elH-). See ►βούλομαι, ►βελόνη.

**βαλλωτή** [f.] a plant, 'Ballota nigra' (Dsc.). <PG?(V)>

•ETYM Cf. ►βάλαρις, ►βάλλις, and Strömberg 1940: 151. Fur.: 301 compares ►βαλαύστιον (also -ώστιον); the interchange αυ/ ω is well-attested in Pre-Greek words, as is the suffix -ωτ-.

**βαλμός** [m.] ([n.]?) · στήθος 'breast' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM Unknown. According to Grošelj Živa Ant. 3 (1953): 196, the word is Pre-Greek. For the suffix, cf. ►λαμός. Fur.: 172, 178 convincingly compares φαλόν· τὸ στερεὸν κύκλωμα τοῦ στέρνου 'the solid circle of the breast' (H.). The variation between βαλμ- and φαλ- points to Pre-Greek origin.

**βάλσαμον** [n.] 'balsam', both the shrub and its oil (Arist.); 'Comiphora Orobalsamum' and 'Chrysanthemum balsamita'. <LW>

•VAR See below.

•DER βαλσαμίνη 'βούφθαλμον' (Ps.-Dsk.), 'ὑποβάλσαμον' (Plin.); cf. Strömberg 1944: 38.

•ETYM Assumed to be Semitic, cf. Akk. *bašāmu*, Hebr. *bāšām*, and Arab. *bašām* 'id.' (Lewy 1895: 41). Fur.: 143 etc. argues for Near-Eastern origin on the basis of the -λ- (and Arm. *apr(a)sam* and the variants πάλσαμον, βλάσαμον, βάρσαμον). However, Schrader-Nehring 1917 (s.v. Balsam) state that the plant originated from the far south

(Africa) and became known only after Alexander. On plant names in -αμον, -αμος, see Schwyzer: 494 and Chantraine 1933: 133.

**βαμβαίνω** [v.] 'to chatter with the teeth, stammer' (K 375, Bion, AP). <ONOM>

•ETYM Onomatopoeic verb. Cf. βαμβακύζω (Hippon.), βαμβαλύζω (Phryn., H.); γογγύζω, etc., as well as βαμβαλεῖν (H.). See Weber *RhM* 82 (1933): 193<sup>2</sup>. Not related to βαίνω, as per Schwyzer: 647. Cf. ►βαβάζειν, ►βάβαλον.

**βαμβακεύτριαι** [f.] · μαγγανεύτριαι, οἱ δὲ φαρμάκισσαι, οἱ δὲ λαλοῦσαι 'tricksters, others: women using charms, others: chattering women', also τὸ δὲ βαμβακείας χάριν· φαρμακείας χάριν 'thanks to sorcery' (both H.). <LW India?>

•VAR βάμβακους τοὺς φάρμακους Κίλικες καλοῦσιν 'the Cilicians call drugs β.' (AB). Also ἀβαμβακέυτος 'not seasoned', of food (Pyrgion *apud* Ath.), for which there are no obvious cognates.

•ETYM A word for medicine or charms; the meaning 'λαλοῦσαι' must have arisen secondarily. The basis is identical with that of the word for 'cotton', ►βαμβάκιον; cotton was thought to have a medicinal effect.

**βαμβάκιον** [n.] 'cotton' (Suidas s.v. πάμβαξ). <LW India?>

•VAR παμβακίς (AP 6,254,6, Myrin.), πάμβαξ (Suid.).

•DER βαμβακοειδής, v.l. for βομβυκ- (Dsc. 3,16).

•ETYM Cotton is first mentioned in an inscription by Sanherib. Hdt. 3,106 describes it as Indian. Theophrastus says that it was found near the Persian Gulf. We find the word in MP *pambak*, whence Arm. *bambak*, Oss. *bæmbæg*. From Greek were borrowed Lat. *bambax*, *bambagium* with Ital. *bambagia*; through the influence of βόμβυξ (because of the formal and semantic resemblance?), Ital. *bombagio*, MoFr. *bombasin*. Another Gr. designation is ἐριόξυλον; cf. MoHG *Baumwolle*. Pliny uses the word *gossypium*. Unclear is whether ►βύσσος in Pausanias also means 'cotton'. For 'cotton', see also ►κάπρασος. Cf. ►βαμβακεύτριαι.

**βάμβαλον** · ἱμάτιον· καὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον. Φρύγες 'a garment; genitals (Phrygian)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Probably two words. See L. Robert 1963: 153 (the treatment of Campanile SSL 3 (1963): 83-85 is incorrect).

**βαμβραδών, -όνος** [f.] kind of sprat (Epich.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR βεμβράς (Aristomen.), μεμβράς; βεβράδα· ἀθερίνην 'kind of smelt' (H.).

•DER μεμβραφύα s.v. ►ἀφύη.

•ETYM The word has been derived from βράζω, by comparison with βαμβρασμός· καχλασμός 'splashing of water' and βαμβράσσει· ὀργίζεται 'is angry' (Cyr.), under the improbable assumption that the fish was named after the sound it makes (e.g. Strömberg 1943: 63ff.). Given the formal variants, the word is rather Pre-Greek. For the formation, cf. animal names like ►τενθρηδών, τερηδών (Schwyzer: 529f., Chantraine 1933: 360f.).

**βάνανσος, -ον** [adj., m.] 'of an artisan; artisan'; metaph. 'vulgar' (IA). <PG(S)>

•DER βάνανσία.

•ETYM According to *EM* 187, 40, a haplology from \*βαύναυτος, in turn a compound of ▶βαῦνος ‘furnace’ and ▶αῦω ‘scoop, light a fire’. Although this would fit Hesychius’ explanation βανουσία· πᾶσα τέχνη διὰ πυρός, κυρίως δὲ ἡ περὶ τὰς καμίνους, καὶ πᾶς τεχνίτης χαλκεὺς ἢ χρυσοχόος βάναντος ‘any art using fire; in common usage, the art using furnaces; also, any metal worker or goldsmith is a βάναντος’, we have to disregard that as folk etymology (Kretschmer *Glotta* 21 (1933): 178). Evidently, it is rather a Pre-Greek word. For the suffix -σος, cf. κόμπασος and ὀρυξος (see *Pre-Greek*).

**βαννάται** [f.] · αἱ λοῖοι καὶ μὴ ἰθυτενεῖς ὁδοὶ παρὰ Ταραντίνοις· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ βάννατροι ‘slanting and non-straight roads (Tarant.); the same as βάννατροι’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM DELG suggests that β- represents ʃ-, and that the gloss contains \*ʃανν-, as in βάννεια ‘piste des moutons’. Uncertain.

**βανωτός** [m.] ‘vase used as a measure’ (pap. III<sup>a</sup>, Callix.). <PG>

•ETYM Pre-Greek; for the suffix -ωτ-, see *Pre-Greek* (the -ω probably goes back to -au-, which makes comparison with βάναντος attractive).

**βάπτω** [v.] ‘to immerse, so as to temper or color’ (Od.). <?>

•VAR Aor. βάψαι.

•DER 1. βαφή ‘dipping, temper, dye’ (IA); 2. βάμμα ‘dye’ (Pl.); 3. βάψις ‘id’ (Antiph.). βαφεύς ‘dyer’ (Pl.), βαφεῖον (Str.); verb βαπτίζω, which appears metathesized in βιπτάζω (Epich.).

•ETYM Often considered to be a yod-present comparable to ON *kvefja* ‘to press down, immerse, choke’ and OSw. *kvaʃ* [n.] ‘depth’ (thus Frisk). However, this does not explain the -α-. The by-form βύπτειν· βαπτίζειν (H.) is perhaps formed analogically after δύπτειν (see ▶δύω) or κύπτειν; it does not reflect an original zero grade.

**βάραθρον** [n.] ‘cleft, abyss’. <PG>

•VAR βέρεθρον (Hom.; Aeol., Chantraine 1942: 114), from which (through \*βέρεθρον) βέθρον (Euph.), Arc. ζέρεθρον (representing δ-; cf. ζέλλω = δέλλω s.v. ▶βάλλω).

•ETYM The connection with ▶βιβρώσκω ‘devour’ cannot be maintained: \*g<sup>w</sup>erh<sub>3</sub>- / \*g<sup>w</sup>rh<sub>3</sub>- would give \*δερο-/ βρω-, \*βαρ(ο)-. In view of the variants, the word is rather Pre-Greek, like ▶φάραγξ; see Beekes 1969: 193 (on alleged Illyrian cognates, see Krahe *IF* 58 (1942): 220).

**βάρακος** [m.] · ἰχθὺς ποιός H., a freshwater fish in a Boeotian inscr. <PG?>

•VAR Cf. βαρκαῖος (Theognost.).

•ETYM Cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. and Lacroix 1938: 52. Fur.: 116 compares βάλαγρος(?).

**βάραξ, -κος** [m.] a kind of cake (Epil.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR βήρηξ (Ath.; H. also βήραξ); πάραξ (*Test. Epict.*); βάρακες· τὰ προφυράματα τῆς μάζης ‘dough kneaded in advance for a cake’ · Ἀττικοὶ δὲ βήρηκας· δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν τολύπην ‘it also designates the ball-shaped cake’ (H.).

•ETYM A foreign word (thus already Bechtel 1921, 2: 368), and typically Pre-Greek (suffix -ακ-, variants β/π). Cf. ▶βάρηκες.

**βάρβαξ** · ἱέραξ παρὰ Λίβυσι ‘hawk, falcon (Libyan)’ (H.). A PN on Thera, Masson *RPh.* 93 (1967): 231. <?>

•ETYM See Fauth *Herm.* 96 (1968): 257f.

**βάρβαρος, -ον** [m.] ‘foreign(er), non-Greek’, also adj. ‘uncivilized, raw’ (IA). <ONOM>

•COMP βαρβαρόφωνος ‘of foreign speech’ (Il.).

•DER βαρβαρικός ‘foreign’ (Simon., Th., X., Arist., etc.) with βαρβαρίκιον name of a garment (pap.); βαρβαρώδης (sch., Tz.).

Denominative verbs: 1. βαρβαρίζω ‘to behave like a foreigner, to side with the barbarians = Persians’ (Hdt.), whence βαρβαρισμός ‘use of foreign language or customs, language mistakes’ (Arist., Hell.), adv. βαρβαριστί ‘in a foreign way, in foreign language’ (Ar., Plu. et al.); 2. βαρβαρόομαι ‘to become a barbarian, become uncivilized’ (S.).

•ETYM An onomatopoeic reduplicated formation, which originally referred to the language of the foreigner. One may compare Skt. (post-Vedic) *barbara-* ‘stammer’, a designation of non-Aryan peoples. In spite of Sumer. *barbar* ‘foreigner’ not of Babylonian or Sumerian origin. From βάρβαρος was borrowed Lat. *barbarus*. Comparable formations in other IE languages are mentioned in Pok. 91f. and Mayrhofer *EW Aia* 2: 217 s.v. *balbalā-*.

**βάρβιτος** [f.] or [m.] musical instrument with many strings (Pi.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Later also -ον [n.], also βάρμιτος (*EM* 188, 21, called Aeolic); also βάρμος (Phillis *apud* Ath. 14, 636c) and βάρωμος (Ath.).

•ETYM Foreign word (Phrygian? See Str. 10, 3, 17). Grošelj *Slavistična Revija* 4 (1951): 250 connects it with φόρμιγξ, as does Fur.: 173, etc. The word is most probably Pre-Greek, with a suffix -ιτ-. Perhaps the strange -ω- in the variant βάρωμος can be explained from \*bar<sup>w</sup>m-? Otherwise, one might consider the possibility that this -ω- is the result of epenthesis.

**βαρβός** [m.] = μύστρον ‘spoon’ (Ar. fr. 341). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**βαρδῆν** [v.] · τὸ βιάζεσθαι γυναῖκας· Ἀμπρακιῶται ‘to coerce women (Ambrac.)’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. Not convincing are the solutions by Pisani *RhM* 97 (1945): 62<sup>14</sup> (of Illyrian origin, from \*b<sup>h</sup>er- ‘bear’, which would also be the source of Lat. *forda* ‘pregnant’), Bechtel 1921, 2: 282 (as original \*ʃαρδῆν related to ἄρδαλος ‘dirt’), and Pischel *BB* 7 (1883): 334 (to Skt. *mṛdnāti* ‘squeezes’).

**βάρηκες** [m.]/[f.]? = τὰ οὐλα τῶν ὀδόντων, σιαγόνες, τολύπη ‘the gums, cheeks; clew of wool’, etc. (*EM* 188, 37ff.). <PG?>

•VAR ▶βάρακες ‘τολύπη’ ‘ball-shaped cake’ (H.).



•ETYM Cf. ►βαβρήκες 'id.'. Is the word from Pre-Gr. \*bar<sup>w</sup>-ak-? or simply reduplicated, i.e. \*ba-b[a]r-ak-?

**βάρις 1** [f.] 'Egyptian boat, a kind of raft' (A.). ◀LW Eg.▶

•VAR Gen. -ιδος, -ιος.

•ETYM The word is of Egyptian origin, cf. Copt. *bari* 'boat' (Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 241). From βάρις is borrowed Lat. *bāris*, *barca* (< \**bārica*) 'bark'. Fur.: 325, on the other hand, considers all these words to be loans from a Mediterranean substrate. On the 'strengthened' form βούβαρις (Philist. 56), see Chantraine 1928: 16.

**βάρις 2** [f.] 'large (fortified) house' (LXX). Toponym, see L. Robert 1963: 14-6, 128. ◀LW Illyr.▶

•VAR Gen. -ιδος, -εως.

•ETYM Probably Illyrian (Krahe 1955: 39, with *ā* from *au*); cf. ►βαυρία · οίκία EM (Messapian) and ►βύριον. Alternatively, we may consider the possibility that the word derives from a Pre-Greek form \*bar<sup>w</sup>-, which would explain the interchange βαρ- ~ βαυρ- ~ βυρ-.

**βαρίτης** [m.] name of a bird (Dionys. Av. 3, 2). ◀?▶

•ETYM Unknown; any connection with ►βάρις 2 is not compelling.

**βάριχοι** · ἄρνες 'lambs, sheep' (H.). ⇒ἀρήν.

**βαρνάμενος** ⇒μάρναμαι.

**βᾶρος** [m.] kind of spice (Mnesim. 4, 62). ◀?▶

•VAR βάρων [n.].

•ETYM Unknown.

**βαρύες** [m.]/[f.]? · δένδρα 'trees' (H.). ◀?▶

•ETYM Unknown. The word is hardly related to βορέας, as per Osthoff 1901: 48. See ►ἄβλαροι.

**βάρ<υ>κα** · αἰδοῖον παρὰ Ταραντίνοις, καὶ περόνη 'the genitals [Tarant.]; a pin' (H.). ◀?▶

•ETYM Unknown. Completely uncertain is the idea of von Blumenthal 1930: 10f. that the word is Illyrian-Messapian, related to Lat. *feriō*, *forō*, and to φάρυγξ, etc. Comparison of the suffix (Lat. *verruca*) is pointless, since the -u- is a conjecture.

**βαρύς** [adj.] 'heavy', of tone 'low, deep' (Il.). ◀IE \*g<sup>w</sup>rh<sub>2</sub>-u- 'heavy'.▶

•COMP βαρύ-γδουπος (Pi.), etc.

•DER βαρύτης, -ητος [f.] (Att.). Denominatives: 1. βαρύνω 'weigh down, oppress' (Il.); 2. βαρύθω 'be weighed down' (Il.); 3. βαρέω see below. Further βάρος [n.] 'heavy weight' (as a simplex Hdt.; in compounds (χαλκο-, οἶνο-βαρής) already Il.). The ptc. βεβαρηώς (οἶνῳ βεβαρηότες, -ότα γ 139, τ 122) cf. οἶνοβαρής (A 225; metrically lengthened οἶνοβαρείων ι 374, κ 555), from which οἶνοβαρέω (Thgn.); thence (?) βεβαρημένος (Pl.); βόρημαι (Sapph. *Supp.* 25, 17) with Aeol. vocalism; βαρέω (Hp. *Morb.*).

•ETYM The word is identical in formation with Skt. *gurú-* and Go. *kaurus* 'heavy', whereas Lat. *gravis* reflects \**graus* < \*g<sup>w</sup>reh<sub>2</sub>us. The full grade is seen in the Skt. compar. *gáritṃān*. Lat. *brūtus* 'heavy, brute', which goes back to an extended \*g<sup>w</sup>rh<sub>2</sub>-u-to-, is originally an Oscan word. Cf. ►βριαρός, ►βρίθω.

**βάρ(ω)μιος** ⇒βάρβιτος.

**βασαγίκορος** [adj.] · ὁ θᾶσσον συνουσιάζων (Hippon.). ◀?▶

•ETYM Is this word corrupt? See O. Masson 1962: 173. Shall we compare ἀψίκορος 'quickly satiated' s.v. ►ἄπτω?

**βάσανος** [f.] 'touchstone, examination, inquiry (by torture), agony' (Pi.). ◀LW Eg. (Lyd.)▶

•DER βασανίτης λίθος (H., Ptol.). Denominative βασανίζω 'put to the test, inquire (by torture)' (IA).

•ETYM From Eg. *baḥan*, a stone, which was used by the Egyptians as a touchstone of gold. It came to Greece via Lydia (Λυδία λίθος, B. 22); the σ for *h* is unclear. See Sethe *Berl.Ak.Sb.* 1933: 894ff.; Kretschmer *Glotta* 24 (1936): 90. In Plin. 36, 58, *basaniten* became *basalten* by mistake, which is the origin of *basalt*. See Niedermann *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 127f.

**βασιλεύς** [m.] 'king (especially the Persian king), prince' (Il.). ◀PG(S)▶

•DIAL Myc. *qa-si-re-u* /g<sup>w</sup>asileus/; fem. *qa-si-re-i-ja*; *qa-si-re-wi-jo-te* /g<sup>w</sup>asilewjontes/.

•DER Feminine forms: βασίλεια (Od.); βασιλίσ (S.), βασιλῆς (Man., *Epigr. Gr.* 989, 3), βασίλισσα (inscr. Athens 337<sup>a</sup>, com.; formed to stems in -ικ- from words like Κίλισσα, Φοίνισσα, etc.); βασίλιννα 'wife of the ἄρχων βασιλεύς in Athens' (D.; cf. Κόριννα, Φίλιννα, etc., hypocoristic, Schwyzer 491; differently Chantraine 1933: 205). Diminutive βασιλίσκος, also name of a snake, fish, etc. (Hp.; cf. Strömberg 1943: 91f.), adjectives βασιλῆϊος (Od.), βασιλείος (Att.); fem. also βασιλῆϊς (Il.); substantivized ntr. βασιλῆϊον, βασιλείον, 'king's palace' (IA). Denominative verb: βασιλεύω (Il.).

•ETYM Beside βασιλεύς, Greek has two other words for 'king', ►κοίρανος and ►ἄναξ. βασιλεύς is the youngest; see Wackernagel 1916: 209ff. The word is no doubt of Pre-Greek origin (i.e., not a loanword from another country); labiovelars are well-known in this language.

**βάσκανος, -ον** [adj., m.] 'one who bewitches, sorcerer, slanderer' (Att.). ◀EUR?▶

•DER βασκανία, βασκάνιον 'bewitching, witchcraft'; βασκοσύνη 'id.' (Poet. *de herb.*, mag. pap.), for βασκ(αν)οσύνη. Denominative verb βασκαίνω 'to bewitch'.

•ETYM Generally connected with βάσκειν· λέγειν, κακολογεῖν, and further with ►βάζω. However, βάσκειν in the sense 'κακολογεῖν' may have been influenced by βάσκανος itself. Kretschmer 1896: 248<sup>4</sup> unconvincingly considered the word to be a borrowing from a Thraco-Illyrian representative of φημί, φάσκω. One has also tried to connect Lat. *fascinum*, which cannot be a loanword from Greek; perhaps the Latin and the Greek have a common origin in a substrate. Cf. further ►βασκευταί, ►βάσκειοι.

**βασκαρίζειν** [v.] · σκαρίζειν, Κρήτες ‘to jump (Cret.)’ (H.).

- ETYM DELG thinks it is derived from βάσκω after the verbs in -αρίζω, but this hardly explains the meaning ‘jump’.

**βάσκα** ⇒ μακέλη.

**βασκάς** [m.] kind of duck (Ar. Av. 885, v. l. Arist. HA 593b 17), <PG(V)>

- VAR Acc. -ᾱ. Also βοσκάς, -ᾱδος (Arist. ibid., Alex. Mynd. *apud* Ath. 9, 395d, and φασκάς, -ᾱδος [f.] (Alex. Mynd. ibid.); H. gives all forms.
- ETYM Cf. ἀτταγᾶς, ἐλασᾶς, and other bird names; see Chantraine 1933: 31. The o of the variant βοσκάς can hardly be due to influence of βόσκω; nor is the β- (compared to the φ- of φασκάς) Thracian or Illyrian. For the gloss βοσκάς φασκάς. Λίβιοι (H.), Latte suggests: “<Ιλ>λυριοί? (propter β pro φ)”. However, the variation has to be taken seriously: it clearly points to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 168; unconvincing, however, is his link with Bulg. *patka*, Span. *pato*, p. 251; Sardian *busciu*, adduced by Thompson 1895 s.v. βοσκάς, is nothing better).

**βασκαύλης** [m./f.] an unknown utensil (POxy. 1, 109, 22, III-IV<sup>p</sup>). <LW Celt.>

- VAR Perhaps also ► μασκαυλής.
- ETYM Grenfell-Hunt adduce Lat. *vasculum*, but this would hardly yield the Greek form. WH considered it a loan from Lat. *bascauda* (also *m-*) ‘metal washing-basin’ (Mart.). Thus Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 660, but his proposal that the Greek word is due to a misreading of Λ for Δ is improbable; it could well be a phonetic development. Fur.: 212 thinks that the word is Pre-Greek, as shown by *b/m* and *d/l*. He further recalls Talmud. *maskel* ‘basin’, which would confirm its Mediterranean origin. However, Martialis 14, 99 appears to prove that the word is Celtic (or perhaps a European substrate word).

**βασκευταί** [m.]/[f.]? · φασκίδες, ἀγκάλαι ‘fascides; bundles’ (H.). <EUR>

- VAR Cf. βάσκιαι· δεσμοὶ φρυγάνων ‘bundles of firewood’ (H.).
- ETYM It has been suggested that the word is Macedonian, cognate with Lat. *fascia* ‘binding’. On the assumption that φασκίδες is the genuinely Greek reflex, Szemerényi *KZ* 71 (1954): 212f. proposed that it is Illyrian. However, the word rather seems to come from a European substrate; see Beekes 2000: 21-31. Not related to ► φάσκωλος.

**βάσκω** ⇒ βάζω and βαίνω.

**βασσάρα** [f.] ‘fox’ (sch. Lyc. 771), ‘dress of a Bacchante’ (EM, AB, H.) from the skin of a fox; ‘bacchante’ (sch. Lyc. 771, EM), ‘impudent woman’ (Lyc., EM). <LW Eg.>

- DER βασσάριον ‘fox’ (Hdt. 4, 192; Libyan), βασσαρεύς name of Dionysus (Hor.), βάσσαρος = βάκχος (Orph.); denominative verb ἀνα-βασσαρέω ‘to break forth in Bacchic frenzy’ (Anacr.).
- ETYM Herodotus calls the word Libyan, which seems to be confirmed by the etymological connection with Eg. *wasar*, Copt. *bašor* (Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 660, without reference). Szemerényi further tries to maintain the connection with

Hitt. *maššumar* ‘clothing’, rightly rejected by Neumann 1961: 19. Fur.: 257<sup>36</sup> notes that βάσσοις = βασσάρα (EM), and that -αρ(ος) is a frequent Pre-Greek suffix.

**βάσσοις** [n.] · οὐδετέρως· ἡ βῆσσα ‘a neuter word meaning glen, vale’ (H.). <PG?>

- ETYM Schwyzler *RhM* 81 (1932): 199f. (who argues against the accentuation βᾶσσοις) proposes \*βάθ-σος. However, beside βῆσσα, we find Dor. βᾶσσα, so that βάσσοις could be a variant of βῆσσα and βᾶσσα; if so, Pre-Greek origin becomes likely. The suggestion of Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 258f. that Lat. *bassus* ‘lowly’ is borrowed from this word remains quite uncertain. See ► βῆσσα, ► βαθύς.

**βαστά** [n.pl.] · ὑποδήματα. Ἰταλιῶται ‘sandals (Ital.)’ (H.). <?>

- ETYM Johansson *IF* 19 (1906): 121 takes βαστά as Messapian and connects it with OHG, etc. *bast* ‘bark’. Jacobsohn *ZfdA* 66 (1952-1953): 238ff. thinks it is an Iranian (Scythian) *Wanderwort*, i.e. Av. and OP *basta-* ‘bound’ (cf. πείσιμα, πενθερός); this is uncertain. Not related to Lat. *fascis* (see ► βασκευταί). See Meid *IF* 69 (1965): 232.

**βαστάζω** [v.] ‘to lift up, raise’ (Od.). <?>

- VAR Aor. βαστάσαι, late βαστάξει.
- DER βάσταγμα ‘load’ (E.), βασταγή ‘transport’ (Lyd.). Here also βάστραχαις· τοὺς τραχήλους. Βοιωτοὶ ‘necks, throats (Boeot.)’ (H.) (EM), from βάστακας (from \*βάσταξ, cf. \*μάσταξ and Bechtel 1921, 1: 303) contaminated with τράχηλος; further βαστραχηλίζει· τραχηλίζει ‘twist the neck, overpower’ (H.) and βαστραχαλίσαι· τραχηλιάσαι; from carrying on one’s back. βαστέρνιον from Lat. *basterna*.
- ETYM Unknown. Connection with βαίνω (see Schwyzler 1937: 70) is not convincing.

**βασυνίας** [m.] kind of sacrificial cake, from the island Hecate near Delos (Semos 3).

<PG>

- DER βασυμνιάτης ‘baker of β.’ (inscr. Corycos, Lycia).
- ETYM See von Wilamowitz 1931: 264. Fur.: 245 adduces the variant with -μν-, which proves Pre-Greek origin.

**βάταλος** [m.] · καταπύγων καὶ ἀνδρόγυνος, κίμαιδος, ἔκλυτος ‘a lewd man, hermaphrodite, catamite; lascivious’ (H.); = πρωκτός ‘anus’ (Eur. 82 *apud* Harp.).

<PG(V)>

- VAR Also βάτταλος; βατᾶς, βαδᾶς and σπάταλος ‘wanton, lascivious’; see below.
- DER βαταλίζομαι ‘to live like a β.’ (Theano), -ίζω (τὰ ὀπίσθια, of a horse) ‘to turn to and fro’ (*Hippiatr.*). Shortened (cf. Chantraine 1933: 31f.) βατᾶς· ὁ καταφερής. Ταραντῖνοι ‘lecherous person (Tarantinian)’ (H.); βαδᾶς· κίμαιδος ὡς Ἀμερίας (H.). Demosthenes was called Βάτ(τ)αλος in his youth (D. 18, 180; Aeschin. 1, 126; 2, 99), which perhaps referred to a speech-defect, namely pronouncing λ for ρ and thus βατταλίζειν for βατταρίζειν ‘to stammer’; see Holst *Symb. Oslo*. 4 (1926): 11ff.
- ETYM There has been an attempt to connect the word with βατέω ‘mount’; however, that βαδᾶς would be formed after βάδην, βαδίζω is quite improbable. Fur.: 154, etc. convincingly connects it with ► σπάταλος, which indicates Pre-Greek origin, along with the interchange ττ/ τ/ δ.

**βατάνη** •ETYM See ► πατάνη.

**βατέω** •VAR βατεύω →βαίνω.

**βάτιάκη** [f.] a cup (Diph.). <LW Iran.??>

•ETYM The word is Persian, according to Ath. 784a. Rudgren *Glotta* 38 (1958): 10-4, compared MoP *bād(i)yah* < \**bātiaka*-. Thence the Lat. LW *batioca*. Fur.: 179 compares βάτος, βάδος 'measure for liquids' (LXX), and the suffix -ακη (158<sup>64</sup>), but see ►βάτος 2.

**βατίς** [f.] 'skate, ray' (Epich.); also a bird, 'stone chat'? (Arist.); also 'samphire, Crithmum maritimum' (Plin.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM If the word is identical with ►βότις, the vowel interchange points to Pre-Greek origin, which is to be expected for a fish name anyhow.

**βάτος 1.** [m.] and [f.] 'bramble, Rubus ulmifolius' (Od.). Also a fish, 'skate' (Epich.), because of its spines (Strömberg 1943: 47). <LW>

•VAR βάτον [n.] 'blackberry' (D. S.).

•DER βατία (βατιά?) 'thicket' (Pi.); βάτιον 'mulberry on Salamis' (Parth.); βατίς 'skate' (Epich.); name of a bird (Arist. HA 592b 17: ὄρνις σκωληκοφάγος); plant name 'Crithmum maritimum' (Plin.); βατόεις 'thorny' (Nic.). Not here Βατίεια = σῆμα Μυρίνης (B 813) and the PN Βάτεια (Hellanic.), which are rather Illyrian.

•ETYM Bertoldi *Glotta* 21 (1933): 258ff. points to ►μαντία 'blackberry', identified as Dacian by Dsc. 4, 37, as well as several other plant names pointing to \**ma(n)t*-, e.g. Alb. *man* 'mulberry', Ghag *mand*; see also Fur.: 209, 272. A widespread Mediterranean word. See also DELG.

**βάτος 2** [m.] a measure for liquids (LXX). <LW Sem.>

•VAR Also βάδος.

•ETYM Probably a loan from Semitic (Hebr. *bath*); see LSJ Supp. s.v. βαίθ, βαίθαρα. Cf. ►βατιάκη.

**βάτραχος** [m.] 'frog' (Hdt.). Also name of a fish, 'Lophius piscatorius' (Arist.), see Strömberg 1943: 92f. <PG(V)>

•VAR Ion. βάθρακος with displacement of aspiration, a common phenomenon (cf. Lejeune 1972: 59f.); βότραχος (Hp.) and βρόταχος (Xenoph. 40, see Bechtel 1921(3): 109); βρατάχους· βατράχους (H.); further βρούχετος· ... βάτραχον δὲ Κύπριοι (H.), perhaps after βρυχάομαι; βύρθακος· βάτραχος (H.); βρύτιχοι· βάτραχοι μικροὶ ἔχοντες οὐράς 'frogs having small tails' (H.) (cf. βρύω?); βριαγχόνην· βάτραχον. Φωκεῖς (H.), a mistake for \*βρ(α)τ-αγχ-?; βρόγχος· βάτραχος (H.) may also be a mistake; also βλίκανος, βλίκαρος, βλίχα(ς) (H., EM, Suid.); βλίταχος (H.). βάβακοι· ὑπὸ Ἡλείων τέττιγες 'cicalas', ὑπὸ Ποντικῶν δὲ βάτραχοι (H.), see ►βαβάζω.

•DER Diminutive βατράχιον (Paus.), also plant name 'Ranunculus' (Hp., Dsc., cf. Strömberg 1940: 119); βατραχίσκοι· μέρος τι τῆς κιθάρας 'a part of the lyre' (H.); on the suffixes Chantraine 1933: 408. βατραχίτης, -ίτις (λίθος; because of the color; Plin.).

•ETYM Several variants are due to folk etymology or taboo, and also to simple phonetic variation. *A priori*, a local (i.e. Pre-Greek) form is to be expected for all of these forms; the variation α/ο points to this. This holds for βαρδακος as well, if this

is what must be read in H. for βαρακος· βάραχος (Fur.: 184<sup>2</sup>; see Latte). The form may in origin have been onomatopoeic βρατ-αχ- (Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 6 (1956): 235), with which compare βρεκεκεξ; or even \**brt-ak*-, from which the forms with -υ- may have originated (βύρθακος, βρύτιχος). The hopeless forms βριαγχόνη, βρόγχος (is this form to be read for βρούχετος?) contain a (misread) prenasalized \*(βρατ)αγχος, which would also point to Pre-Greek origin. The forms βλικ/χ- and βάβακοι are etymologically unrelated. For the meaning 'hearth', Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 660 refers to Alb. *vatër*.

**βατταρίζω** [v.] denoting a speech-defect, perhaps 'to stammer' (Hippon.). Cf. Holst *Symb. Oslo.* 4 (1926): 11. <ONOM>

•VAR Cf. βατταρισμοῖς· φλυαρίαις 'nonsense' and Βάττος· ...τρυλόφωνος, ισχνόφωνος 'feeble; thin- or weak-voiced' (H.).

•DER βατταρισμός (Phld.). Cf. Βάτταρος (Herod.).

•ETYM The word is comparable to βαττολογέω 'stammer' (Ev. Matt. 6, 7, Simp.) together with βαττολογία· ἀργολογία, ἀκαιρολογία 'ill-timed speech' (H.). Cf. the PN Βάττος (Hdt. 4, 155). See also ►βάταλος. Is it onomatopoeic? Cf. Lat. *butubatta*; on βαττολογέω, see especially Blass and Debrunner 1959: Anh. § 40. See also Pok. 95.

**βαυβάω** [v.] 'to sleep' (E. Fr. 694, etc.), also factitive 'to put to sleep' = κοιμίζω (H.).

<ONOM>

•DER βαυβών [m.] = ὄλισβος (Herod.), also βαυβώ· τιθήνη Δήμητρος 'nurse of D.'. σημαίνει δὲ καὶ κοιλίαν, ὡς παρ' Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ (fr. 153) 'it means the womb/belly too, like in Emp.' (H.); see Headlam and Knox 1922 to Herod. 6, 19; on the formation Schwyzler: 478. βαυβαλίζω 'to make sleep' (Alex. 229) see ►βαυκαλάω.

•ETYM A nursery word.

**βαυβυκᾶνες** →βαῖβυξ.

**βαῦζω** [v.] 'to bark; revile, cry, etc.' (A.). <ONOM>

•DIAL Dor. βαῦσδω.

•DER Also βαυβύζω (pap.).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic form from βαύ βαύ (Com. adespota 1304). Cf. Lat. *baubor* 'bark', Lith. *baūbti* 'cry', of cows, etc.

**βαυκαλάω** [v.] 'to lull to sleep, nurse' (Crates).

•DER βαυκάλη 'cradle' (Sor.).

•ETYM Denominative from βαύκαλος, known only from EM 192, 20: βαύκαλον· μαλακίζομενον, τρυφερόν, καὶ ὠραιστόν 'softened, effeminate, affected'. This in turn is a derivation from ►βαυκός, cf. ►βαυβάω.

**βαυκάλιον** [n.] vase with a narrow neck (pap.). <LW?>

•ETYM One supposes Egyptian origin. See Nencioni *Riv. degli stud. or.* 19 (1940): 98ff. DELG suggests βαυκαλάω, which does not seem probable. On the forms (including MoFr. *bocal*) Leroy-Molinghen *Byzantion* 35 (1965): 214-20. Cf. καυκάλιον (s.v. ►καῦκος) and ►βίκος.

**βαυκός** [adj.] 'affected, prudish' (Arar. 9). <PG?>

- COMP βαυκοπανοῦργος (Arist. *EN* 1127b 27).
- DER βαυκίδες [pl.] 'women's shoes' (Com., Herod.), βαυκίζομαι, -ίζω 'to play the prude, θρύπτεσθαι' (Alex. Com.); βαυκισμός 'a dance' (Poll.). PN Βαῦκος. On ►βαυκαλάω, see s.v.
- ETYM Cf. γλαυκός, σαυκός, and φολκός for the suffix. It is probably a Pre-Greek adjective (but the comparison in Fur.: 325 with ψαυκρός, μαυκυρός is not evident). It is uncertain whether the gloss 'women's shoes' belongs to this lemma. For Iranian comparanda, see Rundgren *Orientalia Suecana* 6 (1957): 60f.

**βαῦνος** [m.] 'furnace', also = χυτρόπους '(stand for a) pot' (Eratosth., Max. Tyr., etc.). <PG?>

- VAR Cf. βαῦνη· κάμνος ἢ χωνευτήριον 'furnace' (H.).
- ETYM Technical term without etymology. Fur.: 236 compares αῦνος· κάμνος.

**βαυρία** ⇒βύριον, βᾶρις.

**βδάλλω** [v.] 'to milk (cows)' (Pl.). <PG>

- VAR Mostly present (rare aorists βδάλας, βδήλαιο). Also βδέλλω (sch. Theocr. 11, 34) (cf. βδέλλα 'leech').
- DER βδάσις 'suction' (Gal.). Difficult βδαλοί· ραφίδες 'garfish, Belone acus' θαλάσσιαι. καὶ φλέβες κρισώδεις 'varicose veins' (H.) (not a mistake for βελόνη); βελλαι 'id.' (H.), misread for βδαλοί, or a variant of \*βδελλαι?
- ETYM It is deceptive that βδάλλω looks like a zero grade of βδέλλ-(α). The meaning 'leech' and the group βδ- show that it is a Pre-Greek word, as does the geminate -λλ- (perhaps *bdalʷ-*, or *\*bʷalʷ-*). If βδαλοί does belong here, it exhibits the Pre-Greek interchange -λλ/λ-.

**βδέλλιον** [n.] '(aromatic) gum of the oriental wine palm' (Dsc., Plin.). <LW Sem.>

- VAR Also βδέλλα (J.).
- ETYM An Oriental loan; cf. Hebr. *b'dōlah* and Akk. *budulhu*. See Lewy 1895: 45 and Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 84f.

**βδελυρός** [adj.] 'disgusting, loathsome' (Ar.). <PG>

- DER βδελύσσομαι (-ττ-), fut. βδελύξομαι 'feel a loathing' (Hp.), act. -ύσσω, -ύττω (LXX) together with βδελυγμία (Cratin.), etc. Verbal adjective βδελυκτός (βδελύκτροπος from \*βδελυκτο-τροπος A.). PN Βδελυ-κλέων (Ar.), βδελυχρός (Epich.).
- ETYM βδελυρός is mostly explained as formed from βδέ-ω with a suffix -λυ- (as in θῆ-λυ-ς), but this is hardly possible. A verb in -εω does not yield a stem in -ε to which suffixes can be added. Moreover, a suffix -λυ- probably does not exist: θῆλυς seems rather to be built on a λ-stem (DELG, Frisk), and -λυ- was certainly no longer productive (Chantraine 1933: 121). One scholar assumed a suffix -λ- in βδέλλων-τρέμων ἢ βδέων, βδέλεσθαι· κοιλιολυτεῖν (H.; the forms are doubted) and in βδόλος 'stench' (Com. *Adesp.* 781; cf. γαλεόβδολον, s.v. ►γαλέη). However, these forms are just as difficult: there was no stem βδε- to which a suffix could be added. Moreover, the derivation of βδελυρός from βδέω is not clear semantically (in H., forms are often explained with μισέω): it is easy to understand that the verb was later

influenced by the meaning of βδελυρός. Therefore, the word cannot be explained as an inner-Greek formation. An analysis as βδελ-υρ- then seems more probable, both components of which are probably Pre-Greek: βδ- and the suffix -υρ- (see *Pre-Greek*).

**βδέω** [v.] 'to break wind, fart' (com.). <IE \*pesd- 'break wind (smoothly)'>

- VAR Aor. βδέσαι (AP) and βδεῦσαι (Hierocl.).
- DER βδ-ύλλω 'break wind (for fear)' (Ar.) and βδέννυμαι· ἐκκενοῦμαι τὴν κοιλίαν 'empty the intestines' Suid. (βδένεσθαι H., correct? Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 97f.) Cf. βδόλος, ►βδελυρός and ►βδελύσσομαι.
- ETYM βδέω goes back to an old PIE verb \*pesd- reflected in e.g. Ru. *bzdet'*, Lith. *bezdi, bezdėti*, Lat. *pēdō* < \*pezdō. Thus, βδέω itself must come from \*βzdéω; see Schwyzler: 326 add. 5. Cf. also ►πέρδομαι.

**βέβαιος** [adj.] 'firm, steady' (Parm., IA). <GR>

- DER βεβαιότης [f.] 'stability' (Pl.), denominative βεβαιόω 'establish' (IA).
- ETYM Generally connected with βῆναι, though the formation is unclear; it is hardly from \*βεβα-υσ-ιος, as per Wackernagel 1916: 113' (cf. \*φιδ-υσ-ιος > ιδυιος).

**βέβηλος** [adj.] 'allowed to be trodden, profane, permitted' (trag.). <GR>

- DIAL Dor. βέβαλος, Cyrene βάβαλος.
- ETYM Like βέβαιος, the word is connected with the perfect βέβη-κα, but the formation is not quite clear. Cyren. βάβαλος is also problematic; cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 235.

**βεβράδα** ⇒βαμβραδών.

**βέβροξ** [adj.] · αγαθός, χρηστός, καλός 'good, useful/good, beautiful' (H.). <PG?>

- ETYM Acc. to Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 3 (1953): 197f., it is a foreign word, related to Lat. *for(c)tis*, etc. (?). For the ending, cf. βίρροξ s.v. ►βίρρος. The word is probably Pre-Greek. See ►βεβρός, ►βροκός.

**βεβρός** [adj.] 'stupid' (Hippon. 40 Masson). ψυχρός, τετυφωμένος 'cold/stupid, stupid' (H.). <PG(V)>

- VAR Also βειμβρός· τετυφωμένος, πάρετος 'stupid, relaxed' (H.).
- ETYM We may compare βέβροξ, with the semantic development 'good' > 'too good, stupid'. See Masson ad loc. The prenasalized form indicates Pre-Greek origin.

**βειέλοπες** [pl. m./f.] · ἱμάντες οἷς ἀναδοῦσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς νικηφόρους 'leather straps with which the Lacedaimonians honored victorious men' (H.). <PG?>

- VAR The notation -ει- or -ι- was discussed in antiquity, *An. Ox.* 2, 289; Bourguet 1927: 97<sup>3</sup>.
- ETYM Neither Solmsen 1901: 255 (\*φιελ- to γίς [= ρίς]· ἱμάς, Lat. *viēō* 'bind, plait') nor Kalén *GHA* 26:2 (1920): 105ff. (\*φεισελ-ελοπες to Skt. *veṣṭate* 'wrap round' and \*ἔλοφος 'tie, strap'; cf. ►ἀργέλοφοι offer a persuasive hypothesis. The word is probably non-IE, and must be analyzed as β(ε)ελ-οπ- with the frequent Pre-Greek suffix -οπ- (καλαῦροψ).

**βεικάδες** · δέρματα θρεμμάτων νόσω θανόντων, Λάκωνες 'skins of animals perished from disease (Lacon.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**βείομαι** ⇒ βίος.

**βέκος** [m.] 'bread' (Hdt. 2,2). <IE? \*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>g- 'bake'.>

•ETYM Identified as Phrygian by Herodotus, which is to be confirmed by its occurrence in Phrygian inscriptions. Hipponax (fr. 125 Masson) seems to identify it as Cyprian (which may have borrowed it from Phrygian as well); see O. Masson 1961: 167f. and Solmsen KZ 34 (1897): 70. Fur.: 297 compares βέσκεροι ἄρτοι ὑπο Λακώνων (H.): "eine altes vorgriechisches Restwort, das sich in drei entlegenen Gebieten (Zentral-Kleinasien, Kypros, Peloponnesos) behauptet hat."

**βέλα** · ἥλιος 'sun'. •ETYM See ► εἴλη 1.

**βέλεκκος** [m.] · ὄσπριόν τι ἐμπερὲς λαθύρω μέγεθος ἐρεβίνθου ἔχον 'pulse resembling a caper spurge (*Euphorbia Lathyris*) having the size of a chick-pea' (H.); also in Ar. fr. 755. <PG?>

•VAR Ms. -υς.

•ETYM Fur.: 150f compares ► πέλεκυς, πέλεκκον, -ος, just as Kretschmer 1896: 106f. before him.

**βέλεμνα** ⇒ βάλλω.

**βέλλιον** [adj.] · ἀτυχές, Κρήτες 'unfortunate (Cret.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Fur.: 389 compares γελσόν· ἀτυχές (H.).

**βελλούνης** [adj.] · τριόρχης. Λάκωνες 'buzzard (Lacon.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM As a hypothesis, Grošelj Živa Ant. 4 (1954): 166 connects φαλλός, Lat. *Balliō*. For the formation, cf. ► ἐριούνης.

**βελόνη** [f.] 'needle' (Arist.). <?>

•DER Diminutive βελονίς (Hermipp.); both also as fish names, see Strömberg 1943: 36f.

•ETYM Cf. περόνη, etc., on which see Chantraine 1933: 207. Connection with βάλλω is not semantically evident. Fick 1874-1876(1): 404 therefore connected the word with Lith. *geliù*, *géliti* 'sting'. Is β- for δ- Aeolic?

**βέλτερος** [adj.] 'better, the best' (Il.). <IE? \*bel- 'strong'.>

•VAR βελτίων (post-Hom.); superlative βέλτατος (A.), βέλτιστος (Att.).

•DIAL Dor. (Theoc.) βέντιστος (λτ > ντ).

•DER From βελτίων: βελτιώω (Ph.). On ► ἀβέλτερος, see s.v.

•ETYM Mostly connected with Skt. *bála-* [n.] 'force', Lat. *dē-bilis* 'without power', OCS *boljii* 'bigger', etc. But the formation is unclear, most notably the -τ-. Seiler 1950: 91ff. assumes \*βελτός 'desired' > 'better' (it is hardly related to βούλομαι because of the β-, but cf. Cret. δέλτον· ἀγαθόν [Phot.]). On *bála-*, etc., see the discussion in Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 215.

**βέμβιξ**, -ῖκος ⇒ βόμβος.

**βεμβράς**, -άδος ⇒ βαμβραδών.

**βένετος** [adj.] 'blue', in the circus (Lyd.). <LW Lat.>

•DER βενετιανός 'partisan of the Blues' (M. Ant. 1,5).

•ETYM From Lat. *venetus*; see E-M s.v. and André 1949: 181f.

**βένθος** ⇒ βαθύς.

**βερβέριον** [n.] 'kind of headdress' (Anacr. 21, 3; LSJ Supp.). <?>

•ETYM The word has been compared with βερρόν and βειρόν· δασύ. Older suggestions which assumed the meaning 'shabby garment' must now be abandoned.

**βεργαῖος** [adj.] 'romantic, invented' (Alex. P. Oxy. 1801, Str. 2, 3, 5). <GR>

•ETYM Alexander (DELG; LSJ: Antiphanes) of Berga in Thrace was famous for his 'tall tales'.

**βέρεθρον** ⇒ βάραθρον.

**βερνίκιον** a plant (H.); 'nitre' of good quality (Gal.). <GR>

•DER βερνικάριον νίτρον (Orib.); βερνικίδες 'women's shoes' (H.).

•ETYM The word derives from the name of queen Berenike.

**βερύκοκκον** [n.] 'apricot' (Gp.). <LW? Lat.?>

•VAR βερικόκκιον.

•ETYM DELG mentions that Latin has the word *praecoquum* 'precocious' (perhaps it was considered a precocious variant of the peach), which was transcribed in Greek as πραικόκκιον (not in LSJ); note Gr. ► κόκκος 'grain of fruit'. However, it is unclear how this could have yielded βερύκοκκον. Through Arab. *albarqūq* and Catal. *a(l)bercoc*, the word reached French as *apricot*.

**βέρκιος** · ἔλαφος ὑπὸ Λακώνων 'deer (Lacon.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. See Bourguet 1927: 63<sup>4</sup>.

**βερκνίς** [m./f.]? · ἀκρίς 'locust' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Evidently cognate with ► βροῦκος, etc. Fur.: 129<sup>50</sup> considers it a different word, but a suffix -n- (without a preceding vowel) is typical for Pre-Greek (see *Pre-Greek*).

**βερνώμεθα** [v.] · κληρωσώμεθα. Λάκωνες 'we shall appoint (Lacon.)' (H.). <?>

•VAR Cf. βερρέαι· κληρώσαι H., which may be corrupt.

•ETYM Kretschmer KZ 35 (1899): 605 and Fraenkel *Glotta* 2 (1910): 37 connect the word with μέρος, μείρομαι with dissimilation from μερ-ν-. von Blumenthal *Glotta* 18 (1930): 153f. argues for Illyrian origin (cf. φερνή).

**βερρός** ⇒ βίρροξ.

**βέσκεροι** ⇒ βέκος.

**βεττονική** [f.] 'Paul's betony, *Sideritis purpurea*' (Paul. Aeg.). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM From Lat. *uettonica*, *betonica*; see André 1956.

**βεῦδος** [n.] 'rich woman's dress' (Sapph.); = ἄγαλμα at Hermione (EM 195, 52). <LW Phryg>

•ETYM See Pfeiffer 1949-1953 on Call. fr. 7, 11. βεῦδος is borrowed from Phrygian *beudos*, the statue of a goddess, which itself derives from PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>eud<sup>h</sup>-os-* (Lubotsky JIES 36 (2008): 96-98). The comparison with -γαύδης by Fur.: 116 is improbable.

**βῆκα** [f.]? · ἀναδενδράς 'vine that grows up trees' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Fur.: 212, etc. compares ἀμαξίς· γένος σταφυλῆς ἀπὸ ἀναδενδράδος (H.); this is possible, but doubtful (on p. 393, he even adduces a Georgian word).

**βήλα** = οἶνος. ⇒πιηλός.

**βήλημα** · κώλυμα, φράγμα ἐν ποταμῷ. Λάκωνες 'an obstacle, fence in a river (Lacon.)' (H.).

•ETYM Related to Messen. ἤλημα. The word is from \*φέλ-νιμα; see ►εἶλω and ►ἄλης.

**βηλός** •VAR βῆμα. ⇒βαίνω.

**βήξ** [m., f.] 'coughing' (Th.). <PG?>

•VAR Gen. βηχός, also βηκός, see Schulze 1933a: 703.

•DER Diminutive βηχίον, also a plant 'colt's-foot' (*Hustenkraut*), *Tussilago farfara*, as a medicine against coughing (Lehmann KZ 41, 94, Strömberg 1940: 85f.). Denominative βήσσω, βήξω, ἔβηξα.

•ETYM The root noun βήξ denotes the illness as an agent. Fur.: 128 notes βήκιον and πήχιον as variants and concludes that it is Pre-Greek. Ultimately, the word might be of onomatopoeic origin (but certainly not IE, pace Pisani *Arch. glott. ital.* 53 (1968): 63f.).

**βηρίχαλκον** [n.] · τὸ μάρανθον, Λάκωνες H., perhaps to be corrected in μάραθρον 'fennel' (DELG). <?>

•ETYM Cf. ἀνθρυσκα· ἄγρια λάχανα παραπλήσια ἀνήθοις, οἷα καὶ τὰ μάρανθα 'wild herbs close to dill, like the μ.' (AB 404, 23). See Hesselman 1932: 94. To be read as βηρι- (Bechtel 1921, 2: 373).

**βήρυλλος** [f.] a precious stone, 'beryl' (LXX). <LW India>

•VAR βηρύλλιον 'id.' (LXX).

•DER βηρύλλιος a plant (Ps.-Dsc.); βηρυλλίτης (λίθος, *Cat. Cod. Astr.*).

•ETYM The stone came from India in Hellenistic times; the name was Prakr. *veruliya* < *veluriya* (Sanskritized *vaidūrya*). The word is Dravidian, perhaps derived from *Vēlūr*, present-day *Bēlūr*, a town in southern India; see Master BSOAS 11 (1943): 304ff. βήρυλλος is a back-formation from βηρύλλιον; see Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 215<sup>6</sup>.

**βήσαλον** 'brick' (Moses Alch.). <?>

•VAR Cf. βίσσαλον (Alex. Trall.).

•ETYM Unknown. The word is no doubt non-IE.

**βῆσσα** [f.] 'wooded combe, glen' (Il.). <PG?>

•DIAL Dor. βᾶσσα

•DER βησσίεις (Hes.).

•ETYM On the assumption that ►βαθός reflects a zero grade (*\*h<sub>2</sub>*), βῆσσα has been connected with it as an *e*-grade root variant, i.e. *\*bāθ-ia*; this would imply, however, that βένθος, certainly related to βαθός, is secondary. I would rather take βένθος and βαθός as reflecting old *en* ~ *n* ablaut, so that βῆσσα cannot be connected. Alternatively, βῆσσα was thought to be cognate with Av. *vī-gāθ-* [f.] 'ravine', Skt. *gāhate* 'plunge' (or *gāhā-*), OIr. *báidim* 'sink into the water' (LIV<sup>2</sup> *\*g<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>d<sup>h</sup>-*). Any relation with ►βυθός can be excluded, but Fur.: 330 refers to the gloss βρῆσαι· βῆσαι (H.) and opts for Pre-Greek origin (Βρῆσσα is a town and a promontory in Lesbos; see Fick 1905: 63).

**βῆτα** ⇒ἄλφα.

**βητάρμων** [m.] 'dancer' (θ 250, 383, Man.); ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡρμοσμένως βαίνειν 'to walk fitly' (H.). <GR?>

•DER Secondary βηταρμός 'dance' (A. R. 1, 1135).

•ETYM Usually connected with ►ἀραρίσκω, etc., though there is no other compound in -αρμων governing the first member (as in πολυ-κτῆμων; see Sommer 1948: 12<sup>2</sup>, 117). The first member seems to be derived from βῆναι, but there is no clear solution. Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 35 assumes haplology from *\*βηματ-άρμων*, which seems possible; Brugmann *Sächs. Ber.* 51 (1899): 199' starts from *\*βητος*, *\*βητη* or (with dissimilation) *\*βῆτρον* = Skt. *gātram* 'limb'. Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 198 assumes βη-τ- (nom. *\*βῆς*), like δω-τ- (nom. *δῶς*). Cf. also Bechtel 1914: 81f.; Knecht 1946: 34; Schwyzer: 442.

**βία** [f.] 'strength, force' (Il.). <IE *\*g<sup>w</sup>ei-* 'conquer, force'>

•DIAL Ion. βίη.

•COMP ὑπέρβιος (Il.), ἀντίβιος (Il.), etc.

•DER βίαιος 'violent' (Od.); βιατᾶς [m.] 'strong' (Alcm.). Denominative verb βιάομαι, βιάω (Il.), βιάζομαι, βιάζω (Il.). βιασιμός (Eup.), βιαστήρ (Gorg.) 'violent man', βιαστικός 'using violence' (Pl.). On ►βινέω, see s.v.

•ETYM Presumably, a derivative of the verbal too *\*g<sup>w</sup>ei-*, reflected in Skt. *jáyati* 'conquer'. Conversely, a connection with Skt. *j(i)yā-* 'robbery' (?) can be excluded, since its direct cognate Av. *ziia-* points to *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>-* instead (Mayrhofer *EWAlia* 1: 574).

**βιβάζω** ⇒βαίνω.

**βίβλος** ⇒βύβλος.

**βιβρώσκω** [v.] 'to devour' (originally non-presentic; for the late present see below).

<IE *\*g<sup>w</sup>erh<sub>3</sub>-* 'devour'>

•VAR Perf. βέβρωκα (Il.), βεβρώθεις Δ 35 (see Chantraine 1942: 429), βεβρώσεται (Od.), βέβρωμαι (A.), aor. ἔβρων (*h. Ap.* 122), pass. ἐβρώθην (Hdt.). Other forms are late: βρώζω (Herod.), fut. βρώσομαι (Hell.), βιβρώσκω (Babr.), ἀναβρώσκων (H.), ἔβρωσα, -ξα (Hell.). Desiderative βρωσείω 'desire to eat' (Call.).

•COMP ὠμο-βρώς, -τος 'eating raw meat' (E.), δημο- 'devouring his people', θυμο-βόρος (Il.), cf. Lat. *carni-vorus*, Skt. *aja-garā-* 'devouring goats', Av. *aspō.gara-* 'eating horses'.

•DER Action nouns: βρωτός (Il.) and βρώσις (Il.) 'food' (Chantraine BSL 59 (1964): 11-22); also βρώμη (Od.), βρώμα (IA); βρωτόν (E.); βρώσιμος 'eatable' (A.). Agent nouns: βρωτήρ (A.), as 'moth' also βρωστήρ (Aq.). βορά 'food (of a predator)' (possibly cognate to the \**g<sup>w</sup>oreh<sub>2</sub>-* that seems to be set forth by Lat. *vorāre*). On ►βούβρωστις, see s.v.

•ETYM Derived from IE \**g<sup>w</sup>erh<sub>3</sub>-*, which formed a root aorist (which fits the semantics; ἐσθίω is to a certain extent used as the corresponding present). The zero grade is found in the verbal adj. βρωτός, which agrees morphologically with Lith. *girtas* 'drunk' and Skt. *gīrhā-* 'devoured'. Greek generalized this zero grade βρω-, further regular in the plural of the aorist and perfect, as in e.g. ἔβρω [2sg.aor.]. The aor. is found in Arm. *eker* [3sg.] (\**h<sub>1</sub>e-g<sup>w</sup>erh<sub>3</sub>-et*) from the pres. *utem* and in the Skt. aor. *garat*, *gārit*. Sanskrit has a perfect *jagāra* for \**g<sup>w</sup>e-g<sup>w</sup>orh<sub>3</sub>-e* and a present *girāti* < \**g<sup>w</sup>rh<sub>3</sub>-e/o-*; the latter agrees with OCS *žvŕŕ* 'devour'. Lat. *vorāre* may be denominative. ►βάραθρον is not related. Cf. ►δέρη.

**βίδην** · εἶδος, κροῦμα, Σοφοκλῆς Ἀκριδίῳ "ὥς ἐπιψάλλειν βίδην τε καὶ ξυναυλίαν". ἄλλοι βίδουν (H.) <PG(V)>

•VAR Also βυδοί· οἱ μουσικοί, ἢ κροῦμάτι. σοφῶς Κρησίῳ (H.). Also ψαλεῖ βίδουν LSJ Supp.

•ETYM A musical term, the details of which are unknown; even the case form of the lemmas is unclear. Fur.: 194 correctly concludes that the word is Pre-Greek (variation ι/υ). Kathakis-Karamanos *Glotta* 83 (1985): 165, considers βίδουν as the original form of the word.

**βιδυ(ι)οι** [m.pl.] 'supervisor', designation of Spartan officials supervising male youths (Laconia, Messenia [II<sup>a</sup>], Paus.). <IE \**ueid-* 'see'>

•VAR Also βιδεοι; Pausanias's βιδαιοι is wrong.

•ETYM Probably from \**fidus-ιοι*, i.e. the zero grade of the perf.ptc. εἰδώς, for which cf. Hom. fem. *φιδυῖα* (see ►οἶδα). Cf. the Mycenaean PN *wi-do-wo-i-jo*. Striano *Glotta* 68 (1990): 40-48, tries to explain the two notations βιδυ(ι)οι, βιδεοι as rendering \**wid-wos-ios*. Further comparanda are Att. *ιδυ(ι)οι*· συνίστορες, μάρτυρες 'witnesses' (Solon *apud* Ar. fr. 222), and *ιδυῖοι*· ... οἱ τὰς φονικὰς δίκας κρίνοντες 'they who judge in cases of murder' (H.). The form with -ε- is not well explained; see Bechtel 1921, 2: 355ff. On βι-/βει- cf. Bourguet 1927: 97<sup>3</sup>. A parallel formation was considered for ►βέβαιος, but this is hardly correct.

**βιζακίων** [gen.pl.] · μικρῶν λίθων 'small stones' (Suid.). <LW Sem.?, PG?(S)>

•ETYM Lewy KZ 59 (1932): 190 compares Aram. *bizqā*, *biz'qā*, etc. 'broken piece, small stone'. However, -ακ- could also represent the Pre-Greek suffix.

**βικία** [f.] 'vetch', *vicia sativa* (Gal.) <LW Lat.>

•VAR βικίον [n.].

•ETYM From Latin *vicia*.

**βίκος** [m.] 'vase with handles', also a measure (Hdt.; see Solmsen 1909: 65; also Hippon. fr. 142 Masson). <LW Eg.?, Sem.??>

•DER Diminutive βικίον (pap.), βικίδιον (Suid.).

•ETYM Egyptian origin has been considered: cf. Eg. *b:k.t* 'oil flask, used as a measure' (Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 241). E. Masson 1967: 78ff. considers Semitic origin. Not related to Lat. *fiscus*, as per Fur.: 294, nor to ►βαυκάλιον.

**βίλλος** · τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μῶριον τὸ κοινῶς βιλλίν 'the lot of a man, commonly βιλλίν' (Hdn. I, 158). <PG>

•VAR Also βιλλᾶς (ib.).

•DER PN Βίλλος, -αρος (L. Robert 1963: 16-22).

•ETYM Fur.: 325 compares ἀβίλλιον· ἀνδρεῖον (H.). The prothetic vowel may point to Pre-Greek origin, which is expected anyway. βιλλίν is Ephesian if the form is a nom.; cf. the Pre-Greek words in -ν (see *Pre-Greek*).

**βίμβλις** = βύβλος.

**βίνέω** [v.] 'coire, futuere' (Ar.), also τὸ βίᾳ μίγνυσθαι 'to have intercourse by force' (Sol. *apud* H.). <?>

•VAR βενέω (Olympia V<sup>a</sup>), impf. βινεσκόμην, fut. βινήσω.

•DER Desiderative βινητιάω (Ar.), as if from \*βινητής; cf. ὠνητιάω : [ὠνητής:] ὠνέομαι.

•ETYM βίνέω is a vulgar word that is often connected with βία 'force', but the association with 'force' may be secondary. It has also been compared with ζάει· βινεῖ (H.), but it is unclear how these words should be related. Skt. *jināti* 'overpower, suppress' cannot be related in view of Av. *zināiti*, which proves \**ǵ-* (instead of \**ǵ<sup>w</sup>-*); nor can we connect δίνέω, as the meaning is too far off (pace Palmer *Minos* 5 (1957): 62). Basing himself on the variant βενέω, De Lamberterie (*CEG* 1) proposes a connection with \**ǵ<sup>w</sup>en-* 'woman', with ī from κινέω; in that case, however, we would expect \*δεν-. See ►μνάομαι.

**βίος** = βίω-.

**βιός** [m.] 'bow', also 'bowstring' (Il.), see Trümper 1950: 66f. <IE \**ǵ<sup>w</sup>ieh<sub>2</sub>-* 'string'>

•VAR Rare after Homer, replaced by τόξον.

•ETYM Related to Skt. *jyā-*, Av. *jiiā-* 'bowstring'. Schindler 1972: 20 assumes a root noun \**ǵ<sup>w</sup>ieh<sub>2</sub>-*, and derives the Greek word from \**ǵ<sup>w</sup>ih<sub>2</sub>-o-* 'provided with a bowstring'; this, however, depends on whether the meaning 'bowstring' is found in Greek. Schwyzler 1950: 32<sup>4</sup> starts from an original fem. *o*-stem, which is rather doubtful. The word is probably further related to Lith. *gijà* 'thread', OCS *ži-ca* 'string'; yet note the slightly different root \**ǵ<sup>w</sup>ih<sub>2</sub>-* 'string, sinew, etc.' in Lat. *filum* 'thread', etc.

**βίρρη** · πυράγρα, οἱ δὲ δρέπανον 'pair of fire-tongs; pruning-knife' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Fur.: 232, 251 compares Svan *berež* 'iron'; Akk. *parzillu*, Hebr. *barzel*, Ugar. *brsl*, South Arabic *przn* 'id.'; furthermore, OE *bræs*, OFris. *bras*(*penning*), Basque *burdin* (cf. Dussaud 1953: 162). Is the word from Asia Minor?



**βίρρος** [m.] 'kind of cloak' (Artem.). <EUR?>

•VAR βίρροξ· δασύ, Μακεδόνες 'dense (Maced.)' (H.); βερρόν, βειρόν· δασύ (H.); βίρρωθῆναι· ταπεινωθῆναι 'be reduced' (H.).

•ETYM Cf. Lat. *birrus* 'id.'; was the word originally Celtic? Cf. MĪr. *berr*, W *byrr* 'short'. See Friedmann 1937: 92. Is it a European substrate word?

**βίσβη** [f.] βίσβης (-v?)· δρέπανον λέγουσι Μεσάπιοι· καὶ ἐορτὴν Βισβαία, ἣν ἡμεῖς κλαδευτήρια 'pruning-knife [Messap.]; the festival Βισβαία, a festival at pruning-time' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. Messapian?

**βίσταξ** ὁ β' <μετά> βασιλέα παρὰ Πέρσας 'the second after the king (Pers.)' (H.). <LW Pers.>

•ETYM Certainly a mistake for \*βίταξ, a borrowing from a Persian word for 'viceroys', known from MP as *bidaxš*. The Persian word is discussed by Szemerényi *Acta Iranica* 5 (1975): 363ff., but our gloss is not mentioned there, and the article does not bring us much further. Nyberg *Eranos* 44 (1946): 237<sup>2</sup> analyzed the first part as Iran. \**bitiya*- 'second'. Amm. Marc. 23, 614 has it in the form *vitaxa*. Later Greek has βίδαξης, πατιάξης.

**βίσων, -ωνος** [m.] 'European bison' (Paus.). <EUR>

•ETYM Cf. OHG *wisunt*. The Greek form comes from Lat. *bisōn*, and this in turn from Gm. (thus DELG), of which the ultimate origin remains unknown (Kluge<sup>22</sup> s.v. *Wisent*). See Pok. 1134.

**βίτος** [?] 'binding of a wheel' (Ed. Diocl.). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM From Lat. *uitus*.

**βίττακος** = ψίττακος.

**βίω-** [v.] 'to live' (Il.). <IE \**g<sup>w</sup>eih<sub>3</sub>*- 'live' (or \**g<sup>w</sup>h<sub>3</sub>(e)i-*?)>

•VAR Aor. ἐβίων, βιώναι; s-aor. ἐβίωσα (Hdt.), med. fact. ἐβιώσασα (θ 468); fut. βείομαι, βέομαι (Il.; old subjunctive, cf. ἔδομαι), also βιώσομαι; perf. βεβίωκα. βιόμεσθα (h. Ap. 528 for \*βειομεθα? DELG); pres. βιών (Arist.).

•DER βίος 'way of, means of' life', βιοτή [f.] 'id.' (Od.), βίος [m.] 'id.' (Il.); also Cret. βίετος (see below). βιωτός 'worth living' (Att.), βιώσιμος 'to be lived' (Hdt.). With δ from \**g<sup>w</sup>* Heracl. ἐνδεδιωκότα, if = ἐμβεβιωκότα. In PN Bio-; Βίτων < Bio-.

•ETYM The root ended in a laryngeal, and the zero grade \**g<sup>w</sup>ih<sub>3</sub>*- is seen in Av. *jī-ti*-, OCS *žī-tb*-, as well as in Lat. *vīta*, Osc. *bītam* [acc.]; with a suffix -*uo*-, it appears in Skt. *jīvā*-, OCS *živъ*, Lat. *vīvus*, etc. (all 'alive'), and in the thematic presents derived from this adjective: Lat. *vīvō*, Skt. *jīvati*, OCS *živъ*, ToA *šāw*-, ToB *šāy*- ~ *šāw*- (all 'live'). The forms with short *i* (e.g. Go. *qiwa*-, MW *byw*) may be due to pretonic shortening, i.e. Dybo's Law (Schrijver 1991: 355, 526). Greek does not have forms with long *i*, which is understandable since all forms attested have a vowel after the root: \**g<sup>w</sup>ih<sub>3</sub>-o* > βίος, \**g<sup>w</sup>ih<sub>3</sub>-eto* > βίος. (For the formation, cf. ▶ θάνατος; for the most recent discussion on this, see Vine 1998.) Cret. βίετος will have restored the suffix -ετος. One noteworthy form is ▶ ὑγιής, which must derive from \**h<sub>2</sub>iu-g<sup>w</sup>ih<sub>3</sub>-ēs*, with

analogically restored vocalism of the ending. The aorist ἐβίων has been reconstructed by Francis 1970: 76ff. with the suffix -*eh<sub>1</sub>*-, seen in the Greek "passive" aorist (e.g. ἐμάνην); thus, \**g<sup>w</sup>ih<sub>3</sub>-eh<sub>1</sub>*- yielded βίω-. A full grade I \**g<sup>w</sup>eih<sub>3</sub>*- (probably old; cf. Klein 1988: 272) must be assumed for βέ(ι)ομαι. The same full grade is seen in Skt. *gāya*-, Av. *gaiia*- 'life' < \**g<sup>w</sup>e/oih<sub>3</sub>-o*- and in ORu. *gojb* 'peace'. A full grade II \**g<sup>w</sup>ieh<sub>3</sub>*- is seen in Av. *jiiā-tu*- 'life' (Skt. \**jyā-tu*- in *jīvātu*-, which must have been reshaped after *jīvati*); Gr. ζῶφος is probably from this root form (rather than from the zero grade of the root, as per Klein (l.c.): 257ff.). Since this root form seems to be found in Gr. ζώ-ω, ζῆ-ν as well (see ▶ ζῶω), Schwebeablaut cannot be avoided (pace Anttila 1969: 137). Arm. *kea-m* 'I live' (see LIV<sup>2</sup>) is difficult to judge. On the basis of BSL. accentual reflexes, Kortlandt reconstructs \**g<sup>w</sup>h<sub>3</sub>(e)i*- (e.g. Kortlandt 1992: 237<sup>4</sup>); for Greek, one would have to assume laryngeal metathesis \**g<sup>w</sup>h<sub>3</sub>i*- > \**g<sup>w</sup>ih<sub>3</sub>*- (in pre-consonantal position).

**βλάβη** [f.] 'damage' (A.). <PG>

•VAR βλάβος [n.].

•DIAL Cretan ἀβλοπές· ἀβλαβές H., ἀβλοπία = ἀβλάβεια, καταβλάπεθαι = -εσθαι (inscr.).

•COMP ἀβλαβής.

•DER βλαβερός 'damaging' (Hes.), formed to ἀβλαβής like κρατερός to ἀκρατής (Schwyzer 482). Verb βλάπτω, βλάψαι, ἐβλάβην, originally 'to hinder, disable' (Il.), also without suffix βλάβεται (T 82, 166 = v 34), probably old (Chantraine 1942: 311). βλάβψις (Pl.).

•ETYM On the basis of the Cretan forms, βλαβ- is mostly considered to have resulted from βλαπ- by assimilation. With βλαπ- as the original form, it is connected with Skt. *māc*- f., *marká*- m. 'damage', Av. *mərəṇcaitē* 'destroys', which require a reconstruction \**mr/lk<sup>w</sup>*-. However, the development to -λο- (which is Arc-Cypr., Myc.) is not found in Cretan (although one might consider an Achaeon substrate on Crete). On the other hand, the interchanges α ~ ο and β ~ π are typical for Pre-Greek; Fur. 144 compares ἀβλαβία - ἀβλοπία with ἀραβῆσαι, Cret. ἀροπήσαι. A connection with Lat. *mulceō* 'stroke, caress', *mulcō* is doubtful because of the velar and the meaning; see WH s.v. Puhvel *HED* suggested a connection with Hitt. *gullakuwan*, but this means 'scheusslich' (Tischler 1983ff. s.v.). Cf. ▶ βλάσφημος.

**βλαγίς** [?]· κηλῖς. Λάκωνες 'stain (Lacon.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. von Blumenthal 1930: 23f., suggests connecting the word with βλαίς<?> βλητή. Λάκωνες 'stuck (Laconian)' (H.).

**βλαδεῖς** [adj.]· ἀδύνατοι ἐξ ἀδυνάτων 'powerless'; βλαδαρόν· ἐκκελυμένον, χαῦνον 'flaccid, porous' and βλαδαρά· ἄωρα, μωρά, ὠμά 'untimely, sluggish' and βλάδαν [?]. νωθρῶς 'slothful', and βλαδόν· ἀδύνατον 'powerless' (H.). <IE? \**mld-u*->

•VAR These words are sometimes identified with βλαδύς Hp. *Aēr*. 20; perhaps βλαδαρός 'bottle' Gal. 19, 88 is related, too.

•ETYM In spite of the variation, mostly only βλαδύς is cited, although the appurtenance of that form is actually doubtful. On that basis, the word is often equated with Skt. *mṛdú*-, Lat. *mollis* < \**moldui*- 'soft', and further connected with



► ἀμαλδύνω. Evidently, the latter connection is impossible in IE terms because of the prothetic vowel; Arm. *melk* 'weak, soft' shows that this group had no initial laryngeal. Rather, I would take the variation in the suffix and that in the initial (presence vs. absence of a prothetic vowel) as indications of substrate origin, although this cannot be proven independently.

**βλαί** [?] · βληγή [corr. for βλητη], Λάκωνες 'bleating (Lacon.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown; see ► βλαγίς.

**βλαισός** [adj.] 'bent, distorted' (Hp.). <PG(V)>

•VAR πλαισός (Phot.).

•DER βλαισώδης, βλαισότης, βλαισόμαι, βλαίσωσις (all Arist.).

•ETYM Formation as in γαυσός, γαμψός, λοξός (Chantraine 1933: 434). Lat. *blaesus* 'lisp, stammering' may eventually be borrowed from Greek? Pre-Greek origin is probable in view of the variation β ~ π.

**βλάξ, -κός** [m., f.] 'indolent, stolid, stupid' (Ar.), from 'weak'? Also a fish (Erot.), Strömberg 1943: 33f. <IE? \**mlh<sub>2</sub>(e)k-* 'weak'>

•DER βλακικός, βλακώδης 'id.'; βλακίας 'ichthys poios' 'a kind of fish' (H.). Denominative βλακεύω [v.] 'to be slack', whence βλακεία, βλακεύμα.

•ETYM The word cannot be of IA origin. If it is related to μαλακός, one might posit \**mlh<sub>2</sub>-k-* (which would explain the long ā) next to \**mlh<sub>2</sub>-ek-*. Without the suffix -k-, Skt. *mlā-tā-* 'soft' and OIr. *mláith* 'tender, soft' (< \**mlā-ti-*) may be related, but Lat. *flaccus* should be left out. Perhaps Ru. *molčát* 'be silent', which may go back to \**mlh<sub>2</sub>-k-*, is related, too. ► βληχρός is also possibly related (but not ► μύλη, nor ► ἀμαλδύνω, both of which are outdated comparisons). See ► μαλακός.

**βλάπτω** = βλάβη.

**βλαστάνω** [v.] 'to bud, sprout, grow' (A.). <?>

•VAR Aor. βλαστειν, intr. fut. βλαστήσω (Thphr.), trans. aor. ἐβλάστησα (Emp.), perf. βεβλάστηκα (Hp.), ἐβλάστηκα (E.); recent formations βλαστέω, βλαστάω.

•DER βλάστημα 'offshoot' (A.), βλαστικός (Thphr.); deverbally βλαστός 'id.' (Hdt.), βλάστη 'origin' (S.), whence βλαστέω (Thphr.).

•ETYM The aorist βλαστειν is the basis of all the forms. Its analysis is uncertain; perhaps \*βλαθ-τειν (or βλαδ-, βλατ-). Connection with ► βλωθρός 'tall' is impossible if the words are IE (an ablaut \**ml<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>-*, \**mlōd<sup>h</sup>-* is impossible in an adjective); the same holds true for ► μολεύω 'cut off (and transplant) the shoots of trees' (cf. further ► βλώσκω). From other languages, OHG *blat* (etc.) 'leaf' is often proposed as a comparandum.

**βλασφημέω** [v.] 'to speak profanely, slander' (Arist.). <?>

•DER βλασφημία (Democr.); βλάσφημος 'evil-speaking' is rare and late (D.).

•ETYM βλασφημέω and βλασφημία seem to be older than βλάσφημος, which is reminiscent of ἀνδραγαθία (from ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός), etc. The second element seems to be φήμη, the first is uncertain (βλάβος, μέλεος, etc.). Cf. the synonymous ► κερτομέω, ► λοιδορέω, which have no etymology. On MoGr. βλαστημῶ, see CEG 5.

**βλάττα** [f.] 'purple' (Ed. Diocl.). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM From Lat. *blatta*, which is itself of unclear origin.

**βλαττοῖ** [v.] · παιδαριεύεται 'behaves childishly' (H.). <ONOM>

•ETYM Latte ad loc. compares Lat. *blatiō*, *blaterō* 'babble, chatter'. The word is an onomatopoeic formation; cf. ► βαβάζω.

**βλαύτη** [f.] 'slipper' (Com.). <PG(V)>

•VAR βλαῦδες· ἐμβάδες, κρηπίδες, σανδάλια 'slippers, boots, sandals' (H.).

•DER Verb βλαυτοῦν· ὑποδέειν. ἢ πλήσσειν σανδαλίω, οἱ δὲ ὑποδήματι 'to put on shoes, or: strike with a sandal, or with a shoe' (H.) (from Men.).

•ETYM Although it is often assumed reshaping that βλαῦδες results from analogical reshaping of βλαῦται after ἐμβάδες, it is preferable to explain the variation τ ~ δ as Pre-Greek.

**βλεῖ** = βλέττες.

**βλεμεαίνω** [v.] 'to boast' (Il.; σθένει βλεμεαίνων, -νει Θ 337, etc.). <?>

•VAR ἀβλεμές· ἀσθενές, φαῦλον 'weak' and ἀβλεμής· ἀτολμος, ἀτερπής, παρεμμένος 'without courage, without joy, slack'.

•DER ἀβλεμής 'powerless' (Nic.); unclear -έως πίνων 'immoderately' (?; Panyas.).

•ETYM Formation like μενεαίνω. Thus, the word is probably from \*βλέμος in ἀβλεμής (cf. μενεαίνω to μένος). No etymology.

**βλέννᾱ** [f.] 'mucous discharge, mύξα' (Hp.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also βλέννος [n.] (Arist.); πλένναι· μύξαι H.; βλένα· μύξα. οἱ δὲ δία τοῦ π πλένα καὶ πλέννα τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ δυσκίνητα H.; πλεννεαί = μυξώδεις (Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 131). πληνώδης· ἀσθενής (H.) is perhaps to be read πλεν(ν)-, Fur.: 144.

•DER βλεννώδης 'slimy, mucous' (Hp.). Also βλεν(ν)ός 'id., idiot' (Epich.), and (with regular retraction of the accent) βλέννος [m.] a fish (Sophr., H. as an explanation of σιαλῖς, see Strömberg 1943: 29, Grilli *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 33 (1961): 201f.

•ETYM On the assumption that βλέννος goes back to \*μλεδ-σ-νος (Lejeune 1972: 124), it was often connected with Skt. *úrṇa-mradas-* 'soft as wool' (would be Gr. \*-βλεδής), *mṛdú-* 'soft', and MIr. *blind* 'slime from the mouth of a dead man' (Pok. 718). Justified criticism can be found in DELG, "Pour le sens ces rapprochements ne s'imposent pas." and Frisk, "Der sehr beschränkte Wert dieser Kombinationen liegt indessen auf der Hand." As Fur.: 144 points out, the variations π ~ β, νν ~ ν prove Pre-Greek origin. If the final -α is short, βλένα cannot be IE, whereas this ending is frequent in Pre-Greek.

**βλέπω** [v.] 'to see, look, perceive' (Solon). <PG?>

•VAR Aor. βλέψαι; other forms (e.g. βέβλεφα, βέβλοφα) are late. Also ποτι-γλέποι [opt.] (Alcm. 23, 75).

•COMP Often with prepositions, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀντι-, ἀπο-. Also παραβλώψ (Il.), κυνοβλώψ (H.).

•DER βλέψις 'sight' (X.); βλεψίας a fish, κεφαλίνοσ (Strömberg 1943: 42); βλέμμα 'glance' (Att.); rare βλέπος 'id.' (Ar.). Expressive deverbative: βλέπάζοντες· βλέποντες and βλεπετίζει· βλέπει H., perhaps for βλεπετίζει, cf. χρεμετίζει.

βλέφαρον 'eyelid' (Il.), mostly plur.; thence βλεφαρίδες [f.pl.] (rarely sg.) 'eye-lashes', also 'eyelids' (Ar., X., Arist.); βλεφαρίτιδες τρίχες 'eye-lashes' (Paul. Aeg.); βλεφαρικός 'of the eyelids' (Cael. Aur.); βλεφαρίζω [v.] 'to blink' (sch.).

•ETYM γλέπω exists beside βλέπω just as γλέφαρον beside βλέφαρον; the variation was taken to suggest a labiovelar \*gʷ- with irregular development (see Schwyzler: 298f.), but rather points to substrate origin. von Blumenthal 1930: 21 points to Macedonian γλέπου = βλέπω. It is possible that the verb and the noun βλέφαρον are unrelated; in that case, the latter word may originally have been \*γλέφαρον and may have influenced the verb. But it seems more probable that they were cognate, with β/γ and π/φ pointing to a Pre-Greek word (Fur.: 389; pace Hamp *Glotta* 72 (1994): 15), although β/γ is rare. Pre-Greek had labiovelars which did not always develop in the same way as their inherited equivalents.

**βλέτυγες** [m./f.]? · φλυαρίαί, οἱ δὲ βλέκυγες 'nonsense, foolery; also β.' (H.). <ONOM, PG?>

•VAR Cf. \*βλαταγίζουσα [conj. for βλασταρίζουσα]· ἐπικροτοῦσα 'rattling, applauding' (H.); also ὑπερβλαττύουσιν (DELG s.v. βλαττοῖ).

•ETYM With βλετ-, βλεκ-, -βλαττ-, βλικ-, we find quite a number of stem variants, perhaps of onomatopoeic origin, otherwise possibly Pre-Greek (cf. Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 7 (1957): 42). See ►βλίκανον.

**βλέτυες** [pl.] · αἱ βδέλλαι 'leeches' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR \*βλίτυξ (ms. βαιτυξ)· βδέλλα H.; the correction by Latte seems evident, but is not mentioned by DELG.

•ETYM Analyzed as a derivation in -τυ- from a stem βλε- (see Frisk s.v.), seen in καταβλέθει and καβλέει· καταπίνει (both) 'gulp down' and βλεῖ· βλίσσει, ἀμέλγει, βλίζει 'collect honey, milk' (H.). Note that βλίζω is further unknown, and that the semantics are incompatible if βλίσσει stands for βλίττω; therefore, DELG s.v. thinks that the gloss may be corrupt. However, since a root βλε- is impossible in IE (the basic shape is \*CeC-), the word must be Pre-Greek, which is confirmed by βλίτυξ (Fur.: 355). For -υς beside -υξ, cf. Fur.: 218 on μῆρυξ. Cf. ►δέλεαρ.

**βλέφαρον** = βλέπω.

**βλήρ** = δέλεαρ.

**βλήραι** [f.] · αἱ κνίδαι· ἄλλοι χόρτον· οἱ δὲ τῶν ὀσπρίων τὴν καλάμην 'nettles; fodder, the stalk of straw of pulse' (H.). <?>

•ETYM The conjecture of Strömberg 1944: 54f. is improbable. Note that the gloss is corrupt (the case forms do not agree); perhaps one should assume a second gloss βλήρ· χόρτον ...?

**βληστρίζω** = βάλλω.

**βλήτρον** [n.] 'bolt, plug' (like in MoGr.); only O 678 ξυστόν κολλητόν βλήτροισι 'a shaft or lance shod with bands'. Scholars in antiquity were uncertain: τῆς ἀμάξης τροχοί· σφῆνες· ἐμβλήματα· οἱ δὲ γόμφοι καὶ συμβολὰς ἀξόνων 'wheels of a wagon; wedges; insertions; bolts and the joins of axles' (H.). <GR?>

•ETYM The connection with βάλλω remains uncertain. The factitive ptc. βλητρώσας 'providing with β.' is explained by Hesychius as ἐμβαλόν.

**βληχή** [f.] 'bleating' (μ 266, A.). <ONOM>

•DIAL Dor. βλᾱχᾱ.

•DER βληχάομαι 'bleat' (Ar.), perhaps not denominative, but an independent intensive like βρυχάομαι, μυκάομαι, etc. (see Schwyzler: 683). βληχηθμός (Ael.; cf. μυκηθμός, etc.), βλήχημα H., βληχάς (Opp., cf. μυκάς, Schwyzler: 508). βληχητά [pl.] 'bleating animals' (Eur., cf. ἐρπετά, etc.). βληχώδης 'bleating' (Babr.). βληχάζω (Autocr.).

•ETYM An onomatopoeic formation with many parallels, e.g. Cz. *blekati*, MLG *bleken*, MoHG *blöken*; and, without the velar, CS *blějati*, Latv. *blēt*, and MHG *blæjen*; with a dental, there are Gm. words like OE *blætan*, OHG *blāzen*; all of which point to original \*ē. Trag. βλᾱχᾱ must be a hyperdoric; note βληχάομαι in Theoc.

**βλήχων** [n.] 'male fern, Aspidium Filix-mas'. <PG(V)>

•VAR Also βλήχρον (Dsc.), βλήχρα H., also βλᾱχων (Phan. Hist), βλᾱχρον (H.).

•ETYM No etymology. See Rohlf 1958: 124, Rohlf *Sprache* 5 (1959): 175<sup>2</sup>, and Rohlf *Glotta* 38 (1959): 103. The variation ρ/v does not derive from an r/n-stem, but points to Pre-Greek origin; see Fur.: 388.

**βληχρός** [adj.] 'weak' (Alc.). <?>

•VAR ἀβληχρός (Il.; s.v.).

•DER βλήχρος a plant, Strömberg 1940: 24.

•ETYM Connected with ►βλᾱξ as Ionic; the -χ- would be expressive (thus Chantraine 1933: 225f.; not via \*μλᾱκ-σ-ρός). Not related to ►μαλάχη, as per Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἀβληχρός. Blanc 1999: 317-38 suggests connection of the root \*gʷelh₁- 'sting' (Pok. 470); the ᾱ- was either lost in βληχρός (which is an insufficient solution), or added later to ἀβληχρός.

**βλήχων, -ωνος** [f.] 'pennyroyal', *Mentha pulegium* (h. Cer.). <PG>

•VAR Ion. γλήχων, Dor. γλᾱχων; also βληχῶ, -ους (Schwyzler 479); βληχός = βλήχων (Thphr., Dsc.).

•DIAL Myc. ka-ra-ko /glākʰōn/, but the reading is doubtful.

•DER βληχωνίας 'prepared with β.' (Ar.); Chantraine 1933: 94f. γληχωνίτης (οἶνος; Dsc.).

•ETYM Unknown. The variation β- ~ γ- could be due to dissimilation (Schwyzler: 299); cf. β-/γλέπω. But since the word has no etymology, and since the stem formation is strange, we are rather dealing with a Pre-Greek word. For a folk-etymological connection with βληχάομαι, see Strömberg 1940: 155.

**βλίζω** = βλέτυες.

βλίκανον ⇒ βλίχας.

βλικάς [m.]/[f.]? · σύκου φύλλον 'leave of a fig' (H.). Also *EM* 201, 41, Choerob., An. Ox. 2, 184, 9. <PG?>

•ETYM Unknown. Most probably a Pre-Greek word.

βλιμάζω [v.] 'to feel, squeeze' (e.g. woman's breasts, Com., Hp.). Also = βλίττω (*EM*). <?>

•COMP Verbal noun βλίμασις· ή τῶν τιτθῶν θλίψις 'squeezing tits' (H.).

•DER Cf. βλιμάξαι· βαστάσαι 'lift up' (Latte thinks that this gloss is corrupt), ἀτιμάσαι 'dishonour' (H.); βλίμη· προπηλακισμός, ὕβρις 'besmearing, offense' (H., *EM*).

•ETYM Unexplained.

βλίτον [n.] 'blite, Amaranthus Blitum' (Hp.). <?>

•DER A few denigrating designations of persons: βλιτάς [f.] 'old woman', βλιτομάμμας mg. uncertain (Ar. *Nub.* 1001; or to μέλι?), βλιτῶνας· τοὺς εὐήθεις 'silly' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. Not related as \*μλ-ιτον to ► μύλη, ► ἀμαλδύνω. LW Lat. *blitum* 'blite', also *bliteus* 'tasteless, foolish' (Plaut.).

βλίττω [v.] 'to cut out the comb of bees' (Arist.). <IE \*meli, -tos 'honey'>

•VAR Analogical βλίζω (H.), aor. βλίσαι.

•DER βλιστηρίς [f.], from \*βλιστήρ; PN Βλιστίχη.

•ETYM From \*μλιτ-ιω, zero grade denominative of μέλι, -ιτος 'honey'.

βλίτυρι 'the sound of the chord of a harp'; hence 'sound without mg.' (S. E.) <ONOM>

•ETYM Probably onomatopoeic.

βλίτυρον· ἐστὶ φυτὸν ἢ φάρμακον ἢ χορδῆς μίμημα 'a plant or drug or an imitation of a gut-string' (*EM* 201, 43). <?>

•ETYM For the last part, see ► βλίτυρι.

βλιχ(αν)ώδης [adj.] 'clammy'; cf. LSJ Supp. <?>

•VAR βλιχώδης (Hp.), βλιχανώδης (Diph.). βλίκανος (which must not be changed to \*βλίχανον)· βάτραχον 'frog' καὶ βλίχαν '?' (H.).

•ETYM Minon *RPh.* 74 (2000): 263f. compares βλαχάν· βάτραχον and Artemis's epithet βλαγανίτις. Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 7 (1957): 42, adduces βεβλιχασμένον (ms. βεβλυχ-)· μεμολυσμένον 'stained' (H.).

βλοσυρός [adj.] uncertain, perhaps 'terrible' (Il.). <?>

•COMP βλοσυρώπις [f.] (Λ 36; on the ι see Schwyzer: 463, Chantraine 1942: 208), -ωπός (AP, D. P.), -ώπεε [du.] (Opp.); βλοσυρόμματος (Cerc.), βλοσυρόφρων (A.).

•ETYM Uncertain. Leumann 1950: 141ff. derives it from βλοσυρ(ός) 'of a vulture', as if it were Aeolic from IE \*g<sup>w</sup>ltur(os), related to Lat. *voltur(us)* 'id'. There is no evidence, however, that the word is IE.

βλύζω [v.] 'to bubble, gush forth' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aor. βλύσαι.

•DER Verbs βλύω (LXX), βλυστάνω (Procop.); βλύσις (AP). Also adj. βλύδιον· ὑγρόν, ζέον 'humid, seething' (H.).

•ETYM Cf. κλύζω, φλύζω; βλύω is probably secondary. Maurice *BSL* 82 (1987): 216f., attempted to connect it with φλύω (οἰνόφλυξ). We may consider onomatopoeic origin. In any case, not related to Skt. *galati* 'drip' or OHG *quellan*.

βλωθρός [adj.] '(grown) high' (of trees; Il.). <PG?>

•VAR γλωθρός (H., see LSJ Supp. and Fur.: 389), a form which is often overlooked.

•ETYM The connection with a word for 'head' (Skt. *mūrdhán-* [m.], OE *molda* [m.] 'upper part of the head, crown') as \*μλωθρός is obsolete. Nor can it be connected to ► μέλαθρον or ► βλαστάνω, two alternative proposals by Frisk. Further, ► βλώσσω "est loin pour le sens" (DELG). In my view, the variant with γ- points to Pre-Greek origin (see Beekes 1969: 215f.).

βλωμοί [?] · στραβοί 'squintings' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. See Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 3 (1953): 198 (who compares βάλλω).

βλωμός [m.] 'piece of bread' (Call.). <?>

•COMP ὀκτά-βλωμος (Hes. *Op.* 442), see Hofinger *Ant. class.* 36 (1967): 457ff.

•ETYM Not related to βλέει in καβλέει (H.; see ► βλέτυες). Cf. ψωμός s.v. ► ψῆν; however, the etymology is unknown.

βλώσσω [v.] 'to go, come' (Il.). <IE \*melh<sub>3</sub>- 'come'>

•VAR Aor. μολεῖν, ἔβλω· ἐφάνη, ὤχετο, ἔστη 'appeared, went, stood up' (H.); fut. μολοῦμαι (βλώξαι, βλώξω Lyc.), perf. μέμβλωκα (βέβλωκε· ἡρεμεῖ, φέεται 'be at rest, grow', H.).

•COMP Also with κατα-, προ-, ἐκ-, etc. αὐτόμολος 'deserter' (Hdt.); ἀγχίμολον (ἦλθε, Il.), old absolutive, Wackernagel *Mus. Helv.* 1 (1944): 226ff.; ἀγχιβλῶς· ἄρτι παρών 'just arrived' (H.).

•DER προμολή (mostly plur. -αί) 'approach, vestibule' (Ar.); βλώσις· παρουσία 'presence' (H.).

•ETYM The present βλώσσω < \*μλώ-σσω (cf. μολ-εῖν, μέ-μβλω-κα) from \*m<sup>l</sup>h<sub>3</sub>-sk- is clear. The aorist stem βλω- then has the same origin, with the zero grade from the plural. The nominal forms with -μολ- have the o-grade \*molh<sub>3</sub>-, while the aor. stem μολ-ε/o- is explained from metathesis in \*μελο-μ, -ς, -τ < \*melh<sub>3</sub>- (after Ruipérez *Emerita* 10 (1942): 386-407). Harðarson 1993a: 169f. and 224f., also assumes \*l<sub>h</sub> > ολο under the accent, which is doubtful; a twofold development μλω- (in ἔβλω) beside μολο- is improbable. I would expect \*-l<sub>h</sub>-V- to have yielded -αλV-, which was replaced by -ολV- after the predominant o-vocalism. The metathesis is not an independent phonetic development, but part of this process of morphological reorganisation. Outside Greek, the verb may be found in Slavic, e.g. SCr. *iz-mōliti* 'let appear', i.e. 'show', and Sln. *molíti* 'pass, hand over'. The connection with ToA *mlusk<sup>a</sup>* 'escape' (and ToB *mlutk<sup>a</sup>*·? Cf. Adams s.v.) is uncertain. Connection with μέλλω is phonetically improbable (because of the laryngeal), while that with ► μολεύω 'cut off and transplant the shoots of trees' is semantically very difficult.

βόᾱξ [m.] a fish, 'Box boops' (Epich.). <?>

•VAR Ion. βόηξ, later βῶξ. Ar. Byz. preferred βόωψ (ap. Ath.). Cf. βόα = σάλπιξ (Pancrat. *apud* Ath.).

•ETYM The ancients believed that the fish was called this way because it cried; see Strömberg 1943: 63-6 and Thompson 1947 s.v. βῶξ. Thence the Latin loanword *boca*; MoGr. βοῦπα, γοῦπα, γῶπα.

**βοάω** [v.] 'to cry' (Il.). <ONOM>

•VAR Aor. βοῆσαι (Ion. also βῶσαι), βεβωμένος, ἐβῶσθην.

•DER βοή 'cry' (Il.), βοιγτός 'id.' (α 369), βόᾱμα, βόημα 'id.' (A.), βόησις 'id.' (Thd., Quint.); βοιγτής (Hp.), fem. βοᾶτις (αὐδά) 'loud' (A.).

•ETYM Probably a deverbative like ποτάομαι, with deverbial βοή (Schwyzer: 683); alternatively, βοάω is denominative from βοή. A connection with Skt. *jóguve* 'to speak loudly' (intensive) and BSl., e.g. Lith. *gaudžiū, gausti* 'to cry, weep' and OCS *govorō* 'noise' is conceivable, but these may just as well belong to ►γοάω. βοάω is rather onomatopoeic; cf. *bū* s.v. ►βύας. Lat. *boō, boāre* was borrowed from Greek. The same root is found in ►βοιθέω, ►βωστρέω.

**βοηδρομέω** =βοιηθός.

**βοηθός** [m.] 'who brings help (in war)' (Il.). <GR>

•VAR Dor. βοᾷθός, Att. and Hdt. βοιηθός (see below).

•DER Hence a denominative Aetol. βοᾷθοέω (Lesb. βᾷθόημι), and by hyphaeresis Dor. βοᾷθέω, Att. and Hdt. βοιηθέω 'come to help on a cry, help' (cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 96f.). From βοαθός resp. βοιηθός(ο)ς; Aetol. βοαθοῖα (<βοαθοφία), Att. βοήθεια 'help' (rebuilt after the nouns in -ειᾶ [Schwyzer: 469]). From βοιηθέω as a back-formation βοιηθός (or contracted from βοιηθός, see Schwyzer: 469?); βοήθῃσις 'help' (Hp.).

•ETYM βοιηθός is from an expression like (ἐπὶ) βοὴν θεῖν (see Schulze 1933a: 188). Based on βοιηθέω, βοιηθός, the synonym βοηδρομέω (Eur.) was created, together with βοιηδρόμια [pl.] name of a festival (D.; month name Βοηδρομιών, Βοιηδρόμιος), and βοηδρόμος (E.; on the connection, see Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 96ff.).

**βόθρος** [m.] 'hole, trench, pit (dug in the ground)' (Il.; on the mg. see Hutchinson *JHS* 55 (1935): 1ff.; also as a sports term, see Jüthner *Wiener Stud.* 53 (1935): 68ff.). <PG?>

•DER Diminutive βοθρίον (Alciph.), also 'small ulcer' (Hp.). Also βόθῡνος [m.] (Cratin.; cf. αἰσχρός : αἰσχύνομαι, Chantraine 1933: 208).

•ETYM βόθρος and βόθυνος have been connected with Lith. *bedù* 'sting, dig', Lat. *fodiō* 'to dig', *fossa* 'ditch', and MW *bedd* 'canal'. In order to explain the discrepancy between Greek β- and Lat. f-, dissimilation of PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>od<sup>h</sup>-* to PGr. *\*bod<sup>h</sup>-* was assumed, or influence of βαθός (but Alciph. 3, 13 ἐμβαθύνας βόθρια may be a later association). Equally unsatisfying is the solution of Petersson 1921: 128ff., who assumed a labiovelar and connected the word with γυθίσσων· διορύσσων 'digging out' (H.) and further to βαθός, etc. (see ►βυθός). Since the IE connection is impossible, and the formation (nominal -ῡν-, see *Pre-Greek*) is also suspect, we should better derive the word from Pre-Greek; even the meaning suggests such origin.

**βόλβιτον** [n.] 'cow dung' (see Rohlfs *ByzZ* 37 (1937): 54f.). <PG>

•VAR Also -ος [m.] (Thphr.), βόλβιθος (*PMag. Par.*; after σπύραθος, σπέλεθος? See Chantraine 1933: 367); also βόλιτον, -ος (Cratin.); βόλβιτα· ἀφόδευμα βοός 'cow dung' (H.) (i.e. βόλβις), followed by βόλβυθον· τὸ αὐτό.

•DER βολίτινος (Ar.); βολίταινα cuttle fish, which smells badly (Arist.), also βολβίτιον (Gal.) and βολβίς (Epich.).

•ETYM As an alternative to the unsatisfactory assumption that βόλιτον arose from βόλβιτον through dissimilation, Frisk implausibly suggested that it is rather βόλβιτον that is secondary, influenced by βολβός. βόλιτον cannot be derived from βάλλω, βόλος, and βολεών 'Düngerhaufen' either, because this leaves the formation unexplained. Much better is it to explain the variation as Pre-Greek, which is further confirmed by the suffix -ιτον (Fur.: 163; further 180, 187); in addition, the alternations τ ~ θ and ι ~ υ are typical for Pre-Greek. The variation between β and zero, to which Fur.: devotes an entire chapter, is perhaps best explained from a labialized lateral, i.e. *\*bal<sup>w</sup>-it-* in this case (cf. ►αὔλαξ and *Pre-Greek*). The discussions in Frisk and DELG are typical examples of the wrong method to explain away the characteristics of Pre-Greek.

**βολβός** [m.] 'onion; purse-tassels, Muscari comosum' (Att., Arist.). <ONOM>

•DER βολβίον (Hp.), βολβάριον (Epict.), βολβίσκος (AP) 'small onion'. From βολβός the plant βολβίνη (Thphr., see Strömberg 1937: 86). On the fishnames βολβίδιον, βολβίτιον, βολβιτίνη see ►βόλβιτον; also βολβίτις, βολβιτίς. See Thompson 1947: 33.

•ETYM The form of the word is expressive, sound-symbolic, with a kind of reduplication. There are no direct relatives. It is reminiscent of words for round, globular objects, like Lat. *bullā* 'water bubble', βυλλά· βεβυσμένα 'stuffed objects' (H.), Lith. *buṛbulas* 'water bubble', etc.; cf. βομβυλῖς s.v. ►βόμβος. Further, similar to Arm. *boṭk* 'radish' (less adequate, however, is Skt. *bālba-ja-* [m.] kind of grass, 'Eleusine indica', originally 'balba-born'); cf. Pok. 103 and WH s.v. *bulbus*. Lat. *bulbus* is a loan. Cf. ►βῶλος.

**βολέω** =βάλλω.

**βολεών** 'dunghill' (Din.). <GR?>

•DER βολεός 'heaped' (inscr. II<sup>a</sup>, LSJ Supp.), of λίθοι 'stones' as boundary marks.

•ETYM Generally derived from βάλλω, but this could be deceptive. The suffix is obscure; see Chantraine 1933: 164. βολεός may or may not be cognate.

**βολίχη** [f.] 'female slave in Crete' (Seleucus *apud* Ath. 267c). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**βόλινθος** [m.] 'aurochs, the European bison', = βόνασος (Arist.). <PG(S)>

•ETYM The conclusion, on the basis of βόνασος, that the word derives from *\*βόνινθος* is most uncertain. The influence of βοῦς is also a mere guess. No etymology. Probably Pre-Greek; cf. Krahe *Die Antike* 15 (1939): 180 and Krause 1958: 62f.

**βόλιτον** =βόλβιτον.

**βομβοία** [f.] · ἡ κολυμβάς ἐλαία παρὰ Κυπρίοις ‘olive pickled in brine (Cypr.)’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**βόμβος** [m.] ‘noise with a low tone’ (IA). <ONOM, PG>

•DER βομβέω ‘give a low tone, hum’ (Il.). βομβάξ interj., as ironic imitation of a swollen style (Ar. *Th.* 45), with intensive reduplication βομβαλοβομβάξ (ibid. 48). Related are: βομβυλιός (accent. acc. to Hdn. 1, 116; IA) ‘humming insect’, also vase with a small neck (from the sound when emptied), also βομβύλην· λήκυθον ‘a vase’ (H.) and βομβυλία· κρήνη ἐν Βοιωτία ‘source in Boeotia’ (H.); with different mg.: βομβυλίδας· πομφόλυγας ‘waterbubbles’ (H.). βόμβυξ, -υκος [m.] ‘low sounding flute, the lowest tone of a flute’ (Ar.); also βομβυκίας (of κάλαμος ‘reed-pipe’; Thphr.); Βομβύκᾱ [f.] name of a flute player (Theoc.); also ‘drone’, with βομβύκιον kind of bee (Arist.). Glosses βομβρύζων· τονθορύζων, βοῶν ‘mumbling, shouting’; βομβρυνάζειν· βρενθύεσθαι ‘be haughty’ (H.). Related is βέμβιξ ‘whipping-top; insect’.

•ETYM Although πέμφιξ and πομφόλυξ, variants of βέμβιξ, show typical Pre-Greek characteristics (e.g. -ῡκ- beside -ῖκ-), the ultimate origin of the word is probably onomatopoeic. Cf. Lith. *biṁbalas*, Latv. *baṁbals* ‘beetle’, CS *buben* ‘drum’, 3sg. Alb. *bubullin* ‘it thunders’, ON *bumla* [f.] ‘drum’. Lat. *bombus* is a Greek loan. See ►βολβός.

**βόμβυξ, -υκος** [m.] ‘silk-worm’ (Arist.). <PG>

•VAR The quantity of the υ is unknown.

•DER βομβύκιον ‘cocoon of the β.’ (Arist.); βομβύκινος (Lib.).

•ETYM βόμβυξ must be of Anatolian origin, as is also suggested by its structure: it is now known that silk was also produced in Greece itself (Kos and Asia Minor) before it was introduced from the east (Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 48 (1970): 65). We may compare several words for ‘cotton’ (see ►βαμβάκιον), of which Osman. *pambuk* ‘cotton’ is the best match. The word may derive from an original \**p/bamb-ūk-* (with suffix -*uk-*, probably with long *ū*; cf. also Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 381ff., DNP: 347ff.).

**βόνασ(σ)ος** [m.] ‘aurochs’ (Arist.). <EUR>

•ETYM Unexplained; generally considered to be a loanword from a European language. There have been attempts to connect it with ►βόλινθος, which is quite uncertain. Fur.: 213 tries to connect it with Paeonian ►μόναπος, for which there is no basis.

**βορά** ⇒βιβρώσκω.

**βόρασσος** [m.] ‘growing spadix of the date with immature fruit’ (Dsc. 1, 109, 5). <LW Eg.>

•ETYM Egyptian word; cf. Arab. *bosr* ‘unripe date’. See Cuny *REA* 20 (1918): 223f.

**βόρατον** ⇒βράθυ.

**βόρβωρος** [m.] ‘mire, filth’ (Asios). <?>

•DER Βορβορίται name of an association in Thera (inscr.) and of a Manichaeon- gnostic sect (Epiaph.). Denominatives: βορβορόω, βορβορίζω (Dsc.; = μολύνει H.). See also ►βορβορύζω.

•ETYM Expressive reduplicated formation, probably onomatopoeic (cf. the gloss βορβορίζει s.v. ►βορβορύζω). A connection with Arm. *kork* ‘dirt’, which would require a reconstruction \**g<sup>w</sup>org<sup>w</sup>(or)ō-*, remains very doubtful.

**βορβορύζω** [v.] ‘to rumble’ (Hippon., see LSJ Supp.). <?>

•DER βορβορυγή· ποιός τις ἤχος, ὃν καὶ κορκορυγήν καλοῦσιν ‘kind of sound, also called κ.’ (H.), βορβορυγμός ‘id.’ (Hp.); also βορβόρωσις (Archig. *apud* Aët.), as if from βορβορόω (see ►βόρβωρος). βορβορίζει· γογγύζει, μολύνει. Κύπριοι ‘grumbles, stains (Cypr.)’ (H.), βορβορισμός (Cael. Aur.) = βορβορυγμός.

•ETYM Onomatopoeic reduplicated formation. Connected with ►βόρβωρος, though partly different in meaning (developments like these are not infrequently found in onomatopoeic words). In βορβορίζει, the two meanings come together. No etymology.

**βορβύλα** · πέμμα στρογγύλον διὰ μήκωνος καὶ σησάμης μεγέθους ἄρτου ‘round pastry made from poppy and sesame, of the size of a loaf of bread’ (H.). <LW Anat.>

•ETYM Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 661 compares Hitt. <sup>NINDA</sup>*purpura-* ‘Klotz’ or ‘Kugel, Knödel’. Names of pastries are frequently borrowed from Asia Minor.

**βορέας, -ου** [m.] ‘north wind, north’, also PN (Il.); see Nielsen *Class. et Med.* 7 (1945): 1ff. <IE? \**g<sup>w</sup>(o)rH-* ‘mountain’>

•DIAL Att. (contracted) βορᾶς, -ᾱ (see Scheller 1951: 114), Ion. βορέης, contracted βορῆς, -έω, Lesb. βορίαίς (ι < ε; αι for ᾱ).

•DER βόρειος, Ion. βορήιος (Chantraine 1933: 52) ‘of the north wind’; fem. also βορε(ι)άς, βορηιάς (A.). Local adverbs: βορέηθεν, βορράθεν, βορρόθεν, etc. Denominative: βορεύω ‘come from the north’ (Thphr.).

•ETYM Uncertain. Taken as ‘wind from the mountains’, related to a word for ‘mountain’ seen in Skt. *girí-*, Av. *gairi-*, Lith. *girė* ‘wood’, and OCS *gora*; cf. Illyr. *bora* ‘mountain’ in names (Krahe *IF* 57 (1940): 125ff.), as well as ►δειράς. So the Ὑπερ-βόρειοι are properly ‘those living beyond the mountains’ (Pedersen *KZ* 36 (1900): 319). The formation, however, is unclear; see Pedersen 1926: 66, Schwyzler: 461. On wind names in -ίας, see Chantraine 1933: 95. Is the word an IE formation at all?

**βόσκω** [v.] ‘to feed, tend’, med. ‘to feed oneself’ (Il.). <IE \**g<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘feed, tend’>

•VAR Fut. βοσκήσω (Od., but see Chantraine 1942: 446), *hapax* βώσεσθε (A. R. 1, 685; see below); ἐβοσκήθην, βεβόσκηκα, ἐβόσκησα are all Hell. and late.

•DIAL Myc. *su-qo-ta-o* /su-g<sup>w</sup>ōtāōn/, *qo-u-qo-ta* /g<sup>w</sup>ou-g<sup>w</sup>ōtai/.

•COMP In compounds -βώτης and -βότης (συ-βώ-της, ἵππο-βό-της); αἰγίβοτος ‘browsed by goats’; πουλυβότειρα. As a first member in βωτι-άνειρα ‘feeding men’ (Il.); see Risch 1937: 174.

•DER βοσκή ‘fodder, meadow’ (A.); βόσκημα ‘id.’, also ‘cattle tended, herd’ (trag.). βοσκός ‘shepherd’ (Aesop.; a back-formation, see Schwyzler 541); fem. βοσκάς ‘feeding itself’ (Nic.). βόσις ‘fodder’ (T 268); βοτόν ‘cattle’, especially ‘sheep’ (Il.),

βοτάνη 'fodder' (Chantraine 1933: 199), βοτέω 'tend' (Nic., H.); βοτήρ 'shepherd' (o 215; fem. βότεира (Eust.); βώτωρ (Il.), cf. Benveniste 1948: 29 on the difference between -τωρ and -τήρ.

•ETYM Old IE verb. Its nearest relation is Lith. *gýotas* 'herd' (\*g<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>3</sub>-to-); cf. βοτόν (\*g<sup>w</sup>h<sub>3</sub>-to-). ► βοῦς is probably derived from this root.

**βόσματος** [m.] 'Indian millet, Ragi, Eleusine coracana' (Str.). <?>

•VAR βόσμορον (Peripl. M. Rubr.).

•ETYM Unknown.

**βόστρυχος** [m.] 'curl, lock of hair' (Archil.). <PG?>

•VAR Plur. also βόστρυχα (AP).

•DER βοστρύχιον, also 'vine-tendril' (Arist., AP), βοστρύχια· στέμφυλα 'mass of pressed graped or olives' (H.); cf. βότρυχος s.v. ► βότρυς; βοστρυχηδόν 'in locks' (Luc.). βοστρυχίζω, βοστρυχόμαι. On the suffix -χ- see Chantraine 1933: 402.

•ETYM Unknown. The suffix -υχ- could well be Pre-Greek (-υC- is frequent), and such origin is probable for the whole word. On the confusion with ► βότρυς, see there.

**βοτάνη** ⇒ βόσκω.

**βότις** a fish (Sophr.). <?>

•VAR βότις· βόλτιον H., considered corrupt by Latte; on sufficient grounds?

•ETYM Perhaps identical with ► βατίς.

**βότρυς, -υος** [m.] 'bunch of grapes' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Also acc. βότρυα (Euph.), LSJ Supp.

•DER βοτρυηρός 'of the genus grapes' (Thphr., cf. οϊνηρός Chantraine 1933: 233). βοτρυΐτης, -ίτις (λίθος) kind of pearl, 'Calamine' (Dsc.). Adverb βοτρυδόν (Il.). Isolated βοτρυμός· τρυγητός 'vintage' (H.), as if from \*βοτρυώ; see Schwyzer: 492. After βόστρυχος arose βότρυχος 'lock of hair' (Pherecr.; probably E. Or. 1267) and βοστρύχιον 'vine-tendril' and βοστρυχίτης, see ► βόστρυχος.

•ETYM Like ἄμπελος, the word is probably Pre-Greek. It is hardly Semitic (Hebr. *bošer* 'uvae immaturae acerbae'), as per Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 661. Fur.: 302 considers it originally to have been identical with βόστρυχος (interchange στ/ τ); this is very doubtful.

**βου-** augmentative prefix. <GR>

•ETYM This meaning seems to have developed from the bahuṽrīhi compounds of the type 'having X like a β.' See βούβρωστις, βουγίαιε, etc. Cf. DELG and further Richardson *BICS* 8 (1961): 15-22 and Richardson *Hermathena* 96 (1962): 92.

**βουᾶ** [f.]? · ἀγέλη παιδων. Λάκωνες 'a group of children (Lacon.)' (H.). <?>

•VAR Wrong accent acc. to DELG. βουόα· ἀγέλη τις 'a herd' (EM; perhaps from βουσόα, to σεύειν? But original σσ would not have disappeared; Wahrmann *Glotta* 17 (1929): 242 supposes an hyperarchaism).

•DER βουαγόρ· ἀγελάρχης, ὁ τῆς ἀγέλης ἄρχων παῖς. Λάκωνες 'slave who watches over the herd (Lacon.)' (H.); also βουαγός, βοαγός (inscr.). Further συμβουᾶ·

συνωμόται 'confederate'. συμβουάδ<δ>ει· ὑπερμαχεῖ. Λάκωνες 'fight in defense of (H.).

•ETYM According to von Blumenthal 1930: 9, the word is Illyrian for φυή; this is semantically improbable. See Bechtel 1921, 2: 368f. and Kretschmer *Glotta* 17 (1929): 242.

**βουαγετόν** [m.]/[n.]? · ὑπὸ βοῶν εἰλκυμένον ξύλον 'piece of wood drawn by oxen' (H.). <GR>

•ETYM The word is simply from βοῦς and ἄγω.

**βουάκραι** [f.] · οἱ φοῖνικες ὑπὸ Λακῶνων (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. LSJ translates 'palms', but it is impossible to know if this was really the intended sense.

**βουβάλιον 1** [n.] 'bracelet' (Com., inscr.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Mostly plur. -ια. Cf. βουπάλινα (Delos) and βουπαλίδες· περισκελίδες 'leg-bands' (H.).

•ETYM The variation β ~ π points to Pre-Greek origin (so not from πάλλω!). For the suffix -ιν-, Fur.: 145, 373 refers to γοσσύπινον, ἀπόλινον. The word is hardly connected with βούβαλις 'antelope' (as per L. Robert 1963: 24-30).

**βουβάλιον 2** [n.] 'wild cucumber, ἄγριος σικυός' (Ps. Diosc., Hp. *apud* H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Explained from the prefix ► βου- and ► βάλλω, see André *Ét. class.* 24 (1956): 40-2, but this looks like a folk-etymological explanation; the structure of the word is strange. As a plant name, the word is rather Pre-Greek.

**βούβαλις, -ι(δ)ος** [f.] '(African) antelope' (Hdt.); see Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 52; Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 263. <?>

•VAR Also βούβαλος [m.] (Arist.).

•ETYM The word seems to contain ► βοῦς, but this is rather a secondary association, as the formation is unclear. It was borrowed as Lat. *būbalus*, whence later *bufalus*, OFr. *bufle*, E *buffalo*.

**βουβάρας** · (1) μεγαλοναύτης, παρὰ τὴν βᾶριν 'great sailor [?], after the β. (a flat-bottomed boat)' καὶ (2) μέγα βάρος ἔχων 'having heavy weight' καὶ (3) αὐχηματίας 'boaster' ἢ (4) ὁ μέγας καὶ ἀναίσθητος ἄνθρωπος 'great and unnoticed man' (H.). <GR, ?>

•VAR Cod. βοβ-. Cf. βούβαρις· νεὼς ὄνομα 'name of a ship' (H.).

•ETYM In (3) the ms. has καὶ αὐχηματίας· καυχητίων ex EM Alb. The other definitions are clear.

**βούβαστις** [f.] 'groin' (Aët.). <PG?>

•ETYM Related to ► βουβών; further unknown. DELG improbably considers it to have been coined after the Egyptian goddess Βούβαστις. Note that Pre-Greek has a suffix -(α)στ-; see *Pre-Greek*.

**βούβητις, -ιος** [f.] 'stream for watering cattle' (?) (*Tab. Heracl.* 2, 13, 14). <?>

•ETYM Since the word is Doric, it is not related to ἔβην (ἔβᾱν). The form \*-βα-ετις (Schwyzer: 270) has no basis. The old connection with Lith. *gėtis* 'Viehtrift' seems impossible, as a labiovelar would yield δ-. Foreign origin (Kretschmer KZ 30 (1890): 579, Fraenkel 1910: 116 A. 1) is always possible, but βου- suggests a Greek word.

**βούβρωστις** [f.] 'ravenous appetite' (Ω 532), also as a goddess. <GR?>

•ETYM The meaning is not quite certain: 'hunger' does not fit well in Homer, and in antiquity it was interpreted as οἰστρος 'gadfly'. The word seems to have an augmentative ►βου- (Schwyzer: 434), like βούλιμος and βούπεινα (which are possibly synonymous), and a second element as in βιβρώσκω; it is modelled after νῆστις (Risch 1937: 39), but as an agent noun (like ►ἄμπωστις).

**βουβών, -ῶνος** [m.] 'groin' (Il.); 'swollen gland' (Hp.). <?>

•VAR Late also βουμβών (Moeris; after βόμβος?).

•DER βουβωνίσκος 'bandage for the groin' (Heliod. *apud* Orib.; cf. γραφίσκος, etc., Chantraine 1933: 408); βουβώνιον the plant 'Aster amellus' (Dsc., Strömberg 1940: 87). Denominative βουβωνιάω 'to suffer from swollen glands' (Ar.).

•ETYM Unknown. Formation like μύων, σιαγών. Connection with βουνός 'hill' is morphologically impossible. It can hardly be related to Skt. *gavinī* [f.du.] 'part of the lower body'. If the (late) variant βόμβων is reliable, the word is then be Pre-Greek.

**βουγαίε** [m.] 'braggart?' (N 824, σ 79). <?>

•VAR Schol. βουκαίε.

•ETYM Contains the prefix ►βου- as in ►βούβρωστις, βουκόρυζα, βούπαις, etc.; the second member could be related to the pres. ►γαίω (cf. κύδεϊ γαίω). The ā is problematic (Zenodotus wrote βουγήϊε; Chantraine 1942: 22). See Latacz 1966: 129f.

**βουκάτια** [n.pl.] a festival in Delphi (inscr.). <IE? \**tken*- 'slay'>

•DER Βουκάτιος name of a month.

•ETYM The analysis as 'killing of cows' (from καίνω) is factually correct. Puhvel KZ 79 (1964-5): 7ff. (after Wackernagel-Debrunner 1930: 372) reads '(festival) of 100 cows' as in Skt. *go-satam*. Note that ►έκατόν derives from \**dkm̥-tom* > \**ekaton*, and that the \**d* also leaves a trace in the decades in \**-dkomth₂* > -ήκοντα. This shows that the \*-*t*- did not cause lengthening.

**βουκόλος** [m., adj.] 'cowherd' (Il.). <IE \**k<sup>w</sup>el(H)*- 'turn around'>

•DIAL Myc. *qo-u-ko-ro* /*g<sup>w</sup>ou-kolos*/.

•DER βουκολία 'herds of cattle' (*h. Merc.*), βουκόλια (-ιον) 'id.' (Hdt.); βουκολεῖον 'office of the ἄρχων βασιλεύς' (Arist. *Ath.* 3, 5; cf. πρυτανεῖον); βουκολίς [f.], also [adj.] 'pasture' (D. H.); βουκολίσκος kind of bandage (Gal.; cf. βουβωνίσκος s.v. ►βουβών); βουκολίνη, κίγκλος τὸ ὄρνειον 'the bird κ.' (H.); see Thompson 1895 s.v.; βουκολικός 'ptng. to the shepherd', "bucolic" (Theoc.). Denominative βουκολέω (Il.), βουκολιάζομαι, -ιάζω 'sing shepherd songs' (Theoc.). From βουκόλος, as a short name, Βοῦκος (Theoc.).

•ETYM Old compound of βοῦς and πέλομαι, cognate with OIr. *búachaill*, MW *bugail* 'shepherd'. Cf. ►αἰπόλος and ►ἀμπίπολος.

**βουκονιστήριον** [n.] 'arena for bulls' (IGRom. 3, 484, Oenoanda II<sup>p</sup>). <GR>

•ETYM For κονιστήριον (Vitr., Pergamon), cf. κονίστρα 'arena' (Heberdey and Kalinka 1897: 2, 70). Acc. to Robert *Hellenika* 3 (1946): 149f., however, it must be equated with βυκανιστήριον.

**βουλιμία** [f.] 'hunger like a bull' (Timocl.). <GR>

•DER βουλιμιάω [v.] 'to have hunger like a bull' (Ar.). βουλιμώττω (Suid.) = βουλιμιάω.

•ETYM From βούλιμος, properly an adjective (Alex.), but also = βουλιμία (Plu.) by association with λιμός; see Risch IF 59 (1949): 59. In contains augmentative ►βου-, as in ►βούβρωστις, ►βουγαίε.

**βούλομαι** [v.] 'want, wish' (Il.). <IE \**g<sup>w</sup>el-* (\**g<sup>w</sup>elh₃-*?) 'want, wish'>

•VAR The other tenses are based on the present: βουλήσομαι, ἐβουλήθην, βεβούλημαι. On βέβουλα (A 113) see below.

•DIAL Arc.-Cypr. Eretr. (also Hom., see Chantraine 1942: 311) βόλομαι, Lesb. βόλλομαι, Dor. (Cret.) βώλομαι; Thess. βέλλομαι, Boeot. βείλομαι, Dor. (Heracl., etc.) δήλομαι, Locr. Delph. δείλομαι.

•DER βουλή 'will, decision, council' (Il.); Dor. Arc. βωλά, Lesb. βόλλα. Denominative βουλεύω (βωλ-, βολλ-εύω), -ομαι 'deliberate' (Il.), with many derivatives: βούλευμα, βουλεία, βουλευτής, βουλευτήριον 'council chamber'.

•ETYM The verb has been much discussed, yet there is no agreement on its prehistory (the root must have been \**g<sup>w</sup>el-/g<sup>w</sup>ol-*). We can assume that there was a perfect \*βέβουλα with present meaning, a trace of which could be found in προ-βέβουλα (A 113), with ου from βούλομαι. The o-vocalism and the β- may have spread from there. (We cannot exclude influence from βουλή, but this is probably itself to be derived from the present.) However, it seems doubtful that the perfect alone is the source of the pervasive o-vocalism. The central problem is the origin of the present, for which a suffix -*n-* or -*s-* has been assumed, although Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 315f. maintains that only -*λν-* can explain the compensatory lengthening (see also Slings *Mnem.* 28 (1975): 1-16). Peters 1986: 311 suggested a root in \*-*h₃*, which may help to explain the o-vocalism: a nasal present \**g<sup>w</sup>l-n-h₃-* would have yielded \*βαλνο- [or βλανο-?], which was replaced by \*βολν-, and Pamphylian βΟΛΕμενος would have βολε- < \*βελο- < \**g<sup>w</sup>elh₃-*. However, Peters' solution remains problematic because we have no evidence of βλω-, nor is there a clear basis for the introduction of the o-vocalism.

**βουλῦτός** [m.] lit. "unyoking of the oxen", 'evening' (Π 779 = ι 58, in βουλῦτόν δε).

<GR>

•ETYM From ►βοῦς and ►λύω with a suffix -το- (Chantraine 1933: 303). The length in λῦ- is caused by a laryngeal, also seen in Lat. *so-lū-tus*, Skt. *lū-na-* 'cut off', and in ToAB *läw<sup>a</sup>* 'to send'.

**βουνός** [m.] 'hill' (Hdt.). <PG?>

•VAR βουνός στιβάς, κύπριοι 'bed of leaves, mattress (Cypr.)' (H.).



- DER βοῦνις [f.] 'hilly' (A.; cf. θοῦρις). Plant names βουνιάς 'Brassica napus' (Agatharch.) and βούνιον 'Bunium ferulaceum' (Dsc.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 117. βουνίτης epithet of Pan, but reinterpreted as containing βοῦς; Dor. βωνίτης.
- ETYM Acc. to Hdt. 4, 199, the word is Cyrenaean, but it is actually Doric (Solmsen *BPhW* 1906: 756f.). It is a dialectal word that spread in Hellenistic times (DELG). Fur.: 208, 213 cites μουνιάς, μουνιαδικόν as variants of βουνιάς, which may point to Pre-Greek origin. He further adduces Basque *munio* 'hill', and additionally refers to προυνούς· βουνούς (H.). Fur.: 213<sup>33</sup> thinks that βουνός· στιβάς 'bed of straw' derives from βύνω.

**βουπαλίδες** •VAR βουπάλινα. = βουβάλιον.

**βούπρηστις** [adj.] 'poisonous beetle' (Nic.); also a plant, *Bunias erucago*? (Thphr.). <GR>

- ETYM See Amigues *RPh.* 64 (1990): 89-97, who interprets it as 'who inflames cattle', and explains the plant name as secondary to that of the animal.

**βούπτινον** [m.]/[n.]? · βοτάνη, λεγομένη τρίφυλλον 'a plant called clover' (H.). <PG>

- ETYM Fur.: 318 thinks that the word is Pre-Greek because of the group πτ, which is quite possible.

**βουρδών** [m.] 'mule' (Edict. Dioclet.). <LW Lat.>

- ETYM A loanword from Lat. *burdō*.

**βοῦς** [f., m.] 'cow, bull, ox' (Il.). <IE \*g<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>3</sub>-u- 'cow'>

- VAR Gen. βοός; acc. βῶν (Dor. and H 238), Dor. nom. βῶς; Att. acc. βοῦν after βοῦς (see below).
- DIAL Myc. qo-o /g<sup>w</sup>ōns/? (Ruijgh 1967a: 131).
- COMP As a first member, βου-, βο(φ)- (before vowel): βουκόλος, βούβοτος, ▶βούτυρον, βοηλάτης, ▶βοῶπις. On augmentative ▶βου- s.v. and ▶βούβρωστις, ▶βουγία, ▶βουλμία. See also ▶έκατόμβη. As a second member also -βοιος, e.g. ἐννεά-βοιος (Il.) < \* -βοιο- = Skt. *gávya-* (see below).
- DER Diminutives βοῖδιον (Ar.), βούδιον (Hermipp., pap.). Further βούτης 'cowherd', also adj. 'of a cow' (A.), with πολυ-βούτης 'rich in cows'; βοεύς 'strap of cow-leather' (β 426), βοών, -ῶνος [m.] 'cow-sty' (Heraklea). Adjectives: βόειος, βόεος 'bovine' (Il.), substantivized fem. βοείη, βοήη 'cow-hide' (Il.). With a suffix -κ-: βοει-κός (Th. et al.) and βο-ϊκός (Elis, Priene); also βόϊνος (gloss., Eust.); βοώδης (Adam., Apollon. *Lex.*). Denominative verb βοόω 'to transform into an ox' (Eust.). On Βούκος, βουκαῖος see ▶βουκόλος. See also ▶βοῦα and ▶βουσός.
- ETYM βοῦς is cognate of Skt. *gáuh*, acc. *gām* (= βῶν), Lat. *bōs* (from Osc.-Umbr.), gen.pl. *boum* = βοῶν = Skt. *gávām*, U acc. *bum* = βῶν; Arm. *kov* (u-stem), OIr. *bó*, OHG *chuo*, ToA *ko*, ToB *ke*, Latv. *gūons* all 'cow', OCS *gov-ędo* 'cattle'. Adjective \*g<sup>w</sup>ou-io- in -βο(φ)ιος = Skt. *gávya-*, Arm. *kogi* 'butter'.

The root was probably \*g<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>3</sub>-, as seen in ▶βόσκω 'to tend'; the circumflex accent in the nom.sg. points to a lost laryngeal. The original inflection is still unclear: we expect \*g<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>3</sub>-u-s, gen. g<sup>w</sup>h<sub>3</sub>-eu-s (proterodynamic); the latter form explains Av. *gaos*

and Gr. βορός, but not Skt. *gáuh*, nor the acc. *gām*, βῶν, which look like old forms. The Greek nom. could be \*g<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>3</sub>-us > βοῦς; the acc. may have been \*g<sup>w</sup>ōm < older \*g<sup>w</sup>oum.

**βουσός** [f.] 'path for cows', only dat. βουσοῖ (Orchomenos, Arcadia, Schwyz: 664, 15; 18). <GR?>

- ETYM From \*βου-σός (Schwyz: 450); related to ▶σεύω. Cf. μηλοσόη· ὁδός, δι' ἧς πρόβατα ἐλαύνεται. 'Ρόδιοι 'road on which cattle is driven (Rhod.)' (H.), as well as ▶βοῦα. Not related to Ion. βυσσός 'depth, bottom' (as per Fraenkel *Glotta* 32 (1953): 22).

**βουτάνη** [f.] A: · (1) μέρος τι τῆς μακρᾶς νεώς 'part of a long ship'; (2) ἡ μάστιξ 'a whip', ἡ (3) τάνυσις τῆς βοείας 'force of an ox'. (4) μέρος δὲ τῆς νεώς, πρὸς ὃ τὸ πηδάλιον δεσμεύεται 'part of the ship to which the rudder is tied'. (5) δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ μάχην 'a battle'. (6) ἀηδῖαν 'nausea'. <PG(V)>

- VAR Cf. B: βουστάνη· βοοστασία, ἡ τῶν βοῶν στάσις 'cowshed'. (2) ἡ μάστιξ 'whip', (3) καὶ πληγὴ 'blow'.

•ETYM Glosses A1, B3, and A4, which was added later, are unexplained. Gloss A2 is identical to B2: they show the typical Pre-Greek variation τ ~ στ (Fur.: 304f). For A5, Fur. compares βύτανα· κόνδυλοι 'knuckle, swelling' (H.), and for A6, he suggests that a gloss βούταλις (Aisop. 85) ἀηδῶν was lost (Fur. 305f.). A3 and B1 are probably folk etymologies from antiquity.

**βοῦτ(τ)ις** [f.] 'vase in the form of a frustum of a cone' (Hero). <PG(V)>

- VAR Also βούτη.
- ETYM Lat. *buttis* may be borrowed from Greek; the Greek word itself is evidently Pre-Greek because of the alternation τ ~ ττ. See ▶βυτίνη, βωτίον, ▶βωσίον (cf. also Szemerényi *BSOAS* 19 (1957): 627f.).

**βούτυρον** [n.] 'butter' (Hp.). <GR>

- VAR Also βούτυρος (Gal.), after τυρός.
- ETYM From βοῦς and τυρός; cf. βούσταθμον (: σταθμός). Lat. *būtŕum* is borrowed from the Greek, and from the Latin in turn OHG *butera*, MoDu. *boter*, etc. See Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 177f.

**βοῶπις** [adj.] epithet of Hera: 'with the head of a cow'(?), 'with the eyes of a cow' (Il.).

- <GR>
- ETYM From ▶βοῦς and ▶\*ῶψ.

**βρά** [?] · ἀδελφοί, ὑπὸ Ἠλείων 'brothers [Elean]' (cod. Ιλειων) (H.). <?>

- ETYM If the word is related to φράτηρ, it could perhaps be an Illyrian element in the Elean dialect, cf. Alb. *vëlla* 'brother', which is unexplained otherwise (Demiraj 1997; cf. also Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 33; Pisani *Sprache* 7 (1961): 100). Latte even reads Ἰλλυρίων for the Ιλειων of the manuscript.

**βραβεύς** [m.] 'judge at the games, arbitrator, umpire; leader' (S.). <PG?>

- DIAL Here perhaps Myc. *mo-ro-qa*, but form and mg. (a person, official?) are unknown.



•DER βράβευμα 'decision of a judge' (S.), βραβεία 'decision' (E.), βραβείον 'prize' (Men.).

•ETYM Etymology unknown. Probably Pre-Greek (see Chantraine 1933: 125). In order to account for the Myc. form (where /a/ may phonetically be [o]), we may reconstruct \**mrog*ⁱⁱ, \**mrag*ⁱⁱ, or \**mrg*ⁱⁱ. If this word is of Pre-Greek origin indeed, this could imply that the athletic contests, too, are part of the Pre-Greek heritage.

**βράβυλον** [n.] 'sloe, *Prunus spinosa*' (Theoc.). <PG?>

•VAR βράβυλος [f.] (Aret.). Mss. also βραβι-, βραβη-; also βάρβυλος (Gr).

•ETYM Unknown; a loanword. Cf. βραβύλη = άνεμώνη ή φοινικῆ (Ps.-Dsc.). See André 1956 s.v. *brabilla*.

**βράγος** [?] · ἔλος 'marsh-meadow' (H.). <?>

•ETYM βράγος might somehow be related to βράχος, βράχεια 'shallows' (Hdt.). For these words, Fick BB 29 (1905): 199f. proposed that they are of Macedonian origin, whereas Çabej 1969: 176 compared Alb. *bërrakë* 'sumpfiges Land'. According to Moutsos KZ 88 (1974): 74-76, who reads βραγός (as in the ms.), the word means 'embankment, garden-plot' (however, his IE etymology remains quite uncertain).

**βράγχος** [m.] 'hoarseness, angina' (Hp.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also βάραγχος (Hippon.), βράγχη [f.] (Xenocr.) 'id.' and βραγχία· ή περιτράχηλος ἀλγηδών 'pain around the neck' (H.).

•DER βραγχαλέος 'hoarse' (Hp.), βραγχός 'id.' (AP). βραγχάω, βραγχιάω [v.] 'to have a sore throat' (Arist.); βραγχιάζοισθε· πνίγοισθε 'choke, stifle' (H.). Different mg. in βράγχια [pl.] 'gills of fishes, bronchial tubes', also βαράγχια, βαράχνια (Hdn.).

•ETYM The resemblance with βρόγχος 'windpipe' may have caused the semantic shift of βράγχια. Fur. 128, 276 connects the word with βραχώδης· τραχύς 'rough, harsh' (H.), βρακίας· τραχείς τόπους 'rough places' (H.), and βαρακινῆσιν· ἀκάνθαις· σκόλονι 'thorns, palisade' (H.). Thus, we arrive at a set of variants βρακ-/ βραχ-/ βραγχ-, which are typical of Pre-Greek. The aorist βραχεῖν 'rattle, clash' (Johansson KZ 36 (1900): 345f.) may also be connected as 'produce a raw sound'. The additional α in the first syllable of βάραγχος (Schwyzer: 278, 831) may be due to purely phonetic epenthesis, but this type of variation, too, is frequent in Pre-Greek words as well (Fur.: 378-385).

**βραδύς** [adj.] 'slow' (Il.). <IE? \**gʷrd-u-* 'slow'>

•VAR Compar. and superl. βραδύτερος, -τατος, also βραδίων, βάρδιστος and βραδίστατος (Ael.).

•DER βραδυτής, -τήτος 'slowness' (Il.), βράδος 'id.' (X.; after τάχος). Denominative βραδύνω 'retard' (A.).

•ETYM βραδύς may morphologically be identical with Lith. *gurdūs* 'slow', Latv. *guīds* 'tired', reflecting \**gʷrdú-* (Fraenkel *Phil.* 97 (1948): 172; Fraenkel KZ 69 (1951): 76ff.). Lat. *gurdus* 'dolt, heavy' can be connected as well (De Vaan 2008 s.v.).

**βράθυ 1** [n.] 'savin, *Juniperus sabina*'; also 'Juniperus foetidissima' (Dsc.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR Also βόρατον [n.] (D. S.); βορατίνη (Aq.).

•ETYM βράθυ has been compared with a Semitic word, Aram. *bʳāt*, Hebr. *bʳōš*, Assy. *burāšu* 'cypress'; Lat. *bratus* (Plin.), an Anatolian cypress, must go back to the same source (Lewy 1895: 34; Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 671).

Fur.: 187 thinks it is rather a loan word from the Near East, comparing κυπάρισσος and Hebr. *gōfer* (this might be supported by the suffix -iv-). For the *u*-stem, cf. μῶλυ, μίσυ, and σῶρυ (Chantraine 1933: 119), as well as δάκρυ 'resin'.

**βράθυ 2** · πόα τις θεοῖς θυομένη 'some herb offered to the gods' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**βράκαι** [f.pl.] 'breeches' (pap., inscr., D. S.), worn by Gauls. <LW Celt.>

•ETYM Borrowed from Celtic, just like Lat. *brācae*.

**βράκαλον** = ῥόπαλον.

**βράκανα** [n.] · τὰ ἄγρια λάχανα 'wild vegetables' (H.; also Pherecr., Luc.). <PG?>

•ETYM βράκανα has been compared with OHG *moraha*, OE *moru* 'carrot'. Fur.: 330 rather compared βάκανον 'cabbage(-seed)' (Aët.), which requires the assumption of an alternation β ~ βρ (or even β ~ βδ ~ βρ); for such an alternation there are indeed parallels in the Pre-Greek lexicon.

**βρακεῖν** [v.] · συνιέναι 'to comprehend'; βράξαι· συλλαβεῖν, δακεῖν, καταπιεῖν 'to put together, comprehend; bite; gulp down' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Perhaps also to be considered here is δυσβράκανον· δυσχερές, ... δυσκατανόητον 'hard to manage, ... hard to understand' (H.). Since Roth KZ 19 (1870): 223, the word has been connected with Skt. *mṛśāti* 'touch, take, seize' (\**mṛś-*). Further comparisons have been with βράψαι· συλλαβεῖν, ἀναλῶσαι, κρύψαι, θηρεῦσαι 'comprehend; spend; hide; hunt' and βράπτειν· ἐσθίειν, κρύπτειν, ἀφανίζειν, τῷ στόματι ἔλκειν, ἢ στενάζειν 'eat; hide; render invisible; suck up with the mouth; sigh', as either influenced by μάρψαι or related to it (with assimilation of κ to initial μ-, giving π; Schwyzer: 302). All of these comparisons are uncertain (see ► μάρπτω). Cf. further βράκετον· ... πλήθος 'crowd' and βράττειν· πληθύνειν, βαρύνειν 'multiply, oppress' (H.). See Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 200. See ► βρόξαι.

**βράκος** [m.]? · κάλαμος· ἱμάτιον πολυτελές 'reed; an expensive cloak' (H., also Sappho 57, Theoc. 28,11). <?>

•ETYM The word has been identified with ► ράκος 'ragged cloth', but the meaning does not fit. Also, the first gloss is unclear. Perhaps the word goes back to \**urko-*, parallel to γάρκαν· ράβδον 'rod' (H.; Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 199f.).

**βράπτειν** = βρακεῖν.

**βράσσω** [v.] 'to shake violently, agitate, boil (up), winnow' (Ar.). <?>

•VAR Att. βράττω, also ἐκ-βρήσσω (Gal.), aor. βράσαι, ἐβράσθην, fut. βράσω, perf. βέβρασμαι. In H., · τὸ ἡσυχῇ ὀδύρεσθαι 'wailing in silence'. Also βράζω 'be boiling'.

•DER βρασμός 'boiling', βράσμα 'id.', βρασματίας 'upheaval' (Posidon., etc.; cf. μυκητίας σεισμός, σεισματίας. Chantraine 1933: 94f.), βράσις 'boiling' (Orib.). βράστις [m.] 'earthquake' (Arist.), βραστήρ 'winnowing-fan' (gloss.).

•ETYM Bezenberger *BB* 27 (1902): 152f. connected the word with Latv. *murdēt* 'boil up', Lith. *mūrdau*, *mūrdyti* "etwas im Wasser rüttelnd behandeln"; this is uncertain.

**βράσσων** ⇒ **βραχύς**.

**βραυκανᾶσθαι** [v.] · ἐπὶ τῶν κλαιόντων παιδίων λέγεται ὡς μίμημα φωνῆς 'is said when children weep, onomatopoeic' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Related to βροῦκος?

**βραχεῖν** [v.] · ἡχησαι, ψοφήσαι 'to sound' (H.), 'to rattle, clash' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Aor. βράχε, ἔβραχε. Perhaps here βράχαλον· χρημετισμόν 'neighing' (H.).

•ETYM Possibly related to ►βράγχος.

**βραχίων, -ονος** [m.] 'upper arm', as opposed to ►πῆχυς (Il.). <GR?>

•DER βραχιόνιον 'armlet' (Delos II<sup>a</sup>), βραχιονιστήρ 'id.' (Plu.), see Chantraine 1933: 327f.; βραχιάλιον, -άριον (Sm.), βραχιόλιον (Alex. Trall.) from Lat. *bracchiale*, *bracchiolum*.

•ETYM According to Pollux 2, 138 originally the comparative of ►βραχύς: ὅτι ἐστὶ τοῦ πήχεως βραχύτερος 'because it is shorter than the forearm'. However, the phonetically regular reflex of \**mrg<sup>h</sup>-ios-* is probably seen in βράσσων (K 226): βραχίων would have to be a later formation. Alternatively, Ruijgh *Minos* 9 (1968): 147f. (see also Ruijgh 1991b: 585) assumes that it has the same suffix as Κυλλοποδίων. The word was borrowed as Lat. *bracchium*, which in turn was the source of MW *braich*, etc.

**βραχύς** [adj.] 'short' (Hdt., Pi.). <IE \**mrg<sup>h</sup>-ú-* 'short'>

•VAR Grades of compar. βραχύτερος, -τατος, βράχιστος, βραχίων (in this sense only Choerob., elsewhere 'upper arm', s.v.); hapax legomenon βράσσων τε νόος (K 226), after θάσσων?

•DIAL Aeol. βροχύς.

•DER βραχύτης, -τητος (Pl.); τὸ βράχος (only Procop.). Denominative βραχύνω 'shorten' (Hp.). On βράχαια [n.pl.] 'shallows' see ►βράγος.

•ETYM βραχύς (< \**mrg<sup>h</sup>-ú-*) finds a morphological match in Skt. *múhuḥ*, *múhu* [adv.] 'suddenly', *muhūrtá-* [n.] 'short time, moment' (Prakritisms for \**mṛhú-*), Av. *mərəzu-* 'short' in *mərəzu-jiti-*, *mərəzu-juua-* 'short life' resp. 'short-lived' (cf. ὁ βίος βραχύς [Hp.]), Sogd. *murzak* 'id.', OHG *murg(i)* 'short', and OE *myrge* 'entertaining' ("kurzweilig"). Further related are Go. *ga-maurgjan* 'to shorten', and Lat. *brevis* (< \**mreg<sup>h</sup>-u-i-*).

**βρέγμα** •VAR βρεγμός. ⇒ βρεχμός.

**βρέγμα 2** ⇒ βρέχω.

**βρέγμα 3** [n.] a substance found in peppercorns (Dsc.2, 159). <LW India>

•ETYM Word of Indian origin, acc. to Pliny *NH* XII, 14,27; see Hemmerding *Glotta* 48 (1970): 64.

**βρεκεκεκέξ** [interj.] imitation of the sound of frogs (Ar. *Ran.* 209). <ONOM>

**βρέμω** [v.] 'to roar, grumble' (Il.). <ONOM>

•VAR Only pres.

•COMP βαρύ-βρομος, etc.; -βρεμ-έτης in ἐρι-, ὑπι-βρεμ-έτης (Il.). -βρέν-τάς in ἀναξι-βρέν-τάς, ἀργι-βρέν-τάς. Also αἰολο-βρόντᾱς from βροντάω.

•DER βρόμος 'loud noise' (Il.) whence βρόμιος 'boisterous' (Pi.), Βρόμιος as a name of Bacchos (A.). -βροντή 'thunder' (Il.), Βρόντης name of a Cyclops (Hes.), Βροντήσιος (Ζεύς); βροντέα name of a precious stone (Plin.). Denominative βροντάω 'to thunder' (Il.). βρενταί· βρονταί (H.). Deverbative βρομέω (iterative-intensive) (Il.); βρωμάομαι 'cry' (Ar.). Further βρεμεαίνων· ἡχῶν H., see ►βλεμεαίνω. Note that the -ντ-forms refer to thunder, whereas the forms with μ and without τ indicate droning sounds in general.

•ETYM Although βρέμω resembles Lat. *fremō* 'to rumble, roar', OHG *breman* 'buzz', and MW *brefu* 'roar' (Pok. 142), these cannot be connected, since they derive from \**b<sup>h</sup>rem-*, whereas Greek has β-. Therefore, it is rather an onomatopoeic word. ►βρόμος ~ βόρμος in the sense 'oats' (Hp.) is not related, but probably Pre-Greek. Cf. ►χρημετίζω.

**βρένδον** [m.]/[n.]? · ἔλαφον 'deer' (H.). βρέντιον· ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ ἐλάφου 'a stag's head; the head of a deer' (Str. 6,3,6, EM). <LW Messap.>

•ETYM A Messapian word (EM), possibly also found in place names, e.g. Βρεντέσιον = *Brundisium*. Further possible cognates are found in NGm., e.g. MoSw. dial. *brind(e)* 'male elk' and MoNw. (dial.) *brund* (Latv. *briēdis*, probably from Gm.); cf. Alb. *bri* 'horn, antlers', without a dental (Demiraj 1997 s.v.). See Krahe 1955: 39; Rix *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 5 (1970): 115ff.

**βρένθος** [m.] is attested in wide variety of (only partly polysemic) meanings: 1. a bird (a waterbird in Arist. *HA* 609<sup>a</sup>23, but a singing bird (v.l. βρίνθος) in Arist. *HA* 15<sup>a</sup>16 = κόσσυφον 'blackbird' (H.); see Thompson 1895 s.v.); 2. 'pride' (Ath.); 3. · πυθμῆν, τύμβος 'bottom, base; tomb' (H.). 4. a perfume βρένθον· μύρον τι 'a perfume' <τῶν παχέων>, ὡς βάκκαρις (an unguent), οἱ δὲ ἀνθινον μύρον 'perfume of flowers' (H.), cf. βρενθινῶ· ἀνθινῶ (H.). 5. βρένθινα· ῥιζάρια τινά, οἷς ἐρυθραίνονται αἱ γυναῖκες τὰς παρειάς 'roots with which women redden their cheeks' · οἱ δὲ ἀγχουσάν, οὐκ εὖ ... οἱ δὲ φύκος ('orchil?') παρεμφερὲς κύδει Ἀφροδίτης (H.). 6. βρένθις = θρίδαξ (Nic. fr. 120), βρένθιξ· θριδακίνη. Κύπριοι 'lettuce (Cypr.)' (H.). <?>

•DER βρένθειον (μύρον; Sapph.). βρένθις, -υος [f.] 'perfume of βρένθειον μύρον' (Phld.). More usual is βρενθύομαι (pres. only) 'to behave haughtily, swagger' (Ar.), also βρενθύνομαι (AP).

•ETYM DELG is of the opinion that the name of the bird is the same word as that for 'arrogance', which is quite doubtful. It suggests that there were two groups, the bird name (and 'arrogance') on the one hand, and the plants and perfume on the other. The word for 'τύμβος' may constitute yet another group. However, these categories remain uncertain.

If the v.l. βρίνθος is reliable, the bird name may be Pre-Greek because of the variation υ/ε. On the other hand, βρινδεῖν· θυμοῦσθαι, ἐρεθίζειν 'be agitated,

provoke' (H.) is not related (pace von Blumenthal 1930: 6, Krahe DLZ 51 (1930): 1654; see also Alessio *Studi etruschi* 15 (1941): 190ff.).

**βρέτας, -εος** [n.] 'wooden image of a god' (A.). <PG>

•DER PN Βρέτων (Attica), Bechtel 1917a: 13f.

•ETYM DELG suggests that the word is the Doric equivalent of ▶ξόανον, likewise an image of a god. No etymology (see Benveniste *RPh.* 58 (1929)128f.).

**βρέφος** [n.] 'newborn child, young of an animal' (Il.). <IE? \*g<sup>w</sup>erb<sup>h</sup>- / g<sup>w</sup>reb<sup>h</sup>- 'child, young'>

•COMP βρεφο-κτόνος 'child-killing' (Lyc.).

•DER βρεφώδης 'childish' (Ph.), βρεφόθεν 'from childhood' (Eust.).

•ETYM βρέφος is related to OCS *žrěbъ*, *žrěbъcъ* 'foal'; the Greek reflects \*g<sup>w</sup>reb<sup>h</sup>-, but the Slavic must go back to \*g<sup>w</sup>erb<sup>h</sup>- (in South Slavic, the regular metathesis of PSl. \*er yields rě). The appurtenance of Mlr. *brommach* 'foal' (< \*g<sup>w</sup>romb<sup>h</sup>āko-) is uncertain; on Skt. *gārbha-* 'womb', see ▶δελφύς.

**βρεχμός** [m.] 'front part of the head' (Il.). <IE? \*mreg<sup>h</sup>-n- 'brain(-pan)'>

•VAR Also βρέγμα [n.] (Stratt.; Schwyzer: 206), βρεγμός (EM), βρέγμα (v.l. Alciph. 3. 5).

•ETYM Not related to βρέχω. The word is rather related to WGM. words for 'brain': OE *brægen*, MLG *bragen*, OFr. *brein*, etc. (PGm. \*bragna-), from \*mreg<sup>h</sup>- or \*b<sup>h</sup>reg<sup>h</sup>-; cf. also OW *br(e)ithel*. The connection of Benveniste BSL 31 (1930): 80 with Av. *mārazu-* 'cervical vertebra' and Molran. words for 'neck' from \*mṛz- remains uncertain.

**βρέχω** [v.] 'to wet, drench' (Hp.). <IE? \*merg<sup>h</sup>- 'wet, moisten'>

•VAR Aor. βρέξαι, βρεχθῆναι, βραχῆναι; ἀναβέβροχεν (P 54).

•DER βροχή 'rain, moistening, inundation' (Democr.), βροχετός (AP), βροχμός, βρέγμα (Erot.), βροχίς 'ink-horn' (AP), βρόχιον 'id.' (pap.).

•ETYM In spite of the doubts expressed in DELG s.v., and the difference in meaning, βρέχω is possibly related to Latv. *merguōt* 'rain slowly', *merga* 'soft rain', which can be traced back to \*merg<sup>h</sup>- (Trautmann 1923: 182; however, Ru. *morosít* 'rain slowly' cannot be connected because of its -s-). βρεχω would require \*mreg<sup>h</sup>- with schwebeablaut (cf. the discussion s.v. ▶βρέφος; perhaps it is a secondary full grade on the basis of a zero grade \*βραχ-). See ▶βρύχιος.

**βρήσσειν** [v.] · τὸ μετὰ βηχὸς ἀναπτύειν. ἔνιοι ταῦτα χωρὶς τοῦ ρ γράφουσι 'to spit up by coughing; sometimes written without the ρ' (Gal. *Lex. Hipp.*); βρήσσει· βήσσει 'to bleat, cough' (H.). <ONOM>

•DER βρήγμα· ἀπόπτυσμα ἀπὸ θώρακος, παρὰ Ἱπποκράτει 'what is spit out from the chest' (H.) Acc. to Bechtel 1917a: 12f., also the Boeot. PN Βρεκίδας (= Βρηκ-) (?).

•ETYM An expressive (onomatopoeic) word, a variant of βήσσειν, perhaps under the influence of ▶βραχεῖν. The gloss βρήσσουσιν· βληχῶνται. φωνεῖ τὰ πρόβατα 'calls the cattle' (H.) suggests that the -ρ- is a variant of -λ- (and perhaps of δ in the cluster βδ-; cf. Fur. 330).

**βρί** (βρί) [?] · ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ χαλεποῦ τίθεται 'an epithet of the [words] great, strong and fierce' (H.). <PG>

•DIAL The interpretation of Myc. *pi-ri-ta-wo* is uncertain.

•COMP In e.g. βρι-ήπιος 'crying loudly' of Ares (N 521), with ἡπύω (Bechtel 1914 s.v.), Βριάρεως see below, βριηρόν· μεγάλως κεχαρισμένον 'very happy' (H.), Βρίακχος 'Bacchante' (S.) with ἰάχω, Ἰακχος.

•DER βριαρός [adj.] 'strong' (Il.); βριάω [v.] 'to be or make strong, mighty' (Hes.) back-formation from βριαρός? See Schwyzer: 682f., Bechtel l.c.; also βριερός. For Βριάρεως, a giant with hundred arms (Il.), in Hes. Ὀβριάρεως, the interpretation 'who causes much damage (ἀρή)' (Bechtel 1914) is most uncertain; much more probably it is a Pre-Greek name, cf. Fur.: 168<sup>103</sup>.

With -θ-: βρίθω 'to be laden with, be full of' (Il.), perf. βέβριθα, aor. βρίσαι; βρίθους 'heavy' (?) (Il.), βρίθος [n.] 'weight' (Hp.), βριθοσύνη 'id.' (Il.). Here also βρινδεῖν· θυμοῦσθαι, ἐρεθίζειν 'to be agitated, irritate' (H.) with prenasalization of βριθ-? (For the mg., cf. βριμάομαι.) Further ▶βρίμη, ▶βριμάομαι. See also ▶βρίζω and ▶ῥβρις.

•ETYM Since the idea of an old 'ablaut' \*ī / ia must be given up and such cases must be reconstructed as \*-ih<sub>2</sub>- / -ih<sub>2</sub>-e, βριαρός could in principle continue \*g<sup>w</sup>rih<sub>2</sub>-eros. The suffix can hardly be anything else, because we cannot assume a derivational system \*-i- / -ro- here, nor has a root \*βριαρ any plausibility (pace Benveniste 1935: 15). The connection with ▶βαρύς 'heavy' is very doubtful, as this word continues \*g<sup>w</sup>rh<sub>2</sub>-u-; a derivative \*g<sup>w</sup>rh<sub>2</sub>-iH- would have given \*βαρῖ-. \*g<sup>w</sup>r-iH-, derived from a root without laryngeal, would be possible, but the only evidence for such a root is Skt. *grī-śmā-* [m.] 'midsummer' (Wackernagel KZ 61 (1934): 197f.). However, the semantics are very weak, and for the explanation of the second part -śmā- as from *sāmā* '[half-]year', Av. *ham-* 'summer' is difficult as the latter derive from \*smH-. As Fur.: 168<sup>104</sup>; 174<sup>122</sup>; 246f. remarks, the word group, meaning 'big, strong, χαλεπός', can be alternatively connected with βριμός 'great, difficult' (see ▶βρίμη). Since βριμ- is very probably related to ὄβριμος (cf. ὀβριάρεως), this whole etymon must be of Pre-Greek origin in view of the variants (Fur.: index). See ▶φρμιάσσομαι.

**βρία** = πόλις, τεῖχος, in Thracian (Str. 7, 6, 1); βριαν· τὴν ἐπ' ἀγροῖς (ἄκροις?) κώμην 'an unfortified village in the country (in the periphery?)' (H.). <LW Thrac.??>

•ETYM The word has been connected with ToA *ri*, ToB *riye* 'town' (which may continue < \*urih<sub>1</sub>-en-) since Lidén 1916: 143f. (see Adams s.v.). ▶ρίον 'peak, headland' has also been compared. The theory of Pisani KZ 75 (1957): 78f. (i.e., that the word is Ligurian) is improbable. Fur.: 270<sup>13</sup> refers to Πολτυμβρία, Σηλυ(μ)μβρία and 355 to Βρέα, a town in Thrace. As DELG remarks, the word can hardly be regarded as genuinely Greek.

**βριαρός** ⇒ βρί.

**βρίγκα** [m.] · τὸ μικρόν. Κύπριοι 'small (Cypri.)' (H.); βρίγκος name of a sea-fish (ap. Ath. 322e), = ἰχθὺς κητώδης 'cetaceous fish' (H.) (Thompson 1947 s.v.); further ἀνωδόρκας· βρίγκος (cod. βρίκχος) ὁ ἰχθὺς, ὑπὸ Θηβαίων 'sea-fish (Theb.)' (H.) (Strömberg 1943: 58); also PN (Eretria). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. For the stem formation, see ▶βρίζω.

**βρίζω** [v.] 'to be sleepy, nod' (Δ 4, 223, A.). <?>

- VAR Aor. ἔβριξα (Od., E. *Rh.* 826 [lyr.], v.l. ἔβρισα), βρίζαι· ὑπνῶσαι, νυστάξαι 'sleep, take a nap'; βρισθείς· ὑπνῶσας H.; βρίζω, -οῦς [f.] = ἐνυπνιόμαντις (Semus 5). ἄβρικτον· ... ἄγρυπνον 'sleepless', ἀβρίξ· ἐγρηγόρως 'awake' (H.; cf. ἀπρίξ s.v. ▶ ἀπριγδα and Schwyzler: 620).
- ETYM Unexplained. The connection with βρί-, βρίθω (Curtius 1858: 475; cf. Lat. *somnō gravātus*) is improbable.

**βρίθω** = βρί.

**βρίκελοι** [m.] · οἱ μὲν τοὺς ιστόποδας, ἀπὸ τοῦ βάρους καὶ τοῦ ξύλου· οἱ δὲ βαρβάρους· Δίδυμος δὲ τὰ τραγικὰ προσωπεῖα, παρὰ Κρατίνῳ, οἷον βροτῶ εἵκελοι, ἐν Σεριφίοις 'long beams of the loom, made of a weight and wood; barbarians; characters in tragedy (apud Cratinus, acc. to Didymus); like a mortal (in Cratinus's Seriphians)' (H.). <PG?>

- VAR Also: βρίκελος· Κρατίνος Σεριφίοις (204K.) "αἶρ', > αἶρε δεῦρο τοὺς βρικέλους" ("raise high the beams")· ἔστι δὲ βαρβαρικὸν τὸ ὄνομα, τίθεται δὲ [καὶ] ἐπὶ προσώπων τραγικῶν καὶ εἴρηται οἷονεἰ βροτῶ [ε]ἵκελος ἢ Βριξίν [ε]ἵκελος. Βρίγες γὰρ ἔθνος βαρβαρικὸν 'the word is barbarian; it is used for tragic characters [too] and it is used like "like a man" or "like a barbarian". For the Βρίγες are a barbaric race.' (Paus. Gr. p. 169 Erbse). Cf. βρικόν· βάρβαρον; βρυκός· βάρβαρος; βρίγες· βάρβαροι. οἱ δὲ σολοικισταὶ 'barbarian, or those who speak incorrectly' (H.).
- ETYM Perhaps we are dealing with a Pre-Greek word βρικ-/ βρυκ- 'barbarian, foreigner': the variation ι ~ υ is well known, and -ελ- is a Pre-Greek suffix (see *Pre-Greek*: suffixes). The idea that the word has anything to do with Βρίγες is clearly folk-etymological, whereas an interpretation as βροτῶ εἵκελος is a learned etymology. According to Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 4 (1954): 166f., it is a Pre-Greek word related to φρίκες· χάρακες 'pointed stick, palisade (?)' (H.). The gloss as ιστόποδες 'beams' in H. is unclear; perhaps it is inspired by a folk-etymological interpretation of βρίκελοι from βάρος and κελ- (= ξύλον).

**βρίμη** [f.] · ἀπειλή, καὶ γυναικεῖα ἀρρητοποιΐα 'threat; also womanly vice' (H., supposed to refer to A. R. 4, 1677 Μηδείης βρίμη πολυφαρμάκου); doubtful conj. *h. Hom.* 28, 10 (of Athena); also probably Orph. *Fr.* 79 = 'roaring'. <PG>

- VAR Cf. βριμός· μέγας, χαλεπός 'great, difficult' (H.).
- DER Βριμῷ epithet of Hecate and Persephone (A. R.), also Ὀβριμῷ; βριμώδης (Herm. *apud* Stob. [?]). Verbs: βριμάομαι 'snort with anger' vel sim. (Ar. *Eq.* 855, Phil.) with βριμῆμα (H., *APL* [?]), more usual ἐμ-βριμάομαι (A.); βριμόομαι 'id.' (X.), βριμαίνεται· θυμαίνεται, ὀργίζεται 'is angry, rages'; βριμάζων· τῇ τοῦ λέοντος χρώμενος φωνῇ 'using the voice of the lion'; βριμάζει· ὀργᾷ εἰς συνουσίαν. Κύπριοι 'is longing for company (Cypri.)' (H.).
- ETYM Probably based on βρι- in βριαρός, βρίθω. As these words are rare, their meanings are not quite clear (cf. Solmsen *KZ* 42 (1909): 207<sup>2</sup>). The assumption that the original meaning was 'heaviness, vehemence, energy', etc. is partly based on the wrong etymological connection with βαρύς (see the discussion on ▶ βρι-). Pre-Greek

origin is proven by Fur. (index) credible connection with φριμάσσομαι, the whole group of βρι-, and with ▶ ὄβριμος (cf. Ὀβριμῷ). See ▶ βρί.

**βρίνδειν** = βρί.

**Βριτόμαρτις** [f.] epithet of Artemis on Crete (inscr., Str.), also a goddess or nymph on Crete, Dreros (Call. *Dian.* 190). <PG(V)>

- VAR Also Βριτόμαρτις, -μάρπεια (Crete); There is also a form Βρυτόμαρτις (Wahrmann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 170).
- DER Βριτομάρτια [n.pl.] festival on Delos (inscr.).
- ETYM Acc. to Marinatos *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 9: 79ff. it belongs to the Aetolian DN Μάρπησσα. Wahrmann (l.c.) held that -μαρπις is the original form, but it is improbable that Βριτόμαρτις is due to dissimilation. Acc. to Solin. 11, 8, it means 'dulcis virgo' = 'sweet maiden', which seems confirmed by the gloss. Latte thinks that the gloss may have been invented secondarily to explain the name, but Brown 1985: 41 rightly objects that the *u*-stem cannot be accounted for in this way. Proposals for an IE etymology are useless. For the interchange π/ τ, Fur.: 166 compares Πανοπεύς / Φανοτεύς; see also *ibid.*: 389. A variation *u* / *v* is also known from Pre-Greek. See ▶ βριτύ.

**βριτύ** [adj.] · γλυκύ. Κρήτες 'sweet (Cret.)' (H.). <PG>

- COMP See also on ▶ Βριτόμαρτις, epithet of Artemis on Crete (inscr., Str.), also a goddess or nymph on Crete, Dreros (Call. *Dian.* 190).
- ETYM Unknown. The hypothesis of Magnien *Glotta* 21 (1933): 178 is improbable.

**βρόγχος** [m.] 'windpipe, throat' (Hp.). <PG(V)>

- DER βρόγχια [n.pl.] 'bronchial tubes' (Hp.), βρογχίη [f.] 'system of conducts connecting heart with liver' (Hp., cf. ἀρτηρία), βρογγεῖον 'bronchial cartilage' (S.). βρογχωτήρ 'neck in a garment' (J.; cf. τροπωτήρ - τροπός, Chantraine 1933: 327f.). Denominative βρογχιάζει· καταπίνει 'gulps down' (H.).
- ETYM The word is evidently connected with ▶ βρόξαι and βρόχθος. The nasal infix, which would be inexplicable if the word were IE, can be easily understood as Pre-Greek prenasalization. For the formation of βρόχθος ~ βρόγχος, compare κόχλος ~ κόγχνη, and μόχθος ~ μογέω. It is conceivable that βροχθ- is not a suffixal derivation from this word, but just another form of the root. Further, ▶ βράγχος and ▶ βραχεῖν belong to this group, with the typical variation *a/o*.

**βροκός** [adj.] · μωρός, Ἑλληνες 'dull' (H.); βρόκων· ἀμαθής, ἀπαίδευτος, οἷον βόσκημα 'who has not learnt; uneducated; like a piece of cattle' (H.). <?>

- ETYM DELG refers to βρόκοι· ἀττέλεβοι 'locusts' and considers it to be "un emploi plaisant" of 'locust'. To my mind, it is rather an accidental homonym. Fur.: 145 suggests connection with πρόκον· ἡλίθιον 'numb' (H.), and, much more doubtfully, with Lat. *bargus* 'sine ingenio'.

**βρόμος 1** [m.] 'oats' (Thphr.). <PG(V)>

- VAR Also βόρμος (Dieuch. *apud* Orib.).

•ETYM Probably Pre-Greek on account of the alternating vocalism; cf. further examples in Fur.: 392.

**βρόμος 2** [m.] · τόπος εἰς ὃν ἔλαφοι οὐροῦσι καὶ ἀφοδεύουσι 'place into which deer urinate and defecate' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. Hardly related to βρέμω (as per LSJ).

**βροντή** = βρέμω.

**βρόξαι** [v.] 'to gulp down, swallow (again)' (μ 240, δ 222; H. βρόξαι as a simplex = ῥοφῆσαι, AP). <PG>

•VAR Aor. pass. ἀναβροχέν (λ 586), perf. ἀναβέβροχεν (P 54, acc. to Zenodotus for ἀναβέβρυχεν). βράξαι ... καταπιεῖν 'gulp down' (H.). Cf. βρούξ· τράχηλος, βρόγχος 'neck, throat' (H.).

•COMP Mostly ἀνα-, κατα-βρόξαι.

•DER βρόχθος [m.] 'throat, gullet' (Hp.), βροχθώδης 'shallow' (?; Nic.); βροχθίζω 'take a mouthful, clear the throat, give to drink' (Arist.).

•ETYM The surprising *o*-vocalism in the aorist can hardly be explained by Aeolic origin, in spite of the gloss βράξαι. The notation κατα-βρώξαι (Ar.) may be due to influence of βιβρώσκω. βρόχθος, probably an action noun, has been compared with γνάθος, στήθος, etc. (Schwyzer: 510f., Chantraine 1933: 367), but these are body parts (note that γνάθος is Pre-Greek). Not related to βιβρώσκω, as \**g<sup>w</sup>rh<sub>3</sub>-C-* would have given \*βρω-C-. From other languages, one adduces Gm. and Celt. words like MHG *kragen* 'neck, throat, collar', ME *crawe* 'crop, craw (of a bird)' (which may contain \**g<sup>w</sup>rog<sup>h</sup>-*), and OIr. *brágae* 'neck', MW *breuant* 'windpipe' from PCl. \**brāg-*, PIE \**g<sup>w</sup>rōg<sup>h</sup>-* (not from \**g<sup>w</sup>rHg<sup>h</sup>-*, as this would give βρη/α/ωχ- in Greek). However, this IE etymology can explain neither βρόχθος, nor ►βρόγχος or ►βράγχος. The aberrant *o*-vocalism is confirmed by the *a*-vocalism of βράγχος, which should be interpreted as reflecting Pre-Greek origin. If βρούξ· τράχηλος, βρόγχος (H.) is reliable, it would also remain unexplained by the IE etymology; for *o*/*ou* in Pre-Greek, however, cf. κολοτέα/κολουτέα (see Pre-Greek).

**βροτός** [m., f.] '(mortal) man', also 'mortal' (Il.). <IE \**mr-tó-* 'dead, mortal'>

•COMP φαεσίμβροτος 'shining on mortals', βροτολοιγός 'ruining mortals' (Il.), etc. Note ἄβροτος 'without men' (A. Pr. 2).

•DER βρότεος (τ 545, etc.), βρότειος (Archil.) 'mortal, human' (cf. Wackernagel 1916: 69, S. Schmid 1950: 28f.); βροτήσιος 'id.' (Hes.), after Ἰθακήσιος, φιλοτήσιος, etc., see Chantraine 1933: 41f.; βροταί· γυναῖκες 'women' (H.), corrected by Latte to βροτοί(?). ἄμβροτος 'immortal, divine', note ἄ-βρότη νύξ (Ξ 78), cf. ἀμφιβρότη ἀσπίς 'shield protecting in all directions' (B 389); ἀμβρόσιος 'id.', ἀμβροσίη 'Ambrosia', food of the gods (all Il.). On PNs with μύρτος see Masson RPh. 89 (1963): 222f. Unrelated is ►μαραίνω.

•ETYM βροτός, Aeolic from \**mr̥tó-*, agrees with Arm. *mard* 'man' (\**mr̥tó-*), Skt. *mr̥tá-* (verbal adj.), Av. *mar̥ata-* 'dead'; Lat. *mortuus*, OCS *mr̥stvъ* 'dead' (with suffix after *vivus*, *živъ*). The privative Skt. *a-mṛtá-*, Av. *a-māša-* 'immortal' is comparable to ἄμβροτος. Another vocalism is found in ►μορτός· ἄνθρωπος, θνητός 'man' (H.) =

Skt. *márta-*, Av. *mar̥ata-* 'the mortal one, man', probably representing a different ablaut grade \**mor-*.

**βρότος** [m.] mostly interpreted as 'clotted blood' (Il.). Except for μέλανα βρότον 'dark blood' (ω 189) only at verse end in the formula βρότον αἵματόεντα 'red blood' (H 425). <?>

•DER βροτόεις 'bloody' in ἔναρα βροτόεντα (Z 480, etc.) and βροτόεντ' ἀνδράγρια (E 509); further the hapax βεβροτωμένα τεύχεα (λ 41 = Q. S. 1, 717; after this Stesich. 42 δράκων ... κάρα βεβροτωμένους).

•ETYM Perhaps Aeolic (with retracted accent) for \*βρατός, but the connection with Skt. *mūrtá-* 'clotted' (pres. *mūrchatī*) is only possible if loss of the laryngeal under unknown circumstances is accepted. (The word has been compared with στρα-τός, Aeol. στρα-τός, to Skt. *stīr-ṛiá-*, but the latter contains a different root; see Beekes 1969: 243). Differently, Leumann 1950: 124ff.: he maintains that βρότος is from ἄμβροτος, wrongly taken as ἀναίμων; this is hardly probable. Improbably, Schulze KZ 29 (1888): 257f.: that ἀμφιβρότη (ἀσπίς B 389, etc.) is from \*βροτόν 'body'.

**βροῦκος** [m.] 'locust' (Thphr.). <PG(V)>

•VAR βροῦχος (LXX, Ph.), βρούκα (Cypr., H.); βραῦκος (Cret.), βραῦκη (AB, H.), βρε<ῦ>κος· ἡ μικρὰ ἀκρίς, ὑπὸ Κρητῶν 'small locust (Cret.)' (H.), βρύκος (H.), βρόκοι· ἀπτέλεβοι, ἀκρίδες 'locusts' (H.).

•DIAL Ion. acc. to H.

•ETYM βρύκος (and βροῦχος) was compared with βρύκω 'eat greedily, grind the teeth' (EM), but the agreement may be secondary. No doubt a Pre-Greek word, a hypothesis which is confirmed by the vocalic variation. The names of small animals frequently show such variations, but this is precisely due to foreign origin, or to dialectal differences (cf. Schwyzer: 198). See also ►βερκνίς. Lat. *bruchus* is borrowed from the Greek, MoFr. *bruche* in turn from Latin.

**βροῦλος** [m.] · πόα ἔνυδρος 'plant growing in water' (H.). <?>

•ETYM The text has πονηρος; see Rohlfs 1930: 388.

**βρόχθος** = βρόξαι.

**βρόχος** [m.] 'noose, slip-knot' (Od.). <PG(V)>

•VAR βρυγχός· βρόχος (H.).

•DER βροχίς 'id.' (AP).

•ETYM The word has been connected with μύροττον· ἐκ φλοιοῦ πλέγμα τι, ᾧ ἔτυπτον ἀλλήλους τοῖς Δημητρίοις 'plaiting of bark, with which the Δ. used to hit each other' (H.), but it is uncertain whether the noose was made of bark (see Fur.: 341). βρόχος has also been compared with Slavic words like OCS *mrěža* 'net, noose', Serb. *mrěža* 'net', and Latv. *meīga*, *maīga* 'railing, gallery', Lith. *mārška* 'net' (Vasmer 1953(2): 119). However, these words would need implausible reconstructions \**morHg<sup>h</sup>-skeh<sub>2</sub>-* and \**merHg<sup>h</sup>-ieh<sub>2</sub>-*, whereas they could be explained much more easily from \**merg-* with Winter's law. If the gloss on βρυγχός, which had not been noticed earlier, is reliable, then the prenasalization points to Pre-Greek origin. Not connected to ►βρέχω, nor to ►μέριμς.

βρῦ ⇒ βρῦν.

**βρυαλίζων** [v.] · διαρρήσων 'breaking' (H.). <PG?>

•DER βρυαλιγμόν· ψόφον, ἦχον 'sound' and βρυαλίσται· πολεμικοὶ ὀρχησταί· 'μενέδουποι' Ἰβυκος καὶ Στησίχορος 'war dancers; steadfast in battle (Ibyc. and Stes.)' (H.). Further, Λακωνικά ὀρχήματα διὰ Μαλέας ... καὶ βρυάλιχα..., προσωρχοῦντο δὲ γυναῖκες καὶ Ἀπὸλλωνι 'Laconian dances ... and β. ..., which the women danced for Apollo, too' (Poll. 4.104); βρυλλισται [read βρυαλ-]· οἱ αἰσχρὰ προσωπεῖα περιτιθέμενοι γυναικεῖα καὶ ὕμνους ᾄδοντες 'people who wear ugly masks of women and sing songs' (H.); βρυδάλιχα (read βρυάλιχα?; ms. -ίχα)· πρόσωπον γυναικεῖον 'female mask' (H.; further corrupt).

•ETYM Derived from \*βρύαλος (-η, -ον), which itself is connected with ►βρύω, but the meaning does not match very well. For the semantics, it has been compared with βρυάσομαι· ἀναβακχεύσομαι μετὰ τινος κινήσεως 'burst into Bacchic frenzy with a certain movement' (H.). It is probably a Pre-Greek word: Fur.: 174 also cites βρυανιῶν· μετεωριζόμενος καὶ κορωνιῶν 'is raised and stretches the neck [is ambitious]' (H.).

**βρύθακες** [?] · οἱ χιτῶνες βομβύκινοι. ἡ γένος ἰθαγενῶν 'silken tunics; an ancient stock' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Fur.: 187 compares βρυτιγγοί· χιτῶνες 'tunics' (H.), and further, βρυτίνην· βυσσίνην (H.); he reconstructs a word \*βρυθ/τ-ος 'linen' (or 'silk'?). Cf. ►βύσσος.

**βρύκος** [m.] · κῆρυξ, οἱ δὲ βάρβαρος, οἱ δὲ ἀττελεβος 'herald; barbarian; locust' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR βρύκαιναι· ἰέρειαι ὑπὸ Δωριέων 'priestesses (Dor.)' (H.). Also βρυχός· κῆρυξ (H.).

•ETYM On the explanation ἀττελεβος, see βροῦκος; for βάρβαρος, see βρίκελοι. For βρυχός, cf. Βρυχαιεῖδ, the epiclesis of Hermes at Pharsalos (Dettori *Myrtia* 15 (2000): 27-33). Further unknown.

**βρύκω** [v.] 'to bite, eat greedily' (Com.), next to βρύχω 'grind the teeth' (Hp.), but the distinction is not always clear. <IE \*g<sup>ru</sup>Hg<sup>h</sup>->

•VAR Aor. βρῦξαι, fut. βρύξω.

•DIAL βρύκω Att. acc. to Moeris and Ammon.

•DER βρυγμός (Eur.); βρυκετός· ταῦτὸν τῷ βρυγιῷ, καὶ βρυκηθμός ὁμοίως. Δωριεῖς 'the same as β., and likewise for β. (Dor.)' (H.); cf. δακετόν, βρυχηθμός. Further βρυκεδανός· πολυφάγος ... 'eating a lot' (H.), cf. πευκεδανός; βρύγδην 'with clenched teeth' (?) (AP).

•ETYM If the κ in βρύκω is secondary for χ in βρῦξαι, then βρύξω and βρύχω may continue \*g<sup>ru</sup>Hg<sup>h</sup>-, cf. OCS *gryzъ*, *grysti* 'gnaw', Lith. *gráužiū*, *gráužti* 'id.' (the initial accentuation of Ru. *grýzla* shows that the root must have contained a laryngeal). Further related are OIr. *brón* 'sorrow', MW *brwyn* 'biting pain' (from \**brūgnos* with pretonic shortening), and possibly Arm. *krcem* 'gnaw' < \**kurcem* (perhaps metathesized like *turc*, gen. *trcoy* 'jaw'; see Lidén 1906: 34f.), if *c* for expected *j* can find an explanation. Cf. ►βρῦν, ►βρυχάομαι, ►βρύχιος.

**βρυλισται** ⇒ βρυαλίζων.

**βρῦν** in βρῦν εἰπεῖν 'call for drink', of small children (Ar. *Nu.* 1382). <ONOM>

•VAR Also βρῦ or βροῦ.

•DER βρύλλω 'id.' (Ar. *Equ.* 1126); βρύλλων· ὑποπίνων 'drinking a little' (H.).

•ETYM Probably based on an onomatopoeic form. West *Glotta* 47 (1970): 184f., thinks it represents βρῦτον, which would be surprising.

**βρύσσο** [m.] a kind of sea urchin (Arist.). <PG(V)>

•VAR ἄμβρυττοι· εἶδος ἐχίνου θαλασσίου, Ἀριστοτέλης αὐτοὺς δὲ βρύττους καλεῖ 'kind of sea urchin, also called β. by Arist.' (H.) (also ἄβρυττοι; also βρύττος· εἶδος ἐχίνου πελαγίου, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης, οἱ δὲ ἰχθύν, οἱ δὲ τρισυλλάβως, ἄμβρυττον, ἦν, Λάχης ποιεῖ 'some: a fish; others, with three syllables, ἄμβ., [?]' (H.; it cannot be concluded that the reading ἄβρυττοι is false).

•ETYM The variants, together with the prenasalization, prove that this is a Pre-Greek word.

**βρύτανα** ⇒ βύτανα.

**βρυτιγγοί** ⇒ βρύθακες.

**βρῦτος** [m.] 'beer' made of barley (Archil.). <LW Thrac.>

•VAR Also -ον [n.]; also βροῦτος, βρύττιον (H.).

•DER βρύτεια (-ια) [n.pl.] 'refuse of olives or grapes, τὰ στέμφυλα' (Ath.). βρύτινος (Cratin.), βρυτικός (Antiph.).

•ETYM As is evident from the variant forms, βρῦτος is a loan word from Thracian. It may be identical with OE *broð*, OHG *prod* 'juice', OIr. *bruth* 'glow' (\**b<sup>h</sup>rutos*, -om). The closest comparandum is Lat. *dēfrūtum* [n.] 'must boiled down', from Lat. *feru(e)ō*; see Schrijver 1991: 254f. Whether the long ū of the Greek goes back to Thracian as well is unknown. Lat. *brīsa* 'refuse of grapes' is probably also derived from Thrac. βρύτεια, -ια (Demiraj 1997 s.v. *bērsī*). Not connected to ►φρέαρ, ►φορύνω.

**βρῦχάομαι** [v.] 'to roar, bellow' (Il.). <ONOM>

•VAR Perf. βέβρυχα (with pres. mg.), Aor. βρυχήσασθαι.

•DER βρυχηθμός 'roar(ing)' (Arist.), βρύχημα 'id.' (A.); retrograde βρυχή (Opp., cf. βρύχω); βρυχητής, βρυχητήρ; βρυχηδόν (A. R.). Perhaps here also βρούχετος ... βάτραχον δὲ Κύπριοι 'frog [Cyp.]', βρυχός· κῆρυξ 'herald' (H.; also ►βρυκός). For the forms see Fraenkel 1912: 95<sup>3</sup> (p. 96).

•ETYM The intensive perfect βέβρυχα (cf. μέμυκα, etc.) was the basis of βρυχάομαι. Probably of onomatopoeic origin.

**βρύχιος** [adj.] 'deep (under water)' (A.). <?>

•DER ὑπόβρυχα 'under water', originally an adjective acc.sg. (ε 319, Hdt. 7, 130; see Bechtel 1914 s.v.), later adverbial (Arat.); ὑποβρύχιος (*h. Hom.* 33, 12); περιβρύχιος 'engulfing' (S.). Secondary βρύχα 'depth of the sea' (Opp. *H.* 2, 588).

•ETYM One would have to start from a noun \*βρύξ, βρυχός 'water, depth (of the sea)'. On the formation of ὑπόβρυχα, ὑποβρύχιος, see Schwyzler 1950: 532.

Connection with βρέχω is phonetically impossible, and the meaning is different as well. There seems to have been a connection with βρυχάομαι by popular etymology.

**βρυχός** ⇒ βρύκος.

**βρύχω** ⇒ βρύκω.

**βρύω** [v.] 'to swell, teem with' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Only pres. (but βρύσας Procop.).

•COMP Old ἔμβρυον [n.] 'new-born (lamb)' (ι 245), 'foetus' (Hp.), type ἔμπεδος, ἐγκέφαλος.

•DER βρύσις (Suid.), βρυσμός (Arc.), also PN as Βρύας, Βρύσων. Also βρυάζω with βρυάσομαι· ἀναβακχεύσομαι μετὰ τινος κινήσεως 'burst into Bacchic frenzy with a certain movement' (H.; uncertain ἀνεβρύαξαν Ar. Eq. 602) together with βρυασμός 'voluptuousness' (Plu.), Βρυάκτης epithet of Pan (Poet. *apud* Stob.). βρύον [n.] 'tree-moss, etc.' (Hp.) with βρυώδης, βρυόεις (Nic.); βρυώνη, βρυωνία 'black, white vine' (Nic., Dsc.; see Chantraine 1933: 207f.). See ►βρυαλίζων. Denominative βρυόομαι 'to be grown over with βρύον' (Arist.).

•ETYM No etymology.

**βρώμος** [m.] 'stench' (LXX, Gal.). <?>

•VAR Sometimes βρόμος.

•DER βρώμα 'ordure' (?; Ev. Marc. 7, 19); βρωμώδης, βρομώδης 'stinking' (Str.); βρωμῖω (-ο-) 'id.' (Al.).

•ETYM No etymology. The word has been supposed to be identical with βρόμος 'noise' (Kretschmer *Glotta* 9 (1918): 222f., Kretschmer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 98, Hatzidakis *Glotta* 22 (1934): 130-3). Differently, Kalitsunakis *Glotta* 12 (1923): 198. Lat. *brōmus*, *brōmōsus*, *exbrōmō* is borrowed from the Greek. The word lives on in the chemical element (Fr. *brome*, E. *bromine*, etc.).

**βῡας** [m.] 'eagle-owl, Strix bubo' (Arist.). <ONOM>

•DER Verb βύζω (βῡας ἔβυξε D. C., see Schwyzler 716). Deverbal βῡζα = βῡας (Nic.).

•ETYM Derived from the onomatopetic βῡ after the nouns in -ās (Schwyzler: 461, Chantraine 1933: 27f., 30). Similar instances of onomatopoeia are e.g. Arm. *bu* 'owl' (= Georg. *bu*), MoP *būm* 'id.', Lat. *būbō*, Bulg. *buh* (Pok. 97f.; Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 216; André 1967: 45). Cf. ►βύκτης.

**βύβλος** [m.] The Egyptian papyrus, 'Cyperus Papyrus; papyrus stalks, bark, roll, paper' (Hdt.). <PG?>

•VAR βίβλος, βίμβλις; Βίμβλινος (or -ινων)· εἶδος οἴνου καὶ γένος ἀμπέλου ἐν Θράκῃ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς οἶνος. Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ ἀπ' ὀρών Βιβλίνων. ἔστι δὲ Θράκης 'kind of wine and vine in Thrace, also old wine. Epicharmus [uses it as] from the B. mountains. It is from Thrace.' (H.).

•DER βύβλινος (Od.), βίβλινος (pap.) 'made of papyrus'; (both) also a kind of wine, see DELG; also βίμβλινος (LSJ Supp. and H., see above). βυβλιά (on the accent see Wackernagel and Debrunner *Phil.* 95 (1942): 191f.) 'plantation of papyrus' (*Tab. Heracl.*; but see Scheller 1951: 47). βυβλίον, βιβλίον (see Kretschmer *KZ* 57 (1930):

253) 'paper, book' (IA). βιβλίδιον with strange long ι, βίμβλις, -ιδος 'cords of β.', cf. βιβλίδες· τὰ βιβλία ἢ σχοινία τὰ ἐκ βίβλου πεπλεγμένα (*EM* 197, 30).

•ETYM The papyrus rind was supposedly named after the Phoenician harbor Byblos, from where it was shipped to Greece. Since the name of this town was *Gbl* in Phoenician, next to Akk. *Gublu*, and Hebr. *G<sup>e</sup>bāl*, we would need to assume the the initial *gu-* was interpreted as *g<sup>w</sup>u-* by the Greek, or that distant assimilation *g-b* > *b-b* took place. However, E. Masson 1967: 101-7 concluded that the word is of unknown origin and that the town was named after it and Alessio *Studi etruschi* 18 (1941): 122f. assumed that the word was Pre-Greek. Fur.: 364 offers evidence for υ/ι in Pre-Greek (the forms with -ι- appear to be old, not due to late assimilation; cf. Kretschmer *KZ* 57 (1930): 253). Pre-Greek origin is also strongly suggested by the prenasalized forms (which are hardly expressive). Cf. ►πάπυρος.

**βυθός** [adj.] = 'μεστός, πλήρης, μέγας' 'full, great' (Sophr. 115 *apud* Suid. and H.).

<ONOM>

•DER PN Βύβων Masson *Verbum* 18 (1995-6): 319 (Euboea), so the word is old.

•ETYM Familiar word, from ►βυνέω, ►βύω, etc., either with reduplication or with -ρος. On words in -θός, see Chantraine 1933: 261.

**βυθός** [m.] 'depth (of the sea)' (A.). <PG>

•COMP ἄβυσσος 'bottomless' (Hdt.), substantivized fem. 'abyss, underworld' (= Hebr. *tahōm*, LXX, NT, pap.; cf. Schwyzler *RhM* 81 (1932): 203); βυσσοδομεύω 'build in the deep > brood over (in the deep of one's soul), ponder deeply' (Od.), *metri causa* for βυσσοδομέω (Eust., Suid.) like οἰκοδομέω, etc., see Chantraine 1942: 368.

•DER βύθιος 'of the depth' (late), fem. βυθίτις (ψάμιος, AP). Denominative βυθίζω 'sink' (S.); ptc. βυθόωσα (ρίζα) 'going in the deep' (Nic. *Th.* 505). Further βυσσός [m.] 'depth of the sea' (Il.), βυσσόθεν (S.). Also βύσσα (Opp.; after βῆσσα? so probably secondary); further βύσσαλοι· βόθροι 'pits', βυσσαλεύοντι τῷ βυθῷ ἐφικνουμένῳ 'reaching the depth' (H.); also βυθμός· ἄντρον, πυθμὴν, καὶ βυθμὴν 'cave, bottom', perhaps corrupt.

•ETYM A base form \*βυθίος or \*βυθσός, for βυσσός (Frisk), does not inspire confidence, since this would presuppose that the word is epic (Aeolic): \*-d<sup>h</sup>i- and \*-Ts- would give IA -σ-. In order to connect the word with βαθύς (and βῆσσα), a labiovelar has been posited, but then the straightforward connection of βαθύς with βένθος must be abandoned. Moreover, assuming a labiovelar would mean that the β- is irregular (one would expect γυ-): it would have to have been introduced from βῆσσα, which remains a guess. A connection with γυθίσων· διορύσων 'digging out' (H.) would pose the same problem; the form is better left aside. The earlier attempts to connect βαθύς and βῆσσα (with α, as opposed to υ) are most improbable, and should now be abandoned. βυθός - βυσσός shows a typical variation in Pre-Greek words; see Fur.: 248-263, e.g. ἄνηθον/ἄνησον. The conclusion is confirmed by βυσσαλ-, with a typical Pre-Greek suffix; cf. κόρυδος beside κορύδαλος/κορυδαλλός (Fur.: 254). One may also compare the glosses ἄμυσσος· κῆτος 'sea monster' and ἄβυδόν· βαθύ.



Van Windekens KZ 100 (1987): 307 connects Hitt. *akkuš(š)a-* 'Fangrube', which is quite improbable ("β au lieu de -κ- sous l'influence de βυσσός").

**βυκάνη** [f.] 'trumpet, horn' (Plb.). <LW Lat.>

•DER βυκανάω 'to blow the horn' (Plb.), βυκανητής (Plb.); βυκανίζω (Eust.) βυκανιστής (Plb.), βυκανισμός (Nicom.).

•ETYM A loan word from Lat. *būcina*; for the suffix, cf. *māchina* : μηχανή (Niedermann IF 37 (1916/1917): 147f. *contra* Cuny 1908: 108ff.: from unweakened \**būcana*). A more exact rendering is βου-; βουκινάτωρ (Lyd.) = *būcinātor* and the hybrid form βουκινίζω (S. E.) are directly borrowed from Latin. See also ►βουκονιστήριον.

**βύκτης** [adj.] / [m.] only βυκτάων άνέμων (κ 20), also substantivized as 'stormwind' (Lyc.). <ONOM>

•ETYM If the word means πνεόντων, φυσητῶν (i.e., 'blowing'), as the ancients suggested, it may be compared with βεβυκῶσθαι πεπρησθαι <παρά> Θετταλοῖς 'blow, kindle (Thess.)' (H.), and further with ►βυνέω. According to Fraenkel 1910: 19', the word is connected with βύζω, βύζει 'to hoot (like an owl)' (see ►βύας). See the discussion on *k*-enlargements of onomatopoeic *bū-* and *bu-* in Pok. 97f. and 100f.

**βυνέω** [v.] 'to stuff' (Hdt.). <?>

•VAR Also βύνω (Hdt.), βύζω (Aret., H.); βύω, aor. βύσαι, fut. βύσω; βέβυσμαι (Od.), ἐβύσθην, (παρά)βυστος.

•COMP Often with prefixes δια-, ἐπι-, παρα-, προ-.

•DER βύσμα 'plug' (Hp.), βύστρα 'id.' (Antiph.); βύζην [adv.] (< \*βύσ-δην, see below) 'closely' (Hp.), together with βυζόν· πυκνόν, συνετόν, γαῦρον δὲ καὶ μέγα 'compact, intelligent, haughty, big' (H.). Also βυλλά· βεβυσμένα H., with denominative βεβυλλῶσθαι· βεβύσθαι (H.). Fur.: 213<sup>54</sup> suggests that βουνός· σπιβάς 'mattress', Κύπριοι (H.) is derived from βυνέω.

•ETYM Like κυνέω, βυνέω could represent a continuation of a nasal present \*βυ-νέ-σ-ω, with βύν- perhaps from a zero grade βυν-σ- (e.g., in the 3pl. \*βύνσοντι, see Schwyzler: 692). Alternatively, it could go back to \*βυσ-νέω with secondary -έω. βυνέω has been compared with Alb. *m-bush* 'fill' and words for 'pouch', e.g. Mlr. *búas* (< \**bousto-*), ON *posi*, OE *posa*, OHG *pfoso*, PGm. \**pūsān-* (< \**būson-*). However, this connection fails on the necessity to assume a root with PIE \**b-* (the material collected in Pok. 98ff. is too heterogeneous). Cf. ►βυβός, ►βουβών, ►βύτανα.

**βύνη 1** [f.] 'malt (for brewing)' (pap., Aët.). <?>

•VAR βύνι, -εως [n.] (after κίκι, κόμμι, etc.).

•DER Doubtful βυνεύς· σκεύασμά τι κρίθινον 'dish made of barley' (H.; Lagercrantz 1913: ad PHolm. 15); constructed from a gen. βύνεως?

•ETYM Unknown; of foreign origin?

**βύνη 2** [f.] · θάλασσα 'sea' (Euphor. fr. 127), πεύκη 'pine' (H.). <?>

•ETYM The meaning 'sea' fits well to the homophonous name of Leucothea (Ino) in Lyc. 107, but its etymology is unknown.

**βύνητος** an Egyptian garment (Hdn.). <LW? Eg.>

•ETYM Unknown.

**βύριον** [n.] βύριον· οἶκημα 'abode'; βυρίοθεν· οἶκοθεν 'from home' (H.). Cf. εὐβύριον· τὸ εὖοικον εἰρηται, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν βαυρίαν ἢ κατὰ Μεσσαπίους σημαίνει οἰκίαν 'comfortable to inhabit, because β. means "house" in Messapian' (EM 389,25); and βαυρίοθεν = οἶκοθεν 'from home' (Cleon Sic. 2). <LW Messap.>

•DER Perhaps βυρμός· σταθμός 'stable' (H.), s.v. von Blumenthal 1930: 3.

•ETYM Messapian word, also seen in Germanic: ON *búr* [n.], OHG, OE *būr* [m.] 'cottage, room' (PGm. \**būra-*); cf. Pok. 149. With a different ablaut are ►βαυρία and ►βάρις. See Krahe IF 57 (1940): 116. The words are supposed to be *r*-derivatives of the root for 'live, be'; see ►φύω.

**βυρρός** [m.] · κάνθαρος. Τυρρηνοί 'dung-beetle, drinking cup (Etr.)' (H.). <LW? Etr.>

•ETYM The word is believed to derive from the color, from Gr. πυρρός = Lat. *burrus* 'deep red' (Paul. Fest. 31). See Fohalle 1925: 157f. and Kretschmer *Glotta* 16 (1928): 166. However, this is hardly appropriate in the case of a cup. Fur.: 213 connects it with μύρσος 'basket' (Call. fr. anon. 102; H.), Etr. *murś*; the word lives on in Otrant. *urro*, Toscan. *borraccia* (Alessio 1955: 736).

**βύρσα** [f.] 'skin, hide' (Hdt.). <PG?>

•COMP βυρσοδέψης (Ar.).

•DER βυρσίς (H.); βύρσινος 'of leather' (D. C.), βυρσικός 'id.' (Gp.), also 'used by tanners' (*Hippiatr.*, to βυρσεύς), βυρσώδης 'id.' (Gal.). βυρσεύς 'tanner' (*Act. Ap.*) for older βυρσοδέψης (Ar.); βυρσεύω 'tan' (H.), βυρσεῖον 'tan-pit' (sch.). Denominative βυρσώω 'to cover with skins' (Ath. Mech.). Old is only βυρσίνη 'leather thong' (Ar. Eq. 59, 449).

•ETYM A technical term without etymology (Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 271, see further Frisk). The word may be of Pre-Greek, as argued by Fur.: 65, etc., who also compares ἀμυρτόν· ἱμάτιον 'cloth' (H.).

**βύσσα** [f.] a bird (Ant. Lib. 15). <?>

•ETYM Etymology unknown.

**βύσσος** [f.] "Byssos", flax and the linen made of it (Emp.); later also referring to cotton and silk. <LW Sem.>

•DER βύσσινος 'made of β.' (Hdt.); βύσσωμα 'net from β.' (AP; on the formation see πέπλωμα, etc., Chantraine 1933: 187).

•ETYM The word is supposed to have been borrowed by Greek from Eg. *w:d* 'linen' via Semitic (Hebr., Aram. *būs*; see E. Masson 1967: 20ff.; Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 661).

**βυσσός** = βυθός.

**βύσταξ** [m.] 'moustache' (Antiph. 44.4 *apud* Ath. 4, 143a). <PG>

•VAR Cf. βύσταγα· πώγωνα 'beard' (H.).

•ETYM The explanation of βύσταξ as adapted from μύσταξ after βυνέω is highly improbable. Rather, it is evidently cognate with μύσταξ, the words being of Pre-



Greek origin because of the alternation β ~ μ (Fur.: 116, 218; cf. κ/ γ, see also Güntert 1914: 128). For further variants, see ► μύσταξ.

**βύτανα** [n.pl.] · κονδύλοι 'knuckle'. οἱ δὲ βρύτανα (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM A formation in -ανον (Chantraine 1933: 197ff., Schwyzler: 489f.). Although the word has been connected with ► βυτθόν · πλήθος 'crowd' (H.) and ► βύττος · γυναικὸς αἰδοῖον 'private parts of a woman' (H.), this is only a superficial resemblance in form. The variant with βρ- points to a Pre-Greek word; further examples are adduced by Fur.: 330.

**βυτθόν** [n.]? · πλήθος 'large number, crowd' (H.). <?>

•ETYM The word has been connected βύτανα and βύττος, for which there seems to be no rationale.

**βυτίνη** [f.] · λάγυνος ἢ ἀμῖς. Ταραντῖνοι 'flask or chamber-pot (Tarantian)' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Cf. Att. πῦτίνη 'flask covered with plated osier' (Poll.), title of a comedy of Cratinus (Ar. fr. 880 K.-A.).

•ETYM The interchange π/ β proves Pre-Greek origin (the variation voiced/ voiceless being extremely frequent in such words; Fur.: 101-200). The suffix -iv- is also frequent in Pre-Greek (see *Pre-Greek*, Suffixes). VLat. *butina* is borrowed from the Greek, and the Latin is in turn the source of e.g. OE *byden*, OHG *butin*, MoHG *Bütte* (Fi. *putina*, Ru. *bódnja*, etc. are again borrowed from Germanic; see Vasmer 1953 s.v.).

**βύττος** [m.]? · γυναικὸς αἰδοῖον 'female genitals' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Cf. μυττός· τὸ γυναικεῖον 'id.' (H.).

•ETYM Fur.: 218 connects the gloss with μ-, which shows that the word is Pre-Greek. Szemerényi refers to Hubschmid 1955: 76.

**βωβός** [adj.] name of a handicap, acc. to H. = χωλός, πηρός (πτορός cod.) 'lame, disabled'; by Plu. *Fr. inc.* 149 used together with κωφός; in MoGr. it means 'dumb'. <?>

•DER PN Βωβᾶς, Βουβᾶς, L. Robert 1963: 30-33.

•ETYM Cf. κολοβός, κλαμβός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 261).

**βωληνή** [f.] ἄμπελος 'grape-vine', growing in Bithynia (Gr. 5, 17, 5). <PG (or LW Anat.)>

•ETYM Fur. 219 compares μῶλαξ, a Lydian name for wine.

**βωλήτης** [m.] 'fungus, especially mushroom' (Ath.). <LW? Lat.>

•VAR Also βωλίτης (Gr., Gal.), also 'root' of the lychnis.

•DER βωλήτιον 'saucerpan', βωλητάρια πινάκια (pap.), βωλητίνος ἄρτος (Ath.), after the form.

•ETYM Borrowed from Lat. *bōlētus* (Sen.), which was named after the Spanish town *Boletum* (Niedermann *IF Anz.* 29 (1912): 31f.). βωλίτης is remodelled after the derivatives in -ίτης, and borrowed into Latin (Plin.) again (Redard 1949: 70); its meaning 'root' is due to influence of βῶλος.

**βῶλος** [f.] 'lump, clod of earth' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Also [m.].

•COMP ἐρίβωλος, ἐριβῶλαξ (Il.).

•DER Adjectives βωλώδης (Thphr.), βώλινος (H.); adverb βωληδόν (Dsc.); βώλωσις 'formation of lumps' (pap.). Old is βῶλαξ [f.] = βῶλος (Pi.; cf. on -αξ Chantraine 1933: 379; βωλάκιος (Pi.). βωλῖς· μάζης εἰδός τι ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις 'kind of ball in sacrifices' (H.); unclear the gloss on βωλόνα (H.).

•ETYM Etymology unknown; hardly connected with ► βολβός.

**βωμός** [m.] 'step, stand (for chariots), base (of a statue)', most frequently 'altar' (Il.). <IE \*g<sup>wh</sup>oh<sub>2</sub>-mo- 'stand'>

•COMP βωμολόχος 'one that waited about the altars to steal the meat, ribald'.

•DER βωμῖς 'step' (Hdt.; on the word *CEG* 6), βωμίσκος technical term (Hero.); βῶμαξ· ὁ μικρὸς βωμός, ὑποκοριστικῶς 'small altar (hypocor.)' (H.). βωμίτις (sc. γῆ) 'sacred land' (Pergamon). βωμίστρια 'priestess' (Nic.; on -ίστρια Chantraine 1933: 106); βῶμαξ· βωμολόχος H., see Chantraine 1933: 381f.; on -αξ see Björck 1950: 263'. Adjectives βώμιος (S.), also month name (Lamia); βωμιαῖος (S.). Note βώμηνεν· ὥμοσε 'swore' (H.) from \*βωμαίνω 'swear (with the hand on the altar)'.

•ETYM Verbal noun \*g<sup>wh</sup>oh<sub>2</sub>-mo- to ἔ-βη-ν (ἔ-βᾶ-ν). For the meaning, cf. ► βάσις and OP *gādu-* 'place, throne' (from *gā-* = βᾶ-, βῆ-).

**βωνίτης** = βουνός.

**βωρεὺς** [m.] 'mullet' (Xenocr.). <LW Eg.>

•VAR βωρίδιον [n.], also βουρίδιον (Alex. Trall.).

•DER On the PN with Βωρ- (Βῶρος, Βῶρακος, Βῶρμιος) see Boßhardt (below).

•ETYM Boßhardt 1942: 61 derived the word from βῶροι· ὀφθαλμοί 'eyes' (H.), just as Strömberg 1943: 42f., but βῶροι is probably from \*ḡwōroi (see ► ὀράω). Connected with Copt. *bori*, Arab. *būrī*; see Thompson 1947 s.v. and Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 247.

**βωσίον** [n.] a utensil (pap.). <PG?>

•DER βωσιδία (pap.). Also βωτάριον (Zos. Alch.); βωσιδία is probably bad orthography for -ίδια.

•ETYM From βωτίον· σταμνίον 'wine jar' (H.) with τι > σι; see Olsson *Symb. Oslo.* 4 (1926): 62f. The word may be related to ► βουτ(τ)ις.

**βωστρέω** [v.] 'to call (to aid)' (Od.). <GR>

•VAR Only present.

•ETYM The word is connected to ► βοάω just as ἐλαστρέω (Il.) to ἐλαύνω, ἐλά-σαι and καλιστρέω (Call.) to καλέω. It is an expressive formation, based on the nominal suffixes -τερ-, -τρο- (cf. Risch 1937: 310), but details remain unclear.

**βωτάζειν** = γατάλαι, οὐτάω, and ὠτειλή.

**βωτιάνειρα** •VAR βώτωρ, etc. = βόσκω.

## Γ

γα ⇒ γε.

**γάβαθον** [n.] · τρυβλίον ‘cup, bowl’ <LW? Sem.>

- VAR Also καθαθα (accent unknown; pap. III<sup>a</sup>); also fem.sg. (Edict. Diocl.). And ζάβατος· πίναξ ιχθυηρός παρὰ Παφίοις ‘a trencher for fish (Paphian)’ (H.).
- ETYM Semitic origin has been assumed (E. Masson 1967: 75, which could also account for Lat. *gabata*. Alternatively, we may consider Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 187 assumes that it is a Mediterranean loan). Cf. ►γάβενα, ►κάβος.

**γάβενα** [n.pl.] · ὀξυβάφια, ἥτοι τρυβλία ‘small vessel; cup, bowl’ (H.). <?, PG?>

- ETYM On the basis of MoGr. forms, Moutsos *Orbis* 18 (1969): 535-540 argues that γάβενον < \*γαβινον < \*καβινον, a derivative from κάβος. Fur.: 116, etc. compares the word with ►γάβαθον, which is certainly a possibility.

**γαγάτης** [m.] (sc. λίθος) ‘lignite’ (Orph., Plin., Dsc.). <LW Anat.>

- VAR Also γαγγίτις or γαγγήτις λίθος (Str.); this form may have been influenced by the adjective ‘of the Ganges’. And ἐγγαγίς πέτρα (Nic.) = γαγάτης.
- ETYM According to Pliny 36, 141, the word derives from Γάγας or Γάγγαι, a town and river in Lycia. The forms with γαγγ-, with prenasalization, confirm its Anatolian (= Pre-Greek?) origin. Lat. *gagātēs*, with MoFr. *jais*, MoHG *Gagat*, etc., was borrowed from the Greek.

**γαγγαίνειν** [v.] · τὸ μετὰ γέλωτος προσπαίζειν ‘playing with great laughter’ (H.). <ONOM>

- VAR Cf. γαγγαλίδες· γελασῖνοι ‘front teeth; dimples’; γαγγαλᾶν, γαγγαλίζεσθαι· ἡδεσθαι ‘to enjoy oneself’; γάγγαλος· ὁ εὐμετάθετος τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ εὐμετάβολος ‘fickle in belief; changeable’.
- ETYM γαγγαίνειν is a reduplicated expressive form, which has been taken to belong together with Skt. *gañjana-* ‘despising’, which in turn was connected with OE *canc* ‘insult’. As the Skt. form appears only in MInd., the connection remains very uncertain. Neither is the word related to Lat. *ganniō*, etc. Cf. ►γογγύζω.

**γάγγαμον** [n.] ‘small round net for catching oysters’ (A.). <PG?>

- VAR γαγγάμη [f.] (Str.); γαγγάμη· σαγήνη ἢ δίκτυον ἀλιευτικόν. καὶ σκεῦος γεωργικόν ‘drag-net or fishing-net; also an agricultural tool’ (S ὅμοιον κρεάγρᾳ ‘similar to a flesh-hook’) (H.); γάγγαμον· δίκτυον. καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν ‘fishing-

net; also that which is around the navel' (H.); γαγγαμουλκοί· σαγινηνταί 'dragging an oyster-net' (H.).

•DER γαγγαμιεύς· ἀλιεύς, ὁ τῇ γαγγάμῃ ἐργαζόμενος 'fisherman, he who handles the γ.' (H.); γαγγαμιευτής 'id.' (conj. EM).

•ETYM Technical term, certainly of foreign origin and probably Pre-Greek. Not related to ►γέντο 'he took'. Neumann 1961: 100 connects it with Hitt. *kānk-i* 'to hang'; this is most uncertain.

**γαγγήτις** ⇒ γαγάτης.

**γαγγλίον** [n.] 'tumour on a tendon, or the head' (Gal.); the nerve knots now called *ganglia* have been compared to such a tumour. <PG?>

•DER γαγγλιώδης 'like a γ.' (Hp.).

•ETYM Unknown. The word is mostly connected with ►ἄγλις, ►γέλγισ, ►γάλινθοι, ►γέλινθοι. It is most probably non-IE, and possibly Pre-Greek (Fur.: 129).

**γάγγραινα** [f.] 'gangrene', an illness that eats away the flesh (Hp.). <PG?>

•VAR Cf. γάγγραινα· φαγέδαινα 'cancerous sore, cancer'. οἱ δὲ καρκίνος 'lobster', etc. (H.).

•DER γαγγραινόμαι, γαγγραίνωσις, etc. (Hp.).

•ETYM For the suffix, cf. ►φαγέδαινα. The basic form is uncertain, for a discussion of which see Chantraine 1933: 108f.; it is perhaps \*γάγγρων, \*γάγγρος, or \*γάγγρα. Alexander Polyhistor in St. Byz. s.v. Γάγγρα gives this word as a name for 'goat'. In antiquity, it was compared with γράω 'to devour' (thus also Frisk), but this is certainly incorrect. It is most probably a Pre-Greek word (*a*-vocalism, -αίνα, prenasalization?). Cf. ►καρκίνος.

**γάδασιον** [n.]? · ἐνηρόσιον 'rent for corn land'. <GR?>

•VAR Ms. γαλασιον corr.

•ETYM Latte *Mnem.* 3/10 (1942): 91<sup>o</sup> reads γάδασιον for γαλασιον in the manuscript on the basis of a comparison with δασμός 'rent'.

**γαδή** [f.] · κιβωτός 'box' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Cf. γάνδιον· κιβώτιον (H.; Belardi *Rend. Acc. Linc.* 8: 9 (1954): 620). Because of the prenasalized variant, the word is Pre-Greek. Because of the deviant semantics, Lat. *gandeia*, an African vehicle, is not related.

**γάδος 1** [m.] name of a fish, also called ὄνος (Dorio *apud* Ath. 7, 315f.). <PG(V)>

•VAR γάδαρος (Diogenian) = γαῖδάριον (pap. VI-VII<sup>o</sup>), MoGr. γαῖδαρόψαρον (see Thompson 1947 s.v. ὄνος and Saint-Denis 1947 s.v. *asellus*). Very unclear, see DELG.

•ETYM There is a variety of names for the ὄνος-fish: γαλίας, γαλλερίας, καλλαρίς, χελλαρίς, etc. (Strömberg 1943: 130f.). Fur.: 339<sup>3</sup>, 254 adds γάζας· ἰχθὺς ποτιός 'a fish' (H.), assuming Pre-Greek origin. DELG explains γαῖδάριον as a loan from Arabic (Andriotis, Etym. Lex. s.v.), but disassociates it from γάδος.

**γάδος 2** ⇒ γάνδος.

**γάζα** [f.] 'royal' treasury' (Thphr., *OGI* 54, 22 [III<sup>a</sup>]). <LW Pers.>

•COMP γαζο-φύλαξ 'guarding the treasury' (LXX).

•ETYM According to Pomp. Mela 1, 64 and others, γάζα is of Persian origin, cf. MP *ganj* (ultimately going back to Median; see Mayrhofer *KEWA* 1: 315 with references). Arm. *ganj* was likewise taken over from Iranian. Lat. *gaza*, and probably Syr. *gazā*, were borrowed from Greek.

**γάζας** ⇒ γάδος 1.

**γάθια** [f.] · ἄλλαντία 'small sausage' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM Unknown. See Belardi *Ric. ling.* 4 (1958): 196. Fur. (index) connects the word with γηθυλλίς, ἀγαθίς.

**γαῖα** [f.] 'earth' (Il.).

•COMP Dor. γαῖαοχος, Lacon. γαῖαφοχος, epic ►γαῖοχος, epithet of Poseidon, also ►ἐννοσίγαιος (Il., s.v.). ἀνώγειον 'upper floor of a house, granary'; also ἀνόκαιον· ὑπέρφρον, γράφεται καὶ ἀνώγειον H.; perhaps the form with -ο- is original, the other variants being due to folk etymology.

•DER γαῖήϊος 'from the earth' (Od.; with -ήϊος, Chantraine 1933: 52); γαίων 'heap of earth' (*Tab. Heracl.* 1, 136) beside γαεών (*IG* 14, 322: II 83, Halaesa); γαίω 'change into earth' (Tz.).

•ETYM Unknown; see ►γῆ.

**γαῖοχος** [m.] Epithet of Poseidon, secondarily of Zeus, etc. (Il.), mg. uncertain, mostly taken as 'earth-shaker' (= ►ἐννοσίγαιος, s.v.). <?>

•VAR Dor. γαῖαοχος, Lacon. γαῖαφοχος.

•ETYM γαῖοχος is a compound with γαῖα as the first member, but the interpretation of the second member is debated. The solution of Borgeaud *KZ* 68 (1944): 221f. that the word means 'bringing home (i.e., the husband of) Gaia' (viz., Ποσειδῶν) is impossible. Kretschmer *Glotta* 5 (1914): 303 interpreted γαῖοχος as Γαῖαν ὀχεύων 'mounting Gaia' or Γαῖα ὀχοῦμενος, basing himself on the myth that Poseidon ἵππιος had intercourse with the earth goddess Demeter. However, Lacon. γαῖαφοχος shows that the second member started with φ-, for which there are no indications in the case of ►ὀχέω and ►ὀχεύων. Alternatively, Nilsson 1941: 419 understood 'faring below the earth' (with Poseidon as a river, after Hesychius, "ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὀχοῦμενος"), which is implausible, too. Most scholars follow Meillet 1924 and connect the second member with Go. *gawigan* 'to set in motion'. Cf. further αἰγίοχος (s.v. ►αἰγίς).

**γαῖσος** [m.] a Gaulish javelin (Ph. *Bel.*). <LW Lat.>

•VAR Also γαῖσον [n.].

•DER γαισᾶται/-οι 'mercenarii' (Plb.) is a loan from Lat. *gaesatus*.

•ETYM Like Lat. *gaesum*, the word is from Gaulish, but via Latin: cf. the PN *Gaesatō-rīx*, *Gaeso-rīx*, Vandal. *Gaise-rīcus*, Go. *Rada-gaisus*. We can compare OIr. *gae*, Co. *gew* 'javelin', and OHG and OS *gēr*, OE *gār*, ON *geirr* [m.] 'spear'. See further s.v. ►χαῖος.

**γαίω** ⇒ γάννυμαι, γηθέω.

**γακού** · ἡδύ, γλυκύ 'sweet' (H.). <?>

•DER γακουπώνης· ἡδυπότης 'fond of drinking' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown.

**γάλα** [n.] 'milk' (Il.). <IE \*g<sub>l</sub>kt(-) 'milk'>

•VAR Gen. γάλακτος. Rare forms: dat. γάλακι (Call. *Hek.* 1, 4, 4), gen. γάλατος (pap.), τοῦ γάλα (Pl. Com.). Also γάγος [n.] (B 471). Other forms: γλακῶντες· μεστοὶ γάλακτος 'full of milk' (H.); κλάγος· γάλα. Κρήτες (H.), see below; with hypocoristic gemination γλακκόν· γαλαθηνόν 'sucking (milk)' (H.); and γλακτοφάγος 'living on milk' (Il.); these forms may be due to simple assimilations (or metathesis).

•COMP Old is γαλα-θι-νός 'sucking milk' (Od.) from γάλα and θῆσθαι; on the suffix cf. ἀγανός, etc. (Schwyzer: 452), also τιθήνη. Also γαλακτο-πότης 'drinking milk' (Hdt.), etc. On γάλα as a second member see Sommer 1948: 83.

•DER γαλακτίς (πέτρα) name of a stone (Orph.) = γαλακτίτης (Dsc.), both also as plant names = τιθύμαλλος (Aët., gloss.; after its juice, see Strömberg 1940: 58); γάλαξ name of a white shellfish (Arist.; Strömberg 1943: 109; cf. Chantraine 1933:379); ►γάλιον s.v. Adjective γαλακτώδης (Arist.). Denominative verbs: γαλακτίζω, γαλακτόμαι, γαλακτιάω. With ξ (from τ assimilated before ι) γαλαξίας (κύκλος) 'Milky Way' (D. S.; see Chantraine 1933: 95; also γαλακτίας Ptol.); γαλάξια [n.pl.] name of a festival for Cybele (inscr., Thphr.), from which Γαλαξιῶν month name on Delos (inscr. III<sup>a</sup>). Independent is γαλατμόν· λάχανον ἄγριον 'wild herb' (H.; cf. γάλιον); perhaps from \*γαλακτ-μόν (Strömberg 1940: 58); Fur.: 374, 389 compares ἀδαλτόμον. See on ►γάλαγγα. From γάγος derive the late forms γλαγερός, γλαγόεις; also περιγλαγής (II 642) and γλαγάω (AP).

•ETYM Outside Greek, only found in Lat. *lac* (De Vaan 2008 s.v.) and Armenian (see below). The basis of the Greek forms is \*galakt- or \*glakt-; the latter is seen in γλακτο-φάγος (N 6). As an alternative to assuming a proto-stem with two variants, we may consider the possibility that γάλα goes back to \*glakt (from \*g<sub>l</sub>kt) with loss of the final consonants and development of a secondary vowel in the nom./acc. (cf. γυνή). In that case, γλακτο- (see above) would be the expected outcome for the oblique cases, whereas γάλακτος would have analogical γάλ- instead of γλ-. Since in the nominative the final consonants must have been lost in subsequent stages, i.e. \*galakt > \*galak > γάλα, the intermediate stage could have yielded the *t*-less forms like γάγος. The Armenian forms, class. *kat'n* and dial. *kaxc'*, have been explained by Kortlandt (following Weitenberg) as from acc. \*g<sub>l</sub>kt-m, gen. \*g<sub>l</sub>kt-s via an intermediate \*kalt'- with *al* < \*l (Kortlandt *REArm.* 19 (1985): 22). Mlr. *lacht*, etc. were borrowed from Lat. *lac*. The derivation of Szemerényi KZ 75 (1958): 170-184 from \*mlg/k- (from the root of ἀμέλγω) is impossible, as this root was \*h<sub>2</sub>melg-. Not related is Hitt. *galaktar* 'soothing'; see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *kalank-i* 'soothe'.

**γάλαγγα** [?] 'galingal, Alpina officinarum' (Aet.). <LW Sem.>

•ETYM From Arab. *khalandjan*, itself of Chinese origin. See André 1956 s.v. *galenga*.

**γάλας** · γῆ 'earth'. παρὰ Εὐκλίτω (H.). Corr. Εὐκλω? (PW 6, 1055). <?>

•ETYM Etymology unknown. The word is Mediterranean, according to Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 200.

**γαλάσιον** ⇒ γάδασμιον.

**γαλέη, γαλή** [f.] 'weasel, marten' (*Batr.*, Ar.); also a fish name (Ael.), see Strömberg 1943: 108. <?>

•COMP γαλε-άγκων (Arist.), also γαλι-άγκων (Hp.; after the frequent first members in -ι: ἀργι-, κυδι-, etc.; see below), properly "with arms like a weasel", i.e. 'with short upper arm', cf. Solmsen 1909: 225f.; γαλεό-βδολον [n.] "weasel stench", 'dead nettle', substantivized bahuvrihi, = γαλήροψις "weasel eye" (Dsc.); on the names see Strömberg 1940: 138f., Lehmann *IF* 21 (1907): 193'. Denominative γαλιάω = ἀκολασταίνω 'be licentious', "ce qui serait sémantiquement satisfaisant" (?) DELG.

•DER γαλιδεύς 'young weasel' (Crat.), after λυκ-ιδεύς, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 364; see below); γαλεώτης 'gecko lizard' (Ar.), 'weasel' (Luc.); on the formation see Schwyzer: 500; also 'swordfish' (Plb.), cf. s.v. ►γαλεός.

•ETYM The formation of γαλέη shows that the word originally indicated the skin; cf. ἄλωπεκ-ή, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 91) and Lat. *galea* below. γαλέη has been connected with Lat. *glīs* 'dormouse' and Skt. *giri-*, *girikā-* [f.] 'mouse'. However, the Skt. word is only attested in lexicons and probably did not really exist (Mayrhofer *EWaia* 1: 488). In spite of its deviant meaning, the Latin could perhaps be related if γαλ- reflects \*glH-V-, Lat. *glīs* possibly going back to \*glH- (Schrijver 1991: 242). γαλέη is not related to MW *bele* 'weasel' (pace Schwyzer: 299; cf. De Vaan 2008 s.v. *fēlēs*). The original meaning 'weasel-skin' is found in Lat. *galea* 'leather helmet', cf. κυνέη properly 'dog-skin'. For a possible connection of 'weasel' with ►γαλώως 'husband's sister', see there.

**γαλεός** [m.] 'dogfish, shark' (Pl. Com.), also = γαλέη (Aret.). <?>

•DER γαλεώδης 'like a shark' (Arist.), γαλεώτης 'swordfish' (Plb.; see below), also γαλαξίας = γαλεός (Gal.); connection with γαλαξίας 'milky way' unclear; remarkable compound γαλεώνυμος = γαλεός (Phylotim. *apud* Gal.), cf. also καλλιώνυμος name of a fish, see Strömberg 1943: 108f.

•ETYM Strömberg l.c. maintained that the dogfish was named after the weasel, but the formation of γαλεός is unclear (a back-formation from γαλεώτης after ἀσκαλαβώτης : ἀσκάλαβος?). On γαλεός, see Thompson 1947 s.v. For γαλεώνυμος etc., Frisk and DELG (s.v. γαλέη) suggested contamination and tabu-formation, which remains gratuitous.

**γαλήνη** [f.] 'stillness of the sea' (Od.); also 'lead sulphite' (Plin.), see Chantraine *RPh.* 91 (1965): 203-5. <IE \*g<sub>l</sub>h<sub>2</sub>-es- 'laughter'>

•VAR Dor. γαλᾶνᾱ.

•DER γαλήνεια (γαλάνεια) = γαλήνη (Eur.), after σαφήνεια?; not from γαληνής (only Arist. *Phgn.* 81b 38); γαληναίη (A. R.; cf. ἀναγκαίη beside ἀνάγκη), γαληναῖος (AP). γαληνός 'still' (E.). After the numerous adjectives in -ρο- (not an old *r/n*-stem): γαληρός (H.); after the adjectives in -ερος: γαλερός (H.).

•ETYM Similarly to σελήνη, the variants γαλήνη and γαλᾶνᾱ derive from \*γαλασ-*vā*, in turn from an *s*-stem that is also seen in γέλως, γελασ-τός, etc. Because of its *e*-grade, γελήνη (termed Aeol. by Jo. Gramm. *Comp.* 3, 1) is perhaps to be ranged with the latter words. γαλήνη must originally have meant 'cheerfulness'; cf. γελεῖν· λάμπειν, ἀνθεῖν 'to shine, flourish' (H.). For the ablaut grade \**ǵlh<sub>2</sub>-es-*, cf. Arm. *całr* 'laughter'. See ► γελάω, ► γλήνη, ► γλήνος.

γάλι ⇒ ἄλις.

γαλιάγκων ⇒ γαλέη.

γαλίας ⇒ γάδος.

γάλινθοι [m.pl.] · ἐρέβινθοι. οἱ δὲ γάλιθοι 'chick-peas; elsewhere γάλιθοι' (H.). <PG>

•VAR Also γέλινθοι· ἐρέβινθοι (H.).

•ETYM Pre-Greek (note the suffix -ινθος with a variant without prenasalization, as well as the interchange α/ε). Not related to ► γέλγος.

γάλιον [n.] 1. 'bedstraw, Galium verum' (Dsc. 4, 95) and 2. 'dead nettle' (Plin. 27, 81).

<GR>

•VAR The first also (ibid.) γαλάτιον (cf. ἀλάτιον 'salt') and γαλαίριον (unclear).

•ETYM In the sense 'bedstraw' etc., γάλιον is related to γάλα because it was used as rennet (Dsc. l.c., cf. Strömberg 1940: 108). In the sense 'dead nettle', we should rather compare ► γαλέη in view of other words for 'dead nettle': γαλεόβδολον and γαλήνοψις.

γαλλαρίας •VAR γαλλερίας. ⇒ καλλαρίας.

γάλλαρρος [m.] 'member of a Dionysiac cultic society' (inscr. Philippopol, II<sup>p</sup>). γάλλαρρος· Φρυγιακὸν ὄνομα παρὰ Λάκωσι 'a Phrygian name, acc. to the Laconians' (H.). <LW Phr.>

•ETYM See Dunst KZ 78 (1963): 147ff. Cf. ► γάλλος.

γάλλια [n.pl.] · ἔντερα 'intestines' (H.). <?>

•ETYM As \**ḡállia*, the word is perhaps from \**ḡállia*, related to εἰλύω 'wind, turn, etc.' (Lidén KZ 61 (1934): 22f.). Cf. ON *vil* [n.], *viljum* [dat.pl.] 'viscera', IE \**uel-io-*. On the development, cf. Lesb. Thess. στάλλα, from \**στάλνᾱ*.

γάλλος [m.] 'a priest of Cybele, eunuch' (inscr. Epict.). <LW Phr.>

•COMP γαλλομανής, γαλλιαμβικόν metrical term (not in LSJ).

•DER γαλλαῖος 'of a γ.' (Rhian.), γαλλάζω (Schwyzer: 633, 12).

•ETYM In antiquity, the word was believed to be Phrygian. Probably, ► γάλλαρρος is related.

γαλόως [f.] 'husband's sister' (Il.). <IE \**ǵlH-ōu-s* 'husband's sister'>

•VAR γαλόω [gen.sg.], γαλόω [dat.sg.] and [nom.pl.], γαλόων [gen.pl.] (with metrical diectasis). Also γάλις· γαλαός (H.), see below.

•DIAL Also Att. γάλως, -ω (acc. to Hdn. Gr.).

•ETYM The Greek forms derive from \**γαλ-αφ-ο-* (not \**γαλ-ωφ-ο-*; Beekes MSS 34 (1976):13ff), a thematicization of \**ǵlh<sub>2</sub>-eu-*, which is probably an oblique stem of \**ǵ(e)lh<sub>2</sub>-ōu-s* (formation as in ► πάτρως, ► μήτρως). The PIE term denoted the unmarried sister of the husband, cf. Lat. *glōs* 'husband's sister' (secondarily 'brother's wife'; the loss of the laryngeal in Latin is difficult to account for, see Schrijver 1991: 131). Further cognates are Arm. *tal* 'id.' (*i*-stem), which has initial *t-* for *c-* after *taygr* 'husband's brother' (see ► δαήρ), and Slavic words like OCS *zъlъna*, Ru. *zólva*, *zolónka*, which must reflect \**-uū-* instead of \**-u-*, probably through adaptation to *-uh<sub>2</sub>-* after other feminines. γέλαρος· ἀδελφοῦ γυνή, Φρυγιστί (H.) is unclear (for \**γέλαρος*? Hermann Gött. *Nachr.* (1918): 222f.). Oettinger 1998: 649-654 points out that in Romance languages and dialects, 'weasel' and 'aunt' are often homonyms, because of the behaviour of the aunt; for the same reason, the IE terms may have been identical. The nature of the laryngeal is difficult to determine, unless the Hesychius gloss has \**γαλαφ-ος* < \**ǵlh<sub>2</sub>-eu-os*. γάλις could represent \**ǵlH-i-*.

γαμβρός [m.] 'son-in-law, brother-in-law (sister's husband)' (Il.). <IE \**ǵ(e)mH-* 'marry'>

•DER Rare and late: γαμβροτιδεύς 'son of a γαμβρός' (Iamb., after λεοντιδεύς, etc.), γαμβρεύω 'form connections by marriage' (LXX).

•ETYM Outside Greek, one compares Skt. *jāmātar-* = Av. *zāmātar-* (with secondary *-tar-*); cf. Av. *zāmaoiia-* (< \**-mavya-*) 'brother of the son-in-law' and Skt. *jāmí-* 'related', fem. also 'daughter-in-law', Lat. *gener*, Alb. *dhëndërr*, *dhëndër(r)*. The formation of the BSl. terms is isolated: Lith. *žentas*, OCS *zъtъ*. The BSl. and Alb. words, as well as Lat. *gener*, must have been influenced by \**ǵenhi-* (γίγνομαι), although even then Latv. *znuōts* remains difficult, as it seems to go back to \**ǵneh<sub>3</sub>-to-*. The Greek and Indo-Iranian forms must belong together, the Greek requiring \**ǵm-ro-*, the Indo-Iranian forms \**ǵomo-*; ► γαμέω might have been formed secondarily, or else the resemblance may be due to later influence γαμέω (cf. Viredaz IF 107 (2002): 152-180).

γαμέω [v.] 'to marry' (Il.). <IE \**ǵ(e)m-* 'marry'>

•VAR Fut. γαμέω (γαμῶ), aor. γῆμαι, perf. γεγάμηκα, -ημαι (Att.); late γαμήσω, ἐγάμησα, ἐγαμήθην; isolated fut. γαμέσσεσθαι I 394 'give in marriage' (Aristarchus reads γε μᾶσσεσθαι).

•DER Back-formation γάμος [m.] 'wedding' (Il.). From γαμέω: γαμετή 'wife' (Hes.); from γάμος: γαμέτης 'husband' (A.). γαμήλιος 'nuptial' (A.) with the month name Γαμηλιών (Arist.). A suffix *-li-* also in γάμελα [n.pl.] 'wedding offerings' (Delphi V\*) and Γαμέλιος months name (Dodona). Desiderative γαμησεῖω (Alciph.).

•ETYM There are no cognate verbs outside Greek. The connection with γέντο, ὕγγεμος = συλλαβή, γέμω is uncertain. Probably connected with ► γαμβρός.

γάμια [n.] name of the letter (X.). <LW Sem.>

•VAR γέμμα (Democr.).

•ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *gīmel* and the word for 'camel': Hebr. *gāmāl*, Aram. *gamlā* (Schwyzer: 140).

**γαμφηλαί** [f.pl.] 'jaws of animals' (Il.). <PG?>

- VAR γναμφαί· γνάθοι 'jaws' (H.).
- DER Backformation γαμφαί (Lyc.).
- ETYM Cf. τράχηλος 'neck, throat', etc. Generally connected with ► γόμφος and γομφίος, but the α-vocalism is problematic. Neither a popular word, a zero grade \*γαφ- with restored nasal, nor influence from γαμψός or γναμπτήρ (CEG 1) seems to be a sufficient explanation. The suffix -ηλ- occurs in Pre-Greek (see *Pre-Greek*), so the word may be Pre-Greek. Pedersen (see WP 1: 534) pointed to Ru. *gubá* 'lip', etc.

**γαμψός** [adj.] 'curved, crooked' (Ar.). <PG?>

- COMP γαμψώνυξ (Il.), γαμψώνυχος (Epich.) 'with curved claws'.
- DER γαμψόμοι (Arist.), γαμψωλή (H.).
- ETYM It seems evident to connect the word with ► γνάμπτω. On the assumption that γαμψός is a back-formation from γαμψώνυχ(ο)-, the absence of the -v- was implausibly explained as the result of dissimilation (Leumann 1950: 156). Equally unattractive is it to assume a contamination of γνάμπτω and κάμπτω (Güntert 1914: 115f.). We rather have to connect γαμψός with (a variant of) ► κάμπτω, and possibly ► γνάμπτω is related as well. If so, all of these words may well be Pre-Greek.

**γᾶναι** •VAR Cod. γάναι. = αἴνω.

**γάνδος** [m.] · ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς καὶ πανοῦργος. τίνες δὲ γάδος 'a villain who knows much; some authors have γάδος' (H.). <PG>

- VAR Cf. γάσος· ὁ ἀπατέων. ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς καὶ πανοῦργος 'a deceiver; a villain who knows much'.
- ETYM The prenasalization proves Pre-Greek origin; see Fur.: 254, 288. This conclusion is confirmed by the variant with σ.

**γανῖται** [?] · δάπανοι, ἄστωι 'extravagant men; spendthrifts' (H.). <?>

- ETYM DELG hesitantly and unconvincingly suggests a connection with Lat. *ganea* 'underground house', which implies some relationship with ► γάνος 2.

**γάνος 1** = γάνυμαι.

**γάνος 2** [m.] · παράδεισος 'garden' (Cyprian, acc. to EM); γάνεα· κήπους 'gardens' (H.). <LW Sem.>

- ETYM From Semitic (Hebr. *gan* 'garden'); see E. Masson 1967: 74.

**γάνος 3** = γλάνος.

**γάνυμαι** [v.] 'to brighten up, be glad, rejoice' (Il.). <IE \*geh<sub>2</sub>u- 'be bright, be glad'>

- VAR Present; further only fut. γανύσομαι (Ξ 504); late perf. γεγάνυμαι.
- COMP Γανυ-μῆδης, etc.
- DER γανύματα· ἀρτύματα 'seasonings' (AB), γανύσματα (Paul. Sil.), from which (with rhotacism) γανύσματα H.; γανυρόν· λευκόν, ἡδύ, ἱλαρόν 'white, sweet, merciful' (H.; γανερόν EM), γανυτελεῖν· γανυπελεῖν, ἡδύσματα ποιεῖν 'bring joy' (H.), γάνος 'brightness, joy' (Sapph.), with γάνωμα = γάνος (Ph.), γανώδης (Thphr.), διηγανές· λαμπρόν 'bright' (H.) and γανόομαι (Anacr.) with γάνωσις

(Plu.). Denominative γανεῖν· λευκαίνειν 'to become bright' (H., EM). Pres. γανύσκομαι (Them.). Homeric ptc. γανόνωντες, γανόωσαι, etc. 'glitter, gleam' (Il.), innovations after the verbs in -ανάω (see Risch 274, Chantraine 1942: 360), late present γανόωσιν (Arat. 190) and γανάσσαι· σμῆξαι, ἡδύναι 'wash clean, rejoice' (H.). γαίων in κύδει γαίων (Il.) 'rejoicing in splendour' vel sim.; γαῖεσκον· ἔχαιρον 'rejoiced' (H.).

- ETYM γάνυμαι is an old nasal present \*gh<sub>2</sub>-n-u-, cognate with γαίων, from \*γᾶφ-ιω < \*gh<sub>2</sub>u-īō. Possibly further related to ► γαῦρος (\*geh<sub>2</sub>u-ro-) and ► γηθέω.

**γαπελεῖν** [v.] · ἀμελεῖν 'to have no care for' (H.). <PG?>

- ETYM Without any additional support, Bechtel KZ 44 (1911): 354 connected the word with the PNs Arg. Γαψίας, Delph. Γάψων (cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 5 (1914): 307). It has also been proposed to correct this entry, i.e. to \*ναπελεῖν for νηπελεῖν (Whatmough *Class. Phil.* 53 (1958): 203f.). Alternatively, Fur.: 391 convincingly adduces ἀπαλεῖν· ἀμελεῖν (H.): because of the variation in the initial, a very promising indication of Pre-Greek origin.

**γάρ** [pcl.] 'for, since' (Il.).

- ETYM From ► γε ► ἄρ. See Schwyzer 1950: 560.

**γάρρα** [f.] · αἴγειρος 'black poplar, Populus nigra' (H.). <PG?>

- ETYM Fick 1905: 82 compares the Attic Deme called Γαργηττός and Γάρραρα (Troas).

**γαργαλίζω** [v.] 'to tickle' (Pl.). <ONOM>

- VAR γαγγαλίζω (Phryn.), with γαγγαλίδες· γελασῖνοι 'front teeth; dimples' (H.) and γαγγαλιάω (H.).
- DER Backformation γάργαλος (Ar.), γαργάλη (Com.).
- ETYM Onomatopoeic formations with reduplication (for \*γαλ-γαλ-); cf. Schwyzer: 259 and 647.

**γάρραρα** [n.pl.] 'heaps, lots (of people)' (Com.). <ONOM>

- VAR Dissimilated γάργαλα· πλήθος, πολλά 'a multitude, many' (H.).
- DER γαργαρίς· θόρυβος 'tumult' (H.), γαργαίρω 'swarm' (Com., Sophr.); γαργάρται· λίθοι αὐτοφυεῖς 'natural stone' (H.)? With another vowel γέργερα· πολλά (H.).
- ETYM Reduplicated onomatopoeic formation. Not related to ► ἀγείρω, ► ἀγοστός. Comparable independent formations are seen, for instance, in Lith. *gurgulys* 'tangle of threads, swarm (of birds)', *gūrguolė* 'mass (people, bees)'.

**γαργαρίζω** [v.] 'to gargle' (Orib., sch.). <ONOM>

- DER Deverbal γαργαρεύω [m.] 'uvula', also 'trachea' (Hp.); cf. ἀνθερεών. With different vocalism γέργερος· βρόγχος 'windpipe' (H.), cf. on ► γάρραρα.
- ETYM Onomatopoeic formation with intensive reduplication; see Schwyzer: 423.

**γάρκαν** [?] · ῥάβδον. Μακεδόνες 'rod, wand (Maced.)' (H.). <?>

- ETYM Reminiscent of ► γάρρα· ῥάβδος; ► γάρσανα· φρύγανα. Κρήτες 'stick (Cret.)' (H.) and ► γέρρον. However, the words can hardly be cognate, even if they are from

Pre-Greek. Not related to βράκος· κάλαμιος (pace Pisani *Acme* 1 (1948): 312; Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 200f.; Kalléris 1954: 136f.; see also Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 253f.).

**γάρνον** [?] · τὸ ἔσω τῆς πλήμνης σιδήριον, ὃ τὸν ἄξονα τρίβει 'iron implement in the nave of a wheel, which pounds the axle' (H.). <?>

•VAR Pollux 1, 145 writes γάρκον.

•ETYM Etymology unknown.

**γάρρος** [m.] 'sauce or paste made of brine and small fish' (A.). <?>

•VAR Also ntr. (pap.), γάρρον (Str.).

•DER γαράριον, γαρήριον 'bowl for γ.' (pap.); γαριτικός (pap.); γαρίνος and γαρίσκος fish names (Marcell. Sid.); Strömberg 1943: 41 and 88.

•ETYM Etymology unknown; Lat. *garum* is borrowed from the Greek (see DELG).

**γάρρα** ⇒ γέρρον.

**γαρριώμεθα** [v.] · λοιδορούμεθα 'we are reproached' (H.). <?>

•ETYM An expressive form which recalls Lat. *garriō*, 'to chatter'. The connection with ▶ γῆρυς is doubtful. Bechtel 1921, 2: 369 opts for Laconian origin.

**γάρσανα** ⇒ γέρρον.

**γάσος** ⇒ γάνδος.

**γαστήρ** [f.] 'belly, paunch, womb' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Gen. -τρός, -τέρος (for the inflection see Schwyzer: 568, Chantraine 1942: 96 and 215).

•COMP As a first member γαστρ(ι/ο)-. Old ὀγάστωρ (H.).

•DER γάστρα, -η 'belly of a vase' (Il., inscr., cf. μήτρα); γάστρων 'pot-belly' (Alc.). Denominative γαστρίζω (Ar.).

•ETYM γαστήρ is often derived from \*γρασ-τήρ as "glutton", which would be a derivative of ▶ γράω; the word would be matched by Skt. *grastar-* 'eclipser', an astronomical term (allegedly from "devourer"). However, the semantics are far-fetched since the belly is not an "eater", nor is DELG's comment convincing: "le ventre de femme en tant qu'elle conçoit et porte un enfant". If ▶ γέντα should be related, we might think of a \**gnt-tēr* with *tt* > *st*, but this remains quite uncertain.

**γατάλαι** [f.pl.] · οὐλαί 'barley-corns' (H.).

•ETYM Mostly corrected to γατελαί and, as \*φατελαί, connected with ▶ ὠτειλή.

**γαυλός** [m.] 'milk-pail, water-bucket, beehive' (Od.). <?>

•VAR γαῦλος, with different accent (see Hdn. Gr. 1, 156), a (round) freighter (Epich., see Chantraine 1928: 7).

•ETYM A connection with ▶ γωλεός and ▶ γύαλον (q.vv.) and, outside Greek, OHG *kiol*, ON *kjóll* 'ship' has been considered. Alternatively, γαυλός could be borrowed from Semitic, cf. Hebr. *gullā* 'vase for oil'. Specifically Phoenician origin cannot be proven with the gloss γαυλοί· καὶ τὰ Φοινικικὰ πλοῖα γαῦλοι καλοῦνται 'also Phoenician ships are called γ.' (H.); see E. Masson 1967: 39ff. Lat. *gaulus* is borrowed from the Greek.

**γαυνάκης** [m.] a thick cloak, Persian or Babylonian? (pap., *Peripl. M. Rubr.*, Clem. Al.). <LW Pers.>

•VAR Also καυνάκης (Ar.) and καυνάκη [f.] (pap.).

•ETYM Borrowed from a Persian word that reflects older \**gauna-ka-* 'hairy' (cf. Av. *gaona-* 'hair'). Assy. *gunakku*, a garment, is borrowed from the same source, whereas Lat. *gaunaca* (since Varro) was taken over from the Greek (see Schwyzer *ZII* 6 (1926): 234ff.). Alternatively, Fur.: 119 assumes a 'vorderasiatisches Wanderwort' (see R. Schmitt *Glotta* 49 (1971): 102-105).

**γαῦρος** [adj.] 'haughty, exulting in' (Archil.). <?>

•DER γαῦρηξ 'braggart' (Alc.), γαυρότης 'exultation' (Plu.). Denominative γαυριάω 'bear oneself proudly' (Cratin.); γαυρόομαι 'id.' (E.).

•ETYM Mostly connected with ▶ γάννυμαι, ▶ γιγθέω. Mlr. *gúaire* 'noble' (< \**gauros?*) has also been cited as a comparandum. Cf. ▶ ἀγαυρός.

**γαύσαπος** [m.] 'shaggy woollen cloth, frieze' (Str.). <LW Balkans?>

•VAR γαυσάπης (Varro).

•ETYM For a suggestion, see Fur.: 119, who compares καυσία 'Macedonian felt hat' (NB: forms like \*γαυδαπος, which he often cites, e.g. 229, are ghost forms). Lat. *gausape(s)*, -a, -um (Lucil.) is borrowed from the Greek. γαύσαπος is not borrowed from from Assyrian *guzippu*, *kuzippu* 'cloth' (Lewy *KZ* 58 (1931): 26ff.).

**γαυσός** [adj.] 'crooked, bent outwards' (Hp.). <PG?>

•VAR Or γαῦσος? (DELG; the accent varies).

•DER Thence γαυσάδας· ψευδής 'false' (H.; see DELG); denominative γαυσώ (Sor.). Also ἔγγαυσον· ἔνσκαμβον 'crooked' (H.), cf. Strömberg 1946: 127.

•ETYM For the suffix, cf. βλαισός, λοξός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 434). γαυσός has been compared with γαυλός, which is semantically improbable, and with γυρός, γύαλον (from a PIE root \**geu-* 'curve, etc.'), which is formally impossible. The origin of the word is rather to be sought in Pre-Greek.

**γε** [pcl.] 'at least, at any rate' (Il.). <IE \**ge* emphatic pcl.>

•VAR Dor. Boeot. γα.

•ETYM Combinations like ἐμέγε, σέγε invite a comparison with Go. *mi-k*, *bu-k*, although *mik* could be influenced by *ik* 'I'. The particle ▶ -χι has a comparable function, cf. Skt. *hí* (from \**ǵʰi*), and also Skt. *ha* (from \**ǵʰe*) and *ghā* (from \**ǵʰo*), and further Lith. *ne-gù*, *ne-gi* 'not', OCS *ni-že* 'neque', ToA -(ā)*k*, ToB -*k*, Hitt. *ammuk* 'me', etc.

**γέγειος** [adj.] 'antique' (Hecat.). <?>

•ETYM DELG remarks that the word never means 'of the earth', so that connection with γῆ is improbable. However, the meaning could actually derive from 'earth-born' (LSJ).

**γέγωνα** [v.] 'to shout so as to make oneself heard' (Il.; on the meaning Wackernagel 1916: 156f.). <?>

•VAR Old perfect, with preterite (plpf.) (ἐ)γέγωνε, ἐγεγώνει, ἐγεγώνευν (-εον), inf. γεγωνέμεν, -εῖν, ptc. γεγωνέοντες (Chios V<sup>a</sup>); imp. γέγωνε (A.), γεγωνεῖτω (X.), 3sg.pres.ind. γεγωνεῖ (Arist.); new aor. γεγωνῆσαι (A.), Fut. -ήσω (E.). Unclear γεγωναί· αἱ ὁμίλῃαι 'intercourse' (H.).

•DER γεγώνησις (Plu.). From the ptc. γεγωνός the adj. γεγωνός, -όν 'loud-sounding' (A.). Recent γεγωνίσκω (A.).

•ETYM Often connected with ► γινώσκω, but the lengthened vowel was usually left unexplained (see Schwyzler 770). Hackstein 2002: 187ff. assumes a desiderative PGr. \*ge-gon-s- from an IE root \*ǵh<sub>2</sub>en-, also seen in ToA ken- 'call'. On this proposal, see now Vine 2007: 343-357.

**γείσον** [n.] 'projecting part of the roof, cornice' (E.). ◀PG?▶

•VAR Often γείσσον, γείσος [n.] (LXX, Hell. inscr.).

•DER γείσωμα 'penthouse' (Poll.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 186f.); γείσωσης· τὸ τῆς στέγης ἐξέχον 'projecting part of the roof' (H., EM), from γεισώω (EM), but see Chantraine 1933: 288.

•ETYM A Carian word, acc. to Steph. Byz. s.v. Μονόγισσα, who compares Car. γίσσα 'stone' (which does not fit very well semantically). Fur. 117 compares Georg. kniša 'gravel', etc.; cf. further κίσσηρις 'pumice-stone' (Arist.). In any case, the word is a loan, like many other terms for building, on which see Schwyzler: 62; the term could be an Anatolian LW or (= ?) Pre-Greek.

**γείτων, -ονος** [m., f.] 'neighbour', also as an adj. (Od.). Also γε>ίτονας· τὰ δύο αἰδοῖα 'the two genitals' (H.), also in MoGr. (Pontos, Koukoulés Ἀρχ. 27, 61ff.). ◀IE?▶

•COMP As a second member in τὰ Μεταγείτνια a festival in Miletus (V<sup>a</sup>), with the month name Μεταγειτνίων (IA), beside Πεδαγείτιος, etc. (Rhodos, Cos, Chalcedon).

•DER Late fem. γείταινα (AB, cf. τέκταινα, etc.). With γειτον-: γειτονία 'neighbourhood' (Pl.) with γειτονέω (A.), γειτονεύω (Hp.). With γειτν-: γειτνιάω (S.), γειτνία, γείτνιος (pap.), γειτνέω (pap.), etc.

•ETYM If the ablaut in the suffix is old, γείτων cannot be a recent creation. However, it lacks a good etymology (in any case, not related to γείσον).

**γελανδρόν** [adj.] · ψυχρόν 'cold' (H.; in wrong position). ◀?▶

•ETYM γελανδρόν is reminiscent of Lat. *gelidus*. Contrary to what Frisk argued, the unusual formation of the Greek word does not prove that the entry is corrupt; rather, its correctness is corroborated by the French dialect word *jalandro* from the region of Grenoble (Hubschmid *Vox Romanica* 3 (1938): 130). If we assume substrate origin and a pre-form \*γελαδ-ρο- with prenasalization, all three words could be related (perhaps the ultimate source is Galatian).

**γελάω** [v.] 'to laugh' (Il.). ◀IE \*gelh<sub>2</sub>- 'laugh'▶

•VAR Aor. γελάσ(σ)αι, with γελάσομαι, ἐγελάσθην, γεγέλασμαι (Att., etc.).

•DER γέλασμα 'laughing' (A., see below), γελαστός 'id.' (Call.), γελαστής 'laugher, sneerer' (S.), ἐγγελαστής (E.), γέλασις (EM). γελασῖνος 'laugher' (Ael.), plur. 'the front teeth' (Poll.). Also γελάσκω (AP) and γελασεῖω (Pl.).

Beside γελάω stands γέλως, -ωτος (epic acc. γέλω for γέλων, γέλον, Att. gen. γέλω) [m.] 'laughter' (Il.), with γελώω (Od., see Chantraine 1942: 365f.) and γελοῖος (B 215, where γελοῖος *metri causa*, cf. Schwyzler: 467 and Chantraine 1942: 168) with denominative γελοιάω, γελοιάζω (LXX). γελασ- in ἀ-γέλασ-τος (θ 307), also in γελαῖνής (Pi.) < \*γελασ-νής? Also in γελαρής· γαλήνη. Λάκωνες 'calm of the wind (Lacon.)' (H.) < \*γελασ-ρής; also in γελάω, γελάσ-σαι < \*γελασ-ίω. Aeolic o-stem γέλος [m.] (cf. ἔρος : ἔρος : ἔραστός).

•ETYM Beside γέλως (\*gelh<sub>2</sub>-ōs) stands Arm. *catr*, gen. *catu* 'laughter' (with *ci-catim* [v.] 'laugh'); cf. Clackson 126-132. For the ablaut, cf. γαλ- < \*glh<sub>2</sub>- in γαλήνη. The 'physical' meaning is preserved in γελεῖν· λάμπειν, ἀνθεῖν 'glow, flower' (H.). Cf.

► γαλήνη, ► γλήνη, ► γλήνος.

**γέλγη** [n.pl.] 'frippery' (Eur., Luc.). Acc. to H., (ὁ ῥῶπος καὶ) βάμματα, καὶ ἄτρακτοι, καὶ κτένες '[pretty wares and] dyes, and spindles and combs'. ◀?▶

•DER γέλγει· βαπτίζει, χρωματίζει 'dip, tinge' and γέλγια· πήνη, σπάθη, κουράλια 'woof, blade, coral' (H.).

•ETYM No etymology. Hardly connected to ► γέλγισ.

**γέλγισ** [f.] 'garlic', or its cloves (Thphr.). ◀PG▶

•VAR Gen. -ῖδος, -ῖθος; plur. γέλγεις, γέλγιθες.

•DER γελγιδόμοι 'change into γ.' (Thphr.), γελγιθεύειν· ἀπατηλογεῖν 'to speak deceivingly (vel sim.)' (H.).

•ETYM The obviously related synonym ► ἄγλις suggests that γέλγισ is to be analysed as a reduplicated \*γε-γλις. Evidently, the variation ἄ- ~ zero or ἄ- ~ γε- cannot be of IE origin. In addition, Fur.: 123, 127 (etc.) adduces σκελλίς, -ῖδος (Plu.; also σκελίς Alex. Trall.) with the same meaning; this form cannot be separated from γέλγισ, and so further confirms Pre-Greek origin because it adds, e.g. the interchange γ ~ κ. The suffix, too, with a long vowel ī, is typically Pre-Greek. Any connection with ► γαγγλίον is a mere guess.

**γέλενος** [?] · ἀσπόδελος, νάρκισσος 'asphodelus, narcissus' (H.). ◀PG▶

•ETYM Fur.: 138 compares σχέλινος· ἀγρία κυπάρισσος 'wild cypress' (H.); see his comments.

**γέμω** [v.] 'to be full (of)' (IA). ◀IE? \*gem- 'take, seize'▶

•VAR Only present.

•DER γόμος 'freight, cargo' (IA) with factitive γομώ 'load' (Babr.); poet. γέμος [n.] 'load' (A.). Deverbative with causative value (Schwyzler: 717): γεμίζω 'to fill, load' (A.); also γεμώ 'id.' (pap.).

•ETYM Probably related to U *kumiaf* [acc.pl.f.] 'gravidās' whence, as a loan, Lat. *gumia* [m., f.] 'glutton'. Connection with Lat. *gemō* is difficult (see E-M: 'be full' < sigh?). Cf. Szemerényi *ZDMG* 101 (1951): 219. The word has further been connected with ► γέντο 'took', which is semantically not evident.



**γενεά** •VAR γενεή. ⇒ γίγνομαι.

**γένειον** •VAR γενειάς. ⇒ γένυς.

**γέννᾱ** [f.] 'descent, birth' (Pi.). <IE \**genh*-, 'beget'>

•DER γεννάδᾱς [m.] 'noble (of birth)' (Ar.), Att. γεννήτης 'member of the γένος' (Is.); γεννικός 'noble' (Com., Pl.); γεννήεις 'begetting' to γεννάω, see below. Old is γενναῖος 'of good origin' (Il.) with γενναϊότης (E.). Beside γέννα and γενναῖος, we find the verb γεννάω 'to beget, generate' (Pi.) with γέννημα (S.; γένημα after γένος), etc., γέννησις, γεννητής 'begetter' (S.); γεννήτωρ (A.) and γεννητήρ (App.) 'id.', γεννήτειρα (Pl.), γεννήτρια (Phryn.). From γεννάω also γεννητικός (Arist.) and γεννήεις (Emp.).

•ETYM γέννα and cognate forms are obviously related to root represented by γένος and γίγνομαι. However, problematic is the origin of the geminate vv, which is certainly not expressive (pace Meillet BSL 26 (1925): 15f., Chantraine 1933: 46). If the verb γεννάω is primary (as argued by DELG), we could perhaps explain the vv as the result of a restoration of the root γεν- (for instance after γένος) in a vā-verb (like δάμνημι, δαμνάω). On the other hand, γενναῖος seems to be an old formation, which in turn suggests that its basis γέννα is old as well (as argued by Wackernagel KZ 30 (1890): 300 and 314; for γενναῖος, Schwyzer Glotta 5 (1914): 195f., has suggested that it actually stands for \*γενεαῖος). As none of the above solutions is really convincing, we should rather consider some kind of irregular, for instance analogical development of \**nja*; after all, γέννα ends in short -α, which seems to presuppose -*ia* < \**-ih*<sub>2</sub>. See ► γίγνομαι.

**γένος** ⇒ γίγνομαι.

**γέντα** [n.pl.] 'intestines' (Call.); κρέα, σπλάγχνα 'meat, innards' (H.). <?>

•ETYM No etymology. According to Eust., it is a Thracian word. Szemerényi WuS NF 1 (1938): 156f. connects it with ► γαστήρ, which is theoretically possible if the latter reflects \**gnt-tēr*.

**γεντιανή** [f.] a plant, 'giant' (Dsc., Hp.). <?>

•DER γεντιάς ρίζα (Androm. *apud* Gal., Dsc.), for \*γεντιανάς, Chantraine 1933: 353.

•ETYM According to Dsc. 3, 3, the plant is named after the Illyrian king Gentis, which has been associated with the fact that the plant was prominent in the Alps; cf. Strömberg 1940: 135. On the form of the name of the Illyrian king, *Gent(h)ius*, see Krahe 1929: 53f. Compare also Venet. *xe.nθe.i* [dat.].

**γέντο** [v.aor.] 'he took' (θ 43). <IE? \**gem*- 'seize, take, etc.'>

•ETYM Like λέκτο 'he laid down', γέντο is either a med. root aorist, or an s-aorist that lost its -σ- (\*λέκ-σ-το, \*γέμ-σ-το; on the μ, see below); cf. Schwyzer: 751 Zus. 2. If they are root aorists, both verbs have analogical full grade. To γέντο < \*γέμτο, we can probably further add the ipv. ἀπό-γεμε· ἄφελκε. Κύπριοι 'draw away (Cypr.)' and ὕγ-γεμος· συλλαβή. Σαλαμίνιοι 'grip, hold (Salam.)' (H.). From other languages, comparisons have been made with Mlr. *gemel* 'fetter', Latv. *gūmstu*, *gūmt* 'seize, etc.', as well as OCS *žьmъ*, *žeti* 'σφίγγειν, comprimere'. The word has furthermore been

compared with Gr. ► γέμω 'be full', which could be the thematic present beside the athematic (sigmatic) aorist γέντο. Not connected to ► γαμέω, nor to ► γάγγαμον 'net'.

**γένυς, -υος** [f.] 'jaw', also 'edge of an axe' (Il.). <IE \**genu*- 'chin'>

•VAR Sometimes ὁ *metri causa*.

•DER γένειον (< \*γενεφ-ιον) 'chin, beard' (Il.), with γενειάς 'beard, cheek' (Od.); γενειάτης, -ήτης, fem. -ᾱτις, -ήτις 'bearded' (Theoc., cf. ὑπηνήτης), γενειόλης 'id.' (Hdn.); γενειαστήρ 'chin-strap' (Poll., cf. βραχιονιστήρ). Denominative verb γενειάω 'to get or have a beard' (Od.), etc. Also γενήϊς 'edge of an axe' (S. *Ant.* 249 gen. γενήϊδος).

•ETYM The *u*-stem has parallels in OIr. *giun*, *gin* 'mouth', MW *gen* 'cheek, chin', plur. *geneu*, Go. *kinnus* 'cheek', ToA *śanw-e-m* [du.] 'cheeks', and further Arm. *cnawt* and Skt. *hānu*- [f.] 'jaw-bone' (with an unexplained *h*- for *j*-, Mayrhofer EWAia 2: 801), whereas Lat. *gena* 'cheek' is reshaped after *māla* (but the *u* is preserved in *dentes genuīni* 'molars'). Compare also Av. \**zanauua* (written *zanuua*), MoP *zanax*, Khot. *ysanuva* 'jaw'. Not connected to ► γνάθος.

**γεράνδρυν** [n.] 'old tree-trunk' (Thphr.). <GR>

•ETYM A Hellenistic innovation: a substantivized adjective γεράνδρυνος (Thphr., etc.), modelled after μέλαν-δρυν 'heartwood' (Thphr.; cf. τὸ μέλαν δρυνός ξ 14); see Strömberg 1937: 99. Cf. also γεράνδρυνες (H.), from δρῦς. See ► γέρων and ► δρῦς.

**γέρανος** [f., m.] 'crane' (Il.), also metaphorically of various kinds of apparatuses, and a fish name (see Strömberg 1943: 120). <IE \**gerh*<sub>2</sub>-en/-eu- 'crane'>

•DIAL Myc. *ke-re-na-i* [dat.pl.] /kerenāhi/, see RPh. 73 (1999) 84 (doubtful).

•DER γερανίς kind of bandage (medic.). γερανίτις name of a stone (Plin.), γερανίας 'with a crane (neck)' (Phryn.), γεράνιον 'geranium', also called γερανογέρον (Strömberg 1940: 54 and 159). See also Thompson 1895 s.v.

•ETYM Beside the *o*-stem γέρανος (\**gerh*<sub>2</sub>-n-), we have an *n*-stem in γέριν or γερήν (H.) < \**gerh*<sub>2</sub>-ēn. Old name of the bird 'crane', with a suffix -*n*- or -*u*-, seen in Arm. *k̄run-k*; Celtic, e.g. Gaul. *tri-garanos* 'with three cranes', MW *garan*; Germanic, e.g. OE *cran*, OHG *kran-uh*; Lith. *garnys* 'heron, stork'. The *u*-stem appears in Lat. *grūs*, Lith. *gėrvė* (\**gerh*<sub>2</sub>-u-), OCS *žeravъ* (\**gerh*<sub>2</sub>-ōu-) with BSL \**g*- by depalatalization from the zero grade \**grh*<sub>2</sub>-.

**γέρας** [n.] 'gift of honour' (Il.); originally 'old age', see ► γῆρας. <IE \**gerh*<sub>2</sub>- 'old'>

•VAR Gen. -αος or -ως.

•DIAL Myc. *ke-ra* /geras/.

•COMP Compound ἄ-γέρας-τος 'without gift of honour' (Il.).

•DER γεραίός 'old' (Il., accent like in παλαιός); γεράσιμος 'honouring, honoured, aged' (h. *Merc.*, cf. Schwyzer: 493); denominative γεράζω 'honour' (EM). Beside γέρας stands γεραρός 'honourable' (Il.; hardly an old *r*-stem as per Benveniste 1935: 16; different Schwyzer: 516), fem. γέραρα (Il. [v.l.], see Bechtel 1914), and γεραίρω 'honour, distinguish' (Il.).

•ETYM Cf. Skt. *jarás-* [f.] 'old age'. ► γέρων, ► γήρας, and ► γραῦς are cognate. Perhaps also connected with ► γεργέριμος.

**γεργέριμος** [?] a kind of olives (Call.). See H., Suid., Ath. 56 d. They are δρυπετής, i.e. ripe on the tree. <LW Sem.>

•ETYM Semitic origin seems possible: for a connection with Hebr. *gargērim* 'ripe olives', see Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 48 (1970): 41. Therefore, the word is rather not related to γέρων, etc.

**γερδιος** [m.] ([f.]) 'weaver' (pap. II\*). <LW?>

•VAR Accentuation unknown. Also γέρδις.

•COMP γερδιοραβδιστής (pap.), γερδοποιόν (gloss.).

•DER Feminines γερδία (*Edict. Diocl.*) and γερδιαίνα (pap.). γερδιακός and γερδιών 'weaving-shed' (pap.).

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *gerdius* (since Lucil.); further unknown. Was it borrowed into Latin from Greek? Hebr. *girdā'a* 'weaver' is also from Greek, acc. to Bauer in WH s.v. As the word is very late, a loan is probable. See Frisk *Supp.*

**γεροῖος** •VAR γεροίταν, γέρυς. ⇒ γέρων.

**γέρρον** [n.] different objects of wickerwork: 'shield' (Hdt.), 'wattles, booths, body of a cart' (D.), 'stake, arrow' (Eup.), = τὸ αἰδοῖον 'genitals' (Epich.). <EUR>

•COMP γεροφόρος 'shieldbearer' (Pl.).

•DER γεράδια· στρωτηρίδια 'crossbeams' (H.); cf. Chantraine 1933: 72, Schwyzler: 487. Here also γέρσυμον· ἄκρον ἀλιευτικοῦ καλάμου 'point of a fishing rod' (H.)? (cf. γέρρον = 'stake'), variants γένσιμον (H.) and κέρσιμον (sch.), see below; not to ἀγέρω as per Latte. On γάρρα and γάρσανα s.v. ► γάρσανα.

•ETYM γέρσυμον (not to be corrected to γέρσιμον, *contra* Latte), which is found next to γένσιμον and κέρσιμον, points to a substrate word (interchange ε/ α, κ/ γ, ι/ υ). Probably, Arm. *cař* 'tree', plur. 'shrubs' is also to be compared, as well as perhaps ON *kjarr* [n.] 'shrubs' (PGm. \**kersá-*), and ON *kass* 'basket' (PGm. \**kársa-*). Within Greek, γάρσανα and γάρρα may be related. The whole group of words probably derives from a European substrate; see Fur.: 117. Lat. *gerra* [f.] 'wicker-work' is borrowed from the plural γέρρα.

**γέρων, -οντος** [m.] 'old man'; also as an adjective 'old' (Il.). <IE \**ǵerh₂-* 'be(come) old, ripen'>

•VAR As an administrative term οἱ γέροντες 'the elders'.

•DIAL Myc. *ke-ro* /*gerōn*? /*ke-ro-si-ja* /*geronsiā*?

•DER γερούσιος 'concerning the elders' (Il.), γερουσία 'council of the elders' (in Sparta, Carthage, etc., D.; on these forms see Collinge *Glotta* 49 (1971): 218-229), γερουσίας 'member of the γ.' (Sparta), γερουσιαστής 'id.' (Plb.; Chantraine 1933: 316ff.), γερουσιακός. Diminutive γερώντιον (Ar.), γερώντειος (Ar.), etc. Denominative γεροντεύω 'be a senator' (Sparta), with γεροντεία (Ephesus). γεροντιάω 'get older' (D. L.). Beside γέρων, γέροντ- there are a few formations with γερυ-: γέρυς and γερύτας γέρων (H.), cf. πρέσβυς and πρεσβύτας. Also PNs Γερύλος, Γέρυλλος, Γερύς, -υδος hypocoristic? (Bechtel 1917a: 15). Of the forms with

-οι-, γεροίταν· πάππον. Κρήτες 'grandfather' (H.) is inverted writing for γερύταν; γεροῖα [n.pl.] 'old stories' (Corinn.), if correct, is perhaps after the adjectives in -οῖος (see Bechtel 1921, 1: 304). Unclear is γερωνία (H.), see Latte, despite Scheller 1951: 33<sup>2</sup>. γερωχία (Ar. *Lys.* 980) is perhaps graphic for Lacon. γερωΐα (von Fritz *AmJPh.* 66 (1945): 196f.; but see Wackernagel 1916: 208<sup>2</sup>; also Schwyzler: 218). γεράτης 'old', of a horse (*POxy.* 6, 922; DELG refers to γερατία; not in LSJ).

•ETYM In its formation, γέρων is identical with Skt. *járant-*, Oss. *zæronð* 'old (man)'. One may further compare Arm. *cer*, -oy 'old man' (o-stem) and MoP *zar* 'id.'. Cf.

► γέρας, ► γήρας, ► γραῦς.

**γεύομαι** [v.] 'to taste' (Il.); γεύω, γεύσαι 'give a taste' (Hdt.). <IE \**ǵeus-* 'taste'>

•VAR Aor. γεύσασθαι, fut. γεύσομαι, perf. γέγευμαι; secondary athem. form γεύμεθα (*Theoc.* 14, 51).

•DER γεῦμα 'tasting' (IA), γεῦσις 'id.' (Democr.), γευθμός 'id.' (Nic.), γεύστης (Chios), γευστήριον (Com.); γευστικός (Arist.).

•ETYM The compound ἄ-γευσ-τος 'not tasting, inexperienced' (Att.) points to a basis \*γεύσ-ομαι, which agrees with Go. *kiusan*, ON *kjósa* 'taste, choose', OHG OS *kiosan*; further, with Skt. *juśáte*, -ti 'id.' and Lat. *gustāre* = OHG OS *kostōn* 'taste', as well as Go. caus. *kausjan* from \**ǵous-eie/o-*.

**γεφύρα** [f.] 'bridge'; on other mgs. in Homer see below (Il.). <PG>

•VAR Boeot. βέφυρα, Cret. δέφυρα, Lacon. δίφυρα (H.).

•DER γεφυρίς· πόρνη τις ἐπὶ γεφύρας, ὡς Ἡρακλέων 'whore on the bridge' (H. also with another mg.); denominative γεφυρώω 'make a bridge' (IA; Il. 'dam up', see below) together with γεφύρωσις (Str.), γεφύρωμα 'bridge' (J.), γεφυρωτής 'bridge-builder' (Plu.); γεφυρίζω 'abuse' (Plu.), acc. to H., "ἐπεὶ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἐπὶ τῆς γεφύρας τοῖς μυστηρίοις καθεζόμενοι ἔσκωπτον τοὺς παριόντας" 'because the people sitting at the bridge in Eleusis during the mysteries used to mock at the passers-by'; thence γεφυρισμός (Str.), γεφυριστής (Plu.).

•ETYM The variation of the first consonant between γ-, β- and δ- suggests a labiovelar \**ǵʷ-*, although the reflex γ- is then difficult to explain. The evidently cognate Arm. *kamurj* 'bridge' would also pose unsurmountable problems if the word were IE. Beekes *Glotta* 78 (2004): 12-21 follows Fur. 97, etc., who sees it as a loanword from Anatolian, connecting Hattic *hammuruwa* 'beam'. An original meaning 'beam' fits all passages in Homer and, notably, the expression πολέμοιο γεφύρας, where it has the same meaning as phalanx ('tree, beam'). The Lacon. form with -ι- and -ου- points to non-Greek origin as well.

**γῆ** [f.] 'earth' (Il.). <PG>

•VAR Dor. γᾱ, Cypr. ζᾱ is uncertain, see Lejeune *BSL* 50 (1954). Ion. plur. γέαι is an innovation (Schwyzler: 473, Schwyzler 1950: 51, Meister 1921: 172, 253).

•DIAL In the Thebes tablets we find *maka*, interpreted as /*Mā Gā* 'Mother Earth' (e.g. Avrantinos-Godart-Sacconi, *Thèbes (...) Les tablettes*, 2001):

•COMP Often as a first member γῆ- (γα-), mostly γεω- from γῆ-ο- (late also γε-η- from γῆ-ι-η-, γε-ο- and γειο- after -γειος- < -γῆ-ιος): γῆ-γενής 'earthborn' (IA), γῆ-λοφος (Pl.), γεώ-λοφος (X.) 'earthen hill', γεωμετρία, -ίη 'surveying of lands' (IA),

γεωργός 'peasant' (IA) < γη(-ο)-φοργός or -φεργός, cf. γαβεργός <ό> ἀγροῦ μισθωτής. Λάκωνες 'tax farmer (Lacon.)' (H.).

•DER Diminutive γήδιον (Ar.); adj. γήινος 'earthen' (IA), Dor. γάινος, γεώδης (Pl.), γειρός (Hp., cf. s.v. ἐγγαροῦντες); rare γήτης (S. Tr. 32) 'peasant', cf. γαῖται· γεωργοί (H.), Redard 1949: 36; denomin. γεόομαι 'become earth' (D. S.)

•ETYM No IE etymology; the hypothesis of Meier-Brügger MSS 53 (1992): 113-6 (connecting \**genh*-, 'to beget') is incorrect. Probably related to ►γαῖα, which is a Pre-Greek word as well. On possible ►Δα 'Earth', see ►δᾶ and ►Δημήτηρ, as well as ►Ποσειδάων; however, this is rather doubtful. For the interchange δ-/ γ-, cf. γέφυρα/ δέφυρα and Fur. 388f. The word is likely to go back to \**gaya*, which was contracted to \**gā* at a very early date. See *Pre-Greek* under the suffix -αι-. Cf. ►αῖα and ►γέγειος.

**γη(γ)γήλιξ** [?] · ὁ ἄγριος μῦς 'wild mouse' (H.). <PG>

•VAR Also γήλιγρος.

•ETYM There is no reason to correct γη(γ)γήλιξ into γιγγιλ-. A suffix -ρ(ο)-, as seen in the variant γήλιγρος, is well-known from Pre-Greek; likewise, γιγγι- shows typically Pre-Greek reduplication and prenasalization, for which γίγγλυμιος and γάγγαμιος may be compared. Without doubt, the word is of Pre-Greek origin.

**γηθέω** [v.] 'to rejoice' (Il.). <IE \**geh<sub>2</sub>d<sup>h</sup>*- 'be glad' (?)>

•VAR Perf. γέγηθα, aor. γηθήσαι (Dor. γᾶθέω, γέγᾶθα, γᾶθησαι); late presents γήθομαι, γήθω (Dor. γᾶθω).

•DER γηθοσύνη (Il.), γηθόσυνος (Il.); late γήθος [n.] (Epicur.) and γηθαλέος (Androm., *apud* Gal.). Also γᾶσαν· ἡδονήν 'joy' (H.), if with Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 376 from \*γᾶθ-ῖαν.

•ETYM Because of Lat. *gaudeō*, *gāvīsus sum*, a pre-form \*γᾶφ-εθ-έω was reconstructed for γηθέω (see Schwyzler: 703), but the contraction then needed would have to have been very early and have spread even to the perfect (Chantraine 1942: 429). Moreover, the present \**geh<sub>2</sub>u-ed<sup>h</sup>-eie-* would be an isolated formation within PIE. Recently, the word has been compared with ToA *kātk-*, ToB *kātk-* 'be glad' (< \**geh<sub>2</sub>d<sup>h</sup>-sk-*), which has yielded the reconstruction \**geh<sub>2</sub>d<sup>h</sup>-* for Greek (LIV<sup>2</sup>, Adams 1999: 150). The same root is found in ►γαῖω < \*γᾶφ-ῖω and ►γάνυμαι.

**γηθυλλίς, -ίδος** [f.] name of an onion (Epich.); cf. Strömberg 1937: 84. <PG(V)>

•VAR Also γήθουν [n.] (Ar.), γήτειον [n.] (Ar.), κητίον (Cratin.), γαιθυλλάδαι (H.). Fur.: 187, 253 further adds γάθια· ἀλλάντια 'sausage' (H.), ἀγασυλλίς 'Ferula marmarica' (Dsc. 3, 84). ἀγαθίς = σησαμίς 'sesame' (H.).

•DIAL Dor. γᾶθυλλίς.

•ETYM Because of the many alternations, e.g. τ/ θ/ σ, α/ αι, γ/ κ, γηθυλλίς is obviously of Pre-Greek origin. The suggestion of DELG that γήτειον was remodelled after γηθέω (which would explain the variation τ/ θ) is implausible in itself and does not account for the other variants. The folk-etymological suggestion of Kalén 1918: 103ff. to analyse γη-θυλλίς as 'Erdsäckel', with \*θύον 'sacculus' (as found in γήθουν) is of course to be abandoned.

**γῆρας** [n.] 'old age' (Il.). <IE \**gerh<sub>2</sub>-* 'be old, ripen'>

•VAR Gen. -αος, -ως.

•DER γηραιός 'old' (Hes.; cf. γεραιός s.v. ►γέρας), γηραλέος 'id.' (Anacr.; after the adjectives in -αλέος), γηραίς 'id.' (Alc., see Chantraine 1933: 272f.). Further γήρειον 'thistledown' (Arat.) and γηράνιον· γεραν<ογέρων> H.; cf. Strömberg 1940: 159; γηράμιον H., glossed as (\*)γράζα.

Further γηράσκω 'to get old' (Il.), 3sg. aor. ἐγήρα, ptc. γηράς (Il.), inf. γηράναι or γηρᾶναι (A., cf. Schwyzler 682); aor. ἐγήρασα (Hdt.; also as a causative like ἔφουσα: ἔφυν, Schwyzler: 755γ); fut. γηράσομαι, -σω (IA), later γεγήρακα, ἐγηράθην. New present γηράω (X.); aor. γηρείς (Xenoph.) after δαμείς. From γηράσκω: γηράσιμος 'getting older' (Tlos), and γήρανσις (Arist.) after ὑγίανσις (Chantraine 1933: 281).

•ETYM The word stands beside γέρας, with a remarkable long vowel which has been explained as deriving from the s-aorist, but this cannot be proven. On ἐγήρα as the reflex of an old s-aorist, see Barton *Glotta* 60 (1982): 32-49 and Harðarson 1993a: 72-76. Cf. ►γέρας, ►γέρων, ►γραῦς.

**γῆρυς** [f.] 'voice, speech' (Il.). <IE? \**geh<sub>2</sub>r-* 'voice, sound'>

•DIAL Dor. γᾶρυς, -υος.

•DER γηρύω, γαρύω 'sing, speak' (h. Merc.), γήρυμα (A.).

•ETYM Comparable forms are found in Celtic and Germanic, which, however, often have a short vowel, e.g. Go. *kara* [f.] 'care, solicitude' and OE *cearu* [f.] 'id.', OHG *chara* [f.] 'lament(ation)', and OIr. *ad-gair* < \**gar-et*. LIV connects the Celtic verb with Oss. *zæl-* 'resound' and reconstructs an IE root \**gar-* 'tönen, rufen' with \**a*, ablauting with \**ā* for forms like γῆρυς, OIr. *gáir* [f.] 'cry', W *gawr* 'crying, battle'. However, *a*-vocalism, and certainly *a* :: *ā* ablaut, is of course impossible in PIE: the evident reconstruction is \**gh<sub>2</sub>r-*, \**geh<sub>2</sub>r-*. The zero grade \**gh<sub>2</sub>r-* explains the Celtic forms with -*a*-, and theoretically also the Germanic ones, although the latter are perhaps better kept apart because of their deviant meaning. Forms with -*rr-*, like Lat. *garriō*, and Gr. ►γαρριώμεθα are rather not related (LIV suggests onomatopoeic origin).

**γίγαρτον** [n.] 'grape-stone' (Simon.); cf. Strömberg 1937: 140 for the names of kernels.

<PG?>

•DER γιγαρτίς· σταφίς 'grape' (H.), γιγαρτώδης 'stone-like' (Thphr.); γιγαρτώνιον 'unripe grape' (Dsc.)

•ETYM Reduplicated formation. It is often connected with Lat. *grānum*, MoHG *Korn*, *Kern*, which is formally improbable (Greek would have a different suffix and reduplication). The word is rather non-IE, that is to say a Pre-Greek loan.

**γιγγίς, -ίδος** [f.] kind of turnip, French carrot (Alex. Trall.). <PG?>

•DER γιγγίδιον a plant, *Daucus Gingidium* (Dsc.); γιγγικίδιον (schol. Nic. Al. 432).

•ETYM Solmsen 1909: 213f. assumed \*γεγγίς, with assimilation, connecting the word with ►γογγύλος. However, it is rather a Pre-Greek word.

**γιγγλίαν** [f.] · κάλυμμα κεφαλῆς ἐρεοῦν 'woollen hood for the head' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**γιγγλισμός** [m.] · γαργαλισμός από χειρῶν, γέλως ‘tickling by the hand; laughter’ (H.).

◀ONOM▶

•ETYM DELG compares κιχλισμός (hardly influenced by ►γίγγρος). Neither is it related to γίγγλυμος.

**γίγγλος** [m.] · νάνος ‘dwarf’ (H.). ▶ONOM?▶

•ETYM Unknown.

**γίγγλυμος** [m.] ‘hinge, joint, pivot, gudgeon’ (X., Epid.). ▶PG▶

•VAR Also γιγγλυμός; and γύγλ- (ap. Frisk), γιγλύμιον (ap. Frisk), not in LSJ.

•DER γιγ(γ)λύμιον (Anthem.), γιγγλυμώδης (Arist.), γιγγλυμωτός (Ph.), γιγγλυμόμαι (Hp.).

•ETYM Technical term of unknown origin (cf. Schwyzler: 423). Not related to OIr. *glún* ‘knee’, etc. (as per Petersson 1922: 8f.). Probably Pre-Greek (note the prenasalization and interchange ι/υ).

**γίγγρος** [m.] name of a Phoenician flute (Men.). ▶PG or LW Phoen.▶

•VAR Also -ον H., -ās [m.]. γίγγλαρος (Poll.), γιγγλάριον (AB) by dissimilation?

•DER Thence γιγγράϊνος ‘like a γ.’ and γιγγραντός ‘(made) for a γ.’ (Ath.); γιγγραῖαι· αὐλοὶ μικροί, ἐν οἷς πρῶτον μαθάνουσιν ‘small flutes, on which they first learn’, γιγγρασμός· ἦχος ‘sound’, γιγγρί· ἐπιφώνημά τι ἐπὶ καταμωκῇσει λεγόμενον. καὶ εἶδος αὐλοῦ ‘an interjection in case of mockery; also a kind of flute’ (H.).

•ETYM According to Ath. 4, 174f., the word is from Γίγγρης, the Phoenician name of Adonis, but it is actually rather an expressive onomatopoeic formation (not related to γῆρυς or γέρανος). Lat. *gingrina* ‘genus quoddam tibiārum exiguarum’ (Paul. Fest.) is borrowed from the Greek.

**γίγνομαι** [v.] ‘to be born, become, arise’ (Il.). ▶IE \**ǵenhi-* ‘beget, arise’▶

•VAR Ion., etc. γίνομαι (Schwyzler: 215), Thess. Boeot. γίνυμαι, Cret. γίννομαι; aor. γενέσθαι, perf. γέγονα, γέγαμεν, γεγαώς, med. γεγένημαι (recent), fut. γενήσομαι; recent are γενηθῆναι and γενηθήσομαι (Att., etc.); trans. s-aorist γείνασθαι (epic, etc., from \*γεν-σ-; Schwyzler: 756, Wackernagel 1916: 175), also γεινόμεθα, -μενος (either for γί(γ)νομαι, Schwyzler: 715, or for γεν- with metrical lengthening); athen. root aorist ἔγεντο (Hes.; analogical innovation, see Schwyzler: 678f.).

•COMP -γενη-τος in e.g. ►κασίγνητος ‘brother’ and -γεν-ος in νεο-γεν-ός ‘newborn’ (H. Hom.), with a suffix -ιο- in ὁμό-γεν-ιος ‘of the same origin’.

•DER Action nouns: 1. γένος [n.] (γενικός, -γενής) and γόνος, γονή (γονεύς ‘parent’). 2. γενεά (Ion. -ή) ‘lineage’ (Il.; see Chantraine 1933: 91). 3. γενέ-θλη (Il.) and γένε-θλον (A.) ‘id.’, together with γενέθλιος and (rare and late) γενεθλιακός, γενεθλίδιος, γενεθλίωμα, γενεθλιάζω. 4. γενε-τή ‘birth’ (Hom.); hypocor. Γενετυλλίς name of Aphrodite as a protectress of birth (Ar.). 5. γένε-σις ‘birth, origin’ (Il.). 6. ►γέννᾱ.

Agent nouns: γενέ-τωρ (Ion. Dor.) and γεγε-τήρ (Arist.) ‘begetter’; on the difference see Benveniste 1948: 46; fem. γενέτειρα (Pi.); γενέ-της (Ion.); thence γενέσια [n.pl.] ‘parentalia’ (Hdt.). γνήσιος ‘of real descent’ (Il.) from γνητός. Cf. further ►ἱγνητες; γνωτός, -τή ‘relative’ belongs to γιγνώσκω.

•ETYM The reduplicated pres. γίγνομαι is also found in Lat. *gignō* [act.] ‘to beget’, and the aorist ἐγένετο corresponds to the Skt. root aorist *ájani*, whereas the perf. γέγονα matches Skt. *ajāna*. Nouns include γένος (= Skt. *jánas-*, Lat. *genus*) and γόνος (Skt. *jána-*), γενέτωρ, γενετήρ (= Lat. *genitor*, Skt. *jánitar-* and *janítar-*), γενέτειρα (= Skt. *jánitri*, Lat. *genitri-x*); γένεσις (with *e*-grade) corresponds to Skt. *jāti-* ‘birth, family’, Lat. *nāti-ō*, OE (ge)*cynd* (all with zero grade). Gr. -γνητος is from \**ǵnh<sub>1</sub>-to-*, while -γεν-ος in compounds shows loss of the laryngeal, as in Lat. *prīvi-gn-us* ‘born separately’ = ‘stepchild’; furthermore, note the correspondence νεογνός: Go. *niuklahs* ‘as a child’ (dissimilated from \**kna-* < IE \**ǵnh<sub>1</sub>-o-*).

**γιγνώσκω** [v.] ‘to come to know, perceive’ (Il.). ▶IE \**ǵneh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘recognize, get to know’▶

•VAR Ion., etc. γίνωσκω (cf. γίνομαι beside γίγνομαι), Epidaur. γνώσκω, aor. γνώναι, perf. ἔγνωκα, fut. γνώσομαι; with analogical -σ-: γνωσθῆναι, ἔγνωσμαι; later s-aor. γνώσασθαι (Man.).

•COMP Many compounds.

•DER γνώσις ‘inquiry, knowledge’ (IA), often in compounds, e.g. ἀνά-γνωσις ‘recognizing, reading’ to ἀνα-γιγνώσκω ‘recognize, read’; γνώμη ‘thought, judgement’ (Thgn.); rare γνώμα ‘token, opinion’ (Hdt.); usual γνώμων [m.] (lf.) ‘interpreter, expert, etc.’ (IA); γνωτός ‘known’ (Il.), often with -σ- γνωστός (A.; ἄγνωστος Od.) like in γνωστήρ ‘surety, witness’ (X.), γνώστης ‘id.’ (LXX), etc. With a suffix -ρ- we find γνώριμος ‘well-known, familiar’ (Od.), γνωρίζω ‘make known, become acquainted with’ (IA), γνώρισις, γνώρισμα, γνωρισιμός, γνωριστής, etc.

With unexplained vocalism ἀγνοέω ‘to fail to perceive or recognize’ (Il.; ἡγνοίησα with ‘false’ -οι-; see Chantraine 1942: 99) together with ἀγνοῖᾱ, ἄγνοιά (Att.); after νοέω and compounds: ἀνοῖᾱ, ἄνοιά, etc. (in any event, not derived from \**ǵnvo-*φος, which would be a related to ἀγνώς, ἀγνώτος ‘unknown’, Od.).

•ETYM γιγνώσκω matches Lat. (g)*nōscō*, OP *xšnāsa-* in *xšnāsāhiy* ‘you shall recognize’ (subj.), etc., and probably Alb. *njoh*, although these forms have full grade \**ǵneh<sub>3</sub>-*, whereas Greek probably has a zero grade \**ǵnh<sub>3</sub>-sk-*. Likewise, the \**to*-ptc. γνωτός corresponds to Lat. *nōtus*, Skt. *jñātá-*, as well as OIr. *gnáth* ‘known’ and ToA *ā-knats*, ToB *a-knātsa* ‘fool’, where the Greek form points to \**ǵnh<sub>3</sub>-to-* (as does perhaps Tocharian). Cf. further OCS *znati* ‘recognize’, 1sg. *znajǫ*, Arm. aor. *can-eay* ‘I recognized’, Go. *kann*, pl. *kunnum*, ptc. *kunþs* ‘known’. On ἀγνοέω, see above; on ►γέγωνα, see there. Hitt. *kane/išš-<sup>21</sup>* ‘to acknowledge’, which was thought to reflect \**ǵnēh<sub>3</sub>-s-* (with Eichner’s Law, i.e., that a laryngeal does not color an old lengthened grade), can be accounted for with a conventional reconstruction \**ǵn(e)h<sub>3</sub>-s-* (Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). Nevertheless, the vocalism of OE *cnāwan* ‘know’ (< PGM. \**knē-*) and ToA *kñasu* ‘I have recognised’ (< \**knēs-*) remains difficult. For γνώριμος, cf. Lat. *gnārus* < \**ǵnh<sub>3</sub>-ro-*; Gr. γνώσις, Lat. *nōti-ō* and Skt. *-jñāti-*, however, may be independent formations.

**γιλός** [adj.] · ἑτερόφθαλμος ‘one-eyed’ (H.). ▶?▶

•ETYM Perhaps connected here is the PN Γίλλος, Γιλίς (but see on νεόγилλος, as well as Bechtel 1902: 64).

**γινιπτήριον** [n.] ‘broom’ (P: Leid. X, 19). ▶?▶

•ETYM Perhaps for \*γινιστήριον; cf. Lat. *genista*.

**γίννος** [m.] 'offspring of a mare by a mule' (Arist.). <PG?>

•VAR Also γίνος (Ialysos). LSJ (and Supp.) give the accentuations γίννος, γιννός and γίνος. Also ἰννός (H.) and ὕννος.

•ETYM Unknown; see DELG. The forms without γ- or with υ may well be late. It can hardly be from γίγνομαι. The word is probably Pre-Greek. Cf. ► ὄνιννος.

**γίτον** [n.] uncertain; 'comestibles'? (UPZ 89,14, II<sup>a</sup>). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**γλαβρήνη** [f.] Cretan plant name (unknown poet III<sup>p</sup>). <PG>

•ETYM See Neumann 1967: 229-235. Probably a local name, i.e. Pre-Greek.

**γλάγος** ⇒ γάλα.

**γλάζω** [v.] 'to sing aloud (μέλος)' (Pi. Fr. 97). <?>

•VAR cf. γλαγγάζει· πτερύσσεται, κέκραγε 'he flaps the wings, shrieks' (H., Cyr.).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic; cf. ► κλάζω. But von Wilamowitz (following the sch.) reads μέλι; thus, does it mean 'suck'?

**γλαιοί** ⇒ γλήνη.

**γλάμων, -ωνος** [adj.] 'blear-eyed' (com.). <PG?>

•VAR Also γλαμυρός 'id.' (Hp.). From γλάμος· μύξα 'mucus' (H.) after adjectives in -ων and -υρός (φλεγυρός 'inflamed', Chantraine 1933: 231). Denominative γλαμάω (Poll.) = λημιάω (which LSJ does not give), γλάμυξος = γλαμυρός together with γλαμυξιάω (EM), for γλα[μο]-μυξος? γλημώδης = γλαμυρός (Gal.), after λημώδης 'full of rheum'?

•ETYM Unknown. The comparisons with Lith. *glēmės, glėimės* [pl.] 'slime' (not related to MoE *clammy* 'sticky') and Alb. *ngjomë* 'humid, fresh' (Pok. 361) are very doubtful. The word may be Pre-Greek. From Greek comes Lat. *glamae* = *gramiae* 'viscous humor that collects in the corners of the eyes'.

**γλάνος** [m.] 'hyena' (Arist.). <PG?>

•VAR Cf. γάνος· ἡ ὕαινα, ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν καὶ Βιθυνῶν H.; also γάννος 'hyena' (Phlp. in GA).

•DER Hence the fish name γλάνις, -ιος (-εως), -ιδος [m.] ([f.]) 'Silurus, sheat-fish' (Com., Arist.; γλάνιος Hdn.), thus called because of its voracity and the sound it makes, see Strömberg 1943: 70 and Thompson 1947 s.v.

•ETYM Unknown. The word may be Pre-Greek.

**γλαρίς, -ιδος** [f.] 'chisel' (S., Delos III<sup>a</sup>). <?>

•ETYM For the formation, cf. the semantically related γραφίς, γλυφίς, κοπίς, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 338).

**γλαυκός** [adj.] in Hom. (Π 34) and later poets of the sea, post-Hom. always the color 'blueish-green or grey' (Il.); see Pötscher *RhM* 141/2 (1998): 97-111. <PG?>

•DIAL Myc. *ka-ra-u-ko* /Glaukos/.

•DER γλαῦκος name of a fish (Com.; see Strömberg 1943: 23f. and Thompson 1947: 48); γλαυκία ἢ γλαυκίον· βοτάνη τις 'a plant' (H.: Plin.); also 'juice of the horned poppy' (Dsc.) and name of a duck (Ath.), both after the color; γλαυκίδανον name of an eye salve (Gal.). Denominal ptc. γλαυκίων 'gleaming?' (Il.), but acc. to Pötscher *Glotta* 72 (1994): 105-8 'with the green, brilliant eyes of an owl', γλαυκόομαι 'be affected with glaucoma' (Hp.), γλαύκωμα 'glaucoma' (Arist.), γλαύσσω 'shine' (H.) cf. λευκός· λεύσσω. Several PNs: Γλαῦκος, Γλαύκη (Il.), Γλαύκων, -ίων, etc. See ► γλαυκῶπις.

•ETYM Hardly connected to ► γαλήνη, ► γελάω. Improbably, Leumann 1950: 148ff. (with incorrect analysis of γλαυκῶπις; see Chantraine 1966: 193ff.). No etymology. The word is hardly IE, as \*gleh<sub>2</sub>u-ko- would be an unusual formation; therefore, it is rather Pre-Greek.

**γλαυκῶπις** [adj.] 'with the bright eyes of an owl' (Il.), epithet of Athena. On the mg. Pötscher *Phil.* 141/1 (1997): 3-20 (not to γλαυκός 'blue'). <GR>

•ETYM The owl was associated with Athena. Its eyes are remarkable for their 'éclat nocturne'. Cf. βοῶπις epithet of Hera. See ► γλαῦξ.

**γλαυνός** [m.] a kind of chiton (Poll. 7, 48). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**γλαῦξ, -κός** [f.] 'little owl, Athene noctua' (com., Arist.). <PG?>

•VAR LSJ gives γλαύξ. Besides, there is a word γλαύξ 'wart cress' (Dsc.), which is also given as γλάξ (Hdn. Gr. 1, 395, etc.).

•ETYM Derived from γλαυκός by the ancients, which is rejected by Thompson 1895 s.v. as a folk etymology. Thus also Pötscher *Phil.* 141/1 (1997): 3-20 (see on ► γλαυκῶπις). Some bird names with the *k*-suffix are provided by Specht 1944: 204; note πέρδιξ and the many Pre-Greek words in -ξ (see *Pre-Greek* on word end). The etymology is unknown. The variation in the word for 'cress' may point to a Pre-Greek word (which is probable anyhow), but it is not sure that 'owl' and 'cress' have the same origin.

**γλαφυρός** [adj.] 'hollow(ed)' (Il.), 'polished, smooth, refined, elegant' (Ar.). <?>

•DER γλαφυρότης 'neatness, elegance' (Ph.) and γλαφυρία 'id.' (Plu.). Rare is γλάφυ [n.] 'cavern' (Hes. *Op.* 533) and γλάφω 'hollow out' (Hes. *Sc.* 431), also (late) 'engrave' (διαγλάψασα, see *ClassRev.* 12 (1898): 282 [Coptos II<sup>p</sup>]).

•ETYM Dissimilated from -υλός, according to Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 223<sup>2</sup>, which would be derived (cf. λιγυρός : λιγύς) from a *u*-stem that is perhaps represented by γλάφυ. In the sense 'hollow out' (attested only once), γλάφω may be secondary. Later, when this verb means 'engrave', it looks like a cross between γλύφω and γράφω. The development to 'smooth', etc. probably went via 'engraved' and 'polished'. DELG thinks that γλαφυ- was dissimilated from \*γλυφυ- (see ► γλύφω); this is doubtful.

**γλέπω** •VAR γλέφαρον. ⇒ βλέπω, βλέφαρον.

**γλήνη** [f.] 'eyeball' (Hom.; also in a reviling sense Θ 164), also 'pupil of the eye' (Ruf. *Onom.*, H.), metaph. 'socket of a joint' (Gal.), 'honeycomb' (AB, H.). <PG(V)>

•DER γλήνεα [n.pl.] 'gaudy things, trinkets' (Ω 192), 'stars' (Arat.); sing. γλήνης = γλήνη (Nic.), = φάος (H.). γληνίς (IG 5(1) 1447: 9 [Messene III-II<sup>a</sup>]) mg. unknown. Artificial is Hell. γλήν = γλήνη (Hermesian.), cf. Schwyzer: 584 A. 6. Also PNs: Γλήνος, Γλήνις, Γληνώ, Γληνεύς. Unclear is the mg. of τρί-γληνα (ἔρματα, Hom.); τρίγληνος also as an attribute of Hecate (Ath.).

•ETYM The basic meaning of the word is probably 'shining' (see DELG), whereas 'socket of a joint' seems secondary. One may compare γαλήνη 'calm weather' and γλαινοί: τὰ λαμπρύσματα τῶν περικεφαλαίων, οἷον ἀστέρες 'ornaments of headbands, like stars' (H.), which last word is known only from this gloss.

Comparison of γλαινοί with OHG *kleini* 'gleaming, elegant, fine, small', OE *clæne* 'clean' is quite uncertain, since we would then have to separate the other Greek words without -ι-. For γλήνη, Lamer *IF* 48 (1930): 231f. assumes a basic meaning 'puppet', opting for Pre-Greek origin. If γλαινοί is indeed related, this conclusion seems most probable, since α/αι is frequent in Pre-Greek words (cf. γιθυλλίς / γαιθυλλάδαι; pace DELG, which remarks that this variation would render an etymological comparison 'imprudent').

**γλήχων** = βλήχων.

**γλία** •VAR γλίνη, γλίον. = γλοιός.

**γλίτος** [m.] 'Cretan maple' (Thphr.). <PG?>

•VAR Also γλεῖνος.

•ETYM No etymology. See Amigues *RPh.* 73 (1999): 84.

**γλίσχρος** [adj.] 'sticky, penurious' (IA). <?>

•DER γλίσχρων 'niggard' (Ar.), γλίσχρότης (Arist.), γλίσχρία (sch.). Denominative γλίσχραίνομαι 'be sticky' (Hp.), γλίσχρασμα 'glue' (Hp.); γλίσχρεύομαι 'be niggardly' (M. Ant.).

•ETYM To ► γλίχομαι, ► γλοιός. The formation is unclear; cf. Chantraine 1933: 225. Fur.: 297 thinks the -σ- of γλίσχρος points to a Pre-Greek word. See the conclusion under ► γλοιός.

**γλοιός** [m.] 'glutinous substance, gum', also the oil and sweat scraped off by athletes (Semon.); secondarily also [adj.] (pap.). <EUR>

•DER γλοιώδης (Pl.); γλοιός: ἡ κακοήθης ἵππος καὶ πολυδῆκτης παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ 'horse with bad character and biting according to S.' (H.), γλοιός, -ητος [m.] 'slippery, shifty' (Hdn.; see Chantraine 1933: 267). Denominative γλοιόομαι 'become sticky' (Dsc.), γλοιόζω 'twinkle with the eyes' (Hp.). Also γλία 'glue' (EM) and γλίνη (EM) together with γλινώδης (Dsc.), γλίον· εὖτονον, ισχυρόν 'well-strung, vigorous' (H.), perhaps also γλιᾶται· παίζει, ἀπατᾶ 'plays, deceives' (H.), γλιώσαι· τὸ παίζειν 'play' (EM). Further γλίττον· γλοιόν (H.). Verb γλίχομαι, properly 'stick to', so 'long for' (Hdt.), only present except for ἐγλιξάμην (Pl. Com.); deverbial γλιχός (H.), γλιχώ (EM). The semantic development is not always clear (see DELG). See ► γλίσχρος.

•ETYM If from \*γλοιός, the word agrees with Ru. (dial.) *glen* 'slime of fishes' (Slav. \**glěno* < \**gloi-uo-*). If, however, it derives from \*γλοιός, the word may correspond to OE *clæg* 'loam, clay' (PGm. \**klaija-*). The *n*-suffix in γλίνη, also in CS *glěno* 'slime' < \**gloi-no-* and in Ru. *glina* 'clay, loam' < \**glei-neh-*, is explained as from a nasal present seen in OIr. *glenim* (\**gli-neh-mi*), OHG *klenan* 'stick, smear'. The gloss γλίττον (H.) is best explained, like Lat. *glittus* 'sticky', with a geminated variant of the *t*-suffix seen in Lat. *gluten* [n.] 'glue' (< \**gloi-t-en-*?; it is not an old *r/n*-stem, as per Benveniste 1935: 104) and Lith. *glītus* 'sticky'. γλία is compared with Ru. *glej* 'clay, loam' (< \**glbjb*). There is no cognate for γλίχομαι, analyzed as a *χ*-present in Schwyzer 702. See Pok. 362f. Not all comparisons are convincing. Most words cited are from BSL or Gm., which suggests European substrate origin.

**γλουρός** [m.] 'gold' (AP); cf. γλούρεα· χρύσεια, Φρύγες 'golden items (Phrygian)' (H.). <LW? Phr.>

•ETYM This word recently turned up in a Phrygian inscription from Dokimeion in the form γλουρεος (Brixhe *Kadmos* 43 (2004): 7-26). It clearly represents the Phrygian reflex of PIE \**ǵʰlh<sub>3</sub>-ro-*. Cf. ► χλωρός.

**γλουτός** [m.] 'buttock', also dual (X.) and plur. (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR γλουτά (sch. Theoc. 6, 30).

•DER γλούτια 'id.', also medullary tubercles near the pineal gland of the brain (Gal.). Diminutive γλουθίον?

•ETYM Compared with Sln. *glūta*, *glūta* 'lump, swelling' (if < \**glout-*); further, with OE *clūd* [m.] 'mass of stone, rock' and MoE *cloud*, which are semantically less evident. Without *t*-suffix Skt. *glāu-* [m.] 'round lump, wen-like excrescence'; see Mayrhofer *EWAla* 1: 511. Schwyzer: 501<sup>10</sup> and 577<sup>11</sup> considers a secondary τ(ο)-suffix (cf. πρωκτός). The IE material (in Pok. 361) is not very convincing. If the -θ- is reliable, the word is rather Pre-Greek.

**γλυκύς** [adj.] 'sweet' (Il.). <IE? \**dlku-* 'sweet'>

•VAR On γλυκίων, γλύσσων, γλυκύτερος, γλυκ(ε)ϊότερος see Seiler 1950: 48ff.

•DIAL Myc. *de-re-u-ko* perhaps /dleukos/.

•DER γλύκων individualising (Ar. *Ec.* 985), also PN, together with Γλυκώνειος (Heph.); γλυκόεις (Nic.). Diminutives: γλυκάδιον 'sweetmeat, vinegar' (Choerob.; for the mg. cf. ἥδος = ὄξος), γλυκίδιον (pap.). γλυκίν(ν)ᾶς [m.] 'cake made with sweet wine' (Seleuc. *apud* Ath., Cretan [H.]). γλυκύτης (Hdt.). Denominative γλυκαίνω (Hp.), γλύκυσμα (Lib., Sch.), with γλύκανσις (Thphr.), γλυκαντικός (S.); γλυκάζω (LXX), etc.; γλυकाσία 'family-love' (*Sammelb.*); γλυκίζω (Pagae, *Gr.*), γλυκιμός (Callix.); ἐγ-γλύσσω 'be sweet' (Hdt. ἐγγλυκος Dsc.; γλύξις 'sweet wine' (Phryn. Com.); γλεῦξις· οἶνος ἔψημα <ἐχων> 'wine [containing] must' (H.), cf. γλεῦκος. Also γλυκερός (Od.), the fem. Γλυκέρα (with retracted accent) as a PN, with Γλυκέριον. With geminate: γλυκκόν· γλυκύ and γλύκκα· ἡ γλυκύτης (H.). Plant name γλύκη· βοτάνη τις ἐδώδιμος 'an edible plant' (H.) and (strange) γλυκυμή = γλυκῦρριζα (Hp. *apud* Gal.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 63. γλεῦκος [n.] 'sweet wine' (Arist.), γλεῦκινος (Dsc.), γλευκίτης (οἶνος) = γλεῦκος (Arist. comm.); γλευκήσας

'stunned by sweet wine' (H.); also γλεύκη = γλυκῆς (sch.) and γλεῦξις, see γλύξις above.

•ETYM If the word is to be connected with Lat. *dulcis*, we should reconstruct \*δλ-. The Mycenaean form seems to confirm this idea, but the *v* in the root is unexpected. On Arm. *k'alcr* 'sweet', see under ►ήδύς. The full grade γλεῦκος looks like a late innovation after the numerous neutral *s*-stems, but ἀγλευκής (Epich.) seems to be an old form.

**γλύφω** [v.] 'to carve, cut out, engrave' (IA). <IE \*gleubh- 'cut, carve, split'>

•VAR Pres. always ὑ; aor. γλύψαι, fut. γλύψω, aor. pass. ἐγλύφθην/ ἐγλύφην, perf. γέγλυμμαι.

•COMP ἔρμωγλυφεῖον 'statuary's shop' (Pl.); τρίγλυφος, an architectural element.

•DER γλυφή 'carving' (D. S.), γλύμμα 'engraved sign' (Eup.), γλυφίς, mostly -ίδες [pl.] 'notches, especially at the end of an arrow' (Il.), chisel, etc.' (J.), cf. ἀκίς for the suffix; γλύφανος 'knife' (h. Merc.); γλυφεῖον (Luc.); γλυφεύς 'carver, sculptor' (J.), γλυφευτής 'id.' (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>); γλυπτήρ = γλύφανος (AP), γλύπτῃς 'carver' (APL), γλυπτικός (Poll.). Adjective γλυφική (τέχνη; Thrace).

•ETYM Germanic has the ablauting verb, e.g. OHG *klioban* 'cleave, split', pret. *kloub*, opt. *klubi*. Lat. *glübō* 'bark, peel' probably represents the old full grade \*-eu-. Also related is Ru. *glýboko* 'deep', etc.; see Vasmer 1953 s.v. Some compare ►γλαφυρός.

**γλωρόν** [?] · νόμον 'custom, law' (H.). <GR?>

•ETYM Kukules 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 27 (suppl.) 76 compares MoGr. (Karthos, Cyprus) γλωρός = χλωρός; χλωρονόμι 'grass'. Differently, Latte.

**γλώσσα** [f.] 'tongue, language' (Il.), 'rare, dialectal word' (Arist.). <IE \*glōgʰ-s, gen. \*glōgʰ-ós 'point'>

•VAR Att. γλώττα; Ion. also γλάσσα (see below).

•COMP γλώσσ-αργος 'garrulous' (Pi.), from γλώσσ-αλγος 'id.'; from here στόμαργος, see Strömberg 1944: 31; different (to ἀργός 'quick') Willis *AmJPh.* 63 (1942): 87ff.

•DER γλωσσάριον (Dsc., pap.), γλωσσίδιον (Zen.); γλώσσημα 'point of an arrow' (A.) retains the original mg.; see Chantraine 1933: 186), also 'rare word' (Quint.), γλωσσηματικός (D. H.); γλωσσώδης 'talkative' (LXX), γλωσσός 'id.' (Hdn.); γλωσσίς 'inflammation of the tongue' (Hippiatr.). γλωττίς 'end of a pipe, glottis' (Hero), also a bird (Arist., see Thompson 1895 s.v.); γλωττικός (Arist.); denominative γλωττίζω 'kiss with the tongue', γλωττισμός (AP).

•ETYM Originally "provided with a point", a derivation in -ια from ►γλώχες. Ion. γλάσσα points to a paradigm \*γλωχ-, \*γλαχ- which can be explained as nom. \*glōgʰ-s, gen. \*glōgʰ-ós. (see Beekes 1969: 246).

**γλώχες** [f.pl.] 'beard of corn' (Hes. Sc. 398). <IE \*glōgʰ-s, \*glōgʰ-ós 'point'>

•DER See ►γλώσσα. Also γλωχίς, acc. γλωχίν, gen. -ῖνος (Hdn. 2, 431, 437) [f.] 'end of the yoke-strap, barb of an arrow, etc.' (Il.). Thence γλωχινωτός (Paul. Aeg.).

•ETYM γλωχίς continues \*-ih₂-s, with different development before a consonant than word-finally (in γλώσσα). There are no certain cognates. The connection with CS

*glogʰ* 'thorn' (Bezenberger & Fick *BB* 6 (1881): 237) is doubted by Machek *Ling. Posn.* 2 (1950): 145.

**γναθμός** [m.] 'jaw' (Hom.). <PG>

•VAR γνάθος [m.] (Hp.). Note γναμφαί (H. acc. to LSJ, but not in Latte).

•DER PN of a parasite Γνάθων, with Γναθώνειος, Γναθωνίδης, Γναθωνάριον (Plu.). Denominative γναθώ 'hit the jaw' (Phryn. Com.).

•ETYM γναθμός is formed from γνάθος, after λαίμος, βρεχμός, ὀφθαλμός. The word has always been compared with Lith. *žándas* 'id.', Latv. *zuðs* 'chin, sharp side'. However, the Lith. acute accentuation either points to a laryngeal, or it may have been caused by a following *d* (Winter's Law). In neither case can we connect the Greek word: a preform \*gnh₂dʰ- would have given \*\*γνάθος, and \*gnh₂edʰ- gives \*\*γαναθος; therefore, the Lithuanian, with its entirely different structure, cannot be cognate. Actually, -vā- cannot be derived from any other PIE form either, and the word must therefore be non-IE, i.e. Pre-Greek (this also excludes further connection with γένος, as the latter is of course IE). Macedonian κάναδοι· σιαγόνες, γνάθοι (H.) has often been compared as well; it may well be related, but only as a Pre-Greek word (perhaps it stands for \*κναδοι with epenthesis, see Fur.: 378). κάναδοι has also been connected with κνώδων, κνώδαλον.

**γναμπτούς** [adj.] · χαλινούς 'bits or bridles' (H.). <PG>

•VAR Also γλαμψοί· χαλινοί στόματος 'bits or bridles for the mouth' (H.).

•ETYM The word is typically Pre-Greek: first, it displays the variation πτ/ψ (see Fur.: 263) as well as ν/λ (see Fur.: 388), and second, the structure γναC- cannot be IE (see also under ►γνάθμιος).

**γνάμπτω** [v.] 'to bend' (Il.). <PG>

•VAR Aor. γνάμψαι, verbal adj. γναμπτός.

•DER γναμπτήρ 'jaw' (Androm. *apud* Gal.), cf. γναμφαί s.v. ►γαμφηλαί; γνάμψις 'bending' (EM). Without second nasal (dissimilated?) γνάπτει· κάμπτει and γναπτός = γναμπτός (H.).

•ETYM The etymology of γνάμπτω is unknown. Although it is commonly assumed that it was influenced by κάμπτω (cf. κνάμπτω; e.g. Frisk s.v.), γνάμπτω does not have the κ- of κάμπτω, nor can the -ν- have been taken from there. An Indo-European etymology seems excluded because γναμπ- cannot have a PIE preform (see under ►γνάθμιος). However, an alternation γν-/κ- (as in γνάμπτω : κάμπτω) is not typical for Pre-Greek either. If the insertion of the ν could be explained, we could perhaps assume voicing of κν- to γν-. Cf. also Guilleux *RPh.* 70 (1996) s.v. γνάμπτω.

**γνάπτω** •VAR γνάφαλλον, γναφεύς. = κνάπτω.

**γνήσιος** = γίγνομαι.

**Γνίφων** = Κνίφων.

**γνόφος** = δνόφος.

**γνοτέρα** [f.] the fish βαλλωτή, Ballota nigra (Ps.-Dsc. 3, 103). <PG(V)>



- VAR Also γνωτέρα.
- ETYM Fur.: 370 compares ἀγνωτίδιον, a variant with a prothetic vowel. Thus the word is Pre-Greek.

**γνύθος** [n.] 'pit, hollow' (Lyc.). <PG?>

- VAR Also msc. (H., also γνυθός).
- ETYM Formation like βάθος, βυθός. Note γνυφαί· νάπαι 'vales' (H.). Fur.: 390 points to σκύφος / σκύθος. The word is probably Pre-Greek.

**γνύξ** [adv.] 'with bent knee' (Il.; Erbse *Glotta* 32 (1953): 240ff.). <IE \*ǵenu- 'knee'>

- ETYM From ► γόνυ with zero grade and analogical -ξ after πύξ, λάξ, etc. (Schwyzer: 620). Although the zero grade of γόνυ does not recur in ► γνυπ-, contrary to common belief, it is in fact found in πρόχνυ 'kneeling; utterly' (Il.), where, admittedly, the aspiration is not well explained (cf. Av. *fra-šnu-* 'with the knees forward'; Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 585). The zero grade \*ǵnu probably occurred in the IE paradigm of 'knee', e.g. Hitt. *ganut* [instr.sg.] and Av. *žnubiiō* [dat.-abl.pl.].

**γνυπ-** [v.] 'to be depressed' (Men.). <PG>

- VAR Also γνυπ(ε)τ-. γνύπωνες· στυγνοί, κατηφεῖς, ἄτολμοι, παρειμένοι. καὶ μαλακοί, ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς γόνυ πεπτωκέναι 'hateful, downcast, spiritless, those who have been passed over; also faint-hearted; after "being on one's knees"' (H.) with the verbal forms γνυπόντι (leg. γνυποῦντι) and from \*γνυπόω: ἐγνυπωμένον· ταλαίπωρον· κατηφές 'miserable, downcast' and ἐγνυπόωθι· τρυφᾷ. καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον 'with delicacy; also the opposite' (H.) and κατεγνυπωμένον (Plu. *Mor.* 753c), -μένως (Men. 857). With γνυπτ-: γνυπτεῖν· ἀσθενεῖν. μαλακίζεσθαι 'to be weak, show weakness' (H.) and γνυπτῶν· (cod. γνυων) νωθραίων 'sluggish' (H.). From \*γνυπόω: κατεγνυπτῶσθαι = κατεστυγνᾶσθαι (H. s.v. γνύπετο). With anaptyctic vowel: γνύπετοι· ἐκτεταμένοι, δειλοί, ἄλλοι δὲ κατηφεῖς 'stretched prostrate, wretched; miserable' (H.). Here also γνυπεσόν· ἀργόν, οἱ δὲ ἐκλυτον 'brilliant; buoyant' (H.) with interchange τ/σ.

- ETYM Fur.: 315 has correctly observed (following Latte; see now LSJ *Supp.* s.v. γνυπτῶω) that this is a separate verb with the variants γνυπ- and γνυπτ-, as well as a variant γνυπετ- with anaptyxis; the variation π/πτ, etc. is well known in Pre-Greek (Fur.: 307ff; *Pre-Greek* section 5.5).

**γνώριμος** •VAR γνωρίζω. = γινώσκω.

**γνωτός** = γινώσκω.

**γοάω** [v.] 'to groan, weep' (Il.). <IE? \*ǵ<sup>(w)</sup>ou(H)- 'call, cry'>

- VAR Fut. γοήσομαι (late -ήσω), aor. γοῆσαι (Amorgos), isolated preterite γόνον [3pl.] Z 500 (see Chantraine 1942: 392').
- DER γόης, -ητος [m.] 'sorcerer' (IA), γοητικός (Arist.), γοητεύω 'bewitch' (Pl.), with γοητεία, γοήτευμα (Pl.), γοήτευσις (Plot.), γοητευτικός (Poll.), γοητεύτρια (Eust.); fem. γοῆτις (AP). γόος [m.] 'lament' (Il.). γοερός 'wailing' (A.), analogical γοηρός (Lyc.), γοώδης 'id.' (Pl.), also γοεδνός (A.), after ὀλοφυδνός, σμερδνός, etc. (cf. Schulze 1933a: 398); also γοήμων (APL.).

- ETYM Like βοάω, μυκάομαι, etc., γοάω is probably a deverbative intensive; γόος is deverbative. We may compare OHG *gi-kewen* 'call', OE *cīegan* 'id.' < PGm. \**kaujan*, the Skt. intensive *jó-guv-e* 'speak out loudly', as well as an *r*-derivation in OCS *govorъ* 'noise' with *govoriti* 'make noise' (Ru. also 'speak'), see Derksen 2008 s.v. Pace DELG, the connection between γοάω and βοάω is attractive. The different initials can be explained from paradigmatic split, i.e., an original \*ǵ<sup>w</sup>- was lost before a zero grade \*ǵ<sup>w</sup>u- in the preform of γοάω; the semantic differentiation can easily be secondary.

**γόγγρος** [m.] 1. 'conger eel' (Antiph.); 2. 'tubercular disease in olive trees' (Thphr.). <PG?>

- DER γογγρίον (sch. Opp. *H.* 1, 113); also γογγρώδης (H.: γογγρώδης τῆς ἐλαίας ἐκφυσις as an explanation of γόγγρος); also γογγροειδής (Arist.); γογγρώνη 'excrescence on the neck' (Hp.; cf. χοῖρας 'id.', from χοῖρος 'pig'; suffix like in κροτώνη).
- ETYM The botanical-medical term is just a metaphorical use of γόγγρος = 'conger-eel': the fish is round, thick, and voracious, like in καρκίνος, Lat. *cancer*. The fish name is often considered to be Pre-Greek (e.g. Fohalle 1925: 157ff.; cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 16 (1928): 166). Pace DELG, ► γογγύλος is not related. Lat. *conger* (*gonger*) is borrowed from Greek.

**γογγύζω** [v.] 'to murmur, grumble' (LXX). <ONOM>

- DIAL Ionic acc. to Phryn.
- DER γογγυσμός (Anaxandr.), γόγγυσις (LXX); agent noun γογγυστής (*Ep. Jud.*, Thd.), γόγγυσος (Thd.; see Chantraine 1933: 435); γογγυστικός (Erot.). In H. also γογγυρίζειν and γογγυρῶσαι· ὡς χοῖρος φωνῆσαι 'sound like a pig', after γρύζειν.
- ETYM An onomatopoeia without certain cognates. Skt. *gaṅgūyati* 'cry loudly', *guṇjati* 'hum' are only parallel onomatopoeic formations, and the same is true of ► γαγγαίνειν.

**γογγύλος** [adj.] 'round' (A.). <?>

- DER Substantivized (with change of stress) γόγγυλος "the round one" = 'κόνδυλος, the clenched fist' (sch.), 'ὄλυνθος, wild fig' (Nic.). γογγυλῖς (com.), γογγύλη (Str.) 'turnip', also 'round bread' (Ar.), γογγυλίδιον 'pill' (medic.); γογγυλώδης 'round' (sch.); denominative γογγύλλω [v.] 'to make round' (conj. Porson Ar. *Th.* 56 for γογγυλίζω after γογγύλλειν· συστρέφειν 'to condense, become compact' H.); γογγυλεύματα· στρογγυλεύματα 'globular things' (H.). Isolated γογγυλάτης 'who hurls balls of fire' (?) epithet of Zeus (Lyc.).
- ETYM Next to γογγύλος, we find στρογγύλος 'id.' (cf. also ἀγκύλος, καμπύλος with similar meaning). The etymology is unknown: a connection with ON *kṛkkr* 'clump' (< PGm. \**kanku-* < \**gongu-*) is highly doubtful, as is the comparison with Lith. *gungulys* 'ball'; nor does a relationship with ► γιγγίς, γιγγίδιον 'a kind of turnip' seem probable.

**γόδα** [n.pl.]· ἔντερα. Μακεδόνες 'intestines (Maced.)' (H.). <?>



•ETYM γόδα has been compared with MLG *kūt* 'weak parts of an animal' and Skt. *gudā-* 'intestine, vagina' (Pok. 393), but this connection is problematic because the required root structure with two unaspirated voiced stops was not allowed in Proto-Indo-European. Latte reads γόλα instead, connecting χολάς, χόλιξ. His suggestion is adopted by Fur. 141, who also adds κόλον 'id.'.

**γοδᾶν** [v.] · κλαίειν. Κύπριοι 'to cry (Cypr.)' (H.). <?>

•VAR γοδόν· γόητα 'sorcerer' (H.).

•ETYM The reconstruction \*φοδ- has been assumed, but is not certain. Connection with ▶ αὐδή is impossible. Latte reads \*γοᾶναι.

**γοεδνός** •VAR γοερός. ⇒ γοάω.

**γοῖτα** [?] · οἷς 'sheep' (H.). <?>

•VAR Cf. γοτάν· ὕν. Μακεδόνες 'wild swine (Maced.)' (H.).

•ETYM Fick BB 29 (1905): 200 read the word as ὕς and conjectures that it is from γοῖ γοῖ, the grunting of a pig (AP 11, 327). This is a mere guess.

**γολοινά** [f.] · χλωρά. ἡ γολονά 'pale; name of a plant' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM The suggestion of Grošelj Slavistična Revija 4 (1951): 263f. to connect OCS *zelenъ* 'green', etc. is phonologically impossible (see ▶ χλόη). Although Latte assumes that this entry (and the following, γολομένη· βοτάνη) is corrupt, we should rather take the form at face value: it is obviously related to γολονά, the variation αι ~ ο in the vocalism pointing to Pre-Greek origin.

**γολύριον** [n.] · κέλυφος. οἰκεῖον Ταραντίνους 'pod, shell (Tarantian)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Only worthless guesses have been made.

**γόμος** [m.] · ζωμός 'soup' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Latte reads θωμός. von Blumenthal 1930: 15<sup>1</sup> thinks the word is Messapian, related to χέω (from \**ǵh(o)u-mo-*). There are mere hypotheses.

**γόμφος** [m.] 'peg, bolt, nail' (Od.); also a fish name (gloss.; Strömberg 1943: 36), 'tooth' (H.). <IE \**ǵembh-* 'bite', *ǵombh-* 'cutting tooth'>

•DER γομφίος (ὀδών) 'molar' (IA), γομφίτης 'kind of styrax' (Aët.), γομφάριον fish name (sch.). Denominative γομφόομαι, -όω 'to fasten with bolt or nails' (A.) with γόμφωσις (Gal.), γόμφωμα 'framework, peg' (Plu.); γομφωτήρ 'shipbuilder' (AP), γομφωτήριον 'tenon' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>); γομφωτική τέχνη 'shipbuilding' (Pl.). γομφιάζω 'to have toothache, gnash the teeth' (LXX) with γομφιασμός (LXX) and γομφίασις (Dsc.).

•ETYM Old word for 'tooth', probably 'cutting tooth': Skt. *jāmbha-*, Alb. *dhëmb*, OCS *zъbъ*, Latv. *zūobs*, ToA *kam*, ToB *keme*. Cf. κόμβους· ὀδόντας γομφίους (H.), Illyrian? (Krahe IF 60 (1952): 297). Forms with a metaph. meaning include OHG *kamb* 'comb' and Lith. *žambas* 'sharp side'. On the deviant meaning in Greek (from the use of the cutting teeth as pegs), see Porzig 1954a: 184f. Verbs include Skt. iterative *jambháyati* 'grind' and Lith. *žembiù*, *žembti* 'cut' and OCS *zъbъ* 'tear up'; on the meanings, see Narten KZ 79 (1965): 255ff.

**γονή** •VAR γόνος. ⇒ γίγνομαι.

**γόνυ** [n.] 'knee' (Il.); also 'joint of plants' (Hdt.; cf. Strömberg 1937: 101). <IE \**ǵenu*, *ǵonu* 'knee'>

•VAR Gen. (\*γόνυ-ατος >) γόνατος, epic Ion. γούνατος, epic also γουνός (< \*γόνυ-ός), plur. γόνατα, γούνατα, epic also γοῦνα.

•DER γονατώδης 'with joints' (Thphr.); denominative γουνάζομαι 'clasp the knees' (as a suppliant) (Il.) with γούνασμα (Lyc.), γουνασμός (Eust.), also γουνόομαι 'id.'; γονατόομαι 'get joints' (Thphr.), γονατίζω 'bend the knee' (Cratin.).

•ETYM γόνυ derives from the PIE word for 'knee': Skt. *jānu*, Av. *zānu-drājah-*, MP *zānūk* (pointing to PIE \*o, lengthened by Brugmann's Law); Hitt. *genu*, Lat. *genū*, ToA *kanwe-ḡ*, ToB *kenī-ne* 'knees [du.]', Arm. *cun-r*, plur. *cun-g-k'*; Gm. words like Go. *kniu* < PGm. \**knew-a-*, with the zero grade from the gen. \**ǵneu-s* (for the zero grade \**ǵnu-* cf. further ▶ γνύξ, s.v.). On Hom. θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείται, see Schwyzler 1923b: 283ff. Cf. also ▶ γωνία. Cf. also ▶ ἰγνύη.

**γός** ⇒ γοάω.

**γοργός** [adj.] 'grim, fierce, terrible' of look, gaze (A.), later also 'vigorous, lively'. <?>

•VAR Γοργώ, acc.pl. Γοργούς (Hes.)

•COMP γοργώψ, γοργωπός (A.).

•DER γοργότης 'rapidity' (Hermog.), γοργία = agilitas (gloss.), denominative γοργόομαι 'to be spirited', of horses (X.), γοργεύω (pap., Sm., H.).

Γοργώ, -οῦς [f.] (Il.) name of a female monster with a petrifying look, whence Γοργεῖη κεφαλή (Il.); on the formation see Schulze 1892: 254; plur. mostly Γοργόνες (Hes.), with new singulars Γοργόνα (acc.), etc. (E.), whence Γοργόνειος (A. Pr. 793, etc.), Γοργόνη (Hdn.), Γοργονώδης (sch.) and the plant names Γοργόνειον and Γοργονιάς (Ps.-Dsc.; see Strömberg 1940: 101). Also Γοργάδες (S. Fr. 163), explained by H. as ἀλιάδες; and Γοργίδες· αἱ Ὠκεανίδες (H.). PN Γοργυθίων (Θ 302) and Γοργίας with Γοργίειος 'Gorgias-like' (X.) and γοργιάζω 'to speak like G.' (Philostr.).

•ETYM According to Frisk, γοργός is not related to OIr. *garg(g)* 'raw, wild', OCS *groza* 'shiver' (as argued by Osthoff 1901: 44ff.), nor to Arm. *karc* 'hard' (pace Pedersen KZ 39 (1906): 379). With Γοργώ primary to γοργός, Leumann 1950: 154f. took the former to be a back-formation from γοργώψ (γοργώπης), γοργωπός (on an implausible connection with ▶ γοργυρα, s.v., see Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 663).

**γοργυρα** [f.] 'underground drain', sometimes used as a prison (Hdt. 3, 145, EM, H.); cf. ἀρδάλια· τοὺς πυθμένας τῶν κεραμίδων, οὓς ἐνίοι γοργύρας καλοῦσιν 'the base of roof-tiles, which some call "γοργύρας"' (H.) which LSJ translates 'water-pot, trough'. Cf. also κορκόδρυα· ὑδρόρυα 'water-course', perhaps to be read as \*κορκόρεα· ὑδρορ(ρ)όα (Fur.: 141, which would fit the word order). <PG(V)>

•VAR γεργυρα (Alcm. 132); accent unknown.

•DIAL κορχυρέα (Corc. II<sup>a</sup>). Cf. γέργερος· βρόγχος (H.) [DELG].

•DER γοργύριον 'subterranean channel' (LSJ Supp. Sparta).

•ETYM Perhaps related to γαργαρίζω, as per DELG. γοργυρα, with all its variants, is definitely of Pre-Greek origin: variations κ/ γ/ χ and ε/ ο; ending -έα (see Chantraine

1933: 91f.); suffix -up- like in γέφυρα (see *Pre-Greek*). Thus also Neumann 1961: 91, on words for drainage, etc.

**γουνός** [m.] 'hill' (Il.), acc. to *EM* and Orion = ὑψηλός τόπος 'elevated place'. <PG(V)>

•DER From Γόννος, \*Γοῦνος perhaps the name Γουνεύς B 748, see Boßhardt 1942: 111f.

•ETYM γουνός is not related to the Thessalian PNs Γόννος, Γόννοι, and Γοννοῦσσα (the alleged \*γονφος would probably not yield the attested forms, see Buck 1955: §54), nor to ►γόνυ, with which it was compared since antiquity (*EM*; equally unconvincing is the comparison with Ru. *gumnó* 'threshing-floor' see Derksen 2008 s.v.). We should rather compare γῶνος (H.) and χῶνος (H.), which implies that the word is Pre-Greek in view of the variation. Fur.: 138 mentions additional material from Sardinia (Gonnos, Gonni), Berber, Basque, and Caucasian.

**γούρος** [m.] a cake (Sol. 38, 3). <PG(V)>

•ETYM The word can be compared with ἄγγουρος· εἶδος πλακοῦντος 'kind of cake', with prothetic vowel and prenasalization (cf. κύνωψ/ ἀγχύνωψ [which is not from \*ἀνα-!]). Therefore, it is of Pre-Greek origin. Perhaps further connected to ►γῆρις, ►γυρίνη.

**γούταριον** [n.] 'tomb' (inscr. Phrygia). <Lyd.>

•ETYM This is probably the same word as γούντη (inscr. Lydia III<sup>p</sup>). Probably somehow connected with Hitt. *kuntarra-* (Neumann 1961: 66f.); from Hurrit. *kuntari-*?

**γούττατον** [n.] a cake (Chrysipp. Tyan. *apud* Ath. 14, 647c). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM From Lat. *guttātus*, -um 'sprinkled' (Martialis), in turn from *gutta* 'drop'.

**γράαι** [f.pl.] marine animal (*Peripl. M. Rubr.* 38). <(LW) Ind.>

•ETYM An Indian word; cf. Skt. *grāha-*, *grāhā-* 'crocodile, alligator, snake, etc.'. See Goossens *Le Muséon* 59 (1946): 621ff.

**γράβαν** [f.] ·σκαφίον, βόθρον 'small bowl or basin, hole' (H.). <LW Gm.>

•VAR MoGr. (Laconia, etc.) γράβα = τρώγλη 'hole', often in place names, see Georgacas *ByzZ* 41 (1941): 360f., Rohlfs 1930: 461.

•ETYM Kretschmer *Arch. slav. Phil.* 27 (1905): 234 states that the word is from Gm., e.g. Go. and OHG *graba* 'ditch'. Or is it perhaps from/via Illyrian? See also Hubschmid *ZRPh.* 77 (1961): 432. Cf. ►γράβιον.

**γράβιον** [n.] 'torch, oakwood' (Stratt.; also S. Fr. 177 [cod. γραφίους?]). <EUR?>

•ETYM From an (Illyrian?) word \**grabu* for 'beech, oak', seen in U *Grabovius*, epithet of Jupiter; the word is also found in MoGr. γράβος (Epirus), γάβρος (Arcadia). Further compared with Ru. *grab* 'hornbeam', etc. and OPr. *wosi-grabis*. See Vasmer s.v., Georgacas *ByzZ* 41 (1941): 361f., and Porzig 1954a: 148. These comparisons are rejected by Garbini 1969: 391ff.; cf. also Restelli 1969: 820.

Fur.: 169 compares γοβρίαι· φανοί, λαμπτήρες 'bright, torches' (H.), which cannot be ignored; he concludes that the word is a non-IE substrate word, perhaps from the Balkans. See ►κράββατος.

**γραῖα** •VAR γράϊς. ►γραῦς.

**γράφης** [adj.] 'ὁ ἐρρυτιδωμένος, wrinkled' (*EM*), 'cast slough of a serpent' (H.), in S. *Ichn.* 177 the mg. is unclear; name of a bird (H.). <?>

•DER γράπτῃς 'wrinkled' (Eust.), γραπίνης· οἶνος τραχύς 'harsh wine' (H., *EM*). Not here, as per Frisk, γραιόμαι 'become old'; see ►γραῦς.

•ETYM Unknown. Not related to γραῦς, γῆρας. DELG suggests that γράπῃς is a hypocoristic of γράπτῃς 'wrinkled' cited by Eust., which may derive from γράφω.

**γράφος** [m.] 'smell of a goat' (Ar.). <GR?>

•DER γράσων 'id.' (M. Ant.; cf. γνάθων beside γνάθος, Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 207<sup>13</sup>), γρασωνία = γράσος (Archig. Med.).

•ETYM γράσος is supposed to be a word for 'he-goat' = "gnawer" from ►γράφω 'to gnaw'. On -σο-, see Chantraine 1933: 433ff.

**γραῦς** [f.] 'old woman' (Il.); a sea-crab (Artem., H., see Strömberg 1943: 95, thus also γραῖα [Epich.]); said of the scum of boiled milk (Ar.). <IE \**greh<sub>2</sub>-iu-* 'old woman'>

•VAR Gen. γράός (Schwyzer 574).

•DIAL Ion. γρηῦς, γρηῦς.

•DER Enlarged to γραῖα (Od., also adj. 'old') < \*γρᾱf-iā; coll. γραιβία ἢ γραιτία (i. e. γραιφία)· πανήγυρις. Ταραντῖνοι 'assembly, festival (Tarent.)' (H.); see Scheller 1951: 32. Another enlargement in γρᾱῖς, -ίδος (Charito), Dor. γραῖς (Call.).

From γραῦς: γρώδης 'like old women' (Chrysipp.); from γραῖα: γραιολέας· πονηράς ἢ ὀλεθρίας γραίας 'poor and wretched old women' (H.) (cf. the adj. in -όλης, but see DELG; the translation ὀλεθρίας is folk-etymological).

Denominative verb γραιῶω 'to remove the γραῦς from the milk' (Ar.); from γραῖα: γραιόμαι 'to get old', of wine (*AP*).

•ETYM From the root \**gerh<sub>2</sub>-* in γέρων, γέρας. Probably from \*γρᾱ-ιυ- < \**greh<sub>2</sub>-iu-*, with -ιυ- like in ὕς 'son' (plur. υῖες); the element -ιυ- has nothing to do with \**h<sub>2</sub>oiu-* (see ►αἰών), pace Szemerényi. See ►γέρων, ►γέρας, ►γῆρας.

**γράφω** [v.] 'to scratch, write' (Il. [aor. only]). <IE \**gerb<sup>h</sup>-* 'scratch, carve'>

•VAR Aor. γράψαι.

•DIAL γρόφω (Melos).

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀνα-, ἐπι-, συν-, etc. Many compounds with -γράφος as a second member (e.g. λογογράφος 'writer of speeches'); the proparoxytona are passive, e.g. ἄγραφος 'not written'.

•DER γραπτύς [f.pl.] 'scratching' (ω 229); γραφή 'id.' also 'prosecution' (IA; γροφά Epid.), γραφικός; γράφει [n.pl.] = γράμματα (Arcad., El.); γράφημα = γράμμα (AB); γραμμή 'line' (Pi.), γραμμικός 'linear, geometric' (Gal.), γραμμαῖος 'id.' (Dam.), γραμμώδης (Thphr.); γραμμιστήρ a surgical instrument (medic., cf. βραχιονιστήρ) and γραμμιστός (Eust.; γραμμίζω uncertain in Eust. 633, 63). γράμμα, plur. -ατα 'line, writing, letter' (IA); also γράσσμα (Arc.; < \*γρᾱφ-σμα), γράθματα (Arg.) and γρόπματα (Aeol., Balbilla); see Schwyzer 317 add. 1 and 523f. On διάγραμμα Bickerman *Rev. de phil.* 64, 295ff. From γράμμα: γραμμάτιον (Luc.), γραμμάριον 'weight of 2 oboles' (Aët.); γραμματεὺς 'writer, secretary' (Att.) with γραμματεύω

and γραμματεῖον 'writing table, etc.', γραμματ(ε)ῖδιον; γραμματεία 'secretariate' (pap., Plu.); γραμματικός, γραμματικεύομαι (AP); fem. γραμματική (τέχνη) 'grammar, etc.'; γραμματιστής 'secretary, teacher' (IA), γραμματίζω (rare; Herod., Messen., Boeot.); γραμματιστική 'elementary education' (Phld.). γραμμός 'writing' (Hdn.). γραφεύς (Dor. Arc. also γραφεύς) 'painter, writer' (Emp.), γραφεῖον 'writing instrument' (Arist.); γραπτήρ 'writer' (AP), γραπτεύς (sch.). γραφίς 'slate-pencil' (Pl.; γραφίς Epid.); γραφίσκος medical instrument (Cels.). ἐπιγράβδην 'scraping the surface' (Il.) shows the original meaning. Desiderative deverbative γραψείω (gloss.).

•ETYM All forms can be explained from the root form γραφ- < \*grb<sup>h</sup>-. The principally Doric variant γραφ- (γραφά, -ίς, -εύς, -εύω, σύγγραφος, etc.) does probably not represent old *o*-vocalism, but rather an inner-Greek variant of *pa* from a zero grade (DELG). Outside Greek, we have PIE \*gerb<sup>h</sup>-, seen in Gm. (OE *ceorfan* 'cut, carve', MHG *kerben* 'id.'), and further in Slav., e.g. OCS *žrěbii* (\*gerb<sup>h</sup>-) 'allotment' (prop. \*'carved stick?'). ► γριφᾶσθαι is problematic.

γραψαῖος [m.] = κάραβος 'crab' (Diph. Siph. *apud* Ath. 3, 106d). <PG>

•ETYM Not from γράφω, as per Chantraine *RPh.* 91 (1965): 211-214. As Frisk states, the origin is unknown; perhaps it is a Mediterranean word. He compared κάραβος (Epich.). Fur.: 123, 154 adduced other forms for 'beetle' and 'crab': Lat. *scarabaeus*, which presupposes \*σκαραβαῖος (note the agreement with our word), σκορόβυλος (from \*σκορβ-), and σκορπίος. So we have prothetic \*s- and the variations α/ ο, β/ π. All of these point to Pre-Greek origin. Fur. assumes that γραψ- stands for \*γαρψ- (but the ψ is difficult). This gives a word (s)karP-. Furthermore, he compares καράμβιος (Fur.: 109), καρβάρεοι· κάραβοι H.; καραβίδες (169); κηραφίς and κεράμβυξ, κεράμβηλον (with the interchange ε/ α and prenasalization). Frisk points to the "allgemeine Ähnlichkeit mit ital. (g)ravosta, nhd. *Krebs*, *Krabbe* und anderen germ. Wörtern ebenso wie mit κάραβος". See ► κάραβος.

γράω [v.] 'to gnaw, eat' (Call. *Fr.* 200). <IE? \*gres- 'gnaw, eat'>

•VAR Only impf. ἔγραε. Athem. ipv. γράσθι (Cypr.), them. (contracted) γρά· φάγε. Κύπριοι 'eat! (Cypr.)' (H.). Also γραίνειν· ἐσθίειν 'eat' (H.).

•DER γράστις [f.] 'green fodder' (pap., *Hippiatr.*); more common κράστις (Ar.), probably due to folk etymological connection with another (unknown) word; γραστίζω 'feed at grass' (Gr., *Hippiatr.*), γραστισμός (*Hippiatr.*); κραστιζομαι 'graze' (Sophr.), κρατήριον 'mangar' (Poll.). Also γράσσις (*PHamb.* 39 II, II<sup>p</sup>). With prefix καγρᾶ· καταφαγᾶς. Σαλαμίνοι (H.), see Bechtel 1921, 1: 421 and 446.

•ETYM The word has been compared with Skt. *grásate* 'devour' (in which case γράω would be from \*grs-e/o-). Cf. also ► γράσος. Connection with ► γάγγραινα, ► γρώνος is improbable. Cf. ► γαστήρ.

γρηγορέω = ἐγείρω.

γρηῆνος = ἀγρηνόν.

γρίντης = ῥῖνος.

γρίπος [m.] 'fishing basket, creel' (AP, Artem.). <PG(V)>

•VAR = γρίφος [m.] (Plu.), mostly metaph. 'riddle' (Ar.; see Chantraine 1928: 20), secondarily as adj. 'obscure' (Hdn. *Epim.* 16).

•DER γριφότης 'obscurity' (Hdn.). γριπεύς 'fisherman' (Sapph.), γριπεύω (Zonar.), γριπιής (τέχνη, AP); γρίπων 'id.' (AP); denominative γριπέω (Syria), γριπίζω (Lib., H.), γρίπισμα (EM, Zonar.). γριφώδης 'enigmatic' (Luc.), γριφεύω 'give a riddle' (Ath.). Also γριπώμενα· συνελκόμενα καὶ σπασμωδῶς συμπαθούντα, οἱ δὲ ἐγγίζοντα 'contracting and undergoing spasms; approaching' (H.); γεγριφώς· ὁ τοῖς χερσὶν ἀλιεύων 'fishing with bare hands'. Several lemmata in H.

•ETYM The variation π/ φ is typical for Pre-Greek words; such an origin for a fisherman's word is quite understandable. Comparison with MHG *krebe* [m.] 'basket', ON *kjarf*, *kerfi* [n.] 'bundle' (from \*e) or Skt. *grapsa*- 'bundle' must therefore be rejected. There is no reason to connect the word with ► γέρρον.

γρίσων, -ωνος [m.] 'swine' (Hdn. Gr. 2, 249, H.). <?>

•ETYM Although γρίσων is generally considered to be onomatopoeic, cf. γρύλος s.v.

► γρύ (and ► γρομφάς), this lacks support.

γριφᾶσθαι [v.] · γράφειν, οἱ δὲ ξύειν καὶ ἀμύσσειν. Λάκωνες 'to write; to scratch, scrape (Lacon.)' (H.); γριφώμενα ἀλγήματα 'sufferings' (Hp. *Prorrh.* 1, 100, Erot.); the definiens γραφόμενα, ἢ ἐπανειλούμενα 'being written or unrolled' in H. is unclear. <?>

•ETYM ► σκαριφάομαι has been compared. Perhaps also connected are ► ἀγρεῖφνα, ἀγρίφη 'harrow'.

γρομφάς, -άδος [f.] · ὅς παλαιά, σκρόφα 'old swine' (H.). <ONOM>

•VAR Also γρόμφις, -ιος [f.] (Hippon., H.), γρόμφαινα [f.].

•DER γρομφάζω 'grunt' (gloss.).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic words. Cf. γρύζω, and also στομφάζω 'speak loudly'. Lat. *scrōfa* 'sow' is perhaps a loanword from Greek. Note the absence of the nasal (i.e. prenasalization?).

γρόνθος [m.] 'fist' (*PAmh.* 2, 141, 10, IV<sup>p</sup>, sch., gloss.), 'breadth of a hand' (Aq.), also 'grasp, spoke of a machine'. <?>

•DER γρόνθων· ἀναφύσησις, ἣν πρώτην μανθάνουσιν αὐληταὶ καὶ κιθαρισταὶ 'upward stream of air, which flute players learn first' (H., Poll.), with which was may perhaps connect γρονθωνεύεται (cod. -θον-)· θυμοῦται 'becomes angry' (H.).

•ETYM The suffix -θος used to be distinguished (cf. μασθός, βρόχος, κύσθος), which admitted comparisons with ON *krumma* [f.] 'hand', OHG *krimman* 'press', and Lat. *gremium* 'lap, womb'. Lith. *grūmdau* 'von oben gewaltsam stoßend stopfen' belongs to the productive iterative-intensives in -dau (cf. *grumiū*, *grūmti* 'press into, fill'). All of these comparisons, however, are quite uncertain.

γρόσφος [m.] 'throwing spear' (Plb.); οἱ γροσφομάχοι 'javelin-fighters' = Lat. *velites* (Plb.). <?>

•VAR κρόσφος (Eust.).

•ETYM A technical term borrowed from an unknown source; note that the word is late.

**γρῦ** [n.]? usually with negation: a 'small quantity', often of sounds (Ar.); acc. to sch. Ar. *Pl.* 17 of the grunting of a swine (clearly onomat.); = ὁ ὑπὸ τῷ ὄνυχι ῥύπος 'the dirt under the nail' (H.; also γρύξ) and = γρύτι; a small coin (Suid.). ◀ONOM▶

•VAR Indeclinable.

•DER γρύζω, aor. γρύξαι 'grunt' (Ar.), γρυσμός (Agathocl.); γρύλος, expressive gemination γρύλλος 'piglet' (Ath.), metaph. 'eel' (Diph. Siph.; because of its thickness and sound, see Strömberg 1943: 68f.); γρυλίων· χοῖρος 'pig' (H.); as a PN Γρύλος, -ων, etc. (Bechtel 1917b: 581); γρύλιζω (Ar.; γρυλλιζω rejected by Phryn.); γρύλισμός (Arist.); γρύλλι· ὤων φωνή 'sound of pigs' (H.). γογγρύζειν, γογγρύσαι (H.) were influenced by ► γογγύζειν.

•ETYM For onomatopoeic γρύζω, compare Lat. *grunniō*, *grundiō*, OE *grun(n)ian*, OHG MoHG *grunzen*. A difficult comparison is that with γρωνάδες· θήλειαι σῦες 'female pigs' (H.), which has been thought to represent the Laconian pronunciation with [u]; cf. MoGr. γουρούνι 'swine' (is γέωνα H. an error?) and see Kretschmer *Glotta* 13 (1924): 135. Cf. further ► γρύλλος 'caricature' and γρυλλισμός a dance.

**γρύλλος** [m.] 'caricature' (Plin. *HN* 35, 114). ◀?▶

•DER γρυλλο-γραφέω 'draw caricatures' (Phld.). Also a dance (Phryn. *PS* p. 58 B.); thus also γρυλλισμός, with γρύλλος = ὁ ὀρχούμενος (ibid.).

•ETYM Deemed an Egyptian (i.e. Hellenistic) word by Phrynichos; see Latte *Glotta* 34 (1955): 190f. It is not from the PN Γρύλλος (Plin.); see Latte ibid. See further Page *Class. Rev.* 7 (1957): 189-191 and Maas *Greece and Rome* 5 (1958): 71. There is no relation between γρύλλος and γρύλος. DELG thinks the connection between the dance and 'caricature' is evident.

**γρυμέα** [f.] 'bag or chest for old clothes' (Com., Phld.). ◀PG▶

•VAR Codd. often γρυμαία; also γρυμεῖα, γρυμεία. γρύτι [f.] 'trash, trumpery, woman's dressing-case, vanity-bag, frippery' (Sapph., pap.); 'small fry' (Gr.).

•COMP γρυμεοπώλης (Luc.); γρυτοπώλης (Cos, pap.); γρυτο-δόκη (AP).

•DER Diminutive γρυτάριον (Zen., pap.); γρυτεύεται· παρασκευάζεται 'to prepare, put on make-up' (H.).

•ETYM In origin, the word probably denoted small things of little value, later also the chest, etc. The formation of γρυμέα is rare; together with the variants -αία, -εία, it suggests a non-Greek (= Pre-Greek) formation, on which see *Pre-Greek* on the suffix -αι/ε(ι)-. Perhaps connected to γρῦ as 'something small'. The comparison with Lat. *grūmus* 'heap of earth, hillock' is unconvincing; better, but still doubtful, is that with OE *cruma* 'crumb'. From γρυμέα probably comes Lat. *crumīna* 'bag, purse'; see Pfister *IF* 56 (1938): 200ff. Likewise, γρύτι may be the source of Lat. *scrūta* [n.pl.] 'trash, frippery'.

**γρυνόν** [n.] = σίκυς ἄγριος 'kind of wild fish' (Ps.-Dsc. 4, 150). ◀?▶

•ETYM André *Ét. class.* 24 (1956): 10 connects the word with γρύσει = τήξει (Arist. *Pr.* 876b 15) because of its fluid contents; this is most uncertain, as the verb itself is unclear.

**γρῦνός** [m.] 'dry wood, torch' (Hom. *Fr.* 18, Lyc. 86, 294). ◀?▶

•VAR γρουνός [m.] (v.l. and Call. *Fr. anon.* 84).

•DER γρύνη· λιβανωτός 'frankincense' (Theognost. *Can.* 108). Cf. the TN Γρύνειον, Γρύνοι (Aeolis), Fick *BB* 23 (1898): 22 and 213.

•ETYM Unknown.

**γρῦπός** [adj.] 'hook-nosed, curved' (Pl.). ◀PG(V)▶

•DER γρυπότης (X.). Denominative γρυπόμαι 'become hooked, of nails' (Hp.), γρύπωσις (medi.); further γρύπτω, γρυπαίνω and γρυμπαίνειν· γρυποῦσθαι, συγκάμπτειν 'bend together' (H.). Them. aorist ἔγρυπον (like ἔκτυπον) 'become wrinkled', of the earth in an earthquake' (Melanth. *Hist.* 1); thus γὰν ἐγρυμμέναν (Gortyn); idem γρυπανίζω (Antiph. *Soph.*) and γρυπάνιος (ib.); γρυπάλιον· γερόντιον. ἢ γρυπάνιον (H.), γρυπνόν· στυγνόν 'abhorred' (see DELG). Root noun γρύψ, -πός [m.] the mythological 'griffin' (Aristeas *apud* Hdt., A.), later the real 'lammergeier' (LXX); cf. γύψ, σκῶψ, γλαῦξ; also γρύπαι· αἱ νεοσσαὶ τῶν γυπῶν. οἱ δὲ γῦπαι 'the young of vultures; vultures' (H.). γρυβός· γρύψ (H.) after the nouns in -βος? (Chantraine 1933: 261). Metaph. γρύπτες· μέρος τῶν τῆς νεῶς σκευῶν καὶ ἄγκυραι 'part of the ship's tackle and anchors' (H.).

•ETYM A connection with OE *crumb*, OHG *krump* 'crooked' is not very probable (the nasal is difficult). The nasal in γρυμπαίνω could be a Pre-Greek prenasalization, but could also be of inner-Greek origin. The long *u* is difficult to account for in IE (it requires \*-uH-). Güntert 1914: 132f. thought that γρύψ was γύψ, influenced by γρυπός; this is unconvincing. Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 17 assumed a loan from Akkadian (*karūbu* 'griffin, cherub'; cf. Hebr. *kērub* and Lewy 1895: 11f.) through Hittite. From the archaeological perspective, origin in Asia Minor (and the Near East: Elam) is very probable, for discussions on which see DNP s.v. Greif, and Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 48 (1970): 51f. (note that it is not connected with Akk. *karūbu*), Wild *Wien. Ak. Sb.* 241/4 (1963): 3-28. It is not certain that γρύψ is related to γρυπός. The adjective makes the impression of a Pre-Greek word (γρυμπ-), thus this would be true of the mythical bird as well (whatever its ultimate origin); note γρυβός, which may prove a Pre-Greek alternation of stops. Fur.: 175 assumes further variations on the basis of the Latin forms. Note also γρῦνός· γρύψ H., which fits in his system as showing π/φ (236). Through Lat. *gryphus*, the word entered the Western Eur. languages (*griffin*, *Greif*).

γρύτι = γρυμέα.

γρύψ = γρῦπός.

**γρῶνος** [adj.] 'hollow, cavernous' (Lyc.). ◀?▶

•DER γρώνη 'hole, kneading trough' (Nic., AP), γρώνους (H.) in several specific mgs.

•ETYM The usual reconstruction \*γρωσ-νός vel sim. (to ► γράω) is quite uncertain, as the verb shows no ablaut; the meaning hardly fits, either.

**γύαλον** [n.] 'hollow (of a cuirass), vales, dells' (Il.), also of the hand, cf. ἐγγυαλίζω; see below. ◀IE? \*gou- 'hand'; \*gu(H)- 'bend' (?)▶

•DER γυαλός epithet of λίθος (Call. *Fr. anon.* 331), with different accent γύαλος [m.] 'cubical stone' (*EM* 243, 12); γυάλας 'cup' (Megara and Macedonia, Ath. 11, 467c; see

Solmsen 1909: 216). ἐγ-γυαλ-ίζω 'hand over' (Il.; see Schwyzler: 736). Independent ἐγγύαλον (Orion) = ἔγκοιλον. Also γυέλιον· κόλπον 'lap' (H.).

•ETYM For the formation, one might compare ἀγκάλη, ὀμφαλός (Chantraine 1933: 245ff.). For ἐγγυαλίζω, the meaning 'hollow of the hand' has been posited. Cf. YAv. *gauua-* 'hand'; see ► ἐγγύη. Mostly connected with ► γύης, ► γυῖα s.v.

**γυγαί** [?] · πάπποι 'grandfathers' (H.; cod. πάμποι). <LW? Anat.>

•ETYM If πάπποι is correct, this is an Anatolian word cognate with Hitt. *ḫuḫḫa-* 'grandfather', HLuw. *ḫuḫa-*, Lyc. *ḫuge-*; see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. Brandenstein 1954b: 65 connects it with the name of the Lydian king Γύγις. Cf. Heubeck *Lydiaka* (1959): 62f; however, Neumann 1961: 69ff. connected it instead with the bird γύγις. The same word as Lat. *avus*, Arm. *hav* 'grandfather', i.e. \**h<sub>2</sub>euḥ<sub>2</sub>o-*. See ► κοκύαι.

**γύγις, -ου** [m.] a waterbird (Dionys. Av. 2, 16). <?>

•ETYM Perhaps onomatopoeic, after its sound; see Thompson 1895 s.v. Lidén 1892: 92f. connected the word with Lith. *gūžas*, -ūtis 'stork', ON *kjúklingr* 'chicken', etc.

**γύης, -ου** [m.] a. 'the curved piece of wood in a plough' (Hes. *Op.* 427, 436), ἄροτρον αὐτόγυον 'plough whose γύης is of one piece with the ἔλμα and ἰστοβοεύς, not fitted together (πηκτόν)' (Hes.); b. 'lands' (trag.), mostly plur., also a measure in τετρά-γυος 'of four γ.', etc. (Hom.); sometimes fem., cf. γύη· μέτρον πλέθρου 'measure of 100 ft./10,000 sq. ft.' (H.); also γύος [m.] (pap.); c. 'the system of ἀστράγαλοι' (H., Poll.); d. -γυος with e. ἀμφίγυος. <IE? \**gou-* 'hand'; \**gu(H)-* 'bend' (?)>

•COMP ἀμφί-γυος of lance and javelin (Il.), 'with a limb at each end'? (Trümper 1950: 59); metrical lengthening ἀμφιγυήεις, said of Hephaistos, 'crippled on both sides'(?); τετρά-γυος 'of four γ.' (land measure).

•ETYM This word belongs to a difficult complex. It probably consists of: (1) γύαλον, (2) γυῖα, (3) ἐγγύη, which I have treated separately, which correspond to 1, 4, and 2 in DELG s.v. γύη(ς). Here, γύη(ς) (DELG nrs. 3, 5) is treated.

The basic form \*γυ(η)- 'curve, curving' has been assumed. For comparison, we have MoP *gōšā* 'corner' and Av. *gu-* 'hand'; the other forms in Pok. 393-8 are hardly relevant.

Here probably ► γύαλον, ► γυῖα; see also ► γυρός. Hardly to ► γυλιός.

**γυῖα** [n.pl.] 'limbs' (Il.), also 'lap' (μητρὸς γυῖα, *h. Merc.* 20); rare sing. γυῖον 'hand' (Theoc. 22, 121); 'body' (Pi.). <IE? \**gou-* 'hand'; \**gu(H)-* 'bend' (?)>

•DER γυιὼν 'cripple' (Il.), with γυιός 'lamed' (Call.).

•ETYM Connected with ► γύης and ► ἐγγύη.

**γυλιός** [m.] 'knapsack' (Ar.); also an animal, 'hedgehog'? (Sophr. 73; see also sch. Ar. *Pax* 527). <?>

•VAR Also γυλιός.

•DER Also γύλλιον· ἀγγεῖον πλεκτόν 'plaited vessel' (H.), and the fish names γυλλίσκοι· ἰχθύες ποιοί (H.), γυλάριον = μυζῆνος (sch. Opp. *H.* 1, 111). The gloss γυλλάς· εἶδος ποτηρίου, παρὰ Μακεδόσιν 'kind of drinking cup (Maced.)' (H.) will be a mistake for γυάλας (s.v. γύαλον).

•ETYM Unknown. ON *kýll* 'bag for victuals', OHG *kiulla* 'bag' < \**keula-* have been compared; see WH s.v. *vola*. Further related to γύαλον? Fur.: 120 compares γυλάριον with ► κύλλαρος.

**γυλλός** [m.] mg. unclear, 'block of stone' (Milete VI-V<sup>a</sup>) carried in a procession for Apollo (Nisson, *Gr. Rel.* 1, 189); κύβος, ἢ τετράγωνος λίθος 'cube or cubic stone' (H.); γυλλοί· στολμοί 'equipment, apparel' (H.; Latte: corrupt). <?>

•DER γύλλινα· ἐρείσματα, γεῖσοι 'prop, projecting part of the roof' (H.). On γυλλάς· εἶδος ποτηρίου, παρὰ Μακεδόσιν, γύλλιον· ἀγγεῖον πλεκτόν (H.) see ► γυλιός.

•ETYM No etymology. Lewy KZ 55 (1928): 72f. connects the word with Hebr. *gölāl* 'Rollstein'.

**γυμνός** [adj.] 'naked, unarmed' (Il.). <IE \**nog<sup>w</sup>-no-* 'naked'>

•VAR ἀπόνομιον· ἀπογύμνωσιν 'stripping bare' (H.).

•DER γυμνάς, -άδος [f.m.] 'naked' (E.); 'trained' (E., Att.); collective = 'trained men' (Amorgos, Astypalaia, Cos). γυμνής, -ήτος [m.] 'light-armed warrior' (Tyrt.), with γυμνητικός (X.), γυμνήσιος (Arist.), γυμνητεύω (Plu.), γυμνητεία 'light-armed men' (Th.), 'nakedness' (Corn.); γυμνήτης, fem. -ήτις 'naked' (Lyc.). γυμνικός (ἀγών) 'gymnastic' (opp. ἵππικός) (Hdt.). γυμνηλός 'poor' (H., EM, after νοσηλός, etc.). γυμνότης [f.] (LXX). Denominative γυμνόομαι 'to strip' (Il.), -όω (Hdt.), γύμνωσις (Th.). γυμνάζομαι 'to exercise (naked)' (IA); γυμναστής 'trainer' (Pl.), γυμναστικός, ἢ γυμναστική (τέχνη) 'gymnastics' (IA); γύμνασμα 'training' (D. H.), γύμνασις 'id.' (Poll.); γυμνάσιον 'training' (Pi.), 'school for exercise, gymnasium' (Att.), γυμνασιώδης (Cic.); γυμνασία; on -σιον, -σία Schwyzler: 469f. γυμνασιδίων (Arr.) and γυμναστήριον (Gal.). γυμνιεύω 'to be naked' (P. Ross. *Georg.* 3, 28, IV<sup>p</sup>).

•ETYM Old inherited word. With a dental suffix, we have Lat. *nūdus* (< \**nog<sup>w</sup>od<sup>h</sup>o-* per Schrijver 1991: 274f.), OIr. *nocht*, Go. *naqaps*, OHG *nackt*, and ON *nøkkviðr*. Without a suffix are Lith. *niúogas*, OCS *nagъ* (with acute lengthened vowel according to Winter's Law); with a suffix -no-, Skt. *nagná-*, Av. *mayna-* (dissimilated); with -n-, Gm. forms like ON *nakinn*, OFr. *naken*, probably modelled after the *n*-participles. Hitt. *nekumanza* (with *e*-vowel) is modelled after the adjectives in -*uant-* (becoming -*mant-* after *u*). With *e*, we also have Arm. *merk* < \**meg<sup>w</sup>ro-* (cf. Av. *mayna-*). The *v* is from \**o* like in νύξ after a nasal and before a following labiovelar; the -*mv-*, from \**-g<sup>w</sup>n-* (cf. ἀμινός). We also find λυμνός (H.), with dissimilation of \**νυμνός*, as well as ἀπολύγματος· ἀπογύμνωσις. Κύπριοι (H.), with preserved -*γ-*. The essential point, the initial *γ-*, was explained by Kortlandt (ap. Beekes *Orbis* 37 (1994): 91) as an assimilation \**noḡ<sup>w</sup>no-* > \**ḡoḡ<sup>w</sup>no-*. The initial [ḡ-] was reanalyzed as /*γ-*/, since *ḡ* was not a phoneme in Greek.

**γυνή** [f.] 'wife, woman' (Il.). <IE \**g<sup>w</sup>en-h<sub>2</sub>* 'woman'>

•VAR Gen. γυναικός. Boeot. βανά (Corinn.), plur. βανῆκας· γυναικας H.; Cyp. \*βονα does not exist (O. Masson 1961: 298). Voc. γύναι from \*γυναικ, see Schwyzler: 582f. The stem γυν-αικ- probably derives from an adj. \**g<sup>w</sup>neh<sub>2</sub>-iko-* (Szemerényi *AION* 2 (1960): 13-30; against Lejeune *REA* 63 (1961): 435).

•DIAL Myc. *ku-na-ja* /*gunaia*/.

•COMP On the forms of γυνή as a second member ἄ- ἀνδρό- κατά- μισό- φιλόγυνος, ἄ- ἡμι- καλλι- ὀρσι- φιλογύναιξ, ἀγύναικος, ἄ- ἡμι- κακο- κατα- μισο- πολυ- φιλογύναιος, ἄ- ἀνδρο- μισο- νεο- πολυ- φιλογύνης see Sommer 1948: 62f. Exceptional γύν-ανδρος 'hermaphrodite', and γυναι-μανής (Il.). Survey in DELG s.v.

•DER Diminutive γυναικάριον (Diocl. Com.), γυναικίον (Longos), γυναικίσκιον- παιδίσκιον (H.); γυναικίας [m.] 'womanish man' (Eur.; like νεανίας); γυναικωνίτις 'women's room' (Lys.), rare γυναικών (X., like ἀνδρών).

Adjective γυναικήϊος, -εῖος (Od.; as ἀνδρήϊος, -εῖος), γυναικικός (Arist.; like ἀνδρικός), γυναικώδης (Plb.: ἀνδρώδης), γυναικηρός (Diocl. Com.; after πονηρός, etc.).

Denominative verbs γυναικίζω, -ομαι 'to behave like a woman' (IA) with γυναικίσις (Ar.) and γυναικισμός (Plb.); γυναικόομαι, -όω 'to be, make womanish' (Hp.).

Not derived from the extended stem γυναικ-: γύννις, -ιδος 'womanish man' (A.) and γύναιος [adj.] (cf. δελταίος), γύναιον [n.] 'woman'.

•ETYM γυνή derives from the PIE word for 'woman', \*g<sup>w</sup>en-h<sub>2</sub>, e.g. Skt. (Ved.) gnā- 'woman, goddess', Av. gənā 'woman'. An exact match with γυναι- is offered by Arm. kanay- in the plur. kanay-k' [nom.], etc.; the element -κ- is seen further in Messap. gunakhai 'γυναικί(?)' and NPhr. κναικαν, κναικο.

The labiovelar also appears in Go. qino (n-stem), OIr. ben (ā-stem) 'woman', both < \*g<sup>w</sup>en-. The full grade, replaced by the zero grade in Greek, is seen in e.g. Arm. kin, OPr. genna, OCS žena, Skt. jāni-, ToA šām, ToB šana. The zero grade is found in OIr. ban- (in compounds), gen.sg. mná < \*bnās. A lengthened grade is seen in Go. qens (i-stem) 'woman'.

The word was originally a proterodynamic h<sub>2</sub>-stem: nom. \*g<sup>w</sup>en-h<sub>2</sub> (seen in Skt. jāni-, ToB šana), gen. \*g<sup>w</sup>n-eh<sub>2</sub>-s (in OIr. mná). The Greek u-vocalism probably goes back to a zero grade \*g<sup>w</sup>nh<sub>2</sub>-V-, although this would normally be expected to give \*βαν-, which is the form attested in Corinna.

On ▶μνάομαι 'to woo for one's bride', see ▶μμνήσκω. The full grade may be preserved in ▶βενέω, a variant of ▶βινέω (acc. to De Lamberterie RPh. 65 (1991): 149-160).

γῦπη [f.] · κοίλωμα γῆς, θαλάμη, γωνία. 'cavity in the earth, den, corner' (Call. Aet. Oxy. 2080, 73). <EUR>

•VAR γύπας· καλύβας, καὶ θαλάμας. οἱ δὲ γυπῶν νεοσσιὰς 'hut, den; nest of young birds', referring to ▶γύψ through folk etymology. οἱ δὲ τὰς κατὰ γῆς οἰκῆσεις, οἱ δὲ σπήλαια 'a habitation below the earth, caverns' ... (H.).

•ETYM The word is connected with a Gm. word for 'room, cave, etc.': ON kofi, OE cofa, MoHG Koben, etc. These words may be European substrate words; see Beekes KZ 109 (1996): 223-227. Av. gufra- 'deep' is probably unrelated; see Mayrhofer EWAia s.v. gabhīrā-. On γυπάριον, see ▶γύψ.

γύπωνες [pl.] dancers in Sparta (Poll. 4, 104): οἱ δὲ γύπωνες ξυλίνων κώλων ἐπιβαίνοντες ὠρχοῦντο, διαφανῇ ταραντινίδια ἀμπεχόμενοι 'some say the γύπωνες danced upon wooden limbs, putting on tarantinidia, translucent dresses'. <?>

•COMP ὑπογύπωνες (ib.).

•ETYM Unknown.

γυργαθός [m.] 'wisker-basket, creel' (Ar.). <PG>

•VAR Accent after Hdn. Gr. 1, 145. Also γύργαθον (BGU 1092, 29) and γέργαθος (POxy. 741, 5).

•DER γυργάθιον (PHolm. 18, 17).

•ETYM Technical word. Connected with ger- ('plait?') in ▶γέρρον? The word looks Pre-Greek.

γυρίνος ⇒ γυρός.

γῦρις, -εως [f.] 'the finest meal' (Dsc.). <?>

•VAR Also γύριος (PSI 4, 428, 44, III<sup>a</sup>).

•DER γυρίνη kind of cake (Luc.), γυρίτης (ἄρτος) 'bread from γ.' (Ath.), γυριστήριος (gloss.).

•ETYM Unknown. Perhaps connected with ▶γούρος.

γῦρός [adj.] 'round, curved' (τ 246: γυρός ἐν ὤμοισιν ['round in the upper arms', i.e., 'muscular?']). <IE? \*gou- 'hand'; \*gu(H)- 'bend' (?)>

•DER γῦρος [m.] 'rounding, circle' (Thphr.) with γύριος 'forming a γ.' (Anon. apud Suid.), γυραλέος (Opp.). Denominative γυρώ 'make round, make a circle' (LXX, Nic.) with γύρωσις (pap., Gr.); also γυρεύω 'walk in a circle' (Str.), γυριστός 'curved' (sch.), γυρτόν· κυφόν 'hunchbacked' (H.). Also γυρίνος [m.] 'tadpole' (Pl.; but with short u) with γυρινώδης (Arist.). Here also PIN like Γυραὶ πέτραι (δ 500), see Bechtel 1914 s.v.

•ETYM Connection with \*gou- 'hand', \*guH- 'curved' (see Frisk) seems quite possible. See ▶γύης, ▶γύαλον.

γύψ [m.] 'vulture' (Il.). <PG>

•VAR γυπός.

•DER γυπιάς (πέτρα) 'where vultures live' (A. Supp. 796 [lyr.]; cf. ὄρεστ-ιάς, etc. Schwyzer: 508); γύπινος 'belonging to a vulture' (Luc.), γυπιαῖος 'id.' (Tz.), γυπώδης 'vulture-like' (Arist.). γυπάριον 'nest, cranny' (γυπαρίους καὶ πυργιδίους Ar. Eq. 793).

•ETYM Monosyllabic bird name like σκῶψ, γλαῦξ, etc. The usual connection with \*geu- 'bend' (see ▶γῦρός, ▶γύαλον, etc.) is quite uncertain. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek.

γύψος [f.] 'gypsum, chalk, cement' (Hdt.). <LW Sem.??>

•DER γυπίον (pap.), γυπική 'tax on plasterers' (pap.), γύπινος (EM), γυπώδης (Sor.); denominative γυπώω 'plaster with gypsum, chalk over' (Hdt.) with γύψωσις (Gr.) and γυψωτής (EM); γυπίζω 'id.' with γυπισμός (pap.).

•ETYM From Semitic? See Muß & Arnolt TAPA 23 (1892): 70.

γωλεός [m.] 'hole' (Arist.), γωλ<ε>ιοί· σπήλαια. καὶ αἱ πρὸς θάλασσαν καταδύσεις 'caverns; descents towards the sea' (H.); plur. γωλε(ι)ά (Nic.). <?>

•ETYM The word has been compared with Lith. guōlis, Latv. guoļa 'lair, nest' (Lith. guliū 'lie down'), and Arm. katal 'hole, hiding-place'. However, this comparison must remain uncertain and IE origin is not very probable. We have to reckon with

influence from φωλεός (Fraenkel KZ 71 (1954): 40); cf. also the remote similarity with ► γύαλον, etc.

**γωνία** [f.] 'corner' (Hdt.), also 'leader' (LXX). On its use in geometry see Mugler 1958-1959. ◀GR▶

•COMP As a second member -γωνος in τρί-γωνος, etc. (like -βιβλος to βιβλίον, etc.), see Debrunner IF 60 (1952): 40ff.; συγγωνίος (RPh. 73 (1999) 84).

•DER γωνίδιον (Luc.); γωνιαῖος (Pl. Com.), γωνιήιος (Delphi), γωνιώδης (Hr.), γωνιακός (Procl.); γώνιος (pap. VP).

γωνιάζω (Porph.) with γωνιασμός (Ar.); γωνιόμαι (Dsc.) with γωνιώμα (Eust.) and γωνιώσις (Archig. Med.). For παραγωνίζω see RPh. 71 (1997): 155f.

•ETYM Generally connected with ► γόνυ. Since the paradigm of \*ǵonu- contained no lengthened grade and mathematicians were Pythagoreans, the long ω must be explained as the regular Doric development of \*γονυ-ία; the long ā in Skt. *jānu* arose from short o in \*ǵonu by Brugmann's Law and is irrelevant. Alternatively, Hamp MSS 43 (1984): 19f. explains the long ω from the type τρί-γωνος.

**γῶος** [m.] · μνημεῖον 'memorial' (H.). ◀?▶

•ETYM Unknown. For a suggestion, see von Blumenthal 1930: 15 A. 1, who considers the word as Messapian (or Macedonian), deriving it from IE \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>ōuo- beside \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>ouo- in Gr. χοῦς.

**γῶπας** [acc.pl.] · κολοιούς, Μακεδόνες 'jackdaw (Maced.)' (H.). ◀PG(V)▶

•ETYM According to Lesny KZ 42 (1909): 297f., γῶπας is identical to γῦπας; according to Hoffmann 1906: 47, it is to be connected with σκῶπας (both hypotheses doubted by Kretschmer Glotta 3 (1910-1912): 307). See ► σκῶψ, which could be yet another variant (Fur.: 110).

**γωρῦτός** [m.] ([f.]) 'quiver, which was also a bow-case' (φ 54). ◀LW Iran.▶

•VAR Hesychius' χωρυτός will be due to ancient folk-etymology, as appears from Ap. Soph. (παρὰ τὸ ... χωρεῖν), while γορυτός (H.) may be just a mistake.

•ETYM According to Benveniste 1937b: 42ff., a loanword from a Scythian compound (see under τόξον) that contains the word for 'cow' (see ► βοῦς), Iran. Γω- in Γω-βάρης, etc., as a first member. The interpretation of the second member is totally unclear however, since (pace Benveniste) we can hardly identify it with MoP *rūda* 'intestine' and interpret the whole compound as 'cow-hide' (Morgenstierne KZ 61 (1934): 29f.). If the second member cannot be 'hide', the first member need not be 'cow-' either. Alternatively, Lubotsky suggests that γωρῦτός may derive from \*varūtra- 'something that protects' (Skt. *varūtár-*), with *v-* > *g-* as in later Iranian. For the Greeks, the pronunciation of the initial may already have resembled *g(w)*-, and a substitution of -*va-* by *ō* is trivial. Note that this etymology additionally explains the long ū.

## Δ

**δα-** [pref.] e.g. in δα-φεινός 'very red' (Il.), especially of animals, and δά-σκιος 'very shady' (Od.). ◀GR▶

•ETYM From δια-, Aeol. ζα-, although the conditions are unclear (metrical explanation in Chantraine 1942: 168, see also Sjölund 1938: 25f.). See ► δάσκιος.

**δᾶ** [interj.] (trag.) in lyrics, e.g. A. Eu. 874 οἰοῖ δᾶ φεῦ. ◀?▶

•ETYM According to sch. Ag. 1072, EM 60, 8, the word is Doric for γᾶ, γῆ, which Kretschmer finds in Dor. Δαμάτηρ (see ► Δημήτηρ) and in Dor. Ποτειδάν (see ► Ποσειδών). However, it is probably only an exclamation. On the accus. Δᾶν, see ► Ζεύς.

**δᾶγύς, -ῦδος** [f.] 'puppet' of wax (Theoc. 2, 110). ◀PG(S)▶

•ETYM Technical word of foreign origin. Etymology unknown. Probably a Pre-Greek word (suffix -ῦδ-).

**δαδύσσομαι** [v.] 'to be distracted' (Sophr. 117, H.). ◀?▶

•VAR Also δαιδύσσεσθαι· ἔλκεσθαι 'to be drawn, pulled' (H.) and δαιδήσσουσι (for \*δαιδύσσουσι?)· βασανίζουσι 'they put to the test'.

•ETYM Since Roscher-Osthoff IF 5 (1895): 282 (and, later, LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**deuk-* 'ziehen'), the word has been connected with Lat. *dūco* 'lead', Go. *tiuhan* 'draw' (cf. ► ἄδευκής, ► ἐνδυκέως), assuming intensive reduplication \*δαι-δυκ-ιο-. However, different from that tradition, DELG notes that the word has "pas d'étymologie". Indeed, if δα- is not a late notation for δαι- (as argued by e.g. Schwyzler: 841 and Frisk), the variation δα-/δαι- may point to Pre-Greek origin.

**δαεγῶ** [interj.] · οἶδα, ἐπίσταμαι 'I know, understand' (H.). ◀GR▶

•ETYM Latte and Pearson read δαείω (a subjunctive, acc. to DELG), for which I see no support. Alternatively, MoGr. (Cappadocian) δαγῶ 'I know', from οἶδα ἐγῶ (Schwyzler: 769), has been compared (Kretschmer Glotta 12 (1923): 215), which is more probable.

**Δάειρα** [f.] name of a chthonic goddess in Attica, to whom a pregnant sheep was sacrificed (Pherecyd. 45, Lyc. 710, inscr.); also Δαῖρα (A. Fr. 277, inscr.). ◀PG(S)▶

•DER Δαειρίτης [m.] name of a priestess (Poll.).

•ETYM Formerly compared to formations like κυδι-άνειρα and connected with ► δαῖναι, Skt. *dasrá-* 'effecting miracles' (cf. ► δαῖ-φρων) but this is semantically unattractive. Nilsson Arch. f. Religionswiss. 32 (1935): 82f. and Kern in PW 4: 1980f.



assumed a feminine of ▶ δᾱήρ, so properly “sister-in-law”, which is not convincing either. More probably Pre-Greek (where a suffix -ειρα occurs more often).

**δαῖναι** [v.] ‘to learn’ (Il.). <IE \*dens- ‘learn’>

•VAR Epic also intr. aor. δαήμεναι, fut. δαήσομαι, perf. δεδάηκα, δεδαώς (Od.), med. δεδάημαι (h. Merc.), redupl. aor. (with caus. mg.) δέδαε ‘taught’ (Od.), δέδαον [3pl.] (H.), inf. δεδάασθαι (for δεδαέσθαι?) (π 316), secondary δάε, ἔδαε (A. R.), δα[ι]ῆσαι διδάξαι ‘learn’ (H.); present ▶ διδάσκω.

•DER δαήμων ‘knowing’ (Il.) with δημοσύνη (A. R.); privative ▶ ἀδαής; δάησις (EM); ▶ Δάειρα.

•ETYM The stem δα- derives from the zero grade of IE \*dens-. The full grade is seen in Av. *didaiyēhē* < \*di-dens-h<sub>2</sub>ei and in nominal forms like Skt. *dasrá-* ‘effecting miracles’. The aor. δέ-δα-ε is from \*de-dhs-e-t. Cf. ▶ δήνεα, ▶ διδάσκω, ▶ δαῖφρων.

**δᾱήρ** [m.] ‘husband’s younger brother, brother-in-law’. <IE \*deh<sub>2</sub>i-uer- ‘brother-in-law’>

•VAR Acc. -έρα, voc. δᾱερ, gen.plur. δᾱέρων Ω 769 (verse initial) and 762 (Il.), Hell. and late also the accus. and dat.sing. δαῖρα, δαιρί, nom.plur. δέρες (Lydia), gen.sg. δῆρος (Bithynia).

•DER Δάειρα is rather not related.

•ETYM Old kinship term, agreeing with Skt. *devár-*, Arm. *taygr*, Lith. *diever-is*, OCS *děver-b*; thus it derives from \*δαιρήρ. Is δαιρί from \*δαιρρί, and \*δαιρῶν for metrically impossible δᾱέρων? See Schwyzler: 266 and 568. Lat. *lėvir* was transformed after *vir* and has *l-* for *d-* and *ē* for *ae* from the colloquial language.

**δαί** [interj.] always after interrogative τί, πῶς δαί ‘what, how then?’ (α 225, ω 299 [both doubtful]; Com.; often false for δέ). <GR>

•ETYM Innovation to δῆ after νῆ: ναί. See Schwyzler 1950: 563<sup>3</sup>; 570.

**δαῖ** [f.] ‘in battle’ (Il.). <?>

•DIAL Myc. *da-i-qo-ta* /dā<sup>(h)</sup>i-k<sup>wh</sup>ontās/, Διηφόντης.

•COMP δαικταμένων Φ 146, 301. PNs Δάιππος (Milete), Δαικράτης (Olbia), Δαῖλέων, Δαιμένης (Athens).

•ETYM Isolated epic dative (also Hes. *Th.* 650, A. *Th.* 925), formerly derived from a root noun \*δαῦς. However, the Myc. form without -w- shows that this reconstruction is untenable, so it is rather not related to ▶ δαίω. New accus. δάῖν (Call. *Fr.* 243). See ▶ δῆϊος.

**δαιδάλλω** [v.] ‘to work artfully, embellish’ (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Only present stem.

•DIAL Myc. *da-da-re-jo-de* /daidaiejon-de/.

•DER δαίδαλμα ‘work of art’ (Theoc.). δαίδαλον [n.] ‘id., ornament’ (Il.); Δαίδαλος name of a mythical artist (Il.), δαίδαλος ‘artful’ (A.); δαιδάλεος (Il., cf. μαρμαίρω: μαρμάρεος, etc.; acc. to Leumann a metrical variant to πολυ-δαίδαλος ‘rich in ornaments’); also δαιδαλόεις (Q. S., like παιπαλόεις). Denominative δαιδαλόω (Pi.), δαιδαλεύομαι (Ph.) with δαιδαλεύτρια ‘artful female artist’ (Lyc.).

•ETYM The relation between δαιδάλλω, δαίδαλος, and δαίδαλον is debated. Leumann 1950: 131ff. started from a Mediterranean word δαίδαλον ‘ornament’, from which δαιδάλλω and the compound πολυ-δαίδαλος ‘rich in ornament’ would be derived. Others have taken δαιδάλλω, which was thought to be an intensive reduplicated formation, as the starting point (cf. Schwyzler: 647 and 725). Within Greek, ▶ δέλτος and ▶ δηλέομαι have been compared (see s.vv); further, δάλλει· κακουργεῖ ‘do wrong’ (H.) and ▶ δόλων; see also ▶ δόλος. Not related are several words for ‘build, split’ in other IE languages, e.g., Lat. *dolāre* ‘hew’, Skt. *dār-dar(ī)ti* ‘split’, OIr. *delb* ‘form’ (< \*del-wā-), etc. Instead, we should consider Pre-Greek origin, for instance through a connection with the PN Δαίδαλος. Assuming that the verb is primary, δαιδάλλω may have to be interpreted morphologically as a reduplicated \*dalʷ-dalʷ-.

**δαιδύσσεσθαι** ⇒ δαδύσσομαι.

**δαῖζω** [v.] ‘to cleave, pierce’ (Il.). <GR>

•VAR Aor. δαῖξαι, perf. ptc. δεδαῖγμένος.

•DER δαῖκτηρ ‘divider’, of Ares (Alc.), also of γόος (A. *Th.* 916); also δαῖκτωρ (γάμος A. *Supp.* 798); δαῖγμός (EM); δαῖκτας in e.g. μηλοδαῖκτας (B.); καρπο-δαισται (Gortyn) is rather from δαίομαι with analogical -σ-, like in δεδαισμένον, δαισθείς (E.).

•ETYM Deverbative from ▶ δαίομαι (see Schwyzler: 736).

**δαίμων, -ονος** [m., f.] ‘godlike power, fate, god’ (Il.). <IE \*deh<sub>2</sub>-(i-) ‘cut, divide’>

•DER Adjective δαιμόνιος ‘belonging to a δαίμων’ (Il.); on δαιμόνιε see Brunius-Nilsson 1955; ntr. δαιμόνιον ‘godlike power’ (IA); δαιμονικός ‘id.’ (Plu.); δαιμονιακός ‘id.’ (PMag. Osl. 1, 143); δαιμονιώδης ‘like a δ.’ (Ep. Jac., Procl.). Rare and late δαιμονίς (Procl.) and δαιμόνισσα (PMag. Leid. W. 16, 48). On δαιμονή (Alcm. 69?) see Schwyzler: 524. Denominative δαιμονάω ‘be possessed by a δ.’ (A.), δαιμονιάω ‘id.’ (Phld.), δαιμονητιά· δαιμονίζεται. Κρήτες H., after verbs of disease in -άω, -ιάω and -ητιάω (Schwyzler: 731f.); δαιμονίζομαι ‘id.’ (Philem.) with δαιμονισμός (Vett. Val.), ‘become a god’ (S. *Fr.* 173, H.); δαιμονιάζομαι = δαιμονιάω (pap.). Often as a second member of compounds: bahuvrīhi (βαρυ-, δυσ-); substantives (ἀγαθο-, ἀνθρωπο-); see Frisk s.v.

•ETYM The word is connected with ▶ δαίομαι as ‘divider’ (cf. von Wilamowitz 1931: 363); for the semantics, cf. OP *baga-*, OCS *bogŭ* ‘god’ beside Av. *baga-* ‘part’, Skt. *bhāga-* ‘id.’, related to *bhājati* ‘divide’ (the meaning has not developed from “Zerreißer, Fresser (der Leichen)”). See Nilsson 1941: 216ff. and (on its development in modern languages) Chantraine CRAI 1954: 452-5.

**δαίομαι** [v.] ‘to divide’, med. ‘to feast’ (Il.). <IE \*deh<sub>2</sub>-, \*deh<sub>2</sub>i- ‘cut, divide’>

•VAR δαίνυμι, aor. δαῖσαι, fut. δαίσω, δαισθείς.

•DER Abstracta δαῖς, -τός [f.] ‘portion, meal’ (Il.), compounds ἄβρό-, ὁμό-, δαίτη ‘meal’ (Il.); δαιτύς, -ύος [f.] ‘id.’ (X 496; Chantraine 1942: 96) with δαιτυμών, -όνος [m.] ‘guest’ (Od.); δαιτυμονεύς (Nonn.); δαῖσις ‘division (of property)’ (Gortyn) with δαισάνη = πτισάνη (EM), δαῖσιμον (-ιον EM)· ἐδώδιμον ‘food’ (H.); δαιθμός ‘division, divided land’ (inscr.). Nomen loci: δαιτήριον (EM). Agent noun: δαιτρός



'divider, carver' (Od.) with δαιτροσύνη [pl.] 'the arts of the carver' (π 253); denominative δαιτρεύω 'to divide, carve' (Il.) with δαιτρεία (Hdn.); Δαίτωρ as a PN (Θ 275), συνδαίτωρ 'conviva' (A.); δαιτρὸν 'part, portion' (Δ 262); δαίτης title of a priest (E. Fr. 472, 12), as a second member in λαγο-δαίτας (A.). Isolated is δαιταλεύς 'banqueter' (A.), cf. δαιταλάομαι 'to banquet' and δαιταλουργία (Lyc.). An enlargement of δαίομαι is ▶ δαῖζω. See ▶ δαίμων.

•ETYM δαίομαι (with analogical -ι-) agrees morphologically with Skt. *dáyate* 'divide' < \**dh₂-eie-*. Other forms of this Skt. root go back to \**deh₂-* or \**dh₂-*, e.g. *dā-ti* 'to mow, cut off', *di-tí-* 'dividing', *d-yá-ti* 'divide' < \**dh₂-ie-*. Also connected is ▶ δῆμος (Dor. δᾶμος). From Gm. and Arm., the word for 'time' has been connected: OE *tīma*, ON *tími* 'hour, time', PGm. \**tī-man-* < \**dī-mon-*; OHG *zīt* 'time', Arm. *tī* 'old age, time' < \**dī-t(i)-*. Alb. *daj* 'divide, cut', aor. *dava* may be related, too. See LIV² s.v. \**deh₂(i)-* 'teilen'. Cf. ▶ δατέομαι and ▶ δάπτω.

δαῖος = δῆιος.

δαισάνη = ππισάνη (EM 264) 'peeled barley'. <?>

•ETYM Unknown. See Fur.: 255, 337.

δαῖφρων [adj.] 'artful, experienced'; 'brave' (Il.) by secondary connection with ▶ δαῖ 'in battle'. <IE \**dens-* 'high mind, power'>

•ETYM Compound with ▶ φρήν (s.v.; cf. ἄ-φρων); the first member is perhaps from \**dah-*-, related to Skt. *das-rá-* 'effecting miracles', with *i* and *ro* alternating as in κυδι-άνειρα and κυδρός (Schwyzer: 447). Note that this would presuppose that \**s* > *h* in the Greek outcome of clusters \*-*hsV-*. On ἀμφ' Ὀδυσσῆϊ δαῖφρονι δαίεται ἦτορ (α 48), see Risch 1947: 88.

δαίω [v.] 'to kindle' (Il.). <IE \**deh₂u-* 'burn'>

•VAR intr. perf. δέδηα 'burn', ptc. δεδαυμένος (Semon. 30 B), δάηται (Υ 316, Φ 375), aor. δαῖναι, ἐκδαβῆ (= -ῆ)· ἐκκαυθῆ. Λάκωνες 'let it be burnt out, lit (Lacon.)' (H.).

•COMP Compounds with ἀνα- (A.), κατα- (H.). θεσπι-δάεος (πύρ, M 177, etc.) 'flaminggodlike' (rather to the aor. δαῖναι than to δάος?).

•DER δάος [n.] (< \**δάφος*) 'torch' (Hom.) together with δᾶνός < \**δαφεισ-νός* 'fit for a torch, dry' (ο 322, Ar. Pax 1134 [lyr.]). δᾶλός [m.] 'firebrand' (Il.) < \**δᾶφελός* (= δαβελός, δαλός. Λάκωνες H.), δαελός (Sophr.); \**δάφος*; \**δαφελ-ός* like νέφος; νεφέλη; further δαῦλον· ἡμίφλεκτον ξύλον 'half-burnt wood' (H.). Diminutive δᾶλίον (Ar.); δᾶλός also = μελάνουρος ἰχθύς 'fish with a black tail' (H.), metaph. 'burnt out = old man' (AP), with hypocoristic gemination δαλλώ· ἡ ἀπόπληκτος. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἔξωρον παρθένον ἢ γυναῖκα καὶ πρεσβυτέραν 'dumb woman; an over-aged maiden or woman' (H.). δαῖς, -ίδος [f.] 'torch' (Il., on Att. δάς, δαδός see below) < \**δαφίς*, whence the diminutive δαδίον (Ar.); δαδῖς 'torch-festival' (Luc.), δαδίνος 'ptng. to the torch, made of pine-wood' (Gal.), δαδώδης 'resinous' (Thphr., Plut.), to δάς 'resin-glut', name of a disease in pines (Thphr.); δαδόομαι 'become affected with resin-glut' together with δάδωσις (Thphr.), see Strömberg 1937: 167. Compounded δαδοῦχος 'holding a torch'. δαύακες· θυμάλωπες 'pieces of burning wood' (H.), cf. Bechtel 1921, I: 118, Grošelj Živa Ant. 2 (1952): 206. δαερὸν· μέλαν. καὶ τὸ καίόμενον

'black; burning' (H.), perhaps also Emp. 90 for δαλερός. δαηρόν· θερμόν, καυματηρόν, λαμπρόν, προφανές 'warm, very hot, glowing, shining forth' (H.). δαημιόν· ἐμπρησιόν 'burning' (H.), on the formation see Chantraine 1933: 137f.; Latte (with Voß) corrects it to δαιθιόν. ▶ δαῦκος· ὁ θρασύς. καὶ βοτάνη τις Κρητικὴ 'bold; also a Cretan plant' (H.) is rather PG. Not here ▶ δαῖ 'in battle', because Myc. has no -w-.

•ETYM As shown by δεδαυμένος, δαίω goes back to \**δαφ-ιω*. Att. δάς (δᾶς < \**δαφ-ις*) originates from a metathesized \**δαίφω* (cf. Cor. Διδαίφω). The perfect δέδηα < \**δέ-δαφ-α* resembles Skt. *du-dāv-a* (gramm.), to which the present *du-nó-ti* 'to burn' is related (for \**dunāti*, acc. to LIV² s.v. \**deh₂u-* 'in Brand geraten'). OIr. *dóim* 'to burn' and OHG *zusen* 'id.' may have to be connected as well. Cf. Peters 1980a: 37. See ▶ δύη and ▶ δῆιος.

δάκνω [v.] 'to bite', also 'to sting (of insects), wound' (Il.). <IE \**denk-* 'bite'>

•VAR Aor. δακεῖν (Il.), δῆξαι (Luc.); fut. δάξομαι (Hp.), δῆξομαι (E.); perf. δέδηγμα (Ar.), δεδαγμένος (Pi.), δέδηχα (Babr.), δέδακα (AP); aor. pass. δηχθῆναι (S.), δακῆναι (Aret.); vbadj. ἄ-δηκτος (Hes., Hp.).

•COMP Compounds with ἀμφι-, ἀνα-, ἀντι-, etc., also θυμοδακῆς (Od.).

•DER δάκος [n.] 'bite, stitch', often 'biting animal' (Pi.) = δακετόν (Ar., cf. ἐρπετόν), δαγμός 'bite, stitch' (Ruf.), δάγμα 'id.' (Nic.), δάκια· τὰ ἄγρια ὀρνιθάρια 'wild birds' (H.); δάξ = ὀδάξ (Opp.) together with δαξ-ασμός = ὀδαγμός (Ti. Locr.; after μαρασμός, etc., see Chantraine 1933: 141f.). From δηκ-: δῆγμα 'bite, stitch' (A.), δηγμός 'id.' (Hp.), δῆξις 'id.' (Hp.); δῆκτης 'biter, biting' (E.) with δηκτήριος 'id.' (E.) and δηκτικός (Arist.); δῆξ, δηκός 'worm in wood' (Tz.) after σφῆξ. δακνώδης 'biting, stinging' (Hp.), δακνηρός 'id.' (Phld., cf. ὀδυνηρός), δακνίς· ὀρνέου εἶδος 'kind of bird' (H.), δακνᾶς 'biter' (Phryn.). Expressive δακνάω (A.), δαγκάνω (Hdn.).

•ETYM The aorist δακεῖν agrees morphologically with the Skt. present *dásati* 'bites'; the perfect *dadāmsa* and nouns like *dāmsa-* 'bite' show that the root was *denk-*. Therefore, δηκ- in δῆξομαι, etc. is a secondary full grade of δακεῖν, after λήψομαι: λαβεῖν. Probably we should connect ToB *tsākā-* 'bite' (Adams 1999 s.v.), whereas in Gm. we find nouns like OHG *zangar* 'biting, sharp', ON *tong* 'tongs' (perhaps Alb. *danë* 'tongs' is related, too). Further forms in LIV² s.v. \**denk-* 'beißen'.

δάκρυ [n.] 'tear, drop' (Il., also *Peripl. M. Rubr.* 30 = 'resin', cf. ▶ βράθυ). <IE \**drk-* *h₂kru-* 'eye-bitter' > 'tear'>

•VAR Dat.pl. δάκρυσι; also δάκρυον [n.] (Il., from the plur. δάκρυα).

•COMP παρά-δάκρυ plant name (Ps.-Dsc.); many bahuṇṛhis in -δάκρυς.

•DER Diminutive δακρύδιον as a plant name (Ps.-Dsc.); δακρυ-οίς 'rich in tears' (Il.); δακρυώδης 'running' (of wounds, Hp.); denominative δακρύω 'weep (over)' (Il.) with δακρύμα 'mourned for' (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 7, 169), 'tear' (A.).

•ETYM Old word for 'tear'. Also seen in Arm. *artasu-k'* [pl.] (< \**draku-*, see below), sing. *artawsr* (< \**draku-r*); Gm., e.g. OHG *zahar*, Go. *tagr*; Celt., e.g. OBret. *dacr*, OIr. *dér* < \**dakr(o)-*. In addition to these forms, there is also OHG *trahan* < PGm. \**trahnu-* < IE \**draknu-*. It has been supposed that earlier \**drakru-* gave these various forms by dissimilation. But the eastern languages have similar words without initial

consonants: Skt. *ásru-*, Av. *asrū-*, Lith. *ašarà*, ToA *ākār*, ToB *akrūna* [pl.] (see Pinault 1997: 219-233). To explain all different forms, Kortlandt AAL 6 (1985) assumes a compounded form *\*dṛk-h₂kru* 'eye-bitter', where the first element is from *\*derk-* 'to see' and the second element from 'bitter'. For Hitt. *išḫaḫru-* [n.] 'tears', Kortlandt (l.c.) reconstructs *\*skʷ-h₂kru* (from *\*sekʷ-* 'see'). A Hell. form *\*δάκρυμα* is often assumed to be the source of Lat. *dacrūma*, *lacrima*, but see now the discussion in De Vaan 2008 s.v. *dacrūma*.

**δάκτυλος 1** [m.] 'finger' (also as a measure, etc.), 'toe' (IA). <PG>

- VAR Boeot. δακκύλιος (Tanagra).
- COMP Compounds like τετραδάκτυλος 'four-fingered'; ῥοδοδάκτυλος 'rose-fingered'.
- DER Rare diminutives: δακτυλίδιον (Ar.), δακτυλίσκος (Lebadeia), δακτυλῖς (Steph. Med., Plin.); δακτύλιος [m.] (-ον [n.]) '(finger)ring' (Sapph., Hdt.) with the diminutive δακτυλίδιον (Delos III<sup>a</sup>, pap.), also δακτυλίδριον, -ίδριον (pap., dissimilated from -ύδριον [Chantraine 1933: 72f.]), δακτύληθρον (Them.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 373), δακτυλήθρα 'glove with fingers' (X., Chantraine l.c.). δακτυλίτις plant name (Dsc.; after the root which is thick like a finger, Strömberg 1940: 37), δακτυλεύς name of a sea-fish (Ath.). Adjectives: δακτυλ-ιαῖος 'as thick as a finger' (Hp.), δακτυλικός 'ptng. to the finger' (Ath.), δακτυλωτός 'with fingers' (Ion.). Denominative δακτυλίζω 'to count with the fingers, etc.' (H.) together with δακτυλιστής (pap.), an unknown profession.
- ETYM No etymology. Because Boeot. δακκύλιος can hardly have its -κκ- from -κτ-, it is rather from *\*δάτκυλος*. A form *\*δατκ-υλ-* looks perfectly Pre-Greek: cluster -κτ- (< -τκ-) and a suffix -υλ-. Not connected to OHG *zinko*; the relation to Lat. *digitus* is unclear.

**δάκτυλος 2** [m.] 'date', the fruit (Arist.). <LW Sem.>

- ETYM From Semitic (Arab. *daqal*, etc.), reshaped to δάκτυλος by folk-etymology because the leaf resembles a hand; see Lewy 1895: 20f.

**δαλάγχαν** =θάλασσα.

**δαλής** [adj.] · μωρός 'dull' (H.). <PG?(V)>

- VAR δαλαῖς· οἱ ἀμαθεῖς 'those who are ignorant' (sch. Theocr. 9, 33e).
- ETYM Fur.: 255 connects the word with ζαλαίνω· μωραίνω 'be dumb' (H.).

**δάλλει** ⇒δηλέομαι.

**δᾶλός** ⇒δαίω.

**δαμάζω** ⇒δάμνημι.

**δαμάλης, -ου** [m.] 'tamer', said of Eros (Anacr.), 'younger bull (still to be tamed)' (Arist.). <IE *\*demh₂-* 'tame'>

- VAR Fem. δάμαλις (A.); δαμάλη (E.) 'young cow'.
- DER Diminutive δαμάλιον (pap.); δάμαλος 'calf?' (Hdn.); denominative δαμαλίζω 'to tame' (Pi.). On Δάμαλις as a PN see Schmid *Phil.* 95 (1942): 118<sup>123</sup>.

- ETYM Connected to ▶δάμνημι, δαμάσαι; see Chantraine 1933: 236f. Cf. WH s.v. *damma* 'buck, doe, etc.'.

**δάμαρ, -αρτος** [f.] 'wife' (Il.; on the meaning, see Gernet 1937: 393ff.). <PG?>

- VAR δόμορτις· γυνή 'woman' (H.; perhaps Aeol.).
- DIAL Myc. *da-ma-te*, *du-ma-te* [dat.sg.] /damartei/, /dumartei/?
- DER No derivatives.
- ETYM Etymology unknown. Since Schulze KZ 28 (1887): 281f., it has been derived from the word for 'house' (see δάπεδον, δεσπότης, and δόμος) and the root ἄρ- in ἀραρίσκω with a dental suffix; likewise, δόμορ-τις (Schwyzer: 451<sup>3</sup>). Others have seen an old neuter in -ρ in δάμαρ; see Benveniste 1935: 30 and Lejeune 1972 §29<sup>4</sup>. Ruijgh *Lingua* 51 (1980): 90 connects the word with ταμία, which might point to Pre-Greek origin.

**δάμνημι** [v.] 'to tame, subdue, conquer', especially of horses (Il.). <IE *\*demh₂-* 'tame'>

- VAR Also pres. δαμνᾶ [3sg.] (for Aeol. δάμνᾱ, according to Schwyzler: 694), aor. δαμιάσ(σ)αι, intr. δαμῆναι, perf. δέδμημαι (all Il.); to δαμιάσ(σ)αι a new present δαμάζω (A.), fut. δαμάσσω, 3sg. δαμῖ (Il.), aor. pass. δαμα-σ-θῆναι (Il.), also (after δέδμημαι 'I have built') δμηθῆναι (Il.).
- COMP Compounded with ὑπο-. As a first member in δάμιν-ιππος (Orph.).
- DER δμητήρ (ἵππων) 'tamer' (h. Hom., Alcim.), fem. δμητέρα (Il.), δμηῖς (ἵππων) 'taming' (Il.); ἀ-δμής, -τος [f.m.] 'untamed, unmarried' (Od.), also ἄ-δμη-τος 'id.' (Il.) and ἀ-δάμια-σ-τος (Il.), ἀ-δάμια-τος (trag.), δμᾶτέα (Dor.). δαμαστέα (H.); ▶δάμιας. Isolated are δαμα- and δαμιν- in: Δαμαῖος 'tamer', of Poseidon (Pi.), δαμάτειρα (AP), πᾶν-δαμάτωρ 'all-tamer' (Il.), late fem. πανδαμάτειρα; δαμασίς and δαμαστικός (sch.), δαμάστις ([Epich.] 301 [?], gloss.); δαμνήτις· δαμάζουσα, τιμωρός 'avenging'; δάμνος· ἵππος. Τυρρηνοί (H.). δαμασώνιον and δαμναμένη plant names (Dsc., Ps.-Dsc.; a love potion acc. to Strömberg 1940: 92). See further ▶δαμάλης. Not here ▶δμῶς.
- ETYM The present δάμνημι, Aeol. δάμνᾱμι agrees morphologically with OIr. *damnaim* 'to bind, tame (horses)' from *\*dm-n-eh₂-mi*, from a root *\*demh₂-* seen in δαμιά-σαι, where the expected *\*δεμα-* was reshaped to δαμα-, partly after -δαμιο- < *\*dmh₂-o-*; the zero grade *\*dmh₂-* is found in δμη-θῆναι (Dor. δμᾶ-). There are many representatives in other IE languages, e.g. Hitt. *damāš-zi* 'he forces, urges'. Gr. παν-δαμάτωρ, Lat. *domitor*, and Skt. *damitār-* may be independent parallel formations. As a second member in compounds, ἵππο-δαμῖος (Il.) is reminiscent of Skt. *arim-dama-* 'conquering the enemy' (though the latter rather reflects *\*domh₂-o-*); (ἄ-)δμητος is from *\*dmh₂-to-* (Lat. *domitus* is an independent formation).

**δανᾶκη** [f.] name of a small Persian coin; ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῖς νεκροῖς διδόμενος ὀβολός 'an obol offered to corpses' (H., Call., Poll., EM). <LW Pers.>

- ETYM From Persian, cf. MoP *dāna(k)* 'quarter of a dram (drachme)'. See Eilers *Welt des Orients* 2 (1959): 333.

**Δαναοί** [m.pl.] 'Danaans', a Greek tribe (Argos), used by Homer as a general name for the Greeks. According to an ancient tradition, they took their name from king Danaos, who came from Egypt. <PG>

•ETYM Kretschmer *Glotta* 24 (1936): 15ff. sees in the Danaoi the people of the Scythian king Tanaus, who in the 15<sup>th</sup> c. came to Argos. Kretschmer also compared the river names *Tanais* and *Donau*, and the Indo-Iranian ethnonym *Dānu-*, etc. This is untenable; the name is certainly Pre-Greek. A country *Danaja* (T/Dnjw), with a city *Mukana*, is mentioned in inscriptions from Egypt, from Amenophis III (1390-1352 BC) and earlier from Tuthmosis III (1437 BC); see DNP s.v. *Danaos* and Latacz 2001: 150-165.

**δα(ν)δαίνειν** [v.] · ἀτενίζειν, φροντίζειν, μεριμνᾶν 'to look intently, consider, ponder' (H.).

•ETYM δα(ν)δαίνω has nothing to do with ►δενδύλλω; it may be Pre-Greek (\**da(n)-dan-γω*).

**δανδαλίδες** ⇒δενδαλίδες.

**δάνδαλος** [m.] · ὁ ἐριθκας, τὸ ὄρνεον 'robin, redbreast'. <PG>

•ETYM Unknown.

**δάνδηξ, -ηκος** [m.] name of a big dog (Ps.-Callisth. 2, 33 cod. B). <PG>

•ETYM Unknown. Cf. the other forms with -ηκ- in *Pre-Greek*.

**δάνος** [n.] 'gift' (Euph. 42), 'loan, debt' (Call. *Epigr.* 48). <IE? \**dh<sub>2</sub>-no-* 'gift'>

•DER δάνειον [n.] 'loan' (D.) with δανειακός (Cod. Just.), denominative δανείζω, -ομαι 'loan, give credit' (Att., Hell. also δανίζω), from which δάνεισμα 'loan' (Th.), δανεισμός 'loan, credit' (Att., Arist.) and δανειστής 'usurer, believer' (LXX,) with δανειστικός (Thphr.). Unclear is δάνας· μερίδας. Καρύστιοι 'portion' (H.).

•ETYM The suffix is just as in ἄφενος, κτήνος, etc. Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916: 1, 256 connects it with ►δατέομαι, i.e. IE \**dh<sub>2</sub>-no-*; cf. Skt. *dinā-* 'divided'? Not directly related to δίδωμι, as \**dh<sub>3</sub>-no-* would give \*δονος. Alternatively, the word could be foreign.

**δάξ** ⇒δάκνω.

**δάξα** [f.] · θάλασσα. Ἡπειρώται 'sea (Epir.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**δάος** ⇒δαίω.

**δαπάνη** ⇒δάπτω.

**δάπεδον** [n.] 'ground' (Od.). <IE?>

•VAR ζάπεδον (Xenoph., Paros).

•DER No derivatives.

•ETYM Possibly a zero grade of \**dem-*, seen in δεσ-πότης and δόμ-ος (and δάμαρ?), compounded with πέδον. ON *topt*, (O)Sw. *tomt* 'building place' have been compared, which would continue PGm. \**tum-feti-* (= \*δα-πεδι-); further, can we

compare Lith. *dim-stis* 'court'? The form ζάπεδον is explained (see Frisk) as an inverted writing of δα- after the intensifying prefix ζα- / δα-; this is hardly convincing. Cf. ►ζακόρος and perhaps ►ἀλλόδαπος.

**δάπης, -ιδος** [f.] 'carpet, rug' (com.).

•DER Diminutive δαπίδιον.

•ETYM Güntert 1914: 151 assumed a folk-etymological reshaping of τάπης after δάπεδον 'ground', but the word is rather a variant of ►τάπης.

**δάπτω** [v.] 'to devour, consume' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Aor. δάψαι.

•COMP Compounds with ἀπο-, δια-, κατα-, whence καταδαπάνη and καταδαπανάω (Hdt., X.).

•DER δαπάνη 'cost, expenditure' (Hes. *Op.* 723; cf. σκάπτω : σκαπάνη) with derivative δαπάνυλλα (Corc.); δαπανηρός 'spendthrift' (Pl.) with δαπανηρία (Arist.); denominative δαπανάω 'spend, consume' (Hdt.) with δαπάνημα (X.), δαπάνησις (Aristeas) and δαπανητικός 'consuming' (S.); δαπανητής *EM*; deverbal δάπανος = δαπανηρός (Th.); isolated δαπανούμενα (Andania I<sup>a</sup>) as if from δαπανώω or -έω. δάπτης 'eater' (Lyc.) from the present stem, unless = δάπ-της; from the aorist stem δαψ- with a suffix -λ-: δαψ-ιλής 'abundant' (Ion., Arist.; δαψιλός Emp. may be older acc. to Solmsen *IF* 31 (1912/13): 461ff.) together with δαψίλεια (Arist.) and δαψιλεύομαι (LXX). See ►δαρδάπτω.

•ETYM If δάπτω is formed from a root δαπ-, this may be compared with Lat. *daps* '(sacrificial) meal', and perhaps with the ToA pret. and subj. *tāp-* 'eat', ToB *tāpp-* 'consume' (?), although the Tocharian initial *t-* from \**d-* is problematic (Adams 1999 s.v.). Further connections have been proposed with Lat. *dammum* 'expenditure, loss' and ON *tafn* 'sacrificial animal, meal', which could be from \**dap-no-m*, as well as with Arm. *tawn* 'feast' (< \**dap-ni-*). Skt. *dāpayati* 'divide' is a productive causative-formation from *dā-* 'divide', and is therefore not connected. In spite of the proposed cognates, which do not convince on the semantic side, we may also consider Pre-Greek origin for δαπ(τ)-/ δαψ-, especially if it should be related with ►δεῖπνον (Fur.: 325). Lat. *dapinō* is a loan from δαπανάω.

**δαράται** [f.pl.] name of the kitchen, which is offered by a phratry at a matrimony (Delphi V-IV<sup>a</sup>). <?>

•VAR Also δαρατος [m.] name of a Thessalian bread (Seleuc. *apud* Ath. 3, 114b); δαρατον [n.] (Coropa VI-V<sup>a</sup>; not quite certain).

•ETYM The comparisons with Skt. *dūrṇā-* and MoDu. *tarwe* 'wheat' and MoE *tare*, or that with Lith. *dirvā* 'field, floor' (see Fraenkel 1955 s.v.), are very doubtful. See Kallérís 1954: 147-151. DELG refers to δάρων (H.). Cf. ►δράμης.

**δάρδα** [f.]? · μέλισσα 'bee' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Perhaps reduplicated: Skt. *dardurā-* 'frog, pipe', Lith. *derdėti* 'rasseln, schwatzen' and OIr. *dardaim* 'to roar (of a deer)' have been compared. See also Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 202 (Δάρδανοι, etc.). Fur.: 391 considers the word as Pre-Greek.

**δαρδαίνει** [v.] · μολύνει 'stains', ἀνεδάρδανε· ἀνεμόλυνε (H.). <?>

•ETYM Specht KZ 66 (1939): 203f. unconvincingly analysed δαρ-δ-αίνω, -άνω, connecting a word for 'excrement' seen in OE *tord* [n.] 'excrement', ON *torðyfill* 'dung-beetle', as well as in Latv. *dirst* 'cacare', Lith. *diršė* 'back'. As this is mere speculation, the etymology is still unknown. Cf. ► δάρδα.

**δαρδάπτω** [v.] 'to devour' (Hom.). <?>

•VAR Only present except δαρδάψη (Opp.), δαρδάψαι· ῥῆξαι, σπαράξαι 'break, tear' (H.), δεδάρδαφε· καταβέβρωκε 'he eats up' (H.).

•ETYM Intensive reduplicated formation with unclear -ρ-, perhaps 'connected to δάπτω (Fur.: 326). See Frisk for older litt.

**δαρθάνω** [v.] 'to fall asleep'. <IE \*der- (?) 'sleep'>

•VAR The simplex as a present only Hierocl. in CA; aor. ἔδραθον (v 143); mostly κατα-δαρθάνω (Pl.), also ἐγκατα-, ἐπικατα-, συγκατα-, and ἀπο-, παρα-, aor. -δραθεῖν (Od.), -δραθεῖν, perf. -δεδάρθηκα (Att.), later aor. -δαρθῆναι (see Schwyzler 759). Mostly as a suppletive aorist to the pres. [καθ-]εύδω 'sleep'.

•DER No derivatives.

•ETYM δαρθάνω bears a certain resemblance to Skt. *drā-ti* 'to sleep', Lat. *dormiō* 'id.', CS *drěmati* 'slumber' (from \**drēm-*). Theoretically, the θ could be a secondary formant (cf. Benveniste 1935: 191 and Chantraine 1942: 329).

**δάρ[ε]ιρ** [?] · τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δακτύλου ἐπὶ τὸν μικρὸν διάστημα 'the distance from the thumb up to the little [finger]'; also δάριν· σπιθαμήν. Ἀρκάδες 'span (Arcad.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM DELG assumes rhotacism in the first gloss and thinks it is Laconian, and borrowed from the Arcadian form. See ► δῶρον 2.

**δάρκα** [?] kind of κασία (Dsc. 1, 13). <PG?>

•VAR δάκαρ (v.l.).

•DER δάρκανος = ἐρυθρόδανον (Ps.-Dsc. 3, 143); for the formation cf. ἄκανος, ῥάφανος, etc. (Strömberg 1940: 144).

•ETYM Unknown. The form δάρκανος might confirm the reading of the lemma. Is the word Pre-Greek?

**δάρκες** ⇒ δράσσομαι.

**δάρπη** [f.] · σαργάνη, κόφινος 'basket' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 261 connects τάρπη and δάρπη and, further, σάρπους· κιβωτούς, Βιθυνοὶ δὲ ξυλίνους οἰκίας 'boxes; wooden dwellings (Bith.)' (H.) This proves Pre-Greek origin. Note that the word is also attested in Anatolia (Bithynia). Older suggestions (see Frisk; Güntert IF 45 (1927): 347: cross of ► τάρπη s.v. and \*δάρφη = Skt. *darbhá-* 'grass-bundle'; Bechtel 1921, 2: 289: δ- "vulgar" for τ-) have therefore become obsolete.

**δάς** ⇒ δαίω.

**δάσκιλλος** [m.] an unknown fish (Arist. HA 591a 14: τέρεται τῷ βορβόρῳ καὶ κόπρῳ ['it enjoys filth and excrement']). <?>

•ETYM Wood *Am/Ph.* 48 (1927): 303 derived it from δά-σκιος 'shadowy', which is a mere guess.

**δασπλήτης** [f.] of unknown meaning; used of the Erinyes, Hekate, the Eumenids, etc. (O 234, Theoc.). <?>

•VAR Also δασπλής, -ήτος [f.] (Simon., Euph., Nonn.; -ήτε as a msc. du. in Nic.), δασπλήτης [m.] (*An. Ox.*).

•ETYM Unknown. The formation is like χερνήτης, κυνηγέτης, etc. (Schwyzer: 451). There are several explanations. An analysis as δασ-πλήτης looks nice formally, but a connection with πλησίον, ἄ-πλητος, Dor. ἄ-πλάτος 'unapproachable', πλάτης 'spouse' (Bechtel 1914) seems strange. The first member must then be connected either to δασύς (Osthoff MU 2 (1879): 46ff.), or to \*δα- 'house' in δά-πεδον. Differently, Solmsen *RhM* 60 (1905): 497ff.; Schwyzler: 451.

**δασύς** [adj.] 'hairy'; 'aspirated' as a grammatical term (Od., IA). <?>

•COMP Compounded with ἀμφί- (Hom.), ἐν- (Dsc.), ἐπί- (Thphr.), ὑπέρ- (X.), ὑπό- (Dsc.).

•DER δασύτης 'hairiness, aspiration' (Arist.), δάσος [n.] 'thicket, shagginess' (Men.), δάσυμα eye-disease = τράχωμα (Sever. Med.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 186f.); δασυλλίς [f.] hypocoristic of bears (*EM* 248, 55); Δασύλλιος epithet of Dionysus (Paus.; acc. to *EM* l.c. παρὰ τὸ δασύνειν τὰς ἀμπέλους, 'because vine-branches are rough'). Denominative δασύνομαι, -ω 'become, make hairy' (Ar.) with δασυντής, -τικός 'aspirating' (gramm.), δασυσμός (Dsc.). Note δασκόν· δασύ (H.); unless from δάσκιον as per Latte. On ► δάσκιλλος, see s.v.

•ETYM The old connection with Lat. *dēnsus* depends on the development of -σ- after sonantic η. Hitt. *daššu-* 'heavy, strong' used to be added here too, but it is now rather connected with Gr. διδάσκω 'learn' by Kloekhorst 2008, who reconstructs \**de/oNs-u-* (cf. also ► δαῖναι). A pre-form \**dntu-* vel sim. was proposed because of PNs like Delph. Δατυς and Phth. Δατυου, but the -τυ- in these names cannot be reconciled with the -συ- in δασύς; the latter cannot reflect \*-tu-.

**δατέομαι** [v.] 'to divide' (Il.). <IE \*dh<sub>2</sub>- 'divide'>

•VAR Aor. δάσ(σ)ασθαι, perf. δέδασμαι; from the aor. the new present δάσσω (Call. *Fr. anon.* 145).

•DIAL Myc. *e-pi-de-da-to* /epi-dedastoi/, *e-pi-da-to* /epi-dastos/.

•COMP Compounds with ἀνα- (ἀναδασμός 'redistribution'), ἀπο- (-δάσιμος, -δασμός), δια-, ἐν-, κατα-, ποτ-.

•DER δατητής 'divider' (A.), δατήριος 'dividing' (A. *Th.* 711; haplological for \*δατητήριος), δάτης (Poll.). δασμός 'distribution, tribute' (Il.) < \*δατ-σιμός, δάσμευσις 'distribution' (X.), δάσματα· μερίσματα 'parts' (H.); δαστήρ name of an official (Aetol.). Lengthened present δατύσσειν· λαφύσσειν, ἐσθίειν 'to lap, eat' (H.), iterative preterite δασάσκετο (I 333).

•ETYM No exact parallel. The verb contains the zero grade δᾱ- < \*dh<sub>2</sub>- of the root of ▶δημος, δᾱμος, and ▶δαίομαι. For the present formation, cf. πατέομαι and Schwyzler: 705f. and 676.

**δαῦκος** [m.] name of several Umbellates (Athamanta Cretensis, Peucedanum Cervaria, Daucus Carota; Hp., Dsc., H.; see Andrews *Class. Phil.* 44 (1949): 185). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also δαῦκον (Thphr.), δαύκειον (Nic.), δαυκίον (Gr.); also δαῦχος (below), δαυχμός 'Cretensis' (Nic.), see also on ▶δάφνη 'laurel'.

•DER δαυκίτης (οἶνος), see Redard 1949: 96.

•ETYM The plants are characterized by their sharp smell and the bitter, burning taste of the root, such that a connection with δαίω 'kindle, burn' has been proposed; see Frisk for older lit., where the scholia to Nic. *Th.* 94 on δαυχμός (v.l. δαῦκος) are mentioned: Πλούταρχος πλείονα μὲν φησι γένη τῆς βοτάνης εἶναι, τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τῆς δυνάμειος ἰδίωμα δριμύ και πυρῶδες 'Pl. says that there is more than one species of the plant, the common peculiarity of the meaning being "sharp and fiery"'. However, the name of the Daukos plants rather derives from their gummy sap, which is collected from certain species and which burns with a bright flame; cf. δαυχμόν-εὔκαυστον ξύλον δάφνης 'well-burning wood of the laurel'. Note the form καῦκον in Ps.-Dsc. 2, 139, which was influenced by κάω, καῦσαι. Mediterranean origin is quite possible. Under ▶δάφνη, it is argued that this is one and the same word; in addition, δαῦκος and δαῦχος are actually identical, too: δαύκου- τὸ μέντοι δαύκου και δαύχου γράφεται, ἐπὶ τινων δὲ και γλύκου H.).

**δαυλός** [adj.] 'thick, shaggy' (A.). <?/PG>

•VAR δαῦλος (Paus. Gr.).

•COMP ἐνδαυλον- λοχ<μ>ῶδες, δασύ 'overgrown with bushes, rough' (H.).

•DER Δαυλὶς in Phocis?

•ETYM Cf. the antonyms ψωλός, ψιλός for the suffix (Chantraine 1933: 238). Direct connection with δασύς is impossible. If a suffix -τ- is assumed for ▶δασύς, then δαυλός < \*dhsu-lo- could remain with Lat. *dēnsus*.

**δαύω** [v.] 'to sleep' (Sapph. 83), ἔδασεν- ἐκομήθη 'he fell asleep'; ἀδαύως ἐγρηγόρως 'awake' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Improbably, Güntert 1914: 163. No better is the hypothesis of Bechtel 1921, 1: 118 (that the word is related to Skt. *doṣā-* 'evening'). See under ▶δείλος.

**δάφνη** [f.] 'laurel' (Od.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Variants: λάφνη, δάφνη. Περγαῖοι (H.) and δαύχνα (Thess., Cypr.) with Δαυχναῖος (Aetol.); also δαυχμός 'Cretensis' (Nic., H.; see δαῦκος).

•DER δαφνὶς 'laurel' (Hp.; cf. κεδρίς and Chantraine 1933: 343), δαφνών 'laurel wood' (Str.), δαφνίτις 'Kassia of laurel, etc.' (Dsc.), -ίτης (οἶνος, Gr.), epithet of Apollo in Syracuse (H., EM). Adjectives: δαφνώδης 'laurel-like' (E.), δάφνινος 'from laurel' (Thphr.), δαφνιακός (AP), δαφνήεις 'rich in laurels' (Nonn.), δαφναῖος 'belonging to the laurel' (Nonn.), also an epithet of Apollo (AP, Nonn.), Δαφναία epithet of

Artemis in Sparta (Paus.), also Δαφνία (Olympia, Str.). Δάφνις [m.] PN, Δαφνοῦς TN.

•ETYM While it is obviously in some fashion related to Lat. *laurus*, δάφνη is a typically Pre-Greek word that showing several types of variation. The variants δαφν- or δαυκ/χ-(ν/μ)- can be explained by assuming a proto-form \*dak<sup>w</sup>-(n)- (note that there is no \*λαυφ-, see *Pre-Greek B* 1). Thus, δαφν- and δαυκ/χ-ν/μ- were one and the same word originally.

**δαφονός** ⇒ δα- and φονός.

**δαυιλής** ⇒ δάπτω.

**δέ** [pcl.] adversative and copulative: 'but, and' (Il.). <IE \*de deictic pcl.>

•VAR Myc. -de, e.g. *da-mo-de* /dāmos de/ 'but the people'.

•ETYM Probably from ▶δή by means of vowel reduction, following the functional bleaching, as per Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 6 (1949): 85ff. Because of Myc. -de, the connection as \*g<sup>w</sup>e with OCS *že* 'δέ' (as defended by e.g. Delbrück 1893-1900(2): 502ff.) is impossible.

**-δε** [postp.] local (deictic) postposition governing the accusative of direction, originally accentuated δέ (A. D. Adv. 179, 5; 181, 13, Hdn. 1, 498), later enclitic as opposed to δέ 'but' (Il.). <IE \*de deictic pcl.>

•DIAL Myc. *ku-do-ni-ja-de* /Kudōnijān-de/; *a-mo-te-jo-na-de* /harmoteiōna-de/ 'to the wheelwright'

•ETYM Identical with (ablauting) OCS *do* 'towards', Gm., e.g. OE *to*, OHG *zuo* 'to' (IE \*dō); further, Lat. *in-de* and *en-do*, *indu*. The deictic function of -δε is also observed in ὄ-δε, etc. See also ▶δεῦρο.

**δέατο** [v.] 'seemed', isolated imperfect 3sg. (ζ 242). <IE \*deih<sub>2</sub>- 'shine'>

•VAR Besides δεάμην- ἐδοκίμαζον, ἐδόξαζον 'I approved, supposed' and δέαται φαίνεται, δοκεῖ 'it appears, seems' (H.); Arcadian subj. δεατοί and (aor.) δεα[ση]τοί. Here perhaps also the aorist δοάσσατο 'seemed', subj. δοάσσεται (Hom.) for \*δεάσσατο, -εται after ἐδοξε 'he expected' (Wackernagel 1916: 61f.), but cf. τροχάζω 'I run quickly' from τρέχω 'I run'; see Ruijgh 1957: 130.

•ETYM The disyllabic root \*deih<sub>2</sub>- is continued in δέᾱ-το and in the adjective ▶δήλος < \*δέα-λος. There has been some debate on whether, in \*-ViHC-, the laryngeal assimilated to the yod or not (cf. the thematic optative in -οι-). If so, then our form may continue a thematic verb in \*deih<sub>2</sub>-e-to. Sanskrit has *dī-de-ti* 'shines', ipv. *dī-dī-hí*. See ▶δῖος, ▶Ζεύς, ▶δέελος.

**δέδαε** ⇒ δαῖναι.

**δέδια** •VAR Also δεδίσκομαι, δεδίττομαι. ⇒ δεῖδω.

**δέελος** [m.] 'binding'(?), only K 466. <IE \*deh<sub>1</sub>- 'bind'>

•VAR δέελος- δεσμός, ἄμμα 'band, bond' (H.).

•ETYM Although δέελος has traditionally been identified with the adjective δηλος 'clear', even since the ancient grammarians, Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 319 (see

► δῆλος) has convincingly argued that this is wrong. According to him, it is rather a noun in the passage of the Iliad. δέελος is derived from δέω 'to bind' with the suffix -ελο-; its meaning could have been 'tie' (cf. the gloss by H.; for another, less plausible option, see Ruijgh l.c.).

δει ⇒ δέω 2, δέομαι.

**δειδίσκομαι** [v.] 'to greet, welcome' (Hom.). <IE [188] \*deik- 'show'>

•VAR δειδέχεται, -το, δεικ-νύ-μενος, δεικ-ανώνντο and δε(ι)-δισκ-όμενος.

•ETYM These forms were corrected into \*δηδέχεται, etc. by Wackernagel BB 4 (1878): 268ff., who connected them with Skt. *dāśnóti* and wanted to restore the (supposed) intensive reduplication in the Greek form (see Beekes 1969: 114). On the use of the different forms, see Tichy *Glotta* 54 (1976): 71-84. Forssman *Sprache* 24 (1978): 3-24 showed that δει-, consistently found in the texts, is the correct reading. The form δειδεχ- is the most difficult and replaces δει-δικ- (Forssman §31). The other forms replace \*δει-δικ-; the original meaning was 'to show'. Cf. also ►δηδέχεται.

**δείδω** [v.] 'to fear' (Il.). <IE \*duei- 'fear'>

•VAR Old perfect continuing \*δέ-δφοι-α; plur. δειδμεν < \*δέ-δφι-μεν, with a new sing. δειδία (Il.), Att. δέδμεν, δέδία; new perfect Hom. δειδοίκα, Att. δέδοίκα < \*δέ-δφοι-κα (doubtful is δεδροικώς [for δεδφοι-] <δε>δοικώς H.?), with a new present δεδοίκα, fut. δεδοικήσω (Sicily); sigmatic aorist δείσαι (Il.) < \*δφεϊ-σαι (ἐδδεισε < \*ξ-δφει-σε), them. root aor. in περι γάρ διε (E 566, etc.) and διον (X 251) < \*δφί-ε, -ον (Il.); see on ►δίεμαι; fut. δέισομαι (Il.).

•DER Το δείδω: δειδ-ήμων (T 56, Nonn.) after the adjectives in -ήμων (δαή-μων, etc.). Το δείσαι: δεισίλος, δειλός 'wretched' (H.); to δέδοίκα: δεδείκελον· αἰ φοβούμενον, δειλόν 'frightened all the time' (H.). Expressive deverbative δειδίσκομαι (epic), Att. δεδίττομαι, aor. δειδίξασθαι, δεδίξασθαι 'be frightened', first < \*δεδφικι-ομαι, unless analogical after the verbs in \*-(ι)σσω. Innovation after the σκ-verbs δεδίσκομαι (Ar.). Cf. also ►δέος, ►δείμα, ►δειλός, ►δεινός.

•ETYM δείδω is related to Av. *duuaēθā* 'threat', and, with an s-extension, Skt. *dvēṣṭi* 'hate'. Possibly, Lat. *dīrus* 'fearful' is to be connected (if a dialectal form from \**duei-ro-* or \**dueis-o-*; cf. De Vaan 2008). Further related to ►δῖς 'twice', ►δύω 1 'two'; see Benveniste *Word* 10 (1954): 254f. The comparison with Arm. *erknč'im*, etc. 'to fear' is rejected by Kortlandt *AAL* 10 (1989): 43-52.

**δείελος** [adj.] 'of the afternoon, of the evening', [m.] 'evening' (Od.). <?>

•VAR -όν Hdn. Also δειελον [n.] 'evening meal' (Call.); denominative δειελύσας 'after the evening meal' (ρ 599; after ἐσπύσας).

•DER δειλη [f.] 'afternoon, evening' (also Φ 111, unless to be read δειέλη, Wackernagel 1916: 166; Hdt.) with δειλινός (LXX), δειελινός (Theoc.). Doubtful denominative δειλετο (η 289; read by Aristarchus for δύσετο; see Schwyzer 722f. Uncertain εὔδειλος (Alc. POxy. 2165 I 3), of λόφος; see Gentili *Maia* 3 (1950): 255f. Cf. εὔδειελος.

•ETYM The word is not related to Skt. *doṣā-* 'evening', etc., nor to δῆλος. Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 319 argues that δειέλος must be connected with Myc. *e-u-de-we-ro* /eu-deiweilos/.

**δεικανώνντο** ⇒ δηδέχεται.

**δείκνυμι** [v.] 'to show' (Il.). <IE \*deik- 'show'>

•VAR Also them. δεικνύω; Ion. δέκνυμι, Cret. δίκνυτι, aor. δείξαι.

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀπο-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, κατα-, παραδείκνυμι, etc.

•DER δείξις, frequent compounds ἀπό-, ἐν-, ἐπί-δειξις, etc. (IA); δείγμα 'proof', παρά-, ἐν-, ἐπί-δειγμα, etc. (IA), with παρα-δειγματικός, δειγματίζω, δειγματισμός, etc. (Arist.). Agent nouns: δείκτης, ἐν-, προ-δείκτης, etc. (Hell.) with δεικτικός, ἀπο-, ἐν-δεικτικός, etc. (Att., Arist.). Nomen loci: δεικτήριον 'scene' (pap., EM) with δεικτηριάς [f.] 'mime' (Plb.). Isolated δεικῆλον 'mimic' performance, picture, sculpture' (Hdt.; see Chantraine 1933: 242, Schwyzer: 484) with δεικηλίκτας (Dor.) 'actor, ὑποκριτής' (Plu.); also δεικέλον (Democr.) and δεικανον (EM). See on ►δίκη.

•ETYM With the exception of Cret. δίκνυτι and the noun δίκη, the Greek vu-present with secondary full grade has ousted all other ablaut forms. Outside Greek, we find thematic presents, e.g. Lat. *dīcō* (old *deicō*) 'speak', Go. *ga-teihan* 'show, make clear', OHG *zīhan*, MoHG *zeihen* 'accuse', Skt. *disāti* 'show, demonstrate'. Other formations are the Sanskrit intensive *dēdiṣṭe*, the Iranian yod-present Av. *disiieiti* 'show', and deverbatives as Lat. *dīcāre*, OHG *zeigōn* 'show'. Cf. in general Gonda 1929. Hitt. *tekkuššije/a-zi* 'to show' is not related (see Kloekhorst 2008). See also ►δηδέχεται.

**δείλη** •VAR Also δειλετο. ⇒ δειέλος.

**δειλός** [adj.] 'cowardly, miserable' (Il.). <IE \*duei- 'fear'>

•COMP ἄ-, θρασύ-, πᾶν-, περί-.

•DER δειλία 'cowardice, uselessness' (IA) with δειλιάω 'fear' (LXX), ἀπο-δειλιάω (Pl.) and (ἀπο-)δειλιάσις (Plb.); δειλότης (H.) and denominative δειλαίνω 'be fearful' (Arist.), δειλόομαι (S. *Ichn.* 150?, LXX); δειλαιῖνω 'make fearful' (LXX). Expressive δειλαιός 'wretched' (Emp.), δειλαιότης (sch.); δειλακρός (Ar.; Frisk 1934: 63f.), δειλακρίων (Ar.), δειλακρίνας (EM).

•ETYM Usually analyzed as \*δφει-λός or \*δφει-ελός, a stem in -λο- beside \*δφειός > δέος, comparable to the pair νεφέλη: νέφος. However, Kuiper *Glotta* 75 (1999): 63-67 finds the meaning 'cowardly' only in N 278; elsewhere in Homer, it means 'vile, worthless, miserable, wretched'. Moreover, the initial δ- does not make position, and out of 36 instances, δειλός is never found in hexameter-initial position, which shows that it was probably \*δεελός. Therefore, he prefers a connection with Skt. *dīnā-* 'weak, minor, miserable' < \**dih-no-*; δειλός then reflects \**deih-(e)lo-*.

**δείμα** [n.] 'fear' (Il.). <IE \*duei- 'fear'>

•DER δειμαλέος 'timid' ([Arist.] Phgn., Mosch.; cf. θαρσαλέος, σμερδαλέος, etc.), δειματόεις (AP), δειματηρός (A. D.), δειματώδης (Aret.), Δειματίας epithet of Zeus (D. H.), Δείμας PN (cf. Schwyzer: 526). Denominative δειμαίνω 'be afraid' (h. Ap.),

δαιμάτομαι, -ὦν 'to get, make frightened' (Hdt.) with δαιμάτωσις. Often personified as Δεῖμος 'Fear' (Il.).

•ETYM From \*δφεῖ-μα, related to ►δεῖδω.

**δείνα, ὁ (ἦ, τό)** [?] 'N. N., mr. so-and-so' (Att.). <?>

•VAR τοῦ δεινός, οἱ δεινές, etc., sometimes indecl. τοῦ δείνα (more forms in Schwyzer: 612), always with the article.

•ETYM Unknown. The explanation from plur. \*τάδε ἕνα (cf. ἐκεῖνος) 'this (and) that' > \*ταδείνα, with analogical ὁ δείνα, has now been abandoned: the singular forms are much more common than the plural forms. Biraud 1994: 57-69 proposes that it consists of \*de (proximate deixis) + pronominal \*en- (with distant deixis) and final adverbial -α, lit. 'Mister-this-or-that-way'.

**δεινός** [adj.] 'fearful, terrible', also 'awesome, strong, extraordinary', etc. (Il.). <IE \*duei-no- 'fearful'>

•COMP πάν-, περί-, ὑπέρ-.

•DER δεινότης (Att.), especially as a rhetorical term. Denominative δεινώω 'to exaggerate, magnify' (Th.), together with δεινώσις (Pl.) with δεινωτικός (Corn.) and δεινώμα (Phld.); δεινάω 'to be in fear' (LXX). PN Δφένιας (Cor.). Expressive Δεινάκων (inscr.; Schwyzer: 417).

•ETYM From \*δφεῖ-νός, related to ►δεῖδω. The pair κλεινός (< \*κλεφεσ-νός): ἀκλε(φ)ής enables an alternative analysis of δεινός beside \*ἀδφειής (> ἀδεής): namely, from a basis \*δφειεσ-νός, with early contraction.

**δεῖπνον** [n.] 'meal' (Il.). <PG?>

•COMP With -δεῖπνον as a second member: 1. substantives ἀριστό-, λογό-, ψευδό-; 2. Bahunrihis in -δειπνος like ἄ-, σύν-, φιλό-. As a first member: δειπνηστός (-ός), scil. καιρός 'time for eating' (p 170), from δειπνον and ἐδ- 'eat' (with compositional lengthening), with το- as in δορπηστός (s.v. ►δόρπον) and ►ἄριστον; also δειπνηστὺς 'id.' (H.).

•DER Diminutive δειπνίον (Ar.), δειπνάριον (Diph., AP). δειπνίτις (στολή) 'cloth for meal' (D. C.). δειπνοσύνη = δειπνον (Matro; parodizing); Δειπνεύς [m.] a hero in Achaia (Ath.). Denominative δειπνέω 'to have δειπνον' (Il.), whence δειπνητής 'guest' (Plb.) with δειπνητικός (Ar.) and δειπνητήριον 'dining room' (J.). δειπνίζω 'to entertain (a guest)' (Od.) with δειπνιστήριον 'dining room' (Mantineia I<sup>a</sup>); on δειπνέω and δειπνίζω see Schwyzer: 736.

•ETYM No etymology; perhaps of Pre-Greek origin. Fur.: 339 assumes that it derives from \*δαιπνον and compares ►δάπτω, Lat. *daps*, *damnum*, etc.

**δαιράς, -άδος** [f.] 'height, mountain ridge' (h. Ap.). The exact mg. is uncertain; see DELG. <PG?(s)>

•DIAL Cret. δηράς.

•COMP As a second member in ὑψί-δειρος.

•DER Without suffix (or from δειρή; see below): δειραῖος 'hilly' (Lyc.). Also δείρος-λόφος, καὶ ἀνάντης τόπος 'ridge; steep place' (H.); derived from ὑψί-δειρος?

•ETYM On the assumption that δαιράς goes back to \*δερσάς, it was connected with Skt. *drśād-* 'rock, millstone', but this etymology must be abandoned because \*-ad- is not an IE suffix (Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 741f.). Alternatively, Ehrlich KZ 39 (1906): 569f. posited a pre-form \*g<sup>w</sup>erio-, relating it to ►βορέας, etc. (s.v.); also Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 248). However, Miller *Glotta* 54 (1976): 159ff. showed that the Attic word is epic, and probably Homeric in origin, so that it can reflect δερφ-αδ- (which also matches Cret. δηράς), which makes a connection with Att. δέρη 'neck, ridge' possible (for the semantics, cf. the gloss δείρος-λόφος H.). Although there are no other indications, the suffix may point to Pre-Greek origin. See ►δέρη.

**δειρή** ⇒ δέρη.

**δειριᾶν** [v.] · λοιδορεῖσθαι. Λάκωνες 'to abuse [Lacon.]'; δειρεῖοι· λοῖδοροι 'railers'. οἱ αὐτοί; δερῖαι· λοιδορίαι 'reproaches' (H.; Bechtel 1921, 2: 370 corrects into δερῖαν, δερῖαιοι; van Herwerden 1910: 192 into δηριῖν, etc.). <?>

•ETYM Bezzenberger BB 16 (1890): 248 and Zupitza 1896: 78 have implausibly suggested connections with Skt. *járate* 'crackles, roars, sounds', OHG *queran* 'tipple', etc.; so far, the word remains without etymology. See also ►λοιδορέω.

**δεῖσα** [f.] 'slime, filth' (pap. II<sup>a</sup>, Suid., EM), δέισ-οζος 'having a bad smell' (AP). <?>

•COMP Compound ἄδειος· ἀκάθαρτος. Κύπριοι 'filthy (Cypr.)' (H.) with loss of -σ-, as is regular in Cyp.

•DER δεισαλέος (Clem. Al., Suid., H.), δεισαλία = ἀκαθαροσία (Thd., H.); cf. Debrunner IF 23 (1908-1909): 23f. and 38.

•ETYM Unknown. Solmsen 1909: 236f. connects the word with OCS *židъkъ* 'succosus, ὑδαρός' and Ru. *židkij* 'thin, fluid, slim'. See also Lasso de la Vega *Emerita* 22 (1954): 89.

**δεισίας** [acc.pl.f.] κρεῶν 'of meat' (IG 2<sup>2</sup>, 1356 [Attica IV<sup>a</sup> init]). <?>

•VAR Also δεισιάδα· τὴν μοῖραν 'lot', οἱ δὲ διμοῖριαν 'double share' (H.), cf. διχάς 'half, μονάς 'unit', etc. (Chantraine 1933: 358).

•ETYM Unknown.

**δέκα** [num.] 'ten' (Il.). <IE \*dekm 'ten'>

•COMP 'eleven', 'twelve': ἕν-, δώ-, also δυό-, δύο-.

•DER Inherited (see below) δέκατος (Arc. Lesb. δέκοτος, cf. Arc. δυώδεκο) 'tenth'; fem. δεκάτη (sc. μερίς) 'the tenth' (IA) with δεκατεύω 'to exact tithe' (IA), with δεκάτευμα (Call.), δεκάτευσις (D. H.), δεκατεία (Plu.), δεκατευτής (Harp.) and δεκατευτήριον 'custom house' (X.); rare δεκατόω 'id.' (Ep. Hebr.); δεκατός 'sentenced to a fine of one tenth of one's property' (Cyren.), haplological for δεκα[τω]τός or δεκα[τευ]τός; δεκάτη (scil. ἡμέρα) 'the tenth day of the month or after the birth of a child, when the name was given' (IA) with δεκαταῖος (Pl.) and δεκατισταί (Bithynia; see Chantraine 1933: 318f.). δεκάς, -άδος [f.] 'decade, group of ten, especially soldiers', δεκαδεύς 'member of a decade' (X.) also 'president of a college of ten men' (Troezen), δεκαδικός (Herm. Alex. in Phdr.), δεκαδιστής, -ίστρια (Delos) = δεκατιστής; Thphr. Char. 27, 11. δεκανός 'decurio, surveyor' with δεκανία, δεκανικός (pap., cf. Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 88), Macedonian (von Wilamowitz 1932:



401<sup>2</sup>). Isolated denominative ►δεκάζω 'to bribe (the judges)' (Att.) whence δεκασμός (D. H.). Uncertain OAtt. δεκᾶν (IG 1<sup>2</sup>, 919).

•ETYM Gr. δέκα, Lat. *decem*, Skt. *dāśa*, Go. *taihun*, etc. derive from IE \**dék-m*. Besides this, there is a collective formation in -*t-* (Sommer 1950: 21<sup>1</sup>; also on δεκάκις, -ιν), seen in Skt. *daśát*, Lith. *dėšimt*, OCS *desęť*, and Alb. *dhjetë* 'ten', as well as in the ordinals δέκατος, Lith. *dėšimtas*, OCS *desęty*, Go. *taihunda*, etc., IE \**dék-mto-*. Lat. *decimus*, OIr. *dechmad*, and Skt. *daśamā-*, however, derive from \**dék-mHo-*. The collective δεκάς is a Greek innovation: on the suffix (= Hitt. -*ant/d-*), see Sommer MSS 4 (1954): 1ff. See also ►εἴκοσι and ►ἐκατόν.

**δεκάζω** [v.] 'to bribe (a judge)' (D. H.). <GR>

•ETYM From δέκομαι, in the sense 'to make accept'? See Oldfather in PW 13: 2398 and Szemerényi 1964: 126-8.

**δέκομαι** ⇒ δέχομαι.

**δεκτή** [f.] · χλαῖνα, χλανίς 'upper-garment' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. von Blumenthal 1930: 25<sup>1</sup> implausibly assumed dissimilation of \*τεκτή, which would then be related to Lat. *tegō*, *toga*.

**δέλεαρ, -ατος** [n.] 'decoy, bait' (IA). <IE? \**g<sup>w</sup>elh<sub>1</sub>-ur*>

•VAR Plur. δείλατα, also δέλευρα (see below).

•DER Denominative δελεάζω 'entice' (IA) with δελέασμα (Ar.), δελεασμάτιον (Philox.), δελεασμός (Arist.) and the instrument names δελεάστρα 'baited trap' (Cratin.), δελεαστρον 'id.' (Nicoph.); with δελαστρεύς 'fisher with baited trap' (Nic.; metri causa for \*δελεα-, see Boßhardt 1942: 68). With the same mg. δείλατα [pl.] (Call. Fr. 458), δελήπιον (Sophr.; δελήπι· δελέατι H.), δέλετρον (Numen. *apud* Ath., Opp.; after the instr. names in -τρον), δέλος (PMagPar. 1, 939, Eust.; innovated after the neuters in -ος).

•ETYM The plural δέλευρα (Ath.) suggests that δέλεαρ goes back to an original *r/n*-stem \**déle-<sup>w</sup>ar*; cf. the plur. ἄλευρα to \**ǎle-<sup>w</sup>ar*. The root form *déle-* also occurs in δελήπιον < \**déleátion* and in recent δέλετρον (see Chantraine 1933: 332f.). Late δείλατα, the only deviating form, may derive from \**dél-<sup>w</sup>ar*ta. Besides *déle-*, we find the root form *blh-* in *blh<sub>1</sub>r* (Alc.), from \**blh<sub>1</sub>-(<sup>w</sup>)ar* or \**blé-(<sup>w</sup>)ar*. The pair *blh<sub>1</sub>r* ~ *délear* points to \**g<sup>w</sup>(e)lh<sub>1</sub>-ur* with initial \**g<sup>w</sup>-*, but further cognates are unknown. Any connection with ►βιβρώσκω (s.v.; allegedly with *ρ* > *λ* dissimilation) can be excluded because that word has a root-final *h<sub>3</sub>* instead. Hardly better is the suggestion to connect Arm. *klanem*, aor. *ekul* 'to devour', Ru. *glotát* 'to swallow', Lat. *gula*, *gluttio* 'to devour'. On the basis of the similarity in form, one might consider a connection with ►βάλλω instead (p.c. M. de Vaan).

**δέλετρον 1** ⇒ δέλεαρ.

**δέλετρον 2** [n.] 'torch' (Timach. *apud* Ath. 15, 699e, H.). <?>

•ETYM Osthoff ZONF 13 (1937): 6 connects the word with Skt. *jvālati* 'to burn fiercely, blaze'; this is correctly rejected by Hofmann (ibid.).

**δελκανός** [m.] an unknown fish (Euthyd. *apud* Ath. 3, 118b). <GR>

•ETYM From the river Δέλκων? Cf. Δέλκος· λίμνη ἰχθυοφόρος περὶ τὴν Θράκιαν 'a creek rich in fish around Thracia' (H.); cf. Strömberg 1943: 85.

**δέλλιθες** [f.] · σφήκες, ἢ ζῶον ὅμοιον μελίσση 'wasps, or an animal similar to a bee' (H., Hdn. Gr. 1, 89). <PG?>

•DER δελλίθια· ἀνθρήνια. οἱ δὲ κηρία 'wasp's nests; others honeycombs' (H.).

•ETYM The formation is reminiscent of ὄρνι-θες. There seem no reason to connect it with ►βελόνη. The geminate λλ could continue a phoneme *l'*, in which case the word would be Pre-Greek. Forms from Lower Italy are mentioned in Rohlf's 1930: 520.

**δέλτα** [n.] 'the letter delta, delta of a river'. <LW Sem.>

•VAR Gen. δέλτατος Democr. 20; further uninflected.

•DER δελτωτός 'formed like the δέλτα' (Arat., Eratosth.).

•ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *dāleth*, properly 'gate'; see Schwyzler: 140 γ.

**δέλτος** [f.] 'writing tablet' (IA). <LW Sem.>

•DIAL Cypr. δάλτος.

•DER δελτίον (Hdt.), δελτάριον (Plb.). Denominative δελτόομαι 'write on a tablet' (A. Supp. 179). See ►ἀδεαλτωχαιε.

•ETYM Note that βύβλος 'papyrus' is also fem. (Schwyzler 1950: 34<sup>1</sup>). The old idea to connect δαιδάλλω, Lat. *dolāre* (and even e.g. OHG *zelt* 'tent' < PGm. \**teldā-* [n.]), which takes Cypr. δάλτος as an old zero grade variant, is obsolete; the difference in meaning is too large. Semitic origin is mostly accepted now (Lewy 1895: 171, E. Masson 1967: 61-65). The Cypriot form confirms this. Hebr. has *delet* 'gate', plur. 'columns of writing', as well as 'tablet' (Lachish); cf. also Ugar. and Phoen. *dlt*. Were δάλκιον· πινάκιον, οἷον γραμματίδιον both 'small tablet' (H.) formed after πινάκιον? Latte corrects it to δάλτιον, which is better.

**δέλφαξ, -ακος** [f.] ([m.]) 'mother swine', as opposed to χοῖρος 'young pig' (IA). <IE \**g<sup>w</sup>elb<sup>h</sup>u-* 'womb'>

•DER Diminutive δελφάκιον (Att.) and δελφακίς (pap. and Ostr.); also δελφακίνη 'id.' (Epich. 124, 2; Chantraine 1933: 204), adjective δελφάκειος (Pherecr.). Denominative δελφακόομαι 'become a δ.' (Ar. Ach. 786).

•ETYM For the suffix, cf. κόραξ, σκύλαξ (Schwyzler: 497, Chantraine 1933: 377ff.), but otherwise the exact origin is unclear. Probably from a word for 'womb' (δελφύς, \*δέλφος? See ►ἀδελφός). Cf. ►δελφίς, ►Δελφοί.

**δέλφιξ** ⇒ Δελφοί.

**δελφίς, -ίνος** [m.] 'dolphin' (Il.). <IE \**g<sup>w</sup>elb<sup>h</sup>u-* 'womb'>

•VAR Late nom. -ίν.

•DIAL Lesb. βέλφινες (EM).

•DER δελφινίσκος (Arist.) and δελφινάριον (Hero). Δελφίνιος 'dolphin-god', epithet of Apollo (h. Ap.); Δελφίνιον temple of Ap. Delphinios in Athens (Att.); also Δελφίδιος (Knossos). δελφίνιον and δελφινιάς (Ps.-Dsc.) plant name (after the form



of the leaves, Strömberg 1940: 42); δελφίνειος (Cyran.) and δελφινίς (Luc.). Denominative δελφινίζω 'to dive like a dolphin' (Luc.).

•ETYM Cf. ἀκτίς, γλαχίς, etc. for the inflexion. Connected to a word for 'womb'; see ►δελφύς and ►ἀδελφεός. Thus, the dolphin was named after its anatomical characteristics.

**Δελφοί** [m.pl.] name of the inhabitants of Delphi (also attributive) and of the town itself (*h. Hom.*). <IE \*g<sup>w</sup>elb<sup>h</sup>u- 'womb'>

•DIAL Aeol. Βελφοί; secondary dialectal forms are Δαλφοί, Δολφοί, Δερφοί (Schwyzer: 205, 213, 275).

•DER Fem. Δελφίς 'Delphian' (Delph., S.), adjective Δελφικός (S.); δέλφιξ, -ίκος 'table made after the Delphic tripod' (Plu., EM), = Lat. (*mensa*) *Delphica*.

•ETYM Acc. to Lundahl *Namn och bygd* 31 (1943): 42ff., the place was originally called \*Δελφύς 'womb' after the shape of the land. The inhabitants were called \*Δελφύ-οί > Δελφοί (cf. \*ἄστρ-ός to ἄστρ); this form was then later used for the place as well.

**δελφύς, -ύος** [f.] 'womb' (Hp.). <IE \*g<sup>w</sup>elb<sup>h</sup>u- 'womb'>

•VAR Dor. δελφύα [f.] (Greg. Cor.; after μήτρα 'womb'?).

•DER Also δολφός: ἡ μήτρα 'id.' (H.).

•ETYM Beside the feminine word for 'womb', there is the zero grade neuter Av. *garəbuš-* 'young animal'; therefore, for δελφύς an *s*-stem may be considered as well (Schwyzer: 516). δολφός corresponds to Skt. *gárbha-*, Av. *garaβa-* [m.] 'womb'. The Greek form with a labiovelar (\*g<sup>w</sup>elb<sup>h</sup>u-, \*g<sup>w</sup>olb<sup>h</sup>o-) does not accord well with the \*k- in Gm. forms like OHG *kilbur* [n.] 'ewe lamb', OHG *kalb* 'calf', etc., which therefore have to remain apart, unless we assume dissimilation g<sup>w</sup> > g.

**δέμας** = δέμω.

**δεμελέας** [acc.pl.f.] 'leeches' (Epid.). <?>

•DER Also δειμβλείς: βδέλλαι 'leeches' (H.; with -μβλ- from -μλ-). But the gloss stands between δέμαι and δέμνια, so perhaps with Bücheler and Latte for (\*)δεμελείς?

•ETYM Unexplained. There are attempts to connect the word with Lat. *lumbricus* 'intestinal worm' in Bq and WH. Connection with Alb. *dhemjē* 'maggot' is doubtful.

**δέμνια** [n.pl.] 'bed' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Rarely sing. -ιον.

•ETYM If δέμνια originally indicated the connective elements of the bed, we can consider a connection with κρή-δεμνον 'headband'. Then δέμνια could be a derivation in -ιο- to an *n*-stem \*δέμα (see ►δέω 'bind'). δέμω 'to build' has also been adduced (Meister BB 11 (1886): 176).

**δέμω** [v.] 'to build' (Il.). <IE \*demh<sub>2</sub>- 'build'>

•VAR Aor. δείμαι, perf. med. δέδημαι, Dor. δέδημαι.

•DIAL Myc. *de-me-o-te* /deme<sup>h</sup>ontes/ ptc. fut. *to-ko-do-mo* /toik<sup>h</sup>o-domos/, *na-u-do-mo* /nau-domos/, *e-te-do-mo* /entesdomos/?

•COMP Old compounds νεό-δμᾶτος, νεό-δμη-τος (Pi.). See also ►μεσόδμη. Agent noun οικοδόμος, to which οικοδομέω 'to build'; adjectival ναο-, πυργο-δόμος 'building of temple, fortifications'.

•DER δέμας (only nom. and acc.) 'bodily shape, outward appearance' (Il.) with analogical -ας, δομή 'id.' (A. R.), also = 'τείχος, οικοδομή' (H., uncertain J. AJ 15, 11, 3) with δομαῖος 'useful for building' (A. R.); see also on ►δόμος, ►δώμα, ►δῶ.

Deverbative aor. δωμήσαι, -ήσασθαι (A. R.; δωμήσουσιν· οικοδομήσουσι H.), from \*δωμάω (or \*δωμέω?, Schwyzer: 719), with δώμημα (Lycia), ἐνδώμησις (Smyrna I<sup>p</sup>, etc.), δώμησις, δωμητύς H., δωμήτωρ (Man.). A short vowel appears in some late forms: δομέοντι· οικοδομοῦντι H., δεδομημένος (J., Aristid.) with δόμησις, δόμημα (J.), δομήτωρ (Anon. *Prog.* in Rh.); from οἰκο-δομέω (IA)?

•ETYM The present δέμω has a parallel in the Gm. verb Go. *ga-timan*, OS *teman*, OHG *zeman* 'to befit'. Dor. νεόδμᾶτος, δέδμᾶμαι are hyperdorisms, as the root had -h<sub>2</sub>-: see Beekes 1969: 291 add. to p. 202, who adduces spellings with η in Pindar; likewise Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 316, who points to Myc. *de-me-o-te*. Further connected is HLuw. *ta+mi-ha* 'I built'.

Different from the reconstruction that the Greek data require (in my view), is that of LIV<sup>2</sup> with \*-h<sub>2</sub> (s.v. 1. \*demh<sub>2</sub>-). See further ►δεσπότης.

**δέν** [n.] 'something' (Democr. 156). <GR>

•VAR Gen. δενός (Alc. 76; uncertain).

•ETYM From οὐδέν, μηδέν; cf. Leumann 1950: 108<sup>68</sup>.

**δενδαλῖς, -ίδος** [f.] 'kind of barley-cake' (Nicopho, Eratosth.); δενδαλίδας· οἱ μὲν ἄνθος τι, ἄλλοι τὰς λευκάς κάχυς, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐπισημένους κριθὰς πρὸ τοῦ φρυγῆναι, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐκ κριθῶν μάζας γενομένας 'flower; white parched barley; winnowed barley corns for roasting; cake produced from barley corns' (H.). The α is short in Nicophon. <PG?(O)>

•VAR Also δανδαλῖς H., Pollux.

•ETYM Cf. σεμίδαλις 'fine wheat flour'; further unknown. Nevertheless, the last word is probably from Akkadian *samīdu*. One may consider a reduplication *da/e-n-dali-* with prenasalization, in which case δενδαλῖς could be Pre-Greek.

**δενδίλλω** [v.] 'to turn the eyes to, glance quickly' (I 180, A. R. 3, 281, S. Fr. 1039). <?>

•DER δενδίλλει· σκαρδαμύττει, διανεύει, σημαίνει, ἀτιμάζει, σκώπτει 'he blinks, winks; nods, beckons; indicates; does not respect; jeers at' (H.). Here Δένδιλος, Decourt 1995: n° 50, 40?

•ETYM Although δενδίλλω certainly has intensive reduplication, its etymology is unknown. For suggestions, see Wood *Class. Phil.* 9 (1914): 145, Charpentier *KZ* 47 (1915): 183, Fraenkel *Gnomon* 22 (1950): 239, and Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 2 (1952): 66f. δενδίλλω has nothing to do with δα(ν)δαίνω, which may be Pre-Greek (from \*da(n)-dan-yw).

**δένδρεον** [n.] 'tree' (Hom., Pi.). <IE? \*doru, dreu- 'tree'>

•VAR Also δένδρον (Att.); δένδρος [n.], also [m.], (Ion. Dor.; see below); gen. δένδρεος (Hdt.), see Schwyzer: 583.

•COMP 1. substantives like καρυό-, λιθό-, ροδό-, σταφυλό-δενδρον; 2. many bahuvrīhis in -δενδρος.

•DER δενδρ-ύφιον (Thphr.; see Schwyzer: 471), δενδρίον (Agathocl.). δενδρώδης 'rich in trees' (Hp.), δενδρῆεις 'rich in trees' (Od.), δενδρίτης, -ίτις 'belonging to the tree', also name of a stone (Thphr.), rare δενδρώτης, -ώτις 'grown with trees' (Hdn., E.); δενδρικός 'belonging to a tree' (Thphr.), δενδριακός 'id.' (AP), δένδρινος 'id.' (gloss.), δενδραῖος 'from trees' (Nonn.), δενδράς [f.] 'id.' (Nonn.). δενδρών and δένδρωμα 'thicket' (Aq.). Denominative δενδρόομαι, -όω 'to grow to a tree, change into a tree' (Thphr.) with δένδρωσις (Thphr.). On δενδρῡάζω see ►δενδρύω.

•ETYM The form δένδρος is modelled after the plural forms δένδρεα, -έων (to δένδρεον). The usual Attic form δένδρον is also secondary (cf. ἀδελφός from ἀδελφεός?); see Wackernagel 1916: 109f., Shipp 1967: 21f., 55. δένδρεον < \*δένδρεφον agrees with the Gm. word for 'tree': Go. *triu*, OE *trēow* 'tree', etc., PGm. \**trewa* < IE \**dreu-o-*. But the form of the Greek reduplication is rare (not comparable with ►γάγγραινα, as per DELG). See further ►δόρυ, ►δρῡς. Janda 1997 assumes \**dem-dreu-om* 'tree planted near the house', and similarly Strunk 1995: 357-63. However, a compound with such a meaning strikes me as utterly strange.

**δενδρύω** [v.] 'to dive into the water' (Epid.). ◀?▶

•DER Lengthened δενδρῡάζειν· τὸ καταδύνειν καὶ κρύπτεσθαι, κυρίως εἰς τὰς δρῡς, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπλῶς δύνειν καὶ κρύπτειν 'duck and hide, mainly in the woods, but also misused for diving and hiding in general' (EM 255, 55); similar H. and Paus. Gr. Fr. 119: τὸ δρυσὶ σκέπτεσθαι καὶ τὸ καθ' ὕδατος δύεσθαι κτλ. 'to hide among trees, also to dive under water, etc.'.

•ETYM Intensive reduplication of δρύεται· κρύπτεται 'hides', δρῡάσαι· κατακολυβῆσαι 'dive down' (H.; not shortened from <δεν>δρύεται, <δεν>δρῡάσαι, as per Latte). δρύεται is often considered to go back to \*νρύεται, which would make a connection possible with Lith. *neriù*, *nérti* 'to dive, slip into', CS *vr-nŕŕŕ*, *vr-nrĕti* 'παρεισδύεσθαι', etc. (which require a *set*-root \**nerH-*). See Frisk *Eranos* 40 (1942): 81ff.

**δέννος** [m.] 'reproach' (Hdt., probably also Archil. 65 [cod. δαινοῖς]). ◀?▶

•DER Further δεννάζω (cf. κυδάζω) 'abuse, revile' (Thgn.); δεννόν· κακολόγον 'slandorous'; δενναστόν· καταγέλαστον, λοιδορούμενον μετὰ καταγέλωτος 'ridiculous, reproached with absurdity' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. Untenable suggestions are contained in Bq., Pok. 466. The geminate is not expressive; see Hoffmann 1898: 583.

**δεξαμενή** →δέχομαι.

**δεξιός** [adj.] '(to the) right (side)' (Il.). ◀IE \**deks-* 'right'▶

•DIAL Myc. PN *de-ki-si-wo* /deksiwos/; also Pamphyl. δεξιφος (Masson *Glotta* 39 (1960): 111f.).

•COMP With ἀ-, ἀμφι-, ἀμφοτερο-, etc.

•DER δεξιά, Ion. -ιή 'the right hand' (Il.); δεξιτερός 'on the right side' (Il.). δεξιότης 'dexterity, cleverness' (IA). δεξιόομαι 'to take by the right hand, welcome, greet, etc.'

(h. Hom., Att.) together with δεξιῶσις 'greeting' Ph.), δεξιωτικός 'welcome' (Eust.), δεξιῶμα 'id.' (S.; v.l. δεξιάμα); δεξιάζομαι 'to welcome' (LXX, pap.) after ἀσπάζομαι.

•ETYM If it is from \*δεξιφός (Wackernagel 1897: 11; cf. ►λαιός, ►σκαῖός), the word is identical with Gaul. *Dexsiva dea* (see Porzig 1954a: 138). Celt. and Gm. have forms with a suffix -*uo-*, but without -*i-*, e.g. OIr. *dess*, Go. *taihswa*, OHG *zeso*, *zesawer* 'right', IE \**deks-uo-*. Ilr. and BSl. have a derivative in -*n-*, e.g. Skt. *dákṣiṇa-* (*dakṣiṇá-*), Lith. *dėšinas*; Albanian has *djath-(t)ë*, etc., perhaps from \**deks(i)-* (see Demiraj 1997 s.v.). δεξιτερός = Lat. *dexter*. Further, see ►δέχομαι.

**δέομαι** →δέω 2.

**δέος** [n.] 'fear' (Il.; on the mg. Schadewaldt *Herm.* 83 (1955): 129ff.). ◀IE \**duei-* 'fear'▶

•DER As a second member e.g. in ἀ-δεής 'fearless' (Il.), θεουδής 'godfearing' (Od.) from \*θεο-δφεής, Att. PN Θουδής.

•ETYM From \*δφεῖος, a verbal abstract of ►δεῖδω.

**δέπας, -αος** [n.] 'goblet' (Il.; on the meaning see Brommer *Herm.* 77 (1942): 357f., 364f.). ◀PG▶

•DIAL Myc. *di-pa* /dipas/, *di-pa-e* /dipa<sup>h</sup>e/ [du.].

•DER Poetical lengthening δέπαστρον 'id.' (Antim.) with δεπαστραῖος (Lyc.), see Chantraine 1933: 333f.

•ETYM Pre-Greek, like many other words for cups, etc. The interchange ε/ι is frequent (Fur.: 353ff., Hester *Minos* 6 (1958): 24-36). On -θρον/-στρον, see Fur.: 302<sup>37</sup> and 303<sup>39</sup>. Perhaps the same word as HLuw. *tipas-* 'heaven'.

**δέρη** [f.] 'neck, throat' (Att.). ◀?▶

•VAR Ion. δειρή (since Il.). Poetical innovation δείρεα [pl.] (Euph.), after μέλεα 'limbs', μήδεα 'genitals', χείλεα 'lips', etc.; also δέρις (Alciphrr., H.), cf. ῥάχης 'spine', etc.

•DIAL Arc. δερφα, Lesb. δέρα (Sapph.).

•COMP Several poetical bahuvrīhis only with -δειρος, as a first member only δειραχθής (AP), δειροκύπελλον (Luc.), δειρόπαις (Lyc.). Epic compound (ἀπτο)δειροτομέω 'to cut off the neck', as if from \*δειρο-τόμιος.

•DER Diminutive δειράδιον (Poll.); δέραιον 'necklace' (E.), from περιδέρ-αιον 'id.' (Ar.); δέριον 'id.' (Charis.); δειρητής = στρουθός (Nic. Fr. 123), δερβιστήρ [= δερφ-] (EM), δερ[ρ]ιστήρ· περιδέραιον ἵππου 'collar of a horse', δερ[ρ]ιστής· κυνάγχη περιουχένιος 'dog's collar' (H.); cf. βραχιονιστήρ s.v. ►βραχίων.

•ETYM δέρη and δειρή, which reflect PGr. δερφα (= Arc.), have been compared with Skt. *grīvā-*, Ru. *gríva* (originally 'neck'; cf. Ru. *grívna* 'collar'), Latv. *grīva* 'mouth of a river'. Apart from the highly problematic 'extension' with -*ī-*, this etymology requires a reconstruction \**g<sup>wer</sup>-ueh<sub>2</sub>-*, but Aeol. δερφα (instead of the expected \*βερφα) excludes original \**g<sup>w</sup>*. For the same reason, ►βιβρώσκω cannot be related. A much better etymology is offered by ►δειράς, which fits the meaning well.

**δέρκομαι** [v.] 'to look, cast the eye (on)' (Il.). ◀IE \**derk-* 'see'▶

•VAR Aor. δρακεῖν, with "passive" forms ἐδράκην (Pi.), ἐδέρχθην (A.), perf. (with present mg.) δέδορκα.

•COMP Prefixes ἀμφι-, ἀνα-, etc.

•DER δέργμα 'glance' (A.), δεργμός 'id.' (H.), δέρξιν 'sense of sight' (Orac. *apud* Plu., H.); with zero grade δράκος [n.] 'eye' (Nic. *Al.* 481). Verbal adjective as a PN Δέρκετος (Crete), δυσ-δέρκετος (Opp.). Cf. also ►δράκων, ►ὑπόδρα. Lengthened verbal form δερκιδώνται (Hes. *Th.* 911 at verse end; artificial?); innovation to δέδορκα (Schwyzer: 735); δορκάζων· περιβλέπων 'looking about' (H.). See also ►δορκάς.

•ETYM The perfect δέδορκα 'I see' is morphologically identical with Skt. *dadārśa*, Av. *dādarəsa*. The aorist ἔδρακον, with the old athematic form δρακέντ- (Pi.; Forssman MSS 17 (1964): 17-19), is matched by Skt. *á-dṛś-an* [3pl.], etc. Since Indo-Iranian has a suppletive present, Skt. *páśyati*, Av. *spasiieiti* (related to ►σκέπτομαι), δέρκομαι is probably a Greek innovation (on which δερχθῆναι, δέρξομαι, etc. were built; see Schwyzer: 758). The verbal adj. Δέρκετος may be compared with Skt. *darsatá-* 'visible'. Further related forms are e.g. OIr. *ad-con-darc* 'I have seen', Go. *ga-tarhjan* 'σημειοῦν, characterize', OE OS *torht*, OHG *zoraht* 'light, clear', Alb. *dritë* 'light' (< IE *\*dṛk-teh₂-*). More forms are recorded in LIV² s.v. *\*derk-*.

δέρω [v.] 'to skin, flay' (Il.). <IE *\*der-* 'flay'>

•VAR Also δείρω, aor. δείραι, fut. δερῶ, pass. δαρήναι, δαρθῆναι, perf. δέδαρμαι.

•COMP With prefixes ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc.

•DER δέρμα 'slayed' skin, leather' (Il.) with diminutive δερμάτιον (Pl.); adjective δερμάτινος 'of leather' (Od.), δερματικός 'of skin' (Arist.) with δερματίκιον a cloth (pap.), δερματώδης 'skinlike' (Arist.), δερματηρός in δερματηρά [f.] 'tax on hides' (pap.), δέρμητες· οἱ ἐξ ἐφήβων περίπολοι (cod. περισσοί) 'the patrolmen out of the epheboi' H., cf. γυμνήτες, κούρητες, etc. Rare denominative ἀπο-δερματῶ 'to flay' (Plb.; δεδερματωμέναι as an explanation of ἰσχυαλωμέναι H.), ἀπο-δερματίζω (medic.), δερμύλλει· αἰσχροποιεῖ, οἱ δὲ ἐκδέρει 'to act filthily; strip the skin off from' (H.), Sch.; see Schwyzer: 736. Further δάρμα (Delph.; from δέρμα, Schwyzer: 274; but ἀποδάρματα Hdt. 4, 64 with ablaut?).

δέρος [n.] = δέρμα (S.); also δέρας 'id.' (Chios, E.); δάρος· τὸ βουτύπιον 'ox-butcher' (H.). δορά 'flayed skin' (IA); with δορεύς 'flayer', also a throw with the dice (Herod.), δορίς 'sacrificial knife' (Com.), δορικός 'of skin' (Hp.), δορώ 'smear' (inscr.) with δόρωσις, δορώσιμος (pap.), ἐνδόρωμα (inscr.). δορός 'leather sack' (β 354; 380). δέρρις [f.] 'skin', especially as a technical term for screens, etc. used in a siege (Th.), from *\*δέρ-σις*; here δέρριον· τρίχινον σακίον 'small bag of hair' (H.), δερρίσκος (Att.).

Regular zero grade δάρσις (Gal.). δέρτρον 'caul, membrane' (λ 579, etc.), and δέτρον (H., *Et. Gud.*). δερτον (accent unknown) 'flayed sheep' (Mykonos). δάρτης 'flayer' (gloss.). Verbal adj. δρατός (Ψ 169), δαρτός (Milete V<sup>a</sup>); with δάρτινον· πέπλον λινούν 'linen cloth' (H.). See also on ►δῆρις 'battle' and ►δόρκα.

•ETYM δέρω is related to e.g. Go. *dis-*, *gatairan* 'to tear up, destroy', OHG (*fir-*)*zeran* 'id.', MoHG (*ver*)*zehren*; Lith. *derù, dir̃ti (dirti)* 'to flay', OCS *derp, dbrati* 'to flay', and further Sanskrit with a root aor. *dárt* [3sg.inj.] 'to split' and a *nā*-present *dṛñāti*. For the formation, we may compare the aorist ἔδειρα < *\*ἔδερσα* with Skt. *dārṣat* [subj.]. Also, δάρσις is matched by Skt. *dṛti-* 'sack', Go. *ga-taurps* 'destruction', and

Ru. *derť* 'newly cleared land'; and likewise, δρατός, δαρτός with Skt. *dṛtá-*. A yod-present (cf. δείρω) is found in Lith. *dir̃iù* 'flay' and Skt. *dīryate*. Further forms are in LIV² s.v. *\*der-*.

δεσπότης, -ου [m.] 'master (of the house), lord' (Pi.; on its absence in Homer [δέσποινα Od.] see Wackernagel 1916: 209 A. 1). <IE *\*dems-pot-* 'lord of the house'>

•COMP In compounds with first member αὐτο-, οἰκο-, φιλο-.

•DER δέσποινα 'mistress of the house, lady' (Od.); δεσποινικός 'in service of the queen' (*PMasp.* 88, 10, VI<sup>p</sup>); also δεσπότης 'id.' (S.), rare δεσπότηρα (S. *Fr.* 1040), δεσπότηρια (sch. E. *Hec.* 397); on the feminine forms Fraenkel 1912: 27; on MoGr. δεσποινίς Schwyzer: 133. Rare diminutive δεσποτίσκος (E.), δεσποτίδιον (Aristaenet.). Adjective δεσπόσυνος 'belonging to the lord' (Tyrt., *h. Cer.*), with δεσποσύνη 'lordship' (Hdt.); δεσπόσιος 'id.' (A.), δεσποτικός (Pl.), δεσπότηιος (Lyc.). Denominatives: 1. δεσπόζω 'to be lord, rule' (IA); δέσποσμα (Man.). 2. δεσποτέω 'id.', mostly pass. 'to obey a δ.' (A.). 3. δεσποτεύω 'id.' (LXX); δεσποτεία (Pl.).

•ETYM Cf. Skt. *dāmpati-* (also, in two words, *pátir dán*), Av. *dāng paitiš* 'lord'. In Greek, it became a fixed compound, which changed its flexion from an *i*-stem (see ►πόσις) to that of an *ā*-stem (cf. ἀγκυλο-μήτης beside μήτης; Schwyzer: 451). δέσποινα is from *\*δεσ-ποτ-νια*. The first part, IE *\*dems* (whence Gr. δεσ-, Skt. *dam-*), is the genitive of a word for 'house' (see ►δόμος).

δεταί ⇒ δέω 1.

δευκής ⇒ ἀδευκής.

δεύομαι •VAR δεύω. ⇒ δέω 2.

δεῦρο [adv.] '(to) here', also as interj. and imperative ('come here'). <IE *\*de-u-ro?* '(to) here'>

•VAR Here belongs the plur. δεῦτε (Il.); rare sing. δεῦρε (Att. inscr.; after the imperatives in -ε); also δευρί (Ar., And.) with deictic -i; Aeol. δεῦρυ (Hdn.) like ἄλλυ-(δς) 'from elsewhere', δεύρω Γ 240 (Hdn.) after πρόσ(σ)ω 'forwards'.

•DIAL Myc. *de-we-ro-(a₃-ko-ra-i-ja)*, perhaps containing /dewero-/ , a part of the kingdom of Pylos.

•ETYM The Greek word starts with the demonstrative adverb *\*δε* (cf. the postposition -δε). Cf. further Lacon. πέδευρα· ὕστερα 'later' (H.).

Regarding the second part analyzed as *-u-ro*, the Greek form recalls the synonymous Lith. *aurė* and Av. *auuarə* (see Nyberg in Boëthius 1932: 237ff.). Compare further Arm. *ur* '(to) where?', from *\*ure* (cf. *ure-k'* 'to some place'), and U *uru* 'illo'. See Ruijgh *Minos* 12 (1972): 441-50 for a Greek derivation as *\*de-u + \*(e)ro-*, which is taken up by DELG *Supp.*

δεύτερος [adj.] 'second', in order and time, also in status (Il.). <GR>

•DER δευτεραῖος 'belonging to the second day' (Hdt.; from ἡ δευτέρα [ἡμέρα], cf. Schwyzer: 596); δευτερεία (sc. ἄθλα) [n.pl.], later also -ον and as an adjective (Hdt.; after ἀριστεία); δευτερίας (οἶνος) 'bad wine, made from the draff (στέμφυλα)'

(Nicopho [?], Dsc.; after the wine names in -ίας, Chantraine 1933: 94f.; also δευτερίναρ (Lacn.) (H.); δευτέριον 'afterbirth' (Aq.). Denominative δευτερεύω 'to be second' (Plb.), δευτεριάζω 'id.' (Ar. Ec. 634); δευτερώ 'to repeat' (LXX) with δευτέρωσις (LXX) and δευτέρωμα (Eust.). Beside δεύτερος rarely the superlative δεύτατος (T 51, Mosch.).

•ETYM Although δεύτερος is usually analyzed as a comparative of δεύομαι (see ► δέω 2), so originally 'who stays behind, the following', Ruijgh *Lingua* 28 (1971): 317f. argues that it is improbable that -τερος should have been added to a verbal stem, and suggests that it was added to an adverbial stem \*δεν instead (perhaps seen in δεύτε).

**δέω 1** [v.] 'to make wet' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aor. δεῦσαι.

•COMP δευσοποιός 'steeped in color, fast', metaph. 'imperishable' (Pl.).

•DER δεύσιμος (τόπος Sch. M 21), from \*δεῦσις (Arbenz *Die Adj. auf -ιμος*), or directly from δεῦσαι; uncertain δεύματα κρεῶν (Pi. O. 1, 50); also δευτήρ 'kettle' (auct. *apud* Poll. 10, 105). δευσοποιέω and δευσοποιία (Alciphrr., Poll.); δευσορούσιος (PMasp.VI<sup>2</sup>; cf. ρούσιος [from Lat. *russeus* 'reddish']). πηλοδευστέω 'to make mortar' (Att.) from \*πηλο-δευστής.

•ETYM Unexplained; ► διαίνω has been compared. Could the word be connected with δύνω 'to dive, enter' as 'to immerse' (Van Beek p.c.)?

**δέω 2** ⇒ δέω 2.

**δέφω** [v.] 'to soften (with the hand), masturbari' (Ar., Eub.). <PG>

•VAR Also med.; aor. ἐδέψατο (Hippon.)? See Scheller MSS 6 (1955): 88ff. Present δέψει (-εῖ?) [3sg.] (Hdt. 4, 64); aor. ptc. δεψήσας (μ 48).

•DER δεφιδασταί [m.pl.] members of a guild of fullers (Argos), with -αστής, -ιστής denoting membership (Chantraine 1933: 317ff.), otherwise unclear; via \*δεφίς, \*-ιδος? δέψα 'tanned skin' (Suid.); ἀδέψητος (v 2; 142, etc.).

•ETYM The present δέψω (cf. ξψω) beside δέφω seems to have an *s*-enlargement, but the other instances in Schwyzler: 706 are not completely comparable. Petersson KZ 47 (1918): 285 compared the Arm. denominative *top'em* 'to beat' and SCr. *dépati* 'to butt, slay', Pol. *deptać* 'to tread', which, however, are semantically rather distant and do not correspond phonologically. ► διφθέρα has also been compared, which, if connected, certainly points to Pre-Greek origin, as does, in fact, the variation between -φ- and -ψ- (cf. especially δέψα; Fur.: 263, etc., who also connects διφάω). Lat. *depsō*, -ēre is borrowed from Greek.

**δέψω** ⇒ δέφω.

**δέχομαι** [v.] 'to take, accept, receive, etc.' (Att.). <IE \*dek- 'take, accept'>

•VAR δέκομαι (Ion. Aeol. Cret.), aor. δέξασθαι (Il.). 3pl. δέχεται (M 147), epic aor. ptc. δέγμενος, 1sg.ind. ἐδέγμην, etc. (metrically conditioned), προτί-δεγμαι-προσδέχομαι 'I am received' (H.; cf. Debrunner 1956: 77ff.; on the analogical voiced aspirated and voiced stop see Schwyzler: 772 and 769).

•DIAL Myc. *de-ka-sa-to* /deksato/, *de-ko-to* /dektol/; *ra-wo-do-ko* /lāwo-dokos/, cf. Λαόδοκος (Il.).

•COMP With prefixes: ἀνα-, ἀπο-, εἰς-, etc.

•DER Numerous derivatives, especially with prefix: 1. -δόκος as a second member in compounds (Il.; also Att.), e.g. ἰο-δόκος 'receiving arrows' (epic), δωρο-δόκος 'accepting presents, corruptible' (Att.); also the simplex ► δοκός 'beam'; δοχός 'container' (Thphr., H.). 2. δοκάν-θήκην 'case' (H.); also in ἀν-δοκά 'surety' (Cret.), ἐσ-δοκά 'contract' (Arc.), etc., (ἀνα-, ἐκ-, etc.) δοχή (Att.) with δοχαῖος (Nic.), δοχικός (pap.); ἀνδοκεύς 'guarantor' (H.; Dor., cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 91); (ἐκ-, ὑπο-, etc.) δοχεύς 'receiver, etc.' (Hell. and late); πανδοκεύς 'innkeeper' (retrograde formation); to δοχεύς (ἐκ-, ὑπο-, etc.) δοχεῖον 'container' (Hell. and late). 3. (ἀπό-, ἐκ-, etc.) δέξις 'reception' (Hdt.) with δέξιμος 'acceptable' (pap.). 4. (ἐκ-, δια-, etc.) δέκτωρ 'who accepts' (A.). 5. (ἀπο-)δεκτήρ 'collector', an official (X.) with the fem. δέκτρια (Archil.). 6. δέκτης 'beggar' (δ 248); ἀπο-, ὑπο-δέκτης 'collector' (Att., Hell. and late); with (ἀνα-, ὑπο-, etc.) δεκτικός 'fit for accepting' (Arist.); ὑποδέξιος 'id.' (Hdt.), ὑποδεξίη 'friendly reception' (I 73). 7. ἀρι-►δείκετος s.v.; 8. ►δεξαμένη 'water collector' (ptc. δεξαμένη with oppositive accent).

See also on ► δόκιμος, ► δόχη; for δόκανα, δοκάνη see on ► δοκός.

Deverbative verbs: δοκέω, δοκάω, προσ-δοκάω, etc., see on ► δοκεύω. On δεκανᾶται-ἀσπάζεται 'welcome, salute' (H.) see ► δειδίσκομαι. See further ► δεκάω (from δεκάς) and ► δέκα.

•ETYM There are several forms from IE \*dek-, dok- which can be compared with δέκομαι: Lat. *decet* 'it is fitting' with *decus* [n.] (~ Skt. \*dāsas- in *dāsas-yāti* 'honor', Mlr. *dech* 'the best'; cf. also δεξιός), *dignus*, *doceō*, etc. Therefore, δέκομαι may originally have meant 'to consider something appropriate'.

From Armenian, compare *tesanem*, aor. *tesi* 'to see' (cf. δοκεύω for the meaning), but the appurtenance of Arm. *anay* 'gift' and Slavic and Germanic words like OCS *dešp*, *desiti* 'to find' (see ► δήω), OHG *gi-zehōn* 'to order' is uncertain.

Skt. *dāśnōti*, *dāṣṭi*, *dāśati* 'to bring a sacrifice, honor' also belongs here, being an originally reduplicated present \*de-dk- (there is no need to assume an old lengthened grade). From within Greek, we can connect the word with ► δεξιός, from \*deks- with a zero grade *s*-suffix (cf. Lat. *decus*), with an adverbial loc. \*deksi 'right'. See also δοκεύω under ► δοκέω.

**δέω 1** [v.] 'to bind' (Il.). <IE \*deh-, 'bind'>

•VAR Aeol., etc. δίδημι (see below), aor. δῆσαι, perf. med. δέδεμαι (Il.), with δέδεκα (Att.), aor. pass. δεθῆναι (Att.).

•COMP Often with prefixes like ἀνα-, κατα-, ὑπο-, συν-, etc.

•DER Verbal nouns: 1. -δημα (as a simplex [= Skt. *dāman-*, see below] only sch. A. R. 2, 535) notably in ὑπόδημα 'shoe, sandal' (Od.) with ὑποδημάτιον (Hp.), ὑποδηματάριος 'shoemaker' (Hypata II<sup>2</sup>), διάδημα 'band, diadem' (X.) with διαδηματίζομαι (Aq.); secondary zero grade in δέμα (Plb.). 2. δεσιός, plur. also δεσμά, δέσματα 'band, fetter' (Il.) with several derivatives: δέσμιος 'fettered' (trag.), δεσμίης-μαστιγίας, ὃς ἄξιός ἐστι δεσμιῶν 'a worthless slave, who deserves imprisonment' (H.), δεσμῖς (Hp.), δεσμίδιον (Dsc.), δεσμάτιον (sch.), δεσμώματα [pl.] 'fetters' (A.); δεσμώτης 'prisoner' and δεσμωτήριον 'prison' (IA); denominative δεσμεύω 'bind, fetter' (Hes.) with rare δεσμευτής (sch.), δεσμευτικός (Pl.).

δεσμευτήριον (pap.), δέσμευσις (pap.); δεσμέω 'id.' (Hell. and late) with δέσμημα (Tz.); ἀναδέσμη 'band for the hair of women' (X 469), δέσμη 'bundle' (Att.). 3. δέσις 'binding, etc.' (Pl.), especially ὑπό-δεσις 'binding of shoes, sandals' (IA). 4. δεταί [pl.] 'torch, fire' (Λ 554, Ar. V. 1361, H.); rather verbal noun 'binding, bundle' than from δετός (Opp.); diminutive δετίς (Gal.). 5. διητοί [pl.] 'bundle' (*Sammelb.* 1, 5, IIP<sup>9</sup>). 6. -δετήρ, -δέτης in ἀμαλλο-δετήρες 'binders of sheaves' (Σ 553, 554; see Chantraine 1933: 323), ἀμαλλο-δέται (Theoc., AP) as ἵππο-δέτης (S.), κηρο-δέτας (E. [Iyr.]), etc. On ► δέμνια, ► κρήδεμνα, see s.vv.

•ETYM Gr. δετός (in διά-δετος A., δετός Opp.) and Skt. *ditá-* 'bound' correspond directly, just as δῆμα (ὑπό-δημα, etc.) and Skt. *dāman-* 'band', although they could as well be parallel formations. Of the Greek presents, δίδιμι (Λ 105) is probably an innovation on the basis of δήσω, δῆσαι, etc. after θήσω: τίθημι (but, according to LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**deh-*, following Rasmussen and Tucker, a relatively old innovation). The ε-vowel in δέω, δέσις, δετός, etc. (like that in τί-θε-μεν, θέσις, etc.) must be the zero grade \**dh-* beside the full grade \**deh-* in δήσω, etc. Furthermore, we have Skt. pres. -*dyati* (*ā-dyati*) 'bind' from \**dh-*ie-ti and perhaps Hitt. *tija* [impv.] (Melchert apud Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.).

δέω 2 [v.] 'to miss, lack, be in need of', med. also 'to ask'. <IE \**deu(s)-* 'miss, want, need'>

•VAR δέομαι (IA), δέω, δέομαι (Aeol., epic Il.), impersonal δεῖ, δεύει, aor. δεῆσαι, δεηθῆναι, epic ἐδεύησεν (ι 483 = 540; δῆσεν Σ 100 is, if correct, an innovation to δεῖ), fut. δευήσομαι.

•DER δέησις 'need, request' (Att.) with δειτικός (Arist.), δέημα 'request' (Ar. *Ach.* 1059). Το ἐπιδέω, -ομαι, ἐπιδεύομαι 'need': ἐπιδείης, ἐπιδευής 'in need of' (Schwyzer 513); το ἐνδέω, ἐνδεῖ, ἐνδέομαι 'need': ἐνδείης (IA) with ἐνδεῖα (Att.) < \*ἐνδέεια, ἐνδείημα (pap.).

•ETYM δέω, δέω may derive from \*δέφ-ω, but are probably also the regular development of \*δεύσ-ω. In the latter case, we could directly connect Skt. *doṣa-* 'lack' < IE \**douso-*, although this is doubted by LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**deus-* and Mayrhofer *EWAla* 1: 749 s.v. *doṣ-*. Perhaps ► *duṣ-* belongs here; on δεῖ, see Goodell *Class. Quart.* 8 (1914): 91ff. and Bernardette *Glotta* 43 (1965): 285ff.

δή [interj.] 'even, indeed, right', emphatic pcl. (Il.). <IE? \**de*>

•VAR Like δέ, mostly in the second position of the sentence; also in more or less fixed connections like ἦ-δη, ἐπει-δή, δῆ-θεν, δῆτα, etc.; see Schwyzer 1950: 562f.

•ETYM Perhaps a case form (instrumental?) of a demonstrative; it would be identical with Lat. *dē*, OIr. *dí* 'away from'. See de Vaan 2008 s.v. *dē*. δέ arose by weakening of δή. See also ► δαί.

δηαί [f.pl.] 'barley corns' (*EM* 264, 13: δηαί προσαγορεύονται ὑπὸ Κρητῶν αἱ κριθαί). <PG?>

•VAR δητταί: αἱ ἐπισημέναι κριθαί 'winnowed barley' (H.).

•ETYM Schulze 1892: 288\* (p. 289) interprets the word as διαί, i.e. ► ζεαι, which would indeed be possible in Cretan, according to DELG. Latte mentions δατώναι· ζεαί H.;

therefore, Pre-Greek origin remains a serious possibility as well (thus also Fur.: 337, etc.).

δηδέχεται → δειδίσκομαι.

δηθά = δήν.

Δηϊάνειρα → δῆϊος.

δῆϊος [adj.] 'inimical, terrible', of πῦρ 'fire', also of πόλεμος 'war', ἀνὴρ 'man' (Il.); by false connection with δαῖναι: 'able, experienced' (APL). <?, PG?>

•DIAL Dor. δάϊος, δᾶος.

•DER δηϊότης, -τήτος [f.] (on the oxytonesis, cf. Schwyzer: 528) 'battle, struggle, death' (Hom.); partly as if from δηϊώω (Trümper 1950: 136ff.). Denominative δηϊώω, δηώω 'slay, kill' (Il.), 'destroy' (IA); isolated δηϊάσσκον (A. R. 2, 142) after epic -αασκ-. Thence δηϊοῦσα epithet of κώνειον 'the killing' (Ps.-Dsc.; cf. Strömberg 1940: 64). Instead of δηϊώω, Wackernagel 1916: 170f. proposes to read in the epic δηῖω (δῆϊον for δῆϊουν E 452, etc.), as A. R. 3, 1374 and H. have δῆϊεν· πολεμεῖν, φονεύειν 'to make war, murder', which can be a denominative of \**dh-* in Δηϊ-φοβος, etc. (cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 10 (1920): 49f.). Among the PNs in Δηϊ- note Δηϊ-άνειρα (S., etc.), formed after ► ἀντιάνειρα, κυδι-άνειρα, etc., with verbal reinterpretation of the first member: 'killing the man'; cf. Sommer 1934: 41.

•ETYM The frequent epic expression δῆϊον πῦρ (verse end) and πυρὸς δηϊοῖο (combined with θεσπιδαῖς πῦρ [M 177, etc.]) suggests a meaning 'burning', which makes a connection with δαίω 'burn' likely. However, Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 318 observes that Myc. *Da-i-qo-ia* (cf. Δηϊφόντης) has no -f-, so it must have had an -h-, /Dā<sup>h</sup>i-/ , which shows that the word is non-IE (see Chantraine 1942: 107 and Leumann 1950: 129).

\***δηκανώνντο** •VAR \**dhkánōnēnos* → δειδίσκομαι.

δηλαυγῶς [adv.] · ἄγαν φανερῶς 'very conspicuous' (H.), *Ev. Marc.* 8, 25 (v.l.). <GR>

•ETYM For \**ti*λ<sup>h</sup>αυγῶς, influenced by δηλος. See Blass-Debrunner-Funk 1961 §119, 4.

δηλέομαι [v.] 'to hurt, damage' (Il.). <?, PG?>

•VAR Aor. δηλήσασθαι (δᾶλ- Theoc. 9, 36; 15, 48); El. κα-δαλέοιτο, κα-δαλέμενοι (κα-ζαλ-), perf. δεδήλημαι.

•DER δήλημα 'damage, destruction' (Od.; on the mg. Chantraine 1933: 183), and δηλήμων 'damaging, ruin' (Hom.); δήλησις 'damage' (Ion., Thphr.); δηλήεις 'destructing' (Nic.), after nominal αἰγλήεις, etc.; δηλητήριος 'id.' (Teos V<sup>a</sup>, etc.), -ιον 'poison' (Hp. *Ep.*); δηλητήρ only Hom. *Epigr.* 14, 8; δηλητηριώδης (Dav. *Proll.*).

•ETYM Schwyzer: 720 took δηλέομαι as an iterative-intensive deverbative. A root variant with short α is found in φρενο-δᾶλής 'destroying the mind' (A. *Eu.* 330 Iyr.), δάλλει· κακουργεῖ 'does evil' (H.), as well as in παν-δάλητος 'destroyed' (Hippon. 2); and further, but with unknown quantity, in ἀδαλές· ὑγιές 'healthy', δάλαν· λύμην 'maltreatment', δαλῆ· κακουργῆ, δαλήσασθαι· λυμήνασθαι, ἀδικῆσαι 'maltreat, do injustice' (H.). Conversely, the connection with ► ζά-δηλος (Alc., s.v.) is doubtful. Under the assumption of an original meaning 'split', δηλέομαι was connected with

δαιδάλλω, δέλος and derived from IE *\*del-* (cf. Lat. *doleō, dolor*). However, the ablaut forms are incompatible, and long *\*ā* can hardly be derived from PIE (a hyperdorism in Theoc. is improbable); therefore, the verb is probably non-IE, i.e. Pre-Greek. Hackstein 2002: 219f. implausibly argues that the long α is a secondary lengthened grade, created within the history of Greek.

**δήλομαι** •VAR Dor. for ►βούλομαι. ⇒βούλομαι.

**δήλος** [adj.] 'clear' (Od.; ἔκδηλος E 2). <IE? *\*deih<sub>2</sub>-* 'shine'>

•VAR Besides δέλος 'visible' (K 466).

•DER Denominative δηλώω 'make clear' (IA) with δήλωσις, δήλωμα (Att., etc.), δηλωτικός (Hp.). Often with prefix: ἀρί-δηλος (with, through inverted writing [cf. ζα- = δα-], ἀρί-ζηλος), ἔκ-, ἔν-, ἐπί-, κατά-δηλος, etc. with ἐκδηλώω, etc. See Strömberg 1946 (index). δεφαλῶσαι (BCH 1988, 283f., Mantinea IV<sup>a</sup>) has hypercorrect φ (RPh. 71 [1997] 156).

•ETYM The glosses δίαλον· φανερόν and διάλας· τὰς δήλας καὶ φανεράς H., dialectal for δεα-, show that δήλος continues *\*δέαλος* < *\*deih<sub>2</sub>-(e)lo-*, cognate with ►δέατο < *\*deih<sub>2</sub>-(e)-to*. This also fits ἔκδηλος in E 2 (Bechtel 1914: 98). Differently, Schulze 1892: 244 A. 2 and Chantraine 1933: 242. See also ►δέελος and ►εὐδείελος.

**Δημήτηρ** [f.] the Greek mother goddess (Il.). See further Schwyzler: 567f., Sommer 1948: 147. <?>

•VAR Gen. -τερος and -τρος.

•DIAL Though one might expect the name in Mycenaean, it happens not to have been found so far. Δαμάτηρ (Dor., etc.), also Δωμάτηρ, Δαμμάτερι (Thess.).

•DER Δημήτριος 'belonging to Δ.' (A.), also as a PN; thence the month name Δημητριών (Attica); Δημητρία [pl.] 'festival for Demeter' (Samos [IV<sup>a</sup>], after Ἀσκληπεία, etc.), Δημήτρια [pl.] also 'festival for Demetrius'; Δημητριασταί name of the worshippers of Demeter (Ephesus), cf. Ἀπολλωνιασταί, etc.; Δημητριακός 'belonging to Demeter or Demetrius' (D. S.); Δημήτριοι [pl.] name of the dead (Plu.). Denominative δαματρίειν· τὸ συνάγειν τὸν Δημητριακὸν καρπὸν. Κύπριοι 'to collect the harvest belonging to Δ.' (H.). Short form Δηώ (*h. Cer.*, etc.), whence Δηῶς and Δηῶνη 'daughter of Δ.'.

•ETYM Taken as "Mother Earth" (Kretschmer *Wien. Stud.* 24 (1902): 523ff., Kretschmer *Glotta* 17 (1929): 240), and consisting of δᾱ, assumed to be a Pre-Greek word for 'Earth', and ►μήτηρ. However, there is no indication that ►δᾱ means 'earth', although it has also been assumed in the name of Poseidon. Derivation from *\*Δασ-μάτηρ* < IE *\*d<sub>1</sub>ns-*, a supposed genitive of *\*dem-* 'house' (cf. ►δεσπότης) by Ehrlich 1912: 62ff., should be rejected.

Pisani *IF* 53 (1935): 28ff. and Georgiev 1937: 9ff., 20ff. both consider the word to be Illyrian (like Δαμία, Δμία, etc.) and compare Alb. *dhe* 'earth' (see ►χθών); rejected by Kretschmer *Glotta* 27 (1939): 31.

Cf. Messap. *damatura*, probably name of a goddess (Krahe 1955: 82); the Messapian word must be an adaptation of the Greek name; cf. Δειπάτυρος s.v. ►Ζεύς.

Heubeck 1961: 75-8 starts from 'Phrygian' Γδαν-μανα/ Γδανμαα, and sees in the first element a cognate of Gr. χθών; he suggests that the form Δωμάτηρ goes back on

*\*d<sup>h</sup>gh<sup>h</sup>ōn-*. However, his further connection with his Minoan-Minyan hypothesis (which would be a separate IE language) is unconvincing.

**δημιουργός** [m.] 'handicraftsman' (Att.). On the mg. Bader 1965. Originally a creator, in the Dorian world it designated a magistrate. See further Palmer *TPS* 1954: 18-53.

<IE? *\*deh<sub>2</sub>-mo-* 'people'>

•VAR δημοεργός (Od., Hdt.).

•DIAL δημιουργός (Ion.), δαμοργός (Dor., NWGr., Arc., Boeot.), δαμωργός (Astypal.), δαμεργός (Astypal., Nisyr.) name of an official.

•DER δημιουργίς, δημιουργιον, δημιουργία, δημιουργικός, δημιουργεῖον; δημιουργέω with δημιουργήμα.

•ETYM From *\*δημιο-φεργός*, in turn from δήμια ἔργα with verbal reinterpretation of the second member after the types ψυχο-πομπός; partly from -φοργός. Further, see ►δήμος.

**δήμος** [m.] 'land, territory' (as opposed to the town), 'people' (Il.); in Athens also a part of the phylai, a deme. <IE *\*deh<sub>2</sub>-mo-* 'people'>

•DIAL Dor. δᾱμός.

•COMP Numerous compounds, e.g. δημοκρατία 'government of the people' (IA), after ὀλιγαρχία, μοναρχία (δημαρχία = 'the office of δήμαρχος'); further see Debrunner 1947: 11ff.

•DER Doric forms are not mentioned separately:

Substantives: δημίδιον, diminutive δημακίδιον (Ar.); δημότης, Dor. also δαμέτας (Carpathos) 'man of the people' (IA, Dor.) with two normal adjectives: δημόσιος 'belonging to the people, state, public' (IA) with δημοσιεύω intr. 'serve the state', also trans. 'make public' and δημοσιώω 'confiscate, make public' with δημοσιώσις. δημοτικός 'belonging to the people, useful for the people, democratic'; on the difference between δημόσιος and δημοτικός Chantraine 1933: 392; fem. δημότις; denominative δημοτεύομαι 'be δημότις, belong to a demos' (Att.).

Adjectives: δήμιος 'belonging to the people, public' (Od.), ὁ δήμιος (euphemistic) 'executioner' (Att., Benveniste *Sprache* 1 (1949): 121), δημόδης 'according to the people' (Pl.), δημόσυνος epithet of Artemis (Athens IV-III<sup>a</sup>), δημότερος 'belonging to the people' (Call.; after ἀγρότερος).

Denominative δημεύω [v.] 'to make public, confiscate' (Att.) with δήμευσις and δημεῖαι· αἱ τῶν δέμων συστάσεις 'meetings of the people' (H.); δημόομαι 'sing or explain publicly' (Pi.) with δαμώματα· τὰ δημοσίᾳ ᾄδόμενα 'which is sung publicly' (Ar. *Pax* 797); δημίζω 'act as friend of the people' (Ar. V. 699). Adverb δημόθεν 'from the people, on communal costs' (Od.).

•ETYM A morphological match is offered by Celtic: OIr. *dám* 'followers, crowd', OW *dauu* 'clens', W *daw(f)* 'son-in-law', OCo. *dof* 'gener'; but since these are *ā*-stems, PIE *\*deh<sub>2</sub>mos* was perhaps originally feminine (Pedersen 1938: 52). If the word is an *m*-derivative of the verb 'divide' (see ►δαίνομαι), which requires the analysis *\*deh<sub>2</sub>-mo-*, it must originally have meant 'part'. On ►δημιουργός, see s.v.

**δημός** [m.] 'fat of animals and men' (Il.). <?>

•DER No derivatives or compounds (probably because of the identity with δήμος).

•ETYM The word has been compared with Alb. *dhjamë* 'fat, pork, tallow', but Demiraj 1997: 161 thinks it may be non-IE. It hardly means just 'fluidity, wetness' (as per Frisk s.v.), so the connection with the IIr. word for 'fluid', e.g. Skt. *dā-nu-* 'drip, dew', Av. *dā-nu-* 'river, stream', Oss. *don* 'water, river', is not convincing either.

**δῆν** [adv.] 'long', also 'far' (Il.). <IE \**dueh<sub>2</sub>-m* 'long'>

•DIAL Dor. δάν, δοάν (see below).

•DER διηναιός, Dor. δάν- 'living, lasting long' (Il.) with διηναιότης (Democr.) and Διηναιών month name (Erythrai) (not containing an element \*αιφος to αίων).

•ETYM Like ▶πλήν, Dor. πλάν prop. \*'near', δῆν is the old accus. of a root noun \*δῆ-, also seen in ▶διηρός, ▶διηθά. The notation δοάν (Alcm. 135) just renders δῆν. The form δαόν- πολυχρόνιον 'lasting a long time' (H.) can be \*δῆ-ιόν, perhaps also \*δαφόν, and belonging directly to OCS *dav-ъnъ* 'old' (Latte gives δα<ναι>όν). For further cognates, see ▶διηρός.

**δῆνεα** [n.pl.] 'counsels, plans' (Il.). <IE? \**densos-* 'counsel, skill'>

•VAR δῆνος (H.).

•COMP Several compounds, mostly only known from lexicographers: ἀδηνής- ἄκακος 'guileless' H., EM (from where Semon. 7, 53 for traditional ἀληνής), ἀδηνέως (Chios, H.), ἀδανές- ἀπρονοήτον 'unpremeditated', ἀδινείη- ἀπειρία 'lack of skill', πολυδιηνέα- πολύβουλον 'of many counsels' (H.).

•ETYM Brugmann *Sächs. Ber.* 49 (1897): 187 (also Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 518) assumed \*δάνσεα, with analogical α from ▶δαῖναι, ▶δαῖφρων for older \*δένσεα, \*δένσος = Skt. *dāmsas-* [n.] 'wonderful craft', Av. *danhah-* [n.] 'dexterity', IE \**dénsos-* beside \**dhs-* in δα-ῖναι, δα-ῖ-φρων. However, one would rather expect replacement by \*δάος; see the objections in Bechtel 1914: 99 and Lasso de la Vega *Emerita* 22 (1954): 92, who also sees semantic problems. Wackernagel KZ 29 (1888): 137 prefers connecting δῆω, which is nothing better. Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 319f. considers the word Mycenaean, with \**dens-* giving διην- (comparing τελη-(f)εντ- < \*τελεσ-φεντ-). See also R. Schmitt 1967: 161.

**δῆρις, -ιος** [f.] 'battle' (Il.; cf. Trümper 1950: 141ff.). <IE? \**der-* 'split'>

•DER Denominative διηρίομαι (Pi.), aor. διηρίσαντο (θ 76), act. διηρίσαι (Thgn.), pass. διηρινθήτην (Π 756) as if from \*διηρίνω; perhaps for διηριθήτην (Schwyzer: 761; see Chantraine 1942: 404), διηρινθῆναι (A. R.), present metrically reshaped in διηριόωντο, διηριάσθαι, etc. (Hom.; Schwyzer: 727, Chantraine 1942: 359); ptc. act. διηριώντων (Pi. N. 11, 26; for -όντων acc. to Schulze 1892: 384 A. 3), διηριόωντες (A. R. 1, 752; see Schwyzer 1950: 234, partly metrically determined). διηρίττειν- ἐρίζειν 'to contend with' (H.). Privative adjective ἀ-δῆρί-τος 'without battle' (P 42; ἀ-δῆρις AP); as a verbal adj. to διηρίομαι 'indomitable' (A. Pr. 105), 'undisputed' (Plb.).

•ETYM Formally, δῆρις seem to correspond to Skt. *-dāri-* 'splitting' (as a second member in epic), but the Skt. word is attested only rather late, which makes the comparison uncertain. See also ▶δέρω.

**διηρός** [adj.] 'lasting long' (Il.). <IE \**dueh<sub>2</sub>-* 'long'>

•VAR Dor. δᾱρός, mostly διηρόν, δᾱρόν [adv.] 'long'. On the use Björck 1950: 126, 208, 210.

•ETYM Related to δῆν, δ(φ)ᾱν, from \*δῆ-ρός. The same root occurs in Hitt. *tuṃa* [adv.] 'far', *tuṃala-* [adj.] 'far from' (Benveniste BSL 33 (1932): 142f.), OP *duvaištam*, Av. *dbōištam* 'diutissime', Arm. *tev-em* 'to hold out' (cf. Kortlandt 2003: 102: derivation of *tew*), and Skt. *dū-rá-* 'far', Lat. *dū-dum* 'for a long time', etc. Not related to Arm. *erkar* 'lasting long', according to Kortlandt 2003: 92f.

**δῆτα** ⇒ δῆ.

**δῆω** [v.] 'I shall find' (Il.); the future mg. is based on the perfective aspect of the verb (Schwyzer 1950: 265). <IE? \**des-* 'find, look after'>

•VAR Only present (except ἔδηνεν- εὔρεν H.) with future meaning.

•ETYM Remarkable lengthened grade thematic root present. It has been compared with OCS *dešp, desiti* 'find' (Pedersen IF 5 (1895): 47) and Alb. *ndesh* 'meet' (Jokl *Wien. Ak. Sb.* 168: 1: 60ff, Pok. 190). See also Vasmer 1953 s.v. *desitъ*. Narten KZ 78 (1963): 63 compared Skt. *abhi-dāsati* (the subj. aor. of *dā-* 'be hostile').

**διά** [adv., prep.] 'in two, apart, through' (Il.), as a prep. 'through' (Il.); on the mg. Schwyzer 1950: 448ff. <IE \**dis* 'apart'>

•VAR Thess. διέ, Lesb. ζά (< δῖα). Epic ▶δα-; also διαί (A.; after κατάι 'downwards', παραί 'beside', ὑπαί 'under').

•COMP Note διαπιπέρεις, διάνδιχα; διαπρό, διέκ.

•ETYM Probably from \*διη-α; related to Lat. *dis-*, OS, OE *te-*, OHG *zi-*, *ze-* (whence *zir-*, *zer-* through contamination with *ir-*, *er-*), Alb. *ç-* 'apart'. Greek has added -α after μετά, παρά, etc. Cf. ▶δίς.

**διαβήτης** [m.] 'circle' (Ar.), 'compass' (Pl., Plu.), later 'siphon' (Colum., Hero) because of the formal similarity. <GR>

•ETYM From διαβαίνειν, 'spread the legs' (see Kalbfleisch *PhW* 64 (1944); *contra* Strömberg 1944: 89). The meaning 'diabetes' is modern. See ▶βαίνω.

**διάγγαρον** [adj.] · δικάφαλον 'two-headed' (H.; alphabetically at the wrong place). <?>

•ETYM Schmidt and Latte consider this word corrupt. von Blumenthal 1930: 24 attempted to identify it as Illyrian.

**διάζομαι** ⇒ ἄττομαι.

**δαίνω** [v.] 'to make (the eyes) wet, cry' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aor. διῆναι.

•DER διαντός (Arist.), διαντικός (Arist.); δίανοις (Gal.). On ▶διερός (Hes.), see s.v.

•ETYM Unknown. See Bechtel 1914 s.v.

**δίατα** [f.] 1. 'mode of life, prescribed way of life, dwelling' (Pi., Ion., also Att.; on the mg. 'ornaments' in LXX *Del Medico ByzZ* 44, 413ff.); 2. 'arbitration' (Att.). <GR>

•DER δαιτάομαι 'feed oneself, live somewhere, be somewhere' (IA), -άω 'treat as a physician' (Hp.); 2. δαιτάω 'to distinguish, be arbitrator' (Pi., Att.). δαίτημα (mostly plur.) 'way of life' (Hp.) with διατηματώδης; δαίτησις 'way of life' (Hp.); δαιτητήρια



[pl.] 'living room' (X.); διαιτητικός 'belonging to the food' (Hp.), and 'belonging to the arbitration' (Str.); uncertain διατί[α = διαίτησις (epist. Hadr.; *Hesperia* 3, 41). διαιτητής 'arbiter' (Hdt.), διαιτατέρ (Olympia VI\*) and διαιτήσιμος 'belonging to the arbiter' (Is.; after ἐφέσιμος; cf. Arbenz 1933: 69f.); τὸ διαιτητικόν 'decision of an arbiter' (pap.). διαίτωμα (Delph. II\*) = δίατα, see Chantraine 1933: 187.

•ETYM Like ἀρτάω from \*ἀ(φ)ερτάω beside primary αἰρώ, so δι-αιτάομαι, -άω stands beside primary αἰνυμαι (see Schwyzler: 705f.); thus, it originally meant 'take out, divide', whence 'divide food, feed oneself, live' and, on the other hand, 'decide' (with reference to jurisdiction, like ▶ αἴτιος; cf. also ▶ αἴσα). δίατα is a retrograde formation from the verb. Only in the medical sense of 'treat as physician' is διαιτάω a denominative of δίατα.

**διάκονιν** [m.] · δυσκίνητον. Κρήτες 'difficult to move (Cret.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**διακόνιον** [n.] · μάζα ἢ ζωμός, καὶ ἡ κρηπίς τοῦ πλακοῦντος 'barley-cake or soup or sauce; bottom of a type of flat cake' (Pherecr. fr. 156), οἱ δὲ πέμματα ἐξαπτόμενα τῆς εἰρεσιώνης 'sweetmeats fastened on a wreath' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**διακόνις** [f.]? · ἐπὶ ὑφῆς ἱματίου ἀνωμάλου, ὃ φαμεν κονίζειν, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ μὴ πυκνός 'a coarsely-woven tunic; also a man who is not shrewd' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Latte *Mnem.* 3:10 (1942): 82 recalls the gloss κεκονισμένος· συνεπλεγμένος from a sch. on Theoc. 1, 30, but this remains unclear.

**διάκονος** [m.] 'servant, diaconus' (IA, etc.). <IE \*ken- 'hasten'>

•VAR Ion. διήκονος; secondary διάκων (pap.).

•DIAL Myc. perhaps *ka-si-ko-no* if /kasi-konos/ 'worker, companion'.

•DER Fem. διακόνισσα (late; see Chantraine 1933: 110). διακονία 'service' (Att.), διακονικός (Att.). διακονέω (διη-) 'to serve, be servant' (IA) together with διακόνημα 'service' (Pl.), διακόνις 'service' (Pl.), διακονητικός (Alex. Aphr.).

•ETYM If the formation is to be compared with that of ▶ ἀμφίπολος, διάκονος derives from a verb lost otherwise, or else it could be deverbal derivation of διακονέω, which would be an iterative-intensive deverbative like ▶ ἐγκονέω 'hurry'. δια- may have meant 'from all sides, completely'; its long vowel might have to be explained from lengthening in compounds, were it not that according to Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 320 only the first vowel of the second member can be lengthened. On the meaning, see Lidén 1906: 52. Cf. also ▶ διηλεκής.

**διακόσιοι** [num.] 'two hundred' (collective τὴν διακοσίαν ἵππων 'two hundred horse' Th. 1, 62). <IE \*dui-dkmt- 'two hundred'>

•VAR Ion. διηκόσιοι, Dor., etc. διακάτιοι.

•DER διακοσιοστός 'the twohundredth' (D. H.), ἡ διακοσιοστή name of a half percent tax in Ptolemaic Egypt (pap.); διακοσιάκις (Herod. Med.); διακοσιάπρωτοι name of the highest class of taxpayers (Aphrodisias; after δεκά-πρωτοι); διακοσιοντά-χους 'twohundredfold' (Str.; after ἑκατοντά-χους, etc.), cf. διακοσιοντάκις (Alex. Aphr.).

•ETYM The original form of the second member is -κάτιοι, which became -κόσιοι with regular assibilation τ > σ and analogical -ο- after -κοντα, -κοστός; διᾶ-, διη- is for δι- (see δῖς) after τριᾶ-, τριη-κόσιοι, etc. See ▶ εἴκοσι, ▶ ἑκατόν.

**διακουράζεσθαι** [v.] · ἀτενὲς βλέπειν 'to behold intently'. διὰ τὸ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κόρας λέγεσθαι 'because the eyes were called κ.' (Suid., EM 267,24). <GR>

•ETYM Unknown.

**διάκτορος** [adj.] epithet of Hermes (Hom.); by later poets, who understood it as 'messenger', also used for Iris, Athena, the Eagle of Zeus, etc. (Call.); finally also as adjective (διάκτορα ... ἔγχεα 'swords' Nonn.). Secondary διάκτωρ (AP, H.; cf. διάκων = διάκονος). <?>

•ETYM The meaning was lost at an early date; it was used as 'διάκονος' by A. Pr. 941, and later simply interpreted as 'messenger': ἀπὸ τοῦ διάγειν τὰς ἀγγελίας 'because they carry over messages' (H.). The gloss continues, however: ἢ οἷον διατόρως καὶ σαφῶς διαλεγόμενος 'or like: said loudly and clearly'. Bechtel 1914 relates it as διάκτορος to κτέρας: "one who disposes of treasure" (?); Östergaard *Herm.* 37 (1902): 333ff. takes it as god of death, based on connection with κτέρες· νεκροί 'the dead' (H.), but this is probably a guess by grammarians to explain κτέρας as 'honors of the dead' (Solmsen *IF* 3 (1894): 98). Thieme 1952: 52f. objects to these explanations, and analyzes \*δια-ακτ-τορος as "transmitting to the other side [of Persephoneia]"; Frisk deems this "mehr kühn als überzeugend". Janko *Glotta* 56 (1978): 192-195 follows Hesychius in assuming that the form was thematicized secondarily and that it meant ἡγεμῶν 'leader'.

**διαμευστάς** [acc.pl.] · ἀλαζόνας 'charlatans, cheats'; διαμευτής· ψεύστης, ἀπατεῶν 'liar, cheat' (H.). <GR?>

•ETYM From \*δι-αμεύομαι; see ▶ ἀμεύσασθαι.

**διαμμοιρηδά** →μοῖρα.

**διαμπάξ** [adv.] 'right through, through and through' (trag., X.). <GR>

•ETYM From διά, ἀνά and -πάξ in ἅπαξ; perhaps modelled after ▶ διαμπερές.

**διαμπερές** [adv.] 'through and through, right through', local and temporal (Il.). <GR>

•VAR Also with tmesis: διὰ δ'ἀμπερές (Schwyzer 1950: 426).

•DER διαμπερής [adj.] 'piercing' (Hp.); διαμπερέως (Hp.), from there ἀμπερέως· διαμπάξ 'right through' (H.).

•ETYM From διά and ἀμπείρω; cf. ἀμπείραντες 'having pierced' B 426 (διαμπείρω [Q. S.] is a secondary formation after διαπείρω). The root vowel is the same as in διαπεράω, περόνη, etc., as well as in the adj. in -ής (Schwyzer: 513). The combination δι(ά)-ἀνά, or rather -ἀΝ-, occurs also in διάνδιχα (Hom.); see ▶ δίχα. Cf. Strömberg 1946: 140f. and Luther 1935: 154f. See also synonymous ▶ διαμπάξ (A.).

**διαπρύσιον** [adv.] 'going through, piercing', especially of sounds, 'far stretching' (Hom.). <IE? \*δια-πρ-υ-τ-?>

•VAR Also -ίως [adv.] (D. S.).



•ETYM διαπρύσιος arose from διαπρό 'through and through', to which \*-tyo- was added (see Forssman KZ 79 (1965): 14<sup>4</sup>). For the unclear u-vocalism, Aeolic origin has been proposed (Chantraine 1942: 25; for other suggestions, cf. Bechtel 1914 s.v.; Schwyzler 1950: 505; Schwyzler KZ 63 (1936): 60').

διάραμα = ἐξερᾶω.

διαττάω [v.] 'to sieve' (Att.). <IE \*k<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>2</sub>- 'sieve'>

•VAR Perf. ptc. pass. διεττιμένους (διεττιμένος Thphr. as if from δι-αττάω); as a simplex σώσι [3pl.pres.] (Hdt. 1, 200), ἐττιμένος (Pherecr., Att. inscr.), ἐσσημένος (Delos III<sup>a</sup>, with Ionic -σσ-). A present in -θ- is ▶ σήθω.

•COMP ἄλευρό-ττησις 'flour-sieve' (Poll.), 'sieved flour' (Suid.).

•DER Verbal noun διάττησις (Plu.), also (deverbal) διάττος; ἡ ἄλευρότ<τ>ησις, τὸ κόσκινον 'flour-sieve, sieve' (H.).

•ETYM Formerly, \*(δια-)τράϊω was posited, and the word implausibly compared with Skt. *titai-* 'to sieve'. Puhvel has connected Hittite *kināe-*<sup>zi</sup> 'to assort', which fits excellently both formally and semantically (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. for a critical note, though). We have to reconstruct a root \*k<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>2</sub>- 'to sieve' (thus LIV<sup>2</sup>), from which Greek probably formed a *yod*-present (see also most recently RPh. 72 (1998) 124).

δίβολος [adj.] 'with double point', of a halbert or a cloth. <GR>

•DER διβολία 'halbert' (Ar.), 'cloth' (Plu.); διβολέω 'harrow' (pap.).

•ETYM DELG compares βάλλω.

δίβος [m.] name of a square on the draughtboard (AP 9, 482). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM Loan from Lat. *dīvus*; however, the ι is short.

διδάσκω [v.] 'to teach, instruct' (Od.). <IE \*d(e)ns- 'teach'>

•VAR Aor. διδάξαι (like ἀλύσκω : ἀλύξαι), perf. med. δεδιδάχθαι; post-Hom. διδασκῆσαι (Hes.), διδάξω (A.), δεδίδαχα (Pl.).

•DER διδάσκαλος [m.] ([f.]) 'teacher' (IA, *h. Merc.*) with διδασκαλία 'lesson, education' (Pi.), διδασκάλιον 'knowledge' (Hdt.), late in plur. 'tuition fee', διδασκαλικός 'ptng. to the teacher', διδασκαλεῖον 'school' (IA). διδαχή 'education' (IA), διδάξις 'id.' (E.), διδαγμα 'id.' (IA), for which cf. τaráξαι: ταραχή, τάραξις, τάραγμα; διδαγμοσύνη 'id.' (astrol.). διδακτρα [pl.] 'teacher's fee' (Theoc.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 332); διδακτήριον 'proof' (Hp.); διδακτικός 'suitable for teaching' (Ph., NT).

•ETYM Reduplicated σκ-present of ▶ δαῖναι with factitive meaning < \*dah-ḥnai. Since the root was obscured, the reduplication (and partly also the σκ-suffix) spread to the non-presentic forms. See Debrunner 1937: 251ff.

δίδημι ⇒ δέω 1.

διδράσκω [v.] 'to run away' (ἀποδράς Od.; but see Ἄδρηστος below). <IE \*dreh<sub>2</sub>- 'run'>

•VAR Aor. ἀπ-έδρᾶν, perf. ἀποδέδρακα. Also ἐκ-διδράσκω; the simplex is hardly attested, see DELG.

•DER ἀπόδρᾶσις 'escape' (Hdt.), δρᾶσιμός 'flight' (Hdt.), ἄδρᾶστος 'who does not run away' (Hdt.), also as a PN Ἄδρηστος, -δραστος (Il.); fem. Ἀδράστεια, name of Nemesis: 'from whom one cannot flee' (A.); also Ἀδρηστίνη. Lengthened verbal form δρασκάζω = ἀποδιδράσκω (Lex apud Lys. 10, 17; Zen.), ἀποδρασκάζω (Tz.); δράσκασις (H.).

δρᾶπέτης [m.] 'runaway (slave)' (Hdt.), with unclear -π- (cf. DELG), whence several derivatives like δραπετεύω [v.] 'to run away'. Note δρᾶψ (Ar. fr. 768).

•ETYM The athematic root aorist ἔ-δρᾶ-ν corresponds morphologically to Skt. *drāntu* [3pl.impv.] 'run', from a root \*dr-eh<sub>2</sub>- beside \*dr-em-, seen in ▶ δραμεῖν, ▶ δρόμος. See ▶ ἀποδιδράσκω.

δίδυμος [adj.] 'double', substantivized plur. 'twins' (Il.), 'testicles' (LXX). <IE \*dui-du->

•DIAL Myc. PN *Di-du-mo* /Didumōi/.

•DER διδυμάωνε [du.], -οσιν [dat.pl.] 'twins' (Hom.), as an adj. in Nonn., both plur. and sing., = δίδυμος; built on δίδυμος after ὁπάων (Chantraine 1933: 163, Schwyzler: 521); διδύμιος = δίδυμος (*Sammelb.* 1068); medical terms διδύμια, διδυμαῖα [pl.] 'testicles, etc.' (Hp.); διδυμωτός 'forked' (Cyran.); Διδυμών month name in Alexandria (Ptol.). διδυμότης 'duality' (Pl.). Denominative διδυμεύω 'to bear twins' (LXX). διδυμᾶ-τόκος (-ῆ-) 'bearing twins' (Theoc.) with compositional (metrical) lengthening for διδυμο-τόκος (Arist.); from the former διδυμη-τοκέω (-ο-).

•ETYM Reduplication from δύο with a suffix -μο- (ἔτυμος); cf. ἀμφί-δυμιος 'double' (δ 847). Analogical formations like τρί-δυμος (D. H.) show that δίδυμος was connected with δίς 'twice', at least at a later date. Cf. also Gonda 1953: 48.

δίδωμι [v.] 'to give' (Il.). <IE \*deh<sub>3</sub>- 'give'>

•VAR Fut. δώσω (διδώσω v 358, ω 314), aor. ἔδωκα, δοῦναι (see below), pass. δοθῆναι, perf. δέδωκα, δέδομαι. Cyp. opt. δώκοι from δώκω (from the aor.).

•DIAL Myc. *di-do-si* /didonsi/ 'they give', *di-do-to* /didontoi/ [3pl.ind.pass.], *do-se* /dōsei/ 'he will give', *jo-do-so-si* /jō-dosonsi/, *o-do-ke* /hō-dōke/ [ind.aor.], *a-pu-do-ke* /apu-dōke/, *a-pe-do-ke* /ap-edōke/, *de-do-me-na* /dedomena/ [perf.ptc.pass.]; *a-pu-do-si* /apu-dosis/, *do-so-mo* /dosmos/, *do-so-mi-jo* /dosmios/ 'consisting of contributions', *do-ra* /dōra/ 'gifts'; PN *te-o-do-ra* /t<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>odōra/.

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀνα-, ἀντι-, ἀπο-, δια-, etc. As a first member δωσι- in Δωσί-θεος, etc.; cf. Knecht 1946: 11; see also below.

•DER δῶς [f.] 'gift' (Hes. *Op.* 356 < δῶ-ς or \*δῶτ-ς, see below); (ἀν-ά-, ἀντί-, ἀπό-, etc.) δόσις 'gift' (Il.) with δοσίδιον (inscr.) and δόσιμος, often from compounds with ἐπι-, ἐν-, παρα-; δῶτις, uncertain; acc. to Fraenkel 1910: 105 twice in the Amphiktyon-law of 380<sup>a</sup> for λωτις; also δῶτις: δῶς, φερνή 'gift, dowry' (H.), probably a mistake, see Latte; δωτίνη, -ᾶ, 'gift, present, rent' (Hom., also Argolis; but cf. Leumann 1950: 279f.), with δωτινάζω 'collect gifts' (Hdt. 2, 180); ἀπυ-δοσμός 'selling' with ἀπυδόσιμος (Arc.); -δομα in ἀπό-, διά-, πρό-δομα, etc.; cf. Wilhelm *Glotta* 14 (1925): 70f.; on ▶ δῶρον see s.v. Further (ἐκ-, ἐπι-, etc.) δοτήρ 'giver' (Il.), fem. δότεира (Hes.); δῶτωρ 'id.' (Od.); on δοτήρ: δῶτωρ see Benveniste 1948: 46 and 49; δωτήρ 'id.' (θεοὶ δωτήρες ἐάων θ 325, etc.; see below); δότης = δοτήρ (LXX); first

only in compounds, e.g. προδότης, fem. -τις 'traitor' (IA) with προδοσία 'treason' (IA); δώτης (Hes. *Op.* 355, beside ἀ-δώτης; cf. δῶς above and Fraenkel 1910: 118, Frisk 1948: 20), ἐπιδώτης epithet of Zeus in Mantinea and other gods (Paus.) with Ἐπιδώτειον name of a temple (Epidauros); Δωτώ name of a Nereid (Il., Hes.; see below). δοτικός, often prefixed with ἐπι-, μετα-, etc. (Arist.). Desiderative deverbative (παρα-, ἐν-, etc.) δωσείω (Th.), iterative preterite δόσκον (epic).

•ETYM δίδωμι goes back to the widespread PIE root *\*deh<sub>3</sub>-/dh<sub>3</sub>-*. Except for the reduplication vocalism, δίδω-μι corresponds to Skt. *dādāti*, Av. *dadāiti*; i-reduplication is also seen in Italic, e.g. Osc. *didest* 'he will give', Vest. *didet* 'dat', and perhaps also in Lat. *reddō*, if < *\*re-di-dō*. Other correspondences are with the medial root aorists *ἔδοτο*, Skt. *ādita*, Venet. *zo-to* < *\*dh<sub>3</sub>-to*; and with the participles (-)δοτός, Lat. *dātus*, Skt. *-dāta-*, Av. *dāta-* (but zero grade in Skt. *-tta-* < *\*dh<sub>3</sub>-to-*; as a simplex it has new *dattā-*). The active aorist *ἔ-δω-κ-α* (with -κ- after *ἔθηκα*, *ἦκα*, acc. to Schwyzler: 741) replaces the root aorist *\*ἔ-δω-ν* (cf. *ἔ-στη-ν*), seen in Skt. *á-dā-t*, Arm. *et* 'he gave' < *\*h<sub>1</sub>é-dō-t*. Cyp. *δοφεναι* is often equated with Skt. *dāvāne* [inf.] 'to give' (see Benveniste 1935: 129); however, an element *\*u* is also found in Cyp. opt. *δυφάνοι*, Lat. *duim* 'dem', Lith. *dovanà* 'gift', *dāvē* 'he gave', and other forms (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*deh<sub>3</sub>-u-*). Hom. Att. *δοῦναι* is from *\*δο-έναι*. Among the nouns, compare δώτωρ = Skt. *dātār-*, with zero grade Lat. *dātor*; δοτήρ: Skt. *dātār-*; δόσις = Lat. *dāti-ō*; δῶς, if < *\*δῶτ-ς* = Lat. *dōs*, *-tis* (if the latter is from IE *\*deh<sub>3</sub>-t-* and not *\*deh<sub>3</sub>-ti-*). As a first member, Δωσι- = Skt. *dāti-vāra-* 'who loves giving, liberal'.

**δίεμαι** [v.] trans. 'to hunt, pursue' in *δίεσθαι* (M 276, etc.), intrans. 'to run' in *διένται* (Ψ 475) and *διεσθαι* (M 304). <?>

•VAR Subj. *δίωμαι*, *δίηται*, *διώνται* (O 681, etc.), opt. *δίοιτο* (ρ 317); act. *ἐνδίεσαν* (see DELG). Active preterite forms *δίον* 'I fled' (X 251; on *διε* see Chantraine 1942: 388), *ἐνδίεσαν* 'they pursued' (Σ 584); note *περὶ γὰρ διε* (E 566, etc.) 'he was afraid', see below. Rare forms in A.: *διομαι* with inf. 'I feared' (*Pers.* 700f. [lyr.] bis), *διόμενος* 'driven away' (*Supp.* 819, *Eu.* 357 and 385 [lyr.]); in Gortyn *ἐδδίηται* (< *ἔσδ-* = *ἐκδ-*), *ἐπιδιέσθαι*, *-διόμενος* 'to chase away, pursue' (*SGDI* 4997-8). See on ► *διώκω*.

•ETYM *διε* 'was afraid' rather belongs to *δέδοικα*, ► *δεῖδω*. Since the only active forms remaining are the *hapax legomena* *δίον* and *ἐνδίεσαν*, these may be secondary after *ἔνται*, *ἔσαν*; moreover, a PIE *\*dih<sub>1</sub>-* could hardly have become *διε-*, which also suggests that these two forms are analogical. Consequently, the verb was thematic. Cf. further ► *διερός* 'quick'. The appurtenance of Skt. *dīyati* 'fly' is not certain. From other languages have been compared OIr. *dian* 'quick' and Latv. *diēt* 'to dance' (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*deih<sub>1</sub>-* 'dahinjagen'). See ► *δίνος*, ► *δίζηναι*, ► *ζιγτέω*.

**διεράω** [v.] 'to filter through' (Plu.). <?>

•DER *διέραμα* 'funnel, strainer' (Plu.); in the papyri often used as a technical term of Egyptian transport, mg. not quite clear and probably influenced by *διαίρειν* 'transport', cf. the notation *διαίρεμα*; thence *διεραματίτης* name of an official of transportation. Note *διάραμα* next to *διεράν*; thence *διαραματία* name of a liturgy.

•ETYM Beside *διέραμα*, *διέρασις* (pap.), also *διαίρασις*. See Frisk 1931: 28ff.; also, Redard 1949: 242, who adduces *διάρημα* = *λέμβος* 'kind of ship' (Procop.). See ► *ἀπεράω* and ► *ἐξεράω*.

**διερός** in Hom. a qualification of *άνήρ* 'man' (ζ 201 *άνήρ διερός βροτός*), and of *πούς* 'foot' (ι 43); in Diog. Laert. (*AP* 7, 123) epithet of *φλόξ* 'flame, fire'. In Anaxag. 4, 12 the opposite of *ξηρός* 'humid' (A.). <?>

•ETYM The meaning was unknown even in antiquity, as is clear from the incompatible translations in H.: *διερός*· *λαμπρός*, *ζών*, *περιφανής* 'brilliant, alive, apparent'. Connection with *δίεμαι* is only possible if the word is from *\*dih<sub>1</sub>-ero-*. Schulze (see Bechtel 1914 s.v.) reads ζ 201 as *\*δφιερός* 'to be feared', related to ► *δειδω*; semantically, this is not convincing (cf. DELG). The word has also been connected with *διαίνω* (Frisk); this is also not convincing (as it is not from an *r/n-* stem).

**δίζα** [f.]· *αἴζ*. *Λάκωνες* 'goat (Lacon.)' (H.). <LW? Illyr.►

•ETYM The word has been compared with *δίζα* < *\*διγ-ια*, with Arm. *tik* 'sack' from IE *\*dige<sub>h</sub>₂-*, related to OHG *ziga* 'goat'. Schmitt-Brandt *Kratylos* 13 (1968): 3 compared Alb. *dhi* 'goat' (rejected by Demiraj 1997). Latte thought the word was Illyrian. Perpillou *BSL* 67 (1972): 115-122 supposes that the word was originally *\*αἴζα*, perhaps seen in Myc. *a<sub>3</sub>-za* (see now DELG *Supp.*).

**δίζημαι** [v.] 'to search, seek out, desire' (Il.). <IE *\*ieh<sub>2</sub>-* 'pursue'►

•VAR *διζησόμεθ'* (π 239; subj. aor., cf. Chantraine 1942: 455), fut. *διζήσεαι* (Parm. 8, 6), aor. *ἐδιζήσαμεν* (Heraclit. 101); new present *δίζομαι* (Herod.; see Schwyzler: 689).

•DIAL Att. has *ζητέω*.

•DER *δίζησις* (Parm.), cf. Porzig 1942: 197.

•ETYM It was thought that *δίζημαι* goes back to *\*δι-διᾶ-μαι*, reflecting a verbal stem further occurring in ► *ζήλος* and ► *ζητέω*. However, García Ramón (see ► *Ζιγήρ*) has shown that the basic root is *\*ieh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to pursue, avenge, etc.'.

**δίζω** = *δίζ*.

**διηγανές** = *γάνυμαι*.

**διηνεκής** [adj.] 'uninterrupted, definite, exact' (Il.; on the mg. Luther 1935: 64f.). <GR►

•VAR Artificially Attic (Dorianized) *διάνεκής* (Schwyzler: 190), *-έως*.

•ETYM From *δι(α)-ενεκ-ής* with compositional lengthening (cf. *ποδ-ηνεκής*) to *ἐνεγκεῖν*, *ἐνεχ-θῆναι*; see Schwyzler: 513. The simplex *ήνεκής* (Emp.) arose by decomposition. See also *δουρηνεκής* (s.v. ► *δόρυ*). On the long -ιη-, see Bonfante *Riv. fil. class.* 97 (1969): 189.

**διητανές** [adj.]· *λιτόν*, *διατεταμένον* 'simple, stretched (out)' (H.). <GR►

•ETYM From *διά* and *τείνω*, *τανύω* with lengthening of the α (cf. *διηνεκής*).

**δίθυραμβος** [m.] name of a song at the festival for Dionysus (Archil.), also said of the god (E. *Ba.* 526 [lyr.]). <PG►

•VAR *διθυραμπος* on a vase (SEG XVI (1959) no. 40).

•DER διθυραμβώδης (Ph.), -ικός (Arist.), -ιος month name (Gonni), διθυραμβέω 'to sing dithyrambs' (Hell.).

•ETYM Like ἱαμβος and θρίαμβος, διθύραμβος is Pre-Greek (thus also Frisk and DELG). See also Kretschmer *Glotta* 27 (1939): 219f., *contra* Brandenstein *IF* 54 (1936): 34ff., who connects the word with Skt. *āṅga-* 'member'.

**διipeτής** [adj.] 'fallen from heaven', then 'heavenly' (h. *Ven.* 4, οἰωνοί 'birds', perhaps from the root \**peth<sub>2</sub>*- 'fly'), 'light, clear' (Emp.); see Leumann 1950: 311. <GR>

•VAR Hom. only in διipeτέος ποταμοῖο (verse end).

•ETYM The older form for διipeτής may have been διipeτής (as also suggested by ancient sources such as sch. Od. 4, 477), like Διειτρέφης (inscr.) after Διφεί-φιλος (epic διύφιλος), where the dative was correct. See Bechtel 1914 s.v. On the verbal second member, cf. Fraenkel 1910: 63, Risch 1937: 82. See also Schmitt 1968: 221f.

**δικασπóλος** [m.] 'judge' (Il.). <GR>

•DER Rare and late δικασπολία and δικασπολέω.

•ETYM Formation like ►αἰπόλος, ►βουκόλος, but here with a remarkable acc.pl. as the first member. δικασκόπος (Mytilene, Cyme, IV-III<sup>a</sup>) is formed after δικασπóλος. There is no relationship with Go. *spillōn* 'to proclaim', etc. (pace e.g. Lagercrantz 1938: 59). See ►δίκη.

**δikeiv** [v.] 'to throw' (Pi.) also 'to aim (on high)' (E. *HF* 498) with ἄνδικε· ἀνάρριπον 'throw!', ἀνδικά· ὁ βόλος 'throw, cast', ἀνδίκτης· τὸ ἀναριπτόμενον τῆς μυάγρας ξύλον 'the sprung holding bar of a mousetrap' (Call.; H.). <PG>

•DER ►δίκτυον and ►δίσκος.

•ETYM Connection with ►δείκνυμι is defended by Brugmann *IF* 39 (1917-1921): 144ff. and Gonda 1929: 216ff., but this is semantically problematic. See under ►δίκτυον and ►δίσκος. Fur.: 297 compares λιγάξαι· ῥῖψαι, βαλεῖν. Κρήτες 'throw (Cret.)' (H.), which points to a Pre-Greek word. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 2. \**deik-* 'werfen' connects the word with Khot. *diśś-* 'werfen'.

**δίκελλᾶ** [f.] a two-pronged fork (trag., Delos III<sup>a</sup>). <PG>

•DER δίκελλίτης (Luc.).

•ETYM A technical term without established etymology. A connection with μάκελλα, μακέλη (Il.) requires an analysis as δι- and μά-κελλα, which is possible only for δί-κελλα: a prefix μα- (allegedly from IE \**sem-*) does not exist. The variation -ελλα/-ελη, as displayed by μάκελλα, μακέλη, is best explained from Pre-Greek \**-alʷa* vel sim. Therefore, μάκελλα, μακέλη is probably of Pre-Greek origin, and we can reasonably assume the same for δίκελλα.

**δίκη** [f.] 'custom, right, judgement, justice, lawsuit, trial, punishment' (Il.). <IE \**deik-* 'show'>

•COMP ►δικασπóλος 'judge' with an acc. pl.

•DER Diminutive δικίδιον (Ar.; see Fournier 1946: 116). δίκαιος 'just, lawful' (Il.); with δικαιοτής 'justice' (X.) and δικαιοσύνη 'id.' (IA; see Porzig 1942: 225), secondary δικαιοσύνης (of Zeus); denominative δικαιοώ 'consider to be right, claim, sentence' (IA) with δικαίωμα 'act of right' and δικαίωσις 'lawsuit, punishment'; also

δικαιωτήριο 'place of punishment' (Pl. *Phdr.* 249a; like δεσμοτήριο, etc.) and δικαιοτής 'judge' (Plu.). δικανικός 'belonging to trials', often depreciative (Att.); the base form only in H.: δικανούς· τοὺς περὶ τὰς δίκας διατρίβοντας 'those who occupy themselves with justice' (H.). The long ā (Ar. *Pax* 534) is from νεᾱνικός acc. to Chantraine *Anales de filología clásica* 6 (1952): 45ff.; see also Björck 1950: 256f., 279f. δικαῖικός 'rightly' (M. Ant.). Denominative δικάζω 'to judge', med. 'to go to law' (Il.; διαδικάζω Att.); from it δικαστής 'judge' (IA) with δικαστικός 'belonging to a judge/justice' (Pl.) and δικαστεία 'office of δικαστής' (inscr.); rare δικαστήρ 'id.' (Locr., Pamph., etc.), fem. δικάστρια (Luc.), with δικαστήριο 'law court' (IA) with the diminutive δικαστηρίδιον (Ar.) and δικαστηριακός (Phld.); from δικάζω also δικαστής (Epigr. Samos; Fraenkel 1910: 32<sup>2</sup>), δικασμός (Ph.), δικασία (Aq.; διαδικασία Att.), διαδίκασμα (Lys.), δίκασις (sch.). Privative compound ἄδικος 'unjust' with ἀδικία and ἀδικέω, whence ἀδίκημα (all IA). On the hypostasis ἀδικίου 'because of injustice' see Wackernagel 1920-1924(2): 288; on ἀδίκιον Wackernagel and Debrunner *Phil.* 95 (1942): 190f.

•ETYM Although it is morphologically identical with epic Skt. *disā-* 'direction, part of heaven', δίκη is an independent formation. It is probably an extension of the root noun seen in Skt. *dis-* 'cardinal point' and preserved in Lat. *dicis causā* (Wackernagel in WH 1: 860). Pace Kretschmer *Glotta* 32 (1953): 2, the association with 'right' must be old, as it is also found in Lat. *dicis causa, iudex*, and in Germanic; see δείκνυμι.

**δικλίδες** [f.pl.] 'double folding' (θύραι 'doors', πύλαι 'gates', etc.) (Il.); also substantivized (Theoc.). <GR>

•VAR Late also sing.

•ETYM Compound of δι- (see ►δός) and κλι- in ►κλίνω, κλί-σις. Cf. δίκλεις, s.v. ►κλείς.

**δίκροος** [adj.] 'forked, cloven' (IA; cf. Ilberg *Arch. f. Pap.* 4, 281f.). <IE \*(*dui*)-*kr-ou-o-* 'two-horned'>

•VAR Gen. δίκρους. Also δικρόος, gen. δικρούς, or (with hyphaeresis) δίκρος.

•ETYM δίκροος goes back to \**di*-*krōf*-ος 'two-horned', from δι- (see ►δός) and a word for 'horn'. Nussbaum 1986: 2-18, assumes that there were forms without laryngeal (e.g. Skt. *śṛṅga-*, κάρνος H.) to explain the discrepancy between δίκροος without reflex of \**h<sub>2</sub>* and κερα[*ϕ*]-ός 'horned' (beside Lat. *cervus* 'deer', Av. *srū-* 'horn') from \**kerh<sub>2</sub>-uo-* with \**h<sub>2</sub>*. Note that κόρυς, κόρυμβα, etc. are not related, but rather of Pre-Greek origin.

**δίκτημινον** [n.] plant name, 'Origanum Dictamnus' (Arist.). <PG>

•VAR Also δίκημινον (Arist.).

•DER δίκημινίτης (οἶνος, Dsc.); cf. Redard 1949: 96. Note the town Δίκημ(ν)ον on the north coast of Crete.

•ETYM Formation like σφένδαμνος, κάρδαμινον, etc. (Schwyzer: 524 and 494), and therefore Pre-Greek (Fur.: 396). Chantraine 1933: 216 hypothesizes that the word is from Δίκη, mountain on Crete, which is possible; cf. Strömberg 1940: 126.

**δίκτυον** [n.] 'net, strick' (Od.). <PG(V)>

- DIAL Myc. *de-ku-tu-wo-ko* /dektuworgos/.
- COMP δικτυ-βόλος (AP, Opp.) beside δικτυο-βόλος (Poll.) after δικτυ-αρχέω (inscr.) with elided -o-?
- DER Diminutive δικτύδιον (Poll.); δικτυεύς 'fisher (with a net)' (Str.) with δικτυεία 'fishing' (Ael.); also δικτυῖα, see Scheller 1951: 41. - δικτυώδης 'like a net' (Hp. Ep.), δικτυωτός 'forming a net' (LXX); from δικτυόομαι? (LXX). PN Δίκτης.
- ETYM Usually derived from an older *u*-stem derivative of ►δικεῖν 'throw' (δίκτη only EM 275, 27; from the plural δίκτυα, Schwyzler: 460f.). However, the verb need not be related, and the Mycenaean form has -e- as a variant of -i-, which points to Pre-Greek origin (see Bader 1965: §23; Chadwick 1964: 19-21; see under ►δίσκος; on Pre-Greek *u*-stems, see Heubeck 1961: 36). Not with Chantraine REGr. 80 (1967): 1-5 or Ruijgh 1988: 450 should we explain the Mycenaean form from \**deiktu*-. The connection of Van Windekens KZ 100 (1987): 311f. with Hitt. *ekt*-, *ikt*- '(catching) net', which the initial δ- to be from δικεῖν, is implausible.

**δίκτης 1, -υος** [m.] name of an unknown Libyan animal (Hdt. 4, 192). <LW Libyan>

- ETYM Unexplained. See Gsell 1913: 128 and Gsell 1915: 97f.

**δίκτης 2** [m.] · ό ικτίνας υπό Λακώνων 'kite (Lacon.)' (H.). <?>

- ETYM Unknown. Fur.: 392 connects ικτίνας, assuming a Pre-Greek word with δ/zero. However, ►ικτίνας is rather an IE word. ►δίκτης 1 probably refers to a different animal.

**δίλαξ** · ή άρία, τό φυτόν. Λάκωνες (H.). <PG(V)>

- VAR With prothetic vowel in MoGr. άζίλακες 'querens' (Fur.: 374).
- ETYM The word is Pre-Greek on account of the variant with a prothetic vowel.

**δίλασ(σ)ον** [n.] name of an article of clothing (BGU 814, 25; 816, 27 [IIP]). <GR>

- DER τετρά-λασ(σ)ον as attribute of λέντι<ο>ν (PSI 8, 971, 17 [III-IV<sup>p</sup>]), of flax (Ed. Diocl. 28, 61).
- ETYM The second member is perhaps connected to λάσιος 'hairy'; cf. τετρά-βιβλος from ►βιβλίον, s.v.

**δινάκω** [v.] 'to change, correct'? <?>

- VAR Opt. δινάκοι (Del.<sup>3</sup> 412, Elis).
- ETYM Unknown. See Bechtel 1921, 2: 863 and Schwyzler l.c.

**δίνη** [f.] 'whirlpool, eddy' (Il.). <PG?>

- DIAL Myc. *qe-qi-no-to* /g<sup>w</sup>eg<sup>w</sup>inōtos/, *qe-qi-no-me-no* /g<sup>w</sup>eg<sup>w</sup>inōmenos/ 'endowed with life'.
- COMP βαθυδίνης (Il.).
- DER δινήεις 'whirling' (Il.), Dor. δινάεις, Aeol. διννάεις (Alc.); δίνος [m.] 'id.', also 'round vessel' (IA, etc.) with δινώδης 'eddy' (D. C.) and δινωτός 'with δ., rounded, covered with circles' (Hom.; δινώω only Eust.).
- Verb δινέω, aor. δινήσαι, etc., also δινεύω, (δίννηντες ptc. pl. Sapph. 1, 11; cf. below) 'turn around' (both trans. and intr., Il.) with δίνησις (Arist.), δίνημα (Man.), δίνευμα (conj. in Ar. Th. 122 and X. Eq. 3, 11; Orph.); rare δινέμεν (Hes. Op. 598), δινομένην

(Call.), άπο-δινωντι [subj.] 'thresh' (Tab. Heracl.; uncertain, to be changed to άποδιδώντι?); Aeol. δίννω (Hdn.; Δινομένης Alc.), δινάζω (Artem. apud Ath.). Perhaps Δινών month name (when the corn is threshed).

- ETYM Perhaps an old nasal present \**di-n-eu*- (cf. κινέω beside κίνυμαι < \**ki-n-(e)u*-), of which the nasal was generalized (cf. κλίνη : κλίνω); the Aeolic form δίνν- is from -νφ-.

According to García Ramón 1999b: 237-248, the Mycenaean forms are not related, but belong to ►βίος instead, because they mean 'endowed with life' and because δι- is not the expected reflex of \**g<sup>w</sup>i*-. The Homeric form δινωτός does not derive from the verb δινώω; it simply meant 'ornamented, enlivened' and belongs to βίος as well, acc. to García Ramón (with replacement of the reflex of the initial \**g<sup>w</sup>*- to avoid association with βινέω 'futurare').

The initial element δι- has nothing to do with ►δίεμαι, because the connection is evident "ni pour la forme, ni pour le sens" (DELG). In view of the lack of a good etymology, we should rather consider the possibility of Pre-Greek origin.

**δίξος** · VAR διξός. = δίς.

**δίων** = δειδω.

**Διόνυσος** [m.] name of a god (Il.). <PG(V)>

- VAR Dialectal Διώνυσος (epic, lyr.), Διόννυσος (Thess., Cret.), Ζόννυσος (Aeol.), Διενυσος (Amorgos), Δεύνυσος (Anacr.). Hypocoristic vocative Διονῦ (Phryn. Com. 10); cf. διον(ν)ύς · ό γυναικίας και παράθηλος 'weakling, effeminate' (H., EM); διοννύς · ή γυναικεία και θήλος έσθής 'womanish clothing' (Eust.).
- DIAL Myc. *di-wo-nu-so-jo* [gen.?] /Diwo<sup>h</sup>nusoio/, *di-wo-nu-so* [dat.].
- DER Διονύσιος PN, fem. Διονυσιάς; τὰ Διονύσια [n.pl.] 'festival for Δ.' (Att., etc.), Διονυσιακός (Th.); diminutive Διονυσίσκος, denomination of a person with bone-like outgrowths on the temples (medic.); denominative διονυσιάζω [v.] 'to celebrate the Δ.' (Luc.), Διονυσιασταί [m.pl.] worshippers of Δ. (Nisyros, etc.), cf. Απολλωνιασταί s.v. ►Απόλλων.
- ETYM The forms seem to point to \*Διοσ-νυσος. Acc. to the tradition, Dionysus would have come from Thrace, and his father would be Zeus, his mother ►Σεμέλη. As the first member seemed to be the genitive of the Thracian Zeus, Kretschmer 1896: 241f. assumed in the second member a Thracian word for 'son' (found in Thracian names like Νῦσα; further Νῦσαι, Νύσαι the nymphs who cared for him) and *Nusatita* (PN). This interpretation finds no support, however (see on ►νύος). Dunkel 1995: 1-21 assumed that the name contains \**suH-nu*- 'son', of which *s* and *n* were metathesized; this is improbable too.

García Ramón *Minos* 20-22 (1987): 183-200 concludes that Διεννυσία can represent an old genitive \**diues*, whereas Διοννυσίαν continues \**diuos*. For the variants Δινυσος and Διννυσος, no definitive interpretation can be given.

Fur.: 250 recalls the PN Διονυτάς (beside -σάς on a coin from Teos; see Meyer 1896: 381) and stresses that the variation τ/σ points to a non-IE = Pre-Greek word. Since all attempts to find an IE etymology have failed, we have to accept that it is a foreign name.

**δίοπος** • ETYM From διέπω; see ► έπω.

**δῖος** [adj.] 'belonging to heaven, godlike' (Il.), also 'belonging to Zeus' (trag.); often as a month name (Thessaly, Macedonia, etc.). <IE \*dieu- 'heaven'>

•DIAL Myc. *di-wi-jo*, *di-u-jo* /diwjos/; *di-wi-ja*, *di-u-ja* /diwja/.

•ETYM Old adjective, identical with Skt. *divyá-* /div<sub>(y)</sub>á-/ 'heavenly', Lat. *dīus* 'godlike', IE \**diu-iHo-*; see ► Ζεύς. The adjective may replace the genitive of the basic word; see Schwyzler 1950: 176ff. The feminine was δῖα < \*δί-ιᾱ, which first appeared in the substantival function 'daughter of heaven, goddess', e.g. δῖα γυναικῶν 'goddess among women'; thence, δῖα θεῶν, etc.; see Schwyzler 1950: 116. The meaning 'belonging to Zeus' is preserved well in tragedy, and probably in I 538 (DELG).

**διοσκέω** [v.] 'to spy around constantly' (Anacr. 3, 3; not quite certain); acc. to H., διαβλέπειν συνεχῶς τὴν ὄρασιν μεταβάλλοντα, τίθεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ διαφορεῖσθαι τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ 'to stare at sth. which continuously changes its appearance; to be weakened in the body and the soul'. <GR>

•ETYM See Schwyzler: 541<sup>7</sup>. DELG proposes \*-ok<sup>w</sup>-sk-.

**Διόσκουροι** [pl.] 'sons of Zeus', name of the young gods Castor and Polydeuces (Ion. Hell.). <GR>

•VAR Att. Διοσκόρω [du.]; also Διόσκοροι.

•DER Διοσκο(ύ)ρειον, -ριον 'temple of the Δ.' (Att., etc.), τὰ Διοσκο(ύ)ρ(ε)ια 'festival of the Δ.' (inscr.), also -ήια (after βασιλήια, etc.), Διοσκουριασταί name of the worshippers (pap.), cf. Διονυσιασταί; Διοσκουριάς TN.

•ETYM Univerbation of Διὸς κοῦροι (or κόρω), cf. Schwyzler: 427 and 445. See on ► Ζεύς and ► κόρος 2. The Dioscuri are the sons of Tyndareos and parallel to the Indic Ásvins. They are saviors and rescuers from danger, both at sea and in battle. In Lithuanian, they are called *Diēvo sunēliai*, sons of God. See the most recent treatment of the Dioscuri in West 2007: 186ff.

**διόσπυρον** [n.] 'fruit of the nettle-tree', name of the cherry-like fruit of the *Celtis australis* (Thphr.). <GR>

•VAR Also διόσπυρος [m.] = λιθόσπερμον 'gromwell' (Dsc.).

•ETYM Univerbation of Διὸς πυρός with transition to the neuter gender, as in bahunvrihi compounds like βούγλωσσον. Semantic parallels are recorded by Strömberg 1940: 128.

**δίπλαξ, -κος** [adj.] 'in two layers, double' (Il.); as a fem. substantive 'a mantle' (Hom., A. Pers. 277 [lyr.], Lyd.). <IE \*dui-plk- 'two-fold'>

•DER Cf. τρίπλαξ 'threefold' (Il.).

•ETYM Identical with U *tuplak* [n.] 'duplex' = 'furca', Lat. *du-*, *tri-plex* 'two-, three-fold'. The word is a bahunvrihi compound, the second member of which was considered unclear by Frisk, who compared πλάξ 'flatness', πληγή 'hit' (cf. ἀ-πληγίς 'single mantle' [Herod.], δι-πληγίς 'double mantle' [Poll.]). However, the word is more probably connected with πλέκω 'to twine'; see De Vaan 2008 s.v. *duplex*. Cf. ► δίπλος and ► διπλάσιος.

**διπλάσιος** [adj.] 'twofold, double' (Thgn.). <IE \*dui-pl-to- 'two-fold'>

•VAR Also διπλασίων (Arist.); Ion. διπλήσιος.

•DER διπλασιάω [v.] 'to double, reduplicate' (Att., etc.), whence διπλασιασμός and διπλασίασις, διπλασιαστικός.

•ETYM From a verbal adjective \*δί-πлатος, extended after the adjectives in -to- (like ἀμβρόσιος from ἀμβροτος, διφάσιος from δίφατος, etc.; Schwyzler: 466, Chantraine 1933: 41). The basis is a verb meaning 'to fold' (IE \*pel-; cf. ► ἀπλόος, etc.). Additionally, Go. *ain-falps* 'one-fold > simple' and other Gm. formations also contain a word for 'fold', e.g. ON *faldr* < PGm. \**fálpa* < IE \**pól-to-*. Ion. διπλήσιος is an innovation after παραπλήσιος, etc.; Hell. διπλασίων, after the comparatives in -ίων (Schwyzler: 598, 536); and διπλάδιος (AP, pap.), after διχθάδιος, etc. (Schwyzler: 467). Cf. ► δίπλαξ.

**διπλόος** • VAR διπλοῦς. = ἀπλόος.

**δερκαία** [f.] = κερκαία, 'Vincetoxicum nigrum' (Dsc.). <PG?>

•VAR δέρκαιον [n.] (Ps.-Dsc.) = ► δαῦκος and στρύχνον ὑπνωτικόν, 'Withania somnifera'.

•DER δίρκος [m.] 'seed of pine' (Paus. Gr.).

•ETYM According to Dsc. 4, 75, the plant was named after the sorceress Circe, ἐπειδὴ δοκεῖ ἡ ῥίζα φίλτρων εἶναι ποιητική 'because the root seems to produce philtres'. We do not know which of the two forms is original. δερκαι- may derive from the source Δίρκη. See Strömberg 1940: 93 and 152. Fur.: 255 points to Pre-Greek names in -αιο-.

**δῖς** [adv.] 'twice' (Od.). <IE \*dui-s- 'twice'>

•VAR As a first member δι- 'two-' (Il.).

•COMP As a first member διχο-.

•DER Denominative δίζω 'hesitate' (Π 713, Orac. *apud* Hdt. 1, 65). Further διξός (Ion.), δισός, Att. διττός 'twofold, double' with δισσαχοῦ, -ττ-, etc. (see below); δίχα [adv.] ([prep.]) 'apart, separated' (Il.) with διχῆ, διχοῦ, etc.; διχάς [f.] 'half, middle' (Arat.; after μονάς, etc.) and the denominative διχάζω 'distribute' (Pl.) with διχασμός, διχασίς (Hell.), διχαστήρες ὀδόντες 'the cutting teeth' (Poll.); also διχάω (Arat.), διχαίω (Arat.). διχθά 'apart, in two' (Hom.) with διχθάδιος 'twofold, double' (Hom.), διχθάς [f.] (as an [adj.]) 'double' (Musae.). Isolated δισκάεται· διαφέρεται 'quarrels [or: carries over, vel sim.]' (H.); for \*διξάζεται, or dissimilated from διστάζεται?

•ETYM In its formation, δῖς is identical with Skt. *dviḥ*, Lat. *bis* (OLat. *duis*), MoHG *zwir* 'twice'; as a first member, \**di-* = Skt. *dvi-*, Lat. *bi-* (cf. on ► δύο), Go. *twi-*, Lith. *dvi-*. Examples include δι-πους, Skt. *dvi-pád-*, and Lat. *bi-pēs*. The velar derivation is unclear; beside Gr. δίχα, we have Skt. *dvi-dhā* 'twofold', the *dh* of which might be found in δι-χ-θα. διξός and δισός also presuppose velar derivatives: \*διχθ-ιο-, διχ-ιο-? See Schwyzler: 598. After δίχα, διχθά were formed τρίχα, τριχθά, etc. (Schwyzler *ibid.*). See further ► διά, ► δοιοί.

**δίσκος** [m.] 'discus' (Il.). <PG?>

•COMP Compound δίσκ-ουρα [n.pl.] (Ψ 523) 'throwing distance', from δίσκου ούρα (Ψ 431), see ► οὔρον 2.

•DER Diminutive δισκάριον (Orib.); further δισκεύς name of a comete (Lyd.; see Scherer 1953: 107). Denominative δισκέω 'to throw the discus' with δισκημα 'throw, what is thrown' (cf. the nouns in -(η)μα in tragedy, Chantraine 1933: 184ff.); also δισκεύς 'id.' with δισκευτής (Arist. comm.). Unclear δίσκελλα· σπυρίς 'large basket' (H.), for which a Latin suffix (Frisk: cf. synonymous *fiscella*) seems improbable.

•ETYM Fur.: 297 pointed out that the traditional derivation of \*δίκ-σκος from δικεῖν 'throw' (Frisk, DELG) is hardly possible: the suffix -σκο- is rare in nominal derivation, and an σκ-present from which it could have been taken is not attested. Therefore, Furnée concluded that we have to start from \*δικισ-, a variant of δικεῖν, which has Pre-Greek origin. See under ► δίκτυον.

**δισσός** •VAR διττός. =δός.

**διστάζω** [v.] 'to hesitate, be uncertain, doubt' (Pl.). <IE \**dui-s-* 'double'>

•VAR Fut. διστάσω.

•DER Analogical δισταγμός (Agatharch.), δίσταγμα (Phld.), διστακτικός (A. D.), διστάξιμος (Ptol.), διστασμός (Thphr.).

•ETYM Since Solmsen *KZ* 37 (1904): 20f. and Solmsen *IF* 14 (1903): 437, the word has been considered to be a denominative of \*δι-στ-ος = Skt. *dvi-sth-a-* 'double', ON *tvi-st-r* 'sad', properly \*'split in two', from IE \**dui-sth<sub>2</sub>-o-*, containing \**dui-* (see ► δός) and \**steh<sub>2</sub>-* 'stand' (see ► ἵστημι); cf. ► δύστηνος. However, it could also be a derivation of δίζω; cf. ἐρπυστάζω beside ἐρπύζω, κλαστάζω beside κλάω, etc. (Schwyzer: 706).

**δίστροπον** [n.] name of a vase for libations (pap.). <?>

•ETYM Unclear.

**διττάμενον** [n.]? · ἀρνούμενον. Κρήτες 'refusing, denying (Cret.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. See Bechtel 1921(2): 783.

**δίφακος** [m.] · εἶδος βοτάνης 'kind of plant' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Fur.: 326 connects the word with δίψα 'thirst', but this is uncertain.

**διφάσιος** [adj.] 'twofold, double' (Hdt.); cf. τριφάσιος 'threefold' (Hdt.), also explained by H. as τρίφωνος 'three-voiced'. <?>

•DER δίφατον· διφάσιον, δισσῶς λεγόμενον 'said ambiguously' (H.) and τρίφατος 'threefold' (Nic. *Th.* 102).

•ETYM Based on δι-, τρί-φατος (cf. ► διπλάσιος), but the second member is uncertain. On the basis of δισσῶς λεγόμενον and τρίφωνος in H., a connection with φημί could be suggested (e.g. von Skutsch *IF* 14 (1903): 488ff., who refers to Lat. *bifariam*), whereas Brugmann *IF* 17 (1904-1905): 367 and Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916: 1, 186 rather connected πεφνεῖν, φόνος, θείνω, as in ἀρηϊ-φατος 'killed in battle', i.e. 'slayed twice' (cf. on δίπλαξ). However, in either case are the semantics compelling. No better is the connection with φαίνω as 'twice visible' (Walde 1910: 90,

Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916: 2, 71) since one would rather expect \*δίφαντος, like ἄφαντος (Il.).

**δίφάω** [v.] 'to search after' (Π 747). <PG(V)>

•VAR Only present, except δ[ε]ιφῶσαντες· ψηλαφῶσαντες 'one who searched after' (H.).

•DIAL Also διφέω (AP).

•DER διφαλέος 'searching' (*Hymn. Is.* 10), διφήτωρ (βυθῶν) 'who explores (the depths)' (Opp.), ἀστρο-δίφης 'astronomer' (Herod.). Denominative διφαδέυ<σ>ει· ἐξελεῖται 'will take out, choose' (H.), from \*διφάς? Cf. φυγαδεύειν· φυγάς.

Further δίφας 'a snake' (Artemid. 2, 13), δίφα<ν>· τὸν ὄφιν. Κρήτες 'serpent (Cret.)' (H.); δίφατον ὄφιν (cod.; corr. Salm.); Latte comments ad loc.: "scil. a rimas scrutando appellatus". Also δίβαν· ὄφιν. Κρήτες (H.); cf. the snake name παρείας and the other names of animals in -ᾱς, -ης in Chantraine 1933: 30f.

•ETYM διφάω has no established etymology. The restoration of the H. entry to δίφα<ν> is uncertain: Fur.: 325 prefers to maintain δίφατον of the manuscript. Rather than being a mistake, the β of δίβαν is to be taken at face value; the variation between β and φ suggests Pre-Greek origin. However, a connection with δέφω (as suggested by Fur.: 315, 355) lacks semantic justification, whereas the appurtenance of ► δίφακος remains in any event uncertain.

**διφθέρα** [f.] 'prepared skin, hide, leather', also of leather objects (IA). <PG(V)>

•DIAL Myc. *di-pte-ra* (also *di-pte-ra<sub>2</sub>*) 'leather' /dip<sup>ht</sup>era(i)/; *di-pte-ra-po-ro* /dip<sup>ht</sup>era-p<sup>h</sup>oros/(?).

•DER Diminutive διφθέριον (Theognost.); διφθερίς = διφθέρα (AP); διφθέρωμα 'id.' (Thd.); διφθερίας 'man dressed in leather, farmer, etc.' (Com.); fem. διφθερίτις (Poll.); διφθεράριος 'parchment maker' (*Edict. Diocl. Asin.*); διφθέρινος 'made of δ., of leather' (X.). Denominative διφθερόομαι 'to be dressed in hides' (Str.). Note διψάρα· δέλτος, οἱ δὲ διφθέρα 'writing-tablet; piece of leather' (H.). (cf. Schwyzer: 326).

•ETYM Possibly, διφθέρα is with De Saussure *MSL* 7 (1892): 91 related to ► δέφω and δέψω, but the alternations ε ~ ι and φθ ~ ψ, typical for Pre-Greek, are proven by the variant δίψαρα in any case (Fur.: 308, 326). On Iranian loans from διφθέρα, like MoP *daftar* 'office', see Bailey *TPS* 1933: 50. Lat. *littera*, too, ultimately derives from the Greek, perhaps via Etruscan (cf. διφθεραλοιφός· γραμματοδιδάσκαλος παρὰ Κυπρίους 'teacher of writing in Cyp.' [H.]).

**δίφρος** [m.] 'seat, chair, chariot-board, chariot' (Il.). <IE \**dui-b<sup>h</sup>r-o-* 'two-bearer'>

•DER Diminutives: διφρίσκος (Ar.), διφρίον (Tim. *Lex.*), διφρίδιον (EM). δίφραξ 'chair' (Theoc.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 379), δίφρακον 'id.' (Samos IV<sup>a</sup>; see also Chantraine 1933: 384); δίφρις· ὁ ἐδραῖος, καὶ καθημένος αἰεὶ, οἷον ἀργός 'sedentary, sitting all the time, as in idle' (H.); cf. τρόχις 'runner', etc. Adjective δίφριος (AP). Denominative διφρεύω 'to drive in a car' (E.) with διφρευτής 'chariot-driver' (S.), διφρευτικός (Ephor.), διφρεία 'driving a chariot' (X.); more common διφρ-ηλάτης (Pi.) with διφρηλατέω and διφρηλασία.

•ETYM Properly meaning "two-bearer" (from δίς and φέρω), the δί-φρ-ο-ς was originally a chair with two handles carried by two people (one on each side); later it came to be used for the box of a chariot (cf. Fraenkel 1923: 282). The initial δι- (< \*δφι-) of δίφρος never makes position in Homer (Solmsen 1901: 211f.), which may be due to dissimilation from the following labial φ, or to the fact that as a vernacular word, δίφρος (like ιδρώς; Schwyzler: 222<sup>5</sup>) originally was not part of the epic language.

δίχα •VAR διχθά. ⇒ δίς.

δίψα, -ης [f.] 'thirst' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Rarely δίψη (A. Ch. 756), also δίψος [n.] (Th.), after πνίγος 'stifling', ρίγος 'frost', etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 420).

•DIAL Myc. *di-pi-si-jo* and *di-pi-si-je-wi-jo* (from \*διψιευς?).

•COMP πολυ-δίψιος 'very thirsty, arid', of Argos (Hom.); metrical for \*πολύ-δίψος.

•DER δίψιος 'thirsty, dry' (trag.), διψηρός 'id.' (Hp.; after αὐχμηρός), διψώδης 'id.' (Hp.), διψαλέος 'id.' (Hell. and late; after ἀζαλέος, etc.), διψάς [f.] 'id.' (Thphr.), also name of a snake, whose bite caused a strong thirst (cf. Chantraine 1933: 354f.).

δίψακος [m.] the name of diabetes (medic.), because of the drinking of the patients, Strömberg 1944: 89; also the plant name 'Dipsacus silvestris' (Dsc., Gal.), see Strömberg 1940: 78, with διψακερός 'thirsty' (EM), acc. to H. = ταλαίπωρος 'suffering'; διψοσύνη = δίψα (Orac. *apud* Porph.).

Verbal forms: ptc. διψᾶν (λ 584), inf. διψῆν (Hdt.), 3sg. διψῇ (Pi., Pl.), Hell. also διψᾶν, -ᾶ; also διψέω (Archil.) and διψώω (Tryph.); with δίψησις (Ath. 1, 10b; doubtful) and διψητικός (Arist.).

Beside these, there are forms with διφ-, like δίφας 'a kind of snake' (Artemid. 2,13), δίφατον and δίβαν· ὄφιν. Κρήτες 'serpent' (Cret.) (H.); see ►διφάω.

•ETYM For διψᾶν, διψῆν, compare πεινᾶων, πεινῆν, which are close in meaning; the forms διψᾶων, πεινᾶων might be (Aeolic?) analogical formations based on the normal epic ending -ᾶων, whereas διψῆν and πεινῆν are unexplained (Chantraine 1942: 21 and 362, Leroy 1954: 288f.; improbably, Meister 1921: 89 on διψῆν, πεινῆν; cf. further Fraenkel 1937: 376f.). Under an analysis δίπ-σα, the final element can hardly be IE. Therefore, it is probably a Pre-Greek word, which is further made likely by the variants with φ and β (Fur.: 326).

δίψαι [v.] · βλάψαι 'to damage' (H.). <?>

•ETYM DELG suggests that the form was coined by grammarians to explain δίψιον, which was explained as βλαπτικόν (H.) or βλαβερόν (Ap. Soph.); Chantraine adds: "cf. encore Hsch. sous δίψιον Ἄργος avec S. fr. 296."

δίω ⇒ δέιδω and δίεμαι.

διώκω [v.] 'to pursue, drive away, prosecute' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aor. διώξαι, διωχθῆναι, fut. διώξω, etc. (post-Hom.).

•COMP Compounds with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, etc.

•DER δίωγμα 'pursuit, what is pursued' (trag., Pl.), διωγμός 'pursuit' (trag., X.) with διωγμίτης 'policeman' (inscr. II<sup>p</sup>; cf. Redard 1949: 45), διωγματικά = *persecutiones*

(Cod. Just.); διώξας 'persecution' (Att.), διωκτής 'id.' (Call.; cf. Benveniste 1948: 72). Agent noun διώκτης 'pursuer' (NT), in γνωμιδιώκτης (haplological for γνωμιδιο-δι- Cratin. 307), see Fraenkel 1912: 81; διωκτήρ 'id.' (Babr.). διωκτός (S.), διωκτικός (Iamb.). Lengthened διωκάθειν (-εῖν?), ἐδιώκαθον (Att.); cf. Schwyzler: 703<sup>6</sup> (διωκαθεῖν?).

•ETYM διώκει stands beside δίεμαι as φώκει (Cor.) beside φέμαι (see ►ῖεμαι). The origin of the ω is unclear (unconvincingly, Meillet MSL 23 (1923): 50f.). A κ-enlargement is also found in ἐρύ-κω, ὀλέ-κω, etc.; see Schwyzler: 702<sup>5</sup>.

διωλύγιος [adj.] uncertain (Pl. *Th.* 162a, *Lg.* 890e); διωλύγιον 'immense', acc. to H. = ἡχοῦν ἐπὶ πολὺ, μέγα, καὶ σφοδρόν, διατεταμένον 'resounding much, heavily, etc.'; acc. to the sch. on Pl. = περιβόητος 'much discussed' and σκοτεινός 'dark, obscure', i.e. connected with ὀλολυγή 'loud cry' and ἡλύγη 'shadow'. <?>

•ETYM The occurrences in Plato (διωλύγιος φλυαρία and μήκη διωλύγια) are ambiguous.

δμῶς, -ῶς [m.] 'slave, servant' (Il.; see Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 71f.), <IE \*dem-'house', \*dm-ōu->

•VAR Also thematicized δμῶς (Hes. *Op.* 430; also Call. *Hec.* 1, 4, 15 acc. to Gomperz); δμω-ιαί (δμωαί) [f.pl.] 'slave-women' (Il.), secondary sing. δμωή (Q. S.), for \*δμῶ-ιᾶ, \*δμῶα? For the accent, cf. ἄγνια : ἀγνιαί and Wackernagel *Gött. Nachr.* 1914: 118f.; also δμῶις (A.) and δμωϊάς, δμῶας (Q. S.).

•COMP On the compound ὑπο-δμῶς δ 386 see Sommer 1934: 26.

•DER Adjective δμῶ-ιος (AP). Abstract μῶ-ια (μνο-ῖα, μῶα) serfs in Crete (Str.) with μνωῖτης, μνοῖτης, μνῶτης (Hermon *apud* Ath. 6, 267c, Poll.; cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 790); on δμ > μν cf. μεσό-μνη < μεσό-δμη; see Schwyzler: 208.

•ETYM Related to δόμος 'house', with the same formation as in πάτρως (ōu-stem; Schwyzler: 479f.). See also Fraenkel *Glotta* 32 (1953): 23 and De Vaan 2008 s.v. *domus, dominus*.

δνοπαλίζω [v.] 'to shake, fling down' (Δ 472, ξ 512, etc.). <PG?>

•VAR Fut. δνοπαλίξω.

•DER δνοπάλιξ (sch. Opp.).

•ETYM The word has been analyzed as formed from the roots of δονέω and πάλλω, respectively, but the type of formation required is very improbable (see Schwyzler: 645<sup>5</sup>). Rather, I take the group δν- as typical of Pre-Greek words; perhaps we have to analyze as δνοπ-αλ- instead. See also Chantraine 1942: 340.

δνόφος [m.] 'darkness' (Simon.). <PG>

•VAR In Hell. times ► γνόφος, etc. with δν > γν (Schwyzler: 208, Niedermann *WuS* 8 (1923): 64; Bq. s.v.; Lejeune 1972: 78<sup>4</sup>).

•COMP Compound δνοφο-εἰμων 'in dark clothes' (Attica II<sup>p</sup>).

•DER δνοφερός 'dark' (Il.), also δνόφεος (B.), δνοφείεις (Emp.), δνοφώδης (E.), cf. S. Schmid 1950: 48.

•ETYM A form \*δνέφος [n.] is presupposed by io-δνεφής 'violet-dark' (δ 135, ι 426; cf. Porzig 1942: 300), but it is further isolated. The word recalls ►ζόφος as well as



► κνέφας and ► ψέφας, but these words have not been explained (see Güntert 1914: 112ff.; Petersen *AmJPh.* 56: 57ff.). Note δνόψ· χιτώνος εἶδος βαθέος 'kind of depth (?) mantle', thus Latte (H.). As in ► δνοπαλίζω, the group δν- seems to point to Pre-Greek origin.

δοάν ⇒ δήν.

δοάσσατο ⇒ δέατο.

δοιήν, -ήνος [m.] 'small abscess' (Hp.). <PG>

•VAR Also δοθίων, -όνος (medic., Hdn. Gr.).

•DER δοθηνικόν 'medicine against δ.' (Paul. Aeg.).

•ETYM Cf. λειχήν, ἀδήν, πυρήν, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 166f., Schwyzler: 487) and βουβών, μυών (Chantraine 1933: 162, Schwyzler: 488); the word is further unclear. See Solmsen 1909: 137f. The retention of θι (as opposed to the development in e.g. μέσ(σ)ος < \*μέθιος) suggests borrowing. Fur.: 172<sup>118</sup>, 355 plausibly points out that -ην is frequent in Pre-Greek words, and compares δολεών· ὁ δοιήν (as a variant deriving from \*δοδ-).

δοίδυξ, -ῦκος [m.] 'pestle' (Ar.). <PG(S)>

•COMP As a first member in δοιδυκο-ποιός (Plu.) and in parodizing δοιδυκο-φόβα (Luc.).

•DER Denominative διαδοιδυκίζω 'clench the fist like a pestle' (Com. *Adesp.*), ἀναδοιδυκίζειν· ἀναταράσσειν 'to disturb' (H., EM).

•ETYM No etymology. The suffix -ῦκ- is typical of Pre-Greek (*Pre-Greek*, suffixes).

δοιοί [pl.] 'two, both' (Il.). <IE \*duoi- 'twofold, double'>

•VAR δσιώ [du.].

•DIAL Myc. PN *du-wo-jo* /dwoios/.

•DER δσιός [sg.] 'double' (Emp.). δσιάς [f.] 'group of two' (gloss.; after μονάς, etc.) and denominative δσιάζω, -ομαι, aor. δσιάζαι, also δοάσσα (through blending with δοάσσατο) 'linger, deliberate', also (after δοάσσατο) 'imagine, believe' (B.). Fixed expression ἐν δσιῇ 'in dubio, in hesitation' (I 230), whence ἐνδσιάζω 'hesitate' (Th.) with ἐνδσιαστός, -ῶς 'doubtful' (Ion., Th.) and late derivations ἐνδσιασίς, -άσιμος, -ασμός, -αστής, -αστικός.

•ETYM δσιοί is an old derivative of ► δύο (related to ► δίς), in its formation identical to Skt. *dvayá-*, OCS *dvojo* 'twofold', OHG *zweiio*, Go. *twaddje*, ON *tveggja* [gen.pl.], IE \*duoiHó-. The retention of the intervocalic ι in Greek, the short *a* of the Skt., and the Germanic "Verschärfung" (Go. *ddj*, ON *ggj*) point \*-iH-.

δόκανα •VAR δοκάνη. ⇒ δοκός.

δοκέω [v.] 'to seem, be of the opinion' (Il.). <GR>

•VAR Aor. δοκήσαι, fut. δοκήσω (Od.), δόξαι, δόξω (Pi., *h. Merc.*; see below), perf. δεδόκημαι (Pi.), δέδογμα (Hdt.), δοκεῖ μοι 'it seems to me' (Il.); δοκεύω [v.] 'watch, observe' (Il.); προσ-δοκάω, aor. προσδοκήσαι 'await' (Hdt.).

•DER δόκησις 'belief, opinion, appearance' (Hdt.), δοκησι-δέξιος, -νους, -σοφος 'appropriate [etc.] in one's own opinion' (Com.). δόκημα 'image, delusion' (E., see

Chantraine 1933: 184ff.), 'decision' (Argos). δόγμα 'opinion, decision' (Att., Hell.; to δόξαι, δόξω after τάξαι, τάξω : τάγμα, etc.) with δογματικός 'dogmatic', δογματίας 'who pronounces δόγματα', δογματίζω 'give an opinion' (Hell. and late). Further δόξα 'opinion, consideration, excellence, glory', δόξιν = δόξα (Democr.; after γνώσις, Schwyzler: 505). δοκώ [f.] 'id.' (E. *El.* 747; Chantraine 1933: 116), δόκος [m.] 'id.' (Xenoph.), δοκή 'id.' (Hdn.). δόκιμος 'reliable, approved, distinguished, etc.' (IA, Dor.); compounds εὖ-, ἀ-δόκιμος; with δοκίμιον, δοκιμείον 'proof' (Pl.) and the denominatives δοκίωμι (Aeol.), δοκιμώ (Parm.) 'to believe', δοκιμάζω 'to try, approve' (IA) with δοκιμασία 'test' (Att.), δοκιμαστής, δοκιμαστήρ, -ήριον, δοκιμαστός, -ικός (Att., etc.); also deverbal δοκιμή 'test, proof' (*Ep. Phil.*, *Ep. Cor.*). εὐδοκίμω 'to have a good reputation' (Thgn.) with εὐδοκίμησις (Pl.). δοκικῶ = δοκῶ (Hermipp. 12) humorous extension, cf. Bechtel *Glotta* 12 (1923): 211. From προσδοκάω : προσδοκία 'expectation' also προσδόκημα (Pl. *Phlb.* 32c), προσδόκιμος (IA).

•ETYM δοκέω (and προσδοκάω) are deverbative derivations of primary (προσ-)δέχομαι (see ►δέχομαι). Like all secondary verbs, it originally occurred only in the present; for the other tenses, the primary verb was used. δόξαι, δόξω could belong to that primary verb if they have their -ο- after δοκέω and derive from older \*δέξαι, \*δέξω (Wackernagel KZ 33 (1895): 37; further, Schwyzler: 718). Because of their meaning, δοκεύω and δοκάω 'to await' (Sophr., S. *Fr.* 221, 23) might alternatively rather belong together with -δοκάω, ►δέχομαι. The semantic relations are difficult to account for in detail. δοκέω agrees with Lat. *doceō* 'learn' (causative IE \**dōk-éie-*). On δοκέω in general, see Fournier 1946 *passim*, especially 166f. For other IE cognates, see ►δέχομαι and ►δοκός.

δοκός [f.] 'bearing-beam' (Il.). <GR, PG?>

•VAR Late also msc.

•DER δοκίς (Hp.), δοκίον (Arist., Delos IV\*), δοκίδιον (Harp.). δοκίας (Phlp.), δοκεύς (Heph. Astr.) name of a comete (like δοκός, δοκίς; Scherer 1953: 107). δοκώδης 'like a beam' (gloss.). δοκόομαι 'to be fitted with beams' (pap., S. E.) with δόκωσις (LXX). From δοκός also δόκανα [n.pl.] name of two upright beams constructed with a cross-beam (Plu.), δοκάναι· αἱ στάλικες, αἷς ἴσταται τὰ λῖνα, ἧ κάλαμοι 'stakes on which hunting nets are fastened, or reeds' (H.); cf. tool names in -ανον, -άνη in Schwyzler: 489f., Chantraine 1933: 198f.

•ETYM Connected to δέχομαι as an agent noun, so properly "which takes on [the covering]". Benveniste *RPh.* 58 (1929): 127, thinks that δοκός and δόκανα are Pre-Greek.

δολιχός [adj.] 'long' (Il.). <IE \**d(o)lh<sup>g</sup>h<sup>o</sup>-* 'long'>

•DIAL Myc. PN *do-ri-ka-o* /Dolik<sup>h</sup>āōn/, *do-ri-ka-no* /Dolik<sup>h</sup>ānōr/.

•COMP Often as a first member of compounds; note δολιχό-σκιος (Hom.) 'with a long shadow', of ἔγχος 'lance'.

•DER With regular accent change (Schwyzler: 420) δόλιχος [m.] 'the long course' (Att., etc.) with δολιχεύω 'run a long course', δολιχεύς 'long course runner' (Sparta II<sup>p</sup>); on δόλιχος as a plant name (Thphr.) see Strömberg 1937: 107', Strömberg 1940:

24. Poetical form with metrical lengthening δουλιχόεις (AP); TN Δολιχίστη, island before Lycia, properly a superlative, and Δουλίχιον island in the Ionic Sea (Hom.), cf. Seiler 1950: 101.

•ETYM Within Greek, we may further compare ἐνδελεχής 'continuous' (Att., etc.), together with ἐνδελέχεια, ἐνδελεχέω, -ίζω, -ισμός (like ἐν-τελής, ἐμ-μελής, etc.). δολιχός is related to Skt. *dirghá-*, Av. *darəya-*, OCS *dlъgъ*, Serb. *dŭg*, Lith. *ilgas* (with unexplained loss of *d-*), Hitt. *talugi-* (on the vocalism see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *\*taluki-*), which derive from PIE *\*d(o)lH-gʰo-*. Further related are e.g. Lat. *indulgeō* 'be kind, indulgent', Go. *tulgus* 'firm, steadfast', and Alb. *glatë, gjatë* 'long' (with secondary *-të?*).

**δόλος** [m.] 'bait, any trick or device for catching, trick' (Il.). <PG?>

•DER δόλιος 'deceiving, tricky' (Od.) with δολιότης (LXX), δολιεύομαι 'deceive' (LXX) and δολιόω 'id.' (LXX); δολερός 'id.' (IA), δολόεις 'cunning' (Od.). Lengthened δόλευμα 'trick' (Aen. Tact.; see Chantraine 1933: 186f.). Denominative δολόω 'to beguile' (Hes.) with δόλωσις (X.) and δόλωμα (A.; Chantraine 1933: 186f.); also δολίζω 'to falsify' (Dsc.). Here also δολία = κώνειον 'hemlock' (Ps.-Dsc.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 64; cf. Latte ad loc.; δολάνα· μαστροπός. <Λάκωνες> 'pimp (Lacon.)' (H.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 199); also δόλοπα· κατάσκοπον, μαστροπόν 'spy, pimp' with δολοπεύει· ἐπιβουλεύει, ἐνεδρεύει 'plots, lies in wait for' (H.). On δολεών· ὁ δοθὴν 'small abscess' (H.), see ►δοθὴν.

•ETYM The identity of δόλος and Lat. *dolus*, Osc. *dolom*, -*ud* [acc., abl.] seems evident; yet the Italic word might have been borrowed from Greek. A group of Germanic words, ON *tál* [f.] 'deception, trick', OE *tæl* [f.] 'blame, slander, derision', OHG *zāla* [f.] 'danger', which would require a lengthened grade *\*dēlā-* (see Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916: 1, 153f.) is rather not related. Likewise, a connection with ►δαιδάλλω is quite hypothetical. Given its concrete basic meaning, it could well be a Pre-Greek word. The gloss δόλος· πάσσαλος 'stake, penis' (H.) is unclear (cf. Specht 1944: 157 and 219); cf. further ►δόλων.

**δόλπαι** [f.]· πλακούντια μικρά. Κῶροι 'little flat cake (Coan)' (H.). <PG?>

•VAR Cf. δολβαί· θύματα· οἱ δὲ μικτὰ πλακούντια '[sacrificial] cake; mixed, little flat cake' (H.).

•ETYM Neumann 1961 compares Hitt. *turpa* 'kind of cake' (for offering); Anatolian or Pre-Greek origin thus seems likely.

**δόλων, -ωνος** [m.] 1. name of a front sail (Plb., D. S.) or the spar on such a sail (Poll.), Lat. loan *dolō* (Liv.); adj. δολωνικός (pap.). 2. 'secret weapon, stiletto' (Plu. TG 10). <GR/?>

•DER Diminutive δολίσκος· δόλων, παραξιφίς 'dirk' (H.); Lat. *dolō* 'id.' (Varro).

•ETYM In the meaning 'secret weapon', δόλων (2) could be derived from ►δόλος. In the meaning 'sail', the origin is unclear; in any event, the connection with ►δέλτος, MoHG *Zelt* 'tent' is very weak. DELG unconvincingly argues that δόλων 1. and 2. are actually the same word. Cf. Rougé 1966: 59.

**δόμος** [m.] 'house, living, room' (Il.), also 'layer' (Hdt.). <IE *\*dōm*, *\*domo-* 'house'>

•COMP Compounded substantives like ὀπισθό-, πρό- and adjectives like ἀγχι-, ισό-.

•DER δομόομαι 'be supplied with a house' (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>).

•ETYM δόμος is related to Skt. *dāma-* [m.] 'house' and Lat. *domus*. Beside this obviously secondary *o*-stem, an old *u*-stem is found in Skt. *dāmū-nas-* [m.] 'roommate' and Arm. *tanu-tēr* 'house-lord'. However, the *u*-stem inflexion of Lat. *domus* replaces older *o*-stem inflexion because of its feminine gender (De Vaan 2008 s.v.). See also ►δμῶς. The root noun *\*dōm*, gen. *\*dems*, found in ►δεσπότης, ►δάπεδον (but less certainly in ►δάμιον), is archaic. Originally, δόμος (just like ►δῶμα) is an adaptation of this root noun rather than a verbal abstract from ►δέμω. Δ(α)μία, Μνία s.v. ►Δημήτηρ are unclear.

**δόναξ** [m.] 'pole-reed, what is made of it, shaft of an arrow, pipe' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also δῶναξ, δοῦναξ, gen. -ακος (see below).

•DER δονακεύς 'thicket of reeds' (Σ 576 -κῆα, lengthening at verse end?; cf. Boßhardt 1942: 21f.), also 'bird-catcher' (Opp. K. 1, 73), deverbal to δονακεύομαι 'catch birds with a lime-stick' (AP); δονακών 'thicket of reeds' (Paus.); δονακήματα· ἀυλήματα 'compositions for the flute' (H.); see Chantraine 1933: 178. δονακώδης 'rich in reed' (B.), δονακός 'id.' (E.), δονάκιος (H. s.v. κερκίδας; uncertain); δονακίτις 'made of reed', also plant name (AP; Strömberg 1940: 36); δονακιδόν 'reed-like' (A.D.). Uncertain Δονάκτας epithet of Apollo (Theopomp. Hist. 281), perhaps for Δονακίτης (Redard 1949: 208).

•ETYM Frisk (with lit.) explains the variants δῶναξ (Theoc. 20, 29 beside δόναξ Ep. 2, 3 and Pi. P. 12, 25) and δοῦναξ (AP) as hyperdialectisms (for δοῦναξ, Schulze 1892: 205 has proposed metrical lengthening as an alternative). However, this can hardly be correct: more plausibly, they all are variants of a Pre-Greek word (see Pre-Greek 6.1 on vowels, where we find *o/ou* and *ou/ω*). Pre-Greek origin is further confirmed by the suffix -αξ. Non-Greek origin was already advocated by Nehring *Glotta* 14 (1925): 181. A connection with δονέω 'to shake' (see the parallels in Strömberg 1940: 76f.) is most doubtful, whereas Latv. *duonis* 'reed' cannot be compared because it require long *\*ō* (incompatible with δόναξ, which cannot have its short *o* from δονέω). Nor is Go. *tains* 'twig', etc. related. As a semantic variant, δόναξ may also refer to the fish σωλήν (Ath.).

**δονέω** [v.] 'to shake' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aor. δονῆσαι.

•COMP As a second member e.g. in ἀλί-δονος 'driven around on sea' (A.).

•DER δόνημα (Luc.).

•ETYM No etymology.

**δόξα** [f.] 'opinion, glory, splendour' (Il. since K 324). <IE? *\*dek-* 'accept', PG?>

•DER Diminutive δοξάριον (Arr.); denominative δοξάζω 'to deem, praise' (trag., Th.) with δόξασμα, δοξασιός, δοξαστής, -αστός, -αστικός (Att., etc.), also δοξασία (D. C.) and δόξασις (Simp.); δοξόομαι 'to have the name' (Hdt.).

•ETYM The word is connected with δοκέω, but of unclear formation. Leumann 1950: 173ff. rejects the older proposals *\*δόκ-τιῆ*, *\*δόκ-σᾶ*, but his own theory is also

improbable (see Fraenkel *Gnomon* 23 (1951): 374). With its short final -α, the word could be Pre-Greek (cf. *Pre-Greek*: C 3.1). Cf. Szemerényi 1964: 376<sup>4</sup>.

**δορά** [f.] = δοκός 'beam' (H.). <?>

•ETYM The gloss Cret. δορά = δοκός (EM, H.) is considered uncertain; see Latte. Derivation from δόρυ is difficult to maintain.

**δορίαλλος** [m.] (Ar. Fr. 367) ἔστι δὲ τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον ἐφ' ὅβρει τραγωδοποιῶν Δορίλλου 'female genitals with reference to the insolence of the tragic poet Dorillos' (Et. Gen., Et. Gud. 375,8, EM 283, 46). H. has δορύαλλος. <?>

•VAR Also δόριλλος.

•ETYM Unexplained. See Maas KZ 58 (1930): 127f. and Taillardat 1962: §105. The name of the poet is given as Δοριλᾶος in the life of Euripides of Satyros (P.Oxy. 9, 1176).

**δόρκα** [f.] · κόνιδες 'eggs of lice, fleas and bugs, nits' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. Frisk compared δερκύλλειν· αἰμοποτεῖν 'suck blood' (H.; beside δερμύλλειν from δέρμα).

**δορκάς, -άδος** [f.] 'a kind of deer, roe, gazelle' (Hdt. 7, 69). <LW Celt.>

•DER Other forms: δόρξ (Call.; acc. δόρκᾱν E. H. F. 376 [lyr.]; δόρκα Dindorf), δόρκος (Dsc.), δόρκων (LXX); also ζορκάς (Hdt. 4, 192), ζόρξ (Call.); ἰορκος (Opp.), ἰορκες, ἰορκες (H.). Diminutives: δορκάδιον (LXX, Delos III<sup>a</sup>), also a plant (André 1958 s.v.); δορκαλῖς (Call.; on -αλ-ιδ- Chantraine 1933: 251f., 344); δορκαλίδες 'dice from the bones of δ.' (Herod.; on -ιδ- see Chantraine 1933: 346f.); δορκαλίδες· ὄργανόν ἐστι κολαστικόν τε· ἡ μάλιστα αἱ ἀπὸ ἱμάντων δορκάδων 'a corrective instrument; whips from the leather straps of deer' (Suid.); δορκάδε(ι)ος 'made from the bones of δ.' (ἀστράγαλος, Thphr., inscr., pap.; see S. Schmid 1950: 52), δόρκειος (Theognost.), δόρκιος (Edict. Diocl.). PN Δορκεύς, etc., see Boßhardt 1942: 130.

•ETYM Like δόρκος and δόρκων, δορκάς (built like κεμίας, etc.) was derived from the root noun δόρξ. If we start from the forms with ζ-, it agrees with a Celtic word for 'roe', Co. yorch, Bret. iourc'h 'roe', MW iwrch 'caprea mas', which points to IE \*iork-o-. The δ-forms are perhaps folk-etymological, after δέρκομαι; ἰορκος, etc. may be a Celtic (Galatic) LW. See Sommer 1905: 147f.

**δόρπον** [n.] 'evening-meal' (Il.). <LW?>

•VAR Hell. and late also -ος [m.].

•DIAL Myc. do-qe-ja /dork<sup>w</sup>ēja/?

•DER δόρπον 'time for dinner' (Hp. Epid. 5, 22 v.l.), δόρπιος 'p'rng. to the δ.' (Nonn.); δορπήϊα [n.pl.] 'food, meal' (Nic.; cf. ξεινήϊα), Δορπία [f.] 'evening before a festival, especially the Apaturia' (Hdt.). Denominative δορπέω 'take the evening meal' (Hom.), δορπιάζειν· δειπνεῖν 'to take a meal' (H.; cf. συμποσι-άζειν). δορπηστός [m.] (scil. καιρός) 'time for dinner' (Hp.), cf. δειπνηστός s.v. ► δειπνον.

•ETYM δόρπον could be combined with Alb. darkë 'evening (meal)' as a hypothetical \*dork<sup>w</sup>-o- (Mann Lang. 26 (1950): 384f., Porzig 1954a: 178). Further connections are unknown. The limited distribution of the word (only Albanian and Greek) suggests that it is a borrowing of some sort.

**δόρυ** [n.] 'wood, tree (trunk), spear' (Il.; on the epic use Trümper 1950: 52ff.). <IE \*doru 'tree, wood'>

•VAR Gen. δόρατος (Att.), δорός (trag.), δουρός and δούρατος (Hom.); dual δοῦρε (Hom.), plur. δόρατα, δοῦρα, δούρατα.

•COMP As a first member in several compounds (many PNs), beside δορυ- (δορατο-, δουρο-) also δο(υ)ρι-; as a dative (instrumental) in δουρι-κλειτός, etc., also analogical without case function. Note δορυ-σσοός 'throwing a spear' (Hes. Sc. 54; to σείω), δουρηνεκές < \*δορυ-ιγνεκές [adv.] 'a spear's throw distant' (K 357, to ἐνεγκεῖν, cf. διηνεκής). Also δωρι- in PNs, e.g. in Δωρί-μαχος (Dor., Boeot.), Δωρι-κλῆς (Arc., Dor.); also ► ἀσχέ-δωρος, s.v.; (-)δωρ- is regular for -δορυ-ος in some Doric dialects, and these names were probably borrowed by the other dialects.

•DER Diminutives δοράτιον (Hdt.), δορύδιον (auct. apud Orib. 47, 17, 5), δορύλλιον (Suid.); adjectives δουράτεος 'wooden' (Od.; of ἵππος, etc.), also δούρειος (E. Tr. 14), δούριος (Ar. Av. 1128), δορήϊος (AP 15, 14); epic reminiscences, see Schulze 1892: 102<sup>516</sup>.

Denominative verb δορατίζομαι 'fight with the spear' (H.) with δορατισμός (Plu.). Uncertain ► δορά (< \*δορυ-ά) = δοκός. PNs Δορύλαος, Δορίμαχος; with Doric lengthening upon loss of ρ: Δωρίμαχος, Δωρικλῆς (see above). Short names: Δοῦρις, Δορίης, etc.

•ETYM δόρυ is related to Skt. dāru, Av. dāuru 'wood', Hitt. tāru 'wood' and ToAB or 'id.' (with loss of \*d- in forms with \*dr-), which reflect PIE \*doru, gen. \*dreus. Beside this old neuter originally denoting only 'wood', there was a feminine word for 'tree, oak': ► δρυς. Cf. also ► δρυμιά and ► δένδρεον.

**δορύκνιον** [n.] plant name, 'Convolvulus oleofolius', etc. (Dsc.). <PG(V)>

•DER Diminutive δορυκνίδιον (Gal.).

•ETYM No etymology. Fur.: 183 compares ► στρύχνον, ► τρύχνον (Nic., Gal.; see s.v.), -ος (Theocr.). He remarks that, after σ-, we often find the voiceless variant. On the epenthesis, cf. (σ)κόνυζα/ κνύζα, κολυμβάς/ κλύβατις (ibid. 183<sup>9</sup>); thus he assumes that this word stands for \*δρυκ(χ?)νιον.

**δοῦλος** [m.] 'slave, servant', also as an adjective with compar. δουλότερος (Hdt.);

δούλη [f.] 'slave-woman, maid' (Il.); on the spread see E. Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 74f. <PG?>

•VAR δῶλος Cret.

•DIAL Myc. do-e-ro, do-e-ra /dohelos/, /dohelā/.

•COMP Many substantival and adjectival compounds.

•DER δουλῖς [f.] (Hyp.; cf. Schwyzler: 127 and 465) with δουλίδιον (H.), δουλάριον (Ar.). δουλοσύνη 'servitude' (Ion., Od.) with δουλόςσυνος (E. Hec. 448 [lyr.]); see Frisk *Erans* 43 (1945): 220. δούλιος, -ειος 'slavish, of a servant' (Hom.), δούλεος 'id.' (A. R.), δουλικός 'id.' (Att., etc.), δουλικά (σώματα) [n.pl.] 'slaves' (Peripl. M. Rubr., pap.).

Denominative verb δουλεύω 'to be a slave, serve' (IA) with δουλεία, Ion. -ητή 'servanthood', δούλευμα 'id.' (trag.; see Chantraine 1933: 186), δουλεύτρια 'female

servant' (Eust.); δουλόμαι, -όω 'to be made servant' (IA) with δούλωσις (Th.) and δουλωτικός (Plu.).

•ETYM The Mycenaean forms point to \*δόελος, probably from \*δοελος. δοῦλος is certainly not inherited (pace e.g. Neumann 1986: 489-496), although a borrowing from Carian or Lydian (as argued by Lambertz *Glotta* 6 (1915): iff.; Benveniste *RELat.* 10 (1932): 438f.) is difficult to account for chronologically, since the word appears already in Mycenaean (Risch *Kratylos* 29 (1984): 96f.). Conversely, Pre-Greek origin is a good possibility.

**δοῦμος** [m.] an Anatolian religious community, connected with the Magna Mater (Hippon., inscr., AP). <LW Phr.>

•ETYM A Phrygian word; it has been connected with Gr. θωμός 'heap' and Gm. words like Go. *doms* 'judgement', but without further confirmation. Cf. Wikander 1946: iff. Masson found the word in Hipponax (ed. 123). Cf. bibliogr. *Bull. Ep.* 1992 n° 202. The idea of Neumann 1999: 345-353 that the word primarily indicated the building in which the meetings are held is rejected by Lubotsky 1997a: 124-125.

**δοῦπος** [m.] 'dull, heavy sound' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•COMP In ἐρί-δουπος, also ἐρί-γδουπος 'thundering loud' (Il.); anlaut γδ- also in ἐγδούπησαν (A 45) and μασίγδουπον βασιλῆα· μεγαλόηχον 'with heavy sound', ... (H.), and also in ἀλί-, βαρύ-, μελί-γδουπος. Other compounds have -δουπος.

•DER δουπέω, aor. δουπήσαι, perf. ptc. δεδουπότος [gen.sg.] (Ψ 679; innovation, see Schwyzler: 771) 'sound heavily', secondarily (through misunderstanding δούπησεν δὲ πεσών, Leumann 1950: 217) 'fall in battle' (Il.).

•ETYM δουπέω is an intensive like βρομέω, etc. It shows some resemblance to Latv. *dupētiēs* 'sound dead', SCR. *dūpiti* 'slay (with sound)', and ToAB *tāp-* 'give a loud sound, announce', but the initial \*gd- (found in the compounds) is not known from PIE. Therefore, the word is probably Pre-Greek. Cf. ▶ κτυπέω, ▶ κτύπος.

**δοχμός** [adj.] 'oblique, slanted' (Il., Delphi II<sup>a</sup>). <IE \*dh<sub>3</sub>ǵʰmo- 'oblique'>

•DER δόχμιος 'id.' (Ar.), also in metre 'versus dochmius' (Choerob.) together with δοχμακός, δοχμικός, δοχμαικός, δοχμαῖζω (sch.). δόχη or δοχή 'breadth of the hand', from 'oblique'. Denominative δοχμόμαι (δοχμωθείς) 'to turn sideways' (Hes., *h. Merc.*), aor. act. and med. δοχμῶσαι, -ώσασθαι (Nonn.). δοχμαλόν· χαμαίζηλον, ταπεινόν 'low' (H.), after χθαμαλός.

•ETYM In its formation, δοχμός is identical to Skt. *jihmá-* 'oblique', from PIE \*dh<sub>3</sub>ǵʰmo-. In Skt. *jihmá-*, the *j-* from *d-* must be due to assimilation to the velar (PIIr. \*jīḡmá- < \*dīḡmá-; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *jihmá-*).

**δραγατεύω** [v.] probably 'to oversee a land with cereals or a vineyard' (Thess. III<sup>a</sup>). <?>

•ETYM From δραγάτης \*'cutter, laborer in the fields', MoGr. 'id.' (ἀρχιδραγάτης, Ankyra II<sup>p</sup>); connected by Zingerle *Glotta* 15 (1927): 70ff. to ▶ δράσσομαι after ἐργατεύομαι : ἐργάτης. Zingerle adduces δραζών· ἐν Σικελία ἱερὸν ..., εἰς ὃ οἱ γεωργοὶ εὐχὰς ἐπεμνον, ὅθεν καὶ δραζόνες (δρασόντες cod.) ἐκλήθησαν 'temple in

Sicily, to which farmer sent prayers; because of that, they were called δ.' (H.); see Latte ad loc. See Georgacas *Orbis* 4 (1956): 91ff.

**δραφεὸς** [acc.pl.f.] name of something dedicated to Athena (*SGDI* 1537, Phocis [VI<sup>a</sup>]). <?>

•ETYM The word has been compared with δραιόν· μάκραν, πύελον 'bath tub, trough' (H.) and ▶ δροίτη, but this is quite hypothetical.

**δράκων, -οντος** [m.] 'dragon, serpent' (Il.), also a fish, 'Trachinus' (Epich., cf. Strömberg 1943: 121f.). <IE \*drk- 'look at'>

•VAR Fem. δράκαινα 'female dragon' (*h. Ap.*, A.) with δρακαινίς a fish name (Com.); see below.

•DER Diminutive δρακόντιον (Delos III<sup>a</sup>), also a plant 'Arum dracunculum' (Hp.; after the color, Strömberg 1940: 38); δρακοντίς name of a bird (Ant. Lib.; see Thompson 1895: 91); δρακοντία a plant (Ps.-Dsc.); δρακοντίας (πυρός, σίκυς, πελειάς, Thphr.); δρακοντίτης (λίθος, Ptol. Chenn., see Redard 1949: 54). δρακόντειος and δρακοντώδης 'like a dragon' (E.). δρακοντίσις name of a disease (Gal.) as if from \*δρακοντιάω, after the words in -ίσις, cf. Holt 1941: 137<sup>3</sup>.

•ETYM On the assumption that the dragon was named after his paralyzing sight (despite doubts by Fick *BB* 18 (1892): 99), δράκων is probably related to δέρκομαι. It could then be an original *n*-stem (cf. δράκαινα) of a root noun \*δρά(κ) = Skt. *dṛś-* 'view' (cf. ▶ ὑπό-δρα s.v.), whereas the *nt*-stem was formed after the participles (Schwyzer: 526; Chantraine 1933: 268).

**δράλαινα** [adj.] ·λαμπρά. Κῶοι 'full of abysses (Coan)' (H.). <?>

•DER PN Δραλᾶς (Maeonia) and Δράλιος (Ceos, Schwyzler: 764).

•ETYM Unknown.

**δραμεῖν** [v.aor.] 'run' (Il.). <IE \*drem- 'run'>

•VAR Fut. δραμοῦμαι (IA), perf. δέδρομα (Od.), δεδρόμακα (Sapph.; see below), δεδράμηκα (IA); aor. to τρέχω.

•DER ▶ δρόμος 'course' with δρομή (Hdn.), δράμημα 'id.' (Hdt.), also δρόμημα (*APL*). Deverbative δρομάσκει (Hes. *Fr.* 117 v.l.); δρομήσασα (Vett. Val.); δεδρόμακε [perf.] (Sapph., fr. 31 LP; Aeolic zero grade?), δρομάσσειν· τρέχειν 'to run' (H.); also δρωμᾶ· τρέχει and δρωμίσσουσα· τρέχουσα (H.); see Schwyzler 718f.

•ETYM The aorist and perfect stem δραμι-, δρομ- are found beside δρᾶ- in ἔ-δρᾶ-ν, etc. (see ▶ ἀπο-διδράσκω), just as the present stem βα-ν- < \*βαμ- in βαίνω is found next to βᾶ- in ἔ-βη-ν. Outside Greek, a good match is offered by Skt. pres. *dramati* (gramm.), intensive ptc.med. *dandramyamāṇa-* 'run'. However, the connection with OE *trem* 'footstep', etc. is uncertain. Thus, we have IE \*drem- : *dreh<sub>2</sub>-* like \*g<sup>w</sup>em- : *g<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-*; see ▶ βαίνω. A third variant is seen in Skt. *drávati* 'run' < \*dreu-. As a present of δραμεῖν, Greek has τρέχειν; on the aspect, see Benveniste 1935: 120.

**δράμις** [f.] kind of bread, Macedonian acc. to Seleuc. *apud* Ath. 3, 114b. <?>

•ETYM The word is reminiscent of ▶ δαράται; further details are unknown. Cf. Pisani *Rev. Int. ét. balk.* 3 (1937): 11, and Kallérís 1954: 158f.

δραπέτης → διδράσκω.

**δράσσομαι** [v.] 'to grasp, take handfuls' (Il., IA). <IE? \*dregʰ- (LIV<sup>2</sup> 126)>

•VAR Att. δράττομαι; aor. δράξασθαι, perf. δέδραγμαι.

•COMP Compounds with δια-, ἐν-, κατα-.

•DER δράγμα 'handful, especially of corn stalks' (Il.), together with δραγμαεύω 'collect sheaves' (Σ 555) as if from δραγιός (E. Cyc. 170) for metrically impossible δραγματεύω (Eust. 1162, 17); also δραγμῖς 'small handful' (Hp. Morb. 2, 55, v.l. of δραμῖς), δραγμῆ 'id.' (EM); on ▶δραχμή s.v.; δράγδην 'grasping with the hand' (Plu., Q. S.). Retrograde formation δράξ, -κός [f.] 'handful' (LXX); with metathesis δάρκες, δέσμαι 'handful' (H.). On ▶δραγατεύω (δραξών), see s.v. Unclear δρακτόν 'small vase' (inscr.).

•ETYM δράσσομαι is a yod-present from a root \*δρακ- or \*δράχ-, of which the zero grade was generalized throughout the paradigm. A relationship with Arm. *trc'-ak* 'Reisigbündel' has been considered, where the original word-final -c' is supposed to continue a sequence of velars; an IE *ē* or *ō* (PArm. *i* or *u*) must have disappeared between *t-* and *r* (or between *r* and *c'*). OCS *po-drago* 'edge, border of cloth' is not related (rather, to Ru. *děrgat* 'pull, tug' and OE *tiergan* 'annoy', etc.). LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*dregʰ- connects the word with Av. *dražaitē* 'holds', etc., and analyzes the Greek as a formation \**dr-n-gʰ-je-* or \**drgh-je-*. The latter solution seems the most attractive. See under ▶δραχμή.

**δραχμή** [f.] 'drachm', weight and coin (IA). <PG?>

•VAR δαρχμα (Arc., El., Cnossos), δαρκνα (Gortyn, /-kʰnā/, < -χμά Schwyzer: 215f.).

•DER δραχμαῖος 'worth a δ.' (Att., etc.; after ἡμιωβολιαῖος, etc., see Chantraine 1933: 49), also δραχμαῖος, -ήϊος (Nic.); Diminutive δραχμῖον (Aristeas).

•ETYM Usually taken as a verbal noun in -(σ)μη/ā from ▶δράσσομαι, properly meaning 'grasp of the hand, handful' (of oboles), based on comparison with σπιθαμή, πυγμή, etc., with δραχ- and δαρχ- in the zero grade. However, the two variants δραχ- and δαρχ- suggest that this is not a zero grade from PGr. \**drkʰ-*, and therefore, that it is a Pre-Greek word (cf. also δάρκες s.v. ▶δράσσομαι); this is not noted in Fur.: From δραχμή comes Arab. *dirham*, Arm. *dram*, etc.; see Bailey BSOAS 13 (1949-1950): 128f.

**δράω** [v.] 'to make, do' (Od.; Att. prose has πράττω and ποιέω). <?>

•VAR Aeol. 3sg. δρᾶσι, aor. δρᾶσαι, etc.

•COMP Compounds with ἀνα-, ἀντι-, ἐπι-, παρα-, συν-, ὑπο-.

•DER δρᾶμα 'action, spectacle, drama' (A.) with diminutive δραμάτιον (Plu.) and δραματικός 'dramatic' (Arist.); with analogical σ (cf. δριστήρ below): δρασιμάτων 'tricks, villainies' (H.) and δρασματικός = δραστήριος (Cat. Cod. Astr.); lengthened form δραμοσύνη 'holy service' (Attica IV\*), beside δρημοσύνη 'id.' (h. Cer. 476) from \*δρήσιμων, cf. Chantraine 1933: 174. δρᾶσις 'action, strength' (A. D.) with τὸ δράσιμον (A. Th. 554). Wwith analogical σ (Schwyzer: 531): δριστήρ, fem. δρήστειρα (Od.), δρήστης, δράστης, δράστας (Archil., Pi.) 'servant (maid)' (Fraenkel 1910: 167f.) together with δραστήριος 'active' (A.), δραστηριότης (Eust.) and δραστηριώδης (Gal.), δραστικός 'active' (Pl.), δρηστοσύνη 'obligingness' (o 321);

denominative δρηστεύω 'to serve (at a sacred act)' (Lesbos). Desiderative δρᾶσείω 'want to do' (S.). Beside δράω, we find δραίνω (formed after βαίνω, φαίνω, etc.) 'want to do, can do' (K 96, Herod.; an Ionism acc. to Bechtel 1914, Chantraine 1942: 343) with ὀλιγο-δρᾶνέων 'who can do little' (Il.; from ὀλίγα δραίνειν to ὀλιγηπελέων, cf. Schwyzer: 724, Chantraine 1942: 349; different analysis in Bechtel 1914 s.v. ὀλιγοδρανέω), with ὀλιγοδρᾶνία (A.), ὀλιγοδρᾶνής (Ar.); innovation ἀδρᾶνής (LXX, Arr.) with ἀδρᾶνεια (Hdn.), ἀδρᾶνιή (A. R.), ἀδρᾶνέω 'be inactive' (Arat.), ἀδρᾶνίζω 'id.' (sch.); as backformation δράνος· ἔργον, πρᾶξις, ὄργανον, ἄγαλμα, κατασκευάσμα, δύναμις 'work, action, tool, sculpture, work of art, ability' (H.); also MoGr. δράνα 'tendrill?', Bogiatzides Αρχ. Έφ. 27 (1888): 115ff.), δρᾶνεις· δραστικοί 'active' (H.).

•ETYM If δραίνω is a younger form, then the root was δρᾶ- (cf. κρᾶ-, τλᾶ-, etc.). Connection with Baltic words like Lith. *daraũ*, *daryti*, Latv. *darīt* 'do, make, build' is quite uncertain (cf. Schwyzer: 675): Fraenkel 1955 (s.v.) considers *daryti* to be a causative of *derũ*, *derēti* 'be useful', and further connects Skt. *dhār-ma-*, *dhārāyati* 'hold', etc. On δράω, δρᾶμα, see Snell Phil. Suppl. 20:1 (1928): 1ff. and Snell Phil. 85 (1930): 141ff.

**δράω 2** [v.] 'to see' (A.D. Adv. 139, 8, EM 287,7). <GR>

•DER δρᾶσις = βλέψις; οἱ δρατοί = ὁφθαλμοί.

•ETYM These forms were invented by grammarians to explain ὑπόδρα.

**δρέπω** [v.] 'to pluck, cut off' (Od.). <IE? \*drep- 'pluck'>

•VAR Aor. δρέψαι (also δραπών Pi., δρόπωσιν [subj.] Alc.); pres. δρέπτω (Mosch.).

•COMP Compounds with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα-. In composition often -η- for -ο-, e.g. δρεπανη-φόρος 'sickle-carrying' (X.); cf. Schwyzer: 438f.

•DER δρεπάνη (Il.), δρέπανον (Od.) 'sickle' (δράπανον epigr.) together with δρεπανηῖς 'id.' (Nic.; Chantraine 1933: 346), δρεπάνιον (Seleuc. apud Ath.); δρεπανίς the bird 'Alpine swift' (Arist., after the shape of the wings, Thompson 1895 s.v.; H. also has δραπανίδες· εἶδος ὀρνέου 'a kind of bird'), δρεπανώδης 'sickle-shaped' (Agath.). δρέμμα· κλέμμα ('about stealing fruit?', von Blumenthal 1930: 35, unless for κλήμα), οἱ δὲ κλάσμα 'fragment' (H.). δρεπτεις (H.), δρεπεις (EM) = τρυγηταί, 'vintagers', see Boßhardt 1942: 81. Beside δρέπω stands (with lengthened grade) δρῶπαξ [m.] 'ichthyol', together with δρωπακίζω 'apply a depilatory' and δρωπακισμός, -ιστής, -ίστρια (medic.). Also δρώπτης· πλανήτης, πτωχός 'wanderer, beggar' (H.) ?

•ETYM The lengthened grade of δρωπ- is matched by a Slavic word for 'scratch, tear', e.g. Ru. *drápat* (secondary *drjáp-*), Pol. *drapać*, SCr. *drāpām*, *drápati*, etc. (the *ō*-grade points to an old root noun, which may be secondary in Slavic); the zero grade (δραπών, etc.) occurs in Bulg. *dōrpam*, SCr. *dīpām*, *dīpati*. Very uncertain is the relation with ON *trōf* [n.pl.] 'fringes', etc. (< IE \*drop-) and Gallo-Rom. *drappus* 'cloth, linen', etc. δρέπω might be an extension of δέρω as \**dr-ep-*; compare ▶τρέπω, ▶κλέπτω. A parallel of δρεπάνη is Arm. *artevan*, -*anac* 'eyebrow' (named after its shape); see De Lamberterie REArm. 17 (1983): 21f. and discussion in Clackson 1994: 109-112 (an old loan from Greek?). Alb. *drapën* 'sickle' is a loan from Greek.

**δρηστεύω** •VAR δρηστήρ, etc. ⇒ δράω.

**δρίλος** [m.] 'circumcised man', = *verpus* in Latin glosses (AP, Amphissa; on the mg. Diels & Brugmann *IF* 15 (1903-1904): 4-6). <?>

•DER δρίλακες· βδέλλαι 'leeches' (H.; Chantraine 1933: 380).

•ETYM No etymology. M. Scheller (in Pok. 208) adduces δριάουσιν· θάλλουσιν 'flourishing' (H.), which, like δριάντα· χλωρά, is based on δρίος, plur. δρία 'bush, shrubs'; the supposed meaning 'swelling' (whence both 'circumcised man' ['penis'] and 'leech') is a mere guess. See Kretschmer *Glotta* 14 (1925): 229, *contra* H. Petersson (Arm. *titeřn* 'crocodile'). Other suggestions can be found in von Loewenthal *WuS* 10 (1927): 186 and Sapir *Lang.* 15 (1940): 185. See also ► κροκόδιλος.

**δρίμυς** [adj.] 'sharp, sour, bitter' (Il.). <PG?>

•COMP δριμυλέων as a philosophical nickname (Gal.).

•DER δριμύλος 'piercing' (Mosch.; diminutive, cf. ἡδύλος, etc., Chantraine 1933: 250); δριμύτης, -ητος [f.] 'sharpness, etc.' (IA). Denominative δριμύσσω 'cause a biting pain' (especially medic.; Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 243) with δρίμυξ 'smarting' and δριμυγμός 'pungency'; also δριμεύω 'to itch' (Anon. in EN).

•ETYM The old interpretation (Persson 1912(2): 779) as 'splitting, cutting', from \*δρίσ-μύς (replacing \*δρίσ-μός), is not convincing. Since the word has no etymology, we might consider Pre-Greek origin.

**δρίος** [n.] 'bush, shrubs' (ξ 353; cf. ἄλσος 'grove', τάρφος 'thicket', etc.). <?>

•VAR Plur. δρία; δρισι [dat.pl.] (*IG* 14, 217: 43).

•DER Perhaps δριών 'δενδρών' ('thicket') in ἐν δριώνας (Meineke; cod. ἐνδριώνας)· δρόμος παρθένων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι 'maidens' race in Laconia' (H.).

•ETYM Pedersen 1909: 80 compared OIr. *driss* 'vepres' (suffix -st-); this is unclear. The word is often combined with ► δρύς, etc.; the formation remains unclear in any case. Not connected here (as per Osthoff 1901: 156ff.) is δρίς· δύναμις 'potential' (H.). Also unclear are δράεντα· χλωρά 'green' and δριάουσιν· θάλλουσιν 'flourishing' (H.).

**δροίτη** [f.] 'bathtub' (A.), also 'cradle' (Alex. Aet.), 'coffin' (Parth.), name of a dance (H.; see Lawler *AmJPh.* 71 (1950): 70ff.). <PG?>

•VAR Cf. δοίτρον· πύελον 'trough', σκάφην 'trough, tray' (H.), dissimilated from \*δροίτρον?

•ETYM Although the word has no good etymology, its suffix -ιτα suggests Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 238<sup>45</sup>). Not attractive is the connection with OE *trig*, MoE *tray* 'flat trough, dish' (from PGm. \*trau-ja-, IE \*drou-io- of 'wood'); indeed, any relationship with ► δρύς is probably due to secondary association. For example, the younger form δρύτη could be due to the pronunciation υ for οι, or else result from influence of δρύς. Lat. *durēta* 'wooden bath tub' is probably borrowed from the Greek (Schwyzer *KZ* 62 (1935): 199ff.).

**δρόμος** [m.] 'run, race, course' (Il.); = γυμνάσιον 'school' (Crete; cf. on δρομεύς below). <IE \*drem- 'run'>

•DER δρομεύς 'runner' (Att.), ἔφηβος (Cret.); δρομάς [f.] (also [m., n.]) 'running' (S., cf. Schwyzer: 507, Chantraine 1933: 354), also used for the camel (D. S.), as a loan Lat. *dromas* with *dromedārius*, whence δρομεδάριος, δρομαδάριος 'dromedary' (pap.); δρομαῖος 'running' (S.), δρομικός 'for running, quick' (Pl.) with δρομικότης (Simp.); Δρόμιος epithet of Hermes (Crete), Δρομήϊος month name (Crete); late and rare δρομίας name of a fish and a crab (Eratosth.; see Strömberg 1943: 51f., Thompson 1947 s.v. δρόμων); δρομαλός epithet of λαγώς 'hare' (H.), δρόμων 'light ship' (Procop.), = ὁ μικρὸς καρκίνος 'the small crab' (H.), cf. on δρομίας; δρόμαξ 'good at running' (of κάμηλος 'camel', Gp.); δρόμιον 'running match' (*Tab. Defix. Aud.*, Rome IV-V<sup>p</sup>). δρομή = δρόμος 'run, race, course' (Hdn. Gr.).

•ETYM Derived from ► δραμεῖν.

**δρόξιμα** [n.pl.] 'uncooked, raw fruits' (pap. V-VI<sup>p</sup>). <?>

•ETYM = τρώξιμα 'id.' (from τρώγω), via a folk-etymological reshaping after δρόσος 'dew', δροσερός 'fresh' (e.g. of λάχανα 'vegetables' Ar. *Pl.* 298?)

**δροόν** [adj.] · ισχυρόν. Ἀργεῖοι 'strong (Arg.)' (H.). <IE \*drou- 'wood'>

•ETYM From \*δροφ-όν, properly 'made of heartwood', from the word for 'wood' in ► δόρυ, ► δρύς. Compare OE *trig* 'tray' < IE \*drou-io- (see ► δροίτη); also, Go. *trauan*. The same word is supposed in PN Δρούθου [gen.], Τελοῦ II<sup>a</sup>. ἐνδροῖα· καρδία δένδρου καὶ τὸ μέσον 'heart of the tree, the middle part' (H.) may stand for ἐνδρυα. See Osthoff 1901: 145ff.

**δρόσος** [f.] 'dew', often of several fluids (Hdt., Pi.); in A. Ag. 141 (Iyr., pl.) = 'young animals' (λεόντων), thus Call. *Hec.* 1, 2, 3; acc. to Bechtel 1914: 139 and Benveniste *BSL* 45 (1949): 102' metonymic; different Leumann 1950: 258<sup>n</sup>; cf. on ► ἔρσαι. <PG>

•VAR On the gender see Schwyzer 1950: 32<sup>4</sup>, 34<sup>1</sup>.

•DER Adjectives mg. 'dewy, fluid': δροσόεις (Sapph.), δροσώδης (com.), δροσερός (E.), δροσινός (AP), δρόσιμος (Plu.). Abstract δροσία (Orac. *apud* Luc. *Alex.* 53, *Cat. Cod. Astr.*, also MoGr.; on the mg. see Scheller 1951: 54f.). Hypocoristic δροσαλλίς name of a Bithynian wine (Gp.); see Chantraine 1933: 252. Denominative δροσιζω 'to sprinkle, make dew' (Ar.) with δροσισμός (Olymp. Alch.); δροσόμαι 'to be sprinkled with dew' (Anacreont.).

•ETYM The word is probably of Pre-Greek origin (note the intervocalic -σ-; for older views, cf. Bq; Sapir *Lang.* 15 (1940): 185).

\***δροτήτα** (Π 857, etc.) ⇒ ἀνήρ.

**δρυάσαι** = δενδρύω.

**δρύμα** [n.pl.] 'wood, forest' (Il.). <IE \*dru- 'wood, tree'>

•VAR Late also δρύμα, see below.

•DER δρυμός 'bush, thicket' (*SIG* 57, 28 [V<sup>a</sup>]); δρυμώδης 'forested', δρύμιος 'who passes a forest' (Cyprus); δρυμίους· τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν κατοικοῦντες (i.e. 'brigands living in the woods'); δρυμεῖτις (read -ίτις?) scil. γῆ 'forested country' (pap.); δρυμῶν -ώνος 'forest' (J.). δρυμῖς -ίδος = δρυάς (*An. Ox.* 1, 225).

•ETYM Neutral collective of \*δρῦμός = Skt. *druma-* [m.] 'tree', Ru. *drom* 'thicket, forest', an IE derivation in *-m-* of the word for 'wood, tree'; see ▶δόρυ and ▶δρῦς. The length of the vowel, seen in the sing. δρῦμός and the masc. plural forms only, is taken from δρῦς; see Wackernagel 1916: 184ff. On the ntr. plur., see Schwyzler: 581. Differently, Machek *Listy filol.* 72 (1948): 71.

**δρυμάσσω** [v.] 'to tear up, crush', intrans. 'to creak' (= ληκεῖν Poll. 5, 93), also obscene uses; cf. H.: δρυμάξεις· κυρίως μὲν σπαράξεις· χρῶνται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ συνέσει καὶ προσομιλήσεις 'commonly: retching; also used for coition and sexual intercourse' (Com. *Adesp.* 986); δρυμάσσειν καὶ δρυμάξαι· τὸ τύπτειν ξύλοις 'to beat with clubs'. ἐδρύμαξεν· ἔθραυσεν, ἔσφαξεν 'he shattered, slayed'. ἀδρύμακτον· καθαρὸν 'clear, clean'. <PG?>

•VAR Att. -ττω; aor. δρυμάξαι, fut. δρυμάξω.

•ETYM Expressive formation. Nevertheless, a cross of δρύπτω with another verb (e.g. μάσσω, ἰμάσσω, as suggested by Frisk) does not seem probable. Rather, a derivation in -ακ- from δρύπτω, with -μι- for -πι- (see Fur.: 224f., and cf. 326 on δρυψ-, δρυψ-). The explanation of 'τύπτειν ξύλοις' (H.) is probably folk etymological (based on δρυμός?).

**δρῦμός** ⇒ δρῦμά.

**δρυπετής** [adj.] 'having ripened on the tree', about black olives (Ar. *Lys.* 564). <GR>

•ETYM From δρυ- and πέπων. δρύπιος, said of ἄγρος (IG 9(1), 61), is unclear; so too is δρύπετα (AP 6, 191), which may be an isolated innovation. The same holds for δρύπιπα (AP 6, 299); can it be a Latin form? Note that Ath. 56 said that the accus. plur. δρυππας is Roman. Δρυπετής would be a later change in the form; it may have existed because of δρυπετεῖς· ἀπὸ δένδρου πεπτωκυίας 'fallen from the tree' (H.).

**δρύπτω** [v.] 'to scratch', especially as a sign of mourning (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Aor. δρύψαι, opt. ἀπο-δρύφοι (Ψ 187 = Ω 21), probably pres., cf. δρυρόμενοι· φθειρόμενοι (H.).

•DER ἀμφι-δρυφής, ἀμφί-δρυφος 'scratched on both sides (cheeks)' (Il.); δρυπής [f.] name of a thorn-bush (Thphr.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 76. Only lexical δρυφή· ἀμυχή, καταξυσμή 'scratch', δρυφάδες· ὄνυχες, καταξύσματα 'talons, scratchings'. λύπαι, ὀδύναι 'pains'. ἢ τὰ ἀπὸ πληγῶν πελιώματα 'livid spots from blows', δρύφι· ξέσματα 'abrasion' (H.). δρυφάξαι· θακεῖν 'to sit' (H.). With -s-: δρύψαλα 'leaves', δρύψελα· πέταλα δρυώδη 'tree-like leaves' (H.), δρύψια 'shavings'; δρυψόπαιδα· τὴν λαμυράν 'impudent female'. οἱ δὲ ἀπαλόπαιδα ἢ ἐλεεινόν 'delicate child; pitiable' (H.); δρυψογέροντας· τοὺς ἀτόπους πρεσβύτας καὶ οἴονεῖ ἀτίμους 'remarkable seniors, as if dishonored' (H.).

•ETYM Expressive form, usually connected with ▶δέρω, ▶δρέπω. However, the word was hardly reshaped after ▶θρύπτω. The variants δρυρ-, δρυψ-, and ▶δρυμ-άσσω clearly point to a Pre-Greek word (and therefore it is improbable that it derives from IE δέρω); see Fur. 326, 348, etc. Neither is the word Iranian (Schwarz 1970: 386).

**δρῦς, -υός** [f.] 'tree', especially 'oak' (Il.). <IE \*doru, gen. \*dreus 'wood, tree'>

•DIAL Dialectal sometimes also [m.], see Schwyzler 1950: 37<sup>2</sup>; Myc. *du-ru-to-mo* /dru-tomoi/ 'woodcutters'.

•COMP ▶ἄδρυα 'upright pieces', ▶ἀμάδρυα 'sloe', ▶γεράνδρυν 'old tree or stump', ἔνδρυν· καρδία δένδρου, καὶ τὸ μέσαβον 'heart of the tree; leathern strap' (H.), also Hes. (see below); μελάνδρυα 'hearts of oak', also 'slices of tunny'.

•DER δρύϊνος 'oaken' (Od.), δρυϊνᾶς name of a snake living in oaks (Nic.); δρυῖτης kind of cypress (Thphr.), name of a precious stone (Plin.); Δρυάς 'Dryad, tree-nymph' (Plu.), also name of a snake (Androm. *apud* Gal.; cf. δρυῖνας); them. lengthening in δρύου [gen.] 'bush' (POxy. 7, 1044, [7]; 8; 12, II-III<sup>P</sup>); but the them. endings in μελάν-δρυ-ον 'heart-wood', ἔν-δρυ-ον 'oaken peg' (Hes. *Op.* 469) belong to δόρυ. The same holds for δρύ-οχοι [m.pl.] 'ribs of a ship' (Od.; cf. Wackernagel 1916: 186), δρῦ(ο)-κολάπτης 'woodpecker' (Ar.), etc.; parallel mgs. in Schwentner KZ 73 (1956): 112f.; short form (after animal names in -οψ) δρύοψ (Ar. *Av.* 304); also as a PN (Y 455) and as a people's name, see von Wilamowitz 1931: 52<sup>1</sup>. On ▶δρύφακτοι, see s.v.

•ETYM Apart from the vowel length, which can be explained as from the feminine gender (Wackernagel l.c.), δρῦς is identical with Skt. *dru-* 'wood', found e.g. in *dru-śād-* 'sitting on wood (on a tree)', *su-dru-* 'of good wood'. Other cognates are OCS *drъva* [n.pl.] 'wood', Alb. *dru* [f.] (< \**druwā*) 'wood, tree', and Go. *triu* < PGm. \**trewa-* < IE \**dreu-o-*. The feminine δρῦς (gender after other tree names; cf. Wackernagel 1920-1924(2): 17) arose from the oblique case forms of the word for 'wood', Gr. δόρυ, Skt. *dāru-* (gen. *drú-n-ah* next to *dró-h*). Janda 1997 assumes a collective \**druh₂-* (with -s in the nom.). The meaning 'firm, strong', found in Greek in ▶δροόν· ἰσχυρόν, is frequent in Gm., e.g. OE *trum* 'firm, strong, healthy' (formally = δρῦμά 'wood', Skt. *druma-* 'tree'), Go. *triggws* (< \**trewwa-*, IE \**dreu(u)-o-*) 'true, faithful'.

**δρύφακτοι** [m.pl.] 'railing or latticed partition, balcony, bar (in court)' (Ar.). <GR>

•VAR Rarely sing. -ος; also δρύφρακτοι (Lib.) with restored ρ, and τρύφακτοι (Hell. and late inscr., Hdn. Gr.), with τ- acc. to Schwyzler: 257 from regressive assimilation, but alternatively (Frisk) after τρυφή 'delicacy' by folk etymology; doubtful.

•DER Denominative δρυφάσσω 'fence in' (Lyc.), δρυφάξαι· ++ δακεῖν 'to bite' (H.; at wrong alphabetical position). Also δρυθακτόω.

•ETYM Generally taken as a combination of δρῦ- (in ▶δόρυ) and ▶φράσσω with a suffix -το- (cf. e.g. ἀκμό-θε-τον). However, the τ- is hard to understand as assimilation.

**δρωπάξιν** [v.]· ἐμβλέπειν 'to look in the face' (H.), A. D. *Adv.* 139, 8; δρώπτειν· [διακόπτειν ἢ] διασκοπεῖν. Αἰσχύλος Ψυχαγωγοῖς '[cut through]; examine well [in Aeschylus's *Psychagogoi*]' (Fr. 278) (H.). <?>

•ETYM Frisk suggests a cross of δέρκομαι, δρακεῖν and ὄπωπα, ὄψομαι, which is not very convincing. Comparable is δρωκτάξεις (δροκ-)· περιβλέπεις, for which Latte adduces the PN Δροκυλος (Argolis), but this may stand for Δρακυλος. See ▶δράω 2 = ὄραω.

**δρῶπαξ** ⇒ δρέπω.



δρώψ [m.] · ἄνθρωπος ‘man’ (H.). <PG>

•ETYM Thought to be a compound \*νρ-ώψ ‘with manly face’ (see ▶άνήρ), but the absence of ἄ- is strange. Acc. to Latte, it is a creation of the grammarians. Kuiper 1956: 224f. accepts the gloss as Pre-Greek, explaining ἄνθρωπος as arising through prenasalization and prothetic vowel. His solution is supported by Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 13-5. Pisani *Rev. Int. ét. balk.* 3 (1937): 11f. considers δρώψ to be Macedonian (connected to ▶τρέφω).

δύβρις [?] · κατὰ γλῶσσαν ἢ θάλασσα ‘sea [gloss]’, sch. Theoc. 1, 118c. <?>

•ETYM If the word is Illyrian, one could connect Latv. *dubra* ‘pit, marshy place’, OCS *dǫbrъ* ‘abyss’, as well as Mlr. *dobur* ‘water’ and other words for ‘deep’, like Lith. *dubūs*, Go. *diups*, etc. See Krahe 1955: 47. Acc. to Szemerényi *Archiv. Linguist.* 5 (1953): 77, also Lat. *Tiberis* (as Illyrian) is related. Cf. ▶δύπτω.

δύη [f.] ‘misery, anguish’ (Od.). <?>

•VAR Dor. δῦα.

•COMP As a first member in δυη-παθής (A. R.).

•DER δῦιος ‘unhappy, painful’ (A. *Supp.* 829 [lyr.]), δυερός ‘id.’ (metr. inscr., Attica); causative present δυώωσι [3sg.] ‘cause misery’ (v 195), perf. ptc. δεδυμένη· κεκακωμένη ‘distressed’ (H.), with derivations.

•ETYM If it originally meant ‘burning pain’, δύη might derive from a zero grade of the root \*deh<sub>2</sub>u- ‘burn’, seen in Skt. *dunóti* ‘burn (trans.), torment’ and OHG *zusen* ‘burn’. In Greek, this root is perserved in ▶δαίω < \*dau-je/o- and ▶δήϊος. However, this remains uncertain, of course.

### Myc. du-ma

•ETYM Probably the name of an official, on which see Fauth *KZ* 102 (1989): 187-206.

δύναμαι [v.] ‘to be able, be equal to; to signify’ (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aor. δυνήσασθαι, δυνασθῆναι (Il.), δυνηθῆναι (trag.), fut. δυνήσομαι (Od.), perf. δεδύνημαι (Att.).

•DER δύναμις [f.] ‘strength, power’ (Il.; cf. θέμις and below) with δυναμικός ‘powerful, effective’ (Hell. and late), δυναμερός ‘id.’ (medic.), δυναμοστόν a fraction (Dioph.); δυναμιώ ‘make strong’ (Hell. and late), with δυνάμωσις, δυναμιωτικός, δύνασις ‘id.’ (Pi.). δυνάστης [m.] ‘lord, master’ (IA) with δυναστικός (Arist.), δυναστεύω (IA), with δυναστεία, δυνάστευμα, δυναστευτικός; fem. δυνάστις (Demetr. *Eloc.*), δυνάστειρα (*Tab. Defix. Aud.* III<sup>p</sup>). δυνάστωρ ‘id.’ (E. *IA* 280 [lyr.]). Verbal adj. δυνατός ‘able; possible’ (Sapph.) with δυνατέω ‘be strong’ (2 *Ep. Cor.* 13, 3); δυνητικός ‘potential’ (A. D.).

•ETYM Probably to be analyzed as δῦ-ν-α-μαι, a present with generalized nasal infix (δῦ-ν-ά-σθην for \*δῦά-σθην, cf. λίναμαι : λιάσθην), δῦ-ν-ή-σομαι for \*δῦή-σομαι, etc., as well as in nouns like δύναμις, etc. An -σ- was added in δυνά-σ-θην, δυνά-σ-της. LIV<sup>2</sup> reconstructs \*deuh<sub>2</sub>- ‘zusammenfügen’ and connects the word with ToB *tsuwa* [3sg.pret.] ‘join, adjust’ and Go. *taujan* ‘make’. This disyllabic root formally agrees with that of ▶δῆν and ▶δηρός but, semantically, a connection is difficult. Cret. νύναμαι (Gortyn) must be the same word. The ν- may simply be due to assimilation.

δυνδεκάτη [num.] · ἡμέρα δωδεκάτη ‘on the twelfth day’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM According to Schulze 1892: 178, δυνδέκατος was formed after ἐνδέκατος, but Latte implausibly corrects to δυοδεκάτη, contrary to the alphabetical order.

δύο [num.] ‘two’. <IE \*duwo, \*duw-eh<sub>2</sub> (?) ‘two’>

•VAR Epic eleg. also δύω, Lacon., etc. also δύ(φ)ε (after κύν-ε, etc.), oblique forms δυοῖν (Att. δυεῖν since IV-III<sup>a</sup>), δυῶν, δυοῖσ(ι), δυσί; also indeclinable (Il.); see Schwyzler: 588f.

•DIAL Myc. *dwo*; *du-wo-u-pi* /dwōup<sup>hi</sup>/.

•COMP As a first member (beside usual δι-, see ▶δίς) e.g. in δυο-ποιός ‘making two’ (Arist.), and in univerbations like δυο-καί-δεκα (Il., etc.).

•DER δυοστός ‘half’ (sch.), after εικοστός ‘twentieth’, etc.

•ETYM The final short vowel of δύο is also seen in Arm. *erko-tasan* ‘twelve’ and in the Skt. derivative *dva-ká-* ‘in pairs’ (Lat. *duo* is due to iambic shortening). \**duwo* is also found in Go. *twa* and *wit* ‘we two’, as well as in OIr. *da*; see Cowgill *MSS* 46 (1985): 13-28, who demonstrates that the \**duwo* originally was an indeclinable next to the dual δύω (= Skt. *duvā*, OCS *dъva* [m.]). A monosyllabic \**duō(u)* is reflected in δ(φ)ω-δεκα, Skt. *dvā(u)*, Hitt. *dā-* in *dā-yuga-* ‘two years old’, *dān* ‘a second time’.

δυοχοῖ [v.] · πωματίζει παρὰ Δημοκρίτῳ (Fr. 136), ἦτοι πωμάζει, σκεπάζει ‘to cover (with a lid) [Democr.], to protect or shelter’; δυοχῶσαι· πωμάσαι (H.). <?>

•ETYM The explanation as from \*δυοχος ‘lid’ is rejected by DELG, both because the meaning would not fit and because a compound with δυ(ό)- instead of δω- is improbable. Chantraine suggests reading \*δρυοχοῖ from δρύοχος, which is ‘the props or shores upon which the frame of a new ship is laid’, or (LSJ *Supp.*) ‘the ribs of a ship’ (DELG s.v. δρύς); it is then the same as δρύακες (H.). However, this does not seem to fit well for the present gloss.

δύπτω [v.] ‘to dive in’, mostly intr. (Antim. [?], Lyc., A. R.). <?>

•VAR Aor. δύψαι.

•DER δύπτης [m.] ‘diver’, especially as a bird name (Call.); cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.

•ETYM From ▶δυω, perhaps modelled after ▶κύπτω; cf. also βύπτω (s.v. ▶βάπτω).

δύρομαι [v.] ‘to lament, bewail’ (trag.). <?>

•DER πάν-δυρ-τος ‘wailing about everything’ (trag. [lyr.]).

•ETYM A variant of ὀδύρομαι, perhaps as a rhyme with μύρομαι (Güntert 1914: 150).

δυσ- [pref.] inseparable prefix, ‘mis-, un-, etc.’ (Il.). Details in Schwyzler: 432, Wackernagel 1920-1924(2): 295ff. <IE \*dus- ‘wrong, mis-’>

•COMP E.g. δυσμενής, see DELG.

•ETYM Old element, also seen in Indo-Iranian (Skt. *duṣ-*, *dur-*, Av. *duš-*, *duž-*). Some compounds are found in both branches, like δυσ-μενής = Skt. *dur-mānas-*, Av. *duš-manah-*; see also under ▶δύστηνος. The element is also found in other branches, e.g. in Germanic (Go. *tuz-werjan* ‘hesitate’, ON OE *tor-*, OHG *zur-*), Celtic (OIr. *du-*, *do-*), and Armenian (*t-*, e.g. *t-gēt* ‘unknowing’). The Slav. word for ‘rain’, OCS *dъždъ*, Ru. *dožd’*, etc. is often connected with it (from “bad daylight” vel sim.); see Derksen

2008 s.v. *\*dédzjv* (*dédzjv*). IE *\*dus-* is mostly connected with δεύομαι 'lack' (see ►δέω 2).

**δυσ-αής** [adj.] 'blowing violently, stormy' (Il.). <GR>

•VAR Ntr. -ές.

•ETYM From δυσ- and αἶμι with metrical lengthening. Cf. υπεράης (of ἄελλα, Λ 297).

**δυσβήρης** [adj.] · ὁ δύσβατος 'impassable' (EM 291, 43); δυσβήρες· δύσβατον, δυσχερές 'impassable, intractable' (H.); δυσβήρες· οἱ δύσβατοι τόποι 'inaccessible places' (Suid.). <GR>

•ETYM Acc. to EM, the form is syncopated from δυσβατήρης; however, it is rather directly from βῆναι after the adjectives in -ήρης. Otherwise, is it a mistake for δυσήρες· δυσχερές (Suid.)? Such a solution is not in accord with von Blumenthal 1930: 3 (that the word is Illyrian, connected to φέρειν).

**δύσγω** ⇒ δύω 2.

**δύσσεα** [n.pl.] · τοῦ τοίχου τὰ περίξ. Κύπριοι 'that which is around the wall (Cypr.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained. See Solmsen 1909: 245.

**δυσσηχής** [adj.] of πόλεμος 'war' and θάνατος 'death', so perhaps 'that which causes great pain, grief' to ἄχος 'distress', ἄχυνται 'to be distressed' (with Ap. Soph.). In *h.Ap.* 64 'of bad reputation'. Later mg. 'that which causes great noise'. <GR>

•ETYM From ►ἄχος or from ►ἡχή.

**δύσκηλος** [adj.] 'unquiet, agitated'? Of χθών 'earth' (A. *Eu.* 825 hapax), opposite to εὐκηλος 'still' (see ►ἔκηλος). <IE *\*uek-* 'want'>

•ETYM See ►ἔκηλος. Not connected with κηλέω 'to bewitch'; see sch.

**δύσκολος** [adj.] 'discontented, troublesome' (Hp., Att.). <?>

•DER δυσκολία 'discontentedness'. Opposite εὐκολος 'content' with εὐκολία.

•ETYM Unknown. Unconvincing are connections with ►κέλομαι, ►πέλομαι, etc.

**δυσκράης** ⇒ εὐκράης.

**δυσσοίζω** [v.] 'to wail, be in fear' (A. *Ag.* 1316, E. *Rh.* 724 and 805). <?>

•VAR δυσσοίζει· δυσχεραίνει, ὑπονοεῖ. Λάκωνες 'be unable to endure; suspect (Lacon.)' (H.), δυσσοίζειν· φοβεῖσθαι, ὑποπτεύειν 'be afraid; be suspicious' (H.); δυσσοίζοντος· οἰωνίζομένου καὶ ἄγαν ὑποπτεύοντος 'who takes [things] as omens and is very suspicious'; δύσοικτος· δυσθρήνητος 'loud-wailing'; ἐδύσοιξα· ὑπενόησα 'he suspected' (H.).

•ETYM Perhaps the explanation in H. with ὑπονοεῖν, ὑποπτεύειν, οἰωνίζεσθαι is based on an erroneous connection with οἶομαι. Because of the nominal prefix and the augmented aorist, we should start from δύσοικτος, which comes either from οἶκτος or from *\*οικτός* to οἶζω (A. D.). See Debrunner GGA 172 (1910): 7 and Fraenkel 1950 ad 1316.

**δυσπέμφεος** [adj.] of the sea (Π 748, Hes. *Th.* 440), sailing (Hes. *Op.* 618), a man (Hes. *Op.* 722), etc., perhaps 'stormy, rough, raw'. <?>

•ETYM Expressive word without etymology. The word recalls πέμφιξ, πομφός, πομφόλυξ, which are also semantically relatable. Further suggestions are found in Bechtel 1914 s.v. and in Schwyzler: 423, who assumes reduplication.

**δύστηνος** [adj.] 'unhappy, wretched' (Il.; cf. von Wilamowitz 1889 ad 1346); δύστηνία· μοχθηρία 'bad condition' (H.). <IE? *\*steh₂-* 'stand'>

•VAR Dor. δύστανος.

•DER ►ἄστηνος 'miserable', s.v.

•ETYM Probably 'who has a bad standing', from δυσ- and *\*stīh-v-*, *\*stāh-v-*, corresponding to Skt. *sthāna-* [n.], Av. OP *stāna-* [n.] 'stand, position'. Slavic has an old *u*-stem, e.g. CS *stanŭ* 'lair', Ru. *stan* 'stature, standplace, camp'; other forms are mentioned in Derksen 2008 s.v. *\*stānъ*. The form δύστος = δύστηνος, given by Hdn. Gr. 1, 217, may derive from *\*dus-sth₂-o-*. See Osthoff 1901: 126, Bechtel 1914 s.v. δύστηνος.

**δυσχερής** [adj.] 'discontent, annoying, vexatious, unpopular' (IA). <IE *\*gʰer-* 'desire'>

•DER δυσχέρεια 'annoyance, disgust' (Att., Hell.), denominative δυσχεραίνω 'to be displeased with, be disgusted at' (Att., Hell.; see Leumann 1950: 111) with δυσχεράσμια (Pl.), δυσχερασμός (Phld.), δυσχεράνσις (Hell. and late), δυσχεραντικός (M. Ant.). - Opposite εὐχερής 'tractable'.

•ETYM Not related to χεῖρ; see Leumann *Phil.* 96 (1944): 161ff., who correctly connects the word with ►χαίρω. We must depart from a form with -ε-, like *\*χέρος* (cf. δυσ-μενής to μένος), or from a full grade of the verb, which is not preserved in Greek.

**δυτη** [f.] mg. uncertain, 'pit'? <IE? *\*deu-* 'enter'>

•VAR Accentuation unknown. Also δυτᾶ (Thebe, Troezen IV-III<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Perhaps the word must be connected with ἄ-δυτον 'place one may not enter, most sacred', from δύω, δύομαι 'enter'. See Frisk 1938: 16f. This contradicts the hypothesis of von Blumenthal *Glotta* 18 (1930): 154, who relates it to θύω as an Illyrian word for "place for sacrifice".

**δύω 1** ⇒ δύο.

**δύω 2** [v.] 'to enter, dive', trans. 'to plunge', intrans. 'to get into, slip into, put on' (Il.). <IE *\*deu-* 'go in, enter'>

•VAR δύομαι, δύνω, aor. δύσαι, δύσασθαι, δύναι, perf. δέδυκα, aor. pass. δυθῆναι, fut. δύσω, δύσομαι, δυθήσομαι, unclear epic pret. δύσετο (cf. Chantraine 1942: 416f.); if trans. (δύω, δύσαι, δύσω) mostly with prefix ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, κατα-δύω; otherwise intrans. (δύομαι, δύνω), often with prefix ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ὑπο-δύομαι, -δύνω, etc. (but rarely -δύω).

•COMP Often with nominal first member in compounds like τρωγλο-δύτης 'cave-dweller' (Hdt.) with -δυτικός, -δυτέω, λωπο-δύτης 'one who goes in other people's clothes, thief (of clothes)' (Att., etc.) with -δυτέω, -δυσίου (δική), -δυσία; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 225f.

•DER δύσις 'setting of sun and stars, West' (Hecat.) with δυτικός; often to the prefixed verbs ἔκ-, ἐν-, κατά-δύσις, etc. in different mgs.; δῦμα (POxy. 6, 929, 8; 15, II-III<sup>p</sup>) = ἔνδυμα 'garment' (V<sup>a</sup>), also ὑπόδυμα. δύτης 'diver' (Hdt. 8, 8); in different mgs. ἐν-, ὑπεν-, ἐκ-δύτης, etc. with ἐκδύσια [pl.] name of a festival in Crete (Ant. Lib.); ἐνδυτήρ 'for putting on' (S. Tr. 674 of πέπλος) with ἐνδυτήριος (S.), also ὑποδυτήρια [pl.] (Str. 14, 5, 6; v.l. ὑποδεκτ.). δυσμαί [pl.] (rarely [sg.], see Schwyzer 1950: 43) 'setting of sun and stars, West' (IA) with δυσμικός (Str.); also δυ-θμαί, -θμή 'id.' (Call.; on the suffix Chantraine 1933: 148f.). Cf. further ►δυτή. δυτίνος name of a waterbird (Dionys. Av.; like ικτίνος, κορακίνος, etc.). δυτικός 'suitable for diving, westerly' (Arist.). Verbal forms with extension: ►δύπτω; δύσγω- ἀποδύω 'to put off' (H.), after μίσγω 'to mix' (Wackernagel KZ 33 (1895): 39); cf. also φύσγων (Alc., POxy. 18, 2165; see Specht KZ 68 (1943): 150).

•ETYM δύω is related to the rare Sanskrit verb *upā-du-* 'to put on' (only gerundive Ved. *upādútya-*); see von Schroeder WZKSM 13 (1899): 297f. and Brugmann IF 11 (1900): 274. The same root is possibly found in ►δείλος, etc. On the intransitive nasal present δύνω, see Schwyzer: 696 and Schwyzer 1950: 230. Cf. also ►ἀλιβδύω.

δῶ [n.] 'house' (Il.). <IE \*dōm 'house'>

•VAR In Hom. always at verse end, always as accus. (ἡμέτερον δῶ, ἐμὸν ποτὶ χαλκοβατὲς δῶ, etc.) except α 392 δῶ / ἀφνειόν, where it has the nominative; further Hes. Th. 933 χρύσεια δῶ 'golden houses' [acc.pl.] (innovation).

•ETYM The ancients saw the word as a shortened form of δῶμα (δῶ· δῶμα, οἰκῆμα, σπήλαιον H.). Schmidt 1889: 222ff. derived it from \*dōm, the root noun belonging to ►δόμος, etc.; thus, Schwyzer: 569 and (hesitantly) Chantraine 1942: 230, as well as Bartholomae 1895: 214 (\*dōm = Av. *dqm* as an old locative). Fick 1874-1876(1): 458 and Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916: 1, 136, as well as Risch 1937: 359f., thought it was a local particle (adverb); cf. ἡμέτερόν δε = ἡμέτερον δῶ, thus \*dō 'to(wards)', seen in OS *tō*, OHG *zuo*, and perhaps even in Lat. *en-do*. In Greek, it is simply a substantive. Cf. ►δῶμα.

δώδεκα [num.] 'twelve' (Il.). <IE \*duoHdek̑m 'twelve'>

•VAR Epic Ion. Dor. also δυῶδεκα, Arc. δυῶδεκο; Hell. also δεκαδύο.

•COMP δυῶδεκά-βοιός 'worth twelve cows' (Il.), etc.

•DER δωδέκατος (δυω-; on ►δυνδεκάτη s.v.) 'the twelfth' (Il.) with δωδεκαταῖος 'of twelve days' (Hes.) from δωδεκάτη (ἡμέρα), and δυῶδεκατεύς (μήν) 'the twelfth month' (Tauromenion); δωδεκάς (δυω-) [f.] 'group of twelve, the twelfth part' (Pl.) with δυῶδεκαδικός; δωδεκαῖς, -ῆς (δυω-) 'sacrifice of twelve animals', also name of a festive deputation (Delphi V<sup>a</sup>, etc.; cf. Πυθαῖς); δωδεκεύς· χοεύς a measure, 'twelve cotylae' (H.); δωδεκάκις 'twelve times' (Ar.).

•ETYM From \*δῑῶ-δεκα = Skt. *dvā-daśa*. It also appears as δυῶδεκα, as in Lat. *duodecim*. See ►δύο.

δῶμα [n.] 'house, home, temple', often plur., see Schwyzer 1950: 43 (Il.; also Arc. [Tegea V<sup>a</sup>] as 'temple'). <IE \*dem- 'house'>

•DER δωμάτιον 'small house, room, chapel' (Att.); δωματίτης, fem. -ῖτις 'belonging to the house' (A.); δωματοῖμαι 'provide with houses' (A. Supp. 958).

•ETYM Derived from IE \*dem-, also seen in ►δεσπότης. The nearest cognate is the Arm. *n*-stem *tun* 'house' < \*dōm, gen. *tan*. See also ►δῶ.

δωμάω = δέμω.

δωράκινον 'kingstone', a kind of peach (Gp. 3, 1, 4). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM From Lat. *duracinum*. See André 1956 s.v. MoGr. has ῥωδάκινον.

Δωριεῖς [m.pl.] 'Dorians', since τ 177 -ιέες, which is *metri causa* acc. to Debrunner 1923: 33'. <?>

•VAR Att. -ιῆς. Sing. Δωριεύς, as a PN (Hdt.) and as an adjective 'Dorian' (Pi.); thence Δωρία (Cnidos), Δώρεια (Cos) [n.pl.] names of festivals.

•DIAL Myc. *do-ri-je-we* /Dōriēwes/.

•DER Δώριος (Pi.), δωρικός (Hdt.), δωριακός (Orac. *apud* Th. 2, 24, metrically determined), see Chantraine 1956a: 107; fem. Δωρίς (Hdt.); δωρίζω 'to speak Dorian' (Theoc.), δωρισμός, δωριστί; δωριάζω 'to clothe oneself like the Dorians'

•ETYM Some older proposals started from the IE word \*doru for 'wood, tree', or (in Greek) 'spear' (see Frisk s.v.), but this may be doubted.

δῶρον 1 [n.] 'gift, present' (Il.). <IE \*deh<sub>3</sub>-ro- 'gift'>

•COMP δωρο-δόκος 'accepting presents, corruptible' (see ►δέχομαι) beside δωροδοκέω 'accept presents, be corruptible' (IA) with δωροδόκημα, δωροδοκία 'corruption'.

•DER Diminutive δωρύφιον (pap.). Denominative δωρέομαι, δωρέω 'give presents' (Il.; on the diathesis Schwyzer 1950: 234) with δώρημα 'present' (Hdt.) and δωρηματικός (D. H.), δωρητής 'giver, benefactor' (Nesos IV<sup>a</sup>) and δωρητικός (Pl.), δωρητήρ 'id.' (AP), δωρητός 'prepared to accept presents' (I 526), 'presented' (S.). Also δωρύττομαι (Theoc. 7, 43; ad hoc formation; Debrunner IF 21 (1907): 242f.); perhaps also Thess. δοῦρραντα = δωρήσαντα like Hom. φιλατο beside φιλεῖν (Fraenkel *Glotta* 35 (1956): 91f.)? Beside δῶρον and δωρέομαι stands δωρεά, older -εἰά (Attica V<sup>a</sup>), Ion. -εῖ 'gift, present' (Hdt.) with unclear formation; thence δωρεακός 'official of a fief' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>), δωρεαστικός, -ρετικός 'concerning presents' (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>).

•ETYM Old word, identical with Arm. *tur*, OCS *darъ* 'gift', from PIE \*deh<sub>3</sub>-ro-. It also appears with a suffix -no-: Lat. *dōnum* = Skt. *dāna-* [n.]. For further details, see ►δίδωμι.

δῶρον 2 [n.] 'breadth of the hand' (Nic., Milete). <?>

•COMP As a second member in ἑκκαίδεκά-δωρος 'sixteen hands long' (Δ 109), δεκά-δωρος (Hes. Op. 426), ὀρθό-δωρον 'length of a hand' = 'the distance between the root of the hand and the finger ends' (Poll., acc. to H. also = σπιθαμή 'span between thumb and pinky').

•DER δάριν· σπιθαμήν. Ἀρκάδες (*i*-stem) and ►δάρ[ε]ιρ.

•ETYM The word has been compared with Alb. *dorë* (see La Piana IF 58 (1942): 98), which is, however, rather related to ►χείρ (see Demiraj 1997). Further Celt. words, like OIr. *dorn*, as well as Latv. *dūre*, *dūris* 'fist', have been connected, but both branches point to PIE \*u, which excludes any relationship with δῶρον.

## E

ἐ ἔ [interj.] expressing pain (trag., com.). <ONOM>

•VAR Also repeated ἐ ἐ, ἔ ἔ

•ETYM Onomatopoeic formation. Cf. Schwyzler 1950: 600.

ἐ- [pref.] the augment (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>e- augment>

•VAR Rarely ἦ- (see below).

•DIAL Rare in Mycenaean, only *a-pe-do-ke /ap-e-dōke/*.

•ETYM Old element indicating the past tense, also found in Indo-Iranian *a-*, *ā-* (< \*a + root-initial \*H-), Armenian *e-* and Phrygian *e-*, e.g. ἔ-φερε = Skt. *á-bharat*, Arm. *e-ber*; cf. further OPhr. *e-daes*, NPhr. *ε-δαεσ* 'ἔθηκε'. See Schwyzler: 651ff.; on the variant ἦ-, see Rix 1976: 226ff. Greek often gets a long vowel by contraction: \*h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>2</sub>eg-e-t > ἦγε. From cases like ἦθελον < \*h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>2</sub>d<sup>h</sup>el- next to pres. (ἐ)θέλω, long augments arose analogically, e.g. in ἦβουλόμην. Probably all long augments are analogical; see Ruijgh *Lingua* 28 (1971): 166.

ἐ, ἐ [refl. pron.] 'se', epic also 'eum, eam, id', 3sg. accus. of the reflexive (and enclitic) anaphoric pronoun (Il.). <IE \*se, sue 'himself'>

•VAR Lesb. *φε*, Pamph. *φε*, epic also *έέ*; gen. οὔ (οὔ), epic *έο* (έίο), *εὔ* (έο, εὔ), *έθεν*, Lesb. *φέθεν*, Locr. *φέος*; dat. (and gen.; Schwyzler 1950: 189 with lit.; cf. Latte *Glotta* 35 (1956): 296) οἷ (οἷ), epic also *έοἷ*, Lesb., etc. *φοἷ*, Cret. (Gortyn), etc. *φιν*, Boeot. (Corinna) *έίν*. For the plur. see ► *σφεῖς*.

•DER Hence the possessive *ός*, epic also *έός*, Dor., etc. *φος* 'suus, one's own' (also referring to the first and second person), 'eius'.

•ETYM The epic forms *έ*, *εὔ*, *έθεν*, *οἷ*, where we find no trace of a digamma (Chantraine 1942: 146ff.), have been supposed to derive from an IE reflexive stem \*se-, as seen in Lat. *sē*, OCS *se* 'se', and Go. *si-k*. Additionally, it was thought that *οἷ* < \*soi corresponds to OP -šaiy, Av. *hē*, Prakr. *se*; on the other hand, *έο* would be from \*se-so (cf. τέο < \*k<sup>w</sup>e-so to ► τίς).

However, it is now maintained that IE had only \*sue; see Petit 1999: 126-8. In Greek, we find *φε*, *φοἷ* < \*sue, \*suoi = Skt. *sva-* 'himself' (only in derivations and in compounds, e.g. *sva-já-* 'born from himself'). A disyllabic full-grade variant seems to be found in *έέ* < \*seue. Adjectivized \*sue, \*seue gave rise to the possessive \*su-o-, \*seu-o-, which yielded *φος*, *έός* = Skt. *svá-* 'suus', OLat. *sovos* > Lat. *suus*.

Further details are in Schwyzler: 600ff. Cf. ► *έαυτοῦ*, ► *έκάς*, ► *έκαστος*, ► *σφεῖς* and ► *σύ*.

**ἐα** [interj.] expressing surprise and rejection (trag.). <GR>

- ETYM Originally just the 2sg. ipv. of ἐάω, but later taken as an independent interjection. See Schwyzler *KZ* 60 (1933): 141f.

**ἐάν** [conj.] 'if' (Att.), Hell. and late also modal pcl. = ἄν. <GR>

- VAR With crasis ἄν (Att.), ἦν (epic Ion.; also Att.?).
- ETYM From univerbation or crasis of ►εἰ and ►ἄν. The long vowel in ἐάν can be due to a contamination of ἐάν and ἄν; see Lejeune 1972: 323.

**ἐάνος 1** [m.] a woman's cloth (Il.). <IE \*ues- 'wear clothes'>

- VAR Verse-initially εἰάνος (Π 9); late also ἐάνος.
- DIAL Myc. *we-a<sub>2</sub>-no-i* /wehanoi<sup>hi</sup>/ [dat.pl.].
- ETYM From \*φεσ-ανός, a verbal noun of ►έννυμι; for the suffix, cf. στέφανος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 196ff.).

**ἐάνος 2** [adj.] of clothes (λιτί, πέπλος, ἱμάτιον), also of tin (Il., inc. auct. *apud* Greg. Cor., see Sapph. *fr.* 156). Mg. uncertain: 'supple'? Or 'fine'? <?>

- ETYM No etymology. Cf. ►ἱανολέφαρος.

**ἐαρ 1, -ρος** [n.] 'blood', metaph. 'sap' (Call.; Cyprian acc. to H.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>esh<sub>2</sub>-r 'blood'>

- VAR Also εἶαρ, ἦαρ.
- COMP As a first member in εἰαροπότης· αἵμοπότης, ψυχοπότης 'blood-drinker, breath-drinker' (H.); acc. to sch. T, εἰαροπῶτις is v.l. for ἡεροφοῖτις (Ερινύς) T 87 (Fraenkel 1910: 114).
- DER None
- ETYM Old word for blood: Hitt. *ešhar*, gen. *išhanāš*, Skt. *ásrk*, gen. *asnáh*, Lat. *aser* (gloss., Paul. Fest.; form uncertain), ToA *ysār*, ToB *yasar*, Latv. *asins*. An extended form occurs in Arm. *ar-iwn* (Kortlandt 2003: 131f.: <\*esar-). The original *r/n*-stem is maintained in Hitt. and Skt. The length in εἶαρ, ἦαρ is metrical (but archaic, acc. to Schulze 1892: 165f.). Like in Greek (s.v. ►αῖμα), the word was replaced in Latin and Sanskrit (*sanguis*, *rudhirām*; cf. under ►ερυθρός), though Lat. *san-guis* probably contains the oblique stem \*h<sub>2</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>-en- as its first element (cf. De Vaan 2008).

**ἐαρ 2** [n.] 'spring' (Il.; cf Schwyzler: 251). <IE \*ues-r- 'spring'>

- VAR Gen. ἔαρος, also ἦρος, dat. ἦρι (Att., also Ion. and Alc.), with new nom. ἦρ (Alcm.).
- COMP As a first member in ἐαρί-δρεπτος 'plucked in spring' (Pi.), ἐαρο-τρεφής (Mosch.), etc.
- DER ἐαρινός (also εἰ-, ἦ- like εἶαρος through metrical lengthening), poet. also ἦρινός 'belonging to the spring' (Il.); likewise ἐάρτερος (Nic. *Th.* 380, with contrasting -τερος, Schwyzler 1950: 183); ἐαρίδας· τὰς κανθαρίδας 'beetles' (H.); on the semantics Strömberg 1944: 13. Denominative verb ἐαρίζω 'to bloom as in spring, etc.' (Pl.).
- ETYM Both the form γέαρ· ἔαρ (H.) and Homeric prosody (Chantraine 1942: 128) point to older *féar*, from PGr. \*wéhar, an old *r/n*-stem: Av. loc. *vayri* <\*vasr-i 'in spring', Arm. *gar-un* 'spring', Lith. *vasar-à* 'summer', OCS, etc. *vesn-a* 'spring', Skt. *vasan-tá* 'id.' (cf. *heman-tá* 'winter'; see ►χειμών). On the Celtic forms, see Matasović 2008 s.v. \*werr- / \*wesn-. Beside IE \*ues-r-, \*ues-n-, we have Lat. *vēr* and

ON *vár* [n.] (o-stem). Porzig 1954a: 110f. suggests that Lat. and Gm. created \*uēr- after the word for 'year', IE \*ieh<sub>2</sub>-r- (see ►ῶρα). The formation of ἐαρινός is mirrored in Lith. *vasarinis* 'of the summer' and Lat. *vernus* (like *hibernus*, *hornus*).

**ἐαρα** [pl.]? Mg. unknown (*IG* 12(3), 450: a1 [Old Theraean]). <?>

- VAR Cf. ἐαρόν· λουτήρα ἢ πρόχουν 'washing-tub or vessel for pouring out' (H.).
- ETYM Unexplained. See Sommer 1905: 119, who connects the word to U *vestikatu* 'libato'.

**ἐαυτοῦ** [refl. pron.] 'himself' (IA), 3rd sing. and plur. (but also referring to the first and second persons). <GR>

- VAR Fem. -τῆς; dat. -τῷ, -τῇ, etc., Ion. ἐωυτοῦ (ἐωτοῦ), ὠυτοῦ, Att. also αὐτοῦ, etc., Hell. also εατοῦ, ατοῦ, Cret. *φιαυτοῦ*.
- DER εαυτότης 'being oneself' (Procl.).
- ETYM A univerbation of the reflexive ►ἐ, ἐοῖ, etc. and ►αὐτός, -τόν, etc.: ἐο αὐτοῦ > Ion. ἐωυτοῦ, Att. ἐαυτοῦ, ἐοῖ αὐτῷ > Ion. ἐωυτῷ, Att. ἐαυτῷ, etc.; thus also ἐμωυτοῦ, σεωυτοῦ, ἐμᾶυτοῦ, σ(ε)αυτοῦ, etc. (Hom. ἐ αὐτόν, ἐμ' αὐτόν, ἐο αὐτοῦ, ἐμοῖ αὐτῷ, etc.). Details are included in Schwyzler: 607 and 402 and Schwyzler 1950: 193ff. A remarkable parallel is found in Phrygian: OPhr. *ven avtun*, NPhr. *oe avtai*.

**ἐάφθῃ** [v.aor.] Mg. uncertain (of ἀσπίς καὶ κόρυς N 543, I 419). <IE? \*seng<sup>wh</sup>- 'sing'>

- ETYM The word was already unknown in antiquity: it was explained as 'ἦφθῃ' by Tyrannion (ap. sch. A); Aristarchus connected it with ἔπομαι; acc. to H. = ἐκάμφθῃ, ἐβλάβῃ. All of these are just speculations. Modern scholars proposed different explanations: that the word is connected to ►ιάπτω (Meister 1921: 110<sup>2</sup>), to Go. *siggan* 'to sink', etc. (Schmidt 1895: 62ff.). Meier-Brügger *MSS* 59 (1989): 91-96 explains the forms from the root \*seng<sup>wh</sup>- in ►ὀμφή 1 'song'. So it meant 'they sang', said of a shield and helmet. In a similar vein, ►ἄαπτος would mean 'unsingbar'. None of these proposals is very convincing.

**ἐάω** [v.] 'to let (go), allow, leave alone' (Il.). <?>

- VAR Ip. εἴων, aor. ἐᾶσαι (ind. εἶασα), fut. ἐάσω (originally ἐᾶσ(σ)αι, resp. ἐᾶσ(σ)ω?, see below); younger perf., etc. εἶακα, εἶαμαι, εἶαθην (D., Isoc.).
- COMP Rarely παρ-, εἰσεάω.
- DER None.
- ETYM The glosses ἐβασον· ἔασον. Συρακόσιοι (H., *EM*; Συρακούσιοι <καὶ Λάκωνες> Latte) and εὔα· ... ἐα (H.) assure a digamma for ἐάω; the diphthongal augment points to an initial consonant (so probably σ-), but the absence of aspiration is unexplained (cf. Lejeune 1972: 93<sup>4</sup>). We have to assume a disyllabic root \*(σ)εῖᾱ-, like ἐλά-, τελά-, etc., within the aorist \*(σ)εῖᾱσαι > ἐᾶσαι, or ἐᾶσσαι with analogical -σσ- (like ἐλάσ(σ)αι, etc., after τελέσ(σ)αι, etc.), fut. ἐᾶσ(σ)ω, forms that can be found in Hom. (ἐᾶσουσιν φ 233, εἶᾶσεν K 299 as v.l.); thus, one could read ἐᾶσσαι for ἐᾶσαι (Δ 42), etc., like ἐᾶσσω (v. l.) in Parm. 8, 7. Additionally, ἐᾶσομεν, ἔασον in Hdt. are understandable (cf. ἔησον· ἔασον H.). The length in ἐᾶσαι, etc. would then be from the denominatives in -άω. Therefore, the unique form ἐᾶ (E 256) would be the 3sg. of an athematic Aeolic ἐᾶ-μι. Previously, ἐάω was traced to IE \*seuH-, with

Skt. *savi-* in *savi-tār-* 'impeller, etc.', pres. *suvāti* 'impel', but the semantics do not really fit. Now Nussbaum 1998 reconstructs a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>ueh<sub>2</sub>-* and connects the word with Lat. *vānus* 'devoid', Gr. εὖνις 'bereft' (although the latter seems phonetically difficult). He explains forms with initial εἰα- as renditions of older *\*EA-*, with metrically long E; cf. θείομεν for ΘΕΟΜΕΝ, from older *\*θήομεν* (> Att. θέωμεν). Cf. on ► εἰαμένη.

**ἐβδομήκοντα** [num.] 'seventy' (Hdt.). <IE *\*septm-dkmt-* 'seventy'>

•VAR Dor. (Delphi, Tab. Heracl. IV\*) ἐβδεμ-.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἐβδομηκοντ-άρουρος (pap.), etc.

•DER ἐβδομηκοστός 'the seventieth' (Hp.), ἐβδομηκοντάκις 'seventy times' (LXX).

•ETYM From *\*ἐβδμήκοντα*, in turn from IE *\*sebdm-dkmt-*, where the vocalic *-m-* followed by the (glottalic element of the) preglottalized *-d-* yielded *-μη-*, just like *-μη<sub>1</sub>-*. See Kortlandt MSS 42 (1983): 97-104. See further under ► ἐβδομος. Cf. ► ἐνεμήκοντα and ► ἑκατόν.

**ἐβδομος** [num.] 'the seventh' (Il.). <IE *\*s(e)ptm-os* 'seventh'>

•VAR OCor., Delph. ἐβδέμα(v).

•COMP ἐβδομ-ἀγέτης 'leader of the seven'; ἐβδομα-γενής 'born on the seventh day', epithet of Apollo (Plu. 2, 717d).

•DER ἐβδομαῖος (ἐβδεμ- Epid.) 'appearing on the seventh day, seventh-day fever' (Hp., etc.), -αῖον [n.] name of a festival for Apollo (Chios, Milet); ἐβδόμειος 'honoured on the seventh day' (of Apollo, IG 2, 1653), ἐβδομεύομαι 'to receive a name on the seventh day' (Lys.). ἐβδόματος (Il.) after δέκατος, ἐβδεμάται [dat.f.] (Argos; Herzog *Phil.* 71 (1912): 6). ἐβδομάς [f.] 'number of seven (days, etc.)' (Sol., Hp.) with ἐβδομαδικός 'belonging to the week' and ἐβδομάζω 'to keep the sabbath', ἐβδομάκις 'seven times' (Call.).

•ETYM The ordinal ἐβδομος, ἐβδεμος is from earlier *\*sebdmos* with a Greek prop-vowel; the cluster *-bd-* arose by assimilation from *\*s(e)ptmos* to *\*septm* 'seven'. The same form is reflected in OCS *sedmъ* 'seventh'. With influence of the cardinal, we have Lat. *septimus*, Skt. *saptamā-*, and Hitt. *šiptamiia-* (a drink, < *\*septm-io-*; see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.); with loss of the *\*t* and *pm* > *km* OLith. *sēkmas*. Cf. ► ἐπτά.

**ἐβενος** [f.] 'ebony (tree)' (Hdt.). <LW Eg.>

•VAR Also msc.; rarely also ἐβένη [f.].

•COMP ἐβενό-τριχον = ἀδιαντον (Ps.-Dsc.; cf. Strömberg 1940: 38, 158).

•DER ἐβένινος 'of ebony' (Str.), ἐβενίτις 'kind of germander, πόλιον τὸ ὀρεινόν' (Ps.-Dsc.; see Redard 1949: 71).

•ETYM From Eg. *hbnj* 'ebony', ultimately perhaps Nubian (Spiegelberg KZ 41 (1907): 131); thence, Hebr. *hobnīm* (Lewy 1895: 35f.). From ἐβενος comes Arab. *'abnūs* and Lat. *ebenus*, whence OHG *ebenus*, MoE *ebon(y)*.

**ἐβρατάγησεν** [v.] · ἐψόφησεν 'produced a sound' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Cannot be separated from ῥάθαγος· τάραχος ... ψόφος (H.), but further details are unclear.

**ἔβρος** [m.] · τράγος βάτης· καὶ ποταμὸς Θράκης 'a he-goat that treads; a river of Thrace' (H.). <?>

•ETYM No etymology. Cf. Wahrmann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 186f.

**ἐγγαρεύω** •VAR Also -έω, -ία. ⇒ ἄγγαρος.

**ἐγγαροῦντες** [v.] mg. uncertain (*Inscr. Olymp.* 335). <?>

•ETYM Acc. to Dittenberger = ἐπιδημοῦντες, as a denominative of *\*ἔγγαρος* = ἔγγειος; thus, Schwyzler: 482. Bechtel *Gött. Nachr.* 1920: 247f. prefers to identify -γαρος with Ion. (Att.) γεηρός 'earthly'. DELG holds that the meaning was 'transporting' and supposes it could be from the verb ἐγγαρεύω, as do Ernaut-Hatzfeld *REA* 14 (1912): 279-82.

**ἐγγραυλῖς, -εως** [f.] kind of anchovy (Ael., Opp.), also called ἐγκρασίχολος. <?>

•ETYM Unexplained. Strömberg 1943: 68 starts from a verb *\*ἐγ-γραυλίζειν*, beside γρυλίζειν 'grumble'; thus, ἐγγραυλῖς would mean 'the grumbling one' (several examples of such fish names are found in Strömberg 1943: 63ff.). However, the variation αυ ~ υ is not convincing. The MoGr. name is γαῦρος; see Hatzidakis *Glotta* 2 (1910): 298.

**ἐγγυαλίζω** = γύαλον.

**ἐγγύη** [f.] 'surety, guarantee; nuptial contract' (Od.). <IE? *\*g<sup>(w)</sup>ou-* 'hand'>

•COMP In ὑπ-έγγυος 'under surety, responsible' (A., Hdt.), προ-έγγυος, πρόγγυος 'guarantee' (Heraclea, etc.) with προ-εγγυάομαι, πρωγγυεύω, προεγγύησις and in φερ-έγγυος 'giving surety, guaranteeing' (Hdt.), ἐχ-έγγυος 'giving surety, reliable' (S.).

•DER ἐγγυάω, -άομαι 'give surety, be surety, guarantee marriage, get engaged' (Od.), also δι-, ἐξ-εγγυάω, etc., with ἐγγύησις (δι-, ἐξ- ~) 'surety, engagement, etc.' (D., Is.), ἐγγύημα (δι- ~) 'id.' (pap.), ἐγγυητής 'surety' (IA; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 183 and 226f.), fem. ἐγγυήτρια (pap.); ἐγγυητή 'engaged' (Att.); ἐγγυητικός 'ptng. to the surety' (Heph. Astr.); deverb. ἔγγυος [m.] 'guarantor' (Thgn., inscr.), as an adjective 'guaranteed' (Them.; see below). Beside ἐγγυάω also ἐγγυεύω (Delph.).

•ETYM It is usually assumed that ἐγγύη and ἐγγυάω contain the preposition ἐν and a lost word for 'hand', which is preserved in YAv. *gauua-* 'hand', as well as in ὑπό-γυ(ι)ος 'imminent, sudden', prop. 'under the hands, at hand?' (IA). The YAv. form is ambiguous, however, as it can also continue *\*gab<sup>h</sup>a-* and be related to Skt. *gābhastī* 'hand, forearm'. This makes the etymology doubtful. Further, Greek has ► γύαλον, ► γύης, ► γυῖα, and from other languages, we may adduce Lith. *gáuti* 'get, obtain'. On the meaning of ἐγγύη, ἐγγυος, ἐγγυητής, cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 89f. and Gernet 1937: 395. See also ► ἐγγύς.

**ἐγγύς** [adv.] 'near', both spacial and temporal (Il.). <?>

•VAR Compar. and superl. ἐγγυτέρω, -τάτω (-ύτερον, -ύτατα), also ἐγγιστα, ἐγγιον (see Seiler 1950: 107ff.); late adjective ἐγγύτερος, -τατος (LXX).

•DER ἐγγύθι 'nearby' (Il.), ἐγγύθεν 'from nearby' (Il.); ἐγγύτης [f.] 'proximity' (A. D.); ἐγγύδιον· ἐγγιον, πλησίον, προσήκον 'nearer, near, at hand' (H.) after the

diminutives in -ύδιον; denominative ἐγγίζω [v.] 'come near', trans. 'bring closer' (Arist., Hell.).

•ETYM Adverb in -ς like εὐθύς, ἄλις, etc. (Schwyzer: 620). In view of Lat. *comminus*, scholars often see in ἐγγύς an old word for 'hand' (in accordance with Bezzenger BB 4 (1880): 321'), also attested in ἐγγύη, -άω. The first syllable seems to be the preposition (adverb) ἐν, but further interpretation is uncertain. Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 47 connected the word with βαίνω as "colui che va innanzi". This may chiefly be correct, but the second element is rather the neuter (= absolutive) of the root \*g<sup>w</sup>eu- 'to go', "en allant vers, au milieu"; cf. De Lamberterie 1990: 326-37, who compares ►με(σ)σηγύ(ς).

ἐγείρω [v.] 'to awaken, rouse, raise'. <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>ger- 'awake'>

•VAR Aor. ἐγείραι, fut. ἐγερῶ, late perf. ἐγήγερα; med. ἐγείρομαι, aor. ἐγρέσθαι 'rise' with new present ἔγρομαι, ἔγρω (E.), perf. ἐγρήγορα 'I am awake' with epic forms ipv. ἐγρήγορθε, inf. -θαι, 3plind. -θᾶσι, ptc. -ορόων (see Chantraine 1942: 429 and 359; Schwyzer: 800<sup>8</sup> and 540<sup>4</sup>); new pres. γρηγορέω (Hellenistic; Schwyzer: 768), also ἐγρηγορέω (Debrunner *IF* 47 (1929): 356).

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀν-, δι-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, etc. As a first member in ἐγρε-κύδοιμος (Hes.), ἐγρε-μάχᾱς (S.), etc.; cf. ἐγερσι- below.

•DER ἔγερσις 'awakening' (IA) with ἐγέρσιμος (ὕπνος Theoc. 24, 7; Arbenz 1933: 102), often with prefix ἀν-, δι-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-έγερσις; also as a first member in late compounds like ἐγερσι-μάχᾱς (AP); ἐγερτήριον 'awakening' (Ael.); ἐξ-εγέρτης 'who rises' (pap.); (δι-, ἐπ-)ἐγερτικός 'raising' (Pl.); ἀν-εγέρμων 'vigilant' (AP); ἐγερτί [adv.] 'id.' (Heraclit.). From the perfect: ἐγρήγορσις 'watch' (Hp., Arist.), ἐγρηγορικός 'watching' (Arist.), ἐγρηγορότως [adv.] 'id.' (Plu., Luc.), ἐγρήγορος 'id.' (Adam.), ἐγρηγορτί [adv.] 'awake' (K 182). Enlarged present ἐγρήσσω 'to be awake' (πάννυχτοι ἐγρήσσαντες A 551) after the verbs in -σσω like πτήσσω, κνώσσω; see Chantraine 1942: 335 (doubtful Schwyzer: 648<sup>3</sup>).

•ETYM The perf. ἐγρήγορα is an old formation, parallel to Skt. *jāgāra*, YAv. *jayāra* 'is awake', from \*h<sub>2</sub>g(r)e-h<sub>2</sub>gor- (perhaps -γρ- from the aorist ἐγρέσθαι?). Uncertain is Lat. *expergīscor*. The word has also been connected with Alb. *ngre* 'rise'. See LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*h<sub>2</sub>ger- 'erwachen'.

ἔγκαρ [?] = φθείρ 'louse' (Eust. 757, 27). <GR?>

•ETYM Uncertain. From the word for 'head'?

ἐγκαρος [m.] 'brains' (AP, Lyc.). <GR>

•ETYM Scholarly hypostasis from ἐν and ►κάρᾱ, κάρη 'head', after ἐγκέφαλος : κεφαλή. Cf. ►ἵγκρος.

ἐγκάρσιος = ἐπικάρσιος.

ἐγκάς [adv.] 'deep inside' (Hp., Gal.). <?>

•VAR Also ἔγκας.

•ETYM Related to ►ἐγκατα; formation like ἀγκάς, ἐντυπάς, etc. (Schwyzer: 631). DELG considers an analysis in ἐν- and -κας, as in ἔ-κας, ἀνα-κας.

ἐγκατα [n.pl.] 'intestines' (Il.). <GR?>

•VAR Dat.pl. ἔγκασι (A 438); as a back-formation later sing. ἔγκατον (LXX, Luc.).

•DER ἐγκατόεις 'containing intestines' (Nic.), ἐγκατώδης 'like intestines' (sch.).

•ETYM Uncertain. Leumann 1950: 158<sup>1</sup> derives it from \*ἐγκατος 'interior', which contains ἐν- just as ἔσχατος contains ἐξ-; ἔγκασι would then be an innovation based on γούνασι, etc. Lacon. ἔγκυτον· ἔγκατον (H.) is folk-etymological, based on ►κύτος 'skin, trunk, body'.

ἐγκίλλαφον [?] · οὐρά 'tail', also ἐγκιλλον· οὐράν (H.). <?>

•ETYM The word has been compared with ►κίλλος 'grey' (κίλλος 'donkey, i.e. the grey one'), or ►κίλλ<ο>υρος· σεισοπυγίς 'wagtail' (H.). On -φος, see Chantraine 1933: 264.

ἐγκλῖς [f.] · ἡ καγκελλωτή θύρα 'entrance furnished with a railing', (EM 518, 22).

<GR>

•ETYM Related to ἐγκλίνω, with the same formation as in δικλῖς; see ►δικλίδες. Cf. also Strömberg 1944: 15.

ἐγκοακίσαι [?] · ἐγχέαι λάθρα 'pour in secretly' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 4 (1954): 169 compares κοία· κλέψημα (H.).

ἐγκοιῶται [f.pl.] scil. δαρκναί, 'deposited money' (Gortyn).

•ETYM Derived from \*ἐγκοιόω, -όμαι, which is probably a denominative from \*ἐγκοιος, which belongs to κοῖον· ἐνέχυρον 'pledge' (H.). See there for further etymology.

ἐγκονέω [v.] 'to hurry, be quick and active in service' (Il.). <IE \*ken- 'be active'>

•DIAL Perhaps here Myc. *ka-si-ko-no*.

•DER ἐγκονητή [adv.] 'quickly' (Pi.), ἐγκονίς 'servant' (Suid.). Beside ἐγκονέω stands διακονέω (with ►διάκονος, s.v.); further perhaps ἀγκονέω 'hurry' in Ar. *Lys.* 1311; thence ἀγκόνους· διακόνους, δούλους 'servants, slaves' (H.). The simplex only in H. κόνει· σπεύδε, τρέχε 'hasten, run [ipv.]' and κονεῖν· ἐπείγεσθαι, ἐνεργεῖν 'to hurry oneself, be in action' with κονηταί· θεράποντες 'attendants'. Note κοναρόν· ... δραστήριον and κοναρώτερον· δραστικώτερον 'more efficient' (H.). Uncertain is ἀκονίτι (Olympia, Th.); cf. on ►κόνις.

•ETYM Iterative-intensive verb, mostly connected with Lat. *cōnor*, *cōnārī* 'exert oneself, try' (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). Tremblay *Sprache* 38 (1998): 14-30, connects these words with the root \*ken- 'to rise', assuming a lengthened grade adjective for Latin. Other comparanda come from Celtic, e.g. MW *digoni* 'to make', W *dichon*, *digon* 'can' (Pok. 564).

ἐγκρασίχολος [m.] 'kind of anchovy' (Arist.). <GR>

•ETYM So called because the intestines are attached to the head? See Thompson 1947 s.v.

ἐγκρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'cake made of oil and honey' (Stesich., com.). <?>

•COMP ἐγκριδο-πώλης 'seller of ἔ.' (com.).



•ETYM A back-formation from έγκεράννυμι, έγκεράσαι 'mix in' is formally impossible. Neither is it connected to έγκρίνειν (Strömberg 1944: 15).

**έγκυτί** [adv.] 'to the skin' (Archil., Call.). <A compound of έν and κύτος, formed after other adverbs in -(τ)ί-(ς).>

•VAR έγκυτίς (Hdn.). = κύτος.

**έγρήσσω** = έγείρω.

**έγγελυς, -υος** [f.] 'eel' (Il.). <PG(O)>

•VAR Att. plur. -εις (to which nom.sg. -λις [Arist.]?).

•COMP έγγελυο-τρόφος 'nourishing eels' (Arist.), έγγελυ-ωπός 'with eyes like eels' (Luc.).

•DER Diminutive έγγελύδιον (middle com.), έγγελεών, -ών 'eel-trap' (Arist.), έγγέλειος 'of an eel', mostly substantivized -εια [n.pl.], scil. κρέα, τεμάχη, etc. (com.).

•ETYM Gr. έγγελυς recalls other words for 'eel', like Lat. *anguilla*, Lith. *ungurys*, etc., but no IE pre-form can be reconstructed. Acc. to an old interpretation, έγγελυς is a cross between έχις and a word like Lat. *anguis* (whence *anguilla*) 'snake'. Katz 1998 assumes taboo transformations. Note further Lesb. ἰμβηρις, έγγελυς. Μηθυναίοι H., beside which there is λέβηρις 'skin of a snake'. The words are no doubt non-IE. Cf. further Pok. 43ff. and Thompson 1947 s.v., as well as Strömberg 1943: 10ff.

**έγγεσίμωρος** [adj.] usually understood as 'famous for his spear' (Il.). <IE \**meh<sub>1</sub>-ro-* 'great'>

•DER Cf. ιό-μωρος, epithet of the Αργεῖοι (Δ 242, Ξ 479). Imitation in ὑλακό-μωρος, of κύνες (Ξ 29, π 4; cf Porzig 1942: 239); see also ►σινάμωρος.

•ETYM The second member is usually connected with Celt., Gm. and Slav. PNs like Gaul. *Nerto-mārus*, OHG *Volk-mār*, Slav. *Vladi-měrb*, from IE \**moh<sub>1</sub>-ro-*, \**meh<sub>1</sub>-ro-*. Further one compares a denominative Gm. verb for 'proclaim', Go. *merjan*, etc. with *waila-mereis* [adj.] 'εὐφημος', OHG *māri* 'famous', etc., and a Celt. adjective for 'great', e.g. OIr. *mār*. The *ō*-vocalism in Greek and Celt. agrees with the type ἄ-φρων : φρήν (Schwyzer: 355). The form of the first member may be metrically conditioned (cf. έγγέσπαλος s.v. ►έγχος). Ruijgh 1957: 93 wonders whether this compound could contain μωρός 'foolish'. Cf. Leumann 1950: 37 and 272<sup>18</sup>.

**έγχιδιον** [?] · έγγιον 'nearer'; έγχόδια· ἄθροα 'crowded together' (H.). <?>

•ETYM The former word could be a cross of έγγύς and ἄγχιδιος, the latter that of έγγύς and ἄγχου, -όθι, acc. to Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 379f., but this does not explain much. Latte considers these forms to be mistakes.

**έγχος** [n.] 'spear, lance' (Il.), also 'weapon' in general (Pi., S.); on the mg. Schwyzer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 11, Trümpy 1950: 52ff. <PG(O)>

•COMP As a first member in έγγέσ-παλος 'spear drilling' (Hom.), -φόρος 'carrying a spear' (Pi.); ►έγγεσίμωρος; after it έγγεσί-μαργος· έγχει μαινόμενος 'raging with a spear' (H., EM), έγγεσί-χειρες [pl.] 'weaponed with a spear' (Orph. Fr. 285, 18).

•DER Also έγχείη (Hom.), probably formed after έλεγχείη : έλεγχος, ὄνειδείη : ὄνειδος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 86f.). Different Tovar *Emerita* 11 (1943): 431ff. Unclear is Έγχώ· ή Σεμέλη οὕτως έκαλεῖτο.

•ETYM No etymology. See Schwyzer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 10ff. (to ἀκαχμένος), as well as Tovar *Emerita* 11 (1943): 431ff. The word is possibly Pre-Greek.

**έγω** [pers. pron.] 'I'. <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>eg-* + *-eloh<sub>1</sub>*, *-h<sub>1</sub>-om* 'I'>

•VAR Lesb. epic Dor. also έγών, Lacon. Tarent. έγώνη, Boeot. ιώ(ν), ιώνει (i-?).

•ETYM Beside έγώ = Lat. *egō*, we find Venet. *exō* (length of the *-o* uncertain), Lat. *egō* with secondarily short final vowel, as in the Gm. forms, e.g. ON *ek* (but see below); neither is there vocalic auslaut in the Balt., Armen. and Hitt. forms: OLith. *eš*, Arm. *es*, Hitt. *uk* (though in Armenian, *-ō* may have been lost). Indo-Iranian and Slavic have forms in IE \**-h<sub>1</sub>-om*, e.g. Skt. *ahām* (aspiration from \**-g-* + *-H-*), OP *adam*, OCS *azb* (lengthening by Winter's Law); enclitic ON *-(i)ka* (like proclitic *ek*, *ik*?), perhaps from IE \**h<sub>1</sub>egom*. Were the variants \**h<sub>1</sub>egō*, \**h<sub>1</sub>egh<sub>1</sub>om* reshaped after the 1sg. verbal endings *-ō* (thematic), *-om* (secondary), or is *-om* a particle which is frequent in Old Indic (cf. *t<sub>u</sub>vām* 'thou', etc.)? Gr. έγών seems to be a compromise between *-ō* and *-om* (or is it shaped after έγνων, \*έδων, etc.); in έγών-η (or έγώ-νη? Cf. τύνη), *-νη* is a deictic element; cf. έγω-γε. See ►έμέ.

**έδανός** [adj.] of έλαιον Ξ 172 (έλαίω / ἄμβροσίω έδανῶ). <?>

•ETYM De Lamberterie 1999 adduces a second attestation in Nic. *Alexiph.* 162, 181, where έδανός qualifies two kinds of wine, and the gloss έδανός· είδος ἀμπέλου, perhaps to be corrected to έδανός. The meaning 'sweet' is quite possible for these contexts. De Lamberterie then proposes a reconstruction \**sueh<sub>1</sub>d-no-* with IE loss of laryngeal before voiced (= glottalic) stop plus resonant (cf. Lubotsky's Law in Indo-Iranian). A parallel case in Greek would be ►κεδνός < \**keh<sub>1</sub>d-no-*.

**έδαφος** [n.] 'ground, bottom' (ε 249; see Richel 1936: 212ff.), also 'text' (Gal.) as opposed to the commentary. <?>

•COMP έδαφο-ποιέω 'equalize the ground' (J.).

•DER Late: έδάφιον 'text' (Arist.); έδαφικός 'belonging to the ground' (pap.), έδαφιαίος 'id.' (sch., Tz.), έδαφίτης (Tz.). Denominative verbs: έδαφίζω 'to equalize, give a foundation' (Arist., Hell.); έδαφώ in ήδάφωται· κατ'όκισται 'has been established' (H.).

•ETYM For the nouns in -(α)φος, see Chantraine 1933: 262ff. and Schwyzer: 495. Is the word to be connected to έδος (see ►έζομαι)?

**έδέατρος** [m.] 'seneschal at the Persian court, steward'. <?>

•VAR Also accented -τρός?

•COMP ἀρχ-εδέατρος 'upper seneschal at the Ptolemeian court' (Hell.).

•ETYM Reformation of έλέατρος (see ►έλεόν) after έδω. See Güntert 1914: 155 and Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 272ff.

**έδεθλον** [n.] 'ground, bottom, foundation' (Antim.; probably also A. Ag. 776 instead of έσθλά; or έσθλα, from \*έδ-θλα?). <GR>

•DER Also έδέθλιον 'id.' (Call.).

•ETYM From the verb for 'sit' (see ► ἔζομαι), with a suffix -εθλο- (Schwyzer: 533, Chantraine 1933: 375) and breath dissimilation.

**ἔδνα** [n.pl.] 'dowry' (Il.; on the mg. Köstler *Wien. Ak. Anz.* 81 (1944): 6ff., Theiler *Mus. Helv.* 7 (1950): 114). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ued-* 'dowry'.>

•VAR Hom. also ἔεδνα (see below), rarely sing. ἔδνον (Pi., Call.).

•COMP ἀνάεδνος 'without ἔ.' (Il.; on the prefix Schwyzer: 432, Chantraine 1942: 182).

•DER Also ἀέδνον· ἀφερνον ἢ πολύφερνον 'without dowry; richly dowered' H.; ἔδνο-φορέω 'bring dowry' (Eust.). Old denominative ἔδνόομαι (ἔεδν-), -όω 'to give dowry to one's daughter' (β 53) with ἔδνωτῆς 'bride's father' (N 382). Several glosses in H.: ἔδνιος χιτῶν· ὃν πρῶτον ἢ νύμφη τῷ νυμφίῳ δίδωσιν 'first thing the bride gives to the bridegroom'; ἔδνάς· ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔδνων ἐδητύς 'food from the wedding-gifts', ἔδνευειν· ἐνεχυράζειν 'to take a pledge from'.

•ETYM ἔδνα, ἔδνον, from IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ued-no-* (on the aspiration, see Schwyzer: 227), can be compared with a Slav. and WGM. word for 'bride-price', e.g. ORu. *věno* < \**h<sub>2</sub>ued-no-* (lengthening due to Winter's Law); OE *weotuma*, OHG *widomo* m., from PGM. \**wet-man-*, IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ued-mon-* (the Gr.-Slav. suffix -no- may reflect -mno-, thematization of -mon-). This old word for 'bride-price' is often derived from a verb meaning 'to take home, to marry (of the man)', seen in Lith. *vedù*, Ru. *vedú* (from \**uedh-* because of the short *e*), and OIr. *fedid*, and to which Skt. *vadhū-* 'bride, young woman, daughter-in-law' also belongs. However, this is impossible because of the \**dh-*. It is clear that ἔδν- is the younger and ἔεδν- the older form. The 'prothesis' (from \**h<sub>2</sub>-*) must be old, while the -α- in ἀνάεδνος is somehow secondary (vowel assimilation is impossible).

**ἔδος** = ἔζομαι.

**ἔδρᾱ** [f.] 'seat, abode (of the gods), temple' (Il.). <GR>

•COMP Many compounds: καθέδρα 'seat, chair' (Hp.); also ἐφέδρα, Ion. ἐπέδρη 'siege' (ἐφ-έζομαι), ἐνέδρα 'ambush, postponement' (ἐν-έζομαι, ἐν-ιζάνω), see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 45f.; but ἐξ-έδρα 'seat outside the house' (E., Hell.). Bāhuvrīhi with adverbial first member ἔφ-εδρος 'who sits by the side, reserve' (Pi.); thus πάρ-εδρος 'assistance' (παρ-έζομαι), ἔν-εδρος 'inhabitant', σύν-εδρος 'id.'; ἔξ-εδρος 'far from his residence' (S.); πολὺ-εδρος 'with many seats' (Plu.).

•DER From ἔδρα: ἔδραιος 'sedentary, fixed, steady' (IA) with ἔδραιότης and ἔδραιόω, ἔδραιωμα, -ωσις; ἐδρικός 'belonging to the anus' (medic.), ἐδρίτης 'fugitive' (Suid., EM); πρωτοκαθεδρίτης 'president' (Herm.). Denominative verbs: ἔδρ-ιάομαι 'to sit down' (Hom.), -ιάω 'id.' (Theoc.); see Schwyzer: 732, Chantraine 1942: 359; ἔδράζω 'to set, fix' (Hell. and late) with ἔδρασμός, ἔδραστικός, ἀν-έδραστος; ἔδρασμα = ἔδρα (E.), after στέγασμα (see Chantraine 1933: 177). But ἐφ-, ἐν-, παρ-, συν-εδρεύω from ἔφ-εδρος. In H.: ἐδρήεσσα· βεβαία 'steady', after τελέεσσα; see Schwyzer: 527, ἐδρία· αἰεὶ πνέων 'always blowing', after wind names in -ίας; ἔδρια· συνέδρια, ἐδρίς· ἔδραιος. After words in -άνων arose ἔδρανων = ἔδρα (Hes.); ἔδρανως = στερεως (Eust.).

•ETYM Derivative in -pā of ► ἔζομαι (\**sed-reh<sub>2</sub>-*; cf. χώρα. No exact parallel formations.

**ἔδω** [v.] 'to eat' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ed-* 'eat'.>

•VAR Athem. inf. ἔδμεναι (Hom.), fut. ἔδομαι (Il.), perf.ptc.act. ἐδηδώς (P 542), med. ἐδήδοται (χ 56; after πέποται), with act. ἐδήδοκα (Att.); aor. pass. ἠδέσθην, perf. med. ἐδήδε(σ)μαι (Att.); new pres. ἔσθω (Il.), ἐσθίω (Od.).

•COMP With prefix κατ-έδω, -εσθίω (-έσθω), -έδομαι 'to eat up' (Il.), ἀπ-εσθίω, -έδομαι 'id.' (Att.).

•DER εἶδαρ < \*ἔδ-φαρ 'food' (Il.; on ἔδαρ· βρώμα H. see below). ἐδωδή 'food, meal' (Il.), ἐδώδιμος 'edible' (Hdt.; see Arbenz 1933: 50f.), ἐδωδός 'usable as food' (Hp.). ἐδητύς [f.] (only gen. -τύος) 'food' (Hom.); -η- unclear, but cf. βοητύς, ἀγορητύς; see Porzig 1942: 183f., Benveniste 1948: 67. ἔδεσμα 'food' (Att.) with ἐδεσμάτιον (Procl.); ἐδεστής 'eater' (Hdt.). ἐδηδών· φαγέδαινα 'cancer' (H.), cf. ἐδηδώς.

•ETYM The old athematic present, seen in the inf. ἔδμεναι, in the fut. = subj. ἔδ-ο-μαι, and perhaps also in the ipv. ἔσθι (p 478?; see Chantraine 1942: 292), is found in several languages: Hitt. *edmi* [1sg.] 'eat', Skt. *ádmi* 'id.', 3sg. *átiti*, Lat. *ēst*, Lith. *ēsti*, OCS *jastъ* 'to eat'; all of these are from IE \**ed-mi*, -ti, with lengthening in BSL acc. to Winter's Law. On younger thematic forms (cf. Go. *itan*, 3sg.pres. *it-ip*), see Chantr. l.c. Acc. to Schwyzer: 713<sup>6</sup>, the secondary presents ἔσθω and ἐσθίω developed from the ipv. ἔσθι (= Skt. *addhi*), but Hamp *Glotta* 59 (1981): 155f., simply derives ἔσθω from ἔδ-θ-. The other forms are Greek innovations: ἠδέσθην, ἐδήδε(σ)μαι (after ἐτελέσθην); thence ἔδεσμα, ἐδεστής (cf. ὠμηστής, ἐδεστός. As a suppletive aorist, Greek used φαγεῖν. The *r/n*-stem εἶδαρ < \*ἔδφαρ, plur. εἶδατα can be compared with Skt. *vy-advar-á-* m. 'rodent' and *agrādvan-* 'eating first' (*agra-ad-van-*). See also ► ἄριστον and δειπνηστος (s.v. ► δειπνον). Further, ► ὀδούς (ὀδών), ► ὀδύνη, and ► ὠδρίς are traditionally connected with ἔδω, which is incorrect.

**ἐδῶλια** [n.pl.] 'seat (especially of rowers in a ship); thwart, habitat' (Hdt.). <IE \**sed-ōl* 'seat'.>

•VAR Rare sing. -ιον.

•DER Backformation ἔδωλα 'thwarts' (Lyc.). Reshaped after the nouns in -ωλή is ἐδωλή (Naucratis). Denominative ἐδωλιάζω [v.] 'to provide seats' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>, Lycurg.). Also ἐδωλός· λόχος Λακεδαιμονίων οὕτως ἑκαλεῖτο 'name of the Spartan camp' (H.).

•ETYM An *l*-derivative from the verb 'sit' (see ► ἔζομαι) is known in several languages: Lat. *sella* (< \**sed-leh<sub>2</sub>-*) 'chair' = ἔλλα· καθέδρα. Λάκωνες H.; Gaul. *caneco-sedlon* (unknown first member); Go. *sitls*, OHG *sezzal* 'seat' (PGM. \**set-la-*); cf. also Arm. *etl* 'place, position' (the Slavic word, e.g. ORu. *sedn-lo*, Ru. *sedló* 'saddle', is a borrowing from Germanic; cf. Derksen 2008: 443). The basis is an ablauting *l*-stem \**sed-ōl*, oblique \**sed-l-* (Schwyzer: 483), of which Greek has preserved both ablaut grades.

**ἐέλδομαι** [v.] 'to desire, want, long for' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ueld-* 'wish, desire'.>

•VAR Only present stem.

•COMP Compound ἐπι-έλδομαι (A. R. 4, 783).

•DER ἐέλωρ [n.] (only nom.acc.) 'desire, wish' (Il.; ἔλωρ Hdn., H.), also ἐέλω [f.] (Ibyc. 18; if correct).

•ETYM From ἐ(φ)έλδομαι (Chantraine 1942: 133 and 182). No cognates outside Greek. Homer has ἔλδ- only three times (E 481, Ψ 122, ψ 6); these may have undergone influence by ►ἐλπομαι. The form with 'prothesis' is the original one, as is proven by ἐέλδωρ; see Beekes 1969: 63f.

**ἔζομαι** [v.] 'to sit (down)' (Il.). <IE \*sed- 'sit down'>

•VAR With terminative prefix (see Brunel 1939: 83ff., 257ff.) καθ-έζομαι (Il.) 'to sit (down)'. Fut. καθεδοῦμαι (Att.), later καθεσθήσομαι (LXX), καθεδήσομαι (D. L.); aor. καθεσθῆναι (Paus.); other presents ἴζω, ἰζάνω (Schwyzer 700) 'to make sit, set', with ἴζησα, ἴζηκα (late), prefixed καθ-ἴζω (Il.), Ion. κατ-ἴζω, καθ-ἰζάνω, Aeol. κατ-ισδάνω 'to put down, sit down', med. καθ-ἰζομαι 'sit down', with fut. καθιῶ (D.), καθίσω (Hell.), κατίσω (Ion.), καθιξῶ (Dor.), med. καθιζήσομαι (Att.), καθιούμαι (LXX), καθίσομαι (NT., Plu.); aor. καθίσ(σ)αι, καθίσ(σ)ασθαι (X., wrong for καθέσ(σ)αι in Hom., see below), κατίσαι (Hdt., for κατέσαι), καθίζει (Dor.), καθιζῆσαι (late.); late perf. κεκάθικα, late aor. ptc. pass. καθιζηθείς.

Beside these present forms and the aorists, there is a sigmatic aorist εἶσα 'I set', inf. ἔσ(σ)αι, med. εἰσάμην, ἔσ(σ)ασθαι, καθ-εἶσα, καθ-έσ(σ)αι (thus also in Hom. to be read for καθίσ(σ)αι; and also κατέσαι for κατίσαι in Hdt.); also fut. καθέσω (Eup.); see Wackernagel 1916: 63ff.

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀνα-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, παρα-, συν-, etc.; these were also prefixed to καθέζομαι, καθίζω, which were considered simplices (see Schwyzer: 656, Schwyzer 1950: 429).

•DER ἔδος [n.] 'seat' (see on ►εὐρυδία). The verbal nouns are largely independent from the verb, see on ►ἔδρα, ►ἔδωλια, ►ἔλλα; also ►ἔδαφος and ►ἔδεθλον; note ἔσμα 'stalk, pedicle' (Arist.) < \*sed-sm-. Probably unrelated is ►ῥζος. Cf. also ►ἰδρύω.

•ETYM Both ἔζομαι and ἴζω are IE formations; ἔζομαι is a thematic yod-present \*sed-ie/o-, also found in Gm., e.g. ON *sitia*, OS *sittian*, OHG *sizzen* 'to sit'; ἴζω derives from reduplicated \*si-sd-e/o- = Lat. *sīdō*, U *sistu* 'sidito', Skt. *sīdati*. As the preterite ἔζομην is often an aorist in Homer, it might derive from a reduplicated aorist \*se-sd-; it could even represent zero grade \*h<sub>2</sub>e-sd- with an augment and secondary aspiration. In Homer, a present is furnished only by ἔζει (κ 378). Cf. Schwyzer: 652<sup>5</sup> and 716<sup>3</sup> and Chantraine 1942: 336. The aorist εἶσα from IE \*h<sub>2</sub>e-sed-s-m (with secondary aspiration) agrees with Skt. *nī ... śātsat* [subj.]. As a resultative perfect of (καθ-)ἔζομαι, (καθ-)ἴζω, Greek uses ►ἦμαι, κάθ-ημαι (see Schwyzer 1950: 258).

**ἔθειραι** [f.pl.] 'manes of a horse, crest' (Il.), 'hair on the head', also sing. (*h. Ven.*, Pi.); 'manes of a lion, bristle of a boar', etc. (Theoc.). <?>

•COMP χρυσο-έθειρος 'with golden hair' (Archil.), εὐ-έθειρα [f.] (Anacr.), etc.

•DER ἔθειράδες 'hair of the beard' (π 176 v.l. for γενειάδες); ἔθειράζω 'to have long hair' (Theoc.); also ἐθείρεται 'is covered (with scales)' (Orph. A. 929; see Schwyzer: 722f.).

•ETYM Uncertain. Taken with ►ἔθων 'pushing, tossing' vel sim. as "that which waves", formally like πείρα to πίων. Frisk s.v. assumed a connection with the *r*-stem found in ►ἔθρις, and further connected ὀθι φροντίς, ὦρα, φόβος, λόγος 'worry,

care, fear, consideration' (H.), comparing Lat. *iuba*, *crista*, *crinis* for the meaning. This is very unlikely. Perhaps the word is rather from \*ued<sup>h</sup>-, as per Chantraine 1942: 151 and DELG s.v.

**ἐθείρω** [v.] Mg. unknown, mostly taken as 'to care for' (see H.: ἐθείρη· ἐπιμελείας ἀξίωση 'deem worthy of care'), or 'to work, cultivate'. <?>

•VAR only Φ 347 χαίρει δέ μιν (sc. ἀλώην) ὅστις ἐθείρη.

•ETYM Etymology unknown. On ἐθείρεται 'is covered', see ►ἔθειραι. See also Debrunner IF 21 (1907): 203.

**ἐθέλω** [v.] 'want, wish' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>el- 'wish'>

•VAR With aphaeresis θέλω (Aeol. Ion. Hell.; in Hom. only ο 317), aor. (ἐ)θελῆσαι, fut. (ἐ)θελήσω (Il.), perf. ἠθέληκα (X.), τεθέληκα (Hell.).

•COMP As a first member in ἐθελο-κακέω 'to play the coward, resign to the enemy' (Hdt.), 'to deliberately do wrong' (Ph.) with ἐθελοκάκησις (Plb.), cf. μνησι-κακέω, etc.; ἐθελό-δουλος 'voluntary slave' with -δουλεία (Pl.), ἐθέλ-εχθρος (Crat.), etc. PNs Ἐθελο-κράτης, etc. (inscr.).

•DER (ἐ)θελήμος 'voluntary' (Hes.), (ἐ)θελήμων 'id.' (Pl.) with ἐθελήμοσύναι [pl.] (PMag. Par.); θέλημα 'will' (Antipho Soph.; θελήμη Theognost.) with θελημάτιον; -τικός, θέλησις, -ητής, -ητός (LXX, etc.). From the ptc. stem ἐθελοντ-: ἐθελοντής 'volunteer' (Hdt.) with -τήν [adv.] (Hdt.); rarely θελοντής (Hdt. v.l.); Hom. has ἐθελοντήρας (β 292); ἐθελούσιος 'voluntary' (X., after ἐκούσιος). Adverbs ἐθελοντί, -τηδόν 'voluntarily' (Th.), ἐθελόντως (sch.). Isolated: θέλεος ἀθέλεος 'volens nolens' (A. Supp. 862 [lyr.]), poetic formation after the adjectives in -εος.

•ETYM (ἐ)θέλω is a primary thematic present indicative, which was extended by -ιη- in all non-presentic forms. It corresponds to OCS *želějo*, -*ěti* 'wish, desire', from \*h<sub>2</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>el-. The gloss φαλίζει· θέλει (H.) is unclear.

**ἐθμή** [f.] · ἀτμός, καπνός λεπτός, ἀτμή 'vapor, fine smoke' (H.). <?>

•ETYM No etymology.

**ἐθμοί** [m.] · πολλοί, δεσμοί, πλόκαμοι 'multitudes, bonds, locks (of hair)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Lagercrantz KZ 35 (1899): 273 assumed \*ued<sup>h</sup>-mo-, related to Go. *ga-widan* 'συζευγνύναι, to connect', etc.

**ἔθνος** [n.] 'group, crowd, swarm' (of people, animals; Hom., Pi.), 'class, people' (Hdt.), 'foreign people' (Arist.), τὰ ἔθνη 'the pagans' (NT); on the mg. Chantraine BSL 43 (1946): 52ff. <?>

•COMP As a first member in ἔθν-άρχης 'governor, prince' (LXX, J., NT), as a second member in ὅμο-εθνής 'belonging to the same people' (Hdt.), ἄλλο-εθνής (Hell.), etc.

•DER ἔθνικός 'belonging to a (foreign) people, national, traditional, heathen' (Hell.), cf. γενικός to γένος; ἐθνίτης 'belonging to the same people' (Eust., Suid.), ἔθνισταί· οἱ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔθνους 'those who are from the same tribe' (H.); ἔθνη μὴ mg. unknown (Hdn. Gr.; after δαιτυμῶν?); ἔθνηδόν [adv.] 'per people' (LXX).

•ETYM Etymology unclear. If -vos is a suffix (cf. ἔρνος, σμήνος; see Chantraine 1933: 420 and Schwyzer: 512), we may compare ►ἔθος and reconstruct \*sued<sup>h</sup>-nos-, which may be based on the reflexive \*sue (see ►ἔ, ἐ). The word has also been connected

with ► ὀθνεῖος 'foreign, alien' (Democr., Pl.) as 'belonging to the ἔθνος' (Fraenkel *Gnomon* 22 (1950): 238); but in this case, it can hardly be from \**sue-*. The word could be of foreign origin.

From ἔθνος (pronounced ἔθνος) comes Copt. *heθnos*, Arm. *het'anos*, and also Go. *haiþno* 'heathen' (whence the other Gm. words).

**ἔθος** [n.] 'custom, usage' (IA). <IE? \**sued<sup>h</sup>*- 'custom, character'>

•DER Old only ἑθάς [m., f.] 'used (to)' (Hp., Th.); late ἔθμιος 'usual' (Amorgos I<sup>a</sup>, D. S., etc.; after νόμιος, Arbenz 1933: 99), ἑθικός 'usual' (Plu.), ἑθίμων 'id.' (Musae.) with ἑθιμο-λογέω 'to collect as usual' (AP), ἑθιμοσύνη (H., Suid.). Denominative verb ἑθίζω (not with Schwyzer 716 from \*ἔθω, see ἔθων and εἴωθα) with ἑθισμα 'usage' (Pl.), ἑθισμός 'custom' (Arist.).

•ETYM If we assume \**ḡéθos*, from IE \**sued<sup>h</sup>os* (with dissimilation by Grassmann's Law), the word can be compared with Skt. *svadhā*- 'custom, nature'. Further, there is the Gm. word for 'custom', Go. *sidus* [m.], etc., which goes back to IE \**sed<sup>h</sup>u-*. Additionally, Lat. *sodālis* 'comrade' has been compared as a reflection of \**sued<sup>h</sup>*- with an Italic suffix *-ālis*. The basis of *sued<sup>h</sup>*-, *sed<sup>h</sup>*- may be the reflexive \**s(u)e* (see ► ἔ, ἐ); the enlargement \**d<sup>h</sup>* may derive from the root \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* 'to put, situate' (see ► τίθημι). See ► εἴωθα, ► ἥθος; also ► ἔτης and ► ἔταρος.

**ἔθρις** [adj.] · τομίας, κριός 'castrated ram' (H.). <?>

•VAR Cod. ἑθρίς; cf. ἴθρις· σπάδων, τομίας, εὐνοῦχος 'eunuch' (H.) and ἄθρις (Suid.), ὀθρις (Zonar.).

•ETYM Traditionally, the word has been compared with Skt. *vád<sup>h</sup>ri-* 'castrate'. Some suppose an *r/n*-stem, seen in Skt. *vád<sup>h</sup>ar-*, Av. *vadar-* [n.] the weapon of Indra, but Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 498 rejects the connection with *vád<sup>h</sup>ri-*.

Frisk assumed that the fluctuating vocalism was due to the non-literary character of the word. He thinks ἐ- is old, while ὀ- was created after ► ὠθέω, and ἄ- by association with privative ἀ-. Finally, ι- is explained away by vowel harmony. This is hardly credible. Given the variation of the initial vowel, it seems conceivable that the word stems from Pre-Greek. Both ε/ ι and α/ ο are frequent in such words. See ► ἔθων.

**ἔθων** [adj.] in χλούνην σὺν ἄγριον ... ὅς κακὰ πόλλ' ἔρδεσκεν ἔθων Οἰνῆος ἀλωήν (I 540), plur. σφήκεσσιν ἐοικότες ..., οὓς παῖδες ἐριδμαίνουσιν ἔθοντες (Π 260). <?>

•ETYM Acc. to sources from antiquity, it means βλάπτων 'damaging', φθείρων 'destructive', or ἐρεθίζοντες 'annoying'; additionally, there is the gloss ἔθει· φθείρει, ἐρεθίζει (H.). Others analyzed it as a present ptc. of ► εἴωθα 'to be used to'. Contrary to the last interpretation, it can be stated that the old perfect εἴωθα, indicating a situation, has no present form; moreover, a present in the same meaning would be rather strange. Also, the construction conflicts with that of εἴωθα, and the translation 'acting in conformity with one's character' is a bit strange in these passages (of a swine and wasps).

The hypothesis of Schmidt *KZ* 45 (1913): 231ff., which connects ἔθων as a primary present to ► ὠθέω, is doubtful. Cf. also Leumann 1950: 212f. Bechtel 1914 s.v. connected ἔθω to εἴωθα, ἔθος.

DELG prefers the interpretation βλάπτων (which seems, however, to conflict with ἐριδμαίνουσι). Not related to ► ἔθρις.

**εἰ** [pcl.] 'if, introducing a wish, condition, or question' (IA, Arc.). <?>

•VAR Aeol. Dor. αἰ, sometimes εἰκ, αἰκ (after οὐ : οὐκ); Cypr. Dor. ἦ.

•ETYM Uncertain. For interjective origin of αἰ (partly also of εἰ), see Schwyzer 1950: 557 and 683. Perhaps a demonstrative εἰ 'then' also existed (Brugmann-Thumb 1913: 616), with which compare εἰ-τα, and which would originally be a locative of the demonstrative \**h<sub>1</sub>e-*, *h<sub>1</sub>o-* (Schwyzer: 550). See Schwyzer 1950: 557 and 683.

**εἶα** [interj.] adhortative 'hey, come on' (Att.). <ONOM>

•VAR See Hdn. Gr. 1, 495, 14.

•DER εἰάζω 'call εἶα' (E. Fr. 844; cf. αἰάζω).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic; comparable with Lat. (*h*)*eia* and other cries. Cf. ► εἰέν.

**εἰαμενῆ** [f.] 'lowlands, humid pasture' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR ἱαμνοί [pl.] 'id.' (Nic., H.). Cf. ἱαμενῆ, -αί, also εἰαμένον· νήνεμον, κοῖλον, βοτανώδη 'without wind, hollow [valley], herbaceous' (H.).

•ETYM Frisk s.v. and others assume a participle, with accent shift as in ► δεξαμενῆ. Is initial εἰ- for ἱ- metrical? The word is probably Pre-Greek, given the variation -μεν-/-μν-, which could not occur in a participle.

**εἶβω** [v.] 'to drip, spill', med. 'to trickle down' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Mostly κατ-εἶβω, -ομαι; only present.

•DER Beside this (itacism or ablaut?) ἱβάνη· κάδος, ἀντητήριον 'vessel for water or wine, bucket'; ἱβανον· κάδον, σταμνίον, χαλκίον 'id., wine-jar, copper vessel' with ἱβανεῖ (for -ᾱ?)· ἀντλεῖ 'draw water' and ἱβανατρίς· ἱμητήριον 'rope of a draw-well' (all H.); also ἱβδης 'peg to let out the water' (Eust.).

•ETYM Frisk suggests a cross of λείβω and ► ἱκμάς with \*εἴκω. See Güntert 1914: 148, Walleser *WuS* 14 (1932): 165f. All of these are rather improbable guesses. ἱβδης may be unrelated, given the meaning. Is εἶβω Pre-Greek, with its β, interchange εἰ/ ι, and suffix -αν-?

**εἰδάλμιος** = εἶδος.

**εἰδαλῖς** [?] · ὄρνις ποιός 'kind of bird' (H.). <?>

•VAR Also ἰδάλιος.

•ETYM Unexplained.

**εἶδαρ** = ἔδω.

**εἶδημα** · VAR εἶδησις. = οἶδα.

**εἶδομαι** [v.] 'to appear, seem, resemble' (Il.). <IE \**ueid-* 'see'>

•VAR Aor. εἶσασθαι (ptc. also ἐ-(φ)εισάμενος, Chantraine 1942: 182).

•COMP δια-εἶδομαι with factitive fut. δια-εἶσομαι 'make appear' (Θ 535; see Chantraine 1942: 442).

•DER εἶδος 'appearance, species, form, etc.', εἰδύλλιον 'poem, single song', εἰδάλμιος 'with beautiful appearance'; εἶδωλον 'picture, image', -λάτρης 'who reveres idols', εἰδάλλεται 'appears' (H.).

•ETYM Beside (f)εἶδομαι and the s-aorist, there is the thematic aorist ►ιδεῖν and the perfect ►οἶδα, both of which are old. There is no exact equivalent of εἶδομαι in other branches; comparable are Celt. and Gm. forms like OIr. *ad-féded* 'narrabat', Go. *fra-weitan* 'to revenge', both from IE \*ueid-, but with rather different meanings. Semantically, εἶδομαι agrees well with inherited εἶδος, by which it may have been influenced (or is it a back-formation from εἶδος?). εἶδος itself corresponds exactly to BSL forms like Lith. *vėidas* 'face' and OCS *vidъ* 'appearance', as well as to OHG *wisa* 'way, manner' and other Gm. words, which were built on the IE s-stem \*ueid-s-. Formally identical, but semantically farther off is Skt. *védas*- 'knowledge, insight'. The form ἐεἰσάμιενος is found only in the formula (verse initial) τῷ μὲν ἐ. προσέφη; it is therefore probable that an accident led to this unusual form: the formula must have had τῷ δε φε φεῖσάμενος. See Beekes 1969: 59f. Incorrect analysis in *RPh* 71 (1997): 157. Cf. also ►ινδάλλεται.

εἶδωλον ⇒ εἶδομαι.

εἰέν [interj.] 'okay, alright!' (Att.). <ONOM>

•VAR On the interaspiration, indicated by grammarians and the cod. Rav. of Ar., Schwyzler: 219 and 303.

•ETYM Froehde *BB* 10 (1886): 297 connected the word with Skt. *evám* 'okay', but perhaps this rather belongs to ►εἶα; was the ending taken from μέν? Differently, von Wilamowitz 1889: 320; cf. Barrett 1964: 297.

εἰθαρά [adv.] 'immediately' (Il.). <?>

•ETYM Was the word originally a neuter noun in -αρ? It is difficult to connect it with ἰθύς, which has a long i-; see Schwyzler: 350 and 519 and Schwyzler 1950: 70. Incorrectly, Pok. 892; there is no etymology.

εἰθε [pcl.] 'utinam, o that', in wishes (Il.). <IE \*(h)e(i) dem. pron. + \*g<sup>wh</sup>e pcl.??>

•VAR Also αἰθε (see ►εἰ).

•ETYM From εἰ, αἰ (see ►εἰ) and a particle -θε; however, the latter has no clear etymology. Meillet *MSL* 8 (1894): 238 compared the particles Skt. *gha* and OCS *že*; thus, is it from IE \*g<sup>wh</sup>e? Further, see Schwyzler 1950: 561<sup>2</sup>.

εἰκάω [v.] 'to picture, compare, suspect' (IA); on the mg. cf. Brunel 1939: 71, 155, 174, 184. <IE \*ueik- 'resemble'>

•VAR Lesb. εἰκάσω; aor. εἰκάσαι, fut. εἰκάσω, perf. pass. εἰκασμαι (ῥ-).

•COMP Prefixed especially with ἀπ-; also with ἐξ-, ἐπ-, προσ-, etc.

•DER (ἀπ-)εἰκασία 'picture, comparison, conjecture' (IA; on the formation Schwyzler: 469) with εἰκάσιμος 'aestimabilis' (gloss.; Arbenz 1933: 99), (ἀπ-)εἰκασμα 'representation' (A., Pl.), (ἀπ-, ἐπ-)εἰκασμός 'supposition' (D. H., Str.); εἰκαστής 'conjecturer, diviner' (Th. 1, 138; see Fraenkel 1912: 73f.), 'who represents' (D. H.); εἰκαστός 'comparable' (S., etc.), εἰκαστικός 'ptng. to portraying' (Pl., etc.).

•ETYM Like the synonymous Hom. (f)ε(f)ίσκω, tetrasyllabic εἰκάσω presupposes an original \*φεφικάω. Both formations are recent factitive presents of the perf. (f)έ-(f)οικ-α 'be like, resemble', with zero grade in (f)έ-(f)ικ-τον [du.], (f)έ-(f)ικ-το [plpf.med.] (Schwyzler: 735). See ►εοικα on the etymology.

εἰκάς ⇒ εἰκοσι.

εἰκῆ [adv.] 'just so, without deliberation', late also 'in vain' (IA). <IE \*ueik- 'resemble, seem'>

•COMP As a first member in εικο-βολέω 'shoot just so' (E.) with εικοβολία (Phld.).

•DER εἰκαῖος 'without plan, at random' (S.) with εἰκαῖότης (Phld.) and εἰκαῖοσύνη (Timo). Cf. σπουδῆ, κομιδῆ, etc.; so a nominal dative (Schwyzler: 622).

•ETYM Incorrectly, Wackernagel 1916: 137 who, based on Indic parallels, assumes \*έ-φεκῆ 'arbitrarily' from ►έκων; this is impossible because of the prothetic vowel assumed. Ruijgh *Lingua* 28 (1971): 169 starts from \*ueik- 'resemble, seem', which seems possible.

εἴκοσι [num.] 'twenty'. <IE \*dui-dkmt-i(H) 'twenty'>

•VAR Hom. also εἰκοσι (see below), Dor. φίκατι.

•COMP As a first member often εικοσα-, e.g. εἰκοσάβουιος 'worth twenty cows' (Od.; after ἑπτα-, τετρα-, etc.). On εικοσινήριτος (X 349) see ►νήριτος.

•DER εἰκοσάκις 'twenty times' (Il.), εἰκοσάς [f.] 'twenty pieces' (late; cf. εἰκάς below), (ἐ)εἰκοστός (Boeot. φικαστός) 'the twentieth' (Il.); fem. εἰκοστή 'the twentieth' with εἰκοσταῖος 'belonging to the twentieth day' (Hp.; like δευτεραῖος, etc.); also εἰκάς [f.], Dor. ικάς, Ther. ηκάς 'the number twenty, the twentieth day of the month' (Hes.), after δεκάς, τριακάς, etc. (not an original formation to (ἐ)ίκατι, as per Schwyzler: 597); from here εἰκαδεῖς the members of a society that met on the 20th, eponymous founder Εἰκαδεύς (Athens; Fraenkel 1912: 71 and 180, von Wilamowitz 1932: 368<sup>1</sup>), εἰκαδισταί epithet of the Epicureans (Ath.), cf. δεκαδισταί to δεκάς (see ►δέκα).

•ETYM Hom. εἰκοσι stands for ἐ(f)ίκοσι (the prothetic vowel derives from the glottalic feature of the \*d-; see Kortlandt *MSS* 42 (1983): 97-104). It was graphically influenced by contracted εἰκοσι; likewise, Heracl. φίκατι. The o-vowel in εἴκοσι is difficult to account for: it may have been taken from εἰκοστός (differently, Meillet *MSL* 16 (1910-1911): 217ff.; see Schwyzler: 344), which itself took it from τριακοστός, etc., with -ο- as in τριάκοντα, etc.

PGr. <sup>(7)</sup>φίκατι, <sup>(7)</sup>φίκαστός gave Dor., Boeot. φίκατι after the loss of the first laryngeal by dissimilation; see Kortlandt *MSS* 42 (1983): 97-104. The word is identical with Av. *visati*, as well as with Skt. *vimśati*- [f.], which has secondary nasalization and i-flexion, as well as secondary stress. The -g- in Lat. *vīginti* is difficult to explain; see Kortlandt *MSS* 42 (1983): 101, who states that it results from voicing after a nasal in the words for '70' and '90', and subsequent analogical introduction in the other decades.

The dual IE \*dui-dkmt-i(H) properly meant 'two decades', from IE \*dui- 'two' and ►δέκα. See also under ►εκατόν.

εἶκω [v.] 'to give way, yield'. <IE \*ueig- 'give way, yield'>

- VAR Aor. εἶξαι (ἔ(φ)εἶξε Alcμ., γῖξαι [i.e. φεῖξαι]· χωρῆσαι 'to give way' H.), fut. εἶξω, -ομαι (Il.; cf. Trümper 1950: 229f.), perf. ptc. ἐεικώς (*Chron. Lind.*).
- COMP With prefix: ὑπ(ο)-, παρ-, συν-εἰκω, etc. Lengthened form (ὑπ-, παρ-)εἰκάθειν or -θεῖν (S., Pl.; Schwyzler: 703<sup>6</sup>).
- DER ὕπειξ 'yielding' (Pl.; cf. Holt 1941: 164; εἶξ Plu.) with ὑπεικτικός (Arist.; εἰκτικός Phld.).
- ETYM Among the many verbs based on IE \*ueik-, there is no semantically convincing connection. Semantically, however, Skt. *vijáte* (younger *vejate*) 'flee, give way' and the Gm. pres. OS *wīcan*, OHG *wīhhan* 'give way, etc.' agree very well with (φ)εἰκω. As the former must go back to PIE \*ueig-, not to \*ueik-, we should assume that the different velar was generalized from forms with consonantal endings (cf. the Skt. aorist forms *vik-thās*, *vik-ta*) or from the σ-aorist. Thus, Frisk s.v. and LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*ueig-. To AB *wik-* 'disappear; abstain from' belongs here as well. See also ► ἐπίεικτος.

**εἰκών, -όνος** [f.] 'representation, picture, resemblance' (IA). <IE \*ueik- 'resemble'>

- VAR Cyp. φεικονα, Ion. also εἰκώ, -οῦς [f.].
- COMP As a first member in εἰκονολογία 'speaking in resemblances, figuratively' (Pl.).
- DER Diminutive εἰκόνιον (Hell.) and -ίδιον (late); εἰκονικός 'picturing' (Hell.), εἰκονώδης (gloss.). Denominative verb (ἐξ-)εἰκονίζω 'imitate, record in documents' (LXX, pap., Plu.; cf. Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 146) with εἰκόνισμα = εἰκών (S. Fr. 573; cf. Chantraine 1933: 188), εἰκονισμός 'picture; description of persons' (pap., Plu.), εἰκονιστής name of an official, 'registrator' (pap.).
- ETYM Formation in -ών (Chantraine 1933: 159f.) as an agent noun related directly to ► ἔοικα, with the same vocalism as in εἰκώς, -ός, εἵκελος. On the innovation εἰκώ, see Schwyzler: 479<sup>4</sup>.

**εἰλαμίδες** [f.pl.] name of two cerebral membranes (Poll. 2, 44). <IE \*uel- 'turn, wind'>

- DER Diminutive of \*εἰλαμος (as πλόκαμος, etc.).
- ETYM The word is related to εἰλέω 'turn, wind', "ὅτι περὶ μυελὸν εἰλοῦνται" 'because they were wrapped around the marrow', with εἰ- (for \*φέλ-αμος) as in ► εἰλεός.

**εἰλαπίνη** [f.] 'drinking-bout, festive eating' (Il.; Ael. ἐλ(λ)απίνα Hoffmann 1893: 487). <PG(S,V)>

- DER εἰλαπινάζω 'to feast' (Il.; only present) together with εἰλαπιναστής (P 577).
- ETYM No etymology. A cultural word that may well be of Pre-Greek origin; cf. under ► δεῖπνον. Initial εἰ- is perhaps due to metrical lengthening; a suffix -απ- can hardly be IE.

**εἰλαρ** [n.] probably 'parapet, protective wall', εἰλαρ νεῶν [νηῶν Leaf] τε καὶ αὐτῶν 'shelter of the ships and of themselves' (H 338 = 437; Ξ 56 = 68, of πύργοι, and τεῖχος), κύματος εἰλαρ 'protection of a foetus' (ε 257, ῥίπες οἰσύναι 'mat of wicker-work'); in H. also ἔλαρ βοήθεια 'aid'. <IE? \*ueru- 'defend'>

- VAR Only nom. and acc.
- ETYM Often considered to be an action noun \*φέλ-φαρ (with dissimilation to \*ἐλ-φαρ?). Perhaps from ► εἰλέω 1, aor. (φ)έλσαι 'press together', but this does not fit very

well. Note βήλημα· κώλυμα, φράγμα ἐν ποταμῷ 'impediment, defence in the river' (H.). Neither is it related to ► εἰλέω 2 'roll, wind'. See Schulze 1892: 121, Bechtel 1914 s.v., Chantraine 1942: 131, and Porzig 1942: 348. Blanc *RPh.* 70 (1996): 115f. proposes to derive the word from φερφ-αρ, to ἔρυ-μα, etc.; however, the dissimilation to λ would then be difficult to account for. Cf. also Blanc *BAGB* 1 (1996): 4-5.

**Εἰλείθια** [f.] name of the goddess(es) of birth, often in plur. (IA). Also Ἐλείθια (Pi., inscr.), Εἰλήθια (Call., Paus.), Ἐλεύθια (Cret.), Ἐλευθίη (Paros), Ἐλευθία, with assibilation Ἐλευσία (Lacon.), and other variants. Short form Ἐλευθώ (AP) and (quite different) Εἰλιόνεια (Plu. 2, 277b; is it correct?). On the forms see Kalén 1918: 8. <PG(S)>

- DIAL Myc. *E-re-u-ti-ja*.
- DER Εἰλειθυ(ι)αῖον 'temple of E.' (Delos), Ἰλύθειον (ibid.).
- ETYM It has been assumed, starting from the assumption that Ἐλεύθια is the old form, that Ἐλείθια would have arisen by dissimilation and thence Εἰλείθια with metrical lengthening. Schulze 1892: 260f. then connected ἔλευθ- with ἐλεύσομαι, ἦλυθον. Wackernagel too started from Ἐλεύθια, but he considered it to be Pre-Greek because of the PN Ἐλευθέρινα. Güntert 1919: 38<sup>3</sup>, 258 also takes E(ι)λείθια as Pre-Greek, with secondary adaptation to ἐλεύθω 'to bring' (Dor.), in the sense 'she who brings forth'.

Beekes 1998: 24f. shows that the suffix -ια is Pre-Greek.

**εἰλεός** [m.] 1. as a medical expression 'intestinal obstruction, *Bauchgrimmen*' (Hp.; Lat. *ileus*); 2. (rarely) name of a vine (Hippys Rhag. [V<sup>a</sup>?]); 3. 'den, hole of animals, especially of snakes' (Theoc. 15, 9, Arc., Poll.). <IE? \*uelu- 'turn, wind, cover, protect'>

- VAR ἰλεός.
- DER From 1: εἰλεώδης 'ptng. to intestinal obstruction' (Hp.).
- ETYM Formation like φωλεός, κολεός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 51). An original meaning 'winding' (cf. H.: εἰλεός· ἡ τοῦ θηρίου κατάδυσσις καὶ στρόφος 'lair of a wild animal, cord'), from εἰλέω 'to roll, wind', explains meanings 1. and 2. Also, the 'den' can be combined with 'winding'; however, note that εἰλυός (A. R.), like synonymous εἰλυθμός, is based on εἰλύω 'to envelop, cover'.

**εἰλέω 1** [v.] 'to press together, draw together, fence in' (Hom.). <IE \*uel- 'press together'>

- VAR Epic Delph. also εἰλομαι in εἰλόμενος, εἰλέσθω(ν), Dor. El. φηλέω, Att. sometimes ἰλλω, εἰλλω (cf. below), aor. ἔλσαι, ἐέλσαι (Ep.), med.-pass. ἀλήμεναι, ἀλῆναι, ἀλείς, perf. med. ἔελμαι, -μένος (Ep.), perfect preterite ἐόλει? (Pi., see below); thence the new forms εἰλήσαι, εἰλήσω, εἰλημαι, εἰλήθην (Ion. Hell.).
- COMP With prefix ἀπ(ο)-, e.g. ἀπο-φηλέω (El.); ἐξ-, e.g. ἐγ-φηληθῶντι (Her.) = ἐξ-εἰληθῶσι; κατ(α)-, e.g. κατα-φελέμενος (Cret.); also προσ- (προτι-), συν-εἰλέω, -(ε)ἰλλω, etc. with various shades of mg.
- DER Most of the derivatives have become formally and semantically independent: ► ἄλης, ► ἀολλής, ► ἐξουλή, ► ἴλη (εἰλη), ► οὐλαμός. Further: βήλημα· κώλυμα, φράγμα ἐν ποταμῷ 'impediment, defense in a river' (H.), i.e. φήλημα; Mess. ἦλημα,

κατ-, συν-εἰλησις 'pushing together, what is pressed' or 'what is drawn together' (Epicur. or Ael.), εἰληθμός (εἰδ- cod.) συστροφή, φυγή 'mass [of people], flight' (H.). From (φ)ἰλλω probably φιλοσος [gen.] 'adversity' (Pamph. IV<sup>a</sup>); unclear ἰλλάς 'pressed together (?)' (S. Fr. 70, E. Fr. 837), cf. on ►εἰλέω 2; lengthened ἰλλίζει, see ibid. See also ►εἰλαρ.

•ETYM A nasal present \*φελ-νέω can be posited on the basis of εἰλέω, φηλέω, and also on account of ἀπελλεῖν (? cod. -εῖν) ἀποκλείειν 'shut out (Aeol.)' (H.). This \*φελ-νέω may be a variant of εἰλω < \*φέλ-νω (Schwyzer: 720, see also 693, and Chantraine 1942: 130). Moreover, there is reduplicated ἰλλω < \*φί-φλ-ω (mostly from ►εἰλέω 2, like ἰλλόμενος A. R. 2, 27). For εἰλλω, a prothetic vowel used to be assumed (so \*ἐ-φέλ-νω or ἐ-φέλ-νω), but this is no longer possible. It is probable that there was simply (graphical) influence by εἰλέω. Originally, the non-presentic forms were primary, as is to be expected: aor. (φ)έλ-σαι, perf. \*(φ)έ-(φ)ολα in ἐόλοι '(op)pressed' (Pi. P. 4, 233; a conj. by Boeckh)?, middle with secondary full grade (φ)έ-(φ)ελ-μαι, intrans. aor. with zero grade (φ)αλή-ναι; these forms were replaced by the innovations εἰλῆσαι, etc. Within Greek, it is not always possible to distinguish εἰλέω 'press (together)' from εἰλέω 'wind'. On the whole group of words, see Solmsen 1901: 224ff., 285ff. Many IE words contain an element \*uel-, but there is no obvious counterpart to εἰλέω 1. For example, Balto-Slavic formations like Lith. *velti*, *vėlti* (Ru. *valját* 'to felt, full', Ru. *válo* [ins.] 'in mass' (from a noun \*valō), Lith. *su-valýti* 'to collect (grain), reap (together)' require a set root, for which there is no evidence in Greek. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 1. *uel-* 'einschließen, verhüllen' remarks that "Eine detaillierte Untersuchung aller \*uel-Wurzeln wäre hilfreich". They connect Skt. *var-* [2] 'to cover, enclose, ward off', but Lubotsky 2000a pleaded against this connection because the Indo-Aryan evidence points to an initial laryngeal.

**εἰλέω 2** [v.] 'to roll, turn, wind, revolve' (mostly Hell.). <IE \*uel- 'turn, wind, revolve'>

•VAR ἰλλω, εἰλλω (Att.; see below). The non-presentic forms, most of which are compounds, are based on the presents: εἰλῆσαι, εἰλήσω, εἰληκα, etc.; from ἰλλω only ἰλλάμην (IG 5(2), 472: 11; Megalopolis II-III<sup>p</sup>).

•COMP Often with prefix, especially ἐν- and περι-εἰλέω (X., Hell.), -(ε)ἰλλω (Th. 2, 76; codd. Ar. Ra. 1066), also ἀπ-, δι-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, κατ-, παρ-εἰλέω (Hell.), ἐξ-, κατ-ἰλλω (X., Hp.).

•DER From εἰλέω : ►εἰλεός (s.v.; secondarily adapted?); further (ἐν-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, κατ-, περι-)εἰλησις 'winding, etc.' (Pl.), (ἐν-, περι-)εἰλημα 'id.' (J., Poll.), προσεἰλημα (κεφαλῆς) 'turban' (Creon Hist.); εἰλετίας kind of reed (Thphr.), εἰλητάριον 'winding, roll' (Aët.), εἰληδόν [adv.] 'in windings' (AP). From ἰλλω: ►ἰλλός 'squinting' with many derivations; ἰλλάς [f.] 'snare, rope' (N 572; Chantraine 1933: 351) with ἰλλίζει δεσμεύει, συστρέφει, ἀγελάζει 'fetters, presses together, drives together' (H.). (also to ►ἰλλω 1); unclear ἰλλάδας γονάς ++ἀγελεῖας καὶ συστροφάς 'herds; dense masses' (H.: S. Fr. 70 and E. Fr. 837); probably to ►εἰλέω 1. Here also belong several nouns that have become independent from the verb: see ►ἔλιξ, ►ὄλιμος, ►οὔλος 2; further perhaps ►ἀλινδέω, ►ἐλάνη, ►εἰλιγγοῖς; finally the *u*-enlargement ►εἰλύω with many derivatives. Not here ►ἔλμις, ►εὔληρα, ►λῶμα, ►εὐλή, ►αἰόλος.

•ETYM As in ►εἰλέω 1 and (ἐ)ἰλλω 'press', a nasal present is also continued in εἰλέω 'roll, turn' < \*φελ-νέω; a reduplicated formation \*φί-φλ-ω is found in ἰλλω. The formal coalescence often led to semantic interference as well; for example, ἰλλόμενος, in A. R. 2, 27 λέων ... ἰλλόμενός περ ὀμίλῳ, must have been identical with the ptc. in 1, 129 δεσμοῖς ἰλλόμενος, even if it originally did not mean 'surrounded', but 'pressed'. In the other branches, there are many words that go back to the unstable notion 'turn, wind, revolve', etc.: e.g., OIr. *fillim* 'to turn, bend' (see Matasović 2008 s.v. \**wel-n-o-*). A special group are the *u*-enlargements; see ►εἰλύω and LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 2. \**uel-* 'drehen, rollen'. Further, cf. Arm. *gelum*, aor. 3sg. *egel* 'turn' < \**uel-*.

**εἰλη 1** =ἰλη.

**εἰλη 2** [f.] 'warmth, heat of the sun' (Ar. Ve. 772 [v.l. ἔλη], Luc.). <IE \**suel*(H)- 'burn, singe'>

•VAR Also εἰλη, ἔλη; βέλα (=φέλα)· ἥλιος, καὶ αὐγή, ὑπὸ Λακῶνων 'the sun; sunlight (Lacon.)' (H.; likewise to ἔλα); unclear is the appurtenance of γέλαν (=φέλαν?)· αὐγὴν ἡλίου 'light of the sun', because of γελεῖν λάμπειν, ἀνθεῖν 'to shine, to bloom' (H.), perhaps rather to ►γελάω, ►γαλήνη; but γελοδυτία· ἡλιοδυσία 'sunsets' (H.) belongs to φέλα.

•COMP As a first member in εἰλη-θερῆς 'warmed by the sun' (Hp., Gal.), ἐλαθερές· ἡλιοθαλπές 'warmed by the sun' (H.), rather to θέρομαι then to θέρος (see Schwyzer: 513); from there εἰληθερέω, -έομαι 'warm (oneself) in the sun' (Hp.); ►εἰλικρινής, ►εἰλόπεδον. As a second member in πρόσ-ειλος 'exposed to the heat of the sun, sunny' (A.), εὐ-ειλος 'id.' (Ar.), ἄ-ειλος 'sunless' (A. Fr. 334).

•DER εἰλήϊον· ἐν ἡλίῳ θερμανθέν 'heated in the sun' (H.; false explanation of Ἰλῆϊον Φ 558 ?); denominative verb εἰλέω 'warm in the sun' (Eust.), pass. aor. ptc. εἰληθέντες; also ἐλάται· ἡλιούται 'is exposed to the sun', fut. βελ[λ]άσεται· ἡλιωθήσεται (H.).

•ETYM From PGr. \**hφέλα*, whence *φέλα*, *ἔλα*, beside which a form with a prothetic vowel used to be assumed (\**ε-φέλα* > *εἰλη*, *εἰλη*), which however is impossible. These belong as a verbal noun to a verb 'to singe (intr.), burn without flame', which still exists in Gm. and Balt., e.g. OE *swelan*, MoHG *schwelen* (with full grade), Lith. *svilti* (with zero grade of a root \**suel*H-), with many derivatives. The Greek forms exhibit *eil-* beside *el-*. There is no explanation for this, as a by-form \**huel-* from a root \**suel-* is hardly possible. Unless there is an unknown phonetic development, the problem cannot be solved. Could there have been an analogical spread of *eil-*? From Greek, ►ἀλέα 1 (ἀλ-) 'heat of the sun' can also be connected. OHG *swelzan* 'to burn', OE *sweltan* 'to die', and ON *svelta* 'to starve, die' belong to an independent root IE \**suel*d- (also Arm. *k'atc*). Cf. also ►ἥλιος 'sun' and ►ἐλάνη 'torch'.

**εἰλιγγοῖς** [m.] 'dizziness', often plur. (Hp., Pl.), 'whirl(pool)' (Peripl. M. Rubr., A. R.).

<?>

•VAR εἰλιγξ, -γγοῖς [m.] (D. S., etc.); also ἰλ-, ἰλ-.

•DER Denominative verb εἰλιγγ-ιάω (ἰλ-) 'get dizzy' (Ar.); with εἰλιγγώδης 'dizzy' (gloss.).



•ETYM Form in -ιγγ(ο)- (Schwyzer: 498, Chantraine 1933: 398ff.), either directly from ►ειλέω 2 'to turn, wind' or via an unknown noun. Initial ει- was taken from the present (cf. ►ειλέω 2); it is superfluous to assume a prothetic ἐ-. On ιλ- for ειλ-, cf. ►ἴλη. ToB *wai walau* 'vertigo' (cited by Frisk s.v.) is a mistake for *waipalau*, from *wip-* 'shake'. On account of the suffix, one could separate the word from ειλέω as Pre-Greek.

**ειλικρινής** [adj.] 'pure, absolute, genuine' (Hp., Att.). <?>

•VAR Also ει-.

•DER ειλικρίνεια 'purity', ειλικρινέω 'purify' (Hell.), ειλικρινότης (gloss.).

•ETYM Expressive word without a convincing etymology. It is mostly taken as a compound of κρίνω and εἴλη (with compositional -ι? Schwyzer: 447f.), in which case it would properly mean "distinguished in/by the sun" (Frisk); one should then take εἴλη not as 'heat of the sun', but as 'sunlight'. However, such a meaning is only known for Dor. *φέλα* and cannot be old. This makes the proposal highly improbable. Connection with ειλέω (1 or 2) seems to make no sense either. DELG s.v. offers a difficult hypothesis.

**εἰλίονες** ⇒ ἄελιοι.

**εἰλίπους** [adj.] mg. uncertain, in Hom. only dat. and acc.pl. -πόδεσσιν, -ποδας of βόες; later (Anacr., Eur.) also of other nouns. <?>

•VAR εἰλιπόδης (Nonn.); on the formation see Schwyzer: 451.

•ETYM Because the meaning is unclear, the proposed etymologies are uncertain, as well. As ἀερσίποδες ἵπποι (Σ 532) 'foot-lifting horses' suggests a contrastive use as 'dragging the feet', Osthoff *BB* 22 (1897): 255ff. assumed that the first member contained an element related to Lith. *selù, selēti* 'drag', Skt. *tsárati* 'to sneak, steal'; thus, εἰλίπους would mean 'with sneaking feet'. This interpretation, however, is not as convincing as the inner-Greek connections. There seems to be no trace of digamma (Chantraine 1942: 132); however, see Shipp 1967: 60 (who suggests that it is a late formation without an old tradition). One might think of 'pressing the feet' (from ειλέω 'press') as 'turning the feet' (from ειλέω 'to turn'; thus also H.: διὰ τὸ ἐλίσσειν τοὺς πόδας κατὰ τὴν πορείαν 'because of their turning the feet in their mode of walking'). ει- can be metrical or taken from the present. On the -ι in compounds, see Schwyzer: 447f. and Knecht 1946: 31. The unclear gloss ἀνελλίπους· ὁ τοῖς ποσὶ μὴ ἀλ<λ>όμενος, ἦτοι χωλός 'not leaping with his feet, limping' (H.) does not help. See also ►εἰλιτενής.

**εἰλιτενής** [adj.] said of ἄγρωστις (i.e. 'dog's tooth grass'), mg. unknown (Theoc. 13, 42). <?>

•ETYM Poetic formation, modelled after εἰλι-κρινής, -πους; the second member is probably related to ►τείνω (cf. ἀτενής), while the first member has been connected with ειλέω 'turn, wind' (Frisk), but "die sich windend ausdehnende" is just a guess. Differently, Osthoff; see ►εἰλίπους.

**εἰλόπεδον** [n.] in η 123 ἀλώη ... 'vineyard' / τῆς ἑτερον μὲν θ' εἰλόπεδον ... / τέρεται ἠελίῳ 'dry up in the sun', read by Doederlein (details in Bechtel 1914, Leumann 1950: 44), for traditional θεἰλόπεδον. <?>

•ETYM Analyzed in antiquity as 'sunny spot', with εἴλη 'heat of the sun' as a first member. The reading θεἰλόπεδον (thought to be false; see Frisk) was already accepted in antiquity (AP, Dsc.); thence θεἰλοπεδεύω 'to wither in the sun' (Dsc.). See also Ure *Class. Quart.* 49 (1955): 227. Nonetheless, an inscription in Mylasa has θεἰλοπε[, which rather suggests that θεἰλόπεδον was the correct reading after all; see Dubois *RPh.* 71 (1997): 162. See ►εἴλη.

**εἰλυσπάομαι** [v.] 'to sneak like a snake or a worm' (Hp., Pl.). <GR>

•VAR Also ἰλ-.

•DER εἰλύσπασις and -σπαστικός (Arist.).

•ETYM Expressive verbal dvandva-compound from εἰλύομαι and σπάομαι (Schwyzer: 645).

**εἰλύφάω** [v.] 'to roll, whirl about' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Only ptc. -φώνων, -φώνοντες (Λ 156, Hes. *Th.* 692, trans.; Nonn. *D.* 30, 81 intr.), -ὑφάζω only present (Υ 492 trans.; Hes. *Sc.* 275 intr.).

•ETYM Iterative-intensive formation in -άω with lengthening to -άζω (Schwyzer: 734, Chantraine 1942: 337), from εἰλύω, though unclear in detail (εἰλύω : \*εἰλύπτω : εἰλυφάω like ἄπτω : ἀφάω?). Schwyzer 1937: 66<sup>2</sup> incorrectly believes that it consists of εἰλύω and ὑφάω; neither did it arise via an intermediate noun in -φος, -φη (Solmsen 1901: 235, Bechtel 1914). The varying length of the -υ- is metrically conditioned (Chantraine 1942: 360).

**εἰλύω** [v.] 'to wrap around, envelop, cover' (Il.). <IE \*uel-u- 'envelop, cover'>

•VAR (Arat. 432; καταεἰλυον Ψ 135 v.l. for -νυον, -νυσαν), perf. med. εἰλύμαι, fut. καὶ δέ ... / εἰλύσω Φ 319, aor. κατ-εἰλύσαντε (A. R. 3, 206); εἰλύομαι 'to wind itself and curl, crawl forward' (S. *Ph.* 291 and 702), 'to swarm' (Com.), aor. pass. ἐλύσθη 'rolled', ἐλυσθείς 'ducking' (Il.; Theoc. 25, 246 has εἰλυθείς instead; A. R. 3, 296 εἰλυμένος).

•COMP Some prefixed compounds: κατ-εἰλύω (Hdt.), δι-εἰλυσθεῖσα 'sneaking through' (A. R. 4, 35), ἐξ-εἰλυσθέντες (Theoc. 24, 17), συν-εἰλύω (EM 333, 42).

•DER From ἐλύ-: ἐλύ-τρον 'envelope, shell, container' (IA) with ἐλυτρόομαι (Hp.); ἐλύμα 'plough-beam' (Hes., secondary length, see below), in H. also = νύσσα 'turning point' καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον 'mantle', cf. εἰλυμα; ἐλύμος a Phrygian pipe (S., Com.), in H. also 'envelope'; ἐλυστα· ἄμπελος μέλαινα 'dark vine' (H.; -σ- like in ἐλύσθη, see below); deverbative ἐλύσσει· εἰλεῖται 'draw oneself up' (H.). From εἰλυ-: εἰλύμα 'envelope' (ζ 179, etc., cf. ἐλυμα); εἰλυθμός 'hiding-place, hole' (Nic.), in H. = ἐλκος, τρόμος 'wound, trembling', to εἰλύομαι; εἰλός = ►εἰλός s.v.; εἰλυσίς 'sneaking forward' (sch. on εἰλύομαι); εἰλύτας, ἐλλύτας name of a cake' (inscr., H., ἐλύτης gramm.; see Fraenkel 1910: 171f.); deverbative εἰλύσεται· εἰλεῖται (H.), cf. ἐλύσσει above, with εἰλυστήριον (gloss.). From ἀλύ- (zero grade): ►ἄλυσις, ►ἀλύτας. See also ►πέλλυτρον and ►γολύριον.

•ETYM The gloss γέλουτρον· ἔλυτρον, ἡγουν λέπτρον 'pod' (H.) points to PGr. γέλουτρον, identical with Skt. *varu-tra-* [n.] 'over-garment' (gramm.). Theoretically, εἶλω could derive from PGr. \**ἑλ-ν-ύ-ω* and agree with Skt. *ὑγρότι* 'envelop, cover' < IE \**ul-ne-u-ti*, but the Greek word is late and rare, which makes the identification less probable; even less so, when we consider that the Skt. root contains an initial laryngeal (see Lubotsky 2000a). Disyllabic *ἑλν-* in (ἑ)λύ-σ-θη, etc. (with analogical -σ-; Schwyzler 761) is also found in Arm. *gelu-m* 'to turn' (formation uncertain) and in Lat. *volvō*; an iterative formation in Go. *walwjan*, OE *wealwian* 'to revolve' < \**uolu-eie-*. Note (ἑ)έλῡ-μα, with the same secondary long vowel as in Lat. *volūmen*; further, Arm. *gelumn* 'turning'. In the formation of the Greek system, the perfect εἶλῡμαι < \**ἑ-ἑλῡ-μαι* (with long vowel; initial ἑ- is uncertain, on which see Chantraine 1942: 131 and Schwyzler: 649e) played an important role; the late forms εἶλῡσαι and εἶλυσθῆναι and the many nouns in εἶλῡ- are derived from it. See LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 1. and 2. *uel-*.

εἶλω → εἶλεω 1.

εἶμα → ἔννυμι.

εἰμάδες [pl.?] · ποιμένων οἰκίαι 'houses of shepherds' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Formation like δειράς, etc.; is the word derived from \**ἑῖμα* = Lat. *vīmen* 'rod, wickerwork'?

εἶμι [v.] 'to go' (perfective; cf. Schwyzler 1950: 265). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ei-* 'go'>

•VAR Only present active; inf. ἰέναι.

•DIAL Myc. *i-jo-te* /iontes/.

•COMP Very often with prefix: ἄν-, ἄπ-, δι-, εἰς-, ἔξ-, etc.

•DER From the simplex: ἴ-θματα [pl.] 'step, pace' (E 778 = *h. Ap.* 114, of doves), = 'feet' (Call. *Cer.* 58); on the formation Schwyzler: 492<sup>12</sup>, 523; ▶ ἰσθμός, also ἰταμός, ▶ ἴτης; cf. οἶτος, οἶμος. From the compounds: εἰς-ί-θυμῃ 'entry' (ζ 264, Opp.; cf. ἴθματα and Porzig 1942: 283); ἔξ-ί-θυλος 'perishable' (IA), acc. to H. ἴτηλον· τὸ ἔμμονον, καὶ οὐκ ἔξῃτηλον 'abiding, not going' (A. *Fr.* 42); εἰς-ί-τημα 'revenue' (Delos, Delphi); εἰς-, ἔξ-, κατ-ι-τήριος (D.); δι-, συν-ι-τικός (Arist.). On ▶ ἁμαξ-ι-τός, see s.v.; on the univerbation ἀταρπιτός see ▶ ἀτραπός. Iterative ἰτάω in ἰτητέον 'eundum est' (Att.) and ἐπανιτακῶρ = ἐπανεληλυθῶς (Elis); thence εἰς-ιτητήρια [n.pl.] 'initiation sacrifice for an official' (Att.; also εἰς-ιτήρια, see above), εἰς-ιτητός 'accessible' (Alciphro.) and ἰτητικός = ἰταμός (Arist.). As a verbal noun to εἶμι, especially to the compounds, serves ὁδός (ἄν-οδος, etc.), Schwyzler 1950: 75, Porzig 1942: 201. See also ▶ φοιτάω.

•ETYM Old athematic root present with exact correspondences in several languages: εἶ-μι, εἶ (< \**ei-hi*), εἶ-σι = Skt. *é-mi*, *é-si*, *é-ti*, Lith. *ei-mi*, *ei-si*, *ei-ti*, Hitt. *pāi-mi*, *pāi-si*, *pāi-zi* (with preverb *pe-*, *pa-*), Lat. *i-s*, *i-t* (replacement of 1sg. with *eō* < \**ei-ō*), all of which are from IE \**ei-mi*, *-si*, *-ti*. 1pl. ἴ-μεν : Skt. *i-más*; ipv. ἴ-θι = Skt. *i-hí* : Hitt. *i-t*; impf. Hom. ἦῖα = Skt. *āyam* from IE \**h<sub>2</sub>e-h<sub>2</sub>ei-m*. Iterative ἰτάω = Lat. *itāre*, Mlr. *ethaim*. Further details are in Schwyzler: 674, etc. On the relation between εἶμι - ἔρχομαι - ἡλθον and other verbs of going, see Bloch 1940: 22ff.

εἶμι [v.] 'to be'. <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>es-* 'be'>

•VAR Inf. εἶναι (IA), Dor. ἡμί, inf. ἦμεν, Aeol. ἔμμι, inf. ἔμμεν, -αι; only present stem (with future).

•COMP Often with prefix: ἄπ-, ἔν-, ἔξ- (ἔξεστι), ἔπ-, πάρ-, σύν-, etc.

•DER ἔστ-ώ [f.] (to ἔστι) = οὐσία (to ὤν) 'substance' (Archyt. Philos.), ἀπ-εστῶ 'absence' (Hdt. 9, 85; συν-εστῶ 6, 128 v.l. to συνεστή), see Schwyzler: 478, Chantraine 1933: 117; cf. also on εὐεστῶ; ἀπεστύς· ἀποχώρησις 'retreat; voidance' (H.; Chantraine 1933: 291). From the ptc. ὤν, ὄντ-ος : οὐσία (see above) with ἀπ-, ἔξ-, παρ-, συν-ουσία, etc. from ἀπ-ών, etc.; thence e.g. συνουσιάζω with συνουσιαστής, -αστικός, etc.

•ETYM Old athematic root present with exact correspondences in several languages: εἶμι, εἶ (epic and Dor. ἔσσι), ἔστι = Skt. *ásmi*, *ási*, *ásti*, OLith. *esmi*, *esi*, *esti*, Hitt. *ešmi*, *ešši* (*eši*), *ešzi*, Go. *im*, *is*, *ist*, Lat. *es(s)*, *est* (*sum* is an innovation), IE \**es-mi*, \**esi* (< \**es-si*, sometimes restored by analogy), \**es-ti*; 3pl. with zero grade εἰσί, Myc. *e-e-si* /*e<sup>h</sup>ensi*/, Dor. ἐντί (with psilosis after εἶμι, etc.) = Skt. *sánti*, U *sent*, Go., etc. *sind*, all of which are from IE \**h<sub>2</sub>s-enti*. Hom. ἦα [ipf.1sg.] = Skt. *ásam*, IE \**h<sub>2</sub>e-h<sub>2</sub>es-m*, Dor. Aeol. Arc. Cypr. ἦς [3sg.] = Skt. (Ved.) *ás*, IE \**h<sub>2</sub>e-h<sub>2</sub>es-t*. Further forms are mentioned in Schwyzler: 676ff.

εἰνατέρες, -έρων [f.pl.] 'wife of the husband's brother' (Il.) <IE \*(H)*ienh<sub>2</sub>-ter-* 'wife of husband's brother'>

•VAR Also sing. ἐνατηρ, -τρι, -τερα (late Anatolian inscr.), voc. εἴνατερ, gen. -τερος (Hdn.).

•ETYM Old, disappearing kinship term denoting a member of the extended family (see Risch *Mus. Helv.* 1 (1944): 117). Epic εἰν- is a metrical lengthening of psilotic ἐν-. The acc. ἱνατέρα is not Phrygian, but Greek.

The etymon is also seen in Lat. *ianitrīcēs* (after *genetrīcēs*, etc.; the vocalization -a(n)- in the root is not quite clear), OLith. *jentē*, CS *jatry* (ending after *svēkry* 'mother-in-law'), and in Skt. *yātar-* (with zero grade of the root: \**inh<sub>2</sub>-ter-*). Arm. *ner* (also *nēr*), gen. *niri* is difficult to explain; see Kortlandt 2003: 120 and 163 on this word.

εἰνοσίφυλλος → ἔνοσις.

εἶπον [v.aor.] 'say, speak' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>e-ue-uk<sup>w</sup>-om* 'I said'>

•VAR Epic εἶπον, Ion., etc. also εἶπα, inf. εἰπεῖν, εἶπαι, Cret. *ῥεῖπαι*.

•COMP Often with prefix, e. g. ἀπ(ο)-, ἔξ-, μετ(α)-, παρ-, προ-(ἑ)ἰπεῖν, -(ἑ)ἶπαι

•ETYM The Skt. aorist *á-vocam* 'I spoke', from \**h<sub>2</sub>e-ue-uk<sup>w</sup>-om*, points to a Greek preform \**e-weuk<sup>w</sup>om*, whence by dissimilation \**eweik<sup>w</sup>om* > ἔ(ἑ)ἶπον. On an uncertain trace of the digamma in an antique edition of Homer, see Kretschmer 1923: 190ff. Further, see ▶ ἔπος. On the meaning, use and inflexion, see Fournier 1946: 3ff., 99f., 227ff.

εἶργω [v.] 'to fence in, shut out' (on the mg. Brunel 1939: 27f., 122). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>uerg-* 'shut in, press'>

•VAR Also εἶργω; εἶργνυμι, epic ἔέργω, ἔέργνυμι, epic Ion. ἔργω, ἔργνυμι, s-aor. εἶρξαι (also εἶρ-, ἔρ-, ἔρ-), them. aor. κατ-Εφοργον (Cypr.), pass. εἰρχθῆναι (εἶρ-,

etc.), fut. εἶρξω (εἶρξω, Heracl. ἀφ-, ἐφ-έρχονται, συν-ήρχονται), perf. med. εἶργμαι, ἔεργμαι (ἔργμαι), epic 3pl. ἔρχαται, -ατο with artificial extension ἐρχατόωντο ξ 15 (see Leumann 1950: 179ff.), lengthened pret. εἰργαθεῖν (-άθειν?; Schwyzler: 703).

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀπ(ο)-, ἀφ-, δι-, εἰσ-, ἐφ-, ἐξ-, κατ- (καθ-), συν-, etc.

•DER εἰρκτή (ἐρ-), often plur. 'enclosure, prison, women's apartments' (IA); εἰργμός 'prison' (Pl.); (σύν-, κάθ-, ἐξ-)εἶρξις 'shutting in, etc.' (Pl.) with -ειρκτικός; ἀφ-ερκτος 'shut out' (A. Ch. 446 [lyr.]).

•ETYM Except for the zero grade thematic aorist Cyp. κατ-ἔφοργον (-έ- or -ή-; Schwyzler 653 β), all forms, including the nouns, go back to a full grade ἐ-(φ)έργω, εἶργω; acc. to Sommer 1905: 127f., the aspiration in εἶρξαι, ἔρξω, εἶργω, etc. arose before voiceless ρ in ἐρκτ-, ἐρξ-(?). Details are included in Solmsen 1901: 221ff. There are no directly comparable formations in the other languages. Av. *vərəziian* [opt.] 'they should fence in' is perhaps cognate; Lith. *veržiù, veržti* 'to narrow in, string' is not, but rather from \**uerǵh-* (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**uerǵh-*). Further, there are some related Indo-Iranian nouns: Skt. *vrjāna-* [n.] 'enclosure' = Av. *vərəzāna-*, *varəzāna-* 'community', OP *vardana-* 'town'; Skt. *vrajā-* [m.] 'fence' (as if from \**h<sub>1</sub>uerǵ-o-*). It is unclear whether to connect it with an Irish word for 'wall, etc.': OIr. *fraigh*, MoIr. *fraigh* 'wall of wickerwork, roof, fence'. Within Greek, the word has been compared with Myc. *we-re-ke /wreges/* 'fences'; see Tichy 1983: 286 with fn. 163. This would presuppose that the prothetic ἐ- is secondary.

**εἶρερον** [acc.] 'imprisonment, servitude' (θ 529). <?>

•ETYM Etymology uncertain. Frisk *Eranos* 50 (1952): 6ff. argues against the connection with Lat. *servus*, instead suggesting a basis \**ferferon*, and connecting the word with Arm. *gerem* 'to take prisoner'. It is probably not related to ▶εὐρίσκω 'to find' or ▶ἀρύω 'to draw water', although based on the meaning the word has been compared with Skt. *grāha-*, *grāhana-* 'taking, imprisonment, scooping'. Other suggestions are in Bechtel 1914 and Brugmann *IF* 19 (1906): 382ff.

**εἶρεσία** ⇒ἐρέτης.

**εἶρεσιώνη** [f.] 'an olive or laurel twig adorned with red and white bands and decorated with fruits', as a symbol of fertility (Ar.), 'a song when carrying this twig around' (Hom. *Epigr.*, Plu.), 'wreath (of honour)' (Hell.). <?>

•VAR Also εἰρυσιώνη (Delos I<sup>a</sup>), folk-etymological reshaping after εἰρύομαι 'protect'.

•ETYM For the formation, cf. the plant names in -ώνη in Chantraine 1933: 207f.; Strömberg 1940: 81 points to *ιασιώνη*, but further comparanda are unknown. The word is often derived from εἶρος, but without much reason. Chantraine thinks of Ἐρέσιος epithet of Apollo (H.); cf. Myc. *We-we-si-je-ja* /Werwes-/. Differently, Schönberger *Glotta* 29 (1942): 85ff. and Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 1 (1951): 122f.; cf. Meid *IF* 62 (1956): 277<sup>22</sup>.

\***εἶρη** [f.] taken as 'place of speaking or gathering', acc. to H. = ἐρώτησις, φήμη, κληδών 'questioning, speech, omen', acc. to *EM* 483, 3 = ἐκκλησία 'assembly' and μαντεία 'prophesying'. <?>

•VAR Only εἰράων Σ 531 (verse-initial), also εἰρέας Hes. *Th.* 804 (conj. εἶραις, εἶρας).

•ETYM Traditionally connected with ἐρῶ, εἶρηκα (εἶρω) 'say', but with an unclear base form; is the nom. \*εἶρα < \**φέρ-ια*? See also ▶εἰρήνη.

**εἰρήν** [m.] name of the full-grown youths in Sparta, 'κόρος τέλειος' 'full-grown boy' (H., *IG* 5(1), 279, Plu. *Lyc.* 17, etc.; on the mg., etc. Solmsen *IF* 7 (1897): 37ff.). <?>

•VAR Also εἶρην, ἴρην, -ήν; gen. -ένος.

•COMP As a second member in μελλ-εἰρήν 'a youth becoming εἰρήν' (Plu. *Lyc.* 17) together with μελλειρενεια (Sparta), τριτιρενες [pl.] 'third-year εἰρένες' (Messen.).

•ETYM Uncertain. Acc. to Solmsen *IF* 7 (1897): 37ff., the word is from \**έρσην*, and therefore differs from Ion. ▶*έρσην* 'man, male' only in accent; the loss of \*s with compensatory lengthening would be due to the oxytone accent (Wackernagel *KZ* 29 (1888): 127ff.). However, as a strictly Laconian form, one would expect \**ήρην*, as Bechtel 1921, 2: 370f. notes. Neither related to ▶*ήρι* 'early', nor to ▶εἰρήνη.

**εἰρήνη** [f.] 'peace, time of peace' (Il.), cf. Trümper 1950: 183ff., later 'peace treaty', in the LXX also '(wish) of blessing' as a Hebraism (Wackernagel *IF* 31 (1912/13): 263f.); as a goddess, daughter of Zeus and Themis (Hes.). <PG?>

•VAR ἱράνα (Dor., Boeot., Arc., etc.), also ἰρήνα (Gort. II<sup>a</sup>: χ[ι]ρήνας [gen.] with secondary aspiration), ἰρείνα (Thess.), εἰρήνα (Delph. IV<sup>a</sup>, Pi., B.), εἰράνα (NWGr., etc.), εἶρηνά (Aeol., gramm.), Εἰρήνα, -άνη (PN, Lycia).

•COMP As a first member in εἰρηνο-ποιός (X.), etc.

•DER εἰρηναῖος 'peaceful' (Hdt.), εἰρηνικός 'belonging to peace' (Att., Hell.; after πολεμικός; Chantraine 1956a: 151); denominative εἰρηνεύω [v.] 'keep peace, live in peace' (Pl.) with εἰρηνευσίς (Iamb.), εἰρηνέω 'id.' (Arist., after πολεμέω). On the Lacon. PN *φειράνα* see Kretschmer *Glotta* 7 (1916): 332, Bechtel 1923: 155.

•ETYM The many dialectal forms cannot be combined under one form, but must be loans with incomplete adaptation (Leumann 1950: 277). The original anlaut is perhaps, according to the hesitant suggestion of Wackernagel *IF* 25 (1909): 327<sup>1</sup>, open *ip-* in Ionic and elsewhere, which was first rendered in Attic by ἐ-, later by εἰρ-; the Attic orthography became dominant. The occurrence of -ρήνη (also Att.) versus -ράνᾱ was explained by Whitney Tucker *TAPA* 93 (1962): there was an early dissimilation of \**ǣ* to \**ē* before \**ǣ* in one of the following syllables. This prevented the so-called Attic Rückverwandlung of \**rǣ* to *pa*. No etymology; Pre-Greek origin is very probable, principally because of the ending (cf. Αθήνη, Μυκίνη, etc.); thus also Chantraine 1933: 206.

**εἶρομαι** [v.] 'to ask' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>r(e)u-* 'ask, inquire'>

•VAR Also ἐρέομαι, ἐρέω (epic), subj. (with short vowel) ἐρείομεν, imp. med. ἔρειο (from \**έρεω*? Chantraine 1942: 297), aor. ἐρέσθαι (Od.), fut. εἰρήσομαι (Od., Ion.), ἐρήσομαι (Att.). See Chantraine 1942: 394.

•DIAL Myc. *e-re-u-te-re* /ereutēres/.

•COMP With prefix: ἀν-, δι-, ἐξ-, ἐπι-.

•DER Agent noun ἐρευταί 'ζητηταί, inquirers', name of the state exactors on Crete (inscr.); secondary presents ▶*ερεῖνω*, ▶*ερευνάω*, ▶*ερωτάω*.

•ETYM The verbal noun ἐρευ-ταί beside ἔρευε· ἐρεύνα 'search' (Aeol.) (H.) and the subjunctive ἐρείομεν (A 62, from \**ερέφ-ο-μεν*) lead to the reconstruction ἐρέ(φ)-ω,

athematic \*ἔρευ-μι. Therefore, εἶρομαι is derived from zero grade \*ἔρφ-ομαι; for the aorist ἐρέσθαι, one also supposes \*ἔρφ-έσθαι (with Attic development); both of these are from IE \**h<sub>1</sub>ru-e-*. The shifting accentuation (ἔρεσθαι beside ἐρέσθαι, but also ἐπειρέσθαι) shows the uncertainty of the speakers regarding the function of the zero-grade forms.

There are no direct cognates outside Greek. The form is perhaps seen in ON *raun* [f.] 'attempt, test', IE \**h<sub>1</sub>rou-neh<sub>2</sub>-*; further, see ► ἐρευνάω and ► ἐρεείνω.

**εἶρος** [n.] 'wool' (Od.), also a plant name = γναφάλλιον 'cotton weed' (Ps.-Dsc.; on the name Strömberg 1940: 105) and name of a fever (Hp. *apud* Erot.; because of the temperature?, cf. Strömberg 1944: 74ff.). <IE \**ueru-os-* 'wool'>

•DIAL Myc. *we-we-si-je-ja* /werwesieiai/ 'women who work the wool', from *we-we-si-jo(-)* /werwesios/.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in εἶρο-πόκος 'with woollen fleece', -κόμος 'preparing wool' (both Il.). As a second member in εὖ-εἶρος (Hp., AP), Att. εὖ-ερος (with εὐερία [Pl. Com.]) 'with beautiful wool', ἔπ-ερος 'sheep' (*Del.*<sup>3</sup> 644, 15, appr. 300<sup>a</sup>, Aeolic Asia Minor); on the phonetics Schulze 1933a: 367f., Forster 1950: 41; on the second member (for \*εὖ- and \*ἔπ-ειρός) see Sommer 1948: 112; on uncertain εὐείρας acc. pl. f. (S. Fr. 751, v. k.) Fraenkel 1910: 130.

•DER εἶριον (epic Ion.), Att. Cret. ἔριον 'wool', ἔρι (Hell. poet) with artificial abbreviation (Schwyzer: 584<sup>6</sup>); thence εἰρίνεος 'of wool', Att. etc. ἐρεοῦς, ἐρειοῦς (for -ιοῦς) 'id.', with cross ἐπεινοῦς (pap. V-VI<sup>p</sup>); ἐρέα 'wool' (Hell.; after αἰγέα et al.; Chantraine 1933: 91); on the derivations Schwyzer: 468.

•ETYM Most interesting among the words compared with εἶρος is Lat. *vervēx*, -ēcis 'wether', a derivation in *k-* of *ueru-* (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). εἶρος ultimately continues \*φέρφος, a form now proven by Myc. *we-we-*. See further ► ἀρήν.

**εἶρω**ψ ⇒ μέρωψ.

**εἶρω** 1 [v.] 'to string, attach' (Pi.). <IE \**ser-* 'string together'>

•VAR Mostly present; aor. εἶραι, ἔρσαι (IA; cf. Schwyzer: 753), perf. med. ptc. ἐερμένος, εἰρμένος (Ion., etc.), plpf. ἔερω (Hom.), perf. act. δι-εἶρκα (X.).

•COMP Mostly with prefix, especially συν-εἶρω 'connect'; also with ἐν-, ἀν-, δι-, ἐξ-, etc. (IA).

•DER ἔρματα [pl.] 'earrings' (Od.), 'sling' (Ael.), also καθέρματα (Anacr.); ἔνερσις (ἐνείρω) 'insertion, fitting' (Th. 1, 6), δῖερσις 'sting through' (Hell.); from the present εἰρμός 'connecting' (Arist.; on the spiritus asper see below), συναίρμός (Demetr. *Eloc.* 180); with *o*-grade ► ὄριμος 'chain, collar', whence ὀρμιά, ὀρμαθός.

•ETYM Beside the full grade *yod*-present εἶρω (as a simplex only in Pi. and Arist.), Latin has a thematic present *serō*, and Arm. *y-eřum* 'to tie, link, string together', which probably derives from \**ser-s-* or \**ser-nu-* (Martirosyan 2010 s.v.). This etymology presupposes that εἶρω lost the spiritus asper; this can be understood from the fact that the simplex is rare in comparison with συν-εἶρω, etc. An aspirated εἶρω is mentioned by EM 304, 30 (see Solmsen 1901: 292<sup>2</sup>); the verbal nouns may also have the old aspiration. Further traces of the verbal root and nouns are found in Italic (Osc. *aserum* 'asserere'), in Celtic (OIr. *sern(a)id* 'serit', a nasal present which

coincided with *sern(a)id* 'sternit'; see Thurneysen 1946: 133), and in OLith. *sėris* 'thread'; further, ON *sərvi* [n.] 'collar' < PGm. \**sarwija-*, which belongs to the old Gm. word for 'weapon, equipment', e.g. Go. *sarwa* [n.pl.] < PGm. \**sarwa-*, IE \**sor-uo-*. ἔνερσις and Lat. *insertiō* are due to parallel innovation.

**εἶρω** 2 [v.] 'to say'. <IE \**uerh<sub>1</sub>-* 'speak (solemnly)'>

•VAR only 1sg. pres. (Od.) and 3sg. εἶπεν as an aorist (B. 16, 20; 74), but εἶπετο (A 513), -οντο (λ 342) rather mean 'asked' (cf. Chantraine 1942: 341<sup>3</sup>), εἴρεται (Arat.) for εἴρηται like sporadic Hell. εἴρεκα for εἴρηκα (to ἐρρέθην), fut. epic Ion. ἐρέω, Att. ἐρῶ, perf. med. εἴρηται (Il.; Arg. φερήμενος, Cret. φερήμενος), with fut. pass. εἰρήσομαι (epic Ion. Il.), perf.act. εἴρηκα (A., Ar.), aor. pass. ptc. ῥηθείς (Od.), εἰρέθην (Hdt.), rather after εἴρηται (Lejeune 1972: 157<sup>4</sup>) than from \*ἐφρέθην (Schwyzer: 654); Att. ἐρρήθην, Hell. innovation ἐρρέθην, fut. ῥηθήσομαι (Att.). As an aorist, εἶπον is used, as a present, φημί, λέγω, Hell. also ἐρῶ (Schwyzer: 784<sup>4</sup>) with ipf. ἤρεον (εἶ-) 'said' (Hp.).

•COMP Often with prefix: προ-, προσ-, κατ-, also ἀν-, ἀπ-, δι-, ἐπ-, συν-, ὑπ-ερῶ, etc.

•DER Action nouns: ῥῆσις (IA φ 291), Arc. φρήσις 'pronunciation, speech' (on the mg. Chantraine 1933: 283, further Holt 1941: 87f.), often to the prefixed verbs: ἀνά-, ἀπό-, διά-, ἐπί-, κατά-, παρά-, πρό-, πρόσ-ρησις (cf. Holt, see index); ῥῆμα 'statement, word, story' (Ion. Archil.), as a grammatical term 'predicate, verb', also ἀπό-, ἐπί-, πρό-, πρόσ-ρημα; ῥήτρα, -η (ξ 393, X., Dor.), El. φράτρα (Schwyzer: 679), Cypr. with dissimilation φρήτα (from where εὐφρητάσας) 'agreement, treaty, law, pronunciation' (Chantraine 1933: 333), with ῥητρεύω 'pronounce' (Lyc.); on the suffix -τῶ- cf. ῥητήρ, ῥήτωρ.

Agent nouns: ῥητήρ 'speaker' (I 443), ῥήτωρ 'speaker', especially 'orator' in state affairs (trag., Att.).

Verbal adj. ῥητός 'agreed, settled' (Φ 445) < \**urh<sub>1</sub>-to-*; cf. Ammann 1956: 20, 'what can be said' (A., S.), often opposed to ἄρρητος (e.g. Hes. *Op.* 4), ἀπό-, ἐπί-, πρό-ρρητος; παρα-ρρητός 'convincing' (Il.; to παρά-φημι, -ειπεῖν). Adverb δια-ρρήδην 'expressly' (*h. Merc.*, etc.; Schwyzer 1950: 450), ἐπι-ρρήδην 'open' (Hell.), ῥήδην only A. D., EM (from δια-ρρ.).

Note the juridical and official mg. of many of the nouns (cf. the outer-Greek cognates below); see Porzig 1942: 265f., Fournier 1946: 5ff., 94ff., 224ff.

•ETYM All forms derive from a disyllabic root \**uerh<sub>1</sub>-*, including (f)εἶρω < \**uerh<sub>1</sub>-ie-* by Pinault's rule (loss of laryngeal in the sequence \**CH<sub>1</sub>V*), to which we may compare the Hitt. *yod*-present *ueri<sub>1</sub>ie/a-*<sup>zi</sup> 'to call, name, order'. Hitt. also has the particle -*wa(r)*- that indicates direct speech, properly 'said (he)'; additionally, Ru. *vrat*, 1sg. *vru* 'to lie' (< \**vbrq*, \**vbrati*) has been connected. Among the nouns, compare Av. *uruuāta-* [n.] 'pronouncement, order', from IE \**ureh<sub>1</sub>-to-*? See also ► εἶρων.

**εἶρων** [m., f.] 'who suggests not to know what he does' (Ar., Arist.; cf. the description in Thphr. *Char.* 1, 1). <?>

•DER εἰρωνικός 'like an εἶρων' (Pl.; cf. Fournier 1946: 88); denominative εἰρωνεύομαι [v.] 'simulate' (Att., Arist.) with εἰρωνεία 'irony' (Att., Hell.; cf. Büchner *Herm.* 76

(1941): 339ff.), *ειρωνεύματα* [pl.] 'id.' (Max. Tyr.), *ειρωνευτής* = *εἰρων* (Timo) and *ειρωνευτικός* (sch.); also *ειρωνίζω* 'id.' (Philostr. VS 7, 1; v.l.).

•ETYM Substantivizing and individualizing formation in -ων (Chantraine 1933: 161; see also Hoffmann MSS 6 (1955): 35ff.) from an unknown basis. Solmsen 1901: 263 connected the word with ► *εἶπω* 'say' as "one who only says sth. (but does not mean it)"; is it derived from the present? Taken by Prellwitz 1892 as "one who asks", from *εἶρομαι* 'ask'.

**εις** [prep., adv.] 'towards' (epic Il., IA, Lesb.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>en* 'in'>

•VAR Epic Ion. also *ἐς* < *ἐνς* (Cret., Arg.); details in Schwyzler 1950: 455f.

•ETYM Exists beside *ἐν* as *ἐξ* beside *ἐκ*, and was perhaps formed based on this opposition. Hence *εἴσω*, *εἴσω* [adv.] 'towards' (Il.), with added -ω (cf. *ἄνω* s.v. ► *ἀνά*).

**εἷς** [num.] 'one'. <IE \**sem-* 'one'>

•VAR Dor. *ἦς*; fem. *μία*, ntr. *ἐν*, gen. *ἐνός*, *μῆς*, etc.

•DIAL Myc. *e-me* dat. /<sup>h</sup>*emei*/.

•ETYM The pre-form \**ἐνς* (still visible in Gort. *εν[δ]* δ- < *ἐνς* δ-) derives from \**ἐμ-*, IE \**sem-*s, beside which is a zero grade fem. ► *μία* < \**sm-ih<sub>2</sub>*. The gen. *ἐν-ός* replaced \**ἐμ-ός* after \**ἐνς*, *ἐν*. An old numeral, found in Lat. *sem-per* 'in one stroke, ever' and (though unclear in detail) in ToB *še(me)*, A *sas* [m.], etc.; in Gm., it probably occurs in Go. *sin-teins* 'daily', etc., as well as in Arm. *mi* 'one' (generalized from the feminine). An ablauting variant is ► *ὁμός*, *ἁμός*, ► *ἄμα* with derivatives; note further *ἴγνια*· *εἷς*. Πάφιοι H., with a velar suffix as in Lat. *singulī*.

**εἴσω** ⇒ *εἴοικα*.

**εἴσομαι** 1 ⇒ *οἶδα*.

**εἴσομαι** 2 ⇒ *εἶδομαι*.

**εἴσομαι** 3 [v.fut.] 'set oneself in movement, hurry'. <IE \**uei(H)-* 'track down' (?)>

•VAR Aor. (*ἐ*)*εἴσατο*.

•COMP Also with prefix: *ἐπι-* 'hasten against', *κατα-* 'hasten down', *μετ-* 'drive inbetween' (Hom.).

•ETYM Originally from (f)*ἴεμαι*, acc. to Bechtel 1914 s.v., so perhaps the word must be understood as (f)*ἴσομαι*, *ἐ(f)ἴσατο*, (f)*ἴσατο*; the loss of the digamma facilitated the (semantic) connection with *εἶμι* 'go' (Chantraine 1942: 293 and 412). See ► *ἴεμαι* and LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**uei(h)-* 'sein Augenmerk richten auf, trachten nach'.

**εἴσω** •VAR *εἴσω*. ⇒ *εἴς*.

**εἴτα** [adv.] 'then, thereupon'. <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>e(i)-* dem. pron.>

•VAR Ion. Mess. Boeot. *εἴτεν*; also *ἐπ-εἴτα*, Ion. Dor. *ἐπ-εἴτε(v)*.

•ETYM From ► *εἰ* and an adverbial element -τα, -τε(v); there are no direct parallels outside Greek. Cf. Schwyzler: 629.

**εἴτε** 'sive – sive, whether – or', etc. (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>e(i)-* dem. pron.>

•VAR Dor. *αἴτε*; often repeated *εἴτε – εἴτε*.

•ETYM From ► *εἰ* (Dor. *αἰ*) and enclitic ► *τε* < \**k<sup>w</sup>e*.

**εἴωθα** [v.] 'to be used to, use' (Il.). <IE \**sue d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* 'character, custom'>

•VAR *εἴωθα* (see Wissmann MSS 6 (1955): 124ff.), Lesb. *εἴωθα*, plpf. *εἴωθειν*, Ion. *εἴωθεα*.

•ETYM Old intransitive perfect of state. The denominative *ἐθίζω* (from ► *ἔθος*) functions as a transitive present with a complete inflexion (aor. *ἐθίσαι*, etc.); on supposed intr. \**ἐθω*, see ► *ἔθωv*. H. offers the unclear glosses *εὐέθωκεν· εἴωθεν* (from \**ἐθόω?*, Bechtel 1921, 1: 88; 369; from \**εφεθε-*), *ἐθώκατι· εἴωθασιν*; cf. Schwyzler: 775. The unexplained long vowel in \**σέ-σφωθ-α*, whence *εἴωθα* (with Grassmann's dissimilation), etc., is also found in *γέ-γων-α* 'I can be heard', which is old, too. The long vowel also appears in ► *ἦθος* beside ► *ἔθος*. Cognate verbs are unknown, but the same univerbation of \**sue* 'self' and \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* 'to posit' is found in nominal formations: Lat. *sodālis* 'member of a fraternity' and Skt. *svadhā-* [f.] 'custom, peculiarity, etc.'.

**ἐκ** ⇒ *ἐξ*.

**ἐκάεργος** [adj.] epithet of Apollo (Il.), also of Artemis (Ar. *Th.* 972 [lyr.]). <GR>

•ETYM Interpreted by the ancients as 'protecting at distance' or 'working at distance' (*ἐκάς* and *εἶργω* or *ἐργον*), but the word rather means 'freely working': i.e., it is a bahuvrihi compound of \**ἐκα* < \**fékǎ*, an adverb in -ǎ (*σάφα*, etc.) of ► *ἐκών*, and *ἐργον*. See Bechtel 1914 s.v., as well as Schwyzler: 439<sup>8</sup>. Cf. ► *ἐκηβόλος*. *ἐκα-* appears in a few PNs, such as *Ἐκα-μήδη* (Hom.) and *Ἐκά-διος* (Teos) (but Boeot. *φεκά-δάμος*, together with Thess. *φεκέ-δάμος* and Att. ► *Ἀκάδημος* is rather Pre-Greek).

**ἐκάς** [adv.] 'far, far away', both local and temporal (Il.); *βεκάς· μακράν* 'far' (H.). <IE \**sue-kns* ?>

•COMP Compar. *ἐκαστέρω*, superl. *ἐκαστάτω*.

•DER *ἐκά-θεν* 'from afar' (Il.; cf. *ἐκά-τερος*), *ἀφ-εκάς* 'far off' (Nic.).

•ETYM Cf. *ἀνδρα-κάς* 'man for man' (v 14); the word is from the reflexive/anaphoric pronoun ► *ἐ*, *ἐ*, so properly 'on itself'? The same distributive suffix also occurs in Sanskrit, e.g. *parva-śās* 'limb by limb', *śata-śās* 'in hundreds, hundred by hundred' (AV+); cf. Schwyzler: 630 and Klingenschmitt 1975. The word *εκαδι* [dat.] (Dura, Hell.), name of an estate, is unclear; see Cumont *RPh.* 48 (1922): 104.

**ἐκαστος** [pron.] 'every one' (Il.). <GR>

•VAR *φέκαστος* (Gort., El., NWGr., Arc.).

•DER Several adverbial derivatives: *ἐκάστοτε* 'every time' (IA), *ἐκάστοθι* 'in every place' (γ 8), *ἐκασταχοῦ* 'everywhere' and several formations with a suffix -χ-, further *ἐκαστάκις* 'on every occasion' (Corc.), etc.

•ETYM The solution of Wackernagel KZ 29 (1888): 144ff. is probably correct (see also Schwyzler: 630<sup>4</sup>): viz., that the word is from \**ἐκάς τις* 'every one for himself' (cf. *εἷς τις* 'unusquisque'). From \**ἐκάς τεο* > *ἐκάστου*, \**ἐκάς τω* > *ἐκάστω*, the other cases (like *ἐκαστος*, etc.) were formed, along with the superlative in -ιστος. When *ἐκαστος* was analyzed as *ἐκα-στος*, this led to the creation of *ἐκάτερος* (IA), *φεκάτερος* (Gort., Delph.) 'each of both' (based on *ἄτερος*, *πότερος*, etc.), with several adverbial derivatives like *ἐκατέρωθεν*, -*ωθι*, -*ωσε* (IA, etc.); note the form *ἐκατέρθε(v)* 'on both

sides' (Il.), based on ὑπερθεν, ἐνερθεν, etc., for metrically awkward ἐκατέρωθεν. See Schwyzler: 627f., Lejeune 1939: 223f., Mastrelli *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 27 (1956): 8, and Lazzeroni *Ann. Pisa* 2:25 (1956): 136ff.

**Ἑκάτη** [f.] popular goddess originating from Anatolia (Hes. *Th.* 411ff.; *h. Cer.*), more specifically from Caria, and identified with Artemis (E. *Supp.* 676 [Iyr.]); cf. Nilsson 1941: 722ff. <PG>

•DER Ἑκαταῖος 'belonging to H.' (S., D.), also Ἑκατήσιος and Ἑκατικός 'id.' (late); Ἑκάταιον [n.] effigy of Hecate, which was put up in front of houses or on three-forked roads (Ar.), Ἑκατήσιον 'id.' (Plu.), Ἑκατήσια [n.pl.] festival in Cos. Several Anatolian PNs: Ἑκαταῖος, Ἑκατήνωρ, Ἑκατάς, etc. (Bechtel 1917b: 150f.).

•ETYM Originally an epithet, assumed to have resulted from a cross of ▶ἐκατηβόλος or ▶ἐκηβόλος. However, I see no reason to assume that it had an initial digamma. More probably, of Pre-Greek origin.

**ἐκατηβελέτης** [adj.] epithet of Apollo (A 75, Hes. *Sc.* 100, *h. Ap.* 157; always in gen. -έταο). <GR>

•VAR After this ἐκατηβελέτης (*Theol. Ar.*).

•ETYM Either from the old full-grade aorist stem \*g<sup>w</sup>elh<sub>1</sub>- of ▶βάλλω, or (better) for older \*ἐκατη-βελής, with enlarging -της as in αἰει-γενέτης, for \*αἰει-γενής, etc. after the example of cases like ἀκαλα-ρρεφέ-της (> ἀκαλαρρεΐτης), νεφελ-ηγερέ-τα, etc.; cf. Schwyzler: 451f. The synonymous ἐκατη-βόλος, Dor. -ᾱ- (Il.) is a compound with βάλλω. The word ἐκατηβελέτης was already compared with ἐκη-βόλος by the ancients, and interpreted as 'hitting from afar' or as 'with a hundred shots'. Contrary to the latter sense – which was proposed by Wackernagel *IF* 45 (1926): 314ff., who translated 'hitting hundreds' – it must be objected that one would rather expect ἐκατομ- as a first member; cf. the old word ἐκατόμ-βη. The attractive connection with ἐκη-βόλος suggests that ἐκατη-βελέτης, -βόλος are metrically lengthened "Streckformen", perhaps adapted to ἐκατόν. The word ἐκατη-βόλος could be a cross of ἐκη-βόλος and the Apollonian epithet Ἑκατος (Il.); compare e.g. Ἰφι-τος for Ἰφι-κράτης, -κλῆς, etc. Acc. to von Wilamowitz 1931: 325, Ἑκατος, Ἑκάτη are from an Anatolian language and adapted by the Greeks to ἐκατηβόλος, ἐκηβόλος; however, ἐκά-εργος is certainly Greek. See further Schwyzler: 439<sup>8</sup> and Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 235f.

**ἐκατόμβη** [f.] name of a large, official festive sacrifice (Il.). <IE \*d<sup>h</sup>km<sup>h</sup>tom-g<sup>w</sup>u-eh<sub>2</sub>- 'sacrifice of hundred cows'>

•DER Ἑκατόμβαια [n.pl.] (Delph., Arg.) with the month name Ἑκατομβαιών, -ῶνος (Att., etc.), also Ἑκατομβεύς (Lacon.); Ἑκατόμβαιος epithet of Zeus and Apollo (H., EM).

•ETYM Collective bahuvrihi of ἐκατόν and the zero grade of βοῦς, gen. βο(φ)ός, with a suffix -ᾱ- (Schwyzler: 450, Sommer 1948: 76); originally, \*ἐκατόμ-βῆ-ᾱ. A counterpart is found in Indo-Iranian, e.g. Skt. *śata-gu-* 'possessing hundred cows', possibly through \**śata-gv-a-*, *śata-gv-in-* 'id.'; counterparts with a thematic vowel are the PNs *Dáśa-gv-a-*, *Náva-gv-a-* 'having ten (nine) cows'. The word is traditionally explained as the 'sacrifice of a hundred cows'; cf. Oettinger 2008b. Differently,

Thieme 1952: 62ff., who translates it as 'winning a hundred cows' (scil. δαίς). On the form, see Wackernagel *IF* 45 (1926): 319. After ἐκατόμβη was built the late (Jul.) χιλιάμβη.

**ἐκατόν** [num.] 'hundred'. <IE \*d<sup>h</sup>km<sup>h</sup>tom 'hundred'>

•VAR Arc. ἐκοτόν.

•COMP As a first member in many compounds, like ἐκατόμ-πεδος 'measuring one hundred feet' (Ψ 164; see Sommer 1948: 28ff.); also ἐκατοντα- (after -κοντα-), e.g. ἐκατοντα-έτης 'one hundred years old' (Pi.).

•DER ἐκατοστός 'the hundredth' (IA) with ἐκατοστός 'the hundred' (X.); ἐκατοστή [f.] 'contribution of one percent' with ἐκατοστ-ήριος, -ηρία, -ιαῖος, -εῦω (Att.).

•ETYM Based on the comparison with Skt. *śatām*, Av. *satəm*, ToB *kante*, Lat. *centum*, OIr. *cét*, Go. *hund*, Lith. *šimtas*, and OCS *soto*, we arrive at IE \**ḱmtóm*. It is likely, however, that this had an initial \*d- because of the relationship with \**dekm*, etc. 'ten' (see ▶δέκα), so properly \**dḱmtóm*. This \*d- was a preglottalized stop (\*'d-), which was reflected as e- in Gr. ἐκατόν (on Arc. ἐκοτόν, see Schwyzler: 88, 344); see Kortlandt *MSS* 42 (1983): 97-104. The aspiration was then taken from ἐν 'one' (see ▶ἑβδομήκοντα).

**ἐκεῖ** [adv.] '(over) there, to there' (Hdt.). <IE \*(h<sub>1</sub>)e-ke(i)- 'there'>

•VAR κεῖ (Archil., Herod.), κῆ (Sapph.), an old instrumental. From there (ἐ)κεῖθι, κῆθι 'id.', (ἐ)κεῖθεν 'from there', (ἐ)κεῖσε 'to there'.

•ETYM Ending as in πεῖ, πῆ 'where?', τεῖ-δε, τῆ-δε 'here', etc. (Schwyzler: 549f.) and, like these, probably an old locative/instrumental. The basis is a deictic particle, IE \**ke*, \**ki*, seen e.g. in Lat. *ce-do*, *hi-c*, *ci-s* and with pronominal function in Hitt. *ki* 'this', Lith. *ši* 'this', etc. (see also ▶τήμερον); the 3rd person deixis must then be a Greek innovation (cf. ▶ἐκεῖνος). The initial ἐ- (cf. ἐ-κεῖνος, ἐ-χθές) is an inherited demonstrative particle, as well: Oskc. *e-tanto* 'tanta', Ru. *é-tot* 'this', Skt. *a-sáu* 'that' (see ▶οὔτος).

**ἐκεῖνος** [dem. pron.] 'that one (over there), *ille*' (Il.), on the use Schwyzler 1950: 208f.

<IE \**h<sub>1</sub>eno-* 'that'>

•VAR Also κεῖνος (Il.), κῆνος (Aeol., Dor.; Dor. also τῆνος); with added deictic pcl. ἐκεινοσ-ί (Att.).

•DER ἐκείνως, -νῆ; κῆνο-θεν (Alc.), τῆνωθε(ν) (Dor.) 'ἐκεῖθεν', material adjective ἐκεῖν-ινος 'from that material' (Arist.).

•ETYM The formation consists of several demonstrative elements: \*ἐ-κε-ενος (or \*ἐ-κεῖ-ενος, acc. to Ruijgh *Lingua* 28 (1971): 169); the last element \**h<sub>1</sub>eno-* also occurs in the frozen form ▶ἔνῃ 'the third day', OCS *onъ* 'that', the Hitt. demonstr. pron. *aši-*, *uni-*, and Lat. *enim* 'for' (De Vaan 2008 s.v.). On ἐ-κε-, see ▶ἐκεῖ.

**ἐκεχειρία** [f.] 'truce, festive time' (Th., Att. inscr., etc.). <GR>

•VAR Dor. ἐκεχηρία.

•DER Hence ἐκεχειρο-φόρος 'who transfers an ἐκεχειρία, mediator' (Max. Tyr., Poll.). Backformation (cf. ▶βίβλος) ἐκέχειρον, -χηρον [n.] 'travel permit when transferring

a truce' (Hell.), also ἐκεχείριον (Hell.); also ἐν-εκέχειρον, -χηρον 'id.' (Hell.); and μετ-εκέχηρον 'period between two festive times' (Olympia 24<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM From ἔχειν χείρας, with the suffix -ία (cf. Schwyzler: 441; on the dissimilation, 261). Cf. Sommer 1948: 118f.

**ἐκηβόλος** [adj.] epithet of Apollo (Il.), later also of Artemis (S.), again later of objects. <IE \*uek- 'wish, want'>

•VAR Boeot. ἑκαβόλος.

•DER ἐκηβολίη, -α (E 54 in plur.; Call., Str.) and denominative ἐκηβολέω (Max. Tyr.). Also ἐκηβελέτης 'id.' (Orph. Fr. 297, 11; cf. ἐκατηβελέτης).

•ETYM Metrical lengthening for \*ἐκᾱ-βόλος, taken with ἐκάς in antiquity and interpreted as 'shooting/striking from afar' (thus Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 203f.). It is rather from ἐκών, as 'striking at will' (see ▶ἐκάεργος); ἐκηβολίη means 'accuracy, precision', but was probably already taken as 'shots from afar' by the poet of E 54 (Trümper 1950: 114; see also Porzig 1942: 204 and 210).

**ἐκηλος** [adj.] 'untroubled, at one's ease, quietly'. <IE \*uek- 'wish, want'>

•VAR Dor. ἑκάλος.

•DER Also εὐκηλος, εὐκάλος (Il.). From it ἐκηλία· φιλοτιμία 'of friendship', εὐκαλία· ἡσυχία 'quietness', εὐκαλεῖ· ἀτρεμίζει 'keeps quiet' (H.).

•ETYM Uncertain. The word is best taken, as per Buttmann 1825:1: 141, as \*φέκᾱλος (= γέκαλον· ἡσυχον H.; on the digamma, see Chantraine 1942: 129f.), from \*φέκᾱ in ▶ἐκάεργος, etc., with suffixal -ᾱλος, -ηλος (Chantraine 1933: 241f., Schwyzler: 484). Thus, it would properly mean "at will". εὐκηλος was formed after the numerous compounds with εὐ-; ▶δύσκηλος was modelled after it. The semantically attractive connection with Skt. *úcyati* 'to find pleasure, be used to', *ókas-* [n.] 'abode, residence', etc. would be fine for εὐκηλος (root \**h<sub>1</sub>euk-* 'get used to', see LIV<sup>2</sup>), but does not explain the form ἐκηλος.

**ἐκητι** [adv.] 'by the will of, for the sake of' (Od.). <IE \*uek- 'wish, want'>

•VAR Also ἑκάτι.

•COMP ἀέκητι 'against the will' (Hom.).

•ETYM Related to ἐκα-, ἐκών and ἀέκων, but the formation is unclear. See Leumann 1950: 251ff., who states that it was created after (θεῶν) ἰότητι for (θεῶν) ἀεκόντων.

**ἐκπαγλος** [adj.] 'terrible, surprising, tremendous' (Il.). <GR>

•DER ἐκπαγλέομαι 'be surprised' (Hdt., trag.).

•ETYM Both ἐκπαγλος and ἐκπλαγότητα· ἐξαισιότητα (H.) are usually derived from \*ἐκπλαγ-λος, related to ἐκπλαγ-ῆναι 'frighten' with dissimilatory loss of the first λ; this is quite possible.

**ἐκποδών** [adv.] 'out of the way, away, far' (IA). <GR>

•ETYM From ἐκ ποδών with a shift of accent (Schwyzler: 389 and 625). Cf. ▶ἐμποδών.

**ἐκτικός** [adj.] 'regarding the ἔξις, i.e. the situation, the state of the body, regarding the state, usual, skillful' (Hell.); also name of a continuing (literally "hectical") fever (medic.; cf. Strömberg 1944: 85f.). <GR>

•DER ἐκτικεύομαι 'suffer from ἐκτικός (πυρετός)' (Alex. Trall.).

•ETYM From ἔξις, related to ▶ἔχω.

**ἐκτός** [adv.] and [prep.] 'outside, far from' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>eg<sup>h</sup>-s* 'out'>

•VAR ἐχθός (Locr., Delph.), [ἐ]κθός (Arg.).

•DER ἔκτο-θι 'id.' (Il.), ἔκτο-θεν (Od.), ἔκτοσ-θε(ν) (Il.) 'from outside', ἔκτο-σε (to) outside' (ξ 277); ἐχθο-δαπός 'foreign, inimical' (Pergam. IIP, after ἄλλο-δαπός; associated with ἔχθος, ἐχθρός?), ἐχθόσ-δικος δίκᾱ 'trial against a foreigner' (Arc. III<sup>a</sup>; cf. Schwyzler 1950: 538); ἔχθοι 'outside' (Epid.; after οἴκοι, etc.), ἔχθω = ἔξω (Delph.). ἐκτό-της, -ητος [f.] 'absence, being far away' (Gal.).

•ETYM From ἐκ, shaped after ἐν-τός; ἐχθός derives from \*ἐκσ-τός. See Schwyzler: 326 and 630 and Lejeune 1939 (see index). Cf. ▶ἔξ and ▶ἐχθρός.

**Ἔκτωρ, -ορος** [m.] son of Priamos and Hekabe, the greatest hero of the Trojans (Il.).

<IE \**seǵ<sup>h</sup>* 'hold'>

•DER Ἐκτόρεος 'regarding Hektor' (Il.), perhaps Aeolic for -ριος (see e.g. Wathelot 1970: 159ff.). Patronymic Ἐκτορίδης = Astyanax (Il.).

•ETYM Derived from the root of ▶ἔχω, and identical with the agent noun ἔκτωρ (see on ▶ἔχω). The root originally meant 'to overpower, keep in check', thence 'to hold' in Greek.

**ἐκυρός** [m.] 'father of the husband, father-in-law' (Il.). <IE \**suekuro-* 'father-in-law'>

•DER ἐκυρά, -ή 'mother of the husband, mother-in-law' (Il.). Denominative Boeot. ἐκουρεῦω 'be father-in-law' (Corinn.).

•ETYM Old kinship term, preserved in many languages: Skt. *śváśura-* (assimilated from \**svaś-*), YAv. *x<sup>a</sup>asura-*, Lat. *socer*, OHG *swehur*, Lith. *šėšuras* (assimilated from \**seš-*), all of which are from IE \**suekuro-*; the original anlaut can still be seen in the meter: φίλε (f<sup>h</sup>)ἐκυρέ Γ 172 (cf. Schwyzler: 304 and Chantraine 1942: 146). The oxytonesis must be a Greek innovation (after ἐκυρά; cf. also πενθερός). To ἐκυρά corresponds Arm. *skesur* (< \**kuekurā-* with assimilation from \**suek-*), with the *ā*-stem replacing an older *ū*-stem; cf. Skt. *śvaśrū-*, MoP *xusrū*, Lat. *socrus*, MW *chwegr*, OHG *swigar*, OCS *svekry*, and IE \**suekrúH-* [f.]. Another innovation is Go. *swaihiro* = ON *sværa* (*ōn*-stem), whence the new msc. Go. *swaihra*. In other languages, as well, the word for 'father-in-law' is sometimes derived from that for 'mother-in-law': thus clearly in Arm. *skesr-ayr*, lit. 'husband of the mother-in-law', MW *chwegr-wn*, MoHG *Schwiegervater* from *Schwieger(mutter)*; and probably in OCS *svekrǫ*. This explains the oxytonesis in ἐκυρός. The word probably contains the reflexive \**sue* (cf. ▶ἀέλιοι; however, the ending is obscure. On ὑκερός, -ά with vowel metathesis (Lydia), see Schulze KZ 52 (1924): 152.

**ἐκ-φλῆναι** [v.aor.] 'bubble forward' (E. Fr. 470). <IE?? \**b<sup>h</sup>leu-* 'flow'>

•ETYM Cf. the opposite ἀπο-σκληῆναι 'dry up', related to ▶σκέλλω; further forms are unknown. The word has been connected with ▶φλέω, ▶φλύω 1. See also ▶φελλός, φληνύω s.v. ▶φληναφάω and ▶ἐκ-φλυνδάνω.

**ἐκ-φλυνδάνω** [v.] 'to break out, burst up' (Hp.). ⇒φλύω 1.



έκων [ptc.] 'deliberate(ly)'. <IE \*uek- 'wish, want'>

•VAR Cret., Locr. φεκών; fem. έκούσα (Cyren. IV<sup>a</sup> έκασσα, Cret. φεκαθ<θ>α in γεκαθά· έκούσα 'willing' H.), ntr. έκόν; opposite άέκων, Att. άκων, άέκουσα, άκουσα (Dor. άέκασσα in <άέ>κασσα· άκουσα H.), άέκον, άκον 'involuntary, unwittingly' (Il.).

•DER έκούσιος [adj.] 'voluntary' (IA) with έκουσιότης (late), έκουσιάζομαι '(be) sacrifice(d) voluntarily' with έκουσιασμός 'voluntary sacrifice' (LXX); άκούσιος, άκούσιος 'unvoluntary, reluctant, forced' (IA); έκοντ-ί, -ήν, -ηδόν 'voluntarily' (post-classical), έκοντής [m.] 'volunteer' (Epict.), like έθελοντής; Denominative άεκαζόμενος [ptc.] (Od., *h. Cer.*), after άναγκαζόμενος (Wackernagel *IF* 45 (1926): 314<sup>2</sup>).

•ETYM Old participle (cf. Wackernagel 1920-1924(1): 283 and 286), identical with Skt. *us-ánt-*, fem. *us-at-ī* (cf. Cyren. έκασσα < \*φεκ-γτ-ια) except for the root vocalism (on the spiritus asper, see Schwyzler: 227). The Greek full grade must originate from the lost indicative \*φεκ-μι = Hitt. *mekmi*, Skt. *vásmi* 'want, desire'. The origin of έκα- (\*uek-nt-?) is unclear. Cf. ►έκάεργος and ►έκτητι.

έλαία [f.] 'the olive (tree)' (Od.), rare έλαιος [m.] '(wild) olive' (Pi. *Fr.* 46, S. *Tr.* 1197). <PG>

•VAR Att. also έλάα, Ion. έλαίη; Cypr. έλαιφον (*Kadmos* 3, 1965, 148).

•DIAL Myc. *e-ra-wa*, *-wo* /elaiwa/, /-won/.

•COMP Many compounds, especially since Hellenistic times. As a first member έλαιο- does not only refer to έλαιον, but also to έλαία, e.g. έλαιό-φυτος 'planted with olives' (A.). As a second member in bahuvrīhis like άν-ελαιος 'without oil (olives)' (Thphr., Str.); in determinative compounds like άγρι-έλαιος = άγριος έλαιος (Thphr., etc.), χαμ-ελαία 'Daphne oleoides' (Nic.), cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 257, Strömberg 1940: 110; γλυκ-έλαιον 'sweet oil', ύδρ-έλαιον 'water-oil', i.e. 'oil mixed with water' (late).

•DER έλαιον [n.] 'olive oil, oil in general' (Il.); on the pair έλαία (-ος) : έλαιον (distinguishing the tree from the product), see Wackernagel 1920-1924(2): 17, Schwyzler 1950: 30. Substantives: έλαῖς [f.], έλάδας [acc.pl.] 'olive trees' (Att.; see Chantraine 1933: 344), diminutive έλάδιον (-ίδιον) 'small olive tree', also (from έλαιον) 'a little oil' (Com., pap.); έλαιών, -ώνος [m.] 'thicket of olives' (LXX, pap.), 'the olive mountain' (NT, J.), diminutive έλαιωνίδιον (pap.); έλαιεύς 'id.' (Chalkis; see Boßhardt 1942: 21f.). Adjective έλαῖνος, έλάῖνος 'of olive wood, belonging to the olive' (Il.), 'of olive oil' (Orph. *L.* 717); -ίνεος 'of olive wood' (1 320 and 394; metrically convenient contamination of -ινος and -εος, Risch 1937: 122, S. Schmid 1950: 38); έλαϊκός 'of olive' (Aristeas, pap.); έλαιηρός 'regarding oil' (Hp., Pl., pap.; see Chantraine 1933: 232); έλαιώδης 'oily' (Hp., Arist.); έλαιήεις 'belonging to the olive' (S.; on the formation Schwyzler: 527). Denominative verbs: έλαῖζω 'to cultivate olives' with έλαιστήρ, -τής 'collector of olives' (Poll.) and έλαιστήριον 'olive press' (Mylasa); έλαιόομαι 'to be oiled' (Arist.) with έλαίωσις (Zos. Alch.).

•ETYM Lat. *olīva*, which was borrowed from Greek, proves a basic form \*ελαῖfā, with έλαιφον (which is now found in Cypriot) corresponding to Lat. *oleum*. All other

European forms derive from Latin (see WH 2, 205f.). The word is no doubt Pre-Greek. Arm. *ewl* 'oil' may derive from the same source.

έλαιάγνος [m.] name of a shrub, *Salix Capra* (Thphr. *HP* 4, 10, 1; 2; Boeot.). <GR>

•VAR Also έλέ- (H.).

•ETYM Perhaps a determinative compound from ►έλαία and ►άγνος; cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 305 and Strömberg 1937: 72.

έλάνη [f.] 'torch from reed, reed bundle' (Hell.). <PG(S,V)>

•DER Also έλένη· λαμπάς, δετή 'torch, reed' (H.), also a twisted basket containing the sacred utensils for a festival of Artemis Brauronia, the so-called Έλενηφόρια (Poll.); to this έλένιος· άγγεῖον χωροῦν τέταρτον 'vessel containing a quarter' (H.).

•ETYM The plant name έλένιον is uncertain; see ►Έλένη. For the instrument suffix -άνη, cf. σκαπάνη, πλεκτάνη, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 199). Since -ένη is very rare (only in ώλένη and Aeol. φερενα), assimilation from έλάνη was assumed (Schwyzler: 255f.). Because of the meaning 'reed-bundle, twisted basket', έλάνη, -ένη is usually related to ►εἰλέω 'turn, wind', which can also account for the meaning 'torch' (cf. δεταί 'λαμπάδες, δράγματα'). Nevertheless, this etymology must be wrong, as έλάνη is most probably a Pre-Greek word (suffix -αν-, variation α/ε, meaning).

έλανος [m.]· ικτινος 'kite' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Unknown. It is hardly related to έλαύνω, thus probably Pre-Greek.

έλάργει [v.]· έλαβεν, έπόρ<θ>ησεν, καθείλεν 'took, destroyed, reduced' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Acc. to von Blumenthal 1930: 35, the word is a denominative of \*λαργός = Lat. *largus* (?). Unknown.

έλασās [m.] 'chaser', name of an unknown bird (Ar. *Av.* 886). <PG?>

•VAR Accus. -ā.

•ETYM Acc. to W. Petersen *Class. Phil.* 32 (1937): 129, the word is a formation in -ās from έλάσαι, just as τρεσās, χεσās; it is hardly from \*ελα-σος (Solmsen 1909: 245, Fraenkel 1912: 15f., Schwyzler: 461). Possibly Pre-Greek. DELG thinks that the word was coined by Aristophanes. See ►έλέα.

έλάτη 1 [f.] 'pine, fir', metonymical 'rudder, ship', etc. (Il.). <?>

•DER έλάτινός (metrical lengthening εἰλ-) 'made of fir' (Il.), έλατηῖς [adj., f.] 'like fir' (Nic.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 345f.).

•ETYM No certain etymology. If we reconstruct \*h<sub>1</sub>leh<sub>2</sub>, έλάτη might be connected with OHG *linta* 'linden', Lith. *lentā* 'board, plank', Lat. *lentus* 'pliant, flexible', etc. (cf. De Vaan 2008: 335).

έλάτη 2 [f.] 'the fruit enclosed by the spathe of the palm' (Dsc. 1, 109, 5). <?>

•ETYM Etymology unknown. See DELG, Supp.

έλατίνη 'cankerwort, *Linaria spuria*' (Dsc. 4, 40). <?>

•ETYM Etymology unknown.

έλαύνω [v.] 'to drive, push, forge (metal)', intr. 'to drive, ride' (on the mg. in the Epic see Trümper 1950: 95f., 115f.). <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>elh<sub>2</sub>- 'drive, move'>

•VAR Also ἐλάω in ἐλάων [inf.], ἐλάων [ptc.]; impf. ἔλων (Hom.), ipv. ἔλα (Pi.), ἐλάτω, -άντω, -άσθω (Dor. inscr.), etc. (further Schwyzer: 681f.); aor. ἐλάσ(σ)αι, -ασθαι, fut. ἐλάω, perf. med. ἐλήλαμαι (Il.), -ασμαι (Hp., etc.), act. ἐλήλακα (Hdt.), aor. pass. ἐλα(σ)θῆναι (Hdt.).

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀπ-, δι-, εἰς-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, περι-, προσ-, etc.

•DER Action nouns: ἐλασις 'march (of an army), ride, expulsion, etc.' (IA), often to the prefixed verbs: δι-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, περι-ἐλασις, etc.; rare ἐλασία 'ride, march' (X.) with ἀπ-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-ἐλασία (Hell.), after βο-ηλασία, etc. (from βο-ηλατέω, -άτης, cf. Schwyzer: 468f., Chantraine 1933: 83f.; ἐλασμα 'chased metal, tin, (medic.) probe' (Ph. Bel., Gal.) with ἐλασμάτιον (Delos II\*, Dsc.); ἐλασμός = ἐλασμα, ἐλασις (Aristeas); ἐλατρον 'flat cake' (Milete V\*), cf. ἐλατήρ. Agent nouns: ἐλατήρ 'driver' (Il.) with ἐλατήριος 'driving off' (A. Ch. 968 [lyr.]), normally 'carrying away, purging', ntr. 'purgative' (Hp.; see Andre *Les ét. class.* 24, 41); ἐλατήρ 'flat cake' (Com.); ἐλάτης 'driver' (E. Fr. 773, 28 [lyr.]) from βοηλάτης (with βοηλατέω, -σία, see above), ἱππηλάτης, Fraenkel 1912: 31f.; ἐλάστωρ 'id.' (App. Anth. 3, 175); ἐλαστής 'id.' (EM); ἐλατρεύς ὁ τρίτην πύρῳσιν ἔχων τοῦ σιδήρου παρὰ τοῖς μεταλλεύσιν 'thrice-forged iron' (H.); see Boßhardt 1942: 82f.; also as a PN (θ 111); see Boßhardt 1942: 120. Verbal adjective: ἐλατός 'malleable, beaten' (Arist.), ἐξ-ήλατος 'beaten' (M 295; several compounds like ἱππ-ήλατος, θε-ήλατος (IA); ἐλαστός 'id.' (pap.). Desiderative ἐλασεῖω (Luc.), iterative pret. ἐλάσασκεν (B 199). Cf. also ►ἐλασῶς and ►Ελάστερος.

•ETYM The verbal root is ἐλά- < \*h<sub>1</sub>elh<sub>2</sub>-; ἐλαύνω derives from a verbal noun \*ἐλα-φαρ, ἐλα-υν-ος (related to ἐλά-ω like \*ἄλε-φαρ, ἄλέ-(φ)ατα to ►ἄλέω; s.v.). A secondary formation is ἐλαστρέω (see ►Ελάστερος). There are no certain cognates; connection with Arm. *elanim* 'to become' is improbable, whereas Arm. *elanem* 'to go out, go up' belongs to the verbs in -anem = Gr. -άνω. The Celtic *nā*-present OIr. *ad-ellaim* 'to go to, visit' could belong to ►πίλναμαι. Other Celtic forms point to \*(p)el-

ἐλαφος [m., f.] 'deer, deer cow' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>el-en- 'deer'>

•COMP Note ἐλαφη-βόλος (with rhythmically preferable -η- for -ο-, Schwyzer 438f.) 'killing deer' (Σ 319, etc.) with ἐλαφηβολία 'deer hunt' (S.), ἐλαφηβόλια (sc. ἱερά) [n.pl.] name of a festival for Artemis (Phocis), whence the month name Ἐλαφηβολιών (treaty in Th. 4, 118). As a second member in determinative compounds like τραγ-ἐλαφος 'buck deer' (Ar., Pl.; cf. Risch IF 59 (1949): 56), also ἱππ-, ὄν-, ταυρ-ἐλαφος (Arist.).

•DER Diminutive ἐλάφιον (Ar. Th. 1172), ἐλαφίνης 'young deer, deer calf' (Aq., H.; see Chantraine 1933: 203); ἐλαφή 'deerskin' (Poll.); ἐλαφία: οἱ τῶν ἐλάφων ἀστράγαλοι 'the neck vertebrae of the deer' (H.); ἐλαφίς name of a water bird (Dionys. Av. 2, 11); see Thompson 1895 s.v.; ἐλάφειος 'of a deer' (X., Arist.); ἐλάφειον and ἐλαφικόν as plant names (Ps.-Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 118, Strömberg 1944: 50. On *Elaphe* as a name of a kind of snake and on MoGr. dialectal forms λαφιάτης, etc., see Georgacas 1956: 119f., 124f.

•ETYM The by-form ἐλλός 'deer-calf' (τ 228, Ant. Lib. 28, 3), which (with Aeolic development?) may stand for \*ἐλ-νος (Lejeune 1972: 153, Schwyzer: 284), can be connected with a widespread name for 'deer': Arm. *eln*, gen. *elin*, Lith. *ėlnis*, OCS

*jelen*, MW *elain*, the Gaulish month name *Elembiu* (: Ἐλαφηβολιών?), ToA *yäl*, ToB *yäl* 'gazelle'. Note also ἐνελος-νεβρός (H.) (if metathesized from \*elen-); the *n*-stem is probably also in ἐλαφος < \*h<sub>1</sub>elh<sub>2</sub>-b<sup>h</sup>o- (cf. Skt. *vṛṣan-* : *vṛṣa-b<sup>h</sup>á-* and see Schwyzer: 495 and Chantraine 1933: 263).

ἐλαφρός [adj.] 'light, nimble, quick, small' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>leng<sup>wh</sup>-ro- 'light (of weight, movement)'>

•COMP As a first member in ἐλαφο-τοκία 'low rate of interest' (Pergamon II\*).

•DER ἐλαφρότης 'lightness, speed' (Pl., Plu.); ἐλαφρία 'lightness' (NT); Ἐλάφριος (μῆν) month name (Cnidus); denominative verbs: ἐλαφρίζω 'enlighten, lessen', intr. 'be quick' (Archil., E.); ἐλαφρύνω 'enlighten' (late; after βαρύνω; Debrunner IF 21 (1907): 84); ἐλαφροῦται H. as an explanation of ἀλεγύνεται.

•ETYM Identical with a Gm. word: OHG *lungar*, OS *lungor* 'quick', OE *lungre* [adv.] 'quickly, soon' < IE \*h<sub>1</sub>leng<sup>wh</sup>-ro-. The root is also found in Skt. *rārahāṇa-* < \*h<sub>1</sub>le-h<sub>1</sub>leng<sup>wh</sup>- (García Ramón *Sprache* 34 (1988-90): 30); see further ►ἐλαχύς. Krahe 1955: 94 connects the Illyrian HN *Lambros* (Upper Italy) = ἐλαφρός.

ἐλαχύς [adj.] 'small' (Call. Hec. 3 K.). <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>leng<sup>wh</sup>-u- 'light, quick'>

•VAR ἐλάχεια h.Ap. 197 (on the accent Wackernagel *Gött. Nachr.* 1914: 115f., Schwyzer: 379; ι 116, κ 509 as a v.l. to λάχεια; cf. Leumann 1950: 54), ἐλαχύ (AP); msc. also ἐλαχος (Call., see Leumann 1950: 54).

•COMP As a first member in ἐλαχυ-πτέρυξ, [ἐλα]χύ-νωτος (Pi.).

•DER Grades of comparison: ἐλάσσων, -ττων [compar.] (Il.), ἐλάχιστος [superl.] (IA). From ἐλάσσων, -ττων (Schwyzer: 731f.): denominative ἐλασσόομαι, -ττόομαι 'to become smaller, be inferior, be damaged' (IA), -όω 'to diminish, damage' (Lys., Isoc.) with ἐλάττωσις 'diminution, disadvantage, want, loss' (Antipho Soph., Pl. Def., Arist.) and ἐλαττωτικός 'not insisting on his rights, diminishing' (Arist.), ἐλάσσωμαι, -ττωμα 'id.' (D.). From ἐλασσον-, -ττον- : ἐλαττον-άκις 'less often' (Pl., Arist., after πλεον-άκις), ἐλαττον-ότης 'be inferior' (Iamb.; beside μειζον-ότης); ἐλασσον-έω, -ττονέω 'have or give less, to be defective' (LXX, pap.), ἐλαττον-όω 'diminish' (LXX). From ἐλάχιστος: ἐλαχιστ-άκις 'very rarely' (Hp.), ἐλαχιστ-ιαῖος 'of smallest size, infinitesimal' (Diog. Oen. 2).

•ETYM Old adjective, identical with Skt. *laghú-*, *raghú-* 'quick, light, small', YAv. *rəui-* [f.] 'agile, fast, quick' (< \*rayuī-), all of which are from an IE zero grade \*h<sub>1</sub>leng<sup>(w)</sup>-ú-. The full grade of the root \*h<sub>1</sub>leng<sup>wh</sup>- is found in Av. *rənjiō* [compar.], in Lith. *lėngvas*, in Go. *leihts* 'light, easy' (if it derives from PGm. \*linhta- [IE \*h<sub>1</sub>leng<sup>wh</sup>-to-]), and in ToB *lañk<sub>u</sub>tse* 'light'. A form without the nasal and with short *e* is Lat. *levis* 'light, small, quick'; with problematic root vocalism, OCS *lęzъ-kъ* 'light'; with *a*-vowel, Celt., e.g. OIr. *laigiu* 'smaller, worse' [compar.] < PCl. \*lag-iōs. There is no uniform explanation for all these forms, although it seems that the nasalless root is the oldest (cf. De Vaan 2008). We then have to assume that the forms with nasal were influenced by the old nasal present seen in Skt. *rām̐hate* 'hastens', OIr. *-ling* 'to leap'. In Greek, the long vowel in ἐλάσσων is secondary; see Schwyzer: 538 and Seiler 1950: 43f.

ἐλάω → ἐλαύνω.

ἐλδομαι → ἐέλδομαι.

ἐλέα [f.] kind of singing bird, perhaps 'reed warbler, *Salicaria arundinacea*' (Arist. *HA* 616b 13). See Thompson 1895 s.v. <PG?>

•VAR ἔλεια (Call. *Fr.* 100c 14), ἐλεᾶς [m.] (Ar. *Av.* 302; on the formation Schwyzer: 461, Chantraine 1933: 31); also ἔλαιος [m.] (Alex. Mynd. *apud* Ath. 2, 65b).

•ETYM Formation and origin unclear. Compared with the Italo-Celtic name of the swan, Lat. *olor*, OIr. *elae*, as well as MoSw. *al(l)a*, *al-fâgel* 'Fuligula glacialis' (Lidén *Arkiv f. nord. Fil.* 13 (1897): 30f.). Other European words for 'swan' have also been adduced, such as Ru. *lebed'* and OHG *albiz*, of which the analysis is unclear. If the latter really contained an element \**al-*, one may assume European substrate origin (acc. to De Vaan 2008 s.v. *olor*). However, the word is probably Pre-Greek (note *ei/ai*).

ἐλέατρος → ἐλεόν.

ἐλεγαίνειν [v.] = παραφρονεῖν, ἀσελγαίνειν, ἀκολασταίνειν 'to be beside oneself, behave licentiously, be licentious', *EM* 152, 51; 327, 6. <PG?>

•ETYM Reminiscent of λέγαι, an attribute of γυναῖκες (Archil. 179), which was connected with λάγνος by Solmsen 1901: 111. The word was subject to folk-etymological influence by ἔλεγος; cf. *EM* 327, 6: καὶ τὸ ἐλεγείον μέτρον ἀπὸ τούτου κληθῆναι τινὲς νομίζουσιν 'the elegiac meter was also named after this, according to some', but this is a mere guess. The word is probably Pre-Greek because of the prothetic vowel (Fur.: 376).

ἐλεγος [m.] 'mourning song (accompanied by flute)' (E., Ar.). <PG?>

•COMP Compounds ἱαμβ-ἐλεγος and ἐλεγ-ἱαμβος, names of verses (gramm.); see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 284f.

•DER ἐλεγείον a verse, 'distichon', and a poem following this scheme; poetical 'inscription' (Att., etc.) with ἐλεγείο-ποιός, -γράφος (Arist.); diminutives ἐλεγε(ε)ίδιον and ἐλεγε(ε)ιδάριον (late); adj. ἐλεγειακός (D. H., Ath.); also ἐλεγεία (Str., Plu.) and, as an adjective, ἐλεγείον (δίστιχον, Ael.); also a fish, ἐλεγίνος (Arist. *HA* 610b 6), named after its sound? See Strömberg 1943: 74.

•ETYM Anatolian (Phrygian?) origin was considered by Hommel *RhM* 88 (1939): 194. Incorrectly, Theander *Eranos* 15 (1915): 98ff. (who believes the word is related to ἐλεεῦ, ὀλολύζω); cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 9 (1918): 228 and Kretschmer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 220. From ἐλεγείον was borrowed Lat. *elogium* (influenced by λόγος); see WH s.v. The word is probably Pre-Greek.

ἐλέγγω [v.] 1. 'to revile, disgrace' (Hom.); 2. 'to cross-examine, bring to proof, accuse, question' (Hdt., Pi., Att.); on the mg. Daux *REGr.* 55 (1942): 252ff. <IE? \**h<sub>1</sub>lengh<sup>h</sup>*- 'revile'?>

•VAR ἐλέγξαι (Il.), fut. ἐλέγξω, aor. pass. ἐλεγχθῆναι with ἐλεγχθήσομαι, perf. ἐλήλεγμαι, 3sg. -γεται (Att.).

•DER To 1. ἔλεγχος [n.] (like ὄνειδος) 'revile, disgrace' (Hom., Hes., Pi.), plur. also of persons, 'coward'; msc. ἐλεγχεές (Δ 242, Ω 239; but see Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἐλεγχής, Frisk 1935: 19f., Sommer 1948: 137); superlative ἐλεγχιστος (Hom.; Seiler 1950: 83f.);

from ἔλεγχος also ἐλεγχείη 'id.' (Il.). To 2. ἔλεγχος [m.] (like λόγος) 'proof, refutation, examination' (Hdt., Pi., Att.); ἐλεγξίς 'id.' (LXX, NT, Philostr.) together with jocular ἐλεγξίνος (D. L.); ἐλεγμός 'id.' (LXX, NT); ἐλεγκτήρ 'who proves' (Antipho; Ionic? See Fraenkel 1912: 52); ἐλεγκτικός 'fit for ἐλέγχειν' (Att., etc.).

•ETYM The word used to be connected with ἐλαχύς, which is possible semantically (MoHG *schmähen*, 'disgrace', OHG *smāhen* 'make small', from *smāhi* 'small'), but phonetically, the etymology would imply that ἐλέγγω (for \*\*ἐλέμφω < IE \**h<sub>1</sub>lengh<sup>wh</sup>*-) has its -χ- from ἐλαχύς, ἐλάσσων (< \*ἐλάχ-ιω), ἐλάχιστος. This is not very likely. Nowadays, it is mostly accepted that Hitt. *li(n)k<sup>zi</sup>* 'to swear' is related (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.), as well as OHG *ant-lingen* 'to answer' (Tischler).

ἐλεδώνη [f.] a kind of octopus (Arist. *HA* 525a 17), cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. <PG?>

•VAR Also ἐλ-. Further δελεδώνη-ὁ μύλλος ἰχθύς 'the fish *Sciaena umbra*'.

•ETYM Formation in -ώνη (seen in plant names; cf. χελώνη, γογγρώνη, etc.); further unknown. "Ohne Zweifel Mittelmeerwort" (Frisk).

ἐλεῖν [v.aor.] 'to take, seize', med. 'to take for oneself, pick out, choose' (Il.). <IE \**selh<sub>1</sub>*- 'take'>

•VAR Iterative preterite ἔλεσκον.

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀφ-, ἀν-, ἐξ-, προ-, etc. As a first member in ἐλέ-π(τ)ολίς 'conquering cities', epithet of Helena (A. Ag. 689 [lyr.]); also name of a siege machine (Ph. *Bel.*); ἐλένα<υ>ς (A. *ibid.*) with reference to Helena.

•DER ἔλωρ [n.] (only nom.acc.sg. and pl.) 'plunder, capture, booty' (Il.); also ἐλώριον 'id.' (Schwyzer: 470<sup>4</sup>).

•ETYM As some attestations suggest an initial *f*- (differently, Solmsen 1901: 251<sup>1</sup>), Chantraine 1933: 219, Chantraine 1942: 152 has proposed an alternation \**sel-*/ *sel-* and connection with ἀλίσκομαι, Lat. *vellō*, but this is impossible since the aor. ἐάλων points to \**h<sub>3</sub>*, (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**uelh<sub>3</sub>*-). Beside ἐλεῖν, Gm. has a yod-present in Go. *saljan* 'to offer, sacrifice', ON *selja* 'to render, sell', OHG *sellen* 'to render, give up', etc. with the deverbal nouns ON *sal(a)* 'rendition, sale', OHG *sala* 'rendering', etc. Because of its meaning, this Gm. word is generally considered a causative of ἐλεῖν ("nehmen machen"), but this is unnecessary; cf. ▶ αἰνυμαι 'to take' next to related ToA *e-*, ToB *ai-* 'to give', and also e.g. ON *fá* (= Go. *fahan*) 'to take' and 'to give'. The appurtenance of OCS *slati* 'to send' and Lat. *cōn-silium* 'counsel' is possible; see Derksen 2008 s.v. \**slati* and De Vaan 2008 s.v. *cōnsulō*, as well as LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**selh<sub>1</sub>*- 'nehmen'. As a suppletive verb of ἐλεῖν, Greek has ▶ αἰρέω. Acc. to Schrijver 1995: 437<sup>1</sup>, OIr. *selb* and W *helw* 'possession' are perfect cognates of Gr. ἐλεῖν. De Vaan (*ibid.*) also mentions OIr. *ad-roilli*, *do-slí* 'to earn', MW *dyrrlid* 'to earn', Co. *deleth* 'to be appropriate', and MBret. *dellit* 'to earn' (< \**tu-ari/ro-*) < PCl. \**slije/o-* (< \**s(e)lh<sub>1</sub>e/o-*).

ἐλειός [m.] 'a kind of dormouse, *Myoxus glis*' (Arist. *HA* 600b 12); also = εἶδος ἱέρακος 'kind of hawk' (H.) (?). <PG?>

•VAR Also ἐλ-.

•DER Beside it ὄλιος σκίουρος, ἐλειός 'squirrel, εἰ' (H.), together with lower Ital. *oddió*, etc. 'id.'; Rohlf 1930: Nr. 621.

•ETYM Unknown. Probably Pre-Greek.

**ἐλελεῦ** [interj.] cry of pain (A. *Pr.* 877), battle cry (Ar. *Av.* 364: ἐλελεεῦ), cry in general (Plu. *Thes.* 22). <ONOM>

•DER ἐλελίζω, aor. ἐλελίξαι 'raise a cry of pain or of war (ἐλελεῦ)' (Ar., E.); also ἐλελύσδω (Sapph. 44, 31 LP; v.l. ὀλολύσδω).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic interjection; cf. ἀλαλά, -άζω, and ὀλολύζω. See Schwyzler 716 and Schwyzler 1950: 600f.

**ἐλελίζω** [v.] 1. 'to shake', med.-pass. 'to tremble, be shaken', 2. 'to turn round (trans. and intr.)' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>leig- 'tremble'>

•VAR Aor. ἐλελίξαι, pass. ἐλελιχθῆναι, 3sg.pret. ἐλέλικτο, perf. med. ἐλέλιγμαi (Hell.).

•COMP As a first member (cf. Schwyzler: 444: 3) in ἐλελί-χθων 'shaking the earth' (Pi. *P.* 2, 4), 'earth-shaker', epithet of Poseidon (Pi. *P.* 6, 50), of Dionysus (S. *Ant.* 153); also in ►ἐλελίσφακος, -ov.

•ETYM To be distinguished from ἐλελίζω 'to raise a cry' (see ►ἐλελεῦ). Two verbs seem to have merged in the aorist forms ἐλέλιξα, ἐλελίχθην: 1. a reduplicated present ἐλελίζω 'to shake'; 2. an augmented \*ἐ-φέλιξα from the present (φ)ελίσσω 'to turn' (see ►ἐλιξ). The pret. ἐλέλικτο refers to a snake in *Λ* 39 and therefore belongs to 2. as \*φεφέλικτο 'twisted itself'; the expression ἔγχος ... σειόμενον ἐλέλικτο *N* 558 may represent the turning or whirling, as well as the shaking movement. It is no longer possible to distinguish the two. Cf. Chantraine 1942: 132, as well as Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἐλελίζω. In the meaning 'to shake', ἐλελίξαι, ἐλελίζω is connected with Skt. *rējate* 'to tremble, shake', *rējati* 'to make tremble', Khot. *rrīys-* 'to tremble', Go. *laikan* 'to jump', etc.; it presupposes that -ίξαι, -ίζω is part of the root, on which see Risch 1937: 298ff.

Formerly, a reduplicated aorist ἐ-λέ-λιξ-α was reconstructed, to which the passive aorist ἐ-λελίχ-θην was formed, but the ἐ- in the present ἐ-λελίζω cannot be explained in this way; the root had an initial laryngeal, \*h<sub>1</sub>leig-. The reduplication may be a Greek innovation. Note the similarity in the formation of Skt. *rejata kṣāh* 'the earth quaked' (RV) with Gr. ἐλελί-χθων.

**ἐλελίσφακος** [m.] kind of sage, 'Salvia triloba' (Thphr.). <GR>

•VAR ἐλελίσφακον [n.] (Dsc.). On the gender see ►διόσπυρον.

•DER ἐλελίσφακίτης (οἶνος; Dsc., Plin.; Redard 1949: 96).

•ETYM Properly "trembling sage-apple", related to ►ἐλελίζω, because of the trembling fruits (Strömberg 1940: 76). On the apocopated form λελίσφακος (Dsc.) and MoGr. ἀλίσφακιά (after ἄλς 'sea'), etc., see Strömberg 1944: 44.

**ἐλεμιος** ⇒ ἔλυμος.

**Ἑλένη** [f.] daughter of Zeus and Leda, sister of the Dioskouroi, wife of Menelaos (Il.).

<?>

•VAR Ἑλένεια· ἑορτὴ ἀγομένη ὑπὸ Λακόνων 'a festival celebrated by the Laconians' (H.).

•ETYM Nilsson 1941(1): 315 assumes that Helena is an old Minoan goddess of vegetation, who was connected with the tree-cult. The plant name ἐλένιον (Thphr.,

Dsc.) was derived from this use, acc. to Strömberg 1940: 130. Connection with the appellative ἐλένη (see ►ἐλάνη) is rather uncertain. See e.g. Linsay 1974: 209ff. De Simone *Glotta* 56 (1978): 40-42 argues that the form had a f- and goes back to \*suel- (Skt. *svarati* 'lights'), with a variant with \*s-.

**ἐλεόν** [n.] 'table on which the roasted meat was put' (I 215, ξ 432 ἐλεοῖσιν, Ar. *Eq.* 152, 169 τοῦλεόν). <?>

•COMP ἐλεο-δύτης 'cook at the Delian sacrifices' (Ath. 4, 173a: διὰ τὸ τοῖς ἐλεοῖς ὑποδύεσθαι διακονοῦντες ἐν ταῖς θοίναις 'because they dive under the ἐλεοῖ when serving at the meals').

•DER ἐλέατρος 'seneschal, steward' (pap. III\*), εἰλέατρος (Pamphil. in Ath. 4, 171b, metrically lengthened?), or oxytone -τρός as in δαιτρός, etc.

•ETYM Technical word without etymology. On the formation, cf. κολεόν, στελεόν, θυρεός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 51); on the meaning, Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 272ff.

**ἐλεος** 1 [m.] 'compassion, pity' (Il.); acc. to Schadewaldt *Herm.* 83 (1955): 131ff. rather 'pain, lament, commotion' than 'compassion'; criticism by Pohlenz *Herm.* 84 (1956): 49ff. <IE? \*h<sub>1</sub>leu- 'compassion'?>

•VAR Hell. also ntr., see Schwyzler 1950: 38.

•COMP As a second member in νηλ(ε)ής, -ές 'without compassion, merciless' (Il.) <\*η-h<sub>1</sub>leu-es; beside it ἀν-ηλεής 'id.' (And., Hell.).

•DER ἐλεόν [adv.] 'pitiful' (Hes. *Op.* 205), ἐλ(ε)εινός 'rousing compassion, plaintive' (Il.), (after ἀλ(ε)γεινός and the adjectives in -εινός (Chantraine 1933: 195f.) rather than from late τὸ ἔλεος; ἐλεήμων 'compassionate, pitiful' (ε 181, Att., Hell.), from ἐλεέω (cf. Chantraine 1933: 173), with ἐλεημοσύνη 'compassion' (Call.), 'alms' (LXX, NT); with internal shortening ἐλεημο-ποιός 'giving alms' (LXX); ἐλεητικός = ἐλεήμων (Arist.; from ἐλεέω). Denominative verbs: ἐλεέω, aor. ἐλεῆσαι 'show compassion' (Il.) with ἐλεητύς = ἔλεος (ξ 82, ρ 451; Porzig 1942: 182; on the semantics Benveniste 1948: 66); ἐλεήμων, ἐλεητικός see above; ἐλεαίρω 'id.' (Il.; ἐλέηρα A. R. 4, 1308) after ἐχθαίρω etc. (Risch 1937: 286; not from \*ἐλε-φαρ as per Benveniste 1935: 112 and Schwyzler: 724); βλεερεῖ· οἰκτεῖρει. Βοιωτοί 'to pity (Boeot.)' (H.), mistake for ἐλεαίρει?

•ETYM No etymology. Origin as an interjection (cf. ►ἐλελεῦ, ►ὀλολύζω, etc.) is possible (see Pok. 306).

**ἐλεός** 2 [m.] an owl (Arist. *HA* 592b 11, see Thompson 1895 s.v.). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained. Onomatopoeic? Cf. e.g. Lat. *ulula* and ►ἐλελεῦ, ►ὀλολύζω.

**ἐλεσπίδας** [acc.pl.] of πίσαα, perhaps 'marsh-lands, swamp lands' (A. R. 1, 1266). <?>

•ETYM The analysis in ἔλος 'swamp' and a root noun \*σπίς (\*ἐλε[σ]-σπίδ-), which would be cognate with ►σπίδιος, ►ἀσπιδής, and even with ►ἀσπίς, is morphologically far from convincing. See Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἀσπίς and Schwyzler: 507. The connection with the gloss λέσπιν· μεγάλην, ὕδρηλὴν 'large, moist' remains unclear. Δίδυμος τὴν καταδυομένην εἰς πέλαγος πέτρην. οἱ δὲ τὴν νοτεράν 'In D. a rock submerged into the sea, others: a wet [rock]'. ἄλλοι δὲ σπίδα (leg. λέσπιδα?) βαθεῖαν 'a deep cave[?]'. οἱ δὲ λόχημιν 'a lair' (H.). See Taillardat *REGr.* 73 (1960): 13.

Perhaps -πιδ- is the same element as contained in πίδαξ 'source, geyser' (Van Beek p.c.). See ► ἔλος.

**ἐλεύθερος** [adj.] 'free, free man', opposed to δοῦλος 'slave' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>leud<sup>h</sup>- 'grow up, come out'>

•DIAL Myc. *e-re-u-te-ro* /eleut<sup>h</sup>eros/.

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. ἐλευθερό-στομος 'with free mouth' (A.); as a second member e.g. in ἀπ-ελεύθερος 'freed man' (Att.), mostly taken as deverbal to ἀπ-ελευθερώ 'liberate, make into a freed man' (Pl., Arist.); Schwyzer: 421, Strömberg 1946: 39f. with litt.

•DER ἐλευθερία 'freedom' (Pi.) with ἐλευθεριωτικός 'proclaiming freedom' (Him.); denominative verbs: ἐλευθερώ 'liberate' (IA) with ἐλευθέρ-ωσις, -ωμα, -ωτής; ἐλευθερεσθεῖς (Thess., Schwyzer 736 with lit.); ἐλευθέριος 'as a free man' (IA), also as an epithet of Zeus (Pi., Hdt., because of the victory on the Persians) with Ἐλευθεριών month name (Halicarnassus); ἐλευθεριότης 'open-heartedness, liberality' (Pl.) and the denominative ἐλευθεριάω 'speak and act as a free man' (Pl.); ἐλευθερικός 'belonging to a free man' (Pl. *Lg.* 701e beside δεσποτικός; 919e beside the bahunvrihi ἀν-ελεύθερος; cf. Chantraine 1956a: 146). Cret. ἐλούθερος with secondary voalism (Schwyzer: 194).

•ETYM An adjective in the meaning 'free' is also found in Lat. *liber*, -era; as a theonym = Venet. *Louzera*, Pelign. *loufir*, Osc. (*Iúveis*) *Lúvfreis* = (*Iovis*) *Līberī*; cf. Falisc. *lōferta* = *liberta*, OLat. *loebertāt-em* = Falisc. *loifirtat-o*. The starting point was an old word for 'people', which is found in Gm. and BSl.: OHG *liut* 'people', *liuti* [pl.], OE *lēod* 'people', Lith. *liáudis* 'lower people', OCS *ljudije*, Ru. *ljúdi* [pl.] 'men, people', all of which are from IE \*h<sub>1</sub>leud<sup>h</sup>-o-, -i-; from the same root with different suffixes are also Burgund. *leudis* 'a free man', OCS *ljudinъ* 'free man', so that ἐλεύθερος, *liber* (< IE \*h<sub>1</sub>leud<sup>h</sup>-ero-) must originally have meant 'belonging to the tribe', as opposed to subjected peoples. The root is probably the same as that of ► ἐλεύσομαι; see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*h<sub>1</sub>leud<sup>h</sup>- 'steigen, wachsen', who assume a development 'frei' ← 'rechtsmündig' ← \*'erwachsen' for ἐλεύθερος. A reflex of the initial laryngeal is also seen in Skt. *vī-rúdh-* 'plant', *anū-rúdh-* 'growing along' (Mayrhofer *EWAla* 2: 467ff.). Of foreign origin, but perhaps reshaped after ἐλεύθερος and with oppositive accent, is the PIN Ἐλευθεραί, whence Ἐλευθερεύς as an epithet of Dionysus; cf. on Εἰλείθυια and Ἐλευσίς. On the semantics, see Benveniste 1969:1: 321ff.

**ἐλεύθω** = ἐλεύσομαι.

**ἐλεύσομαι** [v.fut.] 'come, go' (epic Ion., trag.). <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>leud<sup>h</sup>- 'grow up, come out'>

•VAR Aor. ἦλυθον, perf. εἰλήλυθα ('Attic reduplication' from \*h<sub>1</sub>le-h<sub>1</sub>loud<sup>h</sup>-, with metrical lengthening), ptc. ἐ(ι)ληλυθώς (epic), ἐλήλυθα (post-Hom.), plur. also ἐλήλυμεν, -τε (Att. Com.), Cyren. ptc. κατ-εληλυθυῖα (Fraenkel *Glotta* 20 (1932): 88f.). Rare trans. (factive) forms in Doric: ἐλευσίω οἶσω 'I shall carry' (H.), 3pl.aor. ἐλεύσαν (Ibyc.), ἐπ-ελευσεῖ, ἐπ-ελευσαι (Gortyn) 'bring'. As a present, ► ἔρχομαι is used.

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀν-, ἀπ-, δι-, εἰς-, ἐξ-, κατ-, etc.

•DER ἔλευσις 'arrival' (*Act. Ap.* 7, 52), also from the compounds (mostly rare, all late), e.g. συν-, ἐπ-έλευσις. Older the common noun ἦλυσις 'walk, way' (E.), ἐξ-, περι-ήλυσις (Hdt.), etc. (cf. Holt 1941: 58 and 149) with compositional lengthening (ἦλυσις after the compounds), and the same vowels as in the compounds νέ-ηλυσ, -δος 'newly arrived' (Il.), ἔπ-ηλυσ 'immigrated, foreigner' (Hdt., ἐπ-ηλύ-της Th.), etc.; προσ-ήλυ-τος 'newly arrived, proselyte' (LXX, NT), etc.; further the abstracts ἐπ-ηλυσίη (*h.Hom.*), κατ-, συν-ηλυσίη (Hell.).

•ETYM The best agreement (semantically and formally) to this old ablauting verb is found in Celtic, with the OIr. preterite *lod*, *luid* 'I, he went' (< \*h<sub>1</sub>lud<sup>h</sup>-om, -et : ἦλυθον, -ε); formally as good, but semantically less convincing, is the further comparison with Skt. *ró(d)hati*, Go. *liudan* 'to grow, rise' (whence the old word for 'people', OHG *liut*, etc.; see ► ἐλεύθερος). One must assume that -θ- (IE \*<sup>h</sup>-d<sup>h</sup>-) disappeared analogically in ἦλυσις, ἐλήλυμεν, -τε as well as in (νέ)-, (προσ)-ήλυτος (in other words, these are built secondarily on ἐλεύσομαι; cf. Schwyzer: 704<sup>2</sup>, 769<sup>7</sup>). It seems less probable that the dental of Celtic, etc. was a secondary enlargement. Connection with Arm. *eluzanem* 'extract' is further possible. Cf. also ► ἐλθεῖν.

**ἐλεφαίρομαι** [v.] 'to deceive' (Ψ 388, τ 565), also 'to damage, destroy' (Hes. *Th.* 330).

<?>

•VAR Aor. ptc. ἐλεφηράμενος.

•DIAL Myc. PN *e-re-pa-i-ro* /Eleph<sup>h</sup>airōn/?

•ETYM In H. there are also active forms (ἐλεφαίρειν, ἐλεφήραι), explained with (ἐξ)απατᾶν, βλάπτειν, ἀδικεῖν 'deceive, damage, do injustice'. Old, rarely occurring epic expression with unstable meaning, of unclear formation und uncertain etymology. The ending -αίρω seems to point to an *r*-stem (\*ἔλεφαρ?), but could also be suffixal. The stem recurs in PN Ἐλεφ-ήνωρ, but possibly stands for \*Ἐλεφηρ-ήνωρ with dissimilatory shortening (Sommer 1948: 170<sup>2</sup>). Within Greek, it is compared to ὀλοφώϊος 'deceitful, noxious', which itself is unclear.

An acceptable connection would be with Lith. *vilbinti* 'allure, befool'. Cf. Bechtel 1914 s.v. and Schwyzer: 724. Gotō 1995: 365-370 suggests that it be connected with Skt. *upa-valhate* 'to puzzle, confuse by means of riddles', if Skt. -*valhate* goes back to \**-valbhate*. However, if the Mycenaean PN is related, the comparisons with Skt. and Lith. are impossible (Myc. has no initial *u*-).

**ἐλέφας, -αντος** [m.] 'ivory, elephant tusk' (Il.), 'elephant' (Hdt.), also as the name of a disease = ἐλεφαντίασις, see Strömberg 1937: 193. <LW Eg.>

•DIAL Myk. *e-re-pa*, *e-re-pa-to*, *e-re-pa-te* /elep<sup>h</sup>ans/, etc.

•COMP As a first member in both mgs., ἐλεφαντό-πους 'with ivory feet' (Pl. *Com.*), ~ -μάχος 'fighting elephants' (Str.).

•DER Diminutive ἐλεφαντίσκιον 'young elephant' (Ael.); adjectives ἐλεφάντινος 'of ivory' (Alc., Att.), -ίνεος 'id.' (inscr.; on the formation cf. Chantraine 1933: 203), ἐλεφάντ-εἰος 'belonging to an elephant' (Dsc., Opp.), -ώδης 'elephant-like' (medic.), -ιωδής 'suffering from [the disease] ἐ-' (medic.); substantives ἐλεφαντιστής 'elephant driver' (Arist.), also 'shield from elephant skin' (App.), ἐλεφαντεύς 'ivory worker' (pap.). Denominative verbs: 1. ἐλεφαντ-ιάω 'suffer from [the disease] ἐ-'

(Phld., medic.) with -ίαις, also -ιασμός (EM); 2. -όω 'inlay with ivory' with -ωτός (inscr.).

•ETYM Like Lat. *ebur*, ἐλέφας is a foreign word. Except for the ντ-suffix, the final part recalls Eg. *āb(u)*, Copt. εβ(ο)υ 'elephant, ivory'; the beginning recurs in Hamit. *eli* 'elephant' (whence through Egyptian mediation [article *p*-] MoP *pīl*, Arab. *fil*); the details remain unclear. From ἐλέφας comes Lat. *elephās, elephantus*, whence the Gm. and Romance forms. See Lokotsch 1927: Nr. 605 and Mayrhofer EWAia(3): 28.

ἐλθεῖν [v.aor.] 'to come, go' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Ind. ἦλθον, epic lyr. also ἦλυθον (see ► ἐλεύσομαι), subj. ἔλθω, etc.

•DIAL See also on Dor. ► ἐνθεῖν.

•COMP Often with prefix ἀν-, ἀπ-, δι- εἰς-, ἐξ-, κατ-, etc.

•ETYM Because of their semantic and functional identity, ἦλυθον and ἦλθον can hardly be separated from each other. As ἦλυθον is limited to the epic and lyrics, and has an acceptable IE etymology, it is generally regarded to be the original form. Improbable suggestions about the origin of ἦλθον are given in Frisk s.v. (by Johansson, Wackernagel, Schulze). Szemerényi 1964: 3 takes ἐλθεῖν to be syncopated from ἐλυθεῖν. It is often believed that the υ was lost in the imperative ἐλθέ, which had oxytone accent. The form ► ἐνθεῖν probably arose by a dialectal Doric development, but it has also been connected with Skt. *ādhan-* 'road', OAv. *aduuan-* (both from \**h<sub>2</sub>nd<sup>h</sup>-uen-*).

ἐλίκη 1 [f.] 'willow' (IG 1<sup>2</sup>, 864: ὁρος ἑλικῆς Att.); acc. to Thphr. *HP* 3, 13, 7, Arcadian for ἰτέα. <?>

•DIAL Myc. *e-ri-ka* /*helikā*/.

•DER Ἐλικών, -ῶνος (Hes. *Op.* 639, φελ- Corinna) "willow-mountain, Viminalis" (Boeotia) with Ἐλικώνιος, [f.] -ιάς, -ίς (Y 404 Ἐλικώνιος ἄναξ of Poseidon, s.v. von Wilamowitz 1931: 213 and 336<sup>2</sup>, Nilsson 1941(1): 447<sup>6</sup>) Hes., Pi.; on Ἐλικωνιάς as a plant name Strömberg 1940: 126.

•ETYM Boeot. φελικῶν precludes the connection with Lat. *salix*. Furthermore, the comparison with an old Wgm. word for 'willow', OE *welig*, OS *wilgia*, MHG *wilge*, is impossible because of the Mycenaean form. DELG reconstructs \**suēl-* / \**sel-*, which solves nothing.

ἐλίκη 2 = ἐλιξ.

ἐλίκωψ [adj.] said of the Ἀχαιοί (Il., verse-final). <GR?>

•VAR Always plur. nom. or acc. -ωπες, -ωπας, fem. ἐλικῶπις, -ιδος (A 98 κούρη, Hes. *Th.* 298 νύμφη; also Sapph., Pi.).

•ETYM From ► ἐλιξ and ὦπ- (on the second member, see Schwyzler: 426<sup>4</sup> and Sommer 1948: 1), so properly 'with eyes that constitute a winding', i.e. 'with winding eyes', formed like ἐλικο-βλέφαρος (h. *Hom.* 6, 19, etc.) and expressing beauty (cf. H. ἐλικοβλέφαρος καλλιβλέφαρος)? See Bechtel 1914, Düntzer *KZ* 12 (1863): 17.

Differently, Prellwitz *Glotta* 15 (1927): 128ff. reads "with curls" (comparing H. ἐλίκωπες οὐλότριχες 'curly-haired').

On the basis of ἐλίκωπες as μελανόφθαλμοι 'black-eyed' in H., an adjective ἐλίκος = μέλας was coined; thus not only H., but also Call. *Fr.* 299, etc., on which see Leumann 1950: 152<sup>126</sup>.

ἐλίνος [m., f.] 'tendrill, vine' (Hell.). <PG(V)>

•VAR ἐλενοί κλήματα τὰ τῶν ἀμπέλων 'twigs of vines' (H.).

•ETYM The word has been connected with ἐλιξ, ἔλμις, ἐλένη, etc. and ► εἰλέω 2 'turn, wind', from an ι-stem; cf. γέλιν (= φ-) ὀρμιάν 'fishing line of horse hair' (H.). However, the interchange ε/ι rather points to a Pre-Greek word.

ἐλινύω [v.] 'to rest, pause, stop doing something' (Ion.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR Aor. ἐλινῦσαι, fut. ἐλινύσω. Cf. δλινύει λήγει, ἀργεῖ 'to stop, be idle' (H.).

•DER ἐλινύες [f.pl.] (scil. ἡμέραι) 'festive days' (Plb. 21, 2, 1, = Lat. *supplicatio*).

•ETYM Etymology unknown. All earlier proposals are impossible or highly questionable. The variant in Hesychius may point to a Pre-Greek word (Fur.: 376).

ἐλιξ, -κος [f.] 'convolution, volute, tendrill, curl, spiral' (Il.); also as an adjective of βόες et al. (ποταμός, δρόμος), see below. <PG?>

•COMP As a first member in ► ἐλίκωψ, ἐλικ-ἀμπυξ (Pi.), ἐλικο-στέφανος (B.) et al., also (referring to ἐλίσσω) ἐλι- in ἐλι-τροχος 'turning a wheel' (A. *Th.* 205 [lyr.]); cf. further ► ἐλίχρυσος. As a second member in τετρα-ἐλιξ kind of thistle (Thphr., H.), also in ἀμφι-ἐλίσσα, epic adj. of νηῦς (Hom.), later also of other things (e.g. ἰμάσθλη), properly 'forming a ἐλιξ on both sides'.

•DER ► ἐλίκη 1 'willow' s.v.; ἐλίκη 2 'spiral, turning' (Arist.), also name of the Great Bear (because of its turning movement; cf. Scherer 1953: 133, but not as an adjective); 3. εἰλικόεις 'provided with coils' (Nic., Opp.; metrically lengthened). Denominative verb ἐλίσσω, -ίτω, Ion. also εἰλίσσω after εἰλέω (not with Solmsen 1901: 230ff. from \*ἐ-φελίσσω), aor. ἐλίζαι, εἰλίζαι 'make a turning, wind, turn' (Il.); also with prefix ἐν-, περι-, etc.; from there ἐλιγμός (ει-) 'turning, whirl' (Hdt.), ἐλιγμα (εἰ-) 'bracelet, curl' (Sapph. [?], Com.), ἐλιζις 'turned binding, turning' (medic.), ἐλικτήρ 'ear-pendant' (Att.), -ελίκτης in compounds like ἱμαντ-ελίκτηι 'turner of straps' (Democr.), see Fraenkel 1910: 244; ἐλίγδην (ει-) [adv.] 'turning'. Cf. ► ἐλελίζω in its second mg.

•ETYM Formation like ἦλιξ, χόλιξ, δέλφιξ et al. (Chantraine 1933: 382f.), so probably from a noun, which was perhaps derived from ► εἰλέω (\*φελ-νέ-ω) 'turn, wind'. The epic epithet ἐλιξ is probably (cf. Bechtel 1914 s.v. and Risch 1937: 162) a shortened compound (\*ἐλίκό-πους, -κραιρα?). Note that the suffix -ικ- mostly makes Pre-Greek words (like -υκ-; cf. on κῆρυξ).

ἐλίτροχος = ἐλιξ.

ἐλίχρυσος [m.] plant name 'Heliochrysum siculum, goldflower' (Alcm., Ibyc.); also ἐλειόχρυσος (Thphr.). <GR?>

•VAR Also -ον [n.] (see on ► βούτυρον).

•ETYM Named after its golden yellow flower (Strömberg 1940: 25). Like e.g. ἐλειοσέλινον, ἐλειόχρυσος is understandable as a compound of ἐλειος and χρυσός (related to ἔλος?), after the compounds in ἀγρι(ο)-, e.g. ἀγρι-ἐλαιος = ἄγριος ἔλαιος (see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 257). The form ἐλι- is a further shortening after ἄγρι-, αἰγι-,



καλλι-, etc. Strömberg 1940: 153 thinks it is a loan. The locus in Alcman (16) has no digamma; cf. Solmsen 1901: 146. DELG considers the variant ἐλειό- either a mistake or an 'étymologie populaire déraisonnable'.

**ἔλκος** [n.] 'wound, ulcer' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>elk<sup>-</sup>os* 'ulcer'>

•COMP As a first member in ἐλκο-ποιός 'making wounds' (A.) with ἐλκοποιέω (Aeschin.).

•DER Diminutive ἐλκύδιον (Hp., Ar.; on the suffix Chantraine 1933: 72f.); ἐλκώδης 'ulcerated' (Hp., E.), ἐλκήεις 'id.' (Man.); denominative verbs: ἐλκόομαι 'to fester', -όω 'to wound' (Hp., E.; also with prefix: ἀν-, ἀφ-, ἐξ-, ἐφ-, καθ-, προ-); thence (ἀφ-, ἐξ-, ἐφ-)ἐλκωσις 'festering' (Hp., Th.) together with ἐλκωτικός, ἐλκωμα 'wound, ulcer' (Hp., Thphr.) with ἐλκωματικός; from ἐφελκόομαι also ἐφελκίς 'scab of a wound' (medic.); ἐλκαίνω 'fester' (A. Ch. 843) with deverbal ἔλκανα- τραύματα 'wounds' (H.); also ἐλκανώσα- ἡλκωμένη ἢ ἡλκοποιημένη ὑπὸ πυρός 'wounded by fire' (H.; Schwyzer: 700).

•ETYM Old noun, identical with Lat. *ulcus*, -*eris* (< \**h<sub>1</sub>elkos-*) 'ulcer', Skt. *ársas-* [n.] 'haemorrhoids'. Is the spiritus asper from ἔλκω 'draw'?

**ἔλκω** [v.] 'to draw, drag' (Il.). <IE \**selk-* 'draw'>

•VAR The non-presentic forms show three stems: 1. a lengthened stem ἐλκη-: ἐλκήσω, ἐλκήσαι, ἐλκηθῆναι (Hom.), with ipf. εἴλκεον (P 395; cf. Chantraine 1942: 348; see also below); 2. ἐλκυ- (after synonymous ἐρύσαι): ἐλκύσαι (Pi., Att.), ἐλκυσθῆναι, εἴλκυμαι (IA), ἐλκύσω (Hp.), εἴλκυκα (D.); 3. ἐλκ-: fut. ἔλξω (A.) and late aor. ἔλξαι, ἐλχθῆναι; details in Schwyzer 721.

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀν-, ἀφ-, ἐξ-, παρ-, etc. As a first member in the epithets ἐλκε-χίτωνες, ἐλκεσί-πεπλος, and ἐλκε-τρίβων (Pl.), ἐλκεσί-χειρος (AP); on ἐλκε(σι)- Knecht *Τερψίμβροτος* 29.

•DER From ἐλκ-: (ἐφ-)ἐλξίς 'drawing, dragging' (Hp., Pl.) with (ἐφ-)ἐλκτικός (Pl.) and the plant names ἐλξίνη, ἐλξίτις 'bindweed' (Dsc., Ps.-Dsc., Redard 1949: 71), also ἐλκίνα [acc.?] (Ps.-Dsc. 4, 85), ἐλκιμος 'what can be drawn' (Olymp.; cf. Arbenz 1933: 76, directly from ἔλκω); with o-vocalism ► ὀλκός, ὀλκή, see s.v. From ἐλκη- (old but rare) ἐλκηθμός 'the drawing' (Z 465; cf. Benveniste 1935: 201, Porzig 1942: 236f.), ἐλκημα 'what was dragged, booty' (E. HF 568; Chantraine 1933: 178), ἐλκηθρον 'coulter' (Thphr. HP 5, 7, 6; Strömberg 1937: 170); ἐλκητήρ 'drawer' (AP 6, 297); ἐλκηδόν [adv.] 'drawing' (Hes. Sc. 302). From ἐλκυ-, mostly late: (ἀφ-, ἐφ-, παρ-)ἐλκυσις 'the drawing' (LXX, Aret.), ἐλκυσμα = ἐλκημα (Man.), also 'dross (of silver)' (Dsc., Gal.), (ἐξ-, ἐφ-, δι-)ἐλκυσιός 'attraction, etc.' (Chrysipp., medic., pap.); ἐλκυστήρ 'drawer', 'instrument for drawing out, etc.' (Hp.), ἐλκυστρον 'id.' (Apollod. *Poliorec.*); ἐλκύσιμος, ἐλκυστήριος; secondary verb ἐλκυστάζω 'draw' (Ψ 187 = Ω 21), expressive form after ῥυστάζω (Schwyzer: 706, Risch 1937: 298).

•ETYM A cognate verb is ToB *sālk<sup>a</sup>-* 'to draw out' (pret. *sālkāte*; innovated nasal present *slaiiktār*); nominal formations are found in Arm. *helg* 'slow' (a-stem), Lat. *sulcus* 'furrow' (see ► ὀλκός), and OE *sulh* 'furrow, plow'. An old iterative is perhaps reflected in Alb. *helq*, *heq* 'draw (off)', if from IE \**solk-ejē-*; cf. Porzig 1942: 236f. Not related to ► ἄλοξ.

**ἔλλα** → ἐδώλια.

**ἐλλέβορος** [m.] 'hellebore, Helleborus, Veratrum album' (Hp., Ar.; on the mg. Dawkins *JHS* 56 (1936): 3f.). <PG>

•VAR Ion. ἐλ-.

•COMP As a first member in ἐλλεβοροποσία 'drinking ἐ.' (Hp.); ἐλλεβορο-σῆματα plant name = λεμώνιον (Ps.-Dsc. 4, 16), an original bahuvrihi: 'plant that shows symptoms of Helleborus', Strömberg 1944: 51.

•DER ἐλλεβορίνη 'Herniaria glabra' (Thphr., Dsc.), ἐλλεβορίτης 'κενταύρειον τὸ μικρόν' (Ps.-Dsc.), also name of a wine (Dsc., Plin.), cf. Redard 1949: 71 and 96; denominative verb ἐλλεβορίζω 'treat with hellebore, bring to sense' (Hp., D.) with ἐλλεβορισμός (Hp.).

•ETYM Taken as "eaten by deer", from ἐλλός (ἐλλός) and βιβρώσκω (see ► βορά); see Strömberg 1944: 48ff. (full discussion). The compositional -ε- remains problematic. Amigues *RPh.* 72 (1998): 125, stresses that the plant is fatally poisonous. It has been suggested that the first element be identified with ἐσθλός; Girard 1988 assumes original ἔλλο-, which is hardly correct. The traditional etymology seems very doubtful; the word could well be non-IE, i.e. Pre-Greek. The double -λλ- may then represent the phoneme -*l'*, which at the same time explains the two first ε's: /a/ was pronounced [ā] in contact with the palatalized l, and [ā] is reproduced by ε; after the β, it may have been realized as o, which gives us a pre-form /al'abar-*l*.

**ἐλλεδανοί** [pl.m.] 'band for binding corn sheaves' (Σ 553, *h. Cer.* 456, Hes. Sc. 291).

<IE? \**uel-* 'press'>

•VAR Or -ά [n.]? All attestations have dat.pl. ἐν ἐλλεδανοίσι, but H., Suid. have -οί, -ός.

•ETYM From Aeol. \*ἐλλέω < \**felnéw* 'turn, wind' (see ► ειλέω 2) with suffixal -δανός, possibly via \*ἐλλεδών (cf. τυφεδών beside τυφεδανός). See Solmsen 1901: 244 and Schwyzer: 530. Chantraine 1942: 131 objects that there is no evidence for f-.

**ἐλλερα** [adj.] said of ἔργα (Call. fr. 434); acc. to Hes. ἐχθρά, πολέμια, ἄδικα 'unfriendly, ptng. to war, unjust', acc. to Suid. φόνια, χαλεπά, κακά 'murderous, troublesome, bad'; details in Pfeiffer 1949-1953 ad loc. <?>

•ETYM Unexplained. DELG adds that the etymologists explain the word as ὄλλυρα or ὀλλύντα.

**ἐλλετε** = ἔρρετε (Call. fr. 1, 17 [Pf]). → ἔρρω.

**ἐλλός 1** → ἔλαφος.

**ἐλλός 2** → ἔλλοψι.

**ἔλλοψι, -οπος** [m.] 1. poetical epithet of ἰχθύς (Hes. Sc. 212), in this function also ἔλλοπος (Emp. 117) and ἐλλός (S. Aj. 1297, Ath. 277d); also of κούρα (Theoc. *Syrinx* 18); 2. poetical for 'fish' in general (Lyc.); 3. name of a large, rare and expensive fish, which is compared (and identified) with the sturgeon (Arist.); in this mg. usually written ἔλοψι (Epich., Archestr., Plu.), Lat. (*h*)*elops*; 4. name of a snake (Nic. Th. 490). <PG>



•DER Denominative ἐλλοπιεύω [v.] 'fish' (Theoc. 1, 42); note ἐλλοπίδας [acc.pl.] (Crat. 408 acc. to H.; -οδες EM 331, 53), acc. to H. and others = τοὺς στρουθοὺς ἢ νεοττοὺς ὄφεως 'sparrows or the young of a snake'; unclear is ἀλλοπίης, epithet of τράχουρος (Numen. *apud* Ath. 7, 326a).

•ETYM The ancients explained the word either as 'dumb' or as 'scaly', the former by means of impossible etymological connections. The meaning 'scaly' is interpreted as ἔλλοπος < \*ἐν-λοπος, a prepositional bahuvrīhi of λοπός 'scale'; the shortened form ἔλλοψ would have been adjusted to animal names in -οψ (metri causa?); a second analogical shortening (cf. αἰθοψ : αἰθός) would then have given ἐλλός. Then the single λ in ἔλοψ, Lat. (*h*)elops remains; as this notation seems to indicate a special fish, ἔλοψ could be of foreign origin. Acc. to Frisk, this could point to a cross of a foreign fish name with an inherited adjective. Cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. and Strömberg 1943: 30f. However, the interchange λ/λλ is frequent in Pre-Greek (Fur.: 387); further, we find ε/α and π/β in ἀλ(λ)άβης (Str. 17, 2, 4; Ath. 7, 312b; PTeb.) and ἔλαψ (Gr.). An interchange of the suffix -αβ-/ -οπ- is well known in Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 107. In a similar vein, ἀλλοπίης can be understood. Therefore, we probably have a pre-Greek word for a great fish. In *Pre-Greek*, I reconstruct \*a<sup>h</sup>la/op-.

ἐλλύτας [m.] name of something baked, a kind of cake, 'pretzel' vel sim. (Thera). <PG?>

•VAR ἐλλυτίς (for -της?)· πλακοῦς τις 'a flat cake' (H.), εἰλύτας [acc.pl.] (Boeotia), ἐλύτης (gramm.).

•ETYM Traditionally connected (see Frisk) with ►εἰλύω, either from the verbal stem (f)ελυ- or from the present stem \*fελνυ- or the perfect stem \*fεφλυ-. Other attempts to accommodate the different forms by Solmsen 1901: 240, as well as Bechtel 1921, 1: 304. The connection with εἰλύω may well be wrong, however; the interchange λ/λλ rather points to a Pre-Greek word, in which case the word had initial \*el<sup>h</sup>-.

ἐλμῖς [f.] 'intestinal worm, parasitic worm' (Hp., Arist.); MoGr. forms in Rohlfs ByzZ 37 (1937): 56f. <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Gen. ἔλμινθος (to which a new nom. ἔλμινς Hp.), also ἔλμιγγος, etc.; further acc. ἔλμιθα (epid.); nom.pl. ἔλμεις (Dsc.); λίμινθες· ἔλμινθες. Πάφιοι (H.).

•COMP As a first member in ἐλμινθο-βότανον 'herb used against worms' (medic.).

•DER Diminutive ἐλμίνθιον; -ώδης [adj.] 'worm-like', -ιάω [v.] 'suffer from worms' (Hp., Arist.).

•ETYM Traditionally connected with two other names for 'worm', Skt. *kṛmi-*, Lith. *kirmis*, ŌIr. *cruim*, etc. < IE \*k<sup>w</sup>rmī-, on the one hand, and Lat. *vermis*, Gm. \**wurma-* on the other. Greek would have innovated its form by folk-etymologically adjusting it to the root \*uel- 'turn, wind' (see ►εἰλέω 2), which gave two further forms for 'worm', ►εὐλή and φάλη (spelled ὑάλη). It seems obvious, however, that the latter forms are clearly unrelated to ἐλμῖς. Our word is not IE, as per Fur.: 290. It is unclear why Fur.: and DELG hesitate to take the -νθ- as an indication of Pre-Greek origin. Note that the form ἔλμιγγος also shows typical Pre-Greek prenasalization (cf. acc. ἔλμιθα IG 4<sup>2</sup>(1), 122: 10], Epidaurous). The form λίμινθες also suggests a Pre-Greek variant. Was it \*l<sup>h</sup>mi(n)t-, with prothetic vowel a- which became e- before the palatal

l (see Beekes 2008)? Note that the MoGr. forms λεβίθα, -ίδες confirm the vowel after the l (see DELG).

ἐλξίνη •VAR ἐλξίτις. ⇒ ἔλκω.

ἐλος [n.] 'marsh meadow, marshy ground' (Il.). <IE \*selos- 'marsh'>

•VAR ἔλη· σύνδενδροι τόποι 'thickly-wooded places' (H.); cf. the etymology below.

•COMP As a first member thematically lengthened in ἐλεό-θρεπτος 'grown on marshy meadows' (B 776), ἐλεο-σέλινον 'celery from marshy meadows' (Thphr., Dsc.), also ἐλειο- by contraction from ἐλειον σέλ.; also in ἐλειο-βάτης 'traversing (living in) marshes' (A. Pers. 39 [anap.]), from τὰ ἔλεια or with metrical lengthening; with elision in ἐλεορέω 'be a surveyor of marshes' (Erythrae IV<sup>a</sup>; or 'forester'? See below), from \*ἐλεο-(f)όρος. Unclear ►ἐλεσπίδας; cf. also ►ἐλίχρυσος.

•DER ἔλειος 'marshy' (IA), Ἐλεία epithet of Artemis (Cos), ἐλώδης 'id.' (Hp., Th.), ἐλείτης 'growing in marshes' (Dion. Byz.), also an epithet of Apollo (Cyprus; cf. Redard 1949: 12, 24, 208; on the formation see Schwyzler: 500); ἐλει-ήτης (λέων, Call. fr. 748).

•ETYM Inherited word, identical with Skt. *sáras-* [n.] 'pond', IE \*sélōs-; Gr. ἔλειος = Skt. *sarasíya-*. Not related to Lat. *silva* or ὕλη, in spite of H. and Thess. ὕλορέων exists beside Erythr. ἐλεορέων; see Wahrmann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 165.

ἐλοψ ⇒ ἔλλοψ.

ἐλπομαι [v.] 'to expect, hope, suppose' (Il.). <IE \*uelp- 'expect'>

•VAR Act. ἔλπω 'make hope' only β 91 = ν 380 πάντας μὲν (f)έλπει. Epic also ἐέλπομαι (see below), perf. (with present mg.) ἔωλπα, plpf. ἐώλπει (for \*(f)ε(f)όλπει, see below and Debrunner *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 199, Chantraine 1942: 479f. with Add. et corr.).

•COMP As a second member in ἄ-ελπ-τος 'unexpected, unhoped for' with ἀελπτ-ία, -έω (Il.), also ἄ-ελπ-ής (ε 408); as a first member in Ἐλπ-ήνωρ (Od.; on the formation Schwyzler: 441, Sommer 1948: 175 with lit.).

•DER ἔλπωρῆ 'hope' (Od.; for -ωλή?; cf. Porzig 1942: 235); ἐλπίς, -ίδος [f.] 'id.' (π 101 = τ 84; cf. Porzig 353; on the mg. Martinazzoli *Stud. ital. fil. class.* N.S. 21 (1946): 11ff.) with εὔ-, ἄν-ελπις, etc.; denominative ἐλπίζω [v.] 'id.' (IA) with ἐλπιστικός, ἐλπισμός, ἔλπισμα (Arist.). On ἐλπίς, ἔλπομαι see Myres *Cl. Rev.* 63: 46.

•ETYM There is no counterpart to (f)ἐλπομαι (see Chantraine 1942: 133 and 182) and the old perfect with present meaning (f)έ(f)ολπα in the other languages; Homer has a few forms from ἐέλπομαι, after ἐέλδομαι (Beekes 1969: 64). A verbal adjective connected with Gr. ἐλπίς is supposed in Lat. *volup est* 'it is pleasant to me' (whence *volup-tas*); IE \*u(e/o)lp-i-.

ἐλπος [n.]? · ἔλαιον, στέαρ, εὐθηνία 'olive oil, rendered fat, abundance'; ἔλφος· βούτυρον. Κύπριοι 'butter (Cypr.)' (H.). <PG(V)>

•DER On ►ὄλη 'oil-bottle', see s.v.

•ETYM The word has been compared with an IE word for 'fat', \*selp-: Skt. *sarpīṣ-* [n.] 'molten butter, lard', ToB *šalype* 'fat, oil', PGm. \**salba-* 'salve', as well as Alb. *gjalpë* 'butter'. Nevertheless, one would expect a spiritus asper in Greek. The variation π/φ

rather points to a Pre-Greek word. Cypr. ἔλφος is unexplained; see DELG. The word ► ὄληπη indicates a bottle, and therefore has nothing to do with the word for 'oil, fat'.

**ἐλύδριον** [n.]? = χελιδόνιον, 'celandine' (pap.). <?>

•ETYM Formation in -ύδριον (Chantraine 1933: 72f.). It has been connected with ► ἔλος 'marsh' ("somit nach dem Standort benannt", acc. to Frisk), but this has spiritus asper.

**ἔλυμος 1** [m.] 'millet' (Hp., Ar.). <?>

•VAR In H. also ἔλεμος: σπέρμα ὅπερ ἔψοντες Λακωνες ἐσθίουσιν 'seed which the Laconians boil and eat'. Frisk (s.v. εἰλύω) notes that the word also means 'container': καὶ ἡ τῆς κιθάρας καὶ τοῦ τόξου θήκη 'case for the kithara and the bow' (H.; s.v. ἔλυμοι).

•ETYM Unknown (see Schwyzler: 494). Connection with ὄλυραι 'rice-wheat' and οὐλαί 'barley groats' is uncertain. Fur.: 246 suggests connection with ἐλίμαρ: κέγχρω ὅμοιον [ἐλινῇ] ἢ μελίνῃ ὑπὸ Λακωνῶν 'millet (Lacon.)' (H.), assuming f- > μ-; however, this is very unclear. Perhaps Pre-Greek. See ► εἰλύω.

**ἔλυμος 2**. [f.(m.)] name of a Phrygian pipe (S.). <?>

•ETYM There appears no reason for connection with ► εἰλύω.

**ἔλωρ** ⇒ ἐλεῖν.

**ἐμβάδες** ⇒ βαίνω.

**ἐμβρυον** ⇒ βρώω.

**ἐμέ** [pron.] 'me'. <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>me 'me'>

•VAR Encl. με [acc.] 'me', ἐμοί (Dor. Phoc. ἐμίν), encl. μοι [dat.] (also gen.) 'to me' ('mine'); varying genitive forms: Ion., etc. ἐμέο (Hom. also ἐμεῖο), ἐμεῦ, μεν, Att. contr. ἐμοῦ, μου; Dor. also ἐμέος, ἐμεῦς, etc.; Lesb. Hom., etc. ἐμέθεν; more in Schwyzler: 602.

•ETYM Old pronoun: for με, cf. Lat. *mē*, Skt. *mā*, Go., etc. *mi-k* (after *ik* 'I'; not = \*μέ γε), IE \**mē*; μοι = Skt. *me*, Lat. *mī* (used as vocative), OLith. *-mi*, etc.; ἐμίν after ἀμίν, etc. The genitives are all innovations: ἐμέο (whence ἐμεῖο analogically or with metrical lengthening), modelled after τέο, etc. (gen. of ► τίς), whence ἐμέο-ς, ἐμέ-θεν (like οἴκο-θεν, etc.). Adjectivized ἐμέ gave the possessive ἐμός 'meus'; likewise, Av. *ma-*, Hitt. *-miš*, Lat. *meus*. On the acc. \**h<sub>1</sub>me*, see Beekes, *Sprache* 33 (1987-9): 7-12; it is also seen in Arm. *im* [dat.] 'mei'.

**ἐμέω** [v.] 'to vomit'. <IE \*uemh<sub>1</sub>- 'vomit'>

•VAR Aor. ἐμέσ(σ)αι (Il.), perf. ἐμήμεκα (Hp., Luc.), fut. ἐμέσω (Hp.), ἐμῶ, ἐμοῦμαι (Att.), pres. ἐμέθω (Hdn.).

•COMP Prefixed with ἀπ-, ἐξ-, ἐν-, ὑπερ-, etc.

•DER Verbal nouns: ἔμετος 'vomiting' (Ion., Arist.) with the bahuvrīhis ἀν-, δυσ-, εὐ- ἔμετος, -ήμετος (Hp. et al.; also, directly from ἐμέω, δυσ-, εὐ-εμής, -ημής), κοπριήμετος (Hp.); to ὑπερεμέω: ὑπερέμετος (Hp.). From ἔμετος: ἐμεσία 'qualm, inclination to vomit' (Hp.), ἐμετ-ικός, -ώδης, -ήριος, -ιάω (Hp., Arist. et al.); ἐμεσις

and ἔμεσμα 'id.' (Hp.); ἐμίας "spitter" (Com.; see Chantraine 1933: 93). See also ► ἐμός and ► περιημεκτέω.

•ETYM In Skt., there is the athematic *vāmi-ti*; additionally, Lat. *vomit*, *vomimus* (beside *vomi-tus*), which were reinterpreted as thematic forms, with which compare *reg-i-mus*. The disyllabic root is also represented in Lith. *vėmti* (new yod-present *vemiū*). The root also occurs in North Gm., but only in metaphorical meaning, e.g. OSw. *vami* [m.] 'disgust'. Schwyzler: 222<sup>3</sup> sees an element of the living language in ἐμέω, which would explain why the verb does not show a f- in Homer (a similar explanation exists for lack of f in ► ἰδρώς, as well as in ► δίφρος).

**ἐμψάνης** ⇒ μῆνις.

**ἐμψαπέως** 'immediately' (epic since Il.).

•ETYM From \*ἐμψαπής 'grasping', to \*ἐμ-μαπεῖν. See ► μαπέειν.

**ἐμψατέω** ⇒ ματεύω.

**ἐμψοτος** ⇒ μιοτός.

**ἐμπάζομαι** [v.pres.] 'care about something, for something' (Il.; mostly with negation).

<IE? \**peh<sub>2</sub>*- 'protect, feed'>

•COMP Act. κατ-εμπάζω 'take hold of' (ὅποταν χρειώ σε κατεμπάζη Nic. Th. 695).

•ETYM No good etymology. Connection with ► ἔμψης 'in any case' is semantically difficult. In view of the MoSw. expression for 'care for something', *fāsta sig vid nāgot*, properly "to attach yourself to", one may consider (as Frisk does) an original \*ἐμ-πάγ-ιομαι, to ἐμ-πάγῃναι (Ion. πᾶκ-τός, πᾶκτοῦν). The gloss ἐμψαστήρας μύθων-πιστωτάς, μάρτυρας 'confirmers, witnesses' (H.) is unclear; Latte corrects it to \*ἐμπιστήρας. Blanc *RPh.* 70 (1996): 1996 connects it with \**peh<sub>2</sub>*- 'protect' (Beekes 1969: 173); however, cf. Pok. 787 \**peh<sub>2</sub>k/g*- 'fit together'.

**ἐμψαιος 1** [adj.] 'bursting in, sudden' (A. Ag. 187 [lyr.], also Emp. 2, 2?). <GR?>

•ETYM From ἐμπαίω 'burst in' (S. El. 902; see ► παίω); cf. Schwyzler: 452: 2.

**ἐμψαιος 2** [adj.] 'experienced, skillful' (v 379, φ 400; Lyc. 1321). <GR?>

•ETYM Not well explained. Schwyzler: 467<sup>6</sup> and 620 derives it from ἔμψης as \*'fully master of' (related to ἐμ-πάομαι; see ► πάομαι). Differently, Lagercrantz KZ 34 (1897): 395; see also Sommer 1905: 80f.

**ἐμπεδος** ⇒ πέδον.

**ἐμπειρος** ⇒ πεῖρα.

**ἐμψης** [adv.] 'in any case, really, all the same, nevertheless' (Il.). <GR?>

•VAR Dor. ἐμψᾶς, also ἐμψαν, ἐμψᾶ.

•ETYM Origin uncertain. Acc. to Brugmann *IF* 27 (1910): 274ff., prop. a nom.-acc.ntr. 'validity, reality, truth', related to El. ἐμψᾶω (ἐμψᾶ, ἐπ-εμψήτω) 'execute (a fixed punishment), realize', πέπᾶμαι, πᾶς, etc. It is improbable that ἐμ- is from IE \**sem*- in εἰς (Schwyzler: 620). The ending of ἐμψᾶ is like ἡρέμᾶ, ἀτρέμᾶ; ἐμψαν (ā or ᾱ), as in

ἅπαν (Brugmann *IF* 27 (1910): 274ff.); see also Björck 1950: 123f. Radt 1958: 200-208 suggests ἐν πᾶσιν 'in all cases'.

**ἐμπίς, -ίδος** [f.] 'gnat' (Ar., Arist.). <GR>

•ETYM Popular derivation from ἐμπίνειν 'to drink oneself full (of blood)'; cf. e.g. δικλίδες from κλίνειν. See Strömberg 1944: 14 for full argumentation. Older interpretations, all wrong, are recounted in Strömberg and Bq. Cf. Gil Fernández 1959: 26. Differently, Szemerényi 1964: 143<sup>1</sup>.

**ἐμπλατία** [f.] name of a kitchen (*IG* 5(2), 4 [IV<sup>a</sup>]). <?>

•VAR Only Arc. ἱμπ-.

•ETYM Perhaps related to πλάτος 'breadth', from ἐμπλατής (only Anon. in *Tht.* 30, 1) or to ἐμπλατύνειν 'broaden' (LXX). It has been compared with ἐπίπλωτορ-πλακοῦντος εἶδος 'kind of flat cake' (H.), but is this really useful? Cf. on ►πέλανος.

**ἐμπλιν** ⇒ πλιν.

**ἐμποδών** ⇒ ποός.

**ἐμπολή** [f.] 'trade, trade goods, purchase, profit' (Pi., Att.). <IE? \*k<sup>w</sup>el- 'turn, move'>

•VAR Arc. ἱνπολα (IV<sup>a</sup>).

•COMP Compounds: on ἀπεμπολή see below. Also with prefix: ἀπ-, δι-, ἐξ-, παρ-, προσ-.

•DER Note ἐμπέλωρος· ἀγορανόμος 'clerk of the market' (H.; probably for ἐμπολ-; for Chantraine's opinion, see below). ἐμπολαῖος 'belonging to trade, etc.', epithet of Hermes (Ar.), ἐμπολεὺς 'buyer' (AP). Denominative verb ἐμπολάω, -άομαι 'trade, buy, sell, win' (Od.), with impf. ἡμπόλων, aor. ἡμπόλησα (ἐνεπόλησα Is.), ἡμπολήθην, perf. ἡμπόληκα (ἐμπεπόληκα Luc.), med. ἡμπόλημαι. ἐμπόλημα 'goods, profit' (S.), (ἀπ-)ἐμπόλησις (Hr., Poll.), ἀπεμπολητής 'seller' (Lyc.); deverbally ἀπεμπολήν· ἀπαλλαγὴν, πρᾶσιν, ἐμπορίαν 'deliverance, sale, trade' (H.).

•ETYM Also (ἐξ-)ἐμπολέω 'id.' (Herod., J.). Cf. ἐντολή, ἐντομή, etc.; based on a verb \*ἐμπέλω, -ομαι. It has been compared with the iterative (with lengthened grade) πωλέω 'sell'. ἐμπολάω is a denominative, as appears from the augmented and reduplicated forms. Connection with πέλομαι, -ω 'turn, move' (root \*k<sup>w</sup>el-) is semantically possible; ἐμπολή would then be 'traffic'. However, IE also has an old root \*pel- 'sell, earn, etc.' in several nominal derivatives, e.g. Skt. *paṇa-* [m.] 'salary' (with *paṇate* 'trade, buy'), Lith. *pel̃nas* 'wages, salary', OHG *fāli*, ON *fāl̃r* 'sal(e)able'; it has been connected with πωλέω, as distinct from ἐμπολή. See Schwyzler: 720<sup>3</sup>. On ἐμπολή, ἐμπολάω, see Chantraine *RPh.* 66 (1940): 11ff. with various suggestions (πελάζω, πέλας, etc.). Recently, De Lamberterie has argued for connection with \*k<sup>w</sup>el- and πωλόμαι (see DELG *Supp.* s.v. πωλέω).

**ἐμπορος** [m.] 'who travels on a ship, passenger' (Od.), 'traveller' in general (B., trag.), usually 'merchant' (IA; on the mg. beside κάπηλος, ναύκληρος Finkelstein *Class. Phil.* 30 (1935): 320ff.). <GR>

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. συν-, οἶν-, μικρ-έμπορος.

•DER ἐμπορία 'sea-trade, wholesale trade' (Hes.), ἐμπόριον 'commercial town' (IA), ἐμπορικός 'belonging to a merchant (to trade)' (Stesich., IA; see Chantraine 1956a: 115); denominative verb ἐμπορεύομαι 'be ἐμπορος, travel, trade' (IA), also 'be (more) cunning' (2 *Ep. Pet.* 2, 3), with ἐμπόρευμα, -εῖον, -ευτικός.

•ETYM Hypostasis from ἐν πόρῳ (ῶν), 'being in transit'; see ►πόρος and Porzig 1942: 258. See De Lamberterie *RPh.* 71 (1997): 159.

**Ἐμπουσα** [f.] name of a popular phantom (Ar., D.). <PG?(S)>

•ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek figure, see Fur.: 197<sup>55</sup>; for the use of the suffix, cf. αἰθουσα, ἄγχουσα, κάδουσα, νήθουσα, Ἀκίδουσα; Κηλοῦσα = Κήλωσσα.

**ἐμπροσθε(ν)** •VAR ἐμπροσθα. ⇒ πρόσθεν.

**ἐμπυριβήτης, -ον** [m.] 'which goes into the fire', of a τρίπους Ψ 702. <GR>

•ETYM Compound of the prepositional phrase ἐν πυρί and βῆ-ναι, with suffix -της; cf. Schwyzler: 452. Cf. πυριβήτης Arat. 983, a false archaizing form. On the matter, see Brommer *Herm.* 77 (1942): 366f.

**ἐμύς, -ύδος** [f.] 'freshwater tortoise' (Arist.) (in LSJ only in Suppl.). <PG?>

•VAR Also ἐ- (LSJ Suppl.), msc. and fem. Also ἀμύς 'id.' (Archig. *apud* Gal. 12.575).

•ETYM See Chantraine 1933: 126 and 347; origin unknown. Sommer 1905: 100 derives it from ἐμέω because the animal, when breathing out below the surface of the water, continuously releases air bubbles. However, \*-ud- is not an IE suffix, so the word is probably Pre-Greek; see Chantraine 1933: 348: πηλαμύς "sans doute préhellénique", χλαμύς "arrangement d'un mot emprunté." Cf. also *Pre-Greek* on the suffix -υδ-. It has apparently escaped researchers that there are two forms; this probably points to Pre-Greek origin (cf. Fur.: 346f.), where the variants ἀ-/ἐ- are different reflexes of a single Pre-Greek phoneme. There is no support for the suggestion that πηλαμύς contains ἐμύς as a second member, but this makes no difference for our interpretation.

**ἐμφωτον** ⇒ φῶς.

**ἐν** [adv., prep.] 'in, within' (Il.), as a preposition usually with the dat. (loc.) to indicate the rest at the attained goal; in NWGr., El., Arc., Cypr., Thess., Boeot. also with accus. indicating the direction, for which the other dialects have ἐν + ς, see ►εἰς. <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>en(i) 'in'>

•VAR Also ἐνι; as a preposition ἐν, poetic ἐνί, metrically lengthened εἰν(ί), Arc. Cypr. Cret. iv.

•ETYM Old adverb, also seen in OLat. *en* (> *in*), Osc.-U *en*, Gm. (e.g. Go.) *in*, OIr. *in*, OPr. *en*, Arm. *i*, etc., all from IE \*h<sub>1</sub>en, \*h<sub>1</sub>eni (identical with the loc. in -i, like ἔπι, πέρι, etc.). On ἐνι as a copula (certainly since V-VI<sup>p</sup>), whence MoGr. εἶναι (εἶνι, ἐνι, etc.) 'is, are', see Debrunner *Mus. Helv.* 11 (1954): 57ff.

**ἐναγχος** ⇒ ἄγχι.

**ἐναλίγκιος** ⇒ ἀλίγκιος.

**ἐναντα** •VAR ἐναντι, ἐναντίος. ⇒ ἄντα and ἀντί.

ἐναντίβιον ⇒ βία.

ἔναρα [n.pl.] 'the weapons of a fallen opponent' (Il., Hes. Sc. 367). <?>

•COMP As a first member in ἐναρο-κτάντας, of death (A. Fr. 151 [lyr.]), ἐναρη-φόρος 'carrying the ἔ.' (APl.); also ἐναρσ-φόρος epithet of Ares (Hes. Sc. 192), also name of a hero (Alcm.) with σ in the compound after ἐγχεσπάλος (Leumann *Glotta* 15 (1927): 155f., Schwyzer: 336).

•DER Denominative verbs: ἐναίρω, aor. ἐναρεῖν (ἐξ- Hes. Sc. 329) 'take away the ἔ.', euphemistic for 'kill' (Il.); also ἐναρί-μβροτος 'killing men' (Pi.; after φθεισί-μβροτος); (younger) ἐναρίζω, aor. ἐναρίζαι (Il.; in Hom. often ἐξ-; also ἀπ-, ἐπ-, κατ-) 'id.'.

•ETYM Unknown. Schwyzer *IF* 30 (1912): 440f. compared Skt. (1x) *sánara-* (RV 1, 96, 8), of uncertain meaning. Connection with Skt. *sanóti* 'win' (cf. ▶ ἄνυμι) would impart ἔναρα the original meaning 'gain, booty'; one would have to accept psilosis. Hardly an *r/n*-stem, as per Schwyzer: 518. On the meaning, see Trümper 1950: 86ff. See also ▶ ἔντεα.

ἐναργής, -ές [adj.] 'clear, visible, recognizable, living' (Il.); on the mg. Müller *RhM* 79 (1930): 29ff. <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>erǵ-* 'shining, white'>

•DER ἐνάργεια 'clearness' (Pl., Hell.), ἐνάργημα 'outward appearance', also in plur. -ήματα 'recognizable facts' (Hell.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 190); ἐναργότης (Poll.); also ἐναργώδης (Aret.).

•ETYM Formations like ἐν-τελής from τέλος demonstrate for the second member of ἐν-αργής an *s*-stem \*ἄργος 'shining', which is also found in ἀργεστής and ἀργεννός (see ▶ ἀργός 1 and Schwyzer: 512). Further details are difficult to ascertain, but it is probably a bahuvrīhi with adverbial first member: 'having ἄργος, having splendor'. See Strömberg 1946: 118f.; differently, Sommer 1948: 108.

ἐνάτηρ ⇒ εἰνατέρες.

ἐναυλίζομαι ⇒ ἐναυλος 3.

ἐναυλος 1 [m.] 'bed of a stream, torrent' (Il.); post-Hom. 'hole, grotto, ravine' (Hes., *h. Ven.* 74, 124, E. [lyr.]), also in sea (Opp.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eulo-* 'tube, longish hole'>

•ETYM Properly 'with ▶ αὐλός', so 'hollow area', from αὐλός 'hole, tube'. For the meaning 'torrent', cf. the analogous development of χαράδρα (properly related to ▶ χέραδος 'gravel').

ἐναυλος 2 [adj.] 'accompanied by the flute' (Att.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eulo-* 'tube, longish hole'>

•ETYM Bahuvrīhi compound of ▶ αὐλός and adverbial ▶ ἔν.

ἐναυλος 3 [adj.] 'sleeping in the open air' (E.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eu-* 'pass the night'>

•DER Also ἐναύλιος with the substantive ἐναύλιον 'abode' (Hell.).

•ETYM Hypostasis of ἐν αὐλῇ (ῶν) 'living in the open air'; also, of λέοντες (E. *Ph.* 1573 [lyr.]).

ἐνδάπιος [adj.] 'indigenous' (Hell.). <GR>

•ETYM From ἔνδον, modelled after ἀλλοδαπός, τηλεδαπός, etc., and reshaped after the adjectives in -ιος (ἐντόπιος, etc.). Cf. Schwyzer: 625.

ἐνδελεχής ⇒ δολιχός.

ἐνδινά [n.pl.] 'intestines'. <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>endo-* 'in(side)'>?

•VAR Only ἐνδίνων [gen.pl.] (Ψ 408).

•ETYM Derived from ἔνδον with a suffix -ινω-. Metrical lengthening (as per Schulze 1892: 253)? Cf. Chantraine 1933: 204 and Meid *IF* 62 (1956): 275<sup>16</sup>. Vendryes *MSL* 15 (1908/09): 358 accentuates ἐνδίνος like ἀγχιστίνος, etc.; differently, Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 176 (accent as in ἔντερα).

ἐνδιος [adj.] 'in (of) the afternoon' (Il.), as a substantive -ον [n.] (-ος [m.]) '(after)noon' (Call., A. R.); rarely 'belonging to heaven, coming from heaven' (ῥῶωρ, Arat. 954), 'in the air' (AP 9, 71; in Hom. ἰ, later (from εὐδιός?) also ἰ, see Sommer 1948: 75<sup>5</sup> with litt. <IE \**dieu-* 'bright sky'>

•ETYM Hypostasis of \*ἐν διφί (: ἔν-διφι-ος, cf. ἐν-νύχι-ος), locative of the word for 'bright sky, day' (see ▶ διός, ▶ Ζεύς). Whether the expression ἐνδιον ῥῶωρ (Arat.), etc. contains a trace of 'heaven' is doubtful; it rather arose by blending with διός.

ἐνδεδιωκότα ⇒ βίος.

ἐνδοιάζω ⇒ δοιοί.

ἐνδον [adv.] 'inside, at home' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>endon* 'inside'>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἐνδο-μάχας 'fighting at home' (Pi.), ἐνδό-μυχος 'who has his hiding place inside' (S.), -μενία, ἐνδουχία 'furniture, movables' (Plb.; ἐνδυμενία Phryn., pap.; after δύομαι 'enter'?).

•DER ἔνδο-θεν (like οἴκο-θεν, etc.) 'from inside, from the house' (Il.), ἔνδο-θι = ἔνδον (Hom.); on ἐνδοθίδιος see below; ἐνδοσε (acc.?) = εἰσω (Keos), ἐνδω (Delph.; after ἔξω). Compar. and superlative ἐνδοτέρω (Hp., post-classical), -τάτω (postclassical); late ἐνδότερος, -τατος (VI<sup>p</sup>). By confusion with ἐντός arose ἐνδός (Dor.; cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 27 (1939): 11) with ἐνδοσθίδια [pl.] 'intestines' (Epidaur.), with Cretan development ἐνδοθίδιος 'living at home' (Gort.), ἐνδόσθια (LXX) = ἐντόσθια. After οἴκοι et al. ἔνδοι (Lesb. Dor.; see Solmsen 1909: 114); on ▶ ἐνδάπιος s.v.; unclear is ἐνδύλω- ἐνδοθεν (H.), like μυκύλος, δριμύλος? See Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 383. On ▶ ἐνδινά, see s.v.

•ETYM ἔνδον is identical with Hitt. *andan* 'within'; also, *anda* 'id.' = Lat. *endo*. Often explained as 'indoors', from ἐν and an endless locative of the root noun for 'house' found in ▶ δάπεδον, ▶ δεσπότης, ▶ δόμος; the expression Διός ἔνδον ἀηγέρατο (Y 13) has been adduced, but the genitive can just as well be elliptic, on which see Vendryes *MSL* 15 (1908/09): 358ff. See Schwyzer: 625f., Schwyzer 1950: 546f., Lejeune 1939 (see index), and Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:2, 723. DELG rejects this view: it fits neither the form nor the meaning. Cf. Meid *AAHG* 27 (1974): 54. Leumann 1977: 562 assumes that *endo* was borrowed from Greek: *indigena* would be a calque on Gr. ἐνδογενής, after which *endo* became separated. Acc. to De

Vaan 2008 s.v. *endo*, this “seems unlikely in view of the recent date of *indigena*, and because of the generally archaic look of the words *indi/u-* is combined with.”

**ἔνδορα** [n.pl.] properly ‘what is wrapped in the skin [when sacrificing]’ (SIG 1025, 48; 1026, 8); Cos: ἔνδορα ἐνδέρεται. <IE \**der-* ‘flay’>

•ETYM From ἐνδέρομαι ‘wrap in the skin’, referring also to δορά; note the explanation of ἔνδορα (after ἔγκατα?) in H.: τὰ ἐνδερόμενα σὺν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ ‘what is wrapped in the skin together with the head and the feet’. Stengel *Herm.* 54 (1919): 208ff. explained it as σπλάγχνα ‘internal organs’; however, his connection with δέστρον ‘retina’ is correctly rejected by Kretschmer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 220f. The word is a hypostasis of ἐν δορά, acc. to Jones *Class. Rev.* NS 9 (1959): 132. See ▶ δέρω.

**ἐνδρυνον** ⇒ δρῦς.

**ἐνδουέως** [adv.] ‘careful’ (Il.), explained in Hp. as ‘continuously’. <?>

•DER Also ἐνδουέες (Nic. *Th.* 263, H. [beside ἐνδύκιον]; probably also A. R. 1, 883 for metrically impossible -έως).

•ETYM Perhaps related to ▶ ἀδευκής with uncertain analysis; both a verb \*ἐν-δουεῖν and a noun \*δύκη are possible. Cf. Strömberg 1946: 90; on the meaning, see Leumann 1950: 311f., who explains its use in Hp. as from a false interpretation of Homer.

**ἐνεγκεῖν** [v.aor.] ‘bring’, resultative (Att., Pi., B., Hp.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>nek-* ‘bring’ and \**h<sub>2</sub>nek-* ‘attain, reach’>

•VAR Also ἐνέγκαι; aor. pass. ἐνεχθῆναι with fut. ἐνεχθήσομαι, perf.act. ἐνήνοχα, med. ἐνήνεγμαι; as a present there is φέρω, as a fut. οἶσω.

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀπ-, εἰσ-, ἐξ-, κατ-, προσ-, etc.; As a second member with compositional lengthening in δι-, δουρ-, ▶ ποδηγετής, etc. (cf. also ▶ δόρυ).

•DER Verbal noun ▶ ὄγκος, s.v.

•ETYM Beside ἐγκ- (old zero grade \**h<sub>1</sub>nk-*), there is also ἐνεκ- (old full grade \**h<sub>1</sub>nek-*). With old *o*-grade, Attic reduplication, and aspiration, we have ἐνήνοχα < \**h<sub>1</sub>ne-h<sub>1</sub>nok-* (but no reduplication in κατ-ήνοκα H.). The crossing of ἐγκ- and ἐνεκ- yielded ἐν-ήνεγκται; influence of ἐνεῖκαι resulted in ἐν-ήνειγκ-ται, ἤνειγκαν, etc. (Att. inscr.). There are no exact parallels in other languages: Skt. has the reduplicated perf. *ān-āms-a* ‘I have attained’ (\**He-Hno(n)k-*); however, an additional problem is that there were probably two roots, \**h<sub>1</sub>nek-* ‘carry’ and \**h<sub>2</sub>nek-* ‘reach, attain’ (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.vv. for various forms in the separate branches).

There is a fundamental discussion of the separation of these two different roots and their respective semantics in García Ramón 1999a: 47–80. The Greek verb derives from \**h<sub>1</sub>nek-* ‘bring, carry’, like a BSL verb (Lith. *neš-ù*, OCS *nes-ŕ* ‘I bring’), while most Indo-Iranian forms (Skt. *násati* ‘attains’ < IE \**h<sub>2</sub>nek-*, *aš-nó-ti* ‘reaches’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>nk-*) derive from the second root meaning ‘reach, attain’, as do Go. *ga-nah* ‘ärkei, it suffices, “es reicht”’, OIr. *t-ānac* ‘I came’ < \**(-)h<sub>2</sub>e-h<sub>2</sub>nok-*, Lat. *na-n-c-iscor* (nasal infix present), *nactus sum* ‘attain’, and Arm. *has-anem*, aor. *has-i* ‘reach’. ToB *enik-*, ToA *ents-* ‘take’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**h<sub>1</sub>nek-*) have also been included with the etymon \**h<sub>1</sub>nek-*, although the semantics are not straightforward. Gr. ▶ διάνεκής probably belongs to

\**h<sub>2</sub>nek-*. The aorist ἐνεγκεῖν is most difficult. A basic form \**h<sub>1</sub>ne-h<sub>1</sub>nk-o-* would develop into ἐνεγκ- with shortening of the vowel by Osthoff’s Law; cf. Beekes MSS 38 (1979): 18ff. See LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. for further litt.

**ἐνεῖκαι** [v.] ‘to carry (off)’ <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>nek-* ‘take away’>

•VAR Aor. ind. ἤνεικα (Il.), also ἦνικα (Lesb. Dor.; partly = ἦνικα for ἤνεικα) subj. with short them. vowel ἐνίκει (Cyren.); sigmatic 3pl. εἵνιξαν (Boeot. for ἤνειξαν); aor. pass. ἐν(ε)ιχθῆναι, perf. med. ἐνήνειγμαι. Also συν-ενείκομαι (Hes. Sc. 440).

•COMP Also with prefix: ἀν-, ἀπ-, εἰσ-, ἐξ-, etc.

•ETYM Derived from ἐν-εῖκαι (related to ▶ ἴκω) by Frisk et al.; see also Chantraine 1942: 395. However, ἐνεῖκαι is discussed by Meier-Brügger KZ 100 (1987): 313–322. He concludes that ἐνεγκ- is the original form, and ἐνεικ- a secondary development, pointing out that nominal derivations are from ἐνεγκ-. The root is now reconstructed as \**h<sub>1</sub>nek-* ‘to take away’, and the Greek form reconstructed as a reduplicated aorist \**h<sub>1</sub>ne-h<sub>1</sub>nk-* > \**enēnk-*, in which the long vowel was shortened by Osthoff’s Law. On demarcation against \**h<sub>2</sub>nek-* ‘to reach’, see García Ramón 1999a: 47–80.

**ἐνεκα** [postp.] ‘because, because of’ (Il.), with gen. On the mg. in Hom. see Porzig 1942: 169; on the final -α cf. εἶτα: εἶτεν, ἔπειτα: ἔπειτε(v); ἐνεκον after ἐνδον et al.; by crossing ἐνεκο, -καν, see Schwyzler: 627, 406, Schwyzler 1950: 552. <?>

•VAR ἐνεκεν (especially postclassical); εἵνεκα, -κεν (Ion.), ἐννεκα (Aeol.; see below); Hell. also ἐνεκε, -κο(v), -καν.

•DIAL Myc. *e-ne-ka*.

•ETYM The analysis as ἐν-φεκα, related to ▶ ἐκών, etc., is refuted by the Mycenaean form. Note the interchange ἐν-, ἔν- (is ἐνν- hyperaeolic? or a metrical lengthening?). See Schwyzler: 228, Chantraine 1942: 161, and Bolling *Lang.* 30 (1954): 453f. The form οὔνεκα = ἐνεκα especially in Att. poets, by reanalysis of a preceding genitive in -ου: τοῦτοὔνεκα was conceived of as τοῦτου οὔνεκα (Schwyzler: 413). Since it is Mycenaean, there is no etymology; connection with \**h<sub>1</sub>nek-* has been suggested.

**ἐνελος** [m.] ‘young of the deer, fawn’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM From ἐνελος comes Lat. *inuleus* ‘young deer’ (WH s.v. *hinuleus* with lit.); further uncertain. Niedermann *IF Anz.* 18: 78f. thought it was a metathesized form of \*ἐλενος, related to ▶ ἔλλος, ▶ ἔλαφος.

**ἐννήκοντα** [num.] ‘ninety’ (B 602). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>neun-*>

•COMP On the η see ▶ ἑβδομήκοντα.

•DER *hevenhekonta* (Heracl.; like *hogdokonta* after *hebedemhekonta*), *enhekonta* (Delos, Phocis [III or II<sup>a</sup>]; probably haplological); uncertain *ēnnēkonta* (τ 174); innovation after ἐννέα, ἐννήμαρ, etc.; gen.pl. ἐννηκόντων (Chios; Aeolizing).

•ETYM Acc. to Kortlandt MSS 42 (1983): 99, a pre-form \**h<sub>1</sub>neun-dkomt-* regularly developed into \*ἐνεφνήκοντα, in which the -f- was lost at an early stage. See ▶ ἐννέα.

**ἐνεός** [adj.] ‘speechless, dumb, stupid’ (IA). <PG?>

•VAR Also ἐννεός.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἐνεο-στασίη ‘speechlessness’ (A. R. 3, 76).

•DER ἐνεότης 'dumbness' (Arist.).

•ETYM The form recalls κενός, but has no etymology. Acc. to Brugmann 1912: 1ff., it is related to εὖνις, etc.; this is correctly rejected by Kretschmer *Glotta* 6 (1915): 305. Fur.: 392 recalls νενός· εὐήθης 'meek, silly' (H.), and further νενήλος (also ἐνήλος), but does this prove Pre-Greek origin?

**ἐνερθε(ν)** [adv., prep.] '(from) below, below'. <IE \**ner-(ter-o-)* 'the lower one'>

•VAR Also νέρθε(ν) (Hom.), ἐνερθα (Dor. Lesb.).

•COMP Also ὑπ-, ἐπ-ἐνερθε(ν). See Lejeune 1939, especially 341ff.

•DER ἐνέροι 'those below, those below the earth', of the dead below the earth and the chthonic gods (Hom.), compar. ἐνέρτερος, νέρτερος 'below (the earth)' (Hom.), superl. ἐνέρτατος 'the lowest' (Emp.).

•ETYM Cf. the opposites ὑπερ-θε(ν), ὑπέρ-τερος, -τατος, from ►ὑπέρ; also, ὑπερον, ὑπέρα. A good formal agreement with νέρτερος is found in Italic: U *nertru* 'sinistro', Osc. *nertra-k* 'a sinistra'. It has been compared with further Gm. words for 'north', e.g. ON *norðr* [n.], which require zero grade: PGm. \**núrpra-*, IE \**nr-tro-*, with basic meaning 'region where the sun is below [the earth]', or 'left side of someone who turns to the east when praying'. Another formation in Arm. *ner-k'-in* 'the one below' (cf. *i ner'k'oy*, *i nerk'ust* '[from] below'). Also different is Skt. *naraka-* 'hell' (Wackernagel-Debrunner 1954: 150). Without consonantal suffix, there is ToB *ñor* 'below' < \**nēr-* (see Adams 1999). As Armenian has no \**e-*, this is probably a Greek innovation. Further, one connects Lith. *neriù*, *nefti* 'plunge, slip into', etc. (see ►δενδρύω); see also ►νειρός. The Gr. ἐ- may be compared with that of ἐκεῖ.

**ἐνετή** [f.] 'pin, brooch'. <IE \*(H)*ieh-* 'throw; make, do'>

•VAR ἐνετήρ, -ήρος [m.] 'clyster syringe'.

•ETYM Verbal noun of ἐν-ίημι; see ►ίημι.

**ἐνέωρα** [adv.] acc. to Baunack *Phil.* 65 (1906): 637f. 'in the air' (inscr. Milete), comparing μετέωρα (cf. ►μετέωρος). <GR>

•ETYM Hypostasis of ἀερ-?

**ἐνη** [f.] sc. ἡμέρα, only in adverbial expressions mg. 'the day after tomorrow'. <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eno-* 'that one'>

•VAR e.g. ἐς τ' αὐριον ἐς τε ἐνηφιν (Hes. *Op.* 410), with surprising hiatus; ἐνης, εἰς ἐνην, τῇ ἐνῃ (Att.), ἕνας (Theoc.), ἕναρ (Lacon.)· ἐς τρίτην 'on the third day', ἐπέναρ· εἰς τετάρτην. Λάκωνες 'on the fourth day (Lacon.)' (H.).

•ETYM Old pronoun, seen in ►ἐκεῖνος.

**ἐνηής** [adj.] 'mild, soft, benevolent' (*IG* 14, 1648: 8; metrical tomb inscription). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>eu-* 'enjoy, desire', or \**h<sub>2</sub>euH-* 'help, assist'>

•VAR Gen. and acc.sg. ἐνήςος, -έα (Hom., Hes.), nom.pl. -ήες, -έες (Opp.).

•DER ἐνηείη 'mildness, benevolence' (P 670, Opp.).

•ETYM Uncertain. Formations like ἐν-τελής (from τέλος) point to a second member \*ῥος, which can be PGr. \*ἄφος or \*ῥφος, the latter of which would differ only in ablaut from Skt. *ávas-*, Av. *auuah-* [n.] 'favor, benevolence, help' (\**h<sub>2</sub>euH-os-*), in which case ἐνήης would properly mean "having benevolence". However, it is rather

perhaps related to Lat. *aveō* 'be eager', Skt. *āvay-* 'consume', etc. with initial \*ā-. For the ablaut, it has been compared with ἄγος beside Skt. *āgas-* (from decomposition?). It has additionally been compared with ἄτης (s.v. ►ἄ'τῆς), from \*ἄ(f)ος with short α-.

**ἐνήνοθεν** ⇒ ἐνθεῖν.

**ἐνηρόσιον** [n.] 'rent on ploughed land' (Delos, Halic.; since IV<sup>a</sup>) <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-* 'plough'>

•VAR In the same mg. ἐναράτιον (Rhodos III<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Hellenistic technical term, hypostasized from ἐν ἀρότῳ or ἀράτῳ (cf. on Ἀράτυος) by means of a suffix -ιο-: "[rent] on the ploughed land"; the -η- is from compositional lengthening. Likewise, προ-ηρόσιός 'before the time of ploughing' (Hell.).

**ἐνθα** [adv.], demonstrative and relative 'there, here, where', first local, but secondarily also temporal; also 'to there, to here; where to' (on the use Hom. see Bolling *Lang.* 26 (1950): 371ff.); <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eno-* 'there'>

•VAR ἐνθεν 'from there, from where' (Il.). On the difference between ἐνθα and ἐνθεν see Lejeune 1939: 375ff.

•DER ἐνθά-δε 'to there, here', ἐνθέν-δε 'from here' (Il.); also ἐνθινός 'from here' (Megar.; cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 204), ἐνθάδιος· ἐντόπιος 'local' (H.). From crossing of ἐνθα and αὐτά (with elision or shortened from \*ἐνθαῦτα) arose Ion. ἐνθαῦτα (cf. τοῖα : τοιαῦτα); with transfer of aspiration after ἐν-θα, ἐν-θεν arose Att. ἐνταῦ-θα (and ἐντεῦ-θεν) 'there, (to) here' (since I 601; cf. Wackernagel 1916: 23; Att. inscr. also ἐνθαῦθα, -θοῖ); secondary loss of aspiration (after ν) in Arg. ἐντάδε, El. ἐνταῦτα. Ion. ἐνθεῦτεν, Att. ἐντεῦθεν 'from here, from there' (τ 568) is cross of ἐνθαῦτα and ἐνθεν (Wackernagel *IF* 14 (1903): 370'); different Schwyzler: 628': \*ἐνθαῦτα > \*ἐνθηῦτα > \*ἐνθευτα: ἐνθεῦτεν. After τοῦτο, etc. ἐντοῦθα (Cyeme, Oropos).

•ETYM No parallel formations in other languages. For ἐν-θεν, cf. πό-θεν, etc. An old suffix -θα is found in ►ἰθαγενής, but other material (Arm. *and* 'there', OIr. *and* 'there', Lat. *inde*, OCS *kъdu* 'from where?') is doubtful; see WH s.v. *inde* and *ēn*. It has been compared with the deictic element \**h<sub>2</sub>eno-*; see ►ἐνη.

**ἐνθεῖν** [v.] 'to come, go' (Dor., Delph., Arc). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>nedh-* 'come about'>

•VAR Aor. ind. ἦνθον, ptc. ἐνθών, etc. Compare the epic perf. and plpf. forms: ἀνήνοθεν (Λ 266), of αἶμα; ἐνήνοθεν (ρ 270), of κνίσση (v.l. ἀν-); ἐπ-ἐνήνοθε (B 219, K 134 of λάχνη; θ 365 of ἔλαιον), κατ-ἐνήνοθεν (Hes. *Sc.* 269 of κόνις; *h. Cer.* 279 of κόμην [pl.]), παρ-ἐνήνοθε (A. R. 1, 664 of μῆτις); the mg. is perhaps 'to bubble up, spring' or 'to spread out'.

•ETYM Since ἐνθεῖν is widespread in Doric, it is not from ἐλθεῖν (with a limited dialectal development λτ > ντ). There is no good verbal connection for ἐνθεῖν outside Greek. The forms ἐν-, ἀν-ήνοθε have been compared with ἐνθεῖν (ablaut ἐνεθ- : ἐνοθ- : ἐνθ-); ἀνήνοθεν could go back to \*ἀν-ἐνήνοθεν by haplology. Formally, we may reconstruct a root \**h<sub>2</sub>nedh-* 'to come about' vel sim. The Indo-Iranian group of Skt. *ádhvān-* 'road', OAv. *aduvan-* [m.] 'id.' < \**h<sub>2</sub>ndh-uen-* is

probably related. The connection with ON *ǫndurr* 'snowshoe' seems more dubious. Not related to ▶ ἄνθος.

ἐνθινός 1 ⇒ ἐνθα.

ἐνθινός 2 [adj.] 'godlike', ἐνορκόν τε ... καὶ ἐνθινον (Hierapytna, Crete). <GR>

•ETYM Contaminated from ἐνθεός (Cret. \*ἐνθιος) and θεῖνος (Cret. \*θι-ινος > θῖνος; built after ἀνθρώπινος). Cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 724.

ἐνθουσιάζω [v.] 'to be possessed by a god' (Pl., Hell.). <GR>

•VAR -ιάω (A., E.), aor. ἐνθουσιάσαι, -ᾶσαι.

•DER ἐνθουσιάζει (Pl., Ph.), ἐνθουσιασμός (Democr., Pl.), ἐνθουσία (Procl.; deverbally); ἐνθουσιαστικός 'possessed' (Pl., Arist.), -αστής 'somebody who is possessed' (Ptol.); ἐνθουσιώδης [adj.], -δῶς [adv.] 'possessed' (Hp.).

•ETYM From ἐνθεός, after the verbs in -σιάζω (θυσιάζω, etc.) and the verbs of illness in -ιάω (Osthoff *MU* 2 (1879): 38); on εο > ου, see Schwyzler: 251. On ἐνθεός, properly "in whom is a god", see Schwyzler: 429 and 435 and Strömberg 1946: 115.

ἐνθύσκει [v.] · ἐντυγχάνει 'meets with'; ἀποθύ<σ>κειν· ἀποτυγχάνειν 'to miss'; συνθύξω· συναντήσω 'I shall meet with' (H.). <IE \*d<sup>h</sup>eug<sup>h</sup>- 'fit'>

•ETYM From \*θύχ-σκ-ει to τυχεῖν (see ▶ τυγχάνω). See Schwyzler: 708; doubts in Brugmann *IF* 9 (1898): 348<sup>1</sup>.

ἐνι ⇒ ἐν.

ἐνιαυτός [m.] 'anniversary, year' (Il.; Risch *Mus. Helv.* 3 (1946): 254). <?>

•DER ἐνιαύσιος, Delph. Coan -τιος '(one) year, a year-long, every year' (π 454), ἐνιαυσιαῖος 'a year long' (Arist.; see Chantraine 1933: 49); denominative verb ἐνιαυτίζομαι, -ίζω 'pass a year' (Pl. Com.).

•ETYM A new expression for 'year', properly 'anniversary' (cf. Bechtel 1914 s.v.). For the formation, cf. κωνι-ορ-τός, βου-λυ-τός, etc. (Schwyzler: 501); it seems to contain a word ἔνος 'year' (H., Sch. Theoc. 7, 147), seen in several compounds: δίενος 'two years old' (Thphr.), ἐπτάενον· ἐπταετή H., τετράενος (Call.); as an s-stem, in τετράενες [n.] (Theocr. 7, 147), ὕπενες· εἰς τετάρτην H.; see also ▶ ἥνις. The same word also perhaps occurs in Baltic and Gm., e.g. as a second element in Lith. *pér-nai* 'last year' (\**per-h<sub>1</sub>n-*, with acute from the laryngeal), perhaps in Ru. *loní* < \**ol-ni* 'of the past year', Go. *fram fair-nin jera* 'from the past year'. The second member seems to contain *iaúw*, either the present-stem ἐν-ιαυ-τός (Meillet *MSL* 23 (1923): 274f.) or the verbal root (cf. κωνι-ορ-τός, etc. above), in which case -ι- would be a compositional vowel: ἐν-ι-αυ-τός (Schwyzler: 424<sup>5</sup>, 448). This is hardly probable; neither are the semantics ("pause of the year?") evident. Acc. to Brugmann *IF* 15 (1903-1904): 87ff., Brugmann *IF* 1 (1892): 319f.), and many others, it belongs to ἐνιαύω as \*Rast-, Ruhestation der Sonne, Jahreswende"; a to-formation from a present would, however, be remarkable.

ἐνιοί [adj.] 'some, a few'. <IE? \**h<sub>1</sub>eno-* 'that'>

•DER ἐνίοτε 'sometimes', ἐνιαχῆ, -οῦ 'in some places, sometimes', originally Ionic words (only in prose), that were taken up in Attic; late Dorianizing reshaping ἐνίοκα (Archyt.), also ἐνιάκις 'sometimes' (Sor.; after πολλάκις, etc.).

•ETYM Uncertain. The explanation by Ebel (*KZ* 5, 70f., taken over by Schwyzler 614), starting from ἐνι οἱ, ἐνι ὅτε = ἔστιν οἱ, ἔσθ' ὅτε, must be given up: ἐνι in the function 'is, are' is ascertained only since V-VI<sup>p</sup> (see ▶ ἐν). The best solution seems to be the hypothesis of Benfey, further advocated by Wackernagel 1907: 6, assuming ἐν 'one' (like HG *einige* to *eins* and MoE *some* to \**sem*); the psilosis would be Ionic. For the ending, cf. μύριοι, χίλιοι; then ἐνίοτε, ἐνιαχῆ, -οῦ would be formed after ὅτε, πότε, πολλαχῆ, -οῦ, etc. Improbably, Brugmann *IF* 28 (1911): 355ff. connects it with the demonstrative \*ἐνος in ἐνη 'the third day', ἐκεῖνος, etc.

ἐνίπῃ [f.] 'reproach, menace, threat' (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>1</sub>eni-h<sub>2</sub>k<sup>w</sup>-* 'reproach'>

•DER Beside it the yod-present ἐνίσσω, aor. ἐνένιπον, ἠνίπαπον (Schwyzler: 648 and 748, Chantraine 1942: 398), new present ἐνίπτω (Il.; ἐνίπτω also A. Ag. 590, cf. on ▶ ἐννέπω) 'reproach, revile'; lengthened present ἐνιπτάζω (A. R.). Here also the river name Ἐνιπεύς (Hdt.) as "rager" (Boßhardt apud Frisk)?

•ETYM As a verbal noun of ἐνίσσω, ἐνίπῃ must have had a labiovelar \**k<sup>w</sup>*. Brugmann connected it with ▶ ὀπιπεύω, Skt. *īksate* 'see', etc. (root \**h<sub>3</sub>k<sup>w</sup>-* 'see'), which he substantiated (*IF* 12, 31) by referring to ὅπας 'reverential look', also 'retribution, punishment'. Likewise, Porzig 1942: 228: ἐνιπῃ as 'malign look'. Brugmann further connected it (in a rather unclear way) with ἵψαο, ἵπεται (see ▶ ἵπτομαι) 'to oppress, punish' vel sim. This in turn has been connected with ▶ ἰάπτω 'shoot, hurt, etc.' < \**h<sub>2</sub>i-h<sub>2</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>-je/o-*; thence ἵπτομαι from \**h<sub>2</sub>i-h<sub>2</sub>k<sup>w</sup>-* (Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 282ff; Kuiper *MKNW* 14: 5 (1951): 25<sup>1</sup>), and ἐνι-πῃ from \**h<sub>1</sub>eni-h<sub>2</sub>k<sup>w</sup>-*.

ἐννέα [num.] 'nine' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>n(e)un* 'nine'>

•VAR Also ἐννέα (Heracl.; after ἐπτά, ὀκτώ), ἐννῆ or -ή (Delph., Cyren., etc.; cf. Fraenkel *Glotta* 20 (1932): 88).

•COMP As a first member beside ἐννεα- (e.g. Hom. ἐννεά-βοῖος) also older ἐνα-, Ion. εἰνα-, e.g. Hom. εἰνά-ετες [adv.] 'nine years long', εἰνά-νυχες 'nine nights long', ἐνα-κόσιοι (εἰνα-) 'nine hundred'.

•DER In derivatives: ἔνα-τος 'the ninth', Ion. εἴνατος, Argiv. Cret. ἡνατος, Aeol. ἔνοτος; εἰνάς [f.] 'the ninth day' (Hes. *Op.* 810) beside ἐννεάς 'set of nine' (Theoc.); ἐνάκις (εἰ-) 'nine times' et al.; but ἐννῆμαρ 'nine days long' (A 53), see Sommer 1950: 28f., 33 with details, e.g. Boeot. ἐνακηδεκάτη and ἐνναετήρω (Hes. *Op.* 436). On ▶ ἐνενήκοντα, see s.v.; on ἔνατος cf. δέκατος s.v. ▶ δέκα.

•ETYM The Greek form exists beside Skt. *náva*, Lat. *novem* (with -m after *decem*, *septem*), Go. *niun*, Lith. *devyni*, OCS *devetb* (with *d-* by dissimilation from -n- or after *děsimt*, *desetb*), etc., all from IE \**h<sub>1</sub>neun*. The \**h<sub>1</sub>-* is reconstructed because both Gr. ἐννέ(φ)α, \*ἐνφα- (\**h<sub>1</sub>neun*, whence εἰνα-, ἐνα-, etc.) and Arm. *inn* (= *inən*, disyllabic) show forms with initial vowel. Thrac. *enea* is unclear (von Blumenthal *IF* 51 (1933): 115). A special problem is presented by the geminate in ἐννέα. Acc. to Ward *Lang.* 24 (1948): 50ff., it was caused by the syllable length in ἐπτά, ὀκτώ (improbable); acc. to Sommer 1950: 27, \*ἐν|φα- changed \*ἐ|νέφα to \*ἐν||νέφα (which



is improbable). Differently, Wackernagel KZ 28 (1887): 132ff.; see Schwyzler: 591. Connection with ► νέος 'new' is impossible in view of the \*h<sub>1</sub>-. Incorrectly, Szemerényi 1964: 107-118 (who does not accept the laryngeal).

ἐν(ν)έπω [v.] 'to say, recount, announce' (Il.). On the mg. Fournier 1946: 47f. ◀ IE \*sek<sup>w</sup>- 'say' ►

•VAR Aor. ἐνισπεῖν, ipv. pl. ἔσπετε (epic), fut. ἐνισπήσω (ε 98), ἐνίψω (H 447; for \*ἐνέψω? Chantraine 1942: 443), new present ἐνίπτω (Pi. P. 4, 201; cf. s.v. ► ἐνίπῃ).

•COMP Also with preverb: ἐξ-, προσ-, παρ-, etc.

•DER ► ἄσπετος; also ► θεσπέσιος, ► θέσπις. Note προσ-εψία (cod. -ιά; leg. -ις?)· προσαγόρευσις 'greeting' (H.). On ► ἐνοπή, see s.v.

•ETYM The imperative ἔννεπε is identical with Lat. *inseque, insece* 'say, recount' (with *inquam, inquit*); -vv- in this form is attributable to metrical lengthening (Solmsen 1901: 35, Chantraine 1942: 100f.), or rather to Aeolic assimilation from -vσ- (e.g. Schulze 1892: 128 A. 2, 173 and Lejeune 1972: 128; also, Schwyzler: 300)? The zero grade of (σ)επ- (IE \*sek<sup>w</sup>-) is found in the aorist ἐνι-σπ-εῖν (ipv. ἔσπετε < \*ἔν-σπ-ετε). On the preverb ἐν-, see Chantraine RPh. 68: 117 and Schwyzler 1950: 457. A verbal noun appears in OIr. *insce* 'discourse' < IE \*en(i)-sk<sup>w</sup>-iā; Celtic has other forms like OW *hepp* 'inquit'. In Lith., there is only dialectal *sekiū, sėkti* 'say', but otherwise this formation was replaced in Balto-Slavic by Lith. *sakaiū, -yti* 'say', Ru. *sočít* 'indicate' < caus. \*sok<sup>w</sup>-eie-, which is also found in Gm., e.g. ON *segja*, OS *seggian*, etc., PGm. pres. \*sagje- < IE \*sok<sup>w</sup>-éie-. OHG *sagēn* is an innovation. The future ἐνίψω arose from \*h<sub>1</sub>eni-sk<sup>w</sup>-s-ō, with dissimilation of the first s (not from \*ἐνέψω, which is not authentic); see Waack-Erdmann MSS 41 (1982): 199-204.

ἐννεσίαι [pl.] 'counsels, plans' (Il.), only dat. -ησι(ν) (E 894) except A. R. 3, 1364 (gen. -άων). ◀ IE \*Hieh<sub>1</sub>- 'send, throw; make, do' ►

•ETYM Prop. 'inspirations' ('in-givings'), from ἐν-ίημι with metrically necessary double -v- (Chantraine 1942: 100). On the suffix -σίη (instead of -σις), see Schwyzler: 469, Risch 1937: 124, and Porzig 1942: 99. Likewise, ἐξεσίη (Hom.) 'sending out, message', from ἐξ-ίημι. See ► ἴημι.

ἐννότιος [adj.] 'humid' (Call. Fr. 350). ◀ GR ►

•ETYM Acc. to Leumann 1950: 51f., the form arose by false division from Λ 811 κατὰ δὲ ννότιος ῥένιν ἰδρῶς. However, other explanations are possible: that it is a cross of νότιος and ἐν-υγρός vel sim.; or a bahuvrīhi of ἐν and νοτία, on which see Strömberg 1946: 124.

ἐννυμι [v.] 'to clothe, dress (oneself)' (Il.). ◀ IE \*ues- 'cloth' ►

•VAR Med. -μαι; Ion. εἴνυμι, -μαι, impf. κατα-εἴνυον Ψ 135 (v.l. -νυσαν, -λυον; cf. εἰλύω), aor. ἔσ(σ)αι, -ασθαι, fut. ἔσ(σ)ω, -ομαι, Att. ἀμφιώ, -οῦμαι, perf. med. εἶμαι, ἔσσαι, εἶται or ἔσται, εἰμένος, plpf. ἔστο, ἔεστο (Il.; cf. below), Att. ἡμφίεομαι, ἡμφιεσμένος, poet. ἀμφεμμένος, aor. pass. ptc. ἀμφιεσθεῖς (Hdn.).

•COMP Often with preverb, especially ἀμφι- (always in Attic); also ἐπι-, κατα-, περι-, ἀπαμφι-, etc. New presents: ἀμφι-έζω, ► ἀμφιάζω.

•DER ► ἑάνός name of a woman's cloth s.v.; εἵματα [pl.] (rarely sing.) 'clothes, cover' (Il.), Aeol. (f.) ἑμματα (γέμματα· ἱμάτια 'clothes' H.), Cret. φῆμα (γῆμα· ἱμάτιον H.), also φῆμας [gen.sg.] to φῆμᾱ [f.] (cf. γνώμα ~ γνώμη et al.); often as a second member, e.g. εὐ-, κακο-εἰμων. Diminutive εἰμάτια [pl.], Att. ► ἱμάτιον, often plur. -ια, with ἱματίδιον, -ιδάριον, ἱματίζω, ἱματισμός, etc. Further ἔσθος [n.] 'clothes, dress' (Ω 94, Ar. [lyrical and Dor.]), formation like ἄχθος, πλήθος, etc. (Schwyzler: 511, Benveniste 1935: 199); denominative perfect ἡσθίμαι, mostly in ptc. ἡσθιμένος (ἐ-) 'clothed' (Ion.) with ἑσθήματα [pl.] 'clothes' (trag., Th.), ἑσθήσεις 'id.' (Ath.); cf. Fraenkel 1910: 106f. More usual than ἔσθος is ἑσθής (Pi. ἑσθάς), -ῆτος [f.] 'id.' (Od.); attempts at an explanation by Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 527, Schwyzler IF 30 (1912): 443; lengthened dat.pl. ἑσθήσει (Hell.). γέστρα (= φέστρα; cod. γεστία, see below)· ἑνδυσίς, στολή, ἱμάτια 'putting on, apparel, clothes' (H.); see Latte; to ἐφ- resp. ἀμφι-έννυμι: ἐφεστρίς [f.] 'upper garment, coat' (X.), ἀμφι-εστρίς [f.] 'coat, sleeping garment' (Poll.); on the formation Schwyzler: 465, Chantraine 1933: 338. From ἀμφι-έννυμι further ἀμφίεσμα (IA), -ίσις (sch.), -ίεσμός (D. H. 8, 62; v.l. -ιασμός, from ► ἀμφιάζω).

•ETYM The present ἑννυμι, εἴνυμι < \*φέσ-νυ-μι (Att. -vv- from restored -σν-; Schwyzler: 284, 312, 322, Lejeune 1972: 123) is identical with Arm. *z-genum* 'to put on' (aor. *z-gec'ay*, med.). Beside this *nu*-present, there is also an athematic root present in Indo-Iranian and Hittite: Skt. *vás-te* 'clothes himself', Hitt. impv.act. 2pl. *ueš-ten*, ind.pres.med. 3sg. *ueš-ta*. Exactly parallel are the Greek perfect forms 1sg. εἶμαι < \*φέσ-μαι (to which belongs analogical 3sg. εἶται), 2sg. ἔσ-σαι (Od.), 3sg. ἐπί-εσται (Hdt. 1, 47 = Skt. *vás-te*); these are perhaps reinterpreted old presents (cf. ptc. εἰμένος); see Chantraine 1942: 297, Schwyzler: 767. For the Greek σ-aorist, cf. ToB pret. *wässāte* 'he put on'. The nominal derivatives could be old: ἑάνός [m.]; Skt. *vás-ana-* [n.] 'cloth'; εἶμα = Skt. *vás-man-* [n.] 'cloth'; φέστρα : Skt. *vás-tra-* [n.] 'id.', MHG *wes-ter* 'christening dress'. Except for uncertain γεστία (see above), Greek does not have the normal derivative in -t- seen in Lat. *ves-ti-s*, Arm. *zges-t* (*u*-stem), Go. *wasti*. The idea that IE \*ues- 'dress, wear' is a derivative of \*h<sub>1</sub>eu- 'put on', seen in Lat. *ind-uō*, etc., is impossible because of the initial \*h<sub>1</sub>-.

ἐνόπαι [f.pl.] 'ear pendant' (S. Fr. 54). ◀ GR ►

•ETYM Hypostasis from ἐν ὀπαῖς, properly 'in the holes'; in the same meaning, διόπαι (Attica, Ar.), from δι' ὀπῶν '(fitted) through the holes'. With oppositive accent, δι-οπος 'with two holes' (Epid., Ath.), a bahuvrīhi. See further ► μετόπη and ► ὀπή.

ἐνοπή [f.] 'cry, battle cry, sound(s), voice(s)' (Il.; on the mg. Trümper 1950: 154f., but hardly all correct). ◀ IE \*sek<sup>w</sup>- 'say' or \*uek<sup>w</sup>- 'speak' ►

•ETYM A connection with ἐν(ν)έπω 'say' (cf. Schwyzler: 460) is perhaps better than that with ► ἔπος, etc. as \*ἐν-φοπ-ή (Brugmann KZ 25 (1881): 306<sup>2</sup>) for semantic reasons; however, DELG holds that a connection with ἐννέπω is impossible, and prefers the other etymology. This presupposes a verb with ἐν-; cf. Lat. *in-vocō*, OPr. *en-wackēmai* 'we invoke'. Cf. Porzig 1942: 251.

ἐνοργείας [f.]· τὰς νεοσσεῖας. Κρήτες 'breedings, nestlings (Cret.)' (H.). ◀ GR ►

•ETYM Acc. to Bechtel 1921, 2: 784 (who writes ἐνοργία), it is abstracted from ἐνοργος 'who is ἐν ὄργῃ, i.e. in the rutting season'. See ▶ ὄργῃ.

ἐνος [adj.] 'old' as opposed to 'new', only in fixed expressions about fruits and officials of the past year, also of the last day of the preceding month, indicating the new period (Hes.; ἐνὶ the first day of the month, with Ion. psilosis?); in the last sense mostly ἐνὶ καὶ νέα (sc. σελήνῃ; Att. since Solon). <IE \*seno- 'old'>

•ETYM The common IE word for 'old', \*sénos, is still found in most branches, in opposition to 'new': Gr. ἐνος, Arm. *hin*, Skt. *sána-*, Lith. *sėnas*, OIr. *sen*; here also ON *sina* [f.] 'withered grass of last year' (cf. ἐνος βλαστός, etc.). Some languages also use it in opposition to 'young': thus e.g. Celtic and Lithuanian, but also Gm., e.g. Go. *sineigs* 'πρεσβύτερος', as well as Iranian, Av. *hana-* 'old, grey'; nevertheless, Skt. *sána-* is not used in this way. The latter meaning became dominant in Italic: Lat. *senex*, Osc. *senateis* 'senātūs'. In the Eastern languages, \*sénos was replaced in this meaning by derivatives from the root of ▶ γέρων. Cf. Porzig 1954b: 343ff.

ἐνοσις [f.] 'shaking, quake' (Hes., E. [lyr.]). <?>

•DIAL Myc. *e-ne-si-da-o-ne*, with a difficult *-e-*.

•COMP As a first member in the epic compounds ἐνοσί-χθων, ἐννοσί-γαιος 'earth-shaker', epithets of Poseidon; in the same mg. ἐννοσίδης (Pi.; with δα- in Δα-μάτηρ (see Δημήτηρ and von Wilamowitz 1931: 203); after this εἰνοσί-φυλλος 'shaking off foliage' (Hom.; ἐνν-, εἰν- with metrical lengthening; cf. Chantraine 1942: 100); cf. Knecht 1946: 26.

•DER ἐνοσιζεται· τρέμει, σείεται 'tremble, shake' (Cyr.).

•ETYM Uncertain. The explanation as \*ἐν-φοθ-τις from ▶ ὠθέω (see also ▶ ἔθων, ▶ ἔθειρα) by Pott, followed by many scholars, meets with several objections: the sequence -θ-τ- should have given -στ- (cf. e.g. πύσ-τις beside πεῦ-σις); the *o*-grade as in ἄ-φρων: φρήν is not expected in a τι-derivative (and refuted by Mycenaean anyway); finally, a prefix ἐν- is not well explained ('bump against?'). If ἐνοσις is indeed a primary τι-derivative (cf. Holt 1941: 94f.), we would rather expect a formation like ἄρο-σις; however, ἐνοσις may have been derived from the compounds. Incorrectly, Janda 1999: 183-203 (followed by Stüber 2002: 88), who assumes a root \**h<sub>1</sub>en<sub>h<sub>3</sub></sub>*- 'to move', with which he connects Skt. *ánas*, Lat. *onus* 'burden'. However, no such root is attested: the Lat. *o*-grade points to \**h<sub>3</sub>en-* and the apparent lack of Brugmann in Skt. is explained by Lubotsky 1990: 132. Kloekhorst 2008: now connects *ani<sub>je</sub>/a<sup>-2i</sup>* 'work, produce, etc.' with these words as \**h<sub>3</sub>n-ie/o-*. Finally, the root meaning of \**h<sub>3</sub>en-* would rather be 'carry on a cart or an animal', which does not seem adequate for Greek; neither does it solve the problem posed by Mycenaean. Thus, the Greek words remain without etymology.

ἐνοσχερώ ⇒ ἐπισχερώ.

ἐνταῦθα •VAR ἐντεῦθεν. ⇒ ἐνθα.

ἐντε ⇒ ἔστε.

ἐντεα [n.pl.] 'equipment', especially 'defensive weapons' (Il.; cf. Trümper 1950: 79ff.). <?>

•VAR ἐντος [sg.] (Archil. 6).

•COMP As a first member in ἐντεσι-μήστωρ (also ἐντεο-)· ἔμπειρος ὅπλων 'experienced with tools/weapons' (H.), further in ἐντεσι-εργούς [acc.pl.] 'working harnessed'(?), epithet of ἡμιόνους (Ω 277).

•ETYM Beside ἐντεα, there is ἐντύνω, -ομαι, ἐντύω, aor. ἐντύναι 'to equip, prepare' (Il.). As it recalls ἀρτύ(ν)ω, it may have been built after this verb (Porzig 1942: 338). A basic noun \*ἐντύς could be assumed. Connection with ▶ ἄνυμι, ἀνύω is impossible (see Frisk). Compare ▶ ἐναρα and ▶ αὐθέντης (on the psilosis, see Chantraine 1942: 186).

ἐντελέχεια [f.] philosophical notion created by Aristotle, 'completion, fullness' (opposed to δύναμις). <GR?>

•ETYM Compound from ἐντελὲς ἔχειν (cf. συνέχεια, νουνέχεια, etc.), hardly from the rare and doubtful ἐντελεχής; the resemblance to ἐνδελεχής, -εια has led to mistakes in the mss.

ἐντερα [n.pl.] 'intestines, bowels', also sing. 'gut' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>entero-* 'inside part'>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἐντερο-κλήη 'breach of the intestines, hernia' (Dsc., Gal.; see Risch IF 59 (1949): 285, Strömberg 1944: 69).

•DER Diminutive ἐντερίδια (Com.); also ἐντέριον (M. Ant. 6, 13?; form and mg. uncertain); ἐντεριώνη 'inside of a fruit, heartwood of a plant or tree' (Hp., Thphr.; Strömberg 1937: 127f.); formation like ἱασιώνη, εἰρεσιώνη (Chantraine 1933: 208); ἐντερόνεια (Ar. Eq. 1185) mg. unclear; acc. to H. and Suid. = ἐντεριώνη 'innermost part'; adjectives ἐντερικός 'of the ἐ.' (Arist.), ἐντέρινος 'made from bowels' (sch.); denominative verb ἐντερεύω 'gut fishes' (Com.).

•ETYM Old word for intestines, identical with Arm. *ander-k'* [pl.], *-ac'* [gen.pl.] and with ON *iðrar* [pl.] < PGM. \**inþerōz*. Hübschmann 1897: 447f. suggested that the Arm. word was borrowed from Greek. The original adjectival meaning is preserved in Skt. *ántara-*, Av. *antara-* 'being inside', with Osc. *Entraí* [dat.sg.] \*'Interae', name of a goddess; in Latin, it was replaced by *interior*. IE \**h<sub>1</sub>enter-o* is an adjective derived from an adverb \**enter*, preserved in Skt. *antár* 'inside', Lat. *inter* 'between'. Besides OHG *untar*, there is also Osc. *anter* 'under' = 'amongst' from the zero grade \**h<sub>1</sub>nter*. At the basis is the adverb \**h<sub>1</sub>en* (see ▶ ἐν) with the comparative suffix *-ter*; see Benveniste 1948: 120f.

ἐντολή ⇒ τέλλω 1.

ἐντος [n.] ⇒ ἐντεα.

ἐντός [adv.] and [prep.] 'inside' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>en-tos* '(from) inside'>

•DER ἐντοσθε(ν), rare ἐντοθεν (after ἐνδοθεν, ἔκτοθεν, etc.) '(from) inside' (epic Ion., Il.) with ἐντόσθια and ἐντοσθίδια [n.pl.] 'intestines' (Hp., Arist.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 39), with the adjective ἐντόσθιος, -ίδιος 'of the intestines' (medic.); cf. below. Compar. ἐντότερος 'inner' (LXX).

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *intus* '(from) inside'; IE formation in *-tos* (e.g. Skt. *i-táh* 'from here', Lat. *peni-tus* '[from] inside') from the adverb *\*h<sub>1</sub>en*; see ► *ἐν*. Cf. also ► *ἐκτός*. *ἐντόσθια* is not (as per Vendryes *REGr.* 23 (1910): 74) from *\*ἐντόστια* (after *ἐντοσθε*) = Skt. *antastya-* [n.] 'intestines'; the word belongs to Skt. *antár* 'inside' (see ► *ἐντερον*) with regular replacement of *-r* by *-s-* in sandhi before the suffix *-tya-*.

**ἐντροπαλίζομαι** [v.] 'to turn around (often), turn back' (Il.). <IE *\*trep-* 'turn'>

•VAR Only ptc. *-όμενος*. In the same mg. also *μετατροπαλίζω* [impv.med.] (Y 190).  
•ETYM Expressive formation from *τροπέομαι*, *τρέπομαι*, modelled on these like *στροφαλίζω* on *στροφέω*, *στρέφω* and *κροταλίζω* on *κροτέω*. The original starting point was a noun in *-αλ(ο-)*; cf. *κρόταλον*, *στροφάλιγξ*. Chantraine 1942: 340. An adjective *ἐντροπαλός* 'shameful, afraid' is attested in MoGr.; cf. Schwyzler: 32. Differently, Bechtel 1914: 318f.

**ἐντυβον** [n.] 'andive' (Gp.). <LW Lat. (Sem.)>

•VAR *ἵτυβος* (Edict. Diocl.); *ἵντυβος* (Ps. Dsc.).  
•ETYM The Latin word seems to be a loan from Semitic (see André 1956: 170, Hiltbrunner 1958: 174-177, and Hiltbrunner *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* 197 (1960): 22f.).

**ἐντύνω** •VAR *ἐντύω*. ⇒ *ἐντεα*.

**ἐντυπάς** [adv.] uncertain, but probably 'wrapped in' (Ω 163 ὁ δ' ἐν μέσσοισι γεραιὸς || *ἐντυπάς ἐν χλαίνῃ κεκαλυμμένος*; later A. R., Q. S.). <IE? *\*tup-* 'squat'?>

•DER *ἐντυπαδία* H; *ἐντετύπασται* 'is wrapped (in)' (BSA 16, 107 [Psidia]).  
•ETYM The meaning was already uncertain in antiquity, as appears from the explanations in Hesychius: *ἐντυπάς* *ἐντετυπωμένος*, *ἐγκεκαλυμμένος τὸ πρόσωπον τῷ ἱματίῳ, τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων πρὸ τοῦ προσώπου*. ἢ *κεκυφώς* 'formed, molded. With the face wrapped in the mantle, holding the hand before the face. Or with the head down (in shame)'. Mostly (with the schol.) connected with ► *τύπτω*, *τύπος* and taken as 'well enveloped in', i.e. in such a way that the outline of the bodily members and the head could be distinguished. Taken by Kurschat *apud* Prellwitz as 'squatting', related to Lith. *tūpti*, *tupėti* 'id.'. On the adverbs in *-ας*, see Schwyzler: 631 and Chantraine 1942: 251.

**ἐνψδιον** 'earring' (Att. inscr. since 399<sup>a</sup>; Meisterhans 1900: 65 and 79), often dual (Schwyzler 1950: 47).

•ETYM Hypostatic diminutive formation from *\*ἐν-ου(σ)-ιδιον*, with transfer of the *ω* from *ὦτα*, etc. (Wackernagel *Phil. Anz.* 15 (1885): 199ff.; see also Schulze 1892: 38<sup>1</sup>). Since Hellenistic times, it has instead been *ἐνώτιον*, fully adapted to *ὦτα* (inscr. Delos 279<sup>a</sup>, etc.) with the new diminutive *ἐνωτίδιον* (inscr. Delos, Tanagra); further, *ἐνωτάριον* after *ὠτάριον* (H. s.v. *βοτρυδία*). Beside it exists a formation in *-άδιον* in *ἐξωβάδια· ἐνώτια*. Λάκωνες (H.), from *\*ἐξ-ωυη-άδια*; cf. Schwyzler: 520). See ► *οὔς*.

**ἐνώπα** [adv.] 'in the face, openly; against' with gen. (O 320, Orph. *L.*, Epigr.). Univerbation of *ἐν ὦπα*, cf. ► *ἐναντα* and Schwyzler: 619. <IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>-* 'eye'>

•VAR Only in *κατενώπα* (κατ' ἐνώπα, κατένωπα).

•DER *ἐνώπα-δίως* 'face to face, in the flesh' (ψ 94), *-δῖς* (A. R. 4, 351), *-δόν* (Q. S. 2, 84) 'id.'.

•ETYM The form *ἐνώπιος* 'in the face, visible' arose by hypostasis, mostly in its neuter form *ἐνώπιον* as an adverb and preposition (with gen.) 'in person, face to face' (Hell.), *κατενώπιον* 'id.' (Hell.). Additionally, there is *ἐνώπια* [n.pl.] 'front wall, outside wall, front of a house' (Hom.), also in sing. (Delos II<sup>a</sup>); 'face' (A. *Supp.* 146 [lyr.]). The form *ἐνωπῇ* 'in the face, openly' (E 374), an isolated dative, is from *ἐνωπῇ* 'look, face' (only in *ἐνωπῆς γλήνεα* Nic. *Th.* 227; simplex *ὠπῇ* A. R.), if not a reformation of *ἐνώπα* after the adverbial datives in *-ῇ* (σπουδῇ, etc.; Schwyzler: 622); cf. Chantraine 1942: 249. See ► *ᾠψ*, and cf. ► *πρόσωπον* and ► *μέτωπον*.

**ἐνώτιον** ⇒ *ἐνψδιον*.

**ἐξ** [adv., prev., prep.] 'out' (Il.). Details in Schwyzler 1950: 461ff. <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ek<sup>h</sup>-s* 'out' (or *\*h<sub>2</sub>ek-s*)>

•VAR Before consonant *ἐκ* (ἐγ, ἐχ), dialectally *ἐς* (Boeot. always *ἐ(σ)ς*).  
•DER *ἐξω* [adv., prep. with gen.] 'outside' (cf. *ἄνω*, *εἰς*); thence *ἐξωθεν* 'from outside' (IA), etc. Variants: *ἐξεῖ· ἐξω* (H.) with locative ending, Cret. *ἐξοι*, Delph. *ἐξος*; on *ἐξουθα*, *ἐξεσα* see Lejeune 1939: 329, 355. Cf. ► *ἐχθός* (Locr., Delphi) from *ἐξ*.  
•ETYM Exact agreements with *ἐξ* are found in Italic and Celtic, e.g. Lat. *ex* (*ē*, *ec-*), MW *ex-*, OIr. *ess-*; further, in Baltic and Slavic forms with unclear *i-*, e.g. Lith. *iš*, *iž*, OCS *is*, *iz*; doubtfully, Arm. *i*, *y-* 'out, from' (beside *i*, *y-* 'in'). Because of the aspirates in *ἔσχατος*, *ἐχθός* (= *ἐκτός*), etc., one has posited an IE pre-form *\*h<sub>2</sub>ek<sup>h</sup>-s* instead of *\*h<sub>2</sub>ek-s*. This assumption is unnecessary for ► *ἐχθός*, but seems unavoidable for ► *ἔσχατος*. Cf. also ► *ἐχθρός*.

**ἐξ** [num.] 'six'. <IE *\*sueks* 'six'>

•DIAL Myc. *we-pe-za* /<sup>h</sup>*wekspeza*/, see Viredaz *SMEA* 23 (1982): 310-313; Dor., etc. *φέξ*.  
•COMP As a first member, beside rare *ἐξ-*, *ἐκ-*, usually *ἐξά-* (*ἐξά-μετρος*, *ἐξά-κόσιοι*, etc.) after *έπτα-*, *τετρα-*; *ἐξή-κοντα* after *πεντή-κοντα*; on second members *-κοντα* and *-κόσιοι* see on ► *διᾱκόσιοι*.  
•DER *ἐξίτης* (scil. *βόλος*) 'throw of six in the game of dice' (Epigr., Poll.); *ἐξᾱς*, *-ᾱντος* [m.] (Sicil.) formed after Lat. *sextans*, together with *ἐξάντιον* (Epich.). Ordinal *ἕκτος*, Cret. *φέκτος*; adverb *ἐξάκις* (after *πολλάκις*, etc.); collective *ἐξᾱς* [f.] 'number of six' (Ph.) with *ἐξαδικός*.  
•ETYM The IE numeral 'six' has two variants: Lat. *sex*, Germ., e.g. Go. *saihs*, Lith. *šeš-*, OCS *šes-tъ*, Alb. *gjash-të*, ToA *šāk* seem to go back to IE *\*seks*. On the other hand, Gr. *φέξ*, Arm. *vec'*, Celt., e.g. MW *chwech*, Skt. *śaṣ-*, Av. *xšuuas* point to *\*sueks*. However, although some details remain unclear, the form with *-u-* is certainly original, while the loss of *-u-* may have been triggered by 'seven', *\*septm*. Gr. *ἐξ* (Dor. *φέξ*) continues *\*sueks* with loss of the digamma or the aspiration; on Boeot. *ἐξ* (beside *φικαστή*), see Schwyzler: 226.

The ordinal *ἕκτος*, *φέκτος* is probably from *\*suek-to-s*, as *\*sueks-to-s* would give *\*\*χθ-*. An original sequence *\*-kt-* also seems necessary for certain Germanic forms, OHG *sehto* (beside *sehsto*), ON *setti*. Other forms, however, show *-s-*: Lat. *sextus*, Go. *saihssta*, ToA *šākšt*. Yet other forms are ambiguous: Skt. *śaṣṭhá-*, Lith. *šēštas*, OCS

šestw; note Gaul. *suexos*. On unclear ξέστριξ κριθή· ἡ ἔξαστιχος. Κνίδιοι H., see Schwyzler: 269, 590. See Lubotsky 2000b on the Ilr. and IE reconstruction.

ἔξαιτος ⇒ αἶνυμαι.

ἔξαιφνης ⇒ ἐξαπίνης.

ἔξαλος [adj.] 'out of the sea, far from the sea' (λ 134 = ψ 281), weakly attested v.l. for ἔξάλος; also Emp. 117 (ἰχθύς; from ἐξάλλομαι?) and Hell. <GR>

•ETYM Hypostasis of ἔξάλος. Hardly correctly, Leumann 1950: 55<sup>24</sup>.

ἐξάντης ⇒ ἄντα.

ἐξαπίνης [adv.] 'suddenly' (Il.). <PG>

•VAR Dor. -ās; Hell. ἐξάπινᾶ (after the adverbs in -ᾶ).

•DER ἐξαπιναῖος, together with the adverb -αῖως 'id.' (Hp., Th.).

•ETYM Formation like ἐξαίφνης. These words clearly have something to do with ▶ἄφαρ, ▶ἄφνω: Fur.: 158, etc. recognized that the whole group is Pre-Greek (π/φ). The variants -φ/-π- show that the *i* is part of the consonant, so we may assume a PG phoneme \*p' for these forms (Pre-Greek: B 1). For the same Pre-Greek phenomenon, cf. ▶κνωπεύς / ▶κινώπετον, ▶πινυτός; also, ▶ἄκραιφνης / ▶ἄκραπνής. See further ▶αἶψα, ▶αἰπύς.

ἔξαστις, -ιος [f.] 'hem of a fabric' (Samos IV<sup>a</sup>), plur. 'threads coming out of a fabric', especially 'selvage of linen' (medic.). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>et-ti- 'stitching'>

•VAR Also ἔξεστις (Gal.).

•ETYM Derived by Schmidt 1895: 89<sup>1</sup> from \*ἔξ-αν-στ-ις, a verbal noun from ἐξάνιστημι, for which he assumed apocope and loss of the nasal like in Epid. ἁ-στάς = ἄν(α)-στάς. However, apocope is unmotivated in a Ionic word, and the ending -ις is unexpected.

Boisacq considered connection with ▶ἄττομαι 'to set the warp in the loom', ἄσμα 'warp', etc. Given the new etymological proposal for ▶ἄττομαι, this is quite attractive, as ἔξαστις may simply mean 'what sticks out'.

ἐξαστήρ ⇒ αὖω 2.

ἐξαυτῆς [adv.] 'immediately' (Hell.). <GR>

•ETYM Probably from ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ; see Wackernagel 1916: 41<sup>4</sup>.

ἐξεράω ⇒ ἀπ-εράω.

ἐξετάζω ⇒ ἐτάζω.

ἐξῆς [adv.] 'in a row, one after the other' (Od., Att.). <GR>

•COMP ἐφ-εξῆς, Ion. ἐπ- ~ 'id.', καθ-εξῆς 'id.' (Ev. Luc. 1, 3, Plu., Ael.).

•DER Also ἐξείης (Hom.), ἐφ-, καθ-εξείης (Orph., Opp.); ἐξαν (Dor., accentuation?) 'id.'.

•ETYM The adverbial genitive ἐξῆς must derive from a nominal formation of ἔχεσθαι 'connect, follow', but the details are uncertain. Schulze 1892: 293 detects in ἐξῆς and ἐξαν forms of a noun \*ἔξǎ with the same inflexion as μῖᾱ, μῖᾱς, μῖᾱν; Bechtel 1914 s.v.

starts from an adjective \*ἔξός. Solmsen 1909: 240<sup>1</sup>) supposes that ἐξῆς was contracted from earlier ἐξείης (metrical lengthening for \*ἔξείης?); however, this does not explain Dor. ἐξαν. ἐξε(ί)ης is from an adjective \*ἔξε(ι)ος (cf. ἐξεῖα· τα ἐξῆς H.); is this in turn from ἐξίς? The synonymous ἐπεχός (Arg.), ἐπεχεῖ (Delph.), and ποτεχεῖ (Heracl.) are from ἐπ-, ποτ-έχεσθαι. See ▶ἔχω.

ἐξιστων [adj.] 'fringed'? Adjunct of χιτωνίσκον [acc.], together with κτενωτόν (IG 2<sup>2</sup>, 1514: 30, 1516: 9 [middle IV<sup>a</sup>], in lists of clothes given to Artemis, containing several technical words). <GR>

•ETYM Without a doubt for ἐξ ιστών 'consisting of six woven pieces'; on the matter, see Preisigke 1925 s.v. ιστός.

ἐξονομακλήδην [adv.] 'by name' (Hom.). <IE \*klh<sub>2</sub>- 'call'>

•ETYM Also ἐκ δ' ὀνομακλήδην, a hypostasis of the expression ὄνομα καλεῖν (τινα) 'to call (sbd.) by name' with κλήδην (I 11) and ἐξ as in ἐξονομαίνω (-άζω). See ▶καλέω.

ἐξουλή [f.] 'ejectment, dispossession' (Att.), almost only in ἐξουλής δίκῃ; rarely ἐξουλήν and -άς. <IE \*uel<sub>2</sub>-(H)- 'press together'>

•ETYM Juridical term, from \*ἐκ-φολνᾶ from \*ἐκ-φελνέω 'push out' (see ▶εἰλέω 1); cf. also on ἄλης and ▶οὐλαμός. On the oxytonesis, see Wackernagel and Debrunner Phil. 95 (1942): 178f.

ἔξω ⇒ ἐξ.

ἐξωφάκαι [pl.] 'a kind of outward Haemorrhoid knots, resembling lentil fruits' (Cyran.). <EUR?>

•ETYM Related to ▶φακός 'lentil'; cf. ▶ἀφάκη.

ἔοικα [v.] 'to resemble' (Il.); see Chantraine 1942: 424f., 479f., Schwyzler: 769, 773, 541. <IE? \*ueik- 'be fitting'?>

•VAR Epic du. ἔϊκτον, Att. pl. εἰόκαμεν, pret.sg. ἐώκειν, epic du. εἴκτην, Att. pl. ἐώκεσαν, epic med. εἴκτο, ἥϊκτο, ptc. εἰκώς (Φ 254, Att., beside εοικώς), fem. εἰκυῖα, ntr. εἰκός; 1sg. οἶκα, ptc. οἰκώς (Hdt.).

•COMP Also with prefix ἐπ-, ἀπ-εοικα, etc.

•DER Innovation factitive ▶εἰκάζω and εἴσκω (Il., only present stem, ipf. ἴσκε(ν), ptc. ἴσκοντ-) 'to equate, compare, suppose'.

•ETYM The old intransitive perfect ἔοικα (whence by hyphaeresis οἶκα, etc.; differently, Schwyzler: 766f.) continues \*φέ-φοικ-α, du. \*φέ-φικ-τον, plpf. \*(ἐ-)φε-φοίκει (> ἐφῄκει), which is shown by the meter (Chantraine 1942: 129). Innovations were \*φε-φίκ-σκ-ω (> εἴσκω), \*φε-φικ-άζω > εἰκάζω, ▶εἰκάζω. A form \*φικ-σκ-ω without reduplication is supposed in ἴσκε(ν), ἴσκοντ' (e.g. Schwyzler: 708; Chantraine 1933: 317). No reduplication in ▶εἰκῶν; for εἰκώς, however, a reconstruction \*φε-φικ-φῶς instead of \*φαικ- is also possible. On εἴκελος, see ▶ἴκελος; on ▶ἐπιεικής see s.v. There are no certain cognates outside Greek. The comparison with the Baltic root of Lith. *i-vỹkti* 'to occur, happen, get real', *pa-véikslas* 'example', etc. is doubtful.

έόλει [v.3sg.] 'oppressed' (Pi. P. 4, 233, conj. Boeckh). <IE \*uel<sub>2</sub>- 'press together'>

•DER Hence ἐόλητο 'be surrounded, oppressed' (A. R.).

•ETYM See ►εἰλέω 1.

**ξορ** [f.] · θυγάτηρ, ἀνεψιός 'daughter, cousin' (H.). <IE \*suesor- 'sister'>

•VAR ξορες· προσήκοντες, συγγενεῖς 'kinsmen, relatives' (H.).

•ETYM Old relic of the IE word for 'sister', seen in Skt. *svásar-*, Lat. *soror*, Germ., e.g. Go. *swistar*, all from IE \**suésor-*. The Greek forms must come from a psilotic dialect; ξορ seems to be a vocative. In Greek, the word was replaced by ἀδελφή, like φράτηρ by ἀδελφός.

**ξοργα** = ξρδω.

**ξοργή** [f.] 'τορύνει, stirrer, ladle'. <IE \*uerǵ- 'work'>

•DER Denominative ξοργῆσαι· τορυνῆσαι 'to stir' and ξοργίζεται· τορυνάται (Poll., H., Eust.). Further εὐέργη, εὐεργέτις (Poll., H., EM). Semantically and formally close is ὀργάζειν 'to weaken, knead, tan' (Att.), cf. εὐεργής of ἄρτος 'well-kneaded loaf' in Andromachos (*apud* Gal. 14, 38, 9).

•ETYM The formation ξοργή (accent for \*ξοργή like δαίλη, δέριη? See below), like ἐδωδ-ή, etc., may derive from reduplicated \*φε-φοργ-η. The variants εὐέργη, -έτις seem to be folk-etymological reshapings (cf. εὐεργής above). The form ὀργάζω replaced original ὀργάω (Schwyzer: 718). The words belong to ►ξργον, ►ξρδω; for the meaning, cf. HG (*Teig*) *wirken* = 'knead'.

**ξορτή** [f.] 'feast, religious festival' (Od.). <?>

•DIAL Ion. ὀρτή (with hyphaeresis).

•COMP As a second member in φυλ-έορτος (Ar. [lyr.]), etc.

•DER Adjectives ἐορταῖος 'ptng. to the festival' (D. H.), ἐορτώδης 'festive' (J., Ph.) and denominative ἐορτάζω, ὀρτάζω 'celebrate a festival' (IA) together with ἐόρτασις (Pl.), -μιος (J.), ἐόρτασμα (LXX), ἐορταστής (Poll., Max. Tyr.), ἐορταστικός 'appropriate for a festival' (Pl. *Lg.* 829b, etc.).

•ETYM Traditionally analysed as a verbal noun in -τή (e.g. \*φε-φορ-τή), but without further cognates. Also taken as related to ►ξροτις, ►ξρανος; not, however, to ►ῥρα.

**ξός** = ξ, ἐ.

**ἐπαινή** [adj.] adjunct of Persephone (Hom.), late also of other goddesses (Hecate, Demeter). <?>

•ETYM Perhaps arisen by false split (in I 457?) from ἐπ' αἰνή Π. 'and also the terrible P.'. See Buttmann 1825:2: 101, Leumann 1950: 72, and Schwyzer: 102.

**ἐπάλῃς** [adj.] epithet of λέσχη (Hes. *Op.* 493 ἐπαλέα λέσχην). <?>

•ETYM Connected with ►ἀλέα 'heat of the sun', or (alternatively) with ►ἀλής as 'pressed together'. Chantraine rejects the latter interpretation for a number of reasons: ἀλής is said of persons or things, not of places; the prefix ἐπ- is difficult to understand; and a reading ἐπ' makes no sense. However, this does not mean that the other interpretation is correct. See Bechtel 1914: 129.

**ἐπαλπνος** [adj.] 'pleasant' vel sim. (Pi. *P.* 8, 84, from νόστος). <?>

•ETYM One hypothesis derives it from ►ἀρπαλέος < \*ἀλπαλέος, and connects it with \*ἀλπιστος (see ►ἀλπιστος), which would derive from an *r/n*-stem \*ἀλπαρ, gen. ἀλπνος. The word would then be a bahuvrihi with adverbial prefix; this is improbable.

**ἐπάντης, -ες** [adj.] 'steep' (Th. 7, 79). <GR>

•ETYM Like ἀν-, κατ-άντης, etc., from a noun ἀντ- 'front', seen in ►ἄντα, ►ἀντί, with adjectival *s*-stem inflexion; thus, it properly means 'facing frontally, head-on'.

**ἐπαρετέω** [v.] 'to take in service, in use' (*PTeb.* 5, 182; 252; II<sup>a</sup>; κτήνη, πλοῖα, of officials, etc.). <GR>

•ETYM From ἀρετή in the sense of 'service', with ἐπί as in ἐπι-χειρ-έω, ἐπι-θυμ-έω, etc.

**Ἐπάριτοι** [pl.] name of the soldiers of the Arcadian League (X., Ephor.), originally = ἐπίλεκτοι 'those selected' (D. S. 15, 62). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>ri- 'count'>

•ETYM Compare the PNs Πεδ-άρτιος (Arc., Lac.), Ἐπ-ήριτος (ω 306), Μετ-ήριτος (Ion.), and further the adj. ►νήριτος from \*h<sub>2</sub>ri- 'uncountable, countless', from a verbal root \*h<sub>2</sub>ri- 'count', seen in ἀρι-θμός, and prefixed with ἐπι- as in ἐπι-λέγειν 'to select'. See Leumann 1950: 247, Schwyzer: 502.

**ἐπασσύτεροι** [pl.] 'one after the other, as a group' (epic since Il.). <IE \*ki-eu- 'set in motion'>

•VAR Also sing. -ος.

•COMP As a first member in ἐπασσυτερο-τριβής 'following one another quickly' (A. *Ch.* 426 [lyr.]).

•ETYM Uncertain. Some (see Frisk) derived it from an adverb \*ἐπ-αν-(σ)σύ of \*ἐπ-αν(α)-σσεύομαι 'hurry after one another', comparing ἀνά-σσυτος 'rising' (Hp.), ἐπί-σσυτος 'urging' (A., E.), and παν-συ-δίη 'full of impulse'; Ehrlich *RhM* N.F. 63 (1908): 109 proposed haplological shortening from ἐπασσυ[τό]-τερος. Acc. to Risch 1937: 95 and Seiler 1950<sup>3</sup> 44, however, it is a contamination of \*ἀγγύτερος and ἀσσοτέρω; thus also Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 387, who asserts that it is a contamination of ἀσσοτέρω and ἐγγύτερος.

**ἐπαυρίσκω** [v.] 'to touch, participate, enjoy' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Mostly med. -ομαι; ἐπαυρεῖ (H. *Op.* 419), aor. ἐπαυρεῖν, -έσθαι, fut. ἐπαυρήσομαι.

•DER ἐπαύρεσις 'pleasure, gain' (Hdt., Democr., Th.).

•ETYM No etymology. Schwyzer: 709<sup>3</sup> proposes \*ἐπ-ᾱ-φρ-, related to ►εὐρίσκω. A form with another prefix occurs in ἀπαυρίσκομαι 'derive nourishment' (Hp. *Nat. Puer.* 26).

**ἐπαφος 2** [adj.] adjunct of ἄμπελος; meaning unknown (*PAvrom.* 1 A 26, 1 B 27; I<sup>a</sup>).

<?>

•VAR Also -ον.

•ETYM Perhaps 'with ἀφή, i.e. grip', 'supported, bound up' (Moulton *JHS* 35 (1915): 55).

ἐπεί [conj.] 'as, when, because' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ei* 'when'>

•VAR Also with added particles, e.g. ἐπεί τε (epic Ion.), ἐπεί δὲ, ἐπειδὴ (Il.), epic also ἐπεί ἢ (ἐπειή); with ἄν: ἐπεί ἄν, ἐπεάν (Ion.), ἐπὴν (IA), ἐπάν (Hell.); ἐπεί δ' ἄν, ἐπειδάν (Att.).

•ETYM From ἐπ-εἰ (see ►εἰ); probably originally a demonstrative, like εἶτα, ἔπ-εἰτα. Details in Schwyzer 1950: 658ff.; also, Chantraine 1953: 258f.

ἐπείγω [v.] 'to press, urge; hurry' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Also med.; impf. ἔπειγον (Od.), ἤπειγον (Pi., S.); the non-presentic forms are a minority: aor. ἤπειξα (Hp. Ep. 17), pass. ἠπείχθην (Th., Pl.), fut. ἐπείξομαι (A.), perf. med. ἤπειγμα (J.). Hdn. Gr. 2, 436 notes ἐποίγω as Aeol.

•COMP Also with prefix, notably κατ-επείγω (Att.).

•DER ἔπειξις 'pressure, hurry' (J., Plu.) with ἐπείξιμος 'urgent' (POxy. 531, 9, II<sup>p</sup>); ἐπείκτης 'who urges, urgent' with ἐπείκτικός 'urgent' (EM, Sch.); ἐπειγολή 'hurry' (EM); Ἐπειγεύς PN (Π 571).

•ETYM Uncertain. Acc. to Brugmann IF 29 (1911-1912): 238ff., it is related to οἴγνυμι 'open' (from \**fo*-(*ε*)γ-, Lesb. οἰγνῖν).

ἔπειτα •VAR ἔπειτε(v). ⇒εἶτα.

ἐπενήνοθε ⇒ένθειν.

ἐπενπέτω [v. impv.] uncertain, perhaps 'put upon'? Elis, see Schwyzer: 409. <?>

•VAR ἐπένποι [opt.].

•ETYM Unknown. Cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 864.

ἐπερθα [adv.] 'above' (Alc.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>epi* 'upon'>

•VAR κατ-ἐπερθεν.

•ETYM From ►ἐπί, modelled on ►ἐνερθε(v), -θα, ὕπερθε(v), -θα. Cf. also ἐπέρτερα· μείζω καὶ ὑψηλότερα 'more and higher', which is analyzed by Mastrelli *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 27-28 (1956): 272ff. as ἐπερ-τερα, but which may also be a mistake for ὑπέρ-τερα (DELG).

ἔπερος [m.] 'ram' (Aeol., Asia Minor, Schwyzer: 644, 15). <IE? \**ueru-os*- 'wool'>

•ETYM Not related to κάπρος, Lat. *aper*, etc. (as per Meillet *Rev. ét. slav.* 5 (1925): 9). Neither, as per Mastrelli *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 27 (1956): 1ff., related to ἐπέρτερα· μείζω, καὶ ὑψηλότερα 'more and higher' (H.), Alb. *epërë* 'what is up high'. DELG translates 'who has wool on him', and connects it with ►εἶρος.

ἐπεσβόλος [adj.] 'throwing words, reviling' (B 275, A. R., AP). <IE \**uek<sup>w</sup>-os*- 'word'>

•DER also ἐπεσβολή 'slander' (δ 159) and ἐπεσβολέω 'revile' (Lyc., Max.).

•ETYM Compound of ἔπος and βάλλειν, with ε-vocalism of the s-stem and o-vocalism of the second member (Schwyzer: 440 and 449).

ἐπέτοσσε [v. aor.] = 'ἐπέτυχε, hit, reached'. <?>

•VAR ἐπιτόσσαις [ptc.sg.m.] (Pi. P. 4, 25; 10, 33).

•ETYM Unexplained; cf. Schwyzer: 755<sup>2</sup>.

ἔπεφνον ⇒θείνω.

ἐπήβολος [adj.] 'who gets something, participates, has possession of' (Od.), also 'attainable' (A. R.). <IE \**g<sup>w</sup>elh<sub>2</sub>*- 'throw'>

•VAR επαβολα [f.] 'share' (Gortyn), ἐπηβολή· μέρος 'share' (H.).

•DER Cf. ἐπηβολία· συνηβολία 'occurrence' (EM 357,29). κατηβολή· τὸ ἐπιβάλλον 'which is put upon' (E. Fr. 614, 750).

•ETYM Verbal nouns from ἐπι-, κατα-βάλλω, with -η- after ἐπ-, κατ-ήκοος, ἐπημοιβός, etc. (lengthening in compounds). See Brugmann *Sächs. Ber.* 53 (1901): 103.

ἐπηγκενίδες [f.pl.] 'part of a ship' (ε 253). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>enk*- 'bend'>

•ETYM Acc. to Doederlein (see Bechtel 1914 s.v.), "what rests on the ἀγκόνες 'ribs of a ship'?", i.e. 'the planks', thus a noun in -ίδ-ες with compositional lengthening, for which σανίδες has been compared (cf. ἀγκοιναι). The factual meaning remains unclear.

ἐπηετανός [adj.] probably 'sufficient, rich, everlasting' (Od.). <IE? \**uet-os*- 'year'>

•VAR ἐπητανός *h. Merc.* 113, *Hes. Op.* 607.

•ETYM Properly 'lasting the whole year' (like ἐπ-έτ-ειος, ἐπ-ετ-ήσιος), with -η- as in ►ἐπήβολος, etc., and suffixal -ανος as in ►σητάνιος. It is unnecessary to suppose haplology from \**-φετι-τανος* or \**-φετο-τανος*. Acc. to Benveniste 1935: 45, an old suffixal interchange with ►ἔταλον, s.v.

ἐπηλυγάζομαι •VAR ἐπηλυξ. ⇒ήλύγη.

ἐπηλυσ ⇒ἐλεύσομαι.

ἐπήρεια [f.] 'bad treatment, offence, threat' (Att.). <?>

•DER ἐπηρεάζω 'to treat presumptuously, revile, threat' (Hdt., Att., Arc.), also -ει- in IG 5(2), 6: 46 (Tegea [IV<sup>a</sup>]) ἐπηρεασμός (Arist.), -αστής (Sm., pap.), -αστικός (*Com. Adesp.* 202, etc.).

•ETYM Abstract of an adjective \*ἐπ-ηρης, for which relationship with ►ἀρειή, ►ἀρή is suggested. However, if the form from Tegea is genuine Arcadian, this connection is impossible because it presupposes PGr. \**-ēr-*, not \**-ār-*. Acc. to Wackernagel KZ 33 (1895): 57, it belongs to \*ἔρος, which he finds in ►ἐρεσχηλέω. Blanc *RPh.* 71 (1997): 159 thinks the basic meaning is 'to look for problems' and connects it with ►ἐρέθω, ἐρεθίζω, but gives no further details.

ἐπήρετμος ⇒ἐρέσσω.

ἐπητής, -οῦ [adj.] 'sedate, behaving well, benevolent' vel sim. (v 332, σ 128; A. R. 2, 987; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 32<sup>2</sup>). <IE? \**sep-* 'care, honour'>

•VAR ἐπητέες [f.pl.].

•DER ἐπητύς [f.] (φ 306) 'good behaviour, benevolence'.

•ETYM Uncertain. Acc. to Wackernagel 1916: 42<sup>2</sup>, it is from ►ἔπω in the meaning of Skt. *sápati* 'care, honor', with η-enlargement as in ἐδ-η-τύς, as well as psilosis. Teffeteller Dale *Glotta* 60 (1982): 207-214 suggests that the word is derived from ἔπος and ἐπετύς 'conversation, good at speaking'.

**ἐπήτριμοι** [adj.] 'near one another, in heaps' vel sim. (Il., A. R., only plur.; in Q. S. and Opp. sing. 'prominent, powerful'). <?>

•ETYM Connected with ἤτριον 'warp' by the ancients, which is further explained by Bechtel 1914 s.v. Doubts to this are expressed by Arbenz 1933: 25f. Comparable meaning in ►ἐπασσύτεροι.

**ἐπι** [adv.] 'on it, at it' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>epi* 'on'>

•VAR ἐπί [prep.] 'on, at, by, at the same time, because' with gen., dat. and acc.

•DIAL Μyc. *e-pi*.

•ETYM IE adverb \**h<sub>1</sub>epi*: Skt. *āpi*, Av. *aipi*, OP *apiy* 'also, at it; by, in', Arm. *ew* 'also, and'. Ablauting ὀπι- occurs in ►ὀπιθεν, also dialectal. \*πι- (Lith. *-pi*) is supposed in ►πιέζω and ►πτυχή, but this seems improbable, as a zero grade \**h<sub>1</sub>pi* would also have given ἐπι in Greek. On the different forms, see the extensive discussion by Hamp MSS 40 (1981): 39-60.

**Ἐπίασσα** [f.] epithet of Demeter (H.). <?>

•ETYM Old ptc. with zero grade = ἐπι-οῦσα (like ἔασσα = (ἐ)οῦσα, ἔκασσα = ἐκοῦσα) from the root \**h<sub>1</sub>ei-* 'go', parallel to Skt. *yati* 'going' < IE \**h<sub>1</sub>i-*yt-ih<sub>2</sub>**, beside \**h<sub>1</sub>i-ont-* in ἰόντος, etc. This etymology is doubtful, as it finds no support on the semantic side.

**ἐπιβδᾶ** [f.] 'the day after the festival' (Pi. P. 4, 140); mostly in plur. ἐπιβδαι or ἐπιβδαι (Cratin. 323, Aristid., EM 357, 54); in H. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπι<βι>βάζεσθαι ταῖς ἑορταῖς οὐκ οὔσαις ἐξ αὐτῶν (meaning unclear to me). <IE \**ped-* 'foot'>

•ETYM Properly 'following the trace', with assimilated zero grade of the word for 'foot' (see ►πούς, as well as ►πεδά), like in Skt. *upa-bd-ā-* 'trampling', Av. *fra-bd-a-* 'front foot'. The formation of ἐπιβδᾶ is not clear: Schwyzler: 475 pleads for a suffix -ια- with lost yod; Solmsen 1909: 269 thinks that ἐπιβδᾶ is a secondary shortening for \*ἐπί-βδ-ᾶ.

**ἐπεικῆς** [adj.] 'proper, fitting, suitable; solid' (Il.). <IE \**ueik-* 'be fitting'>

•DER also ἐπεικεία 'equity, reasonableness' (IA) and ἐπεικεύομαι (LXX 2 Es. 9, 8 [v.l.], H.).

•ETYM Opposite ἀ-εικής (see ►ἀϊκής), related to ἐπέοικα; full grade as in ►εἰκών. Beside this also exists ἐπι-εἰκελος 'comparable' (Hom., Hes.) after εἴκελος; cf. Strömberg 1946: 91 and Schwyzler 1950: 466.

**ἐπείικτος** [adj.] mostly with negation, οὐκ ἐπείικτον (μένος, σθένος, πένθος) = 'invincible, unindulgent' (Hom.); also = ἐπεικῆς 'fitting, suitable' (θ 307, late). <IE \**ueik-* 'give way'>

•ETYM As there is no compounded verb \*ἐπι-(*f*)εἴκω 'yield', Schulze 1892: 495' connected the adjective with Lat. *vincō* 'conquer', Go. *weihan*, OIr. *fichim* 'battle', for which he compared EM 638, 39: οὐκ ἐπείικτον = οὐ νικώμενον. However, there is ►εἴκω (DELG).

**ἐπι-εἴσομαι** ⇒εἴσομαι 1.

**ἐπιζαρέω** [v.] 'to rush upon, press on' (E. Ph. 45, Rh. 441 [codd. here -ζάτει]), Arcadian acc. to Eust. 909, 28. <?>

•ETYM No convincing etymology.

**ἐπιζάφελος** [adj.] 'vehement, violent', of fury (χόλος I 525). <PG?>

•VAR Also adverbial -ῶς (χαλεπαίνειν, μενεαίνειν, ἐρεείνειν I 516, ζ 330, h. Merc. 487; on the shift of accent Schwyzler 618), -ον (κοτεύουσα A. R. 4, 1672).

•DER With archaising suppression of the prefix ζάφελος (Nic. Al. 556, EM), ζαφελές, -ῶς (H.), -ής (Suid.).

•ETYM Expressive word without etymology. ζα- is probably the Aeolic form of δια-; it is further unclear. Not better, Strömberg 1946: 89. Fur.: 176 suggests connection with ►ζάψ 'surf', and takes it as Pre-Greek.

**ἐπιήρανος 1** 'welcome'. ⇒ἐπίηρος.

**ἐπιήρανος 2** 'ruling, governing'. ⇒ἥρανος.

**ἐπίηρος** [adj.] 'graceful, pleasant' (Emp., Epich., etc.).

•VAR ἐπίηρον [n.sg.] Marc. Sid. (Glotta 19, 176); otherwise ἐπίηρα [n.pl.].

•DER Compar. ἐπιηρέστερος; as an adverb = χάριν (Antim. 87, etc.), ἐπίηρα δέχθαι (AP 13, 22), φέρεσθαι (A. R. 4, 375), φέροντα (S. OT 1094 [lyr.]).

•ETYM From ἐπί ἥρα φέρων (A 572, etc.) by univerbation; thence ►ἐπιήρανος 1 'charming, welcome' (τ 343). See Sommer 1948: 139 with litt. See further ►ἥρα.

**ἐπίθυμβρον** ⇒θύμβρα.

**ἐπικάρσιος** [adj.] 'transverse, crosswise, at a right angle' (I 70, of ships, Hdt., Plb., etc.).

<IE \*(s)ker- 'cut'>

•ETYM Also occurs as ἐγκάρσιος (Th.), after ἐναντίος? Secondary simplex κάρσιον-πλάγιον 'athwart, sideways' (H.), -ίως Suid. Ultimately related to κείρειν, ἐπικείρειν 'cut', but unclear in detail. Strömberg 1946: 92 starts from a verbal adjective \*ἐπικάρτος, whence ἐπικάρσιος like ἀμβρόσιος from ἀμβροτος (see also on διπλάσιος). Derivation from the root IE \*kers- (in κορσόν- κορμόν H., ἀ-κερσε-κόμη; see ►κόρη) seems less likely. The overall resemblance with Lith. *skė̃sas* 'transverse', OPr. *kirscha* 'across', Ru. *čerez* 'through, across' can be explained as parallel formations of the root (s)ker- 'cut'. Not from \*ἐπὶ καρσί, a plur. of ἐπὶ κάρ (Π 392) 'on its head', as supposed by Bechtel 1914 s.v. See ►κείρω.

**ἐπίκερας** [n.] plant name = τῆλις, 'Trigonella' (Hp. apud Gal. 19, 99). <IE \**kerh<sub>2</sub>s-* 'horn'>

•ETYM Called 'horn-like' or 'with horn', after its long sickle-shaped shell. See Strömberg 1944: 33. On the retained ending -ας, cf. πάγκρεας (s.v. ►κρέας) and ►ἐρυσίπελας.

**ἐπικοκκάστρια** [f.] adjunct of ἡχώ, 'mimicking, reverberating' vel sim. (Ar. Th. 1059).

<ONOM>

•VAR ἐπικοκκαστής (uncertain conj. in Timo 43).

•ETYM Formation in -τριά (frequent in the language of comedy; Chantraine 1933: 106) as if from \*ἐπικοκκάζω (Ar. Byz. apud Eust. 1761, 26); onomatopoeic.



**ἐπικόκκουρος** [m.] · ὁ παρατηρητής ἐν σταδίῳ παρὰ Λάκωσιν 'spectator at the race-course (Lacon.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. There seems no basis for Latte's "an ἐπικομιατωρός, scl. pugilatus legitimi custos?".

**ἐπίκουρος** [adj., m.] 'helper', 'support; helping, protecting'; plur. 'auxiliary troops' (Il.). <IE \*k<sub>1</sub>rs- 'walk'>

•DER ἐπικουρικός 'consisting of auxiliary troops' (Th., Pl.), ἐπικούριος 'coming to help' (Paus.), ἐπικουρία, -ίη 'help, support' (IA), denominative ἐπικουρέω [v.] 'to come to help, support' (E 614; cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 98f.) with ἐπικούρησις, -ίη, -ητικός.

•ETYM The word stands completely isolated within Greek. Probably for \*ἐπίκορσος, from a lost verb equivalent to Lat. *currō* 'walk, run' (< \*k<sub>1</sub>rs-e/o-). Cf. the related Celtic word for 'car', OIr. *carr*, MW *carros* (whence Lat. *carrus*, Arm. *kaṛ-k'* [pl.] 'wagon'; from Galatic). Further perhaps related is σάρσαι· ἄμαξαι as Illyrian (Lagercrantz *IF* 25 (1909): 367); doubtfully, MHG *hurren* 'move quickly'.

**ἐπιλαῖς, -ίδος** ⇒ ὑπολαῖς and λαῖας.

**ἐπιμήδιον** [n.] a plant (Dsc., Gal.). <?>

•ETYM Named after the plant ► μῆδιον. The parasitic nature of the plant may also have given rise to the name; cf. synonymous ► ἀμαμηλὶς and ► ὁμομηλὶς.

**ἐπιμηλὶς, -ίδος** [f.] 'medlar, *mespilus germanica*' (Dsc., Gal.).

•ETYM Derived from μῆλον, because of the similarity with the apple tree (Strömberg 1944: 32f.). See ► μῆλον, ► ἐπιμήδιον.

**ἐπίνητρον** ⇒ νέω.

**ἐπίξενος 1** 'foreigner'. ⇒ ξένος.

**ἐπίξενος 2** [m.] · ἐπιχθόνιος 'upon the earth' (H.). <IE \*d<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>em- 'earth'?>

•ETYM Unclear. Acc. to Hoffmann 1921: 80, it is from χθών with a special development; cf. Schwyzler: 326. Because of ξενῶνες οἱ ἀνδρῶνες ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν 'men's apartments (Phrygian)' (H.), Pisani *AnFilCl* 6 (1953-54): 213 considered it to be Phrygian, which is rejected by DELG.

**ἐπίξηνον** [n.] 'chopping block, hangman's block' (A., Ar., Eust., H.). <IE? \*k<sub>1</sub>es- (\*k<sub>1</sub>ses-) 'cut, split'>

•DER Cf. ξηγός = 'κορμός, trunk' (Suid.) from ► ξέω 'carve, polish'.

•ETYM ἐπίξηνον is rather from ► ξαίνω, modelled on ἐπικόπανον 'chopping-block' (Hell.), than from ἐπι-ξέω.

**ἐπίορκος, -ον** [adj.] 'perjurious' (T 264), later msc. 'perjurer' (Hes., Gortyn, etc.). <GR>

•VAR In Hom. only in ἐπίορκον ὁμόσσαι 'to swear a false oath'.

•DER ἐπιορκέω [v.] 'to break an oath, perjure' (since T 188), together with ἐπιορκία 'perjury' (D., X.), ἐπιορκοσύνη 'id.' (AP).

•ETYM As the verb ἐπιορκέω is frequent, it is obvious to consider the much rarer ἐπίορκος 'breaking the oath' as a back-formation from the verb (thus Strömberg 1946: 86ff.). The form ἐπιορκέω derives directly from ὄρκος, with ἐπι- like ἐπιθυμέω from θυμός, ἐπιχειρέω from χεῖρ, etc.; ἐπιορκέω then properly means 'act against the oath' (opposite εὐορκέω 'keep the oath' from εὐορκος [since Hes.]); on the preservation of the -ι-, see Fraenkel 1910: 237. Differently, Leumann 1950: 79ff. (with discussion): the expression ἐπίορκον ὁμόσσαι 'perjure' (whence ἐπιορκέω) would be due to a false analysis of epic ἐπὶ ὄρκον ὁμόσσαι 'swear an oath on top'; against this view, Luther 1954: 86ff. with a different explanation; see also Fraenkel *Gnomon* 23 (1951): 373 and Bolling *AmJPh* 76 (1955): 306ff., who start from (ὁ) ἐπὶ ὄρκῳ (βάς). Leumann 1950: 88 is similarly inclined to see ἐπίορκος as a back-formation from ἐπιορκέω. See ► ὄρκος.

**ἐπίορος** ⇒ ὄρομαι.

**ἐπιούσιος** [adj.] of ἄρτος (Ev. Matt. 6, 11, Ev. Luc. 11, 3), translated with 'quotidianus' in the vulgate, afterwards as 'daily'; also ἐπιουσιῶν (*Sammelb.* 5224, 20; economic message), meaning unknown. <GR>

•ETYM The most obvious interpretation as ἡ ἐπιούσα (ἡμέρα) suggests 'for the coming day', but this seems improbable. If we start (just as Debrunner *Glotta* 4 (1913): 249ff.) from ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσαν (ἡμέραν), we get the more acceptable translation 'for the day in question'. See Blass-Debrunner-Funk 1961 §123 and Koester in Kittel 1935: 587-595.

**ἐπιπακτίς, -ίδος** [f.] 'rupture wort, *Herniaria glabra*' (Dsc. 4, 108); Pliny has *epicactis* (13,114), see André 1956 s.v. <?>

•ETYM From \*ἐπίπακτος 'fixed, closed', related to ἐπιπήγνυμι (cf. ἐπιπᾶκτώ 'to close'), because of its healing function. Cf. the plant name πικτή = σύμφυτον and Strömberg 1940: 89. On the short α in (ἐπι)πακτώ, see Wackernagel 1916: 11.

**ἐπιπατρόφιον** [n.] 'father's name' (Schwyzer: 462 rem. 28, Tanagra III<sup>a</sup>). <GR>

•ETYM Univerbation of \*ἐπὶ πατρόςφι with a suffix -ιο-; cf. Schwyzler: 551 and 451. See Morpurgo Davies *Glotta* 47 (1970): 46f.

**ἐπιπλα** [n.pl.] 'movable goods, utensils' (IA). <IE \*k<sup>w</sup>el- 'turn'>

•VAR Rarely -ον.

•ETYM Old expression, probably as ἐπι-πλ-α, properly "what has been added" as opposed to fixed possessions, from ἐπι-πέλομαι; for the formation, cf. δί-φρ-ος and Schwyzler: 449. Because the word was not transparent, reshaping like ἐπίπλοα (Hdt. 1, 94, pap.; modelled on ἐπιπλεῖν, for which cf. on ► ἐπίπλοον) and ἐπίπολα (Dodona; modelled on ἐπιπολή, for which see ► ἐπιπολής) occurred.

**ἐπίπλοον** [n.] 'fold of the peritoneum, omentum' (Ion., Hell.). <IE \*pleu- 'swim'>

•VAR Also -οος [m.].

•ETYM The word has been compared with Lith. *plėvė* 'fine, thin skin' (on milk, below the egg-shell, etc.), Ru. *plevá* 'id.', Sln. *plěva* 'eyelid'; however, the prefix then remains unexplained. So it is probably a purely Greek creation: a verbal noun from

ἐπι-πλεῖν 'swim upon' (see Strömberg 1944: 65f.); ἐπίπλοον is then 'the organ that floats on top'. The form ἐπιπόλαιον (Eub. 95, 3) arose from connection with ἐπιπόλαιος; see ► ἐπιπολῆς.

**ἐπιπολῆς** [adv.] and [prep.] 'on top of, above' (IA). <?>

•DER ἐπιπόλαιος 'on top of' (Hp., D.), ἐπιπολάζω 'be on top, have the upper hand, be usual' (Hp., Att., Arist.) with ἐπιπόλαις, -ασμός, -αστικός; also ἐπιπολή [f.] 'surface' (Argos III<sup>a</sup>, Aret., Gal.) with ἐπιπολεύω 'be at the surface' (Ael.).

•ETYM Probably from \*ἐπὶ πολῆς (Schwyzer: 625), thus from a noun \*πολή. A connection with πέλοιαι, πόλος, τέλος is not semantically evident: \*πολή like τέλος (γονή: γένος) would then properly be the 'turning point' > 'culminating point' or 'walking around, place where one walks'? Better connections seem to be with MoSw. *fala* [f.] '(treeless) plain, heath', OCS *polje* 'field' from ORu. *polъ* 'open, free' (Persson 1912(1): 228); additionally, Ἐπιπολαί [pl.] name of the heights near Syracuse (Th.).

**ἐπίρροθος** [m.] and [f.] 'helper, helping' (Δ 390, Ψ770; Hes. *Op.* 560); 'abusive language' (S. *Ant.* 413, *Fr.* 583, 10), as an adjunct of ὁδός = 'where the cars rage' (AP 7, 50). <?>

•VAR As an adj. also -ον [n.].

•DER ἐπιρροθέω 'shout in answer, rage against' (trag., D. H.). Not to be separated from ῥόθος 'noise', ῥοθέω 'rage'; in the epic 'come with noise to somebody' = 'coming to help with noise', cf. Brugmann *BPhW* 39 (1919): 136ff.

•ETYM Acc. to Schwyzer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 15f., ἐπίρροθος 'helper' is wrong for usual ► ἐπιτάρροθος in Hom.

**ἐπίσιον** [n.] = ἐφήβαιον, euphemistic designation of the pubic region (Hp., Arist.). <?>

•VAR ἐπείσιον.

•ETYM Unknown.

**ἐπισκύνιον** [n.] 'skin of the brows' (Il.), metaph. 'proud, severity' (Plb. 25, 3, 6). <IE \*sku(H)- 'cover'>

•ETYM If the simplex σκύνια [n.pl.] 'eyebrows' (Nic. *Th.* 177, 443, Poll. 2, 66) was not derived from ἐπισκύνιον, the word would come from \*ἐπι-σκύνιος 'upon the brows'. In any case, we have to start from a nominal stem \*σκυν-, which belongs together with OHG *scūr* 'protecting roof, Lat. *ob-scūr-us* \*'covered', dark', so that an *r/n*-stem is supposed. With a suffix -l-, there is σκύλος [n.] 'flayed skin of an animal', σκύλα [n.pl.] 'spolia'. Perhaps the root is seen in Skt. *sku-nā-ti*, *sku-no-ti* 'cover'. Differently on *obscurus*, De Vaan 2008 s.v.

**ἐπίσκυρος 1** [m.] name of a ball-game (H. = ὁ μετὰ πολλῶν σφαιρισμός 'playing ball with many people', Poll. 9, 103, sch. Pl. *Th.* 146a); also called ἐπίκοινος. <?>

•ETYM Unknown. Identical with ► ἐπίσκυρος 2?

**ἐπίσκυρος 2** [?] uncertain word in Call. *Fr.* 231 (see Pfeiffer 1949-1953: 567) and *Fr. anon.* 135; explained by H. with ἄρχων, βραβευτής, βοηθός, ἐπίσκοπος, ἐφορος, ἐπῆκοος 'ruler, arbiter, assistant, guardian, overseer, witness'. <?>

•ETYM No etymology.

**ἐπισιμύγερος** = σιμυγερός.

**ἐπισσαι** [f.pl.] 'later born daughters' (Hecat. 363 J.); H. also ἐπισσον· τὸ ὕστερον γενόμενον 'the later-born'. <?>

•ETYM For the formation, cf. μέτασσαι [f.pl.] 'lams of middle age' (i 221); perhaps also the geographical names Ἀμφισσα, Ἀντισσα. Derivation uncertain; perhaps suffixes -τ-ιο- or -κ-ιο-. Acc. to Giles *Class. Rev.* 3 (1889): 3f., ἐπι-σσαι would be analogical after μέτ-ασσαι = μετ-οὔσαι with archaic disappearance of the zero grade of the fem. ptc. See Schwyzer: 472.

**ἐπισσοφος** [m.] name of an official (Thera, Schwyzer: 227, 199). <?>

•DER Perhaps [επι]σοφευω (*IG* 9(1), 691: 15 [Corcyra]).

•ETYM Unknown.

**ἐπίσωτρον** [n.] 'metal hoop upon the fellow, tyre of a wheel' (Il., Poll.). <?>

•ETYM Derived from σῶτρον 'fellow' (Poll.), also in ἐῦ-σωτρος (Hes. *Sc.* 273; v.l. Ω 578); further σωτρεύματα· τὰ τοῦ τροχοῦ ξύλα. καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τούτοις σίδηρος ἐπίσωτρον (H.); on the enlargement -(ευ)μία see Chantraine 1933: 186f.

Usually derived from ► σεύομαι, ἔσσυτο 'to hurry', but the long root vowel that has to be assumed in the reconstruction \*kīd(u)- is problematic. One compares Skt. *cyautnā-* [n.] 'enterprise, deed' = Av. *šyaōθna-* 'deed', which are then taken as thematicized enlargements of a noun in \*-tr, -tn-. Doubtful.

**ἐπίσταμαι** [v.] 'be assured, know how' (Il.), also 'believe' (Heraclit., Hdt.), first intr. as in ἐπιστάμενος μὲν ἄκοντι O 282. <IE \*si-steh<sub>2</sub>- 'stand'>

•VAR Fut. ἐπιστήσομαι (Il.), aor. ἠπιστήθην (Hdt., Att.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐξ-, συν-ἐπίσταμαι.

•DER ἐπιστήμων 'knowing about, expert' (Od.) with ἐπιστημονικός 'of the ἐπιστήμων', usually 'ptng. to knowing, to knowledge' referring to ἐπιστήμη (Arist.), ἐπιστημοσύνη (Xenocr.); also ἐπίστημος (Hp.; Chantraine 1933: 152); denominative verbs, both rare and late: ἐπιστημονίζομαι (Al.), ἐπιστημόομαι (Aq.) 'become ἐπιστήμων'. ἐπιστήμη 'understanding, knowing, knowledge' (IA); the -η- of the derivatives was favored by the adjectives in -ήμων, or by μνή-μη, φή-μη respectively (Chantraine 1933: 173, 148; Schwyzer: 522); likewise in the verbal adjective. ἐπιστητός 'what can be understood' (Pl., Arist.).

•ETYM From \*ἐπι-ἵσταμαι with early loss of the breath and vowel contraction (hyphaeresis). Through the semantic development \*'stand before something' > 'be confronted with sth., take knowledge of sth.'; likewise, OHG *firstān*, OE *forstandan*. The word ἐπίσταμαι was also formally separated from ἵσταμαι, which already in Homer had lead to a new verb ἐφ-ἵσταμαι 'stand at'. Acc. to others, it is an old formation without reduplication (litt. in Schwyzer: 675<sup>2</sup>); acc. to Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:3, 160, it is a recent formation from an aorist ἐπι-στάμενος, -σταίμην.

ἐπίστίς [?] 'prop' (inscr. Delos 340, 11, II<sup>a</sup>). <GR>

•ETYM Probably from ► ἴστημι.

ἐπίστιον [n.] 'staple-town, slip or shed for a ship' (ζ 265). <?>

•ETYM Term from shipbuilding, explained by Aristarchus as κατάλυμα and identified with ἐφέστιος, -ον as Ionic; from ἰστίον, acc. to the sch. on the passage. Schwyzler: 425 suspects enlargement of a root noun \*ἐπ-στᾶ (comparing OP *upa-stā* 'help'). The phrase πίνουσα τὴν ἐπίστιον (Anacr. 90, 4), the joking name of a drink, is unclear.

ἐπισχερώ [adv.] 'in a row, one after the other, uninterrupted, gradually' (Il., Simon.). <IE \*seǵh- 'hold'>

•DER Besides ἐνσχερώ (A. R. 1, 912) and, in two words, ἐν σχερῶ (Pi.) 'id.'; so a compound of ἐπί and an instrumental σχερῶ (Schwyzler: 550 and 625).

•ETYM From the middle voice of the noun \*σχ-ερός (on the formation, see Schwyzler: 482 and Chantraine 1933: 224; \*σχερόν [n.] 'continuum'), i.e. σχ-έσθαι, ἔχεσθαι 'join, follow'; cf. ἔξης from the same stem. With an s-stem, there is ὄλο-σχερής 'complete' (Hell.; Schwyzler: 513); thence a derivation Σχερ-ίη, 'uninterrupted coast, continent' vel sim., name of the land of the Phaeacians (Od.).

ἐπιτάρροθος [m.] and [f.] 'helper' (Hom.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. Resembles the synonymous ἐπίρροθος; is it a cross from this and another word, or a "Streckform" (cf. on ► ἐκατηβελέτης, -βόλος)? Acc. to Schwyzler *Glotta* 12 (1923): 15f., a compound of \*ἐπι-τάρρο-θος = ταρσῶ (-οῖς, -οῖν) ἐπιθέων, -θέουσα [meaning?]; however, -ρρ- for -ρσ- remains to be explained. The solution of Brugmann *BPhW* 39 (1919): 136ff. is no better: \*ἐπ-ιθα-ρροθος, from ιθα- in ιθα-γενής. The form τάρροθος (Lyc.) is secondary.

ἐπίτεξ, -εκός [f.] 'close to delivery' (Hp., Hdt., Gortyn). <IE \*tek- 'give birth, bring forth'>

•VAR Acc. ἐπίτοκ-α (Andania, Hdt. 1, 108 as a v.l.).

•ETYM From ἐπί (ἐπι) and an unattested second member, probably a root noun \*τέξ, either as a hypostasis of ἐπὶ \*τεκ-ί [dat.] (Schwyzler: 424), or as per Sommer 1948: 111 and 115 as a bahuvrihi of the type ἔνθεος: "with the delivery approaching". Modelled on this form is late ἀγγί-τεξ 'id.' (Theognost.). The o-vowel in ἐπίτοκ-α is rather from later ἐπί-τοκος than old ablaut. Further, see ► τίκτω.

ἐπιτηδές [adv.] probably 'of set purpose, deliberately' (A 142, o 28); on the proparoxytonon Schwyzler: 380. <?>

•VAR ἐπίτηδες (IA), ἐπίτᾶδες (Theoc. 7, 42).

•COMP ἐξεπίτηδες 'id.' (IA).

•DER Adjective ἐπιτήδειος (Att.; Ion. -εος) 'appropriate, suitable, fitting' with ἐπιτηδειότης (IA); denominative verb ἐπιτηδεύω 'do sth. on purpose' (IA) with ἐπιτηδεύμα, ἐπιτηδευσις 'profession, action' (Att.; on the meaning Röttger 1937: 22ff.), Cret. ἐπιτάδουμα; ἐπιτηδευ(μα)τικός (Hell.).

•ETYM Presupposes a noun \*τῆδος, \*τᾶδος; no further connection.

ἐπιτηλὺς, -ίδος [f.] 'horned poppy, Glaucium flavum' (Nic. Th. 852). <?>

•ETYM So called because of the resemblance to τῆλὺς 'Trigonella'; see Strömberg 1944: 33. Cf. on ► ἐπιμήδιον.

ἐπίτυρον [n.] 'confection of olives', only as a Lat. LW *epityrum* in Cato RR 119, Plaut. *Mil.* 24; acc. to Varro *LL* 7: 86, a Sicilian delicacy. <GR>

•ETYM From τυρός, because it was eaten together with or after the cheese.

ἐπιωγαί [f.pl.] 'places of shelter for ships' (ε 404, A. R. 4, 1640 [sg.], Opp. *H.* 1, 602). <IE \*uh<sub>2</sub>g- 'break'>

•ETYM As a verbal noun from ἐπι-(φ)άγνυμαι 'break against sth.', so properly 'place where wind and waves are broken'; compare κυματωγή <κυματο-φαγή (Hdt.), and βορέω ὑπ' ἰωγῇ (ξ 533), properly "under the breaking of Boreas", i.e. 'protected against Boreas'. The latter has the reduplication \*φι-φωγ-η, \*ui-uoh<sub>2</sub>g-; thus, ἐπιωγή is probably from \*ἐπιφιωγή. Bechtel 1914 s.v. prefers \*ἐπι-φωγή without reduplication, beside φαγή. On the formation, see Jacobsohn *Gnomon* 2 (1926): 384.

ἔπομαι [v.] 'to follow, accompany'. <IE \*sekʷ- 'follow'>

•VAR Ipf. εἰπόμην, fut. ἔσομαι, aor. ἐσπόμην, inf. σπέσθαι (Il.); ἐσπ-έσθαι, -όμενος, -οίμην certain only since A. R., who also has the innovated present ἔσπεται (see Braswell *Glotta* 58 (1980): 205-213).

•DIAL Myc. *e-qe-ta* /hekʷetās/, *e-qe-si-jo* /hekʷesios/, see Gérard-Rousseau 1968: 91-94.

•COMP Also with prefix ἐφ-, παρ-, συν-, μεθ-.

•DER ἐπέτας 'who accompanies' (Pi.) = Myc. *e-qe-ta*; -τις [f.] (A. R.); further derivatives ► ἀοσσεῶ, ► ὀπάων, ► ὀπάζω; cf. ► ὀπηδός.

•ETYM Identical with Skt. *sácate*, Av. *hacaitē* (= ἔπεται, IE \*sekʷ-e-toi); further, to Lat. *sequor* = OIr. *sechur*, Lith. *sekiu, sėkti* 'follow'. The Gm. word for 'to see', Go. *saihan*, etc. deviates semantically – perhaps 'to follow with the eyes'? See LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*sekʷ- 'sich anschliessen'. It has mostly been assumed that the aorist ἐσπόμην stood for \*ἐ-σπ-, with secondary aspiration after ἔπομαι (like εἰπόμην), and that the form ἐσπέσθαι, which was considered certain only for Hell. times, was secondary. However, Braswell (l.c.) shows that Pindar has some non-indicative forms with ἐσπ-, so Frisk and Chantraine mistakenly reject the form.

ἐπομιάδιος = ὥμος.

ἔπος [n.] 'word, speech' (Il.). <IE \*uekʷ- 'speak'>

•VAR Plur. also 'song, epic poem' (Pi., Hdt.; on meaning and use Fournier 1946: 212ff.).

•DIAL El. Cyp. *fépos*.

•COMP As a first member in ► ἐπεσβόλος, ἐπο-ποιός (with analogical compositional vowel); as a second member e.g. in ► ἀπτοεπής.

•DER ἐπύλλιον 'small song, small verse' (Ar.; after this other diminutives in -ύλλιον, Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 214 and 225); ἐπικός 'belonging to epic poetry' (D. H.).

•ETYM El. and Cyp. *fépos* is identical with Skt. *vácas-*, Av. *vacah-* 'word'; IE \*uekʷ-os- [n.]. Greek further has the root noun \*ὄψ (in ► ὄπ-α [acc.], etc.), in addition to

► ὅσσα and probably ► ἐν-οπή, as well as the aorist ► εἶπον. A primary athematic verb is preserved in Skt. *vák-ti* 'he speaks'.

**ἔποψ, -οπος** [m.] 'hoopoe, *Urupa erops*' (Epich., Ar.), also ἔποπος ὄρνειον 'bird', ἔπωπα· ἀλεκτρυόνα ἄγριον 'wild cock', ἄπαφος· ἔποψ τὸ ὄρνειον 'hoopoe', after the animal names in -φος (H.). <ONOM>

•ETYM Formation like δρύοψ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 259) on an onomatopoeic basis; cf. ἐποποί, πόποπο of the call of the bird (Ar. Av. 58 resp. 227). Parallel names exist in other languages: Arm. *porop*, Lat. *urupa*, Latv. *purukis*, etc. The word probably cannot be called Indo-European. On ἔποψ, see further Thompson 1895 §v.

**ἑπτὰ** [num.] 'seven' (Il.). <IE \*septm 'seven'>

•COMP As a first member in copulative ἑπτακαίδεκα, in ἑπτακόσιοι (cf. on διακόσιοι) and in several bahuvrīhis like ἑπτα-βόειος.

•DER ἑπτάκι(ς), -ιν 'seven times' (Pi.), ἑπτάχᾱ 'in seven parts' (ξ 434), ἑπτάς [f.] 'a group of seven' (days, years; Arist.); ἑπταδεύω 'belong to the ἑπτὰ' (Olbia III<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Gr. ἑπτὰ, Skt. *saptá*, Lat. *septem*, Arm. *ewt'n*, Gm., e.g. Go. *sibun*, etc. go back to IE \*septḥ₂ (accent after IE \*oktō[u] > ὀκτώ, *aṣṭáu*). Cf. also ► ἑβδομήκοντα, ► ἑβδομος.

**ἔπω 1** [v.] 'to care for, occupy oneself' (Il., Ion., Hell.); in the epic sometimes confused with ἔπομαι, or semantically influenced by it (Chantraine 1942: 309<sup>1</sup>, 388). <IE \*sep- 'occupy with, care for'>

•VAR ἔποντα Z 321; further only with prefix (adverb): ἀμφ(ι)-, δι-, ἐφ-, μεθ-, περι- ἔπω, mostly present stem, further future and aorist forms like ἐφ-έψω, ἐπ-έσπον, ἐπισπεῖν, μετα-σπών.

•DER ► ὄπλον, ► δίοπος, probably also ► ἐπητής, -τύς.

•ETYM Old thematic root present, identical with Skt. *sápati* 'care, honor'; Iranian features athematic forms, viz. Av. *haf-ši* [2sg.], *hap-ti* [3sg.] 'hold (in the hand), support'. An old enlargement is Lat. *sepeliō* 'bury' = Skt. *saparyāti* 'honor'.

**ἔπω 2** [v.] 'to name'. <GR>

•VAR in ἔπουσιν (Nic.).

•ETYM Artificial present of ► εἶπον.

**ἐπωτίδες** [f.pl.] 'catheads of warships, beams projecting like ears on each side of a ship's bows' (E., Th., Str.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>ous- 'ear'>

•ETYM Forms based on οὖς, ὠτός, like ἐπωμῖς 'upper part of the shoulder' on ὦμος and ἐπιδορατῖς 'point of a lance' on δόρυ, etc. (Strömberg 1946: 99). Thus it is properly 'tips of the ear', because of their projecting position. Differently, Forster 1950: 70.

**ἐπώχато** [v.] only in M 340 πᾶσαι γὰρ ἐπώχато (scil. πύλαι) 'they were all closed'. <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>ueig- 'open'>

•ETYM Perhaps a 3sg.med.plpf. to ἐπ-οιγνύναι in the meaning 'close', with aspiration of the velar. For the meaning, cf. especially (τὴν θύραν) προσέφεν 'they shut (the door)' (LXX Ge. 19, 6). Wackernagel 1955(1): 127ff. also discusses the analysis as a

plpf. ἐπώχато (the inferior reading in the mss.) derived from ἐπέχω. See also Bechtel 1914 s.v. ► οἴγνυμι.

**ἔρα** [f.] explained by Erot., Str., etc. with γῆ 'earth', in ἔραξε, Dor. ἔρασδε 'on the earth' (Il.); ἔρας γῆς (H.). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>er- 'earth'>

•COMP The word is further assumed in compounds, e.g. as a second member in πολύ-ηρος· πολυάρχουρος, πλούσιος 'with many fields, rich' (H.), as a first member in ἐρεσι-μήτην· τὴν γεωμετρίαν 'geometry' (H.); on the last Hoffmann 1921: 82ff., who wants to read in H. ἔρας· γῆ and takes the word as a neuter; ἔραξε then from \*ἔρας-δε.

•DER ἑράναι· βωμοί 'altars' (H.; Schwyzer: 489; very doubtful); denominative verb in ► ἀπ-εράω, etc. Cf. also on ► ἐνεροι.

•ETYM A general resemblance is shown by a few Gm. and Celt. expressions for 'earth, etc.': OHG *ero* 'earth', ON *jörvi* 'sand(bank)', MW *erw* 'field', all with a suffix -u- (old u-stem?); with a suffix -t-, Go. *airþa*, ON *jörð*, Ml. *ert* 'earth'. Arm. *erki* 'earth' is unclear.

**ἐραμαι** [v.] 'to desire, love' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Lengthened form ἐράασθε Π 208 (cf. Chantraine 1942: 83); IA ἐράω; aor. ἐράσ(σ)ασθαι, ἐρασθήναι, fut. ἐρασθήσομαι (epic Ion.).

•DER Verbal adj. ἐρατός 'desired, loved' (Il.), with Ἐρατώ [f.] name of one of the Muses (Hes.) and ἐρατίζω 'desire' (Λ 551); lengthened form ἐρατεινός 'lovely' (Il.; after the adjectives in -εινός, e.g. ἀλγινός; ποθινός; Pi.); on ἐραστός see below. Further ἔρω (Il.), gen., etc. -ωτος [m.] (Hdt., Pi.), epic also ἔρος [m.] '(carnal) love, the god of Love', with several derivatives: beside the hypocoristics Ἐρώτ-ιον, -άριον, -ίσκος, -ιδεύς also ἐρωτικός 'ptng. to love' (Att.), ἐρωτύλος 'lovely, darling', ἐρωτίς [f.] 'id.' (Theoc.); ἐρωτ-ιάδες (Νύμφαι; AP); ἐρωτίδια (-εια, -αία) 'festival for Eros' (Ath., inscr.); denominative verb ἐρωτ-ιάω 'be sick of love' (Hp.). From ἔρος: ἐρόεις (Hes., *h. Hom.*); cf. Treu 1955: 245. From a stem ἐρασ-: Aeol. ἐραννός 'lovely, charming' < \*ἐρασ-νός (Il.), ἐράσμιος 'id.' (Semon., Anacr.; cf. Schwyzer: 493<sup>10</sup>, Chantraine 1933: 43), ἐραστής 'lover' (IA), also in compounds, e.g. παιδ-εραστής, fem. ἐράστρια (Eup.); ἐραστός = ἐρατός (Att., etc.); denominative verb ἐραστεύω = ἐράω (A. Pr. 893 [lyr.]). The frequent formations in -σ-, which can hardly all be analogical, point to an original s-stem ἔρω, ἔρασ- (like γέλω, γέλασ-), which was subsequently enlarged by -τ- or thematicized.

•ETYM No etymology. Thus Pre-Greek?

**ἐρανος** [m.] 'meal on joint account, meal of friends' (Od., Pi.); 'contribution, benefactory society' (Att., Hell.). <PG?>

•COMP Compounds: ἐραν-άρχης 'president of an ἔρανος' together with -έω [v.] (pap., etc.), also ἀρχ-ἐρανος = ἀρχ-ερανιστής together with -ίζω [v.] (inscr.).

•DER ἐρανικός 'regarding an ἔρανος' and denominative ἐραρίζω, -ομαι 'collect contributions' (Att., Hell.) with ἐράν-ις (Pl.), -ισμός (D. H.), ἐρανιστής 'participant or member of an ἔρανος' (Att., Hell.), also ἐρανεστής (Achae.) after κηδεστής, etc.

•ETYM Uncertain. Traditionally grouped together with ► ἔροτις 'feast' (Cypr., etc.) and ► ἔορτή, and combined with ► ἥρα 'service'; the latter connection is phonetically

improbable, however. We should assume the basic forms \*φέρα-νος, \*φέρο-τις, but their origin is unknown: so is the word Pre-Greek?

**ἐραχος** [?] · τὸ δράγμα· Βοιωτοὶ 'handful (Boeot.)' (H.); also ἐραχάται· οἱ δεσμεύοντες 'the fettering ones'. <?>

•ETYM See Bechtel 1921, 1: 305f.

**ἐράω** 1 ⇒ ἐραμαι.

**\*ἐράω** 2 ⇒ ἀπ-εράω.

**ἐργον** [n.] 'work, labour, work of art' (Il.). <IE \*uerg- 'work'>

•DIAL Myc. *we-ka-ta* /wergatās/.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἐργο-λάβος 'undertaker'; further PN Ἐργα-μένης (Bechtel 1917a: 23f.; cf. ἐργά-της but also Ἀλκαμένης); very often as a second member -εργός (or -οργός), e.g. γεωργός 'farmer' (see ► γῆ), ► δημιουργός.

•DER ἐργώδης 'laborious, heavy' (Hp., X.). ἐργάτης [m.] (from the plur. ἔργα; Schwyzler 500; cf. ἐργάζομαι 'labourer', especially 'farmer'; also adj. 'laborious' (IA), fem. ἐργάτις, with ἐργατικός 'ptng. to an ἐργάτης, laborious', ἐργατίνης = ἐργάτης (Theoc.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 203, Schwyzler: 490), διεργάτινος (Mytilene), ἐργατήσιος 'profitable' (Plu. *Cat. Ma.* 21; uncertain; cf. Chantraine 1933: 42); ἐργασία, to ἐργάζομαι, see below; denominative verb ἐργατεύομαι, -εύω 'work hard' with ἐργατεία (LXX, pap.). Ἐργάνη, Delph. φαργάνα epithet of Athena (Delphi VI-V\*, etc.), also = ἐργασία (pap., H.); ἔργα, written γέργ-· ἐργαλεῖα (H.); ἐργαλεῖον, usually plur. -εῖα, Cret. φεργ- 'tool, instrument' (IA); there is no \*ἐργαλον (cf. Chantraine 1933: 60). Denominative verb ἐργάζομαι 'work' (Il.; Schwyzler 734), Cret. φεργάδδομαι, often with prefix ἀπ-, ἐν-, etc.; several derivatives: ἐργαστικός 'busy, productive, labourer' (IA); ἐργασία, Cret. φεργ- '(heavy) labour, fieldwork, profession' (IA) with ἐργάσιμος 'in business, cleared (land)' (also to ἐργάζομαι; cf. Arbenz 1933: 44f.); ἐργαστήρ 'field labourer' (X.), ἐργαστής 'id.', also 'negotiator' (A. D., Rom. inscr.); ἐργαστήριον 'workshop' (IA; cf. Chantraine 1933: 62f.; thence [after *vinculum*] Lat. *ergastulum*, though acc. to Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 207<sup>n</sup>, from ἔργαστρον) together with ἐργαστηριακός 'labourer' (Plb.), diminutive ἐργαστηρίδιον (pap.); ἐργαστρα [pl.] 'wages' (pap.; Chantraine 1933: 332). Desiderative ptc. ἐργασείων 'who wants to do' (S.).

•ETYM Dor. φέργον (thence regularly El. φάργον) is identical with Av. *varəzəm* [n.], OHG *werc*, ON *verk* [n.] 'work'; IE \*uérǵo- [n.]; with secondary *o*, Arm. *gorc* 'id.' (from deverbative *gorcem* 'work'). Connexion with W *vergo-bretus* 'highest official of the Aeduans' is uncertain. Primary verbs from this root are ► ἐρδω and ► ῥέζω; see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 2. \*uérǵ- 'wirken, machen'. See further ► ὄργανον, ► ὄργια, ► ἑόργη.

**ἐργω** ⇒ εἶργω.

**ἐρδω** [v.] 'to do, make, finish', also 'to sacrifice'. <IE \*uerg- 'work'>

•VAR Aor. ἔρξαι (Cyp. ἔφερξα), perf. ἔοργα (Il.), med. ἐργγμένος (B. 12, 207; uncertain), fut. ἔρξω (Od.).

•DIAL Myc. *wo-ze* /worzei/ continues the original zero grade.

•COMP Rarely with prefix ἀπ-, προσ-, συν-. In prose replaced by ποιέω, πράττω, ἐργάζομαι, etc.

•DER ἔργμα 'deed' (*h.Hom.*, Archil.), ἔρκτωρ 'perpetrator' (Antim.).

•ETYM The present (f)έρδω (Cret. βέρδι; cf. Schwyzler: 224; on the digamma, see also Chantraine 1942: 135; on the secondary aspiration in ἔρδω, *ibid.* 1, 187f.) can go back to \*φέργω via \*φέρδω, and differs only in ablaut grade from the zero grade yod-presents Av. *varəziieiti* = Go. *waurkeiþ*, OHG *wurchit*, all from IE \*uǵ-*ie-*. The full grade could be taken from (f)έργον; likewise, OS *wirkiu* after *werk*; cf. Schwyzler: 716<sup>2</sup>. The non-presentic forms show the expected full grade, with regular *o-* in the perfect. Cf. ► ῥέζω.

**ἐρέα** ⇒ εἶρος.

**ἐρέας** · τέκνα. Θεσσαλοὶ 'children (Thess.)', ἐρέεσφι · τέκνοις (H.). <IE? \*h<sub>1</sub>(e)r- 'arise'>

•VAR ἐρέων [gen.pl.], ἔρεσσι [dat.pl.] (Puchstein *Epigr. Gr.* p. 76).

•ETYM With the exception of ἐρέας, all forms can be explained from \*ἔρος [n.], which together with ἔρνος 'sprout' may belong to ► ὄρνυμι. So it is probably to be corrected to ἔρεα. Note that one expects generalized ὄρ- from \*h<sub>3</sub>er-, however, so that the *e*-vocalism of the *s*-stem nouns must be secondary. A msc. \*ἐρής would be difficult, in spite of Bechtel 1921, 1: 205.

**ἐρέβινθος** [m.] 'chickpea' (Il.). <LW Eastern Mediterranean?>

•DER Diminutive ἐρεβίνθιον (pap.) and ἐρεβινθ-ώδης (Thphr.), -ειος (Zen.), -ιαῖος (Dsc.), -ινος (H., Phot., Suid.).

•ETYM Related to ► ὄροβος 'id.' with the Pre-Greek suffix -ινθος. Further related to Lat. *ervum* 'a kind of vetch', to which some Celt. and Gm. words for 'pea, etc.' are compared: OHG *araweiz*, *arwiz* 'pea', Mlr. *orbaind* 'grain', etc. The word may come from the eastern Mediterranean area; see WH s.v. *ervum*. Skt. *aravinda-* [n.] 'lotus flower' does not belong here; cf. Mayrhofer KEWA s.v.

**ἐρεβος** [n.] 'the dark of the underworld' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>reg<sup>w</sup>-os- 'darkness'>

•DER ἐρεβεννός, Aeol. < \*ἐρεβεσ-νός properly 'belonging to ἐρεβος, dark' (Il., Hes.); more common ἐρεμνός < \*ἐρεβ-νός (cf. Risch 1937: 99; see also on ► δεινός) 'id.' (Il.); ἐρεβώδης 'id.' (late).

•ETYM Old word for 'darkness, etc.', also found in other branches: Skt. *rājas-* [n.] 'dark (lower) air, dust', Arm. *erek*, -oy 'evening', Go. *riqiz*, ON *røkk* [n.] 'dark, dusk', all from IE \*h<sub>1</sub>reg<sup>w</sup>-os- [n.].

**ἐρέγματα** ⇒ ἐρείκω.

**ἐρεείνω** [v.] 'to interrogate, hear out' (epic since Il.).

•VAR Only present.

•ETYM Like in the similar case of ἀλεείνω (see ► ἀλέα 2), a denominative formation has been assumed: an *r/n*-stem \*ἐρεφ-εν-. The form ► εἶρομαι is a primary present. Cf. also ► ἐρευνάω, ► ἐρωτάω.

**ἐρέθω** [v.] 'to stir, provoke' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Also pres. ἐρεθίζω, with aor. ἐρεθίσαι (A.), pass. ἐρεθ-ισθῆναι, -ισθεῖς (Hdt.), -ίξαι (AP), perf.pass. ἤρεθ-ισμαι, -ισμένος (IA), act. ἤρέθικα (Aeschin.), fut. -ίσω, -ιώ (Hell.).

•COMP With prefix ἀν-, δι-, ἐξ-, προσ-ερεθίζω, etc., also ἐξ-, κατ-ερέθω.

•DER From ἐρεθίζω: ἐρεθισμός (Hp.), ἐρέθισμα (Ar.) 'provocation, irritation', ἐρεθιστής 'agitator' (LXX), -ιστικός 'irritating' (Hp.) From ἐρέθω perhaps \*ὄροθος in ►ὄροθύνω.

•ETYM The present ἐρέθω may have a formantic -θ-, like θαλέθω, φλεγέθω, etc. (Schwyzer: 703, Chantraine 1942: 327ff.); the primary verb from which it is derived is unknown. Note the forms in H., ἔρετο· ὠρμήθη, ἔρσεο· διεγείρου, and ἔρση· ὀρμήση, that might have formed the basis of ἐρέθω.

**ἐρείδω** [v.] 'to prop, support'. <?>

•VAR Also med. -ομαι; aor. ἐρεῖσαι, -είσασθαι, pass. ἐρεισθῆναι (Il.), perf. med. ἐρήρεισμαι (Il.), 3pl. ἐρηρέδαται, -έδατο (Hom.) for -ίδαται, -ίδατο (Aeolism?, cf. Schwyzer: 106), ἐρήρεινται, ἐρήρειντο (A. R.; Schwyzer: 671), act. συν-, προσ-ήρεια (Hp., Plb.), (προσ-)ἐρήρεια (Dsc., Plu.), fut. ἐρεῖσω, -ομαι (Arist.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀντ-, ἀπ-, ἐπ-, προσ-, συν-, ὑπ-, etc.

•DER (-)ἔρεισις, (-)ἔρεισμα, (-)ἔρεισμός, (-)ἔρειστικός. Cf. ἀντηρίς, Szemerényi 1964: 143<sup>1</sup>.

•ETYM No certain correspondences outside Greek. Connected with Lat. *ridica* [f.] 'stake, wine prop' by Froehde KZ 22 (1874): 263, which is deemed 'very uncertain' by De Vaan 2008 s.v. One could mechanically reconstruct \**h<sub>1</sub>reid-*.

**ἐρείκη** [f.] 'heather, Arica arborea' (A., Eup.). <?>

•COMP As a second member probably in ὑπ-ἐρεικός [f.] (Nic.), -ον [n.] (Hp., Dsc.; written ὑπερικόν) 'Hypericum'; Strömberg 1944: 42.

•DER ἐρείκια [n.pl.] 'heather plants', ἐρείκινος 'made of heather' (pap.), ἐρεικηρός 'id.' (medic.), ἐρεκαῖον (scil. μέλι) [n.] 'honey from heather' (Plin.). PN Ἐρείκεια with Ἐρεικειεύς (Attica IV<sup>a</sup>; written Ἐρικ-, probably itacistic; cf. Meisterhans 1900: 42 and 53), Ἐρεικοῦς λόφος (Asia Minor IV<sup>a</sup>), Ἐρεικοῦσσα island near Sicily (Str. et al.).

•ETYM Celtic and Balto-Slavic designations of heather resemble ἐρείκη (supposing that this derives from \**ferēikā*), but they do not agree completely: OIr. *froech*, MW *grug* < IE \**uroiko-*; Latv. *virši* [pl.], Lith. *viřzis*, Ru. *vėres*, *vėresk*, etc. with unclear final velar. Acc. to Machek *Ling. Posn.* 2 (1950): 158f., ἐρείκη and *vėres*, etc. were borrowed from a common source.

**ἐρείκω** [v.] 'to break, bruise, crush, burst' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>reik-* 'break, tear off?' (cf.)>

•VAR ἐρεϊκόμενος intr. (N 441), aor. ἤρικε (P 595, intr.), ἐρεῖξαι (IA), perf.pass. ἐρήριγμαi, -μένος (Hp., Arist.).

•COMP Rarely with prefix κατ-, δι-, ὑπ-.

•DER ἐρεϊκίδες [pl.] (Gal.), ἐρεϊκάς (H.) 'pounded barley, groats', ἐρεϊκίον 'crumbly pastry' (Gal.; formation like ἐρείπια), ἐρεϊκίτας (ἄρτος, Ath.; Redard 1949: 89), all often itacistically written ἐρικ-; thus ἐρίγματα [pl.] (Hp.), ἐρίγμα (sch.) 'bruised beans' instead of ἐρειγ-; in the same meaning with unexplained ε: ἐρέγματα (Thphr., Erot.), ἐρεγμός (pap., Gal., Erot.) together with ἐρέγμινος (Dsc., Orib.).

•ETYM With the full grade root present ἐρείκω and the clearly old weak grade aorist ἤρικε, there are no formal and semantic agreements in other branches. The nearest relations are Skt. *rikhāti*, *likhāti* 'scratch' (with aspirated velar), Lith. *riekiù*, *riėkti* 'cut loaf, plough for the first time', Skt. *riśāti*, *liśāti* 'pluck, tear away'. One might consider connection of nominal forms like OHG *rīga*, MHG *rīha* 'row, line', Lat. *rixa* 'quarrel', and perhaps also *rīma* 'cleft, crack' (see De Vaan 2008: s.vv.).

**ἐρείπω** [v.] 'to ruin, tear down' med. 'to collapse' (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>1</sub>reip-* 'throw down, dash'>

•VAR Aor. ἐριπεῖν (Il., intr.), ἐρεῖψαι (Hdt., Pi.), ἐριπέντι [ptc.dat.] = ἐριπόντι (Pi. O. 2, 43), pass. ἐρειφθεῖς (S. Aj. 309), perf. ἐρήριπε (Ξ 55, intr.), plpf. ἐρέριπτο (Ξ 15); ἐρήριμμαι, ἠρίφθην (Arr.); fut. ἐρεῖψω (S.).

•COMP With prefixes ἐξ-, κατ- et al.

•DER ἐρείπια [pl.] 'ruins' (Hdt., Arist.; on the formation Schwyzer: 470, Chantraine 1933: 55), adjectivized ἐρείπιος (οἰκία Ph.; ἐρείπιος γῆ· ἡ χέρσος 'dry land' Suid.); ἐρειψις of unclear meaning (Att. inscr.) with ἐρείψιμος 'ruined' (E. IT 48), ἐρειψιπύλας [m.] (B.), -τοιχος (A. Th. 883 [lyr.]) 'tearing down towers, especially walls'; with zero grade ἐρίπναι [pl.] 'broken cliff, steep ascent' (E., A. R.; sg. Nic.); on the suffix cf. κρημνός, κραιπνός and Chantraine 1933: 192.

•ETYM Beside full grade ἐρείπω, we have ON *rifa* 'to tear down' (trans.), like ἐρείπω also of buildings; with verbal noun, Lat. *rīpa* 'steep border, shore' (cf. ἐρίπναι and ἐρείπιος γῆ = χέρσος, i.e. 'shore'); additionally, ON *rīp* 'upper side of a boat', EastFris. *rip(e)* 'shore', MoHG *rif* 'id.'. Analysis of ἐρείπω and ἐρείκω as IE \*(*h<sub>1</sub>*)*rei-*p-, \*(*h<sub>1</sub>*)*rei-*k- (Pok. 857ff.) is too far-fetched. See LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*(*h<sub>1</sub>*)*reip-*.

**ἐρέπτομαι** [v.] 'to devour, eat', of animals and men, properly 'tear away, snatch away'.

<IE \**h<sub>1</sub>rep-*? 'catch, snatch away'>

•VAR Only ptc. ἐρεπτόμενος (Hom., AP; ἐρέπτων Nonn.). With ἀν- the aor.3pl. ἀν-ηρέψαντο (Hom.; codd. everywhere -ρειψ-; corrected by Fick; thus also A. R. [beside -ρεψ-], Orph.), ptc. ἀναρεψάμενη (Hes. Th. 990, cod. Ven.). ἀνερεψάμενοι (AB 401, 27); ἀνερέψατο (Pi. Pae. 6, 136) 'snatch away'.

•COMP With ἀν-.

•ETYM The yod-present ἐρέπτομαι resembles Lith. *ap-rėpti* 'take, catch' (which mechanically requires \*(*H*)*reh,p-*) and Alb. *rjep* 'tear off, rob'; cf. Lat. *rapiō*, -ere 'tear, snatch' with *a*-vocalism, on which see De Vaan 2008 s.v. It has also been compared with ►ἀρπάζω. See Szemerényi 1964: 203-5 and Beekes 1969: 35-7; LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*(*h<sub>1</sub>*)*rep-*.

**ἐρεσχηλέω** [v.] 'to joke, tease' (IA). <PG?>

•VAR Only present; also -χελέω v.l.

•DER From the verb: ἐρεσχηλία, -χελία (pap., EM 371, 1, Suid.). Also ἐρίσχηλος· λοῖδορος 'slandorous' (EM, Parth. Fr. 18).

•ETYM Like ►βλασφημέω, probably from a nominal first member and a verbal second member; further derivation unclear. Acc. to Wackernagel KZ 33 (1895): 57, ἐρεσ- is a neuter synonymous with ἔρις and is also found in ἐπίρεια; he compares the second member with χηλεύειν· ράπτειν, πλέκειν 'sew, stitch; braid' (H.); ἐρεσ-

χηλεῖν would then mean 'start a feud'. Fur. (index) considers ε/η Pre-Greek; note also the form with ἐρι-, though this could also be analogical based on ► ἐρις.

**ἐρέτης** [m.] 'rower' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>erh<sub>1</sub>-*, *h<sub>1</sub>reh<sub>1</sub>-* 'row'>

•VAR Myc. *e-re-ta* /eretās/; inf. *e-re-e* /ere<sup>h</sup>en/ (Perpillou *Minos* 9:2 (1968): 208-212).

•COMP As a second member in ► ὑπηρέτης.

•DER ἐρετικός 'concerning the rowers' (Att.); collective abstract εἰρεσίη, -ία 'the rowers' (Od.), where the metrical lengthening εἰ- was maintained in prose; denominative verb ἐρέσσω, rare Att. ἐρέττω, aor. ἐρέσ(σ)αι 'row' (Il.).

Further the instrument noun ἐρετιόν [n.] 'oar' (Il.) with ἐρετιώ [v.] 'to equip with oars' (E.), PN Ἐρετιεύς (Θ 111), also the TN Ἐρέτρια as 'the rowing (town)'. Formally isolated are the nouns in -ηρης and -ερος, -ορος, like τρι-ήρης 'trireme' (IA), ἀλι-ήρης 'rowing the sea' (κώπη E. *Hec.* 455 [lyr.]), πεντηκόντ-ερος, πεντηκόντ-ορος 'ship with fifty oars' (IA), etc., see below.

•ETYM The agent noun ἐρέ-της points to a disyllabic primary root \**h<sub>1</sub>erh<sub>1</sub>-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>reh<sub>1</sub>-* 'row', like synonymous Skt. *ari-tár-* (which would be Gr. \*ἐρε-τήρ, perhaps in Ἐρέτρ-ιᾶ). In Greek, this verb was replaced by the denominative ἐρέσσω (uncertain Myc. *e-re-e*), but it is still present in other languages: Lith. *iriù, irti* (from zero grade \**h<sub>1</sub>rh<sub>1</sub>-*), Gm., e.g. ON *róa*, Celt., e.g. OIr. *imb-rá* 'row, sail' (both from \**rō-*, as opposed to *rē-* in Lat. *rēmus*, and go back to \**h<sub>1</sub>reh<sub>1</sub>-* versus \**h<sub>1</sub>roh<sub>1</sub>-*). Traces of the verb in Greek occur in τρι-ήρης, etc. (with compositional lengthening and ending after the *s*-stems), πεντηκόντ-ερος, -ορος, etc. (after the *o*-stems, with root vocalism -*o-* after -γονος, -φορος, etc.; there is no vowel harmony, as per Schmidt KZ 32 (1893): 327). Perhaps, with a suffix -το-, (Lesb.) τέρρητον· τριήρης H., if haplological for \*τερρ-έριτον < \*τρι-έριτον as per Brugmann IF 13 (1902-1903): 152f. The form ἐρετιόν is reminiscent both of Skt. *arī-tr-a-* 'oar', Lith. *irklas* 'oar' < \**h<sub>1</sub>rh<sub>1</sub>-tlo-* and of Lat. *rēmus*, which perhaps has \**-smo-*; see De Vaan 2008 s.v.

**ἐρεύγομαι** 1 [v.] 'to belch out, disgorge, discharge, vomit', also metaph., e.g. of the sea (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>reug-* 'belch'>

•VAR Pres. also ἐρυγγάνω (Hp., Att.); aor. ἤρυγον (Ar., Arist.), ἤρευξάμην (Procop.), fut. ἐρεύξομαι (*Ev. Matt.* 13, 35).

•COMP Also with prefix ἀν-, ἀπ-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, κατ-, προσ-, etc.

•DER ἐρευξίς, ἐρευγμός, also ἐρυξίς, ἐρυγμός, ἐρυγμα together with ἐρυγματώδης (also ἐρευγματώδης); ἐρυγή 'belching out, etc.' (Hp.).

•ETYM The word ἐρεύγομαι (the nasal present ἐρυγγάνω like πυνθάνομαι beside πεύθομαι, etc.) belongs to an expressive group of words found in several languages, e.g. Lat. *ē-rūgō*, Lith. *riáuḡmi, riáuḡėti*, Ru. *rygát* (iter.) 'have belches, ruminate'; with zero grade as in ἤρυγον: OHG *ita-ruchjan* 'ruminate', OE *rocettan* (< PGm. \**rukātjan-*) 'belch', Arm. *orcam* (< *o-ruc-am* < *erucam*, corresponding to Gr. ἐ-); also, MoP *ā-rōḡ* 'belch'. Cf. ► ἐρεύγομαι 2.

**ἐρεύγομαι** 2 [v.] in Hom. only of the sea ἐρευγομένης ἁλὸς (P 265), κύμα ... δεινὸν ἐρευγόμενον (ε 403), (κύματα) ἐρεύγεται ἡπειρόνδε (ε 438); to be translated with 'roar' in the last two passages (cf. Ξ 394 κύμα ... βοᾷ ποτὶ χέρσον), but here, like in P 265, a translation 'belch out' (= ► ἐρεύγομαι 1) is also possible. The sense of

'roaring' seems certain in the aorist ἤρυγεν (Υ 403f.): ἤρυγεν ὥς ὅτε ταῦρος ἤρυγεν, 406 τὸν γ' ἐρυγόντα λίπε ... θυμός; thus also in Theoc. 13, 58. The present and future are also used in the meaning 'roar' in LXX (σκύμνος ἐρευγόμενος, λέων ἐρεύζεται).

<IE \**h<sub>1</sub>reug-* 'belch' (also 'roar')>

•DER ἐρύγμηλος Σ 580 (from ἐρυγμή H. or \*ἐρυγμαῖν) is also used as an adjunct of ταῦρος 'bull'; differently, EM 379, 27 ἐρυγμήλη (H. ἐρυγήλη)· ἐπιθετον ῥαφανίου, ἴσως ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρυγῆς 'epithet of the radish, perhaps called after the belch'. H. mentions also ἐρυγμαίνουσα· ἡ βοῦς ('ruminator'? Cf. on ► ἐρεύγομαι 1). καὶ ὁ ταῦρος ἐρυγμαίνων, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρυγῆς 'also the bull, after ἐ., and ἐρυγήτωρ· βοιότης 'clamorous'.

•ETYM Clearly, ἐρεύγομαι 1 and 2 are not always kept apart in Greek, e.g. ἡμέρα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐρεύγεται ῥῆμα (LXX Ps. 18 [19], 2), ἐρεύξομαι κεκρυμμένα (*Ev. Matt.* 13, 35), where 'to belch out' is used expressively for 'to cry', etc. Nonetheless, ► ὀρυμαγδός and ὠρυγή, ὠρυγμός (see ► ὠρύομαι) clearly refer to 'roaring'.

Other languages have comparable words in the meaning 'roar': Lat. *rūgiō* 'to roar'; with a different auslaut (IE \**-k-*), OCS *rykati* 'roar', OE *rȳn* 'id.' (PGm. \**rūhjan-*), OHG *rohōn* < PGm. \**ruhōn-*; in Latin, the expected form would be \**rūcāre*, but we instead have *runcāre* 'to snore' (s.v. ► ῥέγκω).

**ἐρεύθω** [v.] 'to make red, paint red' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>reudh-* 'red'>

•VAR Aor. ἐρεῦσαι.

•COMP Also with prefix συνεξ-, κατ-.

•DER ἐρευθος [n.] 'redness' (Hp., Ph.) with ἐρευθής 'red-colored' (Str., Arat.), furthermore the poetical ἐρευθήεις (-ιόεις) 'id.' (A. R.), ἐρευθαλέος 'id.' (Nonn.), probably innovation, like PN Ἐρευθαλίων (Hom.; cf. Δευκαλίων, Πυγμαλίων et al.), Ἐρευθαλία town in Argos (sch.; cf. Οἰχαλία). Denominative verbs: ἐρευθέω 'get red' (Luc., pap.) with ἐρευθήμια (Gal.), ἐρευθιάω 'id.' (Hp.; after the verbs of disease). On the plant name ἐρευθέδανον [n.] 'red dye, Rubia tinctorum' (Hdt., Thphr.), also ἐρυθρόδανον, see ► ἐρυθρός.

•ETYM The word ἐρεύθω is identical with ON *rjóða* 'to make bloody', OE *rēodan* 'to paint red'; ἐρευθος may also have an equivalent outside Greek, i.e. in Lat. *rōbus, rōbur, -oris* 'heartwood' (with *ō* < \**eu*, a non-Roman dialectal trait; see De Vaan 2008 s.v.), as heartwood is more red or brown than sapwood. Forms from an *s*-stem have been assumed in Greek, but see discussion on ► ἐρυσίβη 'rust'. An old formation is ► ἐρυθρός.

**ἐρευνάω** [v.] 'to search for (after), inquire' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>reu-* 'search, inquire'>

•VAR Hell. (LXX, pap., NT, etc.) also ἐραυνάω with εὔ > αυ (cf. Schwyzler: 126 and 198); aor. ἐρευνῆσαι.

•COMP Also with prefixes ἀν-, δι-, ἐξ-, κατ- et al.

•DER (δι-)ἐρευνητής 'inquirer' (X.) with ἐρευνήτρια [f.] (Corn.), (δι-)ἐρευνήσις 'inquiry' (Str.), (δι-, ἐξ-)ἐρευνητικός (Str.). Also the back-formation ἐρευνα [f.], late also ἐραυνα (cf. above) 'id.' (S., E., Arist.).

•ETYM Like ► ἐρεεῖν, ἐρευνάω is derived from a verb εἶρομαι, ἐρέ(φ)-ω 'ask' via a noun \*ἐρεφ-(ε)ν-, and modelled on the verbs in -νάω. A transformation of this noun



could be seen in ON *raun* [f.] 'attempt, test, inquiry', from IE *\*h<sub>1</sub>rou-n-eh<sub>2</sub>-*. Further see ►εἶρομαι, ►ἐρωτάω.

**ἐρέφω** [v.] 'to cover, provide with a roof' (Pi., Ar.). <IE *\*h<sub>1</sub>reb<sup>h</sup>-* 'cover, roof'>

•VAR Also ἐρέπτω (Pi., B., Cratin.); aor. ἐρέψαι (Il.), fut. ἐρέψω (A., E.).

•COMP Sometimes with prefix ἀμφ-, ἐπ-, κατ-; as a second member e.g. in ὑψ-όροφος 'with high roof' (Hom.); also ὑψ-ερεφής, -ηρεφής 'id.' (Hom.), κατ-ηρεφής 'with a roof, vaulted' (Il.), πετρ-ηρεφής 'vaulted with rocks' (A., E.) et al.

•DER ἔρεψις 'roofing' (Thphr.) with ἐρέψμιος (Pl.); with ablaut ὄροφος [m.] 'cover, roof' (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 7, 140, A.), also 'thatch for a roof' (Ω 451), ὀροφή [f.] 'roof, especially 'ceiling' (IA, Od.) with ὀροφίας name of a snake (Ar. V. 206), = ὄφις τῶν κατ' οἰκίαν H.; cf. Georgacas 1956: 126; ὀρόφινος 'covered with thatch' (Aen. Tact.), ὀροφ-ιαῖος, -ιος, -ικός 'ptng. to the ὀροφή (ὄροφος)' (Att., Hell.); denominative verb ὀροφώ 'roof, cover' (Hell.) with ὀρόφωμα, ὀρόφωσις.

•ETYM The only correspondences are the second member in OHG *hirni-reba* 'skull' (properly "brain-cover") and the Gm. word for 'rib' (as "cover of the breast"): OHG *rippa*, *rippi*, OE *ribb*, ON *rif* [n.], IE *\*h<sub>1</sub>reb<sup>h</sup>-io-*, and also Ru. *rebró* 'id.' <*\*h<sub>1</sub>reb<sup>h</sup>-ro-*. Both ὀροφή and ὄροφος contain two o-grades, the first of which must be secondary (double ablaut?); there is no vowel assimilation.

**Ἐρεχθεύς** ⇒ Εριχθόνιος.

**ἐρέχθω** [v.] 'to rend, break' (Ψ 317, ε 83, *h.Ap.* 358). <PG(V)>

•VAR Only present.

•DER Plant name ἐρεχθίτις = ἡριγέρων (Ps.-Dsc.); see André *RPh.* 45 (1971): 216f.: 'the one that breaks'. On ►Ἐρεχθεύς, Att. vases Ερεχσεας, etc. see ►Εριχθόνιος.

•ETYM Connected with Skt. *rākṣas-*, Av. *raśah-* 'destruction, damage', YAv. *rāšaieṇte* [3pl.pres.] 'damage'. Semantic objections are voiced by Kretschmer KZ 31 (1892): 432f. The connection is 'unglaublich' to Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 423 and Gunnarsson *NTS* 24 (1971): 64ff. Improbable analysis of -χθ- from *\*-ks-d<sup>h</sup>-* by Lipp, followed by LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)reks-*.

**ἐρέω 1** 'ask'. ⇒ εἶρομαι.

**ἐρέω 2** [v.fut.] 'say'. ⇒ εἶρω 2.

**ἐρήμιος** 'lonely, uninhabited, deserted', of places and things, people and animals (Il.).

<IE *\*h<sub>1</sub>r(e)h<sub>1</sub>-* 'loose, rare, separate'>

•DIAL Myc. *e-re-mo* /erēmos/ describing land. Younger Att. ἐρήμιος.

•COMP Also in compounds, e.g. ἐρημο-νόμιος 'living in loneliness' (A. R.), late. As a second member in παν-, φιλ-, ὑπ-ἐρημιος et al.

•DER Poetical derivatives ἐρημ-αῖος (Emp., A. R.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 49), -εῖος (Mykonos); fem. ἐρημιάς (Man.; Chantraine 1933: 354f.). Abstract ἐρημία 'loneliness, solitude, lack' (IA) with ἐρημίτης, ἐρημικός 'id.' (LXX). Denominative verbs ἐρημιόμαι, -όω 'to become or make desolate, destroyed or looted' (Pi., IA), together with ἐρήμωσις (LXX), ἐρημωτής (AP); also with prefix ἀπ-, ἐξ-, κατ-, with ἀπέρημιος (sch.). ἐρημάζω [v.] 'to live in solitude' (Thphr.).

•ETYM The Greek form mechanically requires *\*h<sub>1</sub>reh<sub>1</sub>-mo-* (zero grade would have given two short vowels, cf. ὄνομα <*\*h<sub>1</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-mn-*); the root would agree with Lith. *irti* 'disintegrate', 1sg. *yrū*. It has been connected with Lat. *rārus*, which would have to be from *\*h<sub>1</sub>rh<sub>1</sub>-ro-* (Schrijver 1991: 310f. is undecided between zero grade and full grade, but the latter would require *\*Hreh<sub>2</sub>-* which would not be compatible with the Greek evidence); Lat. *rēte* 'net' could be from *\*h<sub>1</sub>reh<sub>1</sub>-t-* (Beekes 1969: 36), but is now also connected with Lith. *rētas* 'rare, thin, slow' et al. (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). Skt. *ṛ-tē* 'with exception of, without' is unclear; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v.

**ἐριτύω** [v.] 'to keep back, hinder'. <?>

•VAR Aor. ἐριτύσαι (Il.; rare S., E.), ἐρατύει S. OC 164 (lyr.), ἐράτοθεν (= ἐρήτυθεν B 99) ἀνεπαύσαντο 'they stopped' (H.), on which cf. Schwyzler: 182, Hoffmann 1891: 166; 283, Bechtel 1921, 1: 401; DELG thinks it is not Cyprian.

•COMP Also with ἀπ-, κατ-.

•ETYM No etymology. Cf. on ►ἐρώη, ►ἐρώέω. If the -α- is reliable, we could reconstruct *\*h<sub>1</sub>reh<sub>2</sub>-tu-*.

**ἐρθεῖ** [v.] · φθέγγεται 'utters' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**ἐρι-** [pref.] 'very, high' (Il.). <IE *\*ser-* 'high'>

•DIAL Perhaps in Myc. *e-ri-* /eri-/.

•COMP Especially in bahuvrihis like ἐρί-(γ)δουπος, -σθενής, -τιμος, -αύχην; also ἐρι-βρεμέτης, -διᾶτος (A. Ag. 1461 [lyr.]) et al.; cf. Chantraine *REGr.* 49: 406.

•ETYM Willi KZ 112 (1999): 87-100 follows Heubeck in connecting Hitt. *šēr* 'high, up', and separates ►ἀρι-. Some semantic traces of this etymology may be found, e.g. ἐρι-αύχην 'with the neck high, in height', etc. (ibid.: 96f.).

**ἐρίηρες** [adj.] perhaps 'faithful'. <IE *\*ueh<sub>1</sub>r-* 'true'>

•VAR Acc.pl. -ας; secondary sing. ἐρίηρος, said of εταῖρος (Hom., formulaic), also of αἰοδός (α 346, θ 62 = 471).

•ETYM A bahuvrihi compound of ►ἦρα and ἐρι-. It has also been compared with βρίηρον· μεγάλως κεχαρισμένον (H.).

**ἐριθάκη** [f.] 'bee bread' (a kind of wax) (Arist. Varr. Plin.). <PG?>

•ETYM Hesychius comments: ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν μελισσῶν παρατιθεμένη τροφή καὶ τὸ ἐγκοιλίον τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν μαλακῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ὕων ἔμβρυα, 'the food provided by bees; the intestines of fish; the young of swine'. DELG remarks: "The gloss gives two informations: on the one hand the meaning 'interior of crustaceans', which arose from the resemblance between the two materials, explains the adjective ἐριθακώδης 'full of ἐριθάκη', epithet of γραιῖα 'crabs' (Epich. 61); on the other hand, it appears that the 'bee-bread' was (be it wrongly) considered as food of the bees [in reality they use it to close openings in the walls of the bee-hive], which would explain the connection with ἐριθός." The latter remark is not very clear; perhaps Chantraine refers to the fact that ἐριθακίς means 'drone'. Pre-Greek, acc. to Nehring *Glotta* 14 (1925): 183. See ►ἐρίθος.

**ἐρίθακος** [m.] name of a bird, probably 'robin redbreast, *Erithacus rubecula*' (Arist.), see Thompson 1895 s.v. <PG?>

•VAR ἐριθεύς (Thphr.), ἐριθυλος (sch.).

•DER Adj. ἐριθακώδης (γραῖαι Epich. 61; meaning unclear; see ► ἐριθάκη).

•ETYM Connection with ► ἐριθος suggested by Frisk, but DELG does not understand why. See Boßhardt 1942: 67ff. and Thompson 1895 s.v.

**ἐρίθος** [m., f.] 'day-labourer', of reapers, sheaf-binders (Σ 550, 560), 'spinner' (S., D. with folk-etymological connection with ἐριον), 'servant, etc.' in general (*h.Merc.* 296, etc.). <PG>

•COMP Comp. συν-ἐρίθος [m., f.] 'helper, labourer' (Od.), φιλ-ἐρίθος 'who loves spinning' (Theoc., AP). With the familiarizing suffix -κ-: ἐριθακίς [f.] (Theoc.).

•DER Denominative verb ἐριθεύομαι (rare -εύω, also with ἐξ-) 'to be a day-labourer, work for wages, try to obtain a favour or a job' (LXX, Arist.) with ἐριθεία 'trying to get a position' (Arist.), ἐριθευτός 'bribed' (Creta, Delphi). Unclear 'Εριθάσεος epithet of Apollo (Attica IV\*).

•ETYM No etymology; in the same semantic sphere as δοῦλος, thus Pre-Greek? Cf. the suffix -ιθ- (*Pre-Greek*: suffixes).

**ἐρίνεός** [m.] 'wild fig-tree, *Ficus caprificus*' (Il., Hes., Arist.), opposed to συκῆ; cf. Strömberg 1937: 166'. <PG>

•VAR ἐρινός [m.] (Stratt., Theoc., Delos, etc.; cf. ἀδελφεός: -φός), Att. also ἐρινεώς (Delos, Com.; after other tree-names in -εώς).

•DIAL Myc. *e-ri-no-wo*, *-wo-to* /erinwos, -otos/.

•DER ἐρινεόν, -νόν 'wild fig' (com., Arist., Thphr.); ἐρινάς [f.] = ἐρινεός (Nic.; like κοτινάς, etc.; Chantraine 1933: 353); adjective ἐρίνεος, -νοῦς 'belonging to a fig-tree' (Epich., E.), ἐρινεώδης 'full of fig-trees' (Str.); denominative verb ἐρινάω 'to caprificate', with ἐρινασμός (Thphr.): to hang branches of wild fig near the cultivated one, so that insects will bring over pollen (see Thphr. s.v. ψήν; Perpillou *RPh.* 71 (1997): 160 adds: "le figuier sauvage serait alors le figuier-bouc, fécondateur considéré le mâpe de l'espèce", but this is hardly understandable as an etymology).

•ETYM Recalling Messen. τράγος = ἐρινεός (Paus. 4, 20, 2) and Lat. *caprificus*, Prellwitz *BB* 22 (1897): 284f. compared an old word for 'he-goat', which is also found in ► ἐριφος. This is now accepted by Perpillou. Acc. to Chantraine 1933: 203 and Schwyzler: 491, however, the word is Pre-Greek (cf. κότινος 'wild olive'; ὄλυνθος 'wild fig').

**ἐρίνος** [m.] plant name (Nic., Ps.-Dsc.). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained. See André 1956 s.v. *erineos*.

**Ἐρινός, -ύος** [f.] name of an avenging goddess; as an appellative 'revenge, curse' (Il.), name of Demeter in Arcadia (Antim., Call., Paus. 8, 25, 6). <PG(V)>

•VAR On the length of the *v* see LSJ. Εριννυς is rejected by LSJ.

•DIAL Myc. *E-ri-nu*.

•DER ἐριννώδης 'like the E.' (Plu.); ἐρινύω = θυμῷ χρῆσθαι (Arc., Paus. l.c., EM), cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 390.

•ETYM A connection with the mythical stallion Ἐρίων (Ἀρίων, Ὀρίων; Bechtel 1921, 1: 349) requires further demonstration. Pre-Greek origin can be expected, cf. Herter *Lexis* 3 (1954): 232 and Arena *Helikon* 6 (1966): 144f.

Neumann *Sprache* 32 (1986): 43-51 proposes an IE reconstruction \**eri-snh<sub>1</sub>-u-* 'who provokes struggle', from \**sneh<sub>1</sub>-* as in νεῦρον. This would give, however, \**eri-san-u-* > \**eri-(h)anu-*; this could be avoided by assuming that the laryngeal was lost in the compound. However, does 'provoke struggles' fit the Erinyes? Heubeck *Glotta* 64 (1986): 164 states that such a meaning "zwar nicht restlos geschwunden, aber doch... weitgehend zurückgedrängt worden ist".

In sum, there is no good IE etymology and the word is probably Pre-Greek. For an Indo-European etymology, the ending -ύς would have to be from -uH-s, i.e. -u-h<sub>2</sub>-, but a "Motions-femininum" of this type is not known in Greek. Thus, the ending seems to be Pre-Greek. Moreover, the variation *v/vv* may represent a palatalized phoneme *n'* (cf. *l'* in Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς; for the phenomenon see *Pre-Greek*: B 1).

**ἐριον** = εἶρος.

**ἐριούνης** [adj.] of Hermes (Υ 34, θ 322), late of θεοί (Ant. Lib. 25, 2), νόος (Orph. L. 199). <?>

•VAR ἐριούνιος (Il., *h.Merc.*, Ar. Ra. 1144).

•ETYM The ancient scholars wrongly associated this word with various simplicia, connecting it with different qualities of Hermes: e.g., οὔνης κλέπτης, οὔνιος [εὔνιος] δρομεύς, κλέπτης 'runner, thief' (H.); cf. Leumann 1950: 123. Better glosses are οὔνον [ύγιές]. Κύπριοι δρόμον 'course' and οὔνει (for οὔνη?) δεῦρο, δράμε. Ἀρκάδες 'Over here! Run! (Arc.)'. Here further belongs the Cyp. PN Φιλουνίου [gen.], cf. Φιλόδρομος. Would Ἐρι-οὔνης, -οὔνιος then be the quick messenger of the gods? Thus Latte *Glotta* 34 (1955): 192ff., but doubted by O. Masson 1961: 256'. See also Ruijgh 1957: 136, 142.

**ἐρις, -ιδος** [f.] 'strife, quarrel, contention' (Il.); on the mg. in Hom. Trümper 1950: 139ff. <?>

•VAR Acc. also -iv.

•COMP As a second member in δύσ-ερις (Att.), also with compositional lengthening δύσ-ηρις (Pi.) 'arousing [bad] struggle'.

•DER Denominative verbs: ἐρίζω 'to fight, wrangle, quarrel' (Il.; enlarged from \*ἐρί-ω?), whence ἐρισμα 'quarrel' = 'object of the quarrel' (Δ 38), ἐρισμός 'id.' (Timo), ἐριστικός 'quarrelsome' (Pl., Arist.), ἐριστής 'quarreler' (LXX Ps. 138 [139], 20; v.l.). ἐριδαίνω 'id.' (Il.; only present beside unclear ἐριδήσασθαι Ψ 792; cf. Chantraine 1942: 416). ἐριδμαίνω 'to provoke, irritate' (Π 260), = ἐριδαίνω (Hell.); after the verbs in -μ-αίνω like πημ-αίνω; see Schwyzler: 724.

•ETYM Unknown etymology. Because of the PNs Ἄμφ-, Ἄν-ήρι-τος (Bechtel 1917a: 7; also -ιστος), ἐρις must be an original *i*-stem; therefore, connection with ἐρείδω 'prop, support' is excluded. Neither is there evidence for relation to ► ὀρίνω, ► ἐρέθω, ► Ἐρινός. Hardly related to Skt. *ári-*, *arí-* [m.] 'stranger, enemy, etc.'.

**ἐρίσφηλος** [adj.] epithet of Heracles (Stesich. 82). <?>

•DER Beside it ἄσφηλοι· ἄσθενεῖς, σφηλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρόν 'weak, for σφηλὸν means strong' (H.), but the mg. does not fit.

•ETYM Unexplained; ►σφάλλω has an entirely different meaning.

**ἔριφος** [m. f.] 'young goat, kid' (Il., Crete); in plur. name of a constellation of stars (Democr., Theoc.; see Scherer 1953: 124f.). <?>

•DER Hypocoristic diminutive ἐρίφιον (Athenio Com.) with ἐριφιήματα· ἔριφοι. Λάκωνες 'kids (Lacon.)' (H.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 178, Schwyzer: 523); adj. ἐρίφειος 'belonging to ἔριφος' (Com., X.); 'Ερίφιος epithet of Dionysus in Metapontum (Apollod.; cf. on Εἰραφιώτης); ἐριφέας (for \*ἐριφίας?)· χίμαρος 'he-goat' (H.).

•ETYM Formation like ►ἔλαφος 'deer' et al. Resembles a word for 'goat, deer' in OIr. *erp* (*erb*), probably < PCl. \**erbā-*; see Matasović 2008 s.v.; Arm. *oroj* 'agnus, agna' < \**er-oj*, also *erinj* 'young cow' (unclear) and Lat. *ariēs*, *-ētis*, U *erietu* 'arietem' are much farther away. In ►ἐρίνεός 'wild fig', an old word for 'buck' has also been supposed.

**Ἐριχθόνιος** [m.] name of a hero and king of Athens, son of Ge, father of Pandion (A., E.); also name of a Trojan, son of Dardanos, father of Tros (Y 219, 230). <PG(V)>

•VAR Cf. Ἐρεχθεύς (B 547, η 80), which is also an epithet of Poseidon (inscr.); on Attic vases Ἐρεχσες, together with Ἐρεχθῆς [f.] name of an Att. phyle (D., inscr.), Ἐρεχθεῖδαι [pl.] name of the Athenians (Pi.). These names were taken to mean 'who tears apart, shaker [of the earth]', but see below. Also Ἐριχθεύς (Pape and Benseler 1911: 379). Note the soothsayer Εἰριχθῶ in Thessaly (Luc. *Phars.*, see also Ov. *Her.* 15, 139), which confirms (Pre-)Greek origin.

•DIAL Att. vases Ερεχσες (Schwyzer 326) a hero and king of Athens (B 543, η 81).

•DER οἱ Ἐριχθονίδαι = Ἐρεχθεῖδαι (IG 3, 771; poet., Roman times).

•ETYM Probably a very old name; already the fact that Erichthonios is called the son of the Earth, points to Pre-Greek origin. There is no good explanation for the coexistence of Ἐρεχθεύς and Ἐριχθόνιος, cf. the by-form in -ων of Hermes, and cf. Ἐρυσίχθων. Is the form with -χσ- an Atticism, or does it have a wider spread? Connection with ἐρέχθω is improbable. Ἐρεχθεύς, etc. are rather short forms of Ἐριχθόνιος, and were later connected with ►ἐρέχθω by folk-etymology. Ἐρεχθεύς / Ερεχσες is clearly a Pre-Greek name; more forms are given by Fur.: 263. It continues a pre-form \**Erekt'eu-*, cf. the alternation in μύροχος / ►μύροξος.

**ἐριώλη** [f.] 'whirlwind, hurricane' (Ar. *Eq.* 511, A. R.). <?>

•VAR On the accent see Hdn. Gr. 1, 324.

•ETYM Unexplained. Perhaps from \**φελι-φωλη* (from εἰλέω 'roll, turn, wind'), with intensive reduplication and dissimilation λ-λ > ρ-λ?

**ἔρκος** [n.] 'fence, enclosure, courtyard; net' (Il.). <IE? \**serk-* 'twine'>

•COMP As a second member e.g. in εὖ-ερκής 'well-fenced' (Il.); as a first member in ἔρκο-θηρ-ικός 'ptng. to the hunt with a net' (Pl. *Soph.* 220c).

•DER ἐρκίον 'fence' (Il., cf. τειχίον: τεῖχος et al.); ἔρκειος, ἐρκειός (after οἰκεῖος et al.) 'belonging to the ἔρκος, court-yard', especially as an epithet of Zeus protecting the

house, whose altar is in the courtyard (χ 935); ἐρκίτης 'a slave belonging to the place' (Amer. *apud* Ath. 6, 267c, H.).

Further ἐρκάνη 'fence' (late) from cross with ὀρκάνη 'id.' (A., E.), which has o-grade like ►ὄρκος; cf. Chantraine 1933: 198. Glosses ἔρκατος· φραγμός 'fence', ἐρκάτη· φυλακή 'watch, guard' (H.), Ὀρκατος locality in Calymna (inscr. II<sup>a</sup>; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 147); on the suffix cf. ὄρχατος; see also ►ἔρχατος.

•ETYM Apparently a verbal noun (like τέλος, γένος, etc.), but there is no corresponding verb. Meringer *IF* 17 (1904-1905): 157f. connected it as \*'wicker-work' with Lat. *sarciō*, *-īre* 'to twine, restore', properly \*'to sew together'; cf. *sartum tectum* 'unviolated, complete', properly \*'twined and covered', *sarcina* [f.] 'bundle'. Lat. *sarciō* belongs to Hitt. *šar-nin-k-* (nasal infix present) 'to restore damage, make amends'. On ἔρκος ὁδόντων, see Humbach *MSS* 21 (1967): 24ff. (it denotes the lips, not the teeth).

**ἔρμα 1** [n.] 'prop, support', of the stones or beams put under the ships when drawn ashore (in plur., Il. and *h.Ap.* 507); metaph. of men, 'support, column' (Il.); 'underwater cliff on which a ship gets stuck' (Alc. *Supp.* 26, 6, Hdt. 7, 183, Th. 7, 25); 'stone (or any other weight) that can serve as ballast' (Ar., Arist.); 'heap of stones' (S. *Ant.* 848 [lyr.], *AP* 9, 319). <?>

•DER ἐρμῖς (or -ῖν), acc. ἐρμῖνα, dat.pl. -ῖσιν 'post of a bed' (θ 278, ψ 198, Hdt. 3, 16; cf. ῥηγμῖν- from ῥήγμα, σταμῖν-, etc.); cf. Hdn. Gr. 2, 431 with etymological speculations. ἔρμαξ [f.] 'heap of stones' (Nic. et al.), MoGr. ἐρμακιά (ἀρ-) 'wall of dry stones', many derivatives in the dialects of lower Italy, see Rohlf's 1930: 78f.; ἔρμακες· ὕφαλοι πέτραι 'rocks under the sea' (H.: cf. λίθαξ, μύλαξ, etc.). ἐρμεών· σωρὸς λίθων 'heap of stones' (H.), cf. βολεών s.v. βάλλω, etc. ἐρματίτης πέτρος 'stone serving as ballast' (Lyc. 618). ἐρματικός 'fixed' (κράββατος, *PGen.* 68, 10; IV<sup>p</sup>). ἐρμαῖος λόφος 'heap of stones' (π 471; uncertain, cf. on Ἐρμῆς). Denominative verbs: ἐρμάζω 'to support, make stable' (Hp.) with ἔρμασμα, -σμός (Hp.), ἔρμασις (Erot., also Troezen IV<sup>a</sup> [-σσ-]; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 149); ἐρματίζω 'id.' (Hp.). See ►Ἐρμῆς (Ἐρμείας, Ἐρμάων).

•ETYM Formally, ἔρμα seems to be a verbal noun in -μα with regular *e*-vocalism of the root. For an etymology, one might think of Lith. *sveriu* 'weigh' and relatives, in which case it would originally mean 'heavy weight, stone', from IE \**suér-mn*. However, because of the divergent meanings, two or three different words have been assumed: thus, ἔρμα 'cliff' was considered a separate word and connected with Skt. *váršman-* [n.] 'height, hill, top, point' (e.g. in WP 1, 267). However, this etymology disregards the fact that cliffs *under the sea surface* are denoted. On the other hand, ἔρμα has been connected as ballast of a ship with Lith. 1sg. *sveriu* 'to weigh', *svarius* 'heavy', OHG *swār(i)* 'heavy'. In the meaning 'support, prop', words for 'pole, etc.' have been connected, e.g. Skt. *sváru-* 'sacrificial post', OE *swer* 'post, column', Lat. *surus* 'twig, sprout, pole'. However, it is doubtful whether ἔρμα ever meant 'pole'. An attempt to combine all meanings was made by Porzig 1942: 266: the original meaning would be 'stone [for supporting a ship]', whence 'stones for ballast', and on the other hand, sarcastically, also 'cliffs under the sea'. Kretschmer *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1 (1927): 4 thinks that ἔρμα is Anatolian, pointing to the Lydian river

Ἔρμος (πολυψήφίδα παρ' Ἑρμον Orac. *apud* Hdt. 1, 55) and to Lycian PN's in *Erm-*, *Arm-*. Chantraine *Ant. class.* 22 (1953): 69 is also in favor of non-IE origin. There seems no reason, however, to assume foreign origin.

**ἔρματα 2** ⇒ εἶρω 1.

**ἔρμαιον** ⇒ Ἑρμῆς.

**ἔρμηνεύς** [m.] 'interpreter, translator' (Pi. O. 2, 85), also 'interpreter' in general (IA). <PG?>

•VAR ἔρμανεύς (Pi.).

•DER Denominative verb ἔρμηνεύω (-μαν- Epid.), also with prefix δι-, ἐξ- et al., 'interpret, translate', also 'explain' (IA) with several derivatives: ἔρμηνεία 'interpretation, explanation, way of expression, style' (Pl., X., Arist.); ἔρμηνευσίς 'id.' (D. C., Longin.); ἔρμηνεύματα [pl.] 'id.' (E., Ph.); ἔρμηνευτής = ἔρμηνεύς (Ph *Plt.* 290c, LXX *Ge.* 42, 23, Poll. 5, 154; cf. Fraenkel 1912: 63) with ἔρμηνεύτρια [f.] (sch.); ἔρμηνευτικός 'ptng. to interpretation' (Pl.), cf. Chantraine 1956a: 134 und 137.

•ETYM Technical expression without etymology, probably of Anatolian origin (so possibly Pre-Greek); cf. Boßhardt 1942: 36f. and Krahe *Die Antike* 15 (1939): 181. Wrong attempts at an IE explanation, connecting it with to εἶρω 'string, attach', εἶρω 'say', Lat. *sermō*, are found in old dictionaries like Bq. See also ►Ἑρμῆς.

**Ἑρμῆς, -οῦ** [m.] Hermes, son of Zeus and Maia; also 'herm, head of a herm' (Il.). <PG>

•DIAL Myc. *E-ma-a<sub>2</sub>* (dat.), Ἑρμείας, -έας, Ἑρμείης (Call.), Ἑρμιάς (Dor. Boeot.), Ἑρμάων (Hes.), Ἑρμάν, -ᾱνος (Lac. Arc.), Ἑρμάου, -άο, -ᾱ (Thess. dat.), Ἑρμαον (Cret. acc.).

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἔρμο-γλυφεῖον (Pl.) with backformation ἔρμογλυφεύς, -ικός, -ος (Luc. et al.), see ►γλύφω.

•DER Hypocoristic diminutive Ἑρμίδιον (Ar.), -άδιον (Luc.; also 'small herm' [Lydia]), after the nouns in -ίδιον, -άδιον. Ἑρμαῖος 'belonging to H., of H.', also as a month name (A., S.), probably also Ἑρμαῖος λόφος (π 471), if not from ►ἔρμα; ntr. Ἑρμαῖον 'temple of Hermes' (Ephese), on the accent Hdn. Gr. 1, 369; plur. Ἑρμαῖα (ἱερά) 'festival for Hermes' (Att.); as an appellative ἔρμαιον [n.] 'gift of Hermes', i.e. 'chance find, unexpected advantage' (Pl., S.); also a plant name (Strömberg 1940: 129); fem. Ἑρμαῖς (Hp.); Ἑρμαίων name of a month (Halicarn., Keos); Ἑρμαῖσταί [pl.] name of the worshippers of H., *Mercuriales* (Rhodos, Cos, Delos), cf. e.g. Ἀπολλωνιασταί and Chantraine 1933: 317; Ἑρμαῖικός (late). Ἑρμεία [pl.] mg. uncertain (Str. 8, 3, 12).

•ETYM Ἑρμῆς derives from epic Ἑρμέας < Ἑρμείας; cf. Αἰνείας. Myc. *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>* /Hermāhās/ shows the original form, and excludes an old form with the suffix \*-āfwon, which has been suggested for e.g. Ἑρμάν and Ἑρμάων (Hes.). Thus, connection with ►ἔρμα 1 should be rejected, since the model for a suffixation in -āhās is unclear. The Mycenaean form shows that it is an unanalysable Pre-Greek name. See Ruijgh *REGr.* 80 (1967): 12.

**ἔρνος** [n.] 'sprout, offshoot', originally of trees, also of men (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* 'go'?>

•VAR Also ἔρνος with secondary aspiration.

•COMP As a first member in ἐρνεσί-πεπλος (Orph. *H.* 30, 5; after ἑλκεσί-πεπλος), ἐρνοκόμων· παραδεισαρίων 'gardener' (H.). As a second member in εὐ-ερνής 'with good offshoots' (E., Str.), δυσ-ερνής (Poll.).

•DER Diminutive ἐρνίον (Hell.); ἐρνώδης [adj.] 'like a sprout' (Dsc.), ἐρνόομαι [v.] 'to sprout' (Ph.); two glosses in H.: ἐρνατις· ἀναδενδράς 'vine that grows up trees' (see Schwyzler 464) and ἐρνυτας· ἔρνη, βλαστήματα, κλάδοι 'sprouts, offshoots, shoots broken off, wrong for ἐρνυγας (Arist. *Po.* 1457b 35; after πτέρυξ, etc.; Schwyzler: 498).

•ETYM Formation in -νος (Schwyzler: 512, Chantraine 1933: 420), commonly derived from the root of ►ὄρνυμι, etc. (to which belongs synonymous ὄρμενος), but this had *h<sub>3</sub>-* (and not *h<sub>1</sub>-*), which means that the initial ε- would have to be secondary. Alternatively, simply from \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* 'go', for the semantics of which one might compare MoNw. *run(n)e* 'twig' to *renna* 'to run, shoot up, grow'. On the separation of \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* and \**h<sub>3</sub>er-*, see ►ὄρνυμι. One is further reminded of ►ἐρέθω and ►ἐρέας. For the suffix -νος, cf. ►τέρηνος. Formally, ἔρνος agrees with Skt. *árhas-* [n.] 'flood, stream', but the reminiscence is probably secondary.

**ἔρος** ⇒ ἔραμαι.

**ἔροτις** [f.] 'festival' (Aeol. acc. to H., Cypr. acc. to Eust.), epigraphically of king Nicocreon (Kaibel 1878: 846); perhaps in Chalcedon (*SIG* 1009); E. *El.* 625; ἐροτή (*P.Oxy.* 2084); on the use Bechtel 1921, 1: 119 and 447. <?>

•ETYM Perhaps related to ►ἔρανος and ►ἑορτή. "Aeolic" in Hesychius may mean "Arcado-Cypriot".

**ἔρπς** [?] 'wine' (Hippon. 79, 18, Lycophr.). <LW Eg.>

•ETYM As the scholia indicate, this is the same word as Egyptian *irp* 'wine'. See Masson *RPh.* 88 (1962): 46-50.

**ἔρπω** [v.] 'to crawl, slink, go on all four', in Dor. also 'go' in general (Il.). <IE \**serp-* 'crawl'>

•VAR Aor. ἐρπύσαι (Att.; cf. ἐρπύζω below), ἔρψαι (LXX), fut. ἔρψω, also ἐρπύσω, Dor. ἐρψῶ.

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀν-, εἰς-, ἐξ-, ἐφ-, προσ-. As a first member in ἐρπ-άκανθα = ἄκανθος (Ps.-Dsc.).

•DER ἐρπετόν [n.] 'animal that goes (or crawls) on all fours' as opposed to birds (πετεινά) and men (IA, δ 418; Aeol. ὄρπετον with zero grade, on the formation see Vine 1998: 73f., who thinks the zero grade is secondary in this form); ἔρπης, -ητος [m.] 'shingles' (Hp.), ἐρπήν, -ήνος [m.] 'id.' (Ph.; after λειχήν, etc.; also ἐρπήνη *EM*) with ἐρπηνώδης (Ph.); ἔρπηλα a shell-fish (Ath.; form uncertain); ἐρπηδών, -όνος [f.] 'crawling' (Nic.; Chantraine 1933: 360f.); ἐρπηστής 'crawling animal' (Nic., *AP*; rare like τευχιστής et al.; Chantraine 1933: 317); ἔρπυλλος [m., f.] 'tufted thyme' (Com.; after this Lat. *serpullum*) with ἐρπύλλιον, -άριον 'id.' and ἐρπυλλίς 'grasshopper' (H.); uncertain ἐρπυζή (Dsc. 3, 69). ἔρπης 'crawling' (Pl., Arist.). An expressive enlargement is ἐρπύζω 'to crawl' (Il.; cf. Chantraine 1942: 336), to which belongs the Attic aorist ἐρπύσαι (after ἐρύσαι, ἐλκύσαι?); thence ἐρπυστικός (Hp.,

Arist.) and rare and late ἔρπυσις, -υσμός, -υστήρ, -υστής, -υστάζω. See also ▶ ὄρπηξ 'sprout, twig'.

•ETYM The word ἔρπω is identical with Skt. *sárpati* 'id.', Lat. *serpō* 'id.'. Several languages have derived the name of the snake from this root: Skt. *sarpá-* [m.], Lat. *serpens*, Alb. *gjar për*. On meaning and spread of ἔρπω, see Bloch 1940: 71ff.

**ἔρραος** [m.] 'ram' (Lyc. 1316), 'wild boar' (Call. Fr. 335). <?>

•VAR H. has ἔρρα<ο>ς· κριός 'ram'.

•ETYM No etymology. See Meid AAHG 27 (1974): 53-55.

**ἔρρεντί** [adv.] unknown (Alc. Fr. 407 L.P.); cf. Hdn. Gr. 1, 505, 7 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔρρω ἢ ἔρρῳ περισπωμένου ἢ μετοχῇ ἔρρεϊς, ἔρρέντος ὡς παρὰ τὸ ἐθέλοντος ἐθελοντί 'from ἔρρω or ἔρρῳ, with perispomenon, the participle ἔρρεϊς, ἔρρέντος, and like ἐθελοντί το ἐθέλοντος'. <?>

•VAR Cf. ἐρόντι· μάλᾱ, λίαν, πάνυ 'very, much, certainly' (H.).

•ETYM See Brugmann IF 17 (1904-1905): 11 and Schwyzler: 623.

**Ἐρρηφόρος** → ἄρρηφόρος and ἔρση.

**Ἐρρος** [m.] · ὁ Ζεύς (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unclear. Earlier proposals: to \**uorso-* in ▶ οὐρανός; or 'the god of Dew', an Att. msc. corresponding to 'Ἐρση 'Sister Dew'. Cf. also Ἐρσαῖος· ἄκριος Ζεύς (H.).

**ἔρρω** [v.] 'to go (away), disappear, go to ruin', mostly perfective 'to sod off, get lost' (Il.), mostly ipv. and in imperatival expressions. <IE \**uert-ie/o-* 'turn'>

•VAR Locr. φερρέτω [ipv.], El. φάρρεν [inf.] (in imperatival function); non-presentic forms are rare: fut. ἐρρήσω (*h.Merc.* 259, Com.), aor. ἤρρησα (Com.), perf. εἰσ-ἤρρηκα (Ar. Th. 1075).

•COMP Also with prefix ἀν-, ἀπ-, εἰς-, ἐξ-, περι-.

•ETYM Expressive word of the common and the poetic language, unknown to prose. The geminate -pp-, common to all dialectal forms, excludes derivation from \**uers-*. A reconstruction \**φέρσ-ιω* and connection with Lat. *verrō* 'sweep', OCS *vrěcho*, *vrěšti* 'thresh', Hitt. *uārš-i* 'reap, harvest, wipe' is semantically and formally difficult. Forssman 1980: 180ff. therefore proposes a pre-form \**uert-ie/o-*, together with a new proposal for the development of the cluster \**-rti-* (as opposed to \**-rs-*).

**ἔρραι** [f.pl.] 'young animals, small lambs' (ι 222).

•ETYM Probably simply metonymic for ▶ ἔρση 'dew'; cf. the use of ▶ δρόσος in A. and Call. Cf. also μητέρες ψακαλοῦχοι (S. Fr. 793) to ψάκαλον (Ar. Byz.), from ψακάς 'fine rain, drops'; more details in Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἔρση. Acc. to Leumann 1950: 25<sup>11</sup>, δρόσος in the meaning 'young animal' in A. and Call. stems from imitation of ι 222; ἔρραι would be a homonym of ἔρση 'dew'.

**ἔρση** [f.] 'dew', plur. 'dewdrops' (Il.). <IE \**h,uers-* 'rain'>

•VAR Epic poet. ἔέρση, Dor. ἔρσα, Pi. N. 3, 78 ἔερσᾶ (see Solmsen 1909: 240<sup>1</sup>); with different anlaut ἄερσαν· τὴν δρόσον. Κρήτες 'dew (Cret.)' (H.), ἄερσην (PLit. Lond. 60 [Hell.]).

•COMP As a second member perhaps in ▶ Λιτυέρσης, s.v.

•DER ἔρσηεις, ἔερσηεις 'dewy' (Il., AP), ἔρσαι· ἑαρινά, νέα, ἀπαλά, δροσώδη 'vernal, young, tender, dewy'; ἔρρηεντα· δροσώδη, καταψυκτικά 'dewy, cooling' (H.) with Att. -pp-, as against the hieratic Ionicism in Ἐρση, name of the daughter of Cecrops; ἔρσώδης 'dewy' (Thphr.).

•ETYM The name Ἐρρηφόροι is unclear; acc. to H., οἱ τῇ Ἐρση ἐπιτελοῦντες τὰ νομιζόμενα 'who give to E. what is due', together with ἔρρηφορέω; also, ἔρσηφόροι, -ρία beside ἄρρη-φόροι; s.v.; see Nilsson 1941(1): 441. The normal form is ἐ(φ)έρση < \**h,uers-*; forms like ἄέρση cited above are unexplained, as is ἔρσαι. Sanskrit has *varṣá-* [n.] 'rain' and *várṣati* [v.] 'it rains', IE \**h,uérs-e-*. Beside it exists the iterative-intensive \**h,uors-eie-* > Gr. οὐρέω 'urinate' (euphemistically), with deverbal οὔρον; the laryngeal may have been lost here before the *o*-vocalism (Saussure effect); see also on ▶ οὐρανός. Because of the accent and because of the *e*-vowel, ἔρση cannot be a verbal noun (one would expect \*οὐρά < \**uorsā*); rather, it is a collective deriving from a neutral noun \**h,uer-os*, \**h,uer-s-*, and further cognates in e.g. MIt. *frass* 'rain'. The words ▶ ἄρσην and Skt. *vṛṣan-* 'masculine, man, bull, stallion' are not to be connected (T. Pronk fthc.). Cf. DELG Supp.

**ἔρσην** → ἄρσην.

**ἔρτις** [?] · κρημνός 'overhanging bank' (H.). <?>

•VAR Acc. to DELG, the plant is meant in H.: κριμνούς· λευκάς τινας βοτάνας 'any pale grass'.

•DIAL Myc. *e-ti-we* /<sup>h</sup>erti-went-/ and *a-e-ti-to* /a-<sup>h</sup>erti-to-/.

•ETYM See the discussion in DELG Supp., referring to Duhoux 1993: 103, and in RPh. 74 (2000): 257.

**ἐρυγγάνω** → ἐρεύγομαι 1 and ἐρεύγομαι 2.

**ἐρυθρός** [adj.] 'red' (Il.). <IE \**h,reuðh-* 'red'>

•VAR Myc. *e-ru-to-ro*, *e-ru-ta-ra* /erut<sup>h</sup>ros, -ā/.

•COMP As a first member, e.g. ἐρυθρό-πους 'with red feet' (bird-name, Ar.); ἐξ-ἐρυθρος 'reddish' as a sign of illness (Hp., Arist.), λευκ-ἐρυθρος 'white-red, flat-red' (Arist.; Risch IF 59 (1949): 60).

•DER ἐρυθρίας [m.] 'the red one', epithet after the red color (Arist.), cf. ὠχρίας, etc. and Chantraine 1933: 93; ἐρυθρίνος, also ἐρυθρίνος (with dissimilation or after ἐρυθθαίνομαι, see below) name of a fish (Arist.; Strömberg 1943: 21); Ἐρυθρίνοι [pl.] name of a town (B 855; cf. Ἐρυθραῖ below); ἐρυθρόδανον, -ος plant (Dsc.), also ἐρευθέδανον, see ▶ ἐρεύθω; ἐρυθραῖος = ἐρυθρός (D. P.); ἐρυθρότης 'red color' (Gal.). Ἐρυθραῖ [f.pl.] town in Ionia (Hdt.; after the red-colored rocks inside the town), together with Ἐρυθραϊκὸν σατύριον plant-name (Dsc., Plin.), also ἐρυθρόνιον (Ps.-Dsc.; after Ἴόνιον and other nouns in -όνιον); Ἐρυθραϊκός also from ἡ Ἐρυθρά (θάλασσα; adjunct of κυβερνήτης, inscr. IP).

Denominative verbs: ἐρυθρίαῶ 'to become red' (Att.; after the verbs of disease in -ιάω; Schwyzler: 732) with ἐρυθρίασις, -ησις (Hp., H.); ἐρυθθαίνομαι, -ω 'to become, make red' (X.). Also ἐρυθθαίνομαι, -ω, aor. ἐρύθηνα 'id.' (Il.) together with ἐρύθημα 'becoming red, redness' (Hp., Th.); see below.

•ETYM Old adjective in *-ro-*, a suffix also encountered in Lat. *ruber*, CS *rvdъrъ*, ToA *rtär*, ToB *ratre*, Skt. *rudhirá-* (reshaped after *rudhi-* in *rudhikrā-* name of a demon); ON *roðra* [f.] 'blood'. Other languages have a different stem: ON *rjóðr*, OE *rēod* have the same vowel as the verbs *rjóðra* resp. *rēodan* (= ► ἐρεύθω, s.v.) and may therefore be secondary. Lith. *raūdas*, (dialectal) Lat. *nīfus*, *rōbus*, OIr. *ráad*, Skt. *lohá-* 'reddish' [m./n.] 'red metal, copper, iron' probably continue IE *\*h<sub>1</sub>roud<sup>h</sup>o-* rather than *\*h<sub>1</sub>reud<sup>h</sup>o-*, because of the vocalism found in most Gm. forms: Go. *rauþs*, ON *rauðr*, OE *rēad*, OHG *rōt*. Together with ἐρυθρός, the old denominative ἐρυθαίνομαι points to an original *r/n*-stem *\*rud<sup>h</sup>-r-*, *\*rud<sup>h</sup>-n-*. Perhaps a neutral *s*-stem *\*h<sub>1</sub>réud<sup>h</sup>-os-* (= ἐρευθος) existed, as well as a verb *\*h<sub>1</sub>réud<sup>h</sup>-e/o-* (= ἐρεύθω). Cf. also ► ἐρυσίβη.

ἐρύκω [v.] 'to hold back' (Il.). <IE *\*ueru-* 'ward off, defend'>

•VAR Aor. ἐρύξαι, epic also ἡρύκακον, ἐρυκακέειν (Chantraine 1942: 398).

•COMP Also with prefix, notably ἀπ-, κατ-.

•DER κατερυκτικός 'holding back' (pap.). Enlarged presents ἐρυκάνω, -ανάω (Chantraine 1942: 316 and 360).

•ETYM Enlargement with *-κ-* like in ὀλέ-κω, διώ-κω et al. (Schwyzer: 702, Chantraine 1942: 329), from ἐρμαι, ἐρύομαι 'ward off' rather than from ἐρύω 'draw'.

ἐρμαι [v.] 'to keep off, protect, save' (Il.). <IE *\*ueru-* (or *\*uruH-*) 'ward off, defend'>

•VAR Inf. ἐρυσθαι; impf. ἐρύ-το, -σο; them. ἐρύομαι (ἐρύεσθαι, ἐρύετο), also ῥύομαι, inf. ῥύσθαι, aor. ἐρύσ(σ)ασθαι, ῥύσασθαι, fut. ἐρύσσομαι, ῥύσομαι; also with anlauting *ει-*: εἰρύτο, εἰρύεται, -ατο, -ντο, perhaps reduplicated perfects with present-meaning (inf. εἴρυσθαι); thence, or through metrical lengthening, εἰρύσασθαι, εἰρύσσονται, εἰρύομαι; cf. also below; aor. pass. ἐρύσθη (Ev. Luc. 1, 74, 2. Ep. Ti. 4, 17, Hld. 10, 7).

•DIAL Myc. *-u-ru-to /-wru(n)toi/* or */-wrust<sup>h</sup>ōn/*.

•COMP As a first member: ἐρυ- in Ἐρύ-λαος, Ἐρύ-μας, -μηλος (also Εὔρυ-, either after εὔρύς or from *φερυ-* (?); see below); ἐρύσι- in ἐρυσίπολις 'protecting the town' (Z 305 et al.), ► Ἐρυσίχθων; Aeol. Εὔρυσί-λαος (cf. above). ῥύσι- e.g. in ῥύσι-πολις (A. Th. 129 [lyr.] et al.).

•DER ἐρύμα [n.] 'defence' (Il.), diminutive ἐρυμάτιον (Luc.); from there ἐρυμνός 'for defence, protected' (IA) with ἐρυμνότης 'defensive force' (X., Arist.), ἐρυμνός 'defend' (Agath.). ἐρυσμός 'defence, protection' (h.Cer. 230). ἐρύσιμον (ει- by metrical lengthening), name of a kind of mustard (Thphr., Dsc.), because of its protection (Strömberg 1940: 81); from *\*ἐρύ-σις* or directly from the verb. ῥύτιρ [m.] 'protector, watcher' (p 187, 223), ῥύτωρ 'id.' (A. Th. 318 [lyr.], AP). ῥύσιος 'saving' (A. Supp. 150 [lyr.], AP), after the adjs. in *-σιος* (Chantraine 1933: 41) or from ῥύσις 'saving' (Epigr. Gr. 200 [Cos], LXX). ῥύμα 'defence' (Hp., trag.).

•ETYM The Skt. nouns *varū-tār-* [m.] 'protector', *vārū-tha-* [n.] 'defense, protection' (with *vr̥hōti* 'avert', Go. *warjan* 'ward off', etc.) speak in favor of the assumption of original *\*φέρυ-μαι*. Doubts arise because of the absence of a trace of the digamma in Homer; attempts at a solution are in Solmsen 1901: 245ff. Therefore, we have two ablaut grades, *φερυ-* and *φρυ-*, the latter of which is certainly in εἴρῃται < *\*φέ-φρυ-ται*, etc. (cf. above), but with otherwise unclear distribution. The initial vowel in the Ionic

present εἰρύομαι and in Εὔρυσί-λαος form an unsolved problem. Hackstein 2002: 123-131 offers a new interpretation. He derives the forms from the root *\*suerh<sub>3</sub>-*, which he reconstructs for ὀράω. Essential to him is the assumption that the zero grade *\*suerh<sub>3</sub>-* became *\*sruh<sub>3</sub>-* > *\*srū-*, according to the rule that in some cases, *-ur-* was metathesized to *-ru-* (like in *\*k<sup>w</sup>etuy<sup>r</sup>-* > *k<sup>w</sup>etru-*). I suppose that he assumes that *\*seru-* arose secondarily from *\*sru-*. In Myc. *-u-ru-to /-wruntoi/*, *sru-* was restored to *wru-*. Myc. *o-ro-me-no* would represent an athematic *\*suerh<sub>3</sub>-*, which according to him gave *\*suoro-* (but he also speaks of *o*-vocalism in this form, p. 128). This hypothesis is difficult to assess.

ἐρυσίβη [f.] 'rust in plants' (Pl., X., Arist.; long *ī* in Orph. L. 600). <PG>

•DER ἐρυσιβώδης 'eaten by rust' (Arist., Thphr.), ἐρυσίβιος epithet of Apollo in Rhodos (Str.). Denominative verb ἐρυσιβάω, -όομαι 'suffer from rust', also factitive -όω (Thphr.). There is an epithet of Apollo Ἐρυθίβιος (Str. 13,1,64, v.l. Ἐρεθίβιος; with ἐρεάζω), Ἐρεθίμιος, Ἐρεδίμιος (inscr. Rhodes), Ἐρεθυμιάζω (Lyc. inscr.); further ἐρυσίβη epithet of Demeter (Et. Gud. 210, 25); Str. 13, 1, 64 says: Ῥόδιοι δὲ Ἐρυθίβιου Ἀπόλλωνος ἔχουσι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἱερὸν, τὴν ἐρυσίβην καλοῦντες ἐρυθίβην 'The Rhodians, who say ἐρυθίβην instead of ἐρυσίβην, have a sanctuary of Apollo Ἐρυθίβιος on their territory'. See below.

•ETYM Popular word with a suffix *-β-* (Chantraine 1933: 260ff.). The stem ἐρυσι- is also found in ► ἐρυσίπελας and in the plant name ἐρυσί-σκηπτρον (Thphr., Dsc.). It recalls verbal first members of the type *τερψίμβροτος* (Schwyzer: 443), but it has also been considered an old *s*-enlargement of the word for 'red' (see ► ἐρυθρός, ► ἐρεύθω), which may also be found in Lat. *russus* (but see De Vaan 2008 s.v.), Lith. *raūšvas* 'red', OCS *rusb* 'reddish blond', Gm. words like OHG *rost* 'rust', etc.; IE *\*h<sub>1</sub>reud<sup>h</sup>-s-* (*h<sub>1</sub>roud<sup>h</sup>-s-*, *h<sub>1</sub>rud<sup>h</sup>-s-*) derived from the *s*-stem in ἐρευθος? However, Fur.: 214, 255f. correctly saw that the word is Pre-Greek, because of the alternations of dental (θ, δ) with *s* and β/μ (ibid. 248-263 and 203-221). The long *ī* is also typical for Pre-Greek word formation (Pre-Greek: suffixes *-ίβ-*, *-ίγ-*, *-ίδ-*, *ιθ-*, *-ίκ-*, *-ίν-*). The word must have been folk-etymologically influenced by Gr. ἐρυθ-.

ἐρύσιμον = ἐρμαι.

ἐρυσίπελας, -τος [n.] name of a skin disease, 'Erysipelas'. <PG>

•VAR Often in plur.

•DER Adjective *-ατώδης* (Hp., Gal.).

•ETYM Medical term of unusual formation; a learned compound? The first member also occurs in ► ἐρυσίβη (?) and in the plant name ἐρυσί-σκηπτρον (Thphr.); a word πέλας is further unknown, but cf. however on ► πέλμα. Therefore, properly "what reddens the skin" (Schwyzer: 443)? Of course, it may also be of Pre-Greek origin, like the beginning of the word (there seems no reason for the suggestion by Fur.: 214<sup>60</sup> that it would be from ἐρύω).

ἐρύω, -ομαι [v.] 'to draw, tear, draw towards one' (Il.). Details in Chantraine 1942: 30, 136f., etc. <IE *\*ueru-* 'draw' ?>

•VAR εἰ- (Hdt., Hp.), inf. εἰρύνεσθαι (Hes. *Op.* 818, verse-initially; cf. Chantraine 1942: 294), aor. ἐρύσ(σ)αι, -ασθαι (also εἰ- Hdt., Hp.), pass. ἐρυσθῆναι, εἰ- (Hp.), Dor. φερυσάτω [ipv.] (Delphi IV<sup>a</sup>; uncertain), fut. ἐρύω, -ομαι (Hom.), ἐρύσω (Opp.), ἐρύσσω, -ομαι (Orph.; as a v.l. in Φ 176), perf. pass. εἰρῦμαι, εἰρῦαται.

•COMP Also with prefix ἀν- (ἀφ-), ἐξ-, κατ-, προ-, etc. As a first member in ἐρῦσ-άρματα [ἵπποι] 'horses' drawing the chariot' (Hom.); on the formation Sommer 1948: 11f.

•DER Rarely ἐρυ-: ἐρῦ-σις 'the drawing' (Max. Tyr.), ἐρῦ-τήρ 'the drawer' (Nic.), ἐρυ-σ-τός (S.). Various old words have ῥῦ- (ῥῦ-): ῥῦ-τήρ [m.] 'rein, rope' (Il.), also 'bow-stretcher, archer' (Od.); ῥῦ-τωρ 'bow-stretcher' (Ar. *Th.* 108 [lyr.]); ῥῦ-μός [m.] 'pole of a chariot, etc.' (Il.); ῥῦ-μα 'that which is drawn' (A., X.); ῥῦ-μη 'force, pressure' (Hp.); ῥῦ-τός 'drawn' (ῥυτοῖσι λάεσσι ζ 267; ξ 10), ῥῦ-τά [n.pl.] 'reins' (Hes. *Sc.* 308); with a suffix -ιο- ῥύσιον, Dor. ῥύτιον \*'what is drawn forth', i.e. 'deposit, retribution' (Il.); see further ► ῥυτίς 'fold, wrinkle', ► ῥυσός 'wrinkly'. Enlargement ῥυστάζω 'to draw to and fro, maltreat' (Hom.) together with ῥυστακτής (σ 224), ῥυσταγμα (Lyc. 1089).

•ETYM In the perfect, \*φέ-φρῦ-μαι gave εἰρῦμαι. For the initial digamma in (φ)ερύω, note especially epic (Aeol.) αὐερύω = ἀφ-φερύω, ἀν-φερύω, βρυτήρες = ῥυτήρες (A. D.). This undoubtedly old verb has no certain correspondences outside Greek. On ambivalent Lat. *rūdēns* 'sail of a ship', see WH and E-M s.v.

ἔρφος [n.] 'skin' (Nic. *Al.* 248, *Th.* 376). ◀?▶

•ETYM Rhymes with better known στέρφος, τέρφος 'id.' (A. R., Nic., etc.), but further unclear. Perhaps a cross of στέρφος and ἔριον? Güntert 1914: 139f. suggests that ἔρφος is a younger reshaping of (σ)τέρφος to \*ἔρεφος (from ἐρέφω 'cover [with a roof]').

ἔρχατος [m.] · φραγμός 'fence' (H.). ◀?▶

•VAR Also ἔρχατος· φραγμός, ἐρκάτη φυλακή 'watch' (H.).

•ETYM In itself, the change κ/χ might point to a Pre-Greek word, but the words may also have been influenced by ► ἔρκος. Other forms are ἐρκάνη, ὄρκάνη. Latte corrects ἐρκάτη to ἐρκάνη, but this remains uncertain. Cf. also ὄρχατος 'orchard'; perhaps adapted to ἐρχατόωντο (ξ 15), which belongs to ► εἶργω; s.v. Fraenkel *KZ* 72 (1955): 193ff. compares Lith. *sérgėti* 'to protect, guard'.

ἐρχομαι [v.] 'to come', also 'to go, travel' (Il.). ◀IE \**h<sub>1</sub>erg<sup>h</sup>*-, \**h<sub>1</sub>er*- 'move, go'▶

•VAR Only present stem.

•COMP Very often with prefix ἀπ-, εἰσ-, ἐξ-, κατ-, etc.

•ETYM One has compared OIr. *eirg* [ipv.] 'go!', *regaid* [fut.] 'he will go', and Skt. *rghāyati* 'tremble, rage', and within Greek as an iterative ► ὀρχέομαι 'dance'.

Alternatively, one has connected it with Skt. *ṛcchāti* 'to reach, arrive at', Hitt. *arške/a-zi* [iter.] 'to reach repeatedly, make incursions'. This presupposes that ἐρχομαι continues PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>r-sk-e/o-*, which seems quite possible; thus Rix *MSS* 27 (1970): 79-110. Unrelated to ὀρ- in ► ὀρνυμι, which requires \**h<sub>3</sub>er*-.

ἐρωδιός [m.] 'heron' (K 274). ◀?▶

•VAR Thus Hdn. *Gr.* 2, 924 and most mss.; also ἐρωδιός (mss. and pap.); also ῥωδιός (Hippon. 63) and ἀρωδιός (LXX as a v.l.). Worthless is the gloss ++ἐρωγάς· ἐρωδιός (H.).

•ETYM Ending like in αἰγωλιός, αἰγυπιός, χαραδριός, and other bird names. The resemblance with Lat. *ardea* 'heron' cannot be coincidental; one has further compared Serb. *róda* 'stork'; very doubtful, however, is ON *arta* 'teal'. Is the writing with *iota subscriptum* secondary (after the nouns in -ίδιος)? The word could be Pre-Greek because of the variants (without or with different prothetic vowel).

ἐρωή [f.] 1. 'rush, impulse, force, throw', in the Il. mostly of spears (δουρός, βελών ἐ.), also of men (ἀνδρός, λικμητήρος, Πηνελόιο), after Hom. of other objects (πετρῶν A. R. 4, 1657, πυρός AP 9, 490, γαστρος Opp. K. 3, 175, περὶ Κύπριν AP 10, 112). 2. 'withdrawal, rest', in the Il. of battle (πολέμιον Π 302, P 761), thus Theoc. 22, 192 (μάχης), also δακρύων (Mosch. 4, 40), also 'rescue' (D. P. 601). ◀IE \**h<sub>1</sub>reh<sub>1</sub>-(u-)* 'rest', \**h<sub>1</sub>reh<sub>1</sub>s-* 'impulse'▶.

•DER Beside it ἐρωέω, aor. ἐρωῆσαι, also in two meanings: 1. 'draw back, withdraw, leave, rest from' (intr.), also with ἀπ-, ἐξ-, ὑπ-, mostly with ablatival gen. πολέμοιο, χάρμης (Il.), καμάτοιο (h. *Cer.* 301) et al., also absolutely 'escape a disease' (Nic.); 2. trans. 'force back, push back' (N 57, Theoc., Call.), also 'quit' (Theoc.); also of blood αἷμα κελαινὸν ἐρωῆσει περὶ δουρί (A 303 = π 441), translated with 'flow, stream'. From ἐρωέω: ἐρωῖα [f.] 'respite, rest' (Theoc. 30, 9); from ἀπερωέω: ἀπερωεύς 'who hinders, who frustrates' (ἐμῶν μενέων, Θ 361).

•ETYM Two homonyms are distinguished: 1. ἐρωή 'impulse, etc.' with ἐρωέω 'flow, stream' (A 303 = π 441) from IE \**h<sub>1</sub>roh<sub>1</sub>s-eh<sub>2</sub>-* in Gm. \**rōsā*: MLG *rās* [n.] 'strong flow', OE *ræs* [m.] 'run, attack', ON *rás* [f.] 'run'; also, ON *rasa* 'to fall down' with *ras* [n.] 'falling down', MoHG *rasen*, IE \**h<sub>1</sub>rh<sub>1</sub>s-*. Perhaps Lat. *rōrārii* [pl.] 'lightly-armed skirmishers who start battle with slings' from \**rōsā* 'impulse, throw' = ἐρωή; 2. ἐρωή 'rest' with ἐρωέω 'rest, etc.', probably from IE \**h<sub>1</sub>roh<sub>1</sub>-u-eh<sub>2</sub>-* = Gm. \**rōwō* in OHG *ruowa*, OE *row*, ON *ró* [f.] 'rest', beside OHG *rāwa* 'id.' < PGm. \**rēwā*-. Note that ἐρωή 'impulse, etc.' and the verb ἐρωέω 'to rest, etc.' are much more frequent than ἐρωή 'rest' and notably ἐρωέω 'flow'.

ἔρως → ἔραμαι.

ἐρωτάω [v.] 'to ask, question' (Od.), Hell. also 'to request'. ◀?▶

•VAR Epic Ion. εἰρωτάω, after Hom. also non-presentic forms like ἐρωτήσω, ἐρωτήσαι, etc.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐπ-. On the use see Fournier 1946: (index).

•DER ἐρώτημα (ἐπ-) 'question, demand' (IA) with ἐρωτημα-τικός (D. T.) and -τίζω (Arist.); ἐρώτησις (ἐπ-) 'questioning' (IA); ἐρωτητικός 'pertaining to questioning, clever in q.' (Pl., Arist.); ἀν-ερωτίζω (Telecl. 52).

•ETYM The present ἐρωτάω, Ion. εἰρωτάω < \*ἔρρωτάω replaced primary \*ἔρρ-ομαι > Ion. ► εἶρομαι, especially in Attic. Vine *Glotta* 78 (2002): 203-221 explains the formation from \**erowōtō-* to \**h<sub>1</sub>rōw-o-* 'questioning, inquiry', which was replaced by \**erwōtō-*, whence the agent noun \**erwōtā-*. Other secondary presents of this root are ► ἐρεείνω and ► ἐρευνάω.



ἐς [prep.] = εἰς.

ἐσθής •VAR ἔσθος. ⇒ ἔννυμι.

ἐσθίω •VAR ἔσθω. ⇒ ἔδω.

ἐσθλός [adj.] 'good, brave, stout, noble' of men and objects (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aeol. Pi. ἔσλος, ἔσλός, Arc. ἔσλός.

•COMP As a first member in ἐσθλο-δότης (Man.).

•DER ἐσθλότης (Chrysipp.).

•ETYM Unknown. Some have connected it with Skt. *édhate* 'thrive' (< \**azdh-*), Av. *azd-iiā-* 'well-fed, stout', from IE \**Hes-dʰ-*. Schwyz: 533<sup>3</sup> prefers a compound \**Hes-dʰl-ó-* 'ἀγαθοεργός', from ἐσ- in εὖς and a zero grade variant of OCS *dělo* 'deed' (IE \**dʰeh₁-lo-*; see ► τίθημι). This analysis remains improbable.

ἔσκον [v.] 'I was' (Hom.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>es-* 'be'>

•VAR Also augmented ἤσκει (Alcm.).

•ETYM From \*ἔσ-σκον, an iterative preterite of εἰμί with the same suffix as in OLat. 3sg. *escit*, plur. *escunt* 'will be' and in ToB *skente* 'they are' < \**h<sub>2</sub>s-sko-nto*. Most uncertain is Thrac. ἠσκο 'I am(?)' (Kretschmer *Glotta* 7 (1916): 89).

ἔσμα ⇒ ἔζομαι.

ἔσμός [m.] 'swarm (of bees)' (IA). <IE \*(H)*ieh₁-* 'throw'>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἔσμο-τόκος 'producing swarms of bees' (AP).

•DER ἔσμιον· νόστιμον 'ptng. to return' (H.; does it belong here?), also ἀφεςμός 'swarm' (Arist. *HA* 629a 9) as a cross with ἀφεις 'id.' (Arist. *HA* 625a 20; plur.).

•ETYM From ἵημι (or ἀφ-ἵημι) with a suffix -σμο-. Derivation from ἔζομαι (cf. DELG) does not seem probable, as a swarm does not sit down.

ἔσπερος [m.] 'evening' (Od.), adjectival 'of the evening, western', also substantivized 'the evening star' (Il.); ἑσπέρα, Ion. -ρη [f.] 'evening, west' (Pi., IA, after ἡμέρα). <IE \**ue-kʷsp-er-o-* 'to(wards) the night, evening'>

•COMP As a second member in ἑφέσπερος 'western' (S. OC 1059 [lyr.]), ἀκρ-έσπερος 'on the edge of evening, at nightfall' (Arist., Theoc., Hp., etc., -ιος AP), ποθ-έσπερα [adv.] (Theoc.), προσ-εσπέριος (Arist.).

•DER ἑσπέριος 'of the evening, western' (Φ 560), substantivized Ἑσπερία 'the West, Hesperia' (Agathyll. *apud* D. H. 1, 49), ἑσπάριοι name of the western Locrians (V<sup>a</sup>), fem. ἑσπερίς, especially in plur. as a PN 'the Hesperides' (Hes.); later ἑσπερινός 'id.' (X., LXX); ἑσπερικός 'id.' (Juba), ἑσπερίτης, -ίτις (χώρα; D. L.). Denominative verb ἑσπερίζω 'to pass the night' (Doroth.; MoGr. σπερίζω) together with ἑσπέρισμα (Lex. *apud* Ath. 1, 11d).

•ETYM Inherited word, identical with Lat. *vesper*, 'evening'; further, with Lith. *vākara*s, OCS *večero* 'evening', which derive from \**uekero-*, and also found in Celtic, e.g. MW *ucher*, and in Arm. *gišer*. The difficult puzzle of reconstructing this word for PIE has recently been solved. Armenian had \**e* which became *ei* > *i* before *š*, *ž*. The -*š*- can derive from a cluster -*kʷs*- (cf. *vec* 'six' < \**ueks* beside *veš-tasan*); see Beekes 2004: 59-62. Combined with the -*k*- and -*sp*- reconstructed for the other languages

above, this points to a group -*kʷsp-*. It has been identified with Skt. *kṣáp-* 'night', of which the zero grade has been found in Hitt. *išpant-* 'night'. MW *ucher* may continue \**ue-* followed by *ks(p)* or *sp*. The first element had been connected with Lat. *uē-* in *uē-sanus* 'mad' et al., but this is now rejected (see De Vaan 2008). The meaning may have been '(stretching) towards night'. The suffix -*er-* is also found in words connected with time like Gr. νυκτερός.

ἔσπετε ⇒ ἐν(ν)έπω.

ἑσσήν, -ήνος [m.] name of the priests of Artemis in Ephesus (inscr. IV-III<sup>a</sup>, Paus.), also 'prince, king' (Call.); acc. to Hdn. Gr. 2, 923, 8 = οἰκιστής, acc. to EM 383, 30 properly 'king-bee'. <PG>

•DER ἑσσηνία, ἑσσηνεύω (inscr. Ephesus).

•ETYM Formation in -ήν like βαλ(λ)ήν 'king', κηφήν 'drone', etc. (Schwyz: 487, Chantraine 1933: 167f.). Probably Anatolian and Pre-Greek; see Frisk for bibliography with proposals for substrate and IE origin. Nouns in -ήν are discussed by Fur.: 172<sup>18</sup>.

ἔστε [conj., adv., prep.] 'until', later also 'as long as' (since Hes. *Th.* 754, not entirely certain; also Ion., southern Dor., Aetol., trag. and X.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ens* 'in'>

•VAR Boeot. ἔττε, Locr. ἔντε, Delph. ἑντε (also εἴστε mid IV<sup>a</sup>), Dor. ἔστε (EM 382, 8; v.l. in Theoc.). On the use Schwyz 1950: 675f. Cf. ἔσκε (Archil. 13, if for εἰς ὃ κε).

•ETYM From \*ἐν(σ)-τε, clearly containing \**h<sub>2</sub>en(s)* 'in(to)', but the final element -τε is ambiguous, as DELG remarks: it may derive either from -τε (in ὅτε 'when', Myc. *o-te*, so IE \*-te), or alternatively from IE \*-kʷe, for which the form ἔσκε would plead (see above). IE \*-kʷe is also found in Lat. *dōnec* 'until, while' < \**dō-ne-kʷe*. Cf. Monteil 1963: 316f.

ἐστία [f.] 'hearth, fireplace, altar', metaph. 'house, family, etc.' (Od., Att., Pi., Delph., etc.), later identified with Lat. *Vesta* (Str.). <PG>

•VAR Ion. ἰστίη, Aeol. Boeot. Locr. Dor. Arc. ἰστία.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἐστι-οὔχος 'containing the hearth' = 'domestic', 'protecting the hearth' (trag., etc.); as a second member in ἐφ-έστιος, Ion. ἐπ-ίστιος 'located by the hearth, belonging to the hearth' (B 125), ἀν-έστιος 'without hearth' (I 63), συν-, ὁμ-έστιος, etc.; on Att. -έστιος in Homer see Wackernagel 1916: 9ff., Chantraine 1942: 15; diff. Solmsen 1909: 214.

•DER Ἰστιά [n.pl.] 'monetary means of an Ἰστίη-temple' (Milete V<sup>a</sup>); ἐστιώτις 'belonging to the hearth (house)' (S. *Tr.* 954 [lyr.]); Ἑστ-ιασταί [m.pl.] name of worshippers of Hestia (Rhod.; cf. Ἀπολλων-ιασταί et al.); ἔστιος 'belonging to the hearth' (Hld., after ὁμέστιος et al.). As a translation of Lat. *Vesta*, *Vestālēs*: Ἑστιαῖον 'Vesta-temple' (D. C.), Ἑστιάδες [pl.] 'Vestales' (D. H., Plu.). Usual denominative ἐστιάω, ἰστιάω (augmented εἰσ- in εἰστίων [Lys.], etc.), also with prefix, e.g. συν-, 'receive at the hearth, feed, receive as guest' (IA, Dor.) with several derivatives: ἐστιάσεις, -ᾶμα, -αμός 'entertainment', ἐστιάτωρ (ἰστ-) 'host', with ἐστιάτοριον (ἰστια-, ἰστική-), also ἐστιάτήριον (after the nouns in -ήριον) 'dining room'; ἐστιάτορία (ἰστ-)

'party'. Also ἐστιόομαι (E. *Ion* 1464 [Iyr.] δῶμα) 'to be provided with a hearth, get settled'.

•ETYM As a collective or abstract formation in -ία (cf. especially οἰκ-ία, κλισ-ία), ἑστία presupposes a noun ἑστο-, -ᾱ vel sim. For the etymology, an important question is whether the word had an anlauting *ḥ-*. In favor of *ḥ-* speak *ῥιστιαν* (PN, Mantinea IV<sup>a</sup>) and *γιστία*· ἑσχάρη (cod. -τη) (H.). However, there are dialectal forms where *ḥ-* fails; see Solmsen 1901: 213ff. Therefore, the old, but still often defended connection with Lat. *Vesta* is probably incorrect. Moreover, *ε > ι* is unusual and unexpected, whereas an interchange *ε/ι* is frequent in Pre-Greek. Alternatively, one has proposed that *ἱστία*, -ῖη may have arisen secondarily after *ἱστημι*, but this remains a conjecture. The most probable conclusion is that the word is of Pre-Greek origin. Cf. Fur.: 358, A. 2. Other explanations, such as connection with ἑσχάρα (Solmsen l.c.) or Slav. *jestěja* 'hearth' (Machek *Ling. Posn.* 5 (1955): 59ff.), are unconvincing.

ἑστώ, -οῦς ⇒ εἰμί.

ἑστωρ 1, -ορος [m.] 'peg at the end of a chariot pole' (Ω 272, v.l. ἔκτορι after ἔχειν; Aristoboul.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Frisk lists a number of proposals, of which only that of Schwyzer 1939: 531<sup>12</sup> makes sense: that the word is an agent noun of *\*sed-* 'sit'. As DELG remarks, the suffix -τωρ is surprising in an instrument noun.

ἑστωρ 2 [m.] 'founder' (I Urb. Rom. 1155.88). <IE *\*sed-* 'sit'>

•ETYM From ► ἔζομαι.

ἑσχάρα [f.] 'hearth, house, sacrificing hearth' (Il.), metaph. 'platform, stand' (Ph. *Bel.*, etc.), in medical language 'scab, eschar on a wound by burning' (Hp., Arist.). <PG>

•VAR Ion. -ρη.

•DIAL Myc. *e-ka-ra*.

•DER ἑσχαρίς, -ίδος 'pan of coals, brazier' (Com., Plu.) with -ίδιον (Delos III<sup>a</sup>), ἑσχάριον 'id.' (Ar.), also 'platform, stand' (Plb.) beside ἑσχαρεῖον 'id.' (Attica); ἑσχαρ(ε)ών 'stove' (Delos IV<sup>a</sup>, Theoc.; after the indications of place in -(ε)ών, Chantraine 1933: 164); ἑσχαρεὺς 'ship's cook' (Poll.); ἑσχαρίτης (ἄρτος) 'bread baked over the fire' (Com., LXX); ἑσχάριος 'belonging to the hearth' (AP). Unclear ἑσχάρινθον name of a dance in Sparta (Poll.). As a medical term, basis of the denominative ἑσχαρόομαι 'form an ἑσχάρα (eschar)' with ἑσχάρωσις, -ωμα, -ωτικός; in the same sphere also ἑσχαρώδης (Poll., Gal.). On the fish-name ► ἑσχαρος see s.v.

•ETYM Formation in -ῥᾱ (like χώρᾱ, τέφρᾱ), but without cognates. Fur.: 376 points out that σχάρα (gloss.) may have lost the first vowel secondarily. As there are no cognates and as an IE proto-form can hardly be posited, the word is most probably Pre-Greek.

ἑσχαρος [m.] name of a fish, = κόρις, perhaps a kind of sole (solea; Com., Dorio *apud* Ath. 7, 330a). <PG>

•ETYM Derived from ἑσχάρη as 'frying fish' (Strömberg 1943: 89)? See also Thompson 1947 s.v. The word may be Pre-Greek.

ἑσχατος [adj.] 'the uttermost, last' (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>egʰs* 'out'>

•COMP Rarely in compounds, e.g. ἑσχατό-γηρως (-ος) 'in the last age' (Hell.), παρ-ἑσχατος 'the last but one' (Ph.).

•DER ἑσχατία, -ή 'uttermost part, frontier, extreme position' (Ion., Hes., Att.); poetical enlargement ἑσχατίος (Nic.). Denominative verbs: ἑσχατάω 'to be the uttermost, the last', only in ἑσχατάων, -όων [ptc.] (Il.; cf. Shipp 1967: 62); ἑσχατεύω 'id.' (Arist.); ἑσχατίζω 'to come too late' (LXX).

•ETYM Adjectival derivative of ἔξ, but unclear in detail. The opposite ► ἔγκατα (to ► ἐν) points to a formation *\*ἔξ-κατος*, for which the aspirate *χ* then requires a proto-form *\*ἔχσ-κατος*. This is taken to point to an IE basis *\*h<sub>2</sub>egʰs* for ► ἔξ; however, note the notation *χσ* = *ξ* in older alphabets (Schwyzer: 210), which suggests aspiration of any velar before *σ*. The suffix -κατος would consist of a velar element (cf. *πρό-κα*, Lat. *reci-pro-cus*; *\*ἔχσ-κο-* 'what is outside') and a dental element (*μέσ(σ)-ατος*, *τρίτ-ατος*, etc.).

ἐτάζω [v.] 'to examine, test' (Hdt. 3, 62 v.l., Democr. 266, Pl. *Cra.* 410d, LXX). <IE *\*set-* 'be stable'>

•VAR Aor. ἐτάσαι.

•COMP Most frequent ἔξ-ετάζω, aor. ἐξετάσαι, -άσαι (Theoc.), etc. 'find out, inquire exactly' (IA); also with prefix, e.g. ἐπ-, συν-, προ-ξετάζω; Arc. παρ-ηετάζω in παρ-ηεταζάμενος, παρ-εταζωνσι 'have approved' (Tegea IV<sup>a</sup>; unless from παρ-ἱημι 'approve', πάρ-ετος).

•DER ἑτασις, ἑτασμός 'proof, test' (LXX), ἑταστής = ἔξετ- (Lampsakos). ἐξετασις 'enquiry, test' (Att.), -σία 'id.' (Astypalaea, imperial period; cf. Schwyzer: 469), ἐξετασμός 'id.' (D.); ἐξεταστής 'inspector, controller' (Aeschin., Arist., inscr.; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 227) with ἐξεταστήριον 'inspection' (Samos II<sup>a</sup>), ἐξεταστικός 'ready for control, belonging to control' (X., D.), ἑξεταστέων PN (Bechtel 1917a: 22).

•ETYM Denominative of ἐτός, which is only found in ἐτά· ἀληθῆ, ἀγαθὰ 'true, good' (H.); therefore, properly 'verify, check the truth'. Formerly, it was suggested that ἐτός is a verbal adjective of εἰμί 'to be' (one has compared e.g. ON *sannr* < PGM. *\*sánþa-*, Skt. *satyá-* 'true'), from *\*ἐτός* < IE *\*s-e-tó-*. However, the correct pre-form in laryngealistic terms would be *\*h<sub>2</sub>s-nt-* or *\*h<sub>2</sub>s-eto-*, which would not produce the Greek words. De Lamberterie *RPh.* 71 (1997): 160, following Pinault, assumes a stem *\*set-u-*. See on ► ἐτέος and ► ὄσιος.

ἐταῖρος [m.] 'comrade, companion, friend'. <IE *\*se-* reflexive pronoun>

•VAR Also proparoxytone ἑταιρος; fem. ἐταῖρα (Ion. -ρη) 'female comrade' (Il.); also ἑταρος (Il., Dor.), fem. ἐτάρη (Δ 441).

•COMP As a second member e.g. in φιλ-ἐταῖρος 'loving his friends' (Att.) with φιλεταιρ-ία et al.

•DER ἐταιρήϊος, -εῖος (on the formation Chantraine 1933: 52) 'regarding the friend' (IA), ἐταιρικός 'id.', -όν [n.] 'political society' (Th., Hyp., Arist.), ἐταιρόσυνος 'friendly' with -σύνη (late); fem. ἐταιρίς = ἐταῖρα (X. *HG* 5, 4, 6 v. l.), ἐταιρίδιον (Plu.); ἐταιρηίη, -ρεία, -ρία 'comradeship, friendship, political society, etc.' (IA). Denominative verbs: ἐτα(ι)ρίζω, -ομαι 'be(come) comrade' (Il.), late 'be prostitute',

with ἑταιρίσμα, -ισμός, -ιστής (late); also ἑταιρίστρια = τριβάς (Pl. *Smp.* 191e; contemptuous); ἑταιρέω 'keep company with' (Att.) together with ἑταίρησις; ἑταρεύομαι 'prostitute oneself' (Hell.).

•ETYM The different forms can be understood as follows: from ἑταρος, a fem. \*ἑταιρά was first made with a suffix -ια- (cf. e.g. χίμαρος : χίμαιρα), which was reshaped into ἑταίρη, -ρα and then gave ἑταίρος, ἑταιρος; after ἑταίρος: ἑταρος, a form ἐτάρη was ultimately made beside ἑταίρη (Schulze 1892: 82). As ἑταρος, etc. show no trace of a digamma (Chantraine 1942: 150, Solmsen 1901: 203), the connection with φέτης 'relative, friend' (see ►ἑτης) must be abandoned. We have to start from the reflexive \*se (see ►ἔ, ἐ), with an enlargement -t- like in OCS *po-sétiti* 'visit' (from \*sētō 'guest', IE \*s(u)et-o-, cf. Lith. *svēčias* [m.] 'guest'), beside \*sue-t- in φέτης. For the ρ-suffix, cf. e.g. νεαρός, γεραρός (partly from ρ-stems). See now Pinsent 1983: 311-328. De Lamberterie connects the word with ἐτεός and ὄσιος; see DELG Supp.

ἔταλον [n.] a young animal, 'yearling' (Del.<sup>3</sup> 644, 18; Aegae IV-III<sup>a</sup>). <IE \*uet- 'year'>

•VAR Also ἔτελον (ibid. 252, 11; Cos III<sup>a</sup>: τοῦ μὲν ἐτέλου as opposed to τοῦ δὲ τελείου 'full grown animal').

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *vitulus* 'calf', U *vitluf* 'vitulōs' (with irregular *i* for *e*), except for the gender. The starting point is the IE word for 'year' (Gr. ►ἔτος), IE \*uēt-os-, to which belongs Skt. *vats-á-* 'calf'. For the pattern ἔτος: ἔτελον, ἔταλον, the word has been compared with e.g. νέφος: νεφέλη, ἄγκος: ἀγκάλη, suggesting that the change -αλο-: -ελο- could be old. See on ►ἐπηετανός, s.v. An *r*-stem is found in Gm., e.g. Go. *wīþrus* '(one-year-old) lamb', MoHG *Widder*, from IE \*uet-r(u)-.

ἔτελις [m.(f.)] name of a fish, 'gilthead' (Arist. *HA* 567a 20, H.)? <?>

•VAR Also accented ἐτελίς.

•ETYM Lat. *attilus* 'a fish like a sturgeon in the river Po' (Plin.; also \**atillus*), shows a general resemblance; it is probably Gaulish, perhaps a Ligurian word. Farther away is the name of the turbot, Latv. *āte*, Lith. *atis*; see WH s.v. *attilus*, Pok. 70. Strömberg 1943: 39 rather envisages derivation from ἔτελον (►ἔταλον). DELG calls both suggestions improbable.

ἐτεός [adj.] 'true, real', mostly in sing.ntr. ἐτεόν (ἐτεά [pl.] Y 255, reading quite uncertain); also adverbial 'really' (Hom., Theoc.); in interrogative sentences 'really' (Ar.); ἐτεῇ [adv.] 'in reality', also ἐτεή [nom.f.] 'reality' (Democr.). <IE \*set- 'stable, true'>

•DIAL Myc. PN *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, to Ἐτεροκλέφης.

•COMP Often as a first member in names like Ἐτεό-κρητες [pl.] 'Cretans in a strict sense, original Cretans' (τ 176), Ἐτε-άνωρ (Thera VII<sup>a</sup>), Ἐτέφ-ανδρος (Cyprus VII<sup>a</sup>), cf. Sommer 1948: 185 and 199; Ἐτεο-κλῆς (Tegea, etc.; probably rendered in Hitt. *Taṃag(a)laṃaš*; cf. Schwyzler: 79); also ἐτεό-κριθος [f.] 'real barley' (Thphr.; determinative compound formally adapted to a bahuṇrihi; cf. Strömberg 1940: 28f.).

•DER Beside it ἔτυμος 'true, real' (Il.; prose has ἀληθής) with ἐτυμό-δρυς [f.] 'real oak' (Thphr.); τὸ ἔτυμον 'the true (original) meaning of a word, the etymology' (Arist.); as a first member in ἐτυμο-λογέω 'discover the true meaning' with ἐτυμολογία, -λογικός (Hell.; formally after ψευδο-λογέω et al.; cf. Schwyzler: 726); ἐτυμό-της = τὸ

ἔτυμον (Str.). Reduplicated formation with lengthening of the original initial syllable: ἐτήτυμος 'true, real, authentic' (Il.; the form remains surprising, cf. Schwyzler: 447<sup>2</sup>), together with ἐτητυμία (Call., AP). Lengthened form ἐτυμώνιον-ἀληθές H.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 42f.

•ETYM When we compare the ending of κενε(φ)ός 'empty, idle', ἐτε(φ)ός presupposes an original *u*-stem, the zero grade of which is seen in enlarged ἔτυ-μος. Beside this *u*-stem, we have ἐτάζω and ἐτά-ἀληθῆ, ἀγαθά (H.), which seem to point to an *o*-stem. Further analysis is uncertain; see ►ἐτάζω. De Lamberterie *RPh.* 71 (1997): 160 follows Meillet in assuming \*set-u- (also supposed in Arm. *stoyg* 'real'); he further connects the word with ►ὄσιος from \*sot-.

ἕτερος [adj.] 'one of two; the one (...) the other' (Il.). <IE \*sm-tero- 'one of two'>

•VAR ἄτερος (Dor. Aeol.; also Att. in crasis ἄτερος, θάτερα, etc.); cf. Dor. ἀτροπανπαις Bourguet 1927: 117; Meillet *BSL* 28 (1927-1928): 116f assumed a zero grade as in ἀλλότριος and Lith. *añtras*.

•DIAL Myc. *a-te-ro* /<sup>h</sup>ateros/.

•COMP With negation οὐδ-, μηδ-ἕτερος, -άτερος 'none of both' (Hes., IA, Dor.). Very frequent as a first member in bahuṇrihis with various meanings, e.g. ἑτερ-αλκής 'who helps one of two parties' (Il.; cf. on ἀλέξω), ἑτερ-ήμερος 'living day by day' (λ 303 of the Dioscuri; Ph.), ἑτερό-πτολις 'coming from another town' (Erinn. 5).

•DER ἐτέρ-ωθεν, -ωθι, -ωσε, -ωτα 'from the other side', etc. (Hom.); ἑτεροῖος 'of another kind' (IA; after τοῖος, ἀλλοῖος et al.) with ἑτεροῖότης (Pl., Ph.), ἑτεροῖόμαι, -όω [v.] 'to become different, change' (Ion., etc.), -οίωσις 'change' (Hell.); ἑτερότης 'being different' (Arist.).

•ETYM From IE \*sm-tero-, the zero grade of \*sem- in ►εἷς 'one' (cf. further ►ἄπαξ), with the same comparative suffix as in ►ἀριστερός, etc.; cf. especially Skt. *eka-tara-* 'alteruter'; the ε-vowel in ἕτερος is rather after εἷς or after ►ἔ, ἐ than by vowel assimilation. An identical formation is probably represented by a Celtic word for 'half': MW *hanther*, Co. Bret. *hanter*; see Gonda 1953: 33f. Gonda also tries to connect the Gm. group of Go. *sundro* 'on itself, κατ' ἰδίαν', OHG *suntar* 'separated; however', etc. (cf. ►ἄτερ).

ἔτης [m.] 'clansman' (Hom., only plur.), 'citizen, private person' (El., Dor., also A. and E.); on the meaning see DELG. <IE \*sue-t- 'own, relative'>

•DIAL Dor. ἔτας, El. φέτας.

•ETYM Beside φέτας, Slavic has a word for 'relative by marriage', e.g. ORu. *svatō*, QIE \*suōt-o-, and Baltic a word for 'guest', Lith. *svēčas*, IE \*suet-io-. These are derived from the reflexive \*sue (Gr. φ(η)ε, see ►ἔ, ἐ), enlarged with a suffix -t-, thus IE \*sue-t-. On the Greek psilotic anlaut and loss of digamma, cf. Fraenkel 1912: 125 and Chantraine 1942: 150 and 185. Therefore properly meaning "one's own", whence 'belonging to the (own) clan', 'private person'. On the formation, see Schwyzler: 500, Chantraine 1933: 312, and Bechtel 1914. See also ►ἑταῖρος and ►ἰδιος.

ἐτήτυμος = ἐτεός.

**ἔτι** [adv.] 'still, also, further', of time and grade (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eti* '(and) also'>

•ETYM Old adverb, also preserved in Indo-Iranian, e.g. Skt. *āti* 'id.', in Italic, Lat. and U *et* 'and', and in Germanic, e.g. Go. *īþ* 'δέ, καί', all from IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eti*, which might be the loc.sg. of a root noun from \**h<sub>2</sub>et-* seen in Skt. *at-* 'to wander'.

**ἔτνος** [n.] 'soup of beans' (Ar., Hp.). <?>

•COMP As a first member in ἔτν-ήρυσις 'spoon for soup' (Ar.; cf. on ▶ ἀρύω 1), ἔτνο-δόνος 'stirring the soup' (of τορύνη, AP).

•DER ἔτν-ηρός 'like soup' (Ath.; Chantraine 1933: 232f.), ἔτν-ίτης (ἄρτος; Ath.).

•ETYM Etymology unknown. On the connection with Celt., e.g. Mlr. *eitne* 'kernel' (Pedersen 1909: 160), see the objections in Pok. 343. Arm. *und* 'soup, corn' can not be connected phonetically with ἔτνος.

**ἑτοῖμος** [adj.] 'prepared, ready, certain' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Younger ἑτοῖμος.

•COMP As a first member in ἑτοῖμο-θάνατος 'prepared for death' (Str.); as a second member in ἀν-ἑτοῖμος 'unprepared' (Hes. *Fr.* 219, Hell.).

•DER ἑτομότης 'willingness, readiness' (D., Plu.); ἑτομάζω 'prepare' (Il.) together with ἑτομασία (LXX, NT).

•ETYM No etymology. Acc. to Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 278ff., it is from a locative \*ἑτοῖ to \*ἑτός = ἑτός, with a suffix -μο-; this is a mere guess.

**ἑτός 1** [adv.] only with negation οὐκ ἑτός 'not in vain' (Att.); beside it ἑτώσιος [adj.] 'useless, fruitless' (Il.). <?>

•ETYM Though the formation is unclear (cf. Chantraine 1933: 42, Schwyzler: 466, and Mezger *Word* 2 (1946): 229), ἑτώσιος for \*ἑτεώσιος is probably an adjectivizing enlargement of ἑτός (cf. περιώσιος beside περί). The latter stands for \*ἑτεός, and formally belongs to the adverbs in -τός (▶ ἐντός, etc.). Further unclear; semantically close is Alb. *hut* 'useless, empty, idle', which was derived from IE \**uto-* (Jokl *Wien. Ak. Sb.* 168: 1: 31). The connection of αὐτως in the meaning 'idle, useless' is formally impossible. Others have connected Skt. *svatá-*, Av. *x'atō* 'by itself, automatically' (IE \**sue-tó-*), which seems possible in spite of the difference in meaning ('of itself' > 'without an outside cause?').

**ἑτος 2** [n.] 'year' (Il.). <IE *uet-os-* 'year'>

•VAR Dial. φέτος.

•DIAL Myc. *we-to* [acc.], *we-te-i* [dat.].

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. τρι-ετής (τρι-έτης) 'three years old' (IA) with τριετία 'space of three years' (Hell.), τριετίζω 'be three years old' (LXX); also τρι-έτηρος 'three years old' (Call.) together with -ηρίς [f.] 'every third year (inclusive)', i.e. 'in alternate years' (ἑορτη; Pi., IA; after the nouns in -ηρός, -ηρίς; Chantraine 1933: 346); thence τριετηρικός 'belonging to a τριετηρίς' (late).

•DER ἑτειος 'yearly, lasting the whole year, one year long' (Pi., A.); by hypostasis ἐπέτειος 'id.' (IA, from ἐπ' ἑτος); ἐτήσιος 'id.' (Att.; after the adjectives in -τήσιος; Schwyzler: 466, Chantraine 1933: 42) with ἐτησῖαι [m.pl.] 'periodic winds' (IA, Arist.); also ἐπετήσιος 'id.' (η 118, Th.); ▶ ἐπηετανός, s.v.

•ETYM An old word for 'year', preserved in several languages. An exact agreement is Alb. *vit* 'year', plur. (also sg.) *vjet*, from IE \**uetes-* (Mann *Lang.* 26 (1950): 383). As a second member, the neutral *s*-stem is preserved in the zero grade in Skt. *tri-vats-á-* 'of three years'; the full grade of the suffix is supposed in Messap. *atavetes* (perhaps = αὐτό-ετες 'in the same year'; Schwyzler: 513<sup>3</sup>) and is also found in Hitt. *šaudišt-* / *šāmitišt-* 'nurseling' (\*"of this year"; details in Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). Beside the latter, Hitt. has a root noun *uitt-* < \**uet-* 'year'. Thematicizations of the *s*-stem appear in HLuw. *usa/i-*, CLuw. *ušša/i-* 'year' < \**uet-s-o-* (Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *uitt-*). A semantic problem is Lat. *vetus* 'old', which formally equals φέτος; for an explanation, cf. Beekes 1985: 59-61 (previously, Benveniste *RPh.* 74 (1948): 124ff.). Old enlargements of the *s*-stem are found in words for (one-year-old) animals: Skt. *vats-á-* 'calf', Alb. *vic* 'calf' (IE \**uetes-o-*), Celt., e.g. Ir. *feis* 'swine' (PCL. \**wessi* < \**uet-s-i-*, Matasović 2008). By itself stands a Balto-Slavic word for 'old', Lith. *vėtušas*, OCS *vetъchъ*, IE \**uetus-o-* (here also Lat. *vetus*?). A new name for 'year' in Greek is ▶ ἐνιαυτός. See also ▶ ἑταλον, ▶ νέωτα, ▶ οἰετέας, ▶ πέρυσι, ▶ σήτες.

**ἐττημένος** ⇒ διαττάω.

**ἑτμος** ⇒ ἑτεός.

**ἑτώσιος** ⇒ ἑτός 1.

**εὖ** ⇒ εὖς.

**εὐάγης** [adj.] 'bright, clear, in full view' (Parm., Pi., A.). <GR>

•ETYM For εὐ-αγής (v.l. Pi. *Pae. Fr.* 19, 25 et al.), from εὖ and αὐγή 'beam of light', with transition to an *s*-stem and compositional lengthening. The second *u* was lost through dissimilation. By decomposition arose ἀγέα (κύκλον Emp. 47, of the sun); cf. Björck 1950: 148 A. 1. A poetical enlargement appears to be found in εὐάγητον (φύσιν Ar. *Nu.* 276 [lyr.], of the clouds which are visible from afar); see Björck 1950: 148 A. 1.

**εὐάζω** [v.] 'to cry εὐα, εὐαί' (S. and E. [lyr.], AP). <ONOM>

•DER Together with εὐάσματα [pl.] (E. [lyr.]), εὐασμός (Hell.); εὐαστής, -τήρ with εὐάστειρα, εὐαστικός (late).

•ETYM From the interjection εὐα· ἐπιφημισμός ληναϊκός καὶ μυστικός 'word belonging to the Bacchanal rites and to the mysteries' (H.), εὐαί (-αῖ) 'cry at the festival of Bacchus' (Ar.); also, εὐᾶν (E. et al.), εὐοί, -οῖ (Ar. et al.). Additionally, with intermediate aspiration, εὐαῖ, εὐᾶν, εὐοῖ (D. T., Hdn.). Borrowed as Lat. *euhoē*, *euhan*. The same call also appears in Lat. *onō*, -āre 'to exult, jubilate', which cannot be a borrowing, as it reflects the Plt. change of \**eu* > \**ou* (De Vaan 2008). Cf. ▶ εἰάζω, ▶ αἰάζω and Schwyzler: 303.

**εὐδείελος** [adj.] epithet of places (since Od.), in the Od. almost only of Ithaca, also of Κρήση (*h. Ap.* 438), of the mountain Κρόνιον (Pi. *O.* 1, 111), etc. <?>

•VAR Further εὐδειλον (Alc. *G I* 2, *POxy.* 2165 I 2; unclear. The emendation [λόφος] by Gallavotti is uncertain).

•ETYM One previously posited metrical lengthening of \*εὐ-δέελος 'well-visible', from δέελος (K 466). However, see now on δέελος, δέιλη 'evening' which are mostly connected with εὐδείελος, which would mean 'with beautiful evenings' vel sim.

**εὐδία** [f.] 'bright weather, calm (of wind), quiet (of the sea)' (Pi., trag., IA). <IE \*diu- 'day'>

•VAR Also -ίη.

•DER εὐδιανός 'calm, bringing rest', of φάρμακον (Pi. O. 9, 97); εὐδίαος of the fish-name τριγόλας (Sophr. 67), 'caught in beautiful weather' (?) with εὐδιαίτερος (X.); as a msc. substantive 'outlet in the bottom of a ship' (Plu., Poll.); εὐδιεινός 'bright, calm, quiet' (Hp. Aph. 3, 12 v.l. beside εὐδιος, Pl. Lg. 919a, X. Cyn. 5, 9, Arist.; after φαεινός, ἀλεινός); εὐδιος 'id.' (Hp., Hell.; to εὐδία after αἰθρία: αἰθριος). Denominative verbs: εὐδιάω 'be quiet, calm', of the sea and weather (A. R., Arat.; only ptc. εὐδιών); εὐδιάζω 'calm down, be quiet' (Pl. Ax. 370d, Ph.).

•ETYM Compound (collective bahuvrihi) of εὐ and the zero grade of an old word for 'day, heaven' (see ▶ Ζεύς), thus εὐ-δίφ-ᾱ. Cf. ἐκατόμ-β(φ)-ᾱ, μεσό-δμ-η for the formation with zero grade. An old counterpart is Skt. *su-div-* 'bringing a beautiful day' with *su-div-á-* [n.] 'id.'.

**εὐδω** [v.] 'to sleep' (Il.). <?>

•VAR The simplex is only found as a present, except for εὐδήσω [fut.] (A. Ag. 337).

•COMP With prefix ἐν-, συν-, especially καθ-εὐδω (Il.), ipf. καθ-εὐδον, -ηῦδον, Att. also ἐ-κάθευδον, fut. καθ-εὐδήσω (Att.), rare aor. καθ-εὐδήσαι (Ion.); also with double prefix, e.g. ἐν-, ἐπι-, παρα-, συγ- καθεὐδω, etc. As an aorist we find (κατα-)δάρθεϊν, (-)δραθεϊν, see ▶ δαρθάνω.

•ETYM Several unconvincing suggestions: 1) related to Go. *sutis* 'quiet, calm', and further to Lat. *sūdus* 'soft' (cf. Mayrhofer KZ 73: 116f.), but the latter is now reconstructed as \**suoid-o-* by Nussbaum 1999: 381. 2) from IE \**seu-d-* beside \**su-ep-* in Skt. *svapiti* 'sleeps', etc. (Benveniste 1935: 156f.; cf. on ▶ ὕπνος), which is very unlikely because of the Schwebeablaut involved; 3) related to OE *swodrian* 'to sleep tight' (Grošelj Živa Ant. 7 (1957): 42).

**εὐεξος** = ἔχω.

**εὐηγενής** [adj.] see below (Λ 427, Ψ81 with v.l. εὐηφενής, *h. Ven.* 229, Theoc. 27, 43, IG 14, 1389: 1; 29. <GR>

•ETYM The reading εὐηγενής = εὐγενής (mss., Aristarchus) is strongly suspected to be a misreading for εὐηφενής in Hom. (as a PN in IG 12(8), 376: 14), a compound from ἄφενος which apparently was not transparent. Secondary εὐηγενής was supported by several forms in -γενής with a preceding -η-, and taken over by post-Homeric poets. On ▶ εὐηφενής, see Bechtel 1914 s.v. and Leumann 1950: 117<sup>83</sup>. See on ▶ ἄφενος and Masson *RPh.* 91 (1965): 239f.

**εὐθενέω** [v.] 'to thrive, flourish', of animals and plants, also metaph. of towns, peoples, etc. (A., Arist.). <?>

•COMP As a first member in εὐθηνι-άρχης 'commissioner of (corn) supplies', together with -αρχέω, -ία, -ικός (pap.; also εὐθενι-).

•DER εὐθένεια, -ία (-ίη inscr. I<sup>a</sup>) 'state of prosperity, fullness, supply' (Arist. as a v.l. beside εὐθηνία, pap. of Roman times) with εὐθηνιακός (pap.).

Also εὐθηνέω 'id.' (*h. Hom.* 30, 10, Hdt., Hp., LXX) together with εὐθηνία = εὐθένεια, -ία (Arist. as a v.l., LXX, late inscr. and pap.); rare and late adjectives: εὐθενής: εὐπαθοῦσα, ισχυρά 'enjoying herself, strong' (H.) whence εὐθενέστατος (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>), εὐθηνός 'thriving' (Hdn. *Epim.* 175, Lyd. *Ost.* [VI<sup>p</sup>]).

•ETYM The explanation depends on the relation between these forms. If the forms with -ε- in the root are original, then εὐθενέω is a denominative of εὐθενής, from which the abstract εὐθένεια, -ία was made. We would have to start from a noun \*θένος beside ▶ φόνος in the *hapax* φόνον αἵματος (Π 162), if this means 'mass of blood' – but this is uncertain. This would give an analogy \*θένος: εὐθενής: εὐθένεια: εὐθενέω like μένος: εὐμενής: εὐμένεια: εὐμένεω. However, εὐθενής is rare and late, while εὐθενέω is older. Therefore, the agreement with Skt. *ā-hanás-* 'thriving, full', IE \**g<sup>wh</sup>enes-* becomes doubtful. With the IE root \**g<sup>wh</sup>en-* supposed in *ā-hanás-* and εὐθενής, one scholar further connected Skt. *ghana-* 'solid, thick, full of' (epic and class.; very doubtful RV 1, 8, 3), MoP *ā-ganiš* 'full', *ā-gandan* 'fill on'; from Balto-Slavic, Lith. *ganà* 'enough', OCS *goněti* 'be enough' have been adduced; finally, Alb. *zânë* 'solid, thick' (Jokl 1937: 131) and Arm. *y-ogn* 'multum, very, much'. The PNs in -φόντης like Κρεσ-φόντης (cf. on ▶ κράτος), Πολυ-φόντης are unclear, as is φανάν-θέλειν 'wish, want' (H.). Unclear ▶ ἄφενος must be separated, as well as ▶ παρθένος. Secondary lengthening of -η- in εὐθηνέω, etc. cannot be excluded. If we assume original -η- < \**eh<sub>2</sub>-*, however, εὐθενέω could either be after σθένος (Sommer 1905: 66) or a zero grade \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>n-*. A hypothetical Gr. \*θῆνος has been compared with Lat. *fēnus* 'interest' (related to *fē-līx*; see ▶ θῆλυς and ▶ θῆσθαι), root \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-* 'suck, be fed with milk', which could be phonetically and semantically identical if the connection with Skt. *ā-hanás-*, etc. is given up.

**εὐθύς** [adj.] 'straight', also metaph. 'just'; εὐθύς, -ύ also adverbial (beside εὐθέως) 'straightaway, directly', of place and time (Pi., Att.). <?>

•VAR Fem. -εῖα, ntr. -ύ.

•COMP Very frequent as a first member, e.g. in ▶ εὐθυωρία.

•DER εὐθύτης 'straightness' (Arist.) and the denominative εὐθύνω 'straighten, direct, steer, chastise, punish' (Pi., Att.) with several derivatives: εὐθυνσις 'straightening' (Arist.), εὐθυσμός 'id.' (Ph.); εὐθυντήρ 'director, corrector' (Thgn., A., Man.) with εὐθυντήριος 'straightening, directing' (A. Pers. 764), εὐθυντηρία [f.] 'the part of a ship where the rudder was fixed' (E. IT 1356), 'base wall, base' (inscr.), -ιαῖος (Didyma); εὐθυντής = εὐθυνος (Pl. Lg. 945b, c), -τικός (Arist., D. H.). More common are deverbal expressions like εὐθυνος [m.] 'revisor of the state' (Pl., Arist., inscr. since V<sup>a</sup>, etc.), also 'judge, punisher' in general (A., E.); εὐθυνα [f.] 'public responsibility, revision' (Att.).

•ETYM No correspondences outside Greek. It may have taken the place of ἰθύς 'id.'. Perhaps a cross of ▶ εἶθαρ and ▶ ἰθύς with assimilation εἰ: υ > εὑ: υ (see Schwyzler: 256). The word ▶ εὐρύς is semantically farther. DELG suggests influence of εὖ 'good' (s.v. ▶ εὖς).

**εὐθύφλοιος** [m.] 'straight-barked', a kind of oak (Thphr. *H.P.* 3, 8, 2). <GR>

•ETYM From εὐθυ- and ►φλοιός? Also ἀλφειός, from ►ἄλις?

**εὐθυωρία** [f.] 'straightness, straight direction' (Pl., Arist., Aetol., Cret., etc.), almost only in adverbial expressions like (ἀν', κατ') εὐθυωρίαν, εὐθυωρία 'in straight line, directly'; also εὐθύωρον [adv.] 'id.' (X.). <GR>

•VAR Heracl. -ωρεία, Arc. -οργία, Epid. -ορία; Ion. ἰθυωρία (Hp.).

•ETYM Expression from the language of surveyors, from ►εὐθύς (►ἰθύς) and ►ὄρος, ὄρρος 'boundary' as a bahuvrihi: 'with straight boundaries, along straight lines'. The long vowel may be due to compositional lengthening, or to Doric influence (development of -ορρ-). Incorrectly, Bechtel 1921, 1, 345: related to Av. *auruuā-* 'quick', etc.; εὐθύωρος would then properly mean 'hurrying straight'.

**εὐκηλος** ⇒ ἔκηλος.

**εὐκολος** ⇒ δύσκολος.

**εὐκράης** [adj.] 'temperate', epithet of τόποι (Arist. *Mete.* 352a 7), of ἀήρ (Thphr. *CP* 1, 11, 6; 2, 3, 3), of ἔρως (Opp. *H.* 4, 33); but also 'blowing well', of οὖρος and ἄνεμος (A. R. 2, 1228; 4, 891); also v.l. for ἀκραίης (ξ 299, Hes. *Op.* 594). <IE \*kerh<sub>2</sub>- 'mix'>

•VAR Also εὐκράϊς.

•ETYM Reformed from εὐκράς (related to ►κεράννυμι) after the s-stems, perhaps by influence of ἄημι, which at any rate influenced the meaning in A. R. At the same time, in opposition to ἀκρ-αίης 'sharp blowing' (properly 'blowing on the heights'), it was analyzed as ἀ-κράϊς; cf. Marxer 1935: 46f. - On this basis, δυσκράϊς (Opp.).

**εὐλάκᾱ** ⇒ ἄλοξ.

**εὐλή** [f.] 'worm, maggot' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Mostly plur. -αί. Cf. εὐλάζει· σαπριᾶ, σκωληκιᾶ 'make rotten, be worm-eaten' (H.). Sometimes, also ὑάλη· σκώληξ 'worm' (H.) is mentioned, supposedly standing for ὑαλή; it is doubtful that this form is cognate.

•ETYM Taken by Frisk et al. as an old verbal noun from ►εἰλέω 2, ►ἴλλω 'turn, wind', properly meaning 'that which winds or coils'. However, a prothetic vowel \*ε-φλ-ή is no longer possible, unless one assumes \**h<sub>1</sub>uel-*; however, \**h<sub>1</sub>ul-* would give ὕλ-. It is improbable to assume metathesis from \**fel-* (cf. on ►εὐρύς). The word may well be Pre-Greek. The recent attempt by Balles 2007: 15-24 is pure speculation. Cf. ►ἔλμις.

**εὐλήρα** [n.pl.] 'reins' (Ψ 481, Q. S.). <PG>

•DIAL Dor. αὐλήρα (Epich. 178, H.).

•DER Unclear is εὐληρωσιών· πληγών 'strokes' (H.; perhaps from \*εὐλήρωσις, to \*εὐληρόομαι, -όω).

•ETYM One scholar has assumed \*ε-φληρ-ο-, \*α-φληρ-ο- (Schwyzer: 224) with prothetic vowel, combining Lat. *lōrum* 'rein', Arm. *lar* 'strick, rope, band', from IE \**ulēr-*, \**ulōr-*, \**ulHr-*, supposed to be a derivation in -r- from a primary verb for 'turn, wind, twine' in ►εἰλέω 2. Given the variation, which cannot be explained in IE

terms, the words are probably Pre-Greek. For the interchange ᾱ-/ε-, cf. ἀμύς/ἐμύς and Fur. 347ff. See also ►λῶμα.

**εὐμαρής** [adj.] 'light, without pain' (Alc., Pi.). <IE?>

•DER εὐμάρεια, -(ε)ίη, -ία 'ease' (IA), εὐμαρότης 'id.' (Callistr. Soph.), εὐμαρέω 'have easy access' (B. 1, 175).

•ETYM Bahuvrihi of ►εὖ and ►μάρη 'hand', which yielded a stem in -σ- (Schwyzer 513). Blanc *REGr.* 105 (1992): 548-556 rejects this explanation and assumes a meaning 'accordé en abondance', from \**smer-* in ►μείρομαι 'accorder comme part'; this is uncertain. His comparison with the reduced grade in εὐ-τραφής does not work, as one would rather expect -μερής beside μείρομαι and μέρος.

**εὐμᾶρις, -ιδος** [f.] name of an Asiatic shoe or slipper of deerskin (A. and E. [lyr.], AP 7, 413 [ᾶ], Poll.); εὐμᾶρίδας [acc.pl.] as attribute of ἀσκέρας, so probably adjectival (Lyc. 855). <?>

•VAR Acc. -iv.

•ETYM Foreign word of unknown origin; cf. the foreign names for shoes in Schwyzer: 61, as well as Björck 1950: 68.

**εὐνή** [f.] 'lair, bed' (of animals and soldiers), 'bed, matrimonial bed', metaph. 'marriage' and 'tomb', as a nautical expression in plur. 'anchor stones' (Il.). <?>

•COMP As a first member in εὐνοῦχος [m.] 'protector of the bed', 'chamberlain, eunuch' (IA; on the mg. Maaß *RhM* 74 (1925): 432ff.) with εὐνουχίζω, -ίας, etc. As a second member in χαμαι-εὐνης et al. (on the formation Schwyzer 451), fem. -ευνάς 'having its bed on the earth' (Hom.); also χαμι-ευνάς 'id.' (Lyc.), as a determinative 'bed on the earth' (Nil. *Th.* 23); in this mg. further χαμι-εὐνη, -α (trag.) with χαμεῦνιον (Pl.), -ευνίς (Theoc.), -ευνία (Ph., Philostr.).

•DER εὐναῖος 'belonging to the εὐνή' (trag.), εὐνια [pl.] = εὐνή (App.), εὐνέτης 'bedfellow, wife' (E.), -έτις [f.] (Hp., A. R.), εὐνάτας 'id.' (E. *Med.* 159, conjecture), εὖνις [f.] (S., E.). Denominatives: εὐνάομαι, εὐνηθῆναι, -άω 'lie down, go to bed, sleep' especially 'bring to rest' (Il.) together with εὐνήματα [pl.] 'marriage' (E. *Ion* 304; cf. Chantraine 1933: 184ff.), εὐνήτωρ, -άτωρ, -ητήρ, -ατήρ = εὐνέτης (trag.), fem. εὐνήτειρα, -άτειρα, -ήτρια (trag.), εὐνατήριον 'sleeping room' (A.). εὐνάζομαι, εὐνασθῆναι, εὐνάζω 'id.' together with τὰ εὐνάσσια 'sleeping places' (X. *Cyn.* 8, 4; after ἱππάσιμος et al., cf. Arbenz 1933: 48), εὐναστήρ = εὐνέτης (Lyc.), εὐνάστειρα λίθος (Opp.), εὐναστήριον = εὐνατήριον (S., E.). Details on the tragedians in Fraenkel 1912: 17, Björck 1950: 139f.; also Chantraine *REGr.* 59-60 (1946-1947): 227f.

•ETYM Unexplained. Lidén *IF* 19 (1906): 320f. compares OIr. (*h*)*uam* 'hole' and Av. *unā* [f.] 'hole, slit (in the earth)'. Arm. *unim* 'to have, own' remains far. Unconvincing recent attempts are Balles 2007: 15-24 and Ziegler *KZ* 117 (2004): 1-12.

**εὖνις, -ι(δ)ος** [adj.] 'robbed, lacking' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Acc. -iv.

•ETYM The word has been compared with adjectives starting in \**u(H)-* or \**uā-*: Skt. *ūnā-*, Av. *ūna-* 'deficient, lacking', Arm. *unayn* 'empty' (anlaut uncertain; IE \**eu-* is

also possible), Lat. *vānus* 'empty, idle', Go. *wans* 'defective, missing', etc. However, \**h<sub>2</sub>eu<sub>h</sub>-n-* would have given \*ἐ(φ)αν-.

**εὐνοῦχος** ⇒ εὐνή.

**εὐοχος** [adj.] epithet of δαῖτες (B. Fr. 18, 4), βορά (E. Ion 1169), γῆ (Hom. Epigr. 7, 2), perhaps 'rich, luxuriant, fruitful'. <PG>

•DER Denominative verb εὐοχθέω 'to be rich, luxuriant', of people (Hes. Op. 477, Rhian. 1, 9).

•ETYM Connection with ὄχος, ▶ ὄχθι 'height, steep shore' is semantically unsatisfactory. Either εὐοχος must be separated, or ὄχος had an additional, unknown, meaning. Fur.: 127 connects ▶ ἀκτὴ 'corn' with ὄχος, which is quite acceptable (cf. ἀκτὴ / ὄχθι 'cliff', etc.).

**εὐπέπελος** [adj.] 'easily dismissed', of the μοῖρα of the Eumenides (A. Eu. 476: οὐκ εὐπέπελον). <GR>

•ETYM The second member is derived from ▶ πέμπω with a suffix -ελο-.

**εὐπετής** ⇒ πίπτω.

**εὐράξ** [adv.] mg. uncertain, in στή δ' εὐράξ (A 251, O 541), perhaps 'near, at the side'; further Lyc. 920 Ἀλαίου Παταρέως ἀνακτόρων 'near the temple of A. P.'; as an interj. in Ar. Av. 1258 εὐράξ, πατάξ. <?>

•ETYM Uncertain. For the formation, cf. λάξ, ὀδάξ, μουνάξ, διαμπάξ, etc. (Schwyzer: 620). It has been connected with εὐρύς and explained as ἐκ πλαγίου, i.e. 'from the side' (e.g. by H.). Acc. to Bq, it is to be read as δὲ φράξ, and to be understood as 'en heurtant', from ράττειν, ράσσειν, ῥήσσειν 'nudge, bump'; on the meaning, cf. ▶ ἵκταρ 'near' and the parallels mentioned there.

**Εὐρίπος** [m.] 'straits, narrows' (X., Arist.); especially the straits between Euboea and Boeotia (h. Ap. 222, Hdt.); later also 'canal' in general (D. H.); 'ventilator, fan' (Gal. 10, 649) is probably a homonym, derived from ῥιπή in the sense 'blow'. <PG(S)>

•DIAL Myc. TN *E-wi-ri-po*.

•DER εὐριπώδης 'like straits, like the Euripos', etc. (Arist.); εὐριπίδης name of a wind, blowing from the Euripos (E. Maaß KZ 41, 204), also PN; εὐριπική (σχοῖνος Dsc., Plin.); Εὐρίπιος Ποσειδῶν (H.).

•ETYM The etymology 'with strong current', from εὖ and ῥιπή (since Fick) must be rejected, even if the straits between Euboea and Boeotia are well known for their strong currents of water and wind.

Forssman MSS 49 (1988): 5-12, explains the form from \**euru-h<sub>2</sub>p-o-* 'breite Wasser(läufe) habend'. The assumed dissimilation of the second *u* in \**eurū-po-* does not convince; neither does the meaning fit for a narrow strait. The word may well be Pre-Greek, cf. already Ruijgh 1967a: 172<sup>374</sup>. Note that the long *i* in this position is typical for Pre-Greek forms, cf. *Pre-Greek* s.v. -ιβ-, -ιγ-, ιδ-, ιθ-, ιν-).

**εὐρίσκω** [v.] 'to find, uncover' (τ 158). <?>

•VAR Aor. εὐρεῖν, ind. εὖρον (Il.; later also ἡῦρον), fut. εὐρήσω (h. Merc. 302, IA), perf. εὐρηκα, -ημαι (ἡῦρ-), aor. pass. εὐρεθῆναι with fut. εὐρεθήσομαι (IA).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀν-, ἐξ-, ἐφ-. As a first member εὐρησι- (later εὔρεσι-) in εὐρησι-επής 'who finds ἐπι, epic poet' (Pl.), εὐρησι-λογέω 'find reasons, find excuses' and -λογία 'ability to find reasons, eristics, creation of empty words' (Hell.; after the compounds in -λογέω, -λογία); with εὐρησι-λογος (Corn. et al.).

•DER Derivatives, also from the prefixed verbs (not indicated): εὐρημα, later εὔρεμα (Schwyzer 523) 'invention' (IA), εὔρεσις 'discovery' (IA; εὐρησις Apollod.); εὔρετρα [pl.] 'finder's reward' (Ulp.); εὔρετής 'discoverer' (Att.) with fem. εὔρετις, -έτις (S. Fr. 101 [uncertain], D. S.); also εὔρέτρια (D. S., pap.; Chantraine 1933: 104ff.); Εὐρέσιος epithet of Ζεὺς = Jupiter Inventor (D. H.; after Ἰκέσιος et al.); εὔρετικός 'ingenious, inventive' (Pl.), εὔρετός 'which can be found' (Hp., S.).

•ETYM Given the perfective meaning of εὐρίσκω, the aorist εὔρον is probably old. An old perfect seen in εὐρη-κα probably existed next to it. After this, εὐρήσω arose, and the latest member of the paradigm (beside εὐρεθῆναι) was the present εὐρίσκω (quantity of the *i* unknown). The aorist εὔρον may be a thematic root formation standing for the augmented ind. \*ἐ-φρ-ον; on this form, see Vara *Emerita* 61 (1993): 177-9. The aspiration is perhaps secondary after ἐλεῖν etc. Alternatively, was it a reduplicated aorist \**ue-ur<sub>h</sub>-e/o-* from \**ue-ur<sub>h</sub>-e/o-*, with dissimilatory loss of the anlauting *f-* and secondary aspiration, in which case, according to Beckwith *Glotta* 72 (1994): 24-30, the root-final laryngeal was lost in a reduplicated formation?

A reduplicated formation is also found in the OIr. preterite *-fúar* 'I found' < IE \**ue-ur-* (pres. *fo-gabim*); the pass. *-frith* 'inventum est' agrees with \**φρι-* in *-φέ-φρι-κα* (> εὔρηκα) as IE \**ur<sub>h</sub>-to-*. IE \**ureh<sub>2</sub>-t-* has also been supposed in OCS *ob-rětъ* 'I found'. A full grade \**uer-* is seen in Arm. *gerem* (with secondary aorist *gerec'i*) 'take prisoner'. Taillardat *RPh.* 34 (1960): 232-235 assumes \**suer-*, with \**sesure* > εὔρε.

**εὐρύαγια** ⇒ ἄγνια.

**εὐρύοδεια** [adj.] only in ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης (Hom., always verse-finally). <IE \**sed-* 'sit'>

•ETYM Schulze 1892: 487f. (followed by Bechtel 1914 s.v.) reads εὐρυ-εδείης 'with broad seats' (i.e. places for settling, ἔδος), recalling Simon. 5, 17 εὐρυεδοῦς ... χθονός. Thus also R. Schmitt 1967: 246ff.

**εὐρύοπα** [acc.] = [voc.] epithet of Ζῆν (Κρονίδην), also in nom. and voc. εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς, Ζεῦ (Il.), later of κῆρυξ, κέλαδος, ἥλιος; bahu<sub>v</sub>rihi of ὅπ-ᾱ- 'with far-reaching sight, far-seeing'. <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>-* 'see'>

•ETYM The formula was adapted to formulae like κυανοχαῖτα, with a vocative in -α < \**-h<sub>2</sub>*. In the case of εὐρύοπα, we are probably dealing with an old accusative. Thus Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 416f. and Beekes 1969: 148-150.

**εὐρύς** [adj.] 'broad, wide' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>urH-u-* (?) 'broad'>

•VAR Epic also acc. -έα (under formulaic pressure).

•COMP Very often as a first member.

•DER εὐρύτης 'broadness, width' (Hp.) and denominative εὐρύνω 'broaden, widen' (Θ 260; on the formation Schwyzer: 733). Also εὔρος [n.] 'breadth, width' (λ 312), as a second member in ἴσο-ευρής 'with the same breadth' (Phot.).



•ETYM Indo-Iranian has Skt. *urú-*, Av. *vouru-* 'broad', and Skt. *váras-* [n.] 'breadth', from which εὐρύς and εὐρος differ only regarding their anlaut. We have to start from IE *\*urH-ú-* and *\*uérH-os-*, which should have given Gr. *\*φαρύς*, *\*φέρος*; cf. βαρύς = Skt. *gurú-*. It has been assumed that εὐρύς has a prothetic vowel from *\*h-*, *\*ἐ-φρύς*, but then one would rather expect *\*ἐφ(α)ρύς* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>ur(H)us*. Alternatively, it has been supposed that it stands with metathesis for a secondary full grade *\*φερύς* (after the primary comparative, Skt. *vārī-yān* 'broader'); εὐρος, beside Skt. *váras-*, could also be explained in this way, if not secondary after εὐρύς (cf. βάρος, βάθος, τάχος, etc.). ToA *wārts*, ToB *wartse* 'broad' contain a suffix *-ts*, *-tse* and reflect a preform *\*wər(ə)-*. The reconstruction remains problematic.

εὐρώς, -ῶτος [m.] 'mould, dank decay', also 'rust'? (Thgn., Simon.); on the mg. Aly *Glotta* 5 (1915): 63ff. <PG?>

•VAR ἔρβως· εὐρώς 'fair-flowing' (H.).

•DER εὐρώεις 'mouldy, musty' epithet of the underworld (Hom., Hes.), also of πηλός (Opp.); εὐρωτιάω 'to be mouldy' (Ar., Thphr.).

•ETYM εὐρώεις (see Schwyzler: 527 and Chantraine 1933: 274) should not be changed into ἡρόεις; see the remarks by Solmsen 1901: 121f. Based on comparison with ἰδρώς, γέλως, ἔρως, etc., an original *s*-stem has been concluded (Schwyzler: 514). No convincing etymology. Etymologies assuming a prothetic vowel (see Frisk) must be discarded. Fur.: 242 refers to the form given by H. and thinks the form is Pre-Greek, which seems quite plausible.

εὖς [adj.] 'good, brave, strong (in war)' (epic since Il.), only of men, never in fem.; ntr. εὔ, εὔ 'good' (A., E.), mostly as an adverb 'well' (Il.). <IE *\*uesu-* 'good', and/or *\*h<sub>1</sub>(e)su-* 'good'>

•VAR Also ἡῦς, ἡῦ (see below), gen.sg. ἔῆος, ἐ-, gen.pl.n. ἑάων (verse-final, e.g. δωτῆρες ἑάων θ 325).

•DIAL Myc. names with *e-u-*, e.g. *e-u-me-ne* /Eumenēs/.

•COMP Very often as a first member, both adjectival and adverbial.

•DER εὐτής (cod. ἐητής)· ἀγαθότης 'goodness' (H.); on the accent see Wackernagel and Debrunner *Phil.* 95 (1942): 177. Note further ἡέα· ἀγαθά (H.).

•ETYM The Greek forms present several problems. As for ἡῦς beside εὔς, old ablaut is highly improbable, and a metrical solution has been sought (ἡῦς occurs mostly in verse-final expressions). In combination with the analogical introduction of the length from compounds where metrical lengthening was necessary (e.g. ἡῦ-κομος), this is certainly possible. Metrical lengthening could also be assumed in ἔῆος, if this stands for *\*ἑέος*; often, ἔῆος (thus most mss.) seems to represent *\*ἑῆο* = *\*ἑέιο*, *\*ἑέο* 'sui', from ►ἔ, ἐ 'se'; cf. ἐμεῖο = ἐμέο from ἐμέ. The comparison of εὔ- with Skt. *su-* points to *\*h<sub>1</sub>su-*, with which Hitt. *āššu-* 'good, useful, pleasant', ntr. 'goods, possession, prosperity' is also ultimately connected. On the other hand, there is also Skt. *vásu-*, Av. *vohu-* 'good', to which further Gaulish PNs like *Bello-vēsus* and Ir. *feb* [f.] 'eminence' belong, as well as Illyr. *Ves-cleveses* [gen.] (cf. Εὐ-κλής, Skt. *vásu-śravas-*). Further, there is the expression δωτῆρες (δῶτορ) ἑάων, which may have a pendant in Skt. *dātā vásūnām* (beside *dātā vásu* [acc.]). Unambiguous traces of the

digamma fail, as ἔτερος δὲ ἑάων Ω 528 is young. We must also reckon with the merger of IE *\*esu-* and *\*uesu-*. See Chantraine 1942: 201; 254; 274. Not related to ►ύγής, which is rather from *\*h<sub>1</sub>iu-*. Hoffmann 1975-6: 593-604 suggests that ἔῆος continues hysterodynamic *\*h<sub>1</sub>mesu-*os. On the ablaut of the compounds, see Zimmer *MSS* 55 (1994): 157-171.

εὐσωπία ⇒σιωπάω.

εὔτε [conj.] '(as soon) as', rarely causal 'because' (Il.); also as a compar. adverb 'like', see ►ἡῦτε. <?>

•ETYM Debrunner *IF* 45 (1927-1928): 185ff. suggested it was in origin a paratactic exclamation εὔ τε 'and rightly!'. Acc. to Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:2, 731f., it is from ἡ or εἰ and *\*υτε*; see ►ἡῦτε. Cf. Monteil 1963: 286-290.

εὐτράπελος ⇒τρέπω.

εὐτρόχαλος ⇒τρέχω.

εὐφρόνη [f.] 'night' (Hes. *Op.* 560, Pi., A.). <IE *\*g<sup>wh</sup>ren-* 'diaphragm'>

•DER Patronymic Εὐφρονίδης (*Epigr. Gr.* 1029, 6, Cios).

•ETYM Properly 'the benevolent', a substantivation of εὐφρων; cf. Ἥγεμόνη epithet of Artemis (Call.) and PNs like Ἥριγόνη, Ἥπιόνη; also, Μναμόνα (Ar. *Lys.* 1248) for Μνημοσύνη; and δυσφρονέων [gen.pl.] v.l. for -οσυνέων Hes. *Th.* 102. See further ►φρήν.

εὐχερής ⇒δυσχερής.

εὔχομαι [v.] 1. 'proclaim, boast' (Il.); 2. 'promise solemnly' (Il.; also e.g. Pl. *Ph.* 58b); 3. 'pray' (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>1</sub>ueg<sup>wh</sup>-* 'speak solemnly'>

•VAR Aor. εὐξασθαι, pret. εὔκτο (see below).

•DIAL Myc. *e-u-ke-to* (= εὔχεται) 'declares'.

•COMP Often with prefixes like ἀπ-, ἐπ-, κατ-, προσ-, συν- et al.

•DER εὔχος 'glory' (cf. κλέος), rarely and secondarily 'fulfilment of a prayer' (Il.); εὐχολή 'proclamation, cry of joy, boast, vow, prayer' (Il.; also Arc.-Cypr., see Bechtel 1921, 1: 391 and 447) with εὐχολιμαῖος 'bound by a vow' (Hdt. 2, 63; cf. Chantraine 1933: 49); εὐχή 'vow, prayer' (κ 526); εὔγματα [pl.] 'boasts' (χ 249), 'vows, prayers' (trag., Call.); cf. ῥήματα; πρόσ-ευξίς 'prayer' (Orph.). Verbal adjective εὐκτός 'asked for' (Ξ 98 εὐκτά [n.pl.]), 'desired' (Att.); together with ἀπ-ευκτός, πολὺ-ευκτος (A.); also ἀπ-, πολυ-εύχεται (A., *h. Cer.*, etc.); εὐκταῖος 'containing a prayer' (trag., etc.); εὐκτικός 'belonging to a prayer', ἡ εὐκτική (ἔγκλις) = (*modus optativus*) (Hell.); εὐκτήριος 'belonging to a prayer', -ιον [n.] 'house of prayer' (Just.); on -τικός: -τήριος Chantraine 1933: 13. Multi-interpretable is the first member in Εὐχ-ήνωρ (N 663), see Sommer 1948: 175. Lengthened forms of the present stem εὐχετόωντο, -τάσθαι = εὔχοντο, -εσθαι (Il.); explanation uncertain, see Leumann 1950: 182ff., Chantraine 1942: 358. On εὔχος, εὐχή, εὐχολή, etc. see Porzig 1942: 231f., 235, Chantraine 1933: 183, 418f.; also Steinkopf 1937, Greindl 1938, Benveniste 1969:2: 237-243.

•ETYM Greek εὔχομαι is identical with Av. *aojaite* 'proclaim solemnly, invoke', Skt. *óhate* 'boast, praise', from reduplicated IE *\*h<sub>1</sub>é-h<sub>1</sub>ug<sup>wh</sup>-e-toi* (with *\*g<sup>wh</sup>* > χ after υ). It is an old term of the religious language. Beside it stands the athematic preterite 3sg. εὔκτο (Thebaïs *Fr.* 3), which corresponds to OAv. *aogadā*, LAv. *aoxta*, and perhaps also the 1sg. εὔγμην (S. *Tr.* 610). Lat. *voveō* 'to promise solemnly, implore', Skt. *vāghát-* 'the vower, who prays', Arm. *gog* [impv.] 'say!' show an unreduplicated formation, so the regular full-grade was IE *\*h<sub>1</sub>ueg<sup>wh</sup>-* (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*h<sub>1</sub>ueg<sup>wh</sup>-*). Arm. *uzem* 'I will', *y-uzem* 'I search' is semantically divergent.

εὔω [v.] 'to singe' (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>1</sub>eus-* 'burn'>

•VAR Aor. εὔσαι.

•COMP Also with prefix ἀφ-, ἐφ-.

•DER εὔστρα (εὔσ-) [f.] 'place for singeing' (Ar. *Eq.* 1236), 'roasted barley' (*PTeb.* III<sup>a</sup>), 'id.' (Paus. Gr.); εὔστόν (εὔσ-) [n.] 'singed sacrifice' (Miletus IV-III<sup>a</sup>); εὔσανα = ἐγκαύματα 'sores from burning' (Poll., H.). Very unclear ▶ Εὔρος, s.v.

•ETYM An old verb which was ousted by καίω. Like other verbs with a diphthong -ευ- (see ▶ γεύομαι), it lost its ablaut. Gr. εὔω is identical with Lat. *ūrō* 'burn', Skt. *ósati* 'id.', so it may have metathesis of aspiration from older *\*εὔω* < IE *\*h<sub>1</sub>eus-e/o-*. The -σ- returns in εὔσ-τόν (with secondary full grade against Skt. *us-ṭá-* = Lat. *us-tus* 'burned') and in εὔσ-τρα (with analogical aspiration; on τρᾱ-, cf. Schwyzler: 532 and Chantraine 1933: 333), and was introduced in εὔσ-ανα based on these forms. On the aspiration, see DELG s.v. The root occurs elsewhere, too, e.g. in the Gm. zero grade *l*-derivative ON *usli* [m.], MHG *usel(e)* [f.] 'glowing ashes'.

εὐώνυμος [adj.] 'of good name, of good reputation, renowned' (Hes. *Th.* 409, Pi.); 'left' (Ephesus VI-V<sup>a</sup>); τὸ εὐώνυμιον (κέρας) = 'the left wing' (Hdt., Th.). <GR>

•ETYM Euphemistic replacement of older σκαῖός, λαῖός, as well as ἀριστερός. Cf. ▶ ὄνομα.

εὐωχέω, -έομαι [v.] 'to treat, regale', med.-pass. 'to get satisfied, feast, be treated' with εὐωχία 'entertainment, feasting' (IA); συνευωχέομαι 'to feast together' (Arist.). <IE *\*seǵh<sup>h</sup>-* 'hold, have'>

•VAR Aor. -ῆσαι, -ηθῆναι, -ήσασθαι.

•DER δυσωχεῖν-δυσχεραίνειν 'be unable to endure' (H.).

•ETYM Long grade deverbative of intransitive εὔχω 'I am in a good state' with causative meaning (cf. Schwyzler: 720), an expression which was perceived as a unity, whence it became univerted, perhaps under the influence of expressions like εὐπορέω (from εὐπορος).

ἐφελιωμένος [adj.] epithet of oxen, of unknown mg. (Mitylene I<sup>a</sup>). <?>

•VAR -ώ- in DELG.

•ETYM DELG suggests MoFr. 'tacheté' as a meaning. Perhaps related to ▶ ἔφην, with ε instead of η?

ἐφέται [m.pl.] 1. 'commander' (A. *Pers.* 79 [Iyr.]); mostly 2. name of a board of judges in Athens (Att.). <IE *\*(H)ieh<sub>1</sub>-* 'throw'>

•DER ἐφετμή, mostly in plur. 'command, order' (Il.); cf. ἐρέτης : ἐρετμόν.

•ETYM In the meaning 'commander', it was derived from ἐφίεμαι 'order, command'; in the juridical meaning, probably from ἐφίημι = 'decide something (about somebody)'. See DELG.

ἔφην, -ιδος [f.] technical term of uncertain mg., 'rivet, clinch' vel sim.? Acc. to H. ἐφῆλιδες·περόναι 'pins', ἔφην·τὸ πῶμα τῆς λάρνακος 'the lid of a coffer' (S. *Fr.* 1046, Hell.); usually metaph. as the name of a rash (Nic.), in this mg. mostly in plur. (Hp., Thphr.), also explained as 'freckles' and connected with ἥλιος, cf. αἱ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐπικαύσεις 'burns from the sun' (H.). <?>

•VAR Also oxytone -ίς, -ίδος, plur. also -εις.

•DIAL Ion. ἔφην, -ιδος [f.] (barytone acc. to Hdn. Gr. 1, 91).

•ETYM On the stem in -(δ)-, see Schwyzler: 450, 464f. and Chantraine 1933: 113f. Morphologically uncertain because of the unclear meaning. Proposals: 1. as a hypostasis of ἐφ' ἡλου (ὦν): a) 'what is upon a ἥλος ('pin')'; b) 'upper (part of a) ἥλος'. 2. as a bahuvrīhi: 'equipped with a ἥλος'. 3. deverbal of ἐφηνόω 'pin down, fix': 'what has been pinned down'; cf. ἔφηνος·ὁ ἡλωμένος 'sharpened' or 'callous person' (Suid.). See also ▶ ἔφηνος.

ἐφηνος [adj.] '(equipped) with a ἥλος', of people (and eyes?) that have a certain eye disease (LXX, Call. *Fr. anon.* 106, Ael.). <GR>

•DER ἐφηνότης [f.] name of that disease (S. E.).

•ETYM From ἥλος in the meaning 'wart, callus'; see Strömberg 1944: 93 and Forster 1950: 44. Cf. also H. ἔφηνος·(...) ἐφῆλιδας ὡς ἥλους ἔχων εἰς τὴν ὄψιν (the gloss may be partly corrupt). Cf. ▶ ἔφηνος.

ἐφιάλτης, -ου [m.] 'nightmare, phantom' (Phryn. Com., Dsc.). <PG?>

•VAR Also ἐπιάλτης (Alc. in Eust. 1687, 52); in the same mg. also ἠπιάλης, acc. -ητα (Sophr.), ἠπιόλης (Hdn. Gr.). As a PN: 1. Ἐφιάλτης (Ἐπι-), a mythical figure, son of Aloeus (or of Poseidon) and Iphimedeia, famous for his unusual size and strength (E 385, λ 308, Pi. P. 4, 89); 2. regular PN (Hdt., etc.).

•DIAL Mγc. *E-pi-ja-ta* (?).

•DER ἐφιαλτικός 'suffering from nightmare' (medic.), plant name ἐφιάλιον, -τία (Ps.-Dsc., Aët., because of its prophylactic use, Strömberg 1940: 90).

•ETYM No etymology. The name of the 'nightmare', originally being the name of a demon, is clearly identical with the mythical name (cf. Nilsson 1941(1): 226). In antiquity the name was connected with ἐφάλλομαι 'throw oneself onto sbd.'; cf. ἐφιάλτης·ὁ ἐπιπιδῶν 'assaulting' (H.). This explanation is not without problems phonetically and must therefore be considered to be folk-etymological. Leumann 1950: 80<sup>45</sup> defended the suggestion that ἐφιάλτης came from ἠπιάλος, name of a fever, which was reshaped via ἐπιάλος, whence ἐπιάλτης, to ἐφιάλτης, by folk-etymology after ἐφάλλομαι. Acc. to Frisk, this is not very probable because of the difference in meaning. Leumann separates the PN Ἐφιάλτης from that of the demon and connects it with ἐπ-ιάλλειν (but this does not explain the -φ-). The forms ἠπιάλης, -όλης are based on crossing with ▶ ἠπιάλος. Other folk-etymological reshapings (ἐφέλης, ἐπωφέλης, etc.) in H. s.v. ἐπιάλης. If the name is identical with

the noun ἡπίαλος, as Leumann 1950: 80<sup>45</sup> and Fur.: 159, 258, 342 assume, it is Pre-Greek, which is what one might expect for such words.

**ἐχενήϊς** [adj.] 'detaining or holding back ships' (A., Arist.); a fish, Lat. *nemora*. <GR>

•ETYM See Keller 1913: 378f., Thompson 1947 s.v.

**ἐχεπευκής** [adj.] epithet of βέλος (A 51, Δ 129), of σύμρνα or ρίζα (Nic. *Th.* 600 and 866), of αὐτμή (Orph. *L.* 475). <IE \**peuk-* 'sting'>

•DER Beside it περιπευκής (Λ 845), also of βέλος, and ἐμπευκής (Nic. *Al.* 202), of ὀπός.

•ETYM Compound (Schwyzer: 441) of ἔχειν and a noun \*πεῦκος vel sim. In any case, it has close relatives in ►πεύκη, πευκεδανός, and πευκάλιμος. The meaning 'bitter' (Eust.), also found in Nic., clearly derives from 'sharp, stinging'. The proper meaning of ἐχε-πευκής therefore is probably 'having a point'. For cognates outside Greek, see ►πεύκη.

**ἐχέτλη** ⇒ἐχῶ.

**ἐχθές** ⇒χθές.

**ἐχθοδοπέω** [v.] 'to make oneself hated (to somebody), become enemies'. <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>egʰs* 'out'>

•VAR Only aor. ἐχθοδοπήσαι (A 518).

•DER ἐχθοδοπός 'hated, inimical' (S.).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. οἰνοχοέω (Schwyzer: 726); ἐχθοδοπέω presupposes a noun ἐχθοδοπός, which indeed exists, but the form may be rather deverbal because of its late appearance. If it stands for ἐχθοδαπός (Pergam. IP; here probably an innovation for ἐχθοδοπός), it must be compared with ποδαπός, ἀλλοδαπός, and should then be from ἐχθός 'outside', ἐχθο-δοπός properly meaning 'located outside, foreign', and ἐχθοδοπέω 'to become a foreigner to sbd.'. Bechtel 1914 s.v. compares κυδοιδοπᾶν (Ar. *Pax* 1152, *Nu.* 616) 'make a hubbub' and assumes an unknown verb \**depō*, which is not very convincing. See ►ἐχθος.

**ἐχθος** [n.] 'hatred, enmity' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>egʰs-to-* 'outsider'>

•COMP As a second member in φιλ-εχθής 'who is inclined to hatred' (Theoc. 5, 137).

•DER ἐχθρός [adj.] 'hated' (thus always in Hom.), 'hateful', substantivized [m.] 'enemy' (Hes., Pi.); grades of comparison ἐχθίων (A.), ἐχθιστος (Il.); ἐχθρα, Ion. -ρη [f.] 'hate, enmity' (IA, Pi.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 226). Verbs: ἐχθομαι (only present stem) 'to be hated' (Od.), act. ἐχθω 'to hate' (trag.); ἀπ-εχθάνομαι (β 202), aor. ἀπ-εχθέσθαι (Il.), fut. ἀπ-εχθήσομαι (Hdt.), late present ἀπ-ἐχθομαι (Theoc., Lyc.) 'to make oneself hated' with ἀπεχθής 'hated' (S., D.), ἀπέχθεια 'to be hated, hate' (Att.), ἀπέχθημα 'object of hate' (E. *Tr.* 425; cf. Chantraine 1933: 177f.); ἐχθαίρω, aor. ἐχθῆραι (also with ἀπ-, ὑπερ-, συν-) 'to hate' (Il.); ἐχθραίνω, aor. ἐχθράναι (X.) 'to be an enemy, hate' with ἐχθρασμαι· ἐχθρα (H.); ἐχθρεύω 'to be an enemy' (LXX, Phld.).

•ETYM The relation of the words cited is not always clear. Clearly, ἐχθραίνω and ἐχθρεύω are late derivations of ἐχθρός; ἐχθαίρω is much older and also a

denominative of ἐχθρός (Schwyzer: 725). Also, ἀπ-εχθάνομαι could be related to ἐχθρός with interchange -r/n- (Benveniste 1935: 16), although it could just as well be a nasal enlargement of ἐχθομαι, ἀπ-εχθέσθαι (Schwyzer: 700, Chantraine 1942: 315f.). Acc. to Schwyzer: 725, ἐχθομαι is a back-formation from ἐχθαίρω, but it is better taken with ἐχθος, like σθένω to σθένος (Schwyzer: 723). More difficult is the interpretation of ἐχθος and ἐχθρός, for which we may compare αἰσχος; αἰσχρός, κῦδος; κυδρός. If we start from ἐχθρός and consider ἐχθος (together with ἐχθομαι, ἐχθίων, ἐχθιστος) to be an innovation, perhaps modelled on κυδρός, κυδίων, κύδιστος, τὸ κύδος, we can connect ἐχθρός with Lat. *extrā* 'outside', *exterus* 'being outside', and so also with ἐχθός = ἐκτός 'outside'; ἐχθρός would then properly mean 'located outside, being in foreign territory, foreigner, enemy' (cf. Lat. *hostis*).

**ἐχιδνα** ⇒ἐχίς.

**ἐχῖνος** [m.] 'hedgehog', also 'sea urchin', and metaph. as a technical term in several professions, e.g. 'vessel', especially 'vessel to keep juridical documents', 'the third stomach of ruminants', 'the rounded part of the Doric capital' (IA). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>egʰi-* 'hedgehog'>

•DIAL Myc. *e-ki-no* /Ekʰinos/.

•COMP As a first member in ἐχινομήτρα 'the greatest kind of sea urchin, Echinus melo' (Arist.; cf. Strömberg 1944: 23).

•DER Diminutives: ἐχινίς 'vessel' (Hp.), -ίσκος 'id.', also 'hollow of the ear' (Poll.); ἐχίνιον plant-name (Dsc.); ἐχινέα, -ῆ 'skin of the hedgehog' (Hdn.), also a vessel (Delos III<sup>a</sup>); ἐχινέες [m.pl.] a kind of Libyan spinous mouse (Hdt.); Ἐχίνοι or -άδες [f.pl.] name of a group of islands in the Ionian Sea (B 635). ἐχινώδης 'rugged' (Arist., Str.).

•ETYM Probably derived from ἐχίς 'snake' with suffixal -ῖνο- (i.e. -iHno-), so properly "snake-animal" = "snake-eater", as a taboo word for ►χήρ. A suffix -n- is also found in Arm. *ozni* 'hedgehog' (IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ogʰ-i(H)-n-*), with o-grade; beside it, we find Gm. words with -l-, e.g. OHG *igil* < PGm. \**egila-*, which could replace older \**egīna-*. Balto-Slavic has a derivative in -io-, e.g. Lith. *ežys*, SCr.CS *ježv*, IE \**h<sub>2</sub>egʰ-io-*. The interpretation of Phr. ἐξίς (= ἐζίς?) remains uncertain.

**ἐχίς, -εως** [m.] ([f.]) 'viper' (Att.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>egʰi-* 'snake'>

•DER Diminutive ἐχίδιον (Arist.) and the plant name ἐχίον (Dsc.; because of the resemblance of the fruit to the head of a snake, Strömberg 1940: 54), ἐχίειον (Nic.); further ἐχίηες [pl.] = ἐχίεις (Nic. *Th.* 133, only a metrical variant?); ἐχίτις [f.] name of a stone (Plin., after the color; cf. Redard 1949: 54). Fem. ἐχιδνά 'viper' (IA, Hes. *Th.* 297), mostly considered to be a derivative in -ια- from \*ἐχιδνός (Schwyzer: 475), together with ἐχιδν-αῖος and -ήεις (Hell.); but this is not very probable, as -δνα is a typical Pre-Greek suffix; ἐχιδνά must have been a loan from Pre-Greek.

•ETYM If the interpretation of ►ἐχῖνος is correct, ἐχίς must contain a palatal *gʰ*. Similar words for 'snake', Skt. *āhi-* = Av. *āzi-* and Arm. *iž*, should rather be connected with ὄφις (\**h<sub>3</sub>egʰwi-*), since Av. and Arm. exclude a palatovelar.

**ἐχυρός** [adj.] 'strong, tenable, secure' (Th., X.). <IE \**seǵʰ-* 'hold, have'>

•COMP ἐν-έχυρον [n.] 'pledge, security' (IA), hypostasis of ἐν ἔχυρῳ; besides ἐνεχυράζω [v.] 'to take a pledge' with ἐνεχυρ-ασία, -ασια, -αστής et al.; also ἐνεχυρόω [v.], -ωμα [n.].

•DER ἔχυρότης 'tenability, etc.' (Ph.), ἔχυρόω [v.] 'to fasten' (Phot., Suid.). ὀχυρός 'id.' (Hes., A., E.), ἀν-ώχυρος 'not fortified' (X. Ages. 6, 6, SIG 569, 7 [III<sup>a</sup>]) with compositional lengthening, beside ὀχυρότης (Plb.), ὀχυρόω (X., Arist.) together with ὀχύρ-ωμα, -ωμάτιον, -ωσις, -ωτικός.

•ETYM Skt. *sáhuri*- 'victorious, strong' (RV) seems to be comparable; an old stem in -u(s)- is found in Gm., e.g. OHG *sign* [m.] 'victory'. Beside the rebuilt *u*-stem in ὀχυ-, ἔχυ-ρ-ός, there is the neutral *s*-stem in Skt. *sáhas*- 'power, might, victory', Go. *sigis* 'victory', IE *\*séǵh₂os-* (would be Gr. *\*ἔχος*). The adverb ὄχ-α 'widely, by far' belongs here as well (cf. ταχύς : τάχα et al.; Schwyzler: 622f.). The interchange ὄχ- : ἔχ- may be due to old ablaut, but secondary influence of ἔχω is also possible. See ►ἔχω.

**ἔχω 1** [v.] 'to possess, retain, have', aor. 'to conquer, take (into possession)', frequently also intr. 'to hold oneself, med. 'id.'. <IE *\*seǵh₂-* 'hold, have'>

•VAR Also pres. ἴσχω, aor. σχεῖν, ἔσχον, fut. ἔξω, σχήσω (Il.), perf. act. ἔσχηκα (Pl. Lg. 765a), med. ἔσχημαι, aor. pass. ἐσχέθην (late).

•DIAL Myc. *e-ke* /<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>h</sup>ei/.

•COMP Very often with prefix in various mgs., e.g. ἀν-, ἀπ-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, κατ-, μετ-, προσ-, συν-. As a first member in e.g. ἐχέ-φρων, ἐχ-έγγυος, ►ἐχεπευκής, ►ἐκεχειρία; also ἰσχε-θυρον et al. (Hell.); cf. Schwyzler: 441; as a second member e.g. in προσ-, συν-εχής with προσ-, συν-έχεια.

•DER With *e*-grade (= present-stem): ἔχμα 'obstacle, support, defence' (Il.) with ἐχμάζω (H., sch.; cf. ὀχμάζω below); Myc. *e-ka-ma?* ἔξις 'attitude, state, situation, etc.', often in derivatives of the prefixed compounds, e.g. πρόσ-, κάθ-εξις from προσ-, κατ-έχειν (IA); together with (προσ-, καθ-)►ἐκτικός; ἔξις s.v.; ἐχέ-τλη, -τλιον 'plough handle', cf. the explanations καὶ ἡ αὐλαξ, καὶ ἡ σπάθη τοῦ ἀρότρου 'furrow; the blade of a plough' and ἐχελεύειν ἀροτριᾶν 'to plough' in H.; ἔκτωρ 'holder' (Lyc. 100; also Pl. Cra. 393a as an explanation of the PN [s.v.]; Sapph. 157 as an epithet of Zeus); ►ἔχυρός. From εὖ ἔχειν: εὐεξία 'good condition' (IA; opposite καχεξία from κακῶς ἔχειν) with εὐέκ-της, -τικός, -τέω, also -τία (Archyt.); retrograde formation εὐεξος· εὐφυής 'well-grown' (H.). From the reduplicated present (see below): ἰσχάς [f.] 'anchor' (S. Fr. 761, Luc. Lex. 15); lengthened forms ἰσχάνω, -νάω (Il.). From the zero grade (= aorist stem): σχέσις 'situation, character, relation, restraint' (IA), often in derivatives from prefixed compounds, e.g. ἀνά-, ἐπί-, ὑπό-, κατά-σχεςις from ἀνα-σχεῖν, -έσθαι, etc.; σχῆμα (cf. σχ-ήσω) 'attitude, form, appearance' (IA; Schwyzler: 523); secondarily σχῆμα (H.), Lat. *schēma* [f.] (Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 206); besides σχηματίζω, with σχηματ-ις, -ισμός, etc.; verbal adjective ἄ-σχετος 'uncontainable, irresistible' (Il.); abstract formations like ἐπισχεσίη 'attitude, pretext' (φ 71), ὑποσχεσίη 'promise' (N 369, A. R.) also derive from virtual verbal adjectives, cf. Schwyzler: 469, Holt 1941: 86f.; here also belong \*σχερός (see ►ἐπισχερώ), ►σχεδόν, ►σχέτλιος, ►σχολή, ►σκεθρός; further ►ισχύς. From the *o*-grade: ὄχοι [m.pl.] 'keeper, container' (λιμένες νηῶν ὄχοι ε 404); ὄχος

'firm, certain' (Ph. Byz.), further in verbal adjectives to prefixed compounds like ἐξ-, κάτ-, μέτοχος (from ἐξ-έχειν, etc.); ὀχή [f.] 'holding, support' (Call., Lyc., Ath.); to the prefixed compounds συν-, μετ-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-οχή, etc. (from συν-έχειν, etc.); ὀχεύς 'holder', 'strap of a helmet, clasp, bolt of a door, etc.' (Il.; cf. ►ὀχεύω 'to mount', etc.); ὀχανον 'holder of a shield' (Anacr., Hdt.), also ὀχάνη (Plu.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 198); ὀχυρός, see ►ἔχυρός; ὄχμος 'fortress' (Lyc.), ὄχμα· πόρπημα 'garment fastened with a buckle-pin' (H.) with ὀχμάζω 'hold fast' (A., E.); adverb ὄχα 'widely, by far' (ὄχ' ἄριστος Il.), ἔξοχα 'in front of' (ἔ. πάντων Il.). Reduplicated formation: ►ἀνοκωχή, also (ἐν) συνεοκωμή? With compositional lengthening ►εὐωχέω. See further ►συνοκωχότε (B 218).

•ETYM The present ἔχω, reduplicated ἴ-σχ-ω (< \*ἴ-σχ-ω < \*(σ)ί-σχ-ω), has an exact agreement in Skt. *sáhate* [pres.3sg.med.] 'overpower, conquer' < *\*séǵh₂-e-*. The zero grade aorist and the other verbal forms are isolated, however (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*seǵh₂-* 'überwältigen, in den Griff bekommen'). In Greek, the word group underwent a strong development of meaning; cf. Porzig 1954a: 115f. Moreover, the neutral *s*-stem of Skt. *sáhas*- 'force, strength, victory', Av. *hazah*- 'id.', Go. *sigis* (cf. on ►ἔχυρός) is missing in Greek. The root is also represented in Celtic, e.g. in the Gaulish names Σεγο-δουνον, *Sego-vellauni*.

**ἔχω 2** [v.] 'to transport'. <IE *\*ueǵh₂-* 'transport, drive'>

•VAR Pamph. *φεχτω*, Cypr. aor. *εφεξε* (also Pamph. *ισ-φεξε?*).

•DER From there ἔχεσφιν· ἄρμασιν 'with chariots' (H.), also ὄχος 'chariot, cart', ►ὄχλος, ►ὄχετός, ►ὄχέω.

•ETYM An old verb, represented in several IE languages, of which Greek preserves only traces. Several parallel forms exist: *φεχέτω* = Lat. *vehitō*; Skt. *váhati* = Av. *vazaiti* = Lat. *vehit* 'carries, rides' (IE *\*ueǵh₂-e-ti*), Lith. *vežù* = OCS *vezō* = Lat. *vehō*; Cypr. *εφεξε* corresponds with the old *s*-aorists Lat. *vēxī*, OCS *věsě*, Skt. *ávākṣam*. Some Gm. words are also connected, e.g. ON *vega* 'move, weigh', Go. *ga-wigan* 'move', etc.; less certain are ToB *wāsk*- 'stir' and Alb. *vjedh* 'to steal', as alternative derivations can be given. See ►ὄχος for further formal correspondences. LIV<sup>2</sup> follows Schlerath *SII* 20 (1996): 379-87 in assuming an original meaning 'float, be suspended', whence 'be carried (on a vehicle, boat, etc.)', which I find doubtful.

**ἐψία** [f.] 'joy, play' (S. Fr. 3, Nic. Th. 880). <PG(V)>

•VAR Ion. -ίη. Also ἐψία (EM 406, 8), ἀψία· ἑορταί. Λάκωνες 'festivals (Lacon.)' (H.); ψία (H.), ψιάδδεν = παίζειν (Ar.). Perhaps ψίνθος· τέρψις 'enjoyment' (H.).

•COMP As a second member in φιλ-έψιος (com.), ὁμ-έψιος (AP). Also ἐψεια· παίγνια 'playthings' (H.) [n.pl.], ἔψια (EM). Deverbal from ἐψίαομαι, -άσασθαι [v.] (also with ἀφ-, ἐφ-, καθ-) 'to enjoy, play' (Od.).

•DER Without anlauting vowel: ψιάδδεν = παίζειν (Ar. Lys. 1302 [lyr.], H.), ψία· χαρά, γελοίασμα, παίγνια 'joy, laughter, plaything', also (see DELG s.v. ψιάδδοντι): ψίης· μάκαρος, εὐδαίμων 'blissful, happy'; ψίεσσα· εὐδαίμων, μακαρία; ψίεντα· τὰ αὐτά 'id.' (H.).

•ETYM Formation like the "verbs of disease" in -ιάω (Schwyzler: 732). Note the variations: ἐ-, ἐ-, ἀ, the varying accentuation and ψία (H.), ψιάδδεν. For these

reasons, the word must be Pre-Greek (Fur.: 139, 352, 376). Meier-Brügger MSS 50 (1989): 91-96 assumes a noun *\*seng<sup>wh</sup>-ti-* 'singing', with *\*ἔψις* from *\*ἔμψις*, but one must wonder why *\*ἔμψις* was not retained. This view does not explain the attested variations, and there is no reason to assume that the word primarily referred to music. Acc. to Dettori *Glotta* 74 (1996): 159-163, the gloss *προσεψιά· προσαγόρευσις*, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τινα ὁμιλία 'greeting, also a gathering with sbd.' (H.) belongs here as well. Dettori stresses the oxytone accent and the gloss ὁμιλία, so that the word does not belong to ἐν(ν)έπω. The word would belong to the informal language; Scheller 1951 assumes that the initial vowel was lost due to the final accent, but the variation would be better explained under the assumption that the word is Pre-Greek. The forms ψέσσα, ψέντα (with α beside ε) may be explained if we assume a palatalized cluster *\*psʰ-*.

ἔψω [v.] 'to boil, seethe' (IA). <PG(V)>

•VAR Aor. ἐψησαι, fut. ἐψήσω (IA), perf. ἤψηκα (Ph.); new presents ἐψέω, -άω.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀφ-, συν-.

•DER ἔψημα 'what has been boiled, meal, soup' (IA) with ἐψηματώδης (Dsc.), Hell. ἔψημα (LXX; cf. Schwyzler 523), ἐψησις 'cooking' (IA); ἐψητήρ, -τήριον, -τής, -τικός (Hell.); ἐφθός 'boiled' (IA; with ἀπ-εφθος et al.), ἐψητός 'id.', also name of a fish (Ar., X.; cf. Strömberg 1943: 89), ἐψανός 'boiled, to be boiled' (Hp.), ἐψαλέος 'id.' (Nic.; after ὀπταλέος [Hom.] et al.); also ἐψείνα [n.pl.] of unclear mg. (*PLond.* 3, 1177, 217; II<sup>p</sup>). From ἀπεφθος MoGr. ἀπόχτι (via ἀπόφθι(ον)) 'dried food' (Crete), 'salted meat' (Cyprus), see Hatzidakis *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 72f.; from ἐψανός MoGr. ψανός 'which is roasted', ψάνη 'wheat', see Georgacas *ByzZ* 41 (1941): 38of.

•ETYM Cannot be separated from Arm. *ep'em* 'cook'. However, as Arm. *p'* can hardly represent IE *\*ps* (Pedersen *KZ* 39 (1906): 428), a pre-form IE *\*sep<sup>h</sup>-* has been posited, which would have had an *s*-enlargement in Greek (Schwyzler: 706). Yet PIE did not have a phoneme *\*p<sup>h</sup>*. This means that the word is from a substrate, probably Pre-Greek (cf. Fur.: 327, who compares δέφω / δέψω 'soften').

This Greco-Armenian isogloss ousted old ▶πέσσειν. Cf. Porzig 1954a: 156. Another expression for 'boil, seethe' is ▶ζέω.

ἔως 1 [f.] 'dawn, break of day' (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-ōs* 'dawn'>

•VAR Acc. -ω; Ion. (also Hell.) ἡώς, -οῦς, Dor. ἀφώς, ἀφώρ, gen. ἀφῶ, Aeol. αὔως.

•COMP As a first member in ἔωσ-φόρος, Dor. ἄωσ-φόρος 'bringer of dawn, morning star' (Ψ 226, Pi. I. 4 (3), 24); see Wackernagel 1916: 100ff., where Hom. ἔωσ-φόρος is considered to be an epic Atticism; see also Chantraine 1942: 72 and (with improbable hypothesis) Schwyzler: 440<sup>8</sup>.

•DER ἐώιος, ἐῷος, ἡοῖος, ἡῷος (see Wackernagel 1916: 106f.) 'of the morning, eastern' (Il.), ἔωλος 'belonging to dawn, a night long', of food, etc. (Att., etc.; on the pejorative suffix -λ- Chantraine 1933: 239); adverb ἔωθεν, epic ἡῷθεν, Dor. ἄῳθεν 'from the morning on, early in the morning' (Il.) with ἔωθινός 'of the morning' (Hdt., Hp.; cf. Wackernagel 1916: 104, Schwyzler: 490); Hom. ἡῷθι in ἡῷθι πρό 'early in the morning'; explanation uncertain, cf. Schwyzler: 628<sup>6</sup>, Chantraine 1942: 246.

•ETYM Wackernagel 1955(2): 1151ff. thinks that the barytonesis in ἔως (as opposed to ἡώς) can be explained from frequent ἔωθεν, where it is regular (Schwyzler: 383). The initial aspiration would be due to metathesis, as in ▶εὔω (Schwyzler: 219; however, acc. to Sommer 1905: 11f., it was taken from ἐσπέρα). PGr. *\*\*ἀυῆώς* < IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eusōs* is identical with Lat. *aurōr-a* (except for the added -a; cf. *flōs* : *Flōr-a*). With zero grade, we find Skt. *uśās-* [f.] 'dawn'. A corresponding *r*-stem, IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-r-*, *h<sub>2</sub>us-r-*, is seen in ▶αὔριον, together with ἄγχι-αυρος 'near the morning' (A. R. 4, 111), in Lith. *aušr-ā* 'dawn', Skt. *usr-ā-* 'of the morning', *uśar-būdḥ-* 'waking at dawn'. Of the other cognates, OCS *za ustra* 'at dawn', Gm., e.g. OHG *ōst(a)ra*, -*ūn* 'Easter' should be mentioned. A full grade *\*h<sub>2</sub>ues-r-* with Schwebeablaut is found in e.g. Skt. *vasar-hā* (RV 1, 122, 3) epithet of the wind, meaning uncertain, *vāsar-ā-* 'of the morning', and in Celt., e.g. MIr. *fáir* 'sunrise', IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>uōs-r-i-*. There is a verbal root in Indo-Iranian with *sk*-present: Skt. *ucchāti* = Av. *usaiti* 'lights up (of the morning), appears', from IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>us-sk-é-ti*, and a full-grade athematic root aorist *a-vas-ran*. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*h<sub>2</sub>ues-* '(morgens) hell werden' connects Lith. *aũšta*, *aũšti* 'to dawn, break (of day)'. Cf. ▶ἡϊκανός.

ἔως 2 [pcl., prep.] 'until, as long as' (Il.); prep. with gen. (rarely acc.) 'till' (Hell.). <IE *\*ieh<sub>2</sub>uot* 'as long as, until'>

•VAR Epic ἥος (written εἰως, ἔως, see Chantraine 1942: 11, but also West *Glotta* 44 (1967): 135), Aeol. ἄος, Dor. ἄς, Hom. also demonstr. 'for some time'.

•ETYM From PGr. *\*ἄφος* and identical with the Skt. relative *yāvat* 'as long as', except for the final consonant (adverbial -ς, which was added in Greek, but not always in Doric; see on ▶ώς 1). See ▶τέως, ▶ὄς 1.

## Z

**ζά-** ‘very’, mostly strengthening in epic compounds like ►ζαῖς, ζά-θεος ‘very godlike’, ζά-κοτος ‘very angry’, Ζά-λευκος PN. ◄GR►

•ETYM Aeolic form of διά. Under unclear conditions, we find δα- for ζα-, but conversely we also find (with inverse spelling?) ζα- for expected δα-, like in ζά-πεδον for δά-πεδον, ζα-κόρος for \*δα-κόρος, and probably also in ►ζακρυόεις.

**ζάγκλη** [f.] ‘sickle’ (Nic. Al. 180). ◄?►

•VAR ζάγκλον [n.] (Th. 6, 4, Call. Aet. Oxy. 2080, 73); δάγκλον· δρέπανον ‘id.’ (H.).

•DER ζάγκλιον = σκολιόν acc. to Str. 6, 2, 3. Ζάγκλη is also the name of a town in Sicily (later Μεσσήνη), after the sickle-like shape of its harbour (Th. 6, 4); Ζαγκλαῖοι ‘inhabitants of the town’ (Hdt.).

•ETYM A Sicilian word (Th. l.c.) without etymology. According to Niedermann (see WH and E-M s.v. *falx*), it is a Ligurian word, from which Lat. *falx* would be a loan as well (doubted by De Vaan 2008 s.v. *falx*).

**ζάδηλος** adjunct of λαῖφος ‘garment, rug’ (Alc. 18, 7), perhaps ‘transparent’. ◄GR►

•ETYM Probably = διά-δηλος, ‘transparent’ = ‘perforated’, as per Wackernagel *Glotta* 14 (1925): 52, who pleads against connection with ►δηλέομαι. See ►δῆλος.

**ζάει** [v.] · βινεῖ· καὶ πνεῖ· Κύπριοι ‘has intercourse, breathes (Cypr.)’ (H.). ◄IE \*g<sup>w</sup>eiH- ‘force’►

•ETYM In its first meaning, explained from \*g<sup>w</sup>iā-iei (Kretschmer KZ 31 (1892): 383), a denominative of \*g<sup>w</sup>iā (Skt. *jyā*) beside βία < \*g<sup>w</sup>iā ‘force’ (see ►βινέω), but this requires a high age for the separation from βία. In the meaning πνεῖ, the gloss is supposed to stand for ζάη = \*δι-ά(φ)η, from ἄ(φ)ημι with thematic inflection (litt. in Frisk).

**ζαῖς** [adj.] ‘blowing strongly’ (Il.). ◄IE \*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>- ‘blow’►

•VAR Also acc. -ῆν (see Chantraine 1942: 209), gen. -οῦς (AP 9, 290).

•ETYM From \*δι-α-αῖς, with contraction of διά and the root of ►ἄημι, or with compositional lengthening of the ā after ►δυσ-αῖς.

**ζακελτίς** = ζεκελτίς.

**ζακόρος** [m., f.] ‘temple servant’ (Att. inscr. V<sup>a</sup>, Hyp., Men., etc.); ὑπο-ζακόρος [f.] ‘subaltern temple-servant’ (Hdt.), ἀρχι-ζακόρος ‘higher temple-servant’ (Laodiceia).

◄?►

•VAR The accentuation is probably more correct than ζάκορος; see below.

•DIAL Myc. *da-ko-ro*.

•DER ζακρυεύω, ὑπο- 'be a temple servant' (Delos, Thebes).

•ETYM Hieratic professional term. Semantically related and formally comparable is νεω-κόρος 'temple-guardian', which makes the analysis in ζα-κόρος very probable. Here, ζα- may stand for δα- (cf. on ▶ζά), as in ζά-πεδον for δά-πεδον; then ζα-κόρος would properly mean "cleaner of the house" (related to ▶κορέω; Solmsen *IF* 31 (1912/13): 453ff.)? This seems rather doubtful. In antiquity, the word was analyzed as \*δια-κορος; cf. the prefix in διά-κονος. The word must in any case be Aeolic; cf. Solmsen *IF* 31 (1912/13): 453ff.

ζακρυόεις [adj.] adjunct of θάνατος (Alc. *Supp.* 12, 8 = *LP B* 2a 8), probably replacing δακρυόεις 'with many tears' (influence of κρυόεις 'horrible'). ◀GR▶

•ETYM See on ▶ζά and Risch *Mus. Helv.* 3 (1946): 253ff.

ζάλη [f.] 'whirlwind, whirlpool, downpour' (Pi., trag., Pl.). ◀?▶

•VAR ζάλος 'whirlpool' (Nic. *Th.* 568).

•DER Denominative ptc. ζαλώωσα (χάλαζα, Nic. *Th.* 252). Here also ζάλακες- ἐχῖνοι 'sea urchin; a vessel' (H.).?

•ETYM Poetic word without etymology. Bq connected it with ▶δίνη, etc.; this is formally difficult. In MoGr., it merged with σάλος; cf. Hatzidakis *IF* 36 (1916): 301.

ζάπεδον [n.] = δάπεδον (Xenoph., Paros). ◀GR▶ ⇒ζά and ζακόρος.

ζαχρηής [adj.] 'rushing violently, furious' (Il.); verse-initially always plur. ◀IE? \*g<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>1</sub>- 'oppress'▶

•VAR Also written -χρει-. Verse-initial ζαχρηές (Nic. *Th.* 290), -αής (Epic. in *Arch. Pap.* 7, 6 Fr. 3, 1).

•ETYM From intensifying ζα- < δια- and a second member belonging to the aor. ἐχρά(φ)ον 'to assault, oppress'. If -ηεῖς, -ηών are replaced by ζαχράεες, -αέων (cf. ζαχράσεις- ἐξαπναίους 'sudden' [H.] which may stand for -αέας), immediate connection with the zero grade aorist may be obtained. Otherwise, it is necessary to assume a full grade noun \*χρηῖφος (\*χρῆφος) or a full grade verbal form. See Bechtel 1914 s.v. and Chantraine 1942: 41.

ζάψ [f.] 'surf' (Hell. poetry). ◀PG?▶

•ETYM Expressive word. The supposed contamination of ζάλη and λαῖλαψ is an improbable guess. Cf. Fur.: 176: Pre-Greek?

\*ζάω ⇒ζώω.

ζειαί [f.pl.] 'one-seeded wheat, spelt, Triticum monococcum' (Od., Hdt.), Hell. and late also sing. ζειά (Thphr.), ζεά (ζέα), -η (pap. III<sup>a</sup>, D. H.; Dsc. and Gal. as a v.l.). ◀IE \*ieuh<sub>1</sub>- 'wheat, spelt'▶

•COMP As a first member in ζει-δωρος 'giving spelt (wheat)' (Il.; of ἄρουρα), ζεό-πυρον n. 'kind of Triticum' (Gal.); as 2. member in φυσί-ζοος 'producing wheat' (Hom., Orac. *apud* Hdt. 1, 67; of αἶα), Οἶσε-ζέα PN (Lesb.). Both as a first and a second member ζει-, -ζοος were early (Emp., A.) associated with ζῆν, ζωή and understood as 'lifegiving'.

•DER ζῆνος = ζείνος 'of spelt' (pap. II<sup>a</sup>)?

•ETYM Related to Skt. *yáva-*, Av. *yauua-* [m.] 'wheat, etc.', Lith. plur. *javai* 'wheat', sing. *javas*. If the diphthong in ζειαί is real, we have to start from PGr. \*ζεφ-ιᾶ, so a ιᾶ-derivative of IE \*ieuo- found in Skt. *yáva-*, etc. The monophthongal forms would be secondary. However, if ζειαι has metrical lengthening for ζε(φ)αί (and if the epic orthography was retained in this word, which was rare and probably exclusively literary), then the Greek word agrees with the Indo-Iranian and Lithuanian forms. The second member -ζο(φ)ος (with regular o-grade of the root) contradicts a ιᾶ-derivative. The first member ζει- may stand for ζε(φ)ε- (from \*ieuh<sub>1</sub>-). See Bechtel 1914 s.v. ζειδωρος and Chantraine 1942: 31. Cf. also Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 404; DELG s.v. is unclear. Cf. ▶δηαί.

ζειγάρη [f.] · ὁ τέτιζ παρὰ Σιδήταις 'cicala (Sid.)' (H.). ◀PG?, LW▶

•ETYM Pamphylian? See Gil Fernández 1959: 126. Onomatopoeic, acc. to Brandenstein *Kratylos* 6 (1961): 169f. Not related to *cicāda* (Dressler *Arch. Orbis* 33 (1965): 185) as a Mediterranean word. Neumann 1961: 42 connects it with ▶σιγαλφοί. Cf. Fur. index.

ζειρά [f.] 'long robe kept by a belt', worn by Arabs and Thracians' (Hdt. 7, 69, 75). ◀LW▶

•DER Cf. ζειροφόρος (Antim. 98, Wyss).

•ETYM Probably a loan. Latte refers to ζεραῖον [sic] λῶπος in an Arcadian inscription, *SEG* 11, 1112.

ζειρατίς [m./f.] · ἱμάτιόν τι Σύριων 'Syrian garment' (H.). ◀?▶

•ETYM Unknown.

ζεκελτίδες [m./f.] Aeol. for γογγυλίδες 'turnips' or κολοκύνται 'gourds' (Nic., *apud* Ath. 369 a). ◀PG▶

•ETYM Unknown. Cf. ζακελτίδες = ζεκελτίδες (Amerias and Timachidas *apud* Ath. 9, 369 a), ζακελτίδες κολοκύνται, ἢ γογγυλίδες (H.) and ζακυνθίδες κολοκύνται (H.). Fur.: 256 compares θικέλιον· τὴν γογγυλίδα. Λάκωνες (H.), and believes the word is Pre-Greek. Is ζε- from \*d<sup>h</sup>a- (with influence of the palatal on the vocalism)?

ζεύνυμι [v.] 'to bring under the yoke, harness; to join, unite' (Il.). ◀IE \*ieug- 'yoke, connect'▶

•VAR Also them. -ύω; aor. ζεύξαι, pass. ζυγῆναι, ζευχθῆναι, fut. ζεύξω, perf. pass. ἐζευγμαι (Il.), perf. act. ἐζευχα (Philostr.).

•COMP Often with prefix, like ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐπι-, κατα-, συ-, ὑπο- et al.

•DER 1. ζεύξας 'yoking, bridging' (Hdt.), often with prefix, e.g. σὺ, διά-, ἐπί-ζεύξας (IA). 2. ὑπο-, ἀνα-, παρα-, ἀπο-ζυγή, etc. (since V<sup>a</sup>), as a simplex only pap. (IV-VI<sup>a</sup>) meaning 'pair'. 3. ζεύγμα 'what is used for joining, bridge of boats, canal lock, etc.' (Th., E., Plb.) with ζευγματικόν 'payment for passing through a canal-lock with a ship' (pap.). 4. ζεύγλη part of the yoke ('yoke-cushion, collar', cf. Delebecque 1951: 60 and 179), etc. (Il.; see below). 5. ▶ζεῦγος, s.v. 6. ▶ζυγόν, s.v. 7. -ζυξ, see ▶ζυγόν. 8. ζευκτήριος 'fit for yoking, connecting', ntr. 'yoke' (A.), ζευκτηρία [pl.] 'ropes for strapping up a rudder' (*Act. Ap.* 27, 40); later 9. ζευκτήρ 'connector' (J.), fem. -ειρα



(Orph.); cf. Chantraine 1933: 45, 62f. and below. 10. (δια-, etc.) ζευκτικός (Hell.). 11. ζευκτός (Str., Plu.; see below).

•ETYM Beside the athematic *vu*-present ζεύγνυμι (with full grade, for which cf. ►δείκνυμι), the other languages have forms with nasal infix, e.g. Skt. *yunák-ti* 'yokes, connects' (athem.), Lat. *iungō* (them.), Lith. *jung-iù* (yod-present) 'id.', or forms without nasal, like Av. *yaog-aŋ* [3sg.pret.] (athem.), *yuj-yeite* [3sg.pres.] (zero grade yod-present). Most other Greek forms also show a full grade: the future and the *σ*-aorist, in addition to the late agent noun ζευκτήρ (cf. Skt. *yoktár-*), the *τι*-derivative ζεύξις, and the late verbal adj. ζευκτός (as against Skt. (*prá-*)*yukti-*, *yuktá-*). The only exceptions are the pass. aorist ἐξύγην and the nouns in -ζυγη. The *λ*-derivative ζεύγ-λη is unconnected with Lat. *iugulum* 'throat' and Skt. *yúgalam* 'pair'.

ζεύγος [n.] 'yoke, team, pair' (Il.). <IE \**ieug-* 'yoke, unite'>

•DIAL Myc. *ze-u-ke-u-si* [dat.pl.] 'men who look after the span'.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ζευγο-τρόφος 'who keeps a pair' (Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>, etc.), ζευγ-ηλάτης 'driver of a span' (S., X.).

•DER ζευγίτης, fem. -τις 'owner of a span', name of one of the Solonic classes (Arist.), also 'walking in a span', etc. (Hell.); thence ζευγίσιον 'tax of the ζευγίται' (Arist.). ζευγίον 'door panel' (Hell. inscr.); ζευγίς [f.] 'knot' (pap.). Denominative verb ζευγίζω 'yoke together, unite' (LXX, pap.).

•ETYM The plur. ζύγεα, -γη is formally identical with Lat. *iūgera*, -um (secondary sing. *iūgerum*) and MHG *jiuch* 'a land measure'. For the meaning, cf. MoHG *Joch*, *Juchert* as a measure of land; properly 'the amount of land a span can plough in one day'. Beside the *s*-stem IE \**ieug-os-* (whence also OLat. plur. *iouxmenta* > *iūmenta*, sing. -um 'span'), there is also an *l*-stem in ζεύγ-λη (see ►ζεύγνυμι); cf. on ►ἔταλον for the change of suffix. See further ►ζυγόν.

Ζεύς [m.] Zeus (Il.). <IE \**dieu-* 'heaven'>

•VAR Boeot. Lac., etc. Δεύς, voc. Ζεῦ, gen. Δι(φ)ός, dat. (loc.) Δι(φ)ί, dat. also Διφεί (e.g. Διφεί-φίλος), Myc. *di-we*, acc. Ζῆν, since Hom. also Δί-α and Ζῆν-α (whence Ζῆν-ός, -ί); nom. Ζῆν (A. *Supp.* 162 [lyr.]; or perhaps voc.), Ζάν (Pythag., Ar.), Ζάς (Pherec. Syr.), gen. Ζανός (inscr. Chios IV<sup>a</sup> [?]) etc.; note Δᾶν (Theocr. 4, 17); more forms in Schwyzler: 576f., Leumann 1950: 288ff.

•DIAL Myc. dat. *di-we* /diwei/.

•COMP As a first member in univerbations: with gen. Διός-κουροι, also Διεσκούριδου (Priene etc.), with dat. Διφεί-φίλος, with various stem forms e.g. in διογενής; also Ζηνό-δοτος (for Διός-δοτος), etc. As a second member in ►ἔνδιος, ►εὐδία, etc., see also ►αὐτόδιον.

•DER See on ►διος.

•ETYM The old Indo-European word for 'heaven' and name of the god of heaven and of daylight, preserved especially in Anatolian, Indo-Aryan, Greek and Italic: Ζεύς = Skt. *dyaúh* 'god of) heaven, day', Lat. *Iovis*, from IE \**diēus*. Also related is Hitt. *šiu-*, *šiu-na* 'god' (on which see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.), with cognates Pal. *tiuna-* 'god', Lyd. *ciw-* 'id.'.

Other old correspondences are Ζεῦ πάτερ = Lat. *Iūpiter*, Ζῆν = Skt. *dyaám*, Lat. *diem* (whence a new nom. *diēs*, *Diēspiter*). The other oblique cases Διφ-ός, -εί, -ί, and Δία agree with Skt. *divāh*, *divé*, *diví*, *dívam*, of which Δία and *dívam* are parallel innovations.

Recent formations in Greek are Ζῆνα (after Δία), whence Ζηνός, -ί, which continues the old acc. \**diē(u)m* with early loss of the \**u*, which is also seen in Skt. *Dyaám*. The *α* in Ζάς, Ζάν, Ζανός spread from Elean Olympia, where η became *ā*, see Leumann 1950: 288ff. (following Kretschmer *Glotta* 17 (1929): 197).

It has been assumed that IE \**dieu-* is an agent noun of the verb seen in Skt. *dīdeti* 'shine', Gr. ►δέατο 'shone'. However, this is doubtful as the verb was \**deih-*, with final laryngeal, which is absent from \**dieu-*. Beside \**dieu-*, there is an old appellative for 'god' in Skt. *devá-*, Lat. *deus*, Lith. *diēvas*, etc., all from thematic IE \**deiuo-*, which probably meant 'the heavenly one', as a derivative from the noun for 'heaven'. It is probable that this thematization started from an older nominative \**dei-u-* (see Beekes 1985: 85); we are dealing with an original hysterodynamic *u*-stem. After separating the suffix, it is possible to compare IE \**di-n-* 'day' as well, as found e.g. in Proto-BSl. \**d(e)in-* 'day', Lat. *nūn-dinae* 'market-day', Skt. *madhyám-dinam* 'mid-day', etc.

ζέφυρος [m.] 'west wind', also personified (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>3</sub>iebh-* 'future'>

•DIAL Myc. *ze-pu<sub>2</sub>-ro*; uncertain is the interpretation of *ze-pu<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>3</sub>* (see Aura Jorro).

•COMP As a second member in Ἐπιζεφύριοι Λοκροί name of the western (Italic) Locrians (Hdt.), also ἐπι-ζέφυρος 'lying towards the west, western' (Hell.); both hypostases from ἐπὶ ζέφυρον; φιλο-ζέφυρος 'loving the west wind' (AP).

•DER ζεφύριος 'belonging to the west wind' (Od., Arist.); with the same meaning ζεφυρ-ικός (Arist., Thphr.), -ήϊος, fem. -ήϊς (Nonn.), -ίτης, -ίτις, also epithet of Aphrodite as the goddess of cape Ζεφύριον ἄκρον in Lower Egypt (Call.); patronymic Ζεφυρίδης (Thasos; Bechtel 1921(3): 140).

•ETYM Perhaps, as per Buttman 1925: 114<sup>4</sup>, related to ζόφος 'dark, west', which DELG calls 'certain'; see ►ζόφος. Likewise, Risch *Mus. Helv.* 25 (1968): 205-213, with a suggestion for the formation. Peters 1980a: 96f. counters that Schwebeablaut \**h<sub>3</sub>eibh-* beside \**h<sub>3</sub>iebh-* has no motivation, but Cheung 2007 now suggests a reduplicated present \**h<sub>3</sub>e-h<sub>3</sub>ibh-*. However, a development \**H<sub>3</sub>i-* > ζ- is unlikely, as most evidence rather points to the contrary (note ►ύγις < \**h<sub>3</sub>iu-g<sup>u</sup>i<sub>h</sub>3-*). The root \**h<sub>3</sub>iebh-* is found in Skt. *yábhati* 'copulate', Ru. *jebú* 'id.', ToB *yāp-* 'enter', etc. Alternatively, is the word Pre-Greek, with PG \**a* turning up as ε after the palatal \**d*?

ζέω [v.] 'to boil, seethe' (mostly intrans., see Brunel 1939: 198f.). <IE \**ies-* 'boil, foam'>

•VAR Aor. ζέ(σ)σαι (Il.), late forms ζέννυμι (to ζέσαι after σβέσαι : σβέννυμι et al.), ἔζεσμαι, ἔζεσθην.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, ὑπερ-.

•DER (ἀνά-, ἐκ-, ὑπερ-)ζέσις 'seething, boiling' (Pl., Arist.); (ἐπί-, ἀπό-)ζέμα 'boiling, decoction' (LXX, medic.), also ἀπό-ζεσμα 'id.' (PHolm.); ἐκ-ζε(σ)μα 'eczema' (medic.); ἀνά-ζεσμος 'boiling up' (Aët.); verbal adj. (ἐκ-, ὑπερ-)ζεστός 'boiled, seething, hot' (Arist., Str.) with ζεστότης 'heat' (Paus.). With ablaut, but nevertheless

probably late: ζόη· τὸ ἐπάνω τοῦ μέλιτος H., according to Eust. 906, 52 'foam on the milk'.

•ETYM The thematic root present ζέω, from PIE *\*ies-oH* (cf. ζεσ-τός, ζέσ-μα), is identical with Skt. *yasati* (gramm.) 'seethe, boil' and Gm. verbs like OHG *jesan* 'ferment, foam'. In Skt., a yod-present *yás-ya-ti* and a reduplicated *yéṣati* < *\*ia-īs-* are found; Av. *yaēš-ia-* (in *yaēšiantīm* [ptc. acc.sg.f.]) 'boil' seems to be a mix of these formations. The verb is also found in ToA *yās-* 'boil', 3sg.pres. *ysāš*, ToB *yayāsau* [ptc.pret.]; further, in Alb. *ziej* < IE *\*ies-eie/o-*, according to Mann *Lang.* 28 (1952): 38. Celtic has nominal formations, e.g. Gallo-Rom. *\*iēstā* 'foam', MW *ias* 'boil, foam'.

ζῆλος [m.] 'zeal, emulation, jealousy' (Hes. *Op.* 195). <IE? *\*ieh₂-* 'pursue, avenge'>

•VAR Dor. ζᾱλος (late also ntr.; cf. ὄνειδος, μῖσος et al.; see Schwyzler: 521, Schwyzler 1950: 38).

•COMP As a first member in ζηλό-τυπος 'formed by zeal, jealous' with -τυπέω, -τυπία (Att.); often as a second member, e.g. ἄ-, κακό-ζηλος, Dor. Πολύ-ζαλος PN.

•DER Ζηλήμων 'jealous' (ε 118, Call., Opp.; after the adj. in -ήμων, see Chantraine 1933: 173), together with ζηλιοσύνη (Q. S.); ζηλαῖος 'id.' (AP); ζηλοσύνη = ζῆλος (h. *Ap.* 100; cf. Porzig 1942: 227); ζῆλη [f.] 'female rival' (X. *Eph.* 2, 112, *Aristaenet.* 1, 25 codd.). Denominative verbs: 1. ζηλώω 'vie with, emulate; admire, praise' (IA since Hes. *Op.* 23) with ζήλωσις 'emulation, zealous pursuit, jealousy' (Th.), ζήλωμα 'emulation, object of ambition' (E., D.), ζηλωτής 'emulator, zealous admirer', "zealot" (Att., Hell.), -ωτικός 'emulating' (Arist.); 2. ζᾱλέω 'be zealous for' (Delphi I<sup>a</sup>); 3. ζηλεύω = ζηλώω (Democr. 55 [v.l.], Simp. in *Epict.* [VI<sup>a</sup>]), -ευτής (Eust.).

•ETYM Belongs to ►ζητέω, ►δίξιμαι, etc.; see ►Ζητήρ for an etymology.

ζημία [f.] 'loss, damage, penalty' (IA). <?>

•DIAL Dor. ζᾱμία.

•COMP As a second member in ἄ-, ἐπι-ζήμιος (-ᾱ-) et al.

•DER ζημιώδης 'damaging' (Pl., X.) and the denominative ζημιόω 'damage, punish' (IA) together with ζημίωμα 'penalty, fine, loss' (Pl., X.), -ωσις 'punishment' (Arist.), -ωτής 'executioner' (Eust., Sch.), -ωτικός 'subject to a ζ.' (Vett. Val.).

•ETYM Sommer 1905: 157f. analyzed it as ζη-μία and connected it with ►ζῆλος, ►ζητέω, ►δίξιμαι; for the semantics 'zeal', 'fine', cf. OE *anda* 'zeal' with OHG *antōn* 'punish'. Connection with Skt. *dīnā-*, Gr. ►δειλός from IE *\*deǵH-* (Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 281f.) is quite uncertain. See also ►Ζητήρ.

ζῆτα [n.] the sixth letter of the Greek alphabet (Pl.). <LW Sem.>

•ETYM From Semitic, cf. Hebr. *zajit*, Aram. *zētā* (Lewy 1895: 169f.; see Schwyzler: 140<sup>4</sup>). The idea that ζῆτα continues Hebr. *zajin* and was subsequently reshaped after βῆτα, ἦτα, θῆτα is unnecessary.

ζητέω [v.] 'to search, research, inquire, investigate' (Ξ 258). <?>

•VAR Aor. ζητήσαι, ζητηθῆναι (IA), perf. ἐζήτηκα (Din.); Dor. ptc. ζάτεια (Theoc. 1, 85).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐπι-, συ-ζητέω.

•DER Also ζητεύω (Hes., h. *Hom.*), ζατεύω (Alcm.). Derivatives: (ἀνα-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, συ-)ζήτησις 'search, query, inquiry, consideration' (IA) with ζητήσιμος (X.); (ἐπι-)ζήτημα '(object of) inquiry' (IA) together with ζητημάτων (Arr., Lib.), ζητηματικός (sch.); (ἐκ-, συ-)ζητητής 'researcher', in plur. the name of a juridical official in Athens (Att.), together with (ἐπι-, συ-)ζητητικός 'leaning towards inquiry' (Att.). Cf. further ►Ζητήρ.

•ETYM Formation like αἰτέω, δατέομαι, ἀρτάω, etc. (Schwyzler: 705f.), thus derived from a nominal form in -to-; cf. especially Arc. ζατός (IG 5(2), 4: 22). The primary verb is found in reduplicated ►δίξιμαι, and the root left traces in ►ζῆλος, ►ζημία. For the etymology (from the IE root *\*ieh₂-*, as established by García Ramón, in: Isebaert 1993: 71-84), see ►Ζητήρ.

Ζητήρ [m.] · Ζεύς<> ἐν Κύπρῳ (H.). <IE *\*ieh₂-* 'search, inquire'>

•VAR Ζατήρ; further ζήτωρ in ζητόρων· ζητούντων. γράφουσι δὲ ἔνιοι ζητιτόρων (H., Phot.); ζητρόν· τὸν δημόκοινον 'executioner' (H.) with ζατρεύω· ἐν μυλῶνι βασανίζω 'to labor in a treadmill' EM 408, 12 and ζητρεῖον· τὸ τῶν δούλων κολαστήριον 'instrument for correcting slaves' (H., Phot., com., Herod.; ζητρεῖον acc. to Hdn. Gr. 1, 372, 7; 515, 24); details in Fraenkel 1910: 144f.

•ETYM The gloss is interpreted admirably by García Ramón 1999c: 77-96, who shows that ζητήρ means 'avenger', just like Ved. *yātár-* (I 32, 14ab). The latter is derived from *yā-* 2 'to ask, pray, require, desire'. This meaning agrees well with that of ζητέω, and further ζῆλος and ζημία 'punishment'. The PIE root was *\*ieh₂-*. See ►δίξιμαι, ►ζῆλος, ►ζημία, ►ζητέω.

ζιγγίβερι [n.] 'Arabian spice-plant, ginger' (Dsc., Gal.). <LW Ind.>

•VAR Also -ις [m., f.] (*Edict. Diocl.*).

•ETYM From MInd. (Pāli) *siṅgivera-* 'id.', Skt. *śṛṅgavera-* [n.], in turn from Tamil; see Turner 1966 n<sup>o</sup>. 12588. From Lat. *zingiberi* came French *gingembre*, whence MoE *ginger*.

ζίγγος [noun] · ὁ τῶν μελισσῶν ἦχος, ἢ τῶν ὁμοίων 'the sound of bees, or of like animals' (H.). <ONOM>

•ETYM Onomatopoeic; see Schwyzler: 331. It is probable that ζιγγόω 'to drink' (Nicostr. Com. 38; Cilician) belongs here as well. D'Arcy W. Thompson *Class. Quart.* 40 (1946): 44 reads μυῶν for ὁμοίων, and refers to Lat. *zinzala* 'gnat'.

ζιγνίς, -ίδος [f.] a kind of lizard (Arist. *HA* 604b 24). <PG(V)>

•VAR v.l. ζιγνης, ζιγνύς, διγνύς; δειμνύς may be a simple mistake; see below.

•ETYM Unknown. The variants with -υς, -ις may be unimportant, but the form with δ- may be a (real, spoken) simplification of original *\*d'ign-*. Clearly a Pre-Greek word. Is δειμνύς a mistake for *\*δμνυς* or *διγνυς*?

ζιζάνιον [n.] 'darnel, Lolium temulentum' (Ev. *Matt.* 13, 25, *Gp.*, EM). <LW Orient. (Sum.)>

•ETYM A loanword; cf. Lewy 1895: 52. Strömberg 1944: 43f. recalls the plant name ζάνη (Σαρδιανή; *Hippiatr.*) and ἀμαξανίδες· αἱ μηλέαι 'apple trees' (H.). DELG states

that the word entered Greek from the Jews and Christians, and thus ultimately goes back to Sum. *zizān* 'wheat' (as the plant resembles wheat).

**ζίζυφον** [n.] 'a tree of which the fruit is the jujube, *Rhamnus jujuba*' (Colum., *Edict. Diocl.*, *Gp.*). <LW Orient.>

•ETYM Of unknown origin. MoFr. *jujube* (from MLat. *jujuba*) derives from Greek, as well as perhaps Syr. *zūzfā*; see Sommer 1905: 154, WH s.v. *jujuba*. I see no reason for Szemerényi's suggestion (from Durante *AION-L* 8 (1968): 25f) of original \*ζίζυφον. Acc. to Barnhart 1988, it is from MoP *zayzafūn*. It could be Pre-Greek (cf. σέσυφος, Σίσυφος).

**ζόρξ** ⇒ δορκάς.

**ζόφος** [m.] 'darkness, west' (Il.). <?>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ζοφο-ειδής 'dark-colored' (Hp.).  
•DER ζοφερός 'dark' (Hes., Hp., Arist.), ζοφώδης 'id.' (Hp., Arist.), also ζόφιλος (AP), ζόφεος (v.l. Nic. *Al.* 501). Denominative verb ζοφόομαι, -όω 'to get, make dark' (AP, Hld.) with ζόφωσις (sch.). Cf ▶ ζέφυρος; cf. γνόφος, ▶ δνόφος, etc.  
•ETYM Improbable hypotheses from Vendryes *REGr.* 23 (1910): 74 and Petersen *AmJPh.* 56: 59. There is no IE etymology. It is often connected (DELG) with ζέφυρος, which seems possible but is not certain; δνόφος has also been compared.

**ζυγόν** [n.] 'yoke' (Il.), also metaph., e.g. of a crossbeam, of the rowing benches connecting the two ship sides, of the tongue of a balance, of a pair, of a row or a rank of soldiers (oppos. στοίχος), as a land measure. In western Eurasia, from antiquity until quite recently, a single pole was used with a crossbeam at the end, i.e. the yoke, which originally "joined" two draught animals. The oldest use of yokes was for "paired draught" of oxen. <IE \*ieug- 'connect'>

•VAR Hell. mostly -ός [m.], rarely earlier, see Schwyzler 1950: 37.

•COMP Often in compounds, e.g. πολύ-ζυγος 'with many rowing benches', ζυγό-δεσιμον 'yoke-strap' (Il.), also ζυγη-φόρος 'carrying a yoke' (A., metrical beside ζυγο-φόρος; Schwyzler: 439').

•DER Several derivatives: 1. ζύγιον 'rowing bench' (Hell.). 2. ζυγίσκον (*IG* 2<sup>2</sup>, 1549: 9 [Eleusis approx. 300<sup>a</sup>], meaning unclear). 3. ζύγαινα the hammer-headed shark (Epich., Arist.; after the shape of the skull, Strömberg 1943: 35). 4. ζυγίς 'thyme' (Dsc.; naming motive unknown, Strömberg 1940: 56). 5. ζούγωνες (= \*ζύγωνες) βόες εργάται. Λάκωνες 'working oxes' (Lacon.) (H.). 6. ζυγίτης name of a rower (sch.), fem. ζυγίτις Hera as goddess of marriage (Nicom. *apud* Phot.). 7. ζυγία 'maple' (Thphr.) properly "yoke-wood" (see Strömberg 1937: 114), because the hard maple was mainly used to make yokes (even in southern Italy to our day), see the refs. in Frisk; different Strömberg 1940: 56 (after the fruits attached in pairs). 8. ζύγαστρον 'wooden cist, chest' s.v. ▶ σίγιστρον. Adjectives: 9. ζύγιος 'of the yoke, etc.' (Att., etc.; also as a nautical expression, Morrison *Class. Quart.* 41 (1947): 128ff.). 10. ζύγιμος 'id.' (Plb.). 11. ζυγικός 'of the tongue of a balance' (Nicom. *Harm.*). Adverbs: ζυγ-άδην (Ph.), ζυγ-ηδόν (Hld.) 'pairwise'. Denominative verbs: 1. ζυγώω 'to yoke, connect (by a crossbeam); to shut, hold the balance' (A., Hell.) with ζύγωμα 'bar, crossbeam'

(Plb.), ζύγωσις 'balancing' (Hell.), \*ζύγωθρον in the denominative aor. ipv. ζυγώθρισον (Ar. *Nu.* 745; meaning uncertain, 'weigh' or 'shut?'). 2. ζυγέω 'to form a row or rank' (Plb.). Beside ζυγόν, as a second member, the root noun -ζυξ, e.g. ἄ-ζυξ 'unconnected, unmarried', ὁμό-, σύ-ζυξ 'yoked together, connected' (also ἄ-, ὁμό-, σύ-ζυγος), see Chantraine *REGr.* 59-60 (1946-1947): 231f.

•ETYM Old name of a device, retained in most IE languages, e.g. Hitt. *iugan*, Skt. *yugám*, Lat. *iugum*, Germ., e.g. Go. *juk*, IE \*iugóm; more forms in Pok. 509f. and WH and E-M s.v. *iugum*. The root noun -ζυξ also in Lat. *con-iux* 'spouse', Skt. *a-yúj-* 'not forming a pair, uneven' (formally = ἄ-ζυξ except for the accent), *sa-yúj-* 'connected, companion', etc. Cf. ▶ ζεύγνυμι and ▶ ζεύγος. Rix 1976: 60, 70 suggests *Hj-*, but more likely seems plain \*j- on account of the reflex of \*Hj- in ▶ ὕγις.

**ζυθος** [m., n.] 'Egyptian or northern [LSJ] beer' (Thphr., Str.; the Egyptians did not know wine acc. to Hdt. 2, 77, A. *Supp.* 952f., but this is wrong, see Masson *RPh.* 88 (1962): 50). <LW? Egypt.>

•VAR Pap. almost only ζυτος (-ύ-; see LSJ); the υ is long in verse, LSJ.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ζυτο-ποιός, -έω, -ία 'beer-brewer, brew, brewing' (pap.).

•DER ζύθιον· ἀλφίτου πόσις 'drink from barley' (H.), ζυτᾶς 'brewer', ζυτηρά 'beer-tax', ζυτικός, ntr. -όν 'id.' (pap.).

•ETYM The meaning suggests Egyptian origin (Sommer 1905: 153, Peruzzi *Humanitas* 1 (1947): 138f., Nencioni *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 16 (1939): 21<sup>2</sup>). The comparison with ζύμη might point to IE origin (Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 143). The variation θ/τ seems to point to Pre-Greek, but there is no confirmation. A Greek suffix -θος is doubtful; cf. Chantraine 1933: 365-8. Henning (*Henning BSOAS* 11 (1943-1946): 720 and Henning *BSOAS* 28 (1965): 245) thinks that the word was taken from Scythian; cf. Sogd. *zwtk* (read: *zute*) 'alcoholic drink, beer', as in the case of ▶ ἀκινάκης.

**ζύμη** [f.] 'leaven, beer-yeast' (Arist.). <IE \*iuHs- 'mix, bring in movement' ?>

•COMP Compounds like ζυμ-ουργός 'who prepares leaven' (pap.), ἄ-ζυμος 'unleavened' (Pl., Hp.).

•DER ζυμίτης (ἄρτος) 'leavened bread' (Cratin. 99 [?], Hp., X.); ζυμώδης 'like leaven' (Arist.). Denominative verbs: 1. ζυμίομαι, -όω 'to be leavened; ferment' (Hp., Plu.) with ζύμωσις 'fermentation' (Pl. *Ti.* 66b usw.), ζύμωμα 'fermented mass' (Pl. *Ti.* 74b, Nic.); ζυμ-ωτός 'fermented', -ωτικός 'inducing fermentation' (Diocl. *Med.*). 2. ζυμίζω 'be like leaven' (Dsc.).

•ETYM Like ἄλ-μη 'salt water' et al. (Chantraine 1933: 148), ζύμη may be derived from a noun: an IE word for 'fermentation, soup', Skt. *yūṣ-*, Lat. *iūs* [n.]. Thus, Greek would continue QIE \*iuHs-meh<sub>2</sub> (on the phonetics, see Schwyzler: 333). Other derivatives (or reshapings) of this s-stem are Skt. *yūṣ-án-*, *yūṣ-á-* 'id.', Lith. *jūš-ė* 'fish soup, bad soup', SCR. *jūha* 'soup', Finn. *juusto*, ON *ostr* 'cheese' (PGm. \*jus-ta-), etc. At the basis is probably a verb with the meaning 'mix', Skt. *yáuti*, Lith. *jáuju*, *jáuti* (*jaūti*). See also ▶ ζωμός.

**ζάγρια** [n.pl.] 'ransom for a living person' (Il.). <GR>

•DER ζάγριος 'pertaining to a ransom' (Babr.).

•ETYM Formed like ἀνδρ-άγρια 'what is taken upon the capture of a man, exuviae' (E 509), μοιχ-άγρια 'fine for a caught adulterer' (Θ 332), et al.; see Wackernagel KZ 33 (1895): 47. Univerbation from ζῶν ἀγρεῖν with the suffix -ιο-. Thence also the verb ζωγρέω 'take somebody prisoner, grant a prisoner his life', in Hom. (Il.) only pres. ζώγρει, -εῖτε, aor. ἐζώγρησα, -ήθην (IA; Hom. has ζωὺς ἔλον, ζῶν ἔλε). From ζωγρέω: 1. ζωγρία, -ίη 'take sbd. prisoner alive' (Hdt., Plb., Str.) with ζωγρίας [m.] 'who was taken prisoner alive' (Ctes.); 2. ζωγρεῖον 'cage, especially for fishes' (Aq., Str., Plu.). Here also ζάγρη 'pit to catch animals'? See ►Ζαγρεύς. Cf. Chantraine 1956a: 51 and Janni *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 4 (1967): 3, 20:

ζωμός [m.] 'sauce, soup' (Asios, Ar., Arist.). ◀?►

•COMP Rarely in compounds, e.g. εὐ-ζωμον [n.] 'Eruca sativa' (Thphr.; properly 'making good sauce'; cf. Strömberg 1940: 107).

•DER Diminutives ζωμίον (pap. II<sup>a</sup>), -ίδιον (Ar.), -άριον (med.); ζωμίλη-ἀνηθον 'dill' (H., Phot.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 249). Denominative verb ζωμεύω 'boil into soup' (Ar., Hp.) with ζωμεύματα [pl.] 'soups' (Ar. *Eq.* 279; cf. Chantraine 1933: 188).

•ETYM Generally connected with ζύμη, but ablaut ὀ(υ) : ῠ (Schwyzer 346) is improbable. On the suffix -μο-, see Schwyzer: 492 and Chantraine 1933: 132ff. Differently, Bréal *MSL* 12 (1903): 314f. (to ζέω). See discussion on ►ζύμη. Connection with ζέω presupposes that \*ios-mo- developed into ζωμός regularly.

ζώννυμι, -μαι [v.] 'to gird' (Il.). ◀IE \*ieh<sub>3</sub>s- 'gird'►

•VAR Aor. ζῶσαι, -ασθαι (Il.), fut. ζώσω, perf. med. ἔζω(σ)μαι, aor. pass. ζωσθῆναι, perf. act. ἔζωκα; -ύω (Hp.).

•COMPOften with prefix: δια-, ὑπο-, περι- et al.

•DER 1. (διά-, περί-, ὑπό-, σύ-)ζῶμα (Hell. also ζῶσμα; see below and Schwyzer: 523) 'girdle, loincloth' (Il.) with περιζωμάτιον 'id.' (Hell.) and περιζωματίας 'forming a girdle' (of erysipelas; Orib.). 2. ζώνη 'girdle', also 'waist' (Il.) with the diminutive ζώνιον (Ar., Arist.), -άριον (comm. Arist.); ζων-ιαῖος 'with the size of a girdle' (Ath. Mech.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 49), ζωνίτις 'striped' (καδμεία; Dsc.); περιζώνιον, -ίδιον 'dagger worn on the girdle' (Hell.). 3. ζωστήρ 'warrior's belt' (Il.; see von Wilamowitz 1889 313, Trümper 1950: 89), often metaph., also as a name of a promontory on the west side of Attica (Hdt.) with Ζωστήριος, -ια epithet of Apollo and Athena (inscr. V<sup>a</sup> [Athens, Delphi], etc.). 4. ζώστρα [pl.] 'girdle' (ζ 38), (δια-, περι-)ζώστρα [f.] 'loincloth, headband' (Hell.). 5. ζωτύς (or ζωγύς)· θώραξ 'armour' (H.). 6. (ἄ-, εὐ-, etc.)ζωστός 'girded' (Hes.).

•ETYM The verbal adjective ζωστός has an exact parallel in Av. *yāsta-*, Lith. *júostas*, all from IE \*ieh<sub>3</sub>s-to-. In Balto-Slavic, we find yod-presents Lith. *júosiu* (inf. *júosti*), OCS *po-jašp* (inf. *-jasati*) 'gird'; in Iranian, a secondary formation *aibi-iānhaiiānte* [3pl.pres.med.] 'id.' (IE \*ieh<sub>3</sub>s-eie-). A relic of the athematic root present is perhaps found in ζούσθω· ζωννύσθω (Thess.) (H.); it agrees with OLith. *juos-ti* [3sg.pres.]. The Greek nasal present ζώννυμι is a recent formation after the aor. stem. Further close correspondences are ζῶμα (< IE \*ieh<sub>3</sub>s-mḡ) and Lith. *juosmuō* 'girdle' < IE

ieh<sub>3</sub>s-mō[n], ζώνη < \*ieh<sub>3</sub>s-neh<sub>2</sub> and Ru.CS *po-jasnō* 'id.' < ieh<sub>3</sub>s-ni-); cf. further Skt. *rāsnā-* 'girdle' for \*yāsnā- after *raśanā-* 'knot, gird'.

ζωρός [adj.] 'vehement, strong, unmixed', of wine (I 203). ◀IE \*ieh<sub>3</sub>-ro- (or \*ioH-ro-) 'strong'►

•COMP E.g. ζωρο-πότης 'drinker of unmixed wine' (late), εὐ-ζωρος 'completely unmixed' (IA).

•ETYM Solmsen *IF* 14 (1903): 426 compared it with OCS *jarō* 'strong, hard, serious', which seems unobjectionable. See also ►ἐπιζαρεύω.

ζωρυαί [pl.] (IG 4, 823: 46 [Troezen]) = διωρυαί. ◀GR►

•ETYM See von Blumenthal *Glotta* 18 (1930): 154<sup>2</sup>. Cf. ζῶρυξ = διῶρυξ (pap.). So is it simply a dialectal form?

ζώω [v.] 'to live' (Il.). ◀IE \*g<sup>w</sup>eih<sub>3</sub>- / \*g<sup>w</sup>ieh<sub>3</sub>- 'live'►

•VAR Homer has only uncontracted forms: ζώω, ζώεις, ζώει, inf. ζῶμεν, ζῶντ-; \*ζάω is a grammarians' construction.

•DIAL Myc. PN *zo-wo*, *zo-wi-jo*, probably /zōwos, zōwios/. Cret. δῶ-ω, Att. ζῶ, ζῆς, ζῆ, ζῶμεν, etc., ipf. ἔζων (ἔζην), ἔζης, -η, inf. ζῆν, fut. ζήσω, -ομαι (beside βιώσομαι), aor. ἔζη, ζῶσαι, βιώσαι, perf. ἔζηκα (Arist.), ptc. ἔζωκῶτα (Kyzikos) for βεβίωκα (Att.).

•COMP Sometimes with ἀνα-, δια-, ἐπι-. From ζωός: Ζωφό-θεμις (Cyprus V<sup>a</sup>; Masson *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 8 (1957): 161ff.); ζωγράφος 'painter'.

•DER ζωή (Od.), also ζῆ, Dor. ζῶα, ζῶα, Aeol. ζοῖα (Theoc.) 'life'. 2. ζωός (ζοός, ζῶς) 'alive' (Il.). ζῶιον, ζῶον (from ζῶς; Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 7) 'living being, animal'; ζῶσιμος 'viable' (late); (ἀνά-)ζῆσις 'reviving' (*Theol. Ar.*, Dam.). Ἀζησία (S. Fr. 981), Ἀζοσία (Epid.) epithet of Demeter (?), Fraenkel *Lexis* 3:1 (1952): 59f.

•ETYM Derived from the root \*g<sup>w</sup>eih<sub>3</sub>- / \*g<sup>w</sup>ieh<sub>3</sub>- (see the reflexes under ►βιω-). Homer has only uncontracted forms ζῶε/o-. Attic, etc. ζῶ, ζῆς, ἔζησα must be innovations; cf. DELG on ἔζησα.

## H

**ἦ 1** [pcl.] 'certainly, really' emphasizing and interrogative particle (Il.), mostly combined with other particles and adverbs, e.g. ἦ ἄρα, ἦ γάρ, ἦ που, ἦ μήν, sometimes in second position: ἐπεὶ ἦ, τί (ὅτι) ἦ, (ὁ)τιγ, etc. <IE? \**h<sub>1</sub>e* '?'>

•ETYM Origin unclear; perhaps identical in origin with the interjection ἦ. Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:3, 983 connects it with Skt. *ā* (affirmative, after nouns and adverbs), OHG *ihh-ā* 'I', *nein-ā* 'no', et al. as the instr.sg. of the demonstratives \**h<sub>1</sub>e-*, *h<sub>1</sub>o-* (cf. ►εἰ).

**ἦ 2** [v.] 'said he'. → ἦμί.

**ἦ 3** [pcl.] interjection expressing dissatisfaction and impatience (Ar. *Nu.* 105, *Ra.* 271, E. *HF* 906 [lyr.]). <IE? \**h<sub>1</sub>ē* vocative pcl.>

•ETYM It has been compared with Lat. *ē-* in *ēcastor* 'by Castor'. Cf. Schwyzer 1950 600<sup>4</sup> and WH s.v. *ēcastor*.

**ἦ 4** [pcl.] disjunctive and comparative particle: 'or', also 'as', ἦ .... ἦ 'either .... or' (Il.), contracted from ἦέ, ἦε (epic). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>ē-ue*>

•ETYM For \*ἦ-φε, \*ἦ-φε, univerbation of deictic ἦ (see ►ἦ 1) and a disjunctive particle found in Lat. *-ve* and (with long vowel) Skt. *vā*, OIr. *vá* 'or' grown together. Skt. *iva* 'like, as if', etc. diverges semantically (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v.).

**ἦ 5** 'if' (Cypr. Dor.). → εἰ.

**ἦβαιός** [adj.] 'little, small', in the Il. only with the negation οὐδ' ἦβαιόν 'not even a little' (5 times), οὐδ' ἦβαιαί (Ξ 141), later also without negation (ι 462, Opp.). <GR?>

•ETYM According to Leumann 1950: 50, it arose by false split from οὐ δὴ βαιόν (perhaps οὐδὲ βαιόν). A prefix ἦ- is improbable.

**ἦβη** [f.] 'youth, prime, vigour of youth, sexual maturity', also as a PN 'Hebe', daughter of Zeus and Hera (Il.). <IE? \*(*H*)*iēg<sup>w</sup>-eh<sub>2</sub>-* 'youth, (youthful) vigour'>

•VAR Dor. ἦβα, hyperaeolism (?) ἄβα.

•COMP As a second member e.g. in ἔφ-ἦβος (IA, Dor.; hyperdorism (?) ἔφ-αβος) 'fullgrown youth', hypostasis from ἐφ' ἦβης (ὦν) or a bahuvrihi ('on whom is ἦβη'), with ἐφῆβ-άω (after ἦβάω), -εύω, -ικός, -ειος, etc.

•DER 1. ἦβητής (*h. Merc.* 56), ἦβατάς (Locr. V\*), εἰβατάς (Thess.), ἀβατάς (Call. *Lav. Pall.* 109) 'being a youth, youth' with ἦβητικός (X.); Hell. poets have ἦβητήρ, ἦβήτωρ (cf. Fraenkel 1910: 121) as if from ἦβάω. 2. ἦβηδόν [adv.] 'being fullgrown' (Heraclit., Hdt.; see Benveniste *RPh.* 81 (1955): 9). 3. ἦβοτά 'youth' (Pamphyl., after βιοτή

according to Fraenkel KZ 43 (1910): 207ff.). Denominative verbs: 1. ἥβᾶω (Il.), epic also ἥβῶω (with metrical lengthening according to Chantraine 1942: 76 after Wackernagel; different Schwyzler: 730), Cret. ἥβῶ (< -έω) 'be in one's prime, be full-grown', also with prefixes like ἀν-, ἐν-, ἐφ-; thence ἀνηβητήριος 'rejuvenating' (E. Andr. 552), ἐνηβητήριον 'place of amusement' (Hdt. 2, 133), ἡβητήριον 'id.' (Plu.); on ἡβητήρ, -τωρ see above. 2. ἡβάσκω 'become mature, become a man' (Hp., X.; after γηράσκω, cf. s.v. and Schwyzler: 708). 3. ἡβυλλιάω in ἡβυλλιώσαι (ὄρχηστρίδες, Ar. Ra. 516; κόραι, Pherecr. 108, 29) '(female) dancers' in the prime of youth', hypocoristic formation of the language of comedians after the diminutives in -ύλλιον (μειρακύλλιον et al.); hypothesis in Leumann Glotta 32 (1953): 215.

•ETYM One usually reconstructs a preform IE *\*iēg<sup>w</sup>-eh<sub>2</sub>* vel sim. on account of Lith. *jėgà* 'power, strength', Latv. *jēga* 'power, sense'. However, one may doubt the connection with Baltic (cf. Derksen 1996: 136-7) on account of the Greek forms with initial ἡ-. On the other hand, there are also Doric and Aeolic forms with ἦ- and εἰ-. Lat. *Iegius* = Osc. *Iefis* are unclear (see WH s.v.). The word ► ἄβρος is not related.

**ἥβολος** [adj.] in ἥβολον ἡμαρ· καθὸ ἀπαντῶσιν εἰς ταῦτόν, ἣ εὐκαιρον, ἱερόν 'opportune (of time or place), hallowed' (H. = Call. Fr. anon. 170). ◀GR▶

•ETYM Probably an archaizing shortening of ἐπήβολος. Differently, Prellwitz Glotta 19 (1931): 126 (see on ► ἀβολέω).

**ἡγάθεος** [adj.] 'most holy' (Il.). ◀GR▶

•VAR ἁγάθεος (Pi. P. 9, 71).

•ETYM From ἀγά-θεος with metrical lengthening; cf. ἡνεμόεις from ἄνεμος (Schwyzler: 104 fn.1, Bechtel 1914 s.v., Chantraine 1942: 98).

**ἡγανές** [adj.] · καθαρὸν, νέον 'pure, young' (H.).

•VAR ἡγάν<ε>ος· νεανίσκος 'little boy' (H.).

•ETYM Shortened from ► διηγανές.

**ἡγανον** [n.] 'casserole' (Anacr. 26). ◀GR▶

•DER Thence ἡγάνεα· πέμματα τὰ ἀπὸ τηγάνου 'dressed food from a pan' (H.).

•ETYM From τηγανον by false split (taken as τ' ἡγανον); see Schwyzler: 413.

**ἡγέομαι** [v.] 'to lead, direct', post-Hom. also 'to suppose, believe'. ◀IE *\*seh<sub>2</sub>g-* 'trace, search'▶

•VAR Dor. ἄγ-, aor. ἡγήσασθαι, fut. ἡγήσομαι (Il.), perf. ἡγημαι, ἄγ- (Hdt., Pi.), aor. pass. ἡγήθην (Pl. Lg. 770b).

•COMP Very frequently with prefixes, in various meanings: δι-, εἰς-, ἐξ-, καθ-, περι-, ὑφ-, etc. As a first member in governing compounds like Ἠγησί-λεως, Ἀγησί-λαος (Hdt.; also as an appellative). Also as a second member in formations in -της, e.g. κυν-ηγέτης 'leader of dogs', 'hunter' (Od.), ἀρχ-ηγέτης, fem. -τις 'who is in charge, originator' (Hdt.), partly beside -ηγός and connected with ἄγω, see Chantraine 1956a: 88ff., Sommer 1948: 12'. Another compound with s-stem is περι-ηγής 'forming a circle' (Emp., A. R.).

•DER Many derivatives, also from the compounds (Dor. forms are not given separately). Action nouns: 1. ἡγησις 'guidance, direction' (LXX), older and more

usual εἰς-, ἐξ-, δι-, περι-, ὑφ-ἡγησις, etc. (cf. Holt 1941: index); 2. ἡγημα 'guidance, opinion' (LXX, Pergamon), older and more usual ἄφ-, εἰς-ἡγημα, etc. together with -ηγημάτιον, -ηγηματικός. Agent nouns: 3. ἡγεμίων, -όνος [m.] 'leader' (Il.; on the formation Schwyzler: 522, Fraenkel Glotta 32 (1953): 25f.; also from compounds, e.g. καθηγεμίων) together with ἡγεμονεύω 'lead, rule' (Il.; like βασιλεύω), rarely -έω (Pl.; cf. Fraenkel 1906: 184f., Schwyzler: 732), ἡγεμον-ία, ἡγεμόνευ-μα, ἡγεμον-ικός, etc.; fem. ἡγεμόνη epithet of Artemis, etc. (Call.; Schwyzler: 490<sup>4</sup>, Sommer 1948: 145). 4. Ἠγήμων Att. PN (cf. ἡγημα). 5. ἡγήτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'id.' (Il.), Ἀγήτωρ epithet of Zeus in Sparta (X.), also name of the priests of Aphrodite in Cyprus (Kretschmer Glotta 18 (1930): 87). 6. ἡγητήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'id.' (Pi., S.; also ὑφ-, προ-, καθ-ηγητήρ [trag.]) with (προ-)ἡγήτειρα (A. R.), -τήριος (Ath.). 7. ἡγητής 'id.' (A. Supp. 239), usually εἰς-, ἐξ-, δι-, καθ-, προ-ηγητής (IA); on semantic differentiation of ἡγήτωρ, -ητήρ see Benveniste 1948: 46; on ἡγητής Fraenkel 1912: 13. Adjective: 8. (ἐξ-, δι-, etc.) ἡγητικός (Hell.). On ► ἡγηλάζω, see s.v.

•ETYM An iterative present ἡγέομαι, ἄγέομαι, from which all other forms were derived. It has a close correspondence in the yod-presents Lat. *sāgiō* 'to trace, track down' = Gm. *\*sāgie/o-* in Go. *sokjan* 'search, attack', etc., as well as in OIr. *saigim*, -id 'trace something, search', probably a yod-present (from *\*sh<sub>2</sub>g-*), on which see Thurneysen 1946: 354; for the vowel, cf. Lat. *sāgāx*. Hitt. *šāgāi-* / *šāki-* 'sign, omen' < *\*seh<sub>2</sub>g-* belongs here as well, but *šākk-i* 'know' is from *\*sekh<sub>1</sub>-* (Lat. *secāre*); see Kloekhorst 2008: s.vv. The root may derive from the language of hunters, and properly mean 'search, track down'. See ► ἡγηλάζω.

**ἡγερέθοντο** •VAR ἡγερέθονται, -θεσθαι. ⇒ ἀγείρω

**ἡγηλάζω** [v.] 'to lead, drag' (κακὸν μόρον 'bad fate', βίον βαρύν 'heavy life', etc.; λ 618, ρ 217, A. R. 1, 272, Arat. 893, Orac. apud Zos. 1, 57). ◀GR▶

•ETYM An enlargement of ἡγέομαι. Perhaps (thus Bechtel 1914 s.v.) by univerbation with ἐλάω, with productive -άζω, rather than via a noun *\*ἡγηλός*, *\*ἡγήλη* (thus Chantraine 1942: 338 et al.). However, compare ἀγέλη to ► ἄγω.

**ἡδέ** [pcl.] 'and' (Il.), with or without preceding ἡμέν. ◀GR▶

•VAR Also ἡδὲ καί, τ'ἡδέ, etc. (Il.).

•ETYM From ► ἦ 1 'really' and ► δέ. See Ruijgh 1957: 55-57.

**ἦδη** [adv.] 'already, immediately, (precisely) now' (Il.). ◀GR▶

•ETYM From ► ἦ 1 'really' and ► δὴ 'even'.

**ἡδομαι** [v.] 'to rejoice'. ◀IE *\*sueh<sub>2</sub>d-* 'sweet'▶

•VAR Dor. ἥδ-, Boeot. (Corinn.) γάδ- (γάδεται ἥδεται H.), aor. ἡσθῆναι (IA), fut. ἡσθήσομαι (S., Pl.), aor.med. ἥσατο (I 353).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially συν-; rarely active ἦδω, ἦσαι, ἦσω 'gratify' (Antipho Soph., Hell.; after τέρω, etc. acc. to Schwyzler 1950 228). As a second member, -ηδής may be connected either with ἡδύς or with ἡδομαι: ἀ-ηδής 'unpleasant' (IA), μελι-ηδής 'as sweet as honey', θυμ-ηδής 'pleasing the heart', etc.

•DER 1. ἡδος [n.] 'pleasure' (Il.; on the absence of aspiration and the doubtful traces of the digamma Chantraine 1942: 184 and 151); in the meaning 'vinegar' a back-

formation from ►ήδύς, s.v.; 2. ήδονή, Dor. άδονά 'pleasure' (IA, Dor.) with ήδονίς = άφύδιον (Cyran. 18), ήδονικός (Arist.). 3. άδοσύνα· ήδονή (H.). 4. ήσθημα 'id.' (Eup.). 5. ήστικός 'pleasant' (S. E.).

•ETYM An exact formal counterpart is the Skt. *hapax svādate* 'becomes tasteful' (RV 9.68.2; of soma); much more usual however is *svadate* 'enjoy, taste well', *svadati* 'make savory, sweeten'. On the -a-, see Lubotsky MSS 40 (1981): 133-8. The second member -ηδης agrees with Skt. *prā-svādas-* 'pleasant'; the nasal suffix in ήδ-ονή is seen in Skt. *svād-ana-* 'making tasteful'. See ►ήδύς and ►άνδάνω, also ►άδιμονέω.

**ήδύς** [adj.] 'sweet, tasteful, pleasant, pleasing' (IL). <IE \**sueh<sub>2</sub>d-ú-* 'sweet'>

•VAR Dor. άδύς, EL, etc. φαδύς.

•COMP Very frequent as a first member, e.g. ήδυ-επής 'with sweet words, sounding nice' (IL); as a second member -ηδής, see ►ήδομαι. On ήδιων (rare and late ήδύτερος), ήδιστος see Seiler 1950: 57f.

•DER ήδυμος 'sweet, comforting', dactylic variant of ήδύς, said of ύπνος (IL; in Hom. always incorrectly νήδυμος, see Bechtel 1914 s.v., Leumann 1950: 44f.), also Άδυμος as a PN; cf. ξτυμος and Schwyzer: 494, Chantraine 1933: 151f.; ήδύλος 'id.', hypocoristic enlargement (A. D., EM) with ήδυλίζω 'flatter, tempt' (Men.), ήδυλίσαι· συνουσιάσαι, ήδυλισμός· συνουσία H.; also as a PN with Ηδυλίνη (Attica IV<sup>a</sup>), Ηδύλειος (Delos III<sup>a</sup>); further Ηδυτώ (Attica V<sup>a</sup>; after Έρατώ et al.), Ηδάριον (Rhodes; after the diminutives in -άριον). Backformation ήδος 'vinegar' (Ath.), cf. γάδος (= γ-): γάλα, άλλοι όξος 'milk, others: vinegar' (H.), cf. Pisani KZ 68 (1944): 176f. (where unclear Arm. *k'ac'ax* 'vinegar' is discussed). Denominative verb ήδύνω 'sweeten, make tasteful, savour' (IA) with ήδυσμα, -μάπιον 'spice' (IA), ήδυσμός, ήδυν-τός, -τικός, -τήρ 'spiced, etc.' (also of salt).

•ETYM Old word for 'sweet', identical with Skt. *svādú-*, Gaul. *Suadu-rīx*, -genus, IE \**sueh<sub>2</sub>d-ú-*; reshaped in Lat. *suāvis*, Gm., e.g. OHG *suozī*, OE *swēte* 'sweet'. The full grade perhaps comes from the comparative ήδιων, Skt. *svādiyas-* (cf. also ήδιστος = *svādiṣṭha-*). The zero grade occurs in Lith. *sūdyti* 'to spice, salt', Skt. *sūdāyati*, perf.pl. *su-ṣūd-imá* 'make tasteful'. See ►ήδομαι, ►άνδάνω.

**ήέ** 'or'. ⇒ή 4.

**ήερέθονται** [3sg.pres.med.] 'they float in the air' (IL). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>uer-* 'bind, hang'>

•VAR Ipf. -ντο.

•ETYM Related to ►αείρω 'raise' like ήγερέθοντο, -ται to ►αγείρω.

**ήέριος** [adj.] 1. 'early, of the morning', connected with ήρι 'early, in the morning' (e.g. A. R. 3, 417: opposed to δειέλον ώριον); 2. 'misty' = ήερόεις, 'in the air, airy' (Simon. 114, Hp. *Vict.* 1, 10, A. R., Arat., Opp.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>euser-* 'morning'>

•ETYM An etymological distinction used to be drawn between ►άήρ 'air' and ήρι 'early' (e.g. Frisk). However, Kiparsky *Lang.* 43 (1967): 619-635 has shown that both words derive from the root for 'dawn', άήρ < \**h<sub>2</sub>eus-ēr* still meaning 'mist, haze' in Homer. He convincingly shows that αύρη 'breeze' still means 'morning mist' in ε 469. Therefore, we have to start from an adverb \*ήερι (cf. Έερί-βοια E 389); see ►ήρι. See further ►αύρα.

**ήερόεις** 'misty, cloudy'. •VAR ήεροειδής. ⇒άήρ.

**ήερόφωνος** [adj.] Σ 505 κηρύκων ... ήεροφώνων, after this Opp. *H.* 1, 621 γεράνων ... ή., properly 'whose voice(s) sound(s) through the mist (in the air), loud crying', = μεγαλοφώνων, πληρούντων φωνής την άέρα (H.). <GR>

•ETYM Ahrens *Phil.* 27 (1868): 590 proposes (after Alcm. 26, 1) to write ήεροφώνων.

**ήθέω** [v.] 'to sift, strain' (IA). <IE \**seh<sub>1</sub>-* 'strain'>

•VAR Aor. ήθῆσαι (ptc. ήσας Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 103), perf. pass. ήθημαι.

•COMP very often δι-ιθέω (έκ-, προσ-διιθέω, etc.), also άπ-, έξ-ιθέω.

•DER ήθμός (*he*θμός Sigeion VI<sup>a</sup>, Hdn.) 'filter, strainer' (Att.) with ήθμάριον· διυλιστήριον 'filter' H., διηθμεύοντες s.v. ►διυλίζοντες; (δι-)ήθης 'straining' (Arist.), (άπ-, δι-, παρ-)ήθημα 'what has been strained' (medic.), ήθήνιον· ήθάνιον, ήθμός H.; ήθητήρ (Marc. Sid.), -τήριον (Str.) 'strain'; ήθητός 'strained' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>), ήθητικός 'fit for straining' (Thphr.).

•ETYM Starting from the aor.ptc. ήσας and the noun ήθμός, one may suppose an older present \*ήθω. Then we have ήθέω beside \*ήθω, just as στερέω beside στέρομαι, etc. (Schwyzer 721). If we separate the -θ- (as in αλή-θω : αλέ-ω, πλή-θω : πλη-το et al., on which see Schwyzer: 703; also ή-θμός, like ρυ-θμός, etc.), we may connect the OCS yod-present *pro-sějō*, inf. -*sějati* 'strain', from which Lith. *sijóju*, -*ti* 'id.' cannot be separated. These presuppose a present \**seh<sub>1</sub>i-*. Cf. also ►σήθω with the same meaning.

**ήθος** [n.] 'custom, usage' (Hes., Pi.), plur. ήθεα 'accustomed place, haunts' (IL). <IE? \**sued<sup>h</sup>-* 'custom, use'>

•COMP As a first member, with analogical compositional vowel, e.g. in ήθο-ποιός 'edifying' (Arist.), as a second member e.g. in κακο-ήθης 'with bad habits' (IA).

•DER ήθεϊός 'reliable, beloved' (Hom., Hes.), also ήθαϊός (Pi., Antim.), after γενναϊός et al.; ήθάς, -άδος [m., f.] 'usual, reliable' (Hp., S.) with ήθάδιος 'id.' (Opp.); ήθικός 'ptng. to the character' (Arist.); ήθαλέος 'usual' (Opp., Epigr.).

•ETYM Differs from ►έθος only by its long vowel; the *ō*-grade appears in ►εϊθθα (s.v. for further etymology). See Petit *RPh.* 73 (1999): 87, who refers to Schindler 1975: 259-267. For traces of the digamma, see Chantraine 1942: 150.

**ήϊα 1** [n.pl.] 'provisions for a journey' (N 103, Od.); = βρώματα, άχυρα 'food, chaff', see ►ήϊα 2, εφόδια 'travelling supplies' (H.). <?>

•VAR Also ήα.

•ETYM Uncertain. Acc. to Thumb KZ 36 (1900): 179ff., it belongs with ήϊος· πορεύσιμος 'passable; able to travel' (H.). Vendryes *REGr.* 23 (1910): 74 compared Skt. *sasyá-* [n.] 'produce of the fields', which is formally unconvincing. Froehde's comparison (see Bechtel 1914) with Skt. *avasá-* [n.] 'food' is mistaken (as it rather belongs to *ávati* 'protect, refresh, etc.'; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v.).

**ήϊα 2** [n.pl.] 'heap of husks or chaff' (ε 368, Pherecr. 161), = άχυρα H.; cf. ειαί· τών όσπρίων τὰ αποκαθάρματα 'what has been cleansed off the pulse'; εϊοι· όσπρίων τὰ καθάρσια (H.). Here also ήϊα κριθάων = άλευρα 'flour' (Nic. *Al.* 412), but "le sens ne s'impose pas", as DELG rightly remarks. <?>



•ETYM Unexplained.

ἥϊε [voc.] epithet of Φοῖβε of unknown meaning or origin (O 365, Y 152, *h. Ap.* 120). <?>

•ETYM Several hypotheses (see Frisk). From the interjection ἦ, like ἰήϊος from ἰή (LSJ); cf. ἥϊος· παιανιστής 'chanter of paeans' (H.) beside πορεύσιμος (see ► ἥϊα 1). Not from ἥώς (cf. ἥϊ-κανός) as 'shining in the morning' (Ehrlich KZ 40 (1907): 364). Nikolaev 2005 now connects the root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ns-* (Skt. *ásu-ra-*, ON *áss*, etc.), claiming that Lex Rix did not operate before nasals. If this is correct (which seems implausible), we would have an old vocative of the word for 'god'.

ἥϊθεος [m.] 'unmarried youth' (Il.; see Leumann 1950: 305 and 316f.), rarely also 'unmarried young woman' (Eup. 332), in this meaning also ἥϊθέη (Nic., AP). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>uid<sup>h</sup>eu-* 'unmarried'>

•VAR Also ἥθεος (or ἥϊθεος?; B. 16, E. *Ph.* 945; ἄθεος Cerc. 9, 11, see below).

•ETYM An old and poetic word, connected with Skt. *vidhāvā*, Ru. *vdová*, etc., Go. *widuwo*, etc., Lat. *vidua*, from a pre-form *\*h<sub>2</sub>uid<sup>h</sup>eu-*. A masculine expression for 'widowed, unmarried' was made from this pre-form, like in Lat. *viduus*, Ru., etc. *vdónyi*, but perhaps only in the separate languages. Greek ἥϊθεος presupposes an earlier feminine, which was replaced by χήρα in prehistoric times. Anlauting ἥ- is easily explained as a metrical lengthening of a prothetic é- from *\*h<sub>2</sub>-*; the á- in Cerc. is a hyperdorism (cf. ἥϊθεος Sapph. 44, 18). See recently Beekes KZ 105 (1992): 171-6.

ἥϊκανός [m.] · ὁ ἀλεκτρύων 'rooster' (H.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ues-* 'lighten' + *\*kh<sub>2</sub>n-* 'sing'>

•ETYM Properly 'early-singer', a compound from ἥϊ- (from PGr. *\*awhi-*, an old loc. of *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-* 'dawn'; cf. ► ἔως) and a verb 'to sing', found in Lat. *canō*, MoHG *Hahn*, etc. On the accent, see Wackernagel *Phil.* 95 (1943): 182f. Synonymous formations with cognate elements are found in Skt. (Lex.) *usā-kala-* and ON *ár-gali* [m.] 'cock'.

ἥϊόεις [adj.] in ἐπ' ἥϊόεντι Σκαμάνδρῳ E 36 (verse end); after this as an adjunct of Πάνορμος, of πεδίον (Q. S. 1, 283; 5, 299), and of κόλλουρος (name of a fish, Marc. Sid. 22). <?>

•ETYM In later antiquity, the word was connected with ἥϊών 'shore' and interpreted as 'with (high) shores, on the shore'; cf. ἥϊόεντι· ἥϊόνας ἔχοντι 'having shores' (H.). This is formally impossible, as there is no trace of the -v-. Others take it as 'with reed' and arbitrarily connect it with ► ἥϊα 2, or even as 'fertile' (and suppose connection with ► ἥϊα).

ἥϊος ⇒ ἥϊε.

ἥϊών [f.] 'shore' (B 561). <?>

•VAR ἥών E. *Or.* 994; Dor. αἰών, -όνος.

•ETYM Names in -ών may refer to features of the landscape (see Chantraine 1933: 164). Of unknown origin. See also ► ἥϊόεις.

ἥϊκα [adv.] 'slowly, quietly, a little' (Il.). <IE? *\*seh<sub>2</sub>k-* (or *\*sēk-*?) 'slow' ?>

•VAR Grades of comparison: ἥϊττων, Ion. ἥϊσων 'smaller, weaker' (Il.), sup. ἥϊκιστος 'slowest' (Ψ 531), ἥϊκιστα [adv.] 'not at all' (IA), ἥϊκιστος 'weakest, worst' (Ael.).

•DER Derived from ἥκα: ἥκαλος = ἀκαλός (Call.), ἥκαλέον γελώωσα· πράως, οὐκ ἔκυθρωπακυῖα 'mild, not looking angry'; ἥκαῖον· ἀσθενές 'weak' (H.). From ἥσων, ἥττων: ἥσάομαι, ἥττάομαι [v.] 'to be less, be weaker' (after νικάομαι), with the back-formation ἥσσα, ἥττα [f.] 'defeat' (trag., Th., IA); Ion. (Hdt., Herod.) has ἔσσομαι, from *\*ἔσων*, an innovation after κρέσσω.

•ETYM With ἥκα (with epic psilosis like ἥκιστος; cf. Chantraine 1942: 187), we may compare ὦκα and other adverbs in -ᾱ (cf. Schwyzler: 622). It has been connected with Lat. *sēgnis* 'slow' < *\*sēc-ni-*, but see the doubts in De Vaan 2008 s.v. Frisk compares the alternation in πύκ-α : πυκ-νός, as does Benveniste 1935: 89f. Discussed in Seiler 1950: 65ff.

ἥκεστος [adj.] only in ἥνις ἥκέστας (βοῦς, Z 94 = 275 = 309), meaning uncertain. <?>

•ETYM Based on comparison with ἥκέστης· ἀδάμαστος (Suid.), ἥκεστος is mostly taken as 'undomited, uncontrolled', from κεντέω, κένσαι ('unincited') with metrical lengthening for *\*ᾱ-κεστος*. This explanation should be rejected; instead, Schwyzler *RhM* 80 (1931): 213 assumes original (βοῦν) ἥνιν νηκέστην (like νη-κερδής, etc.), with single writing of the ν and false split. Others translate 'full grown', connecting it with ἀκμαῖος, ► ἥκη. Improbable suggestion by Szemerényi *Sprache* 11 (1965): 6-12.

ἥκη [f.] · ἀκωκή, ἐπιδορατίς, ἀκμή 'arrowhead, point' (H.); ἡ ὀξύτης τοῦ σιδήρου 'sharpness of iron' (EM 424, 18 following Archil. 43: ἴσθη κατ' ἥκην κύματός τε κἀνέμου). <IE? *\*h<sub>2</sub>ek-* 'sharp'>

•COMP As a second member in the epic epithets ἀμφ-ήκης 'cutting on both sides', τανυ-ήκης 'with a thin edge'; perhaps a secondary s-stem, and the -η- can be due to compositional lengthening. Backformation from the compounds: ἥκός· ὀξύ (H.), see Leumann 1950: 111f.

•DER ἥκάδα· ἡνδρωμένην γυναῖκα 'mature woman' (H.); on the formation Chantraine 1933: 351f., on the meaning cf. ἀκμαῖος.

•ETYM Appears to be a form with lengthened grade beside ► ἀκή, ► ἄκρος, etc.; an o-grade is found in reduplicated ► ἀκωκή.

ἥκω [v.] 'to have come, be present' (IA, also Dor.; Hom. only E 478, v 325; elsewhere ἴκω). <?>

•VAR Hell. also with perfect inflexion: ἥκα, ἥκέναι; fut. ἥξω (A.), Dor. ἥξῶ (Theoc.), aor. ἥξαι (late).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. καθ- (κατ-), προσ- (ποθ-), ἀν-, προ-, παρ-ἥκω.

•ETYM Beside ἥκω with perfective meaning stands ► ἴκω with present meaning (epic, Dor., Arc.). It is difficult to connect the two, however, since the ē-vocalism cannot be easily accounted for (IE *\*sēik-* is impossible), nor can the aspectual difference. Ample discussion in Johansson 1890: 62ff. No cognates (incorrectly, Pok. 893). LIV<sup>2</sup> posits *\*seh<sub>2</sub>k-*, but disassociates ἴκ-.

ἥλακάτη [f.] 'wool on the) distaff, also metaph. of comparable objects (Z 491). <PG?>

•VAR ἥλεκάτη (Delos, Cyrene, etc.), Aeol. ἀλακάτα (Theoc. 28, 1; but ἥλακάτα E. *Or.* 1431 [lyr.]) and χρυσᾶλακ. (Pi., three times), εὐαλάκατος (Theoc. 22).

•DIAL Myk. *a-ra-ka-te-ja* [nom.pl.f.] 'spinsters'.

•COMP As a second member e.g. in χρυσ-ηλάκατος (-ἄλ- Pi.) 'with golden distaff' (Il.).

•ETYM Unknown. Solmsen 1909: 121f. assumed an Anatolian loan, but it is probably just Pre-Greek.

**ηλάσκω** [v.] 'to wander, stray, roam' (B 470, N 104, Emp.). <?>

•DER By a cross with ἀλαίνω arose ηλαίνω 'id.' (Theoc., Call.).

•ETYM ηλάσκω (called expressive by Frisk) differs from ▶ἀλάομαι by the length of the initial vowel, something which cannot be explained within Greek or Indo-European. The etymology is therefore unclear. Connection with ▶ηλεός, ηλίθιος, etc. is not very likely.

**ηλέκτωρ** [m.] name of the sun and adjunct of Ὑπερίων (Z 513, T 398, *h. Ap.* 369; and Emp. 22, 2). <PG?>

•VAR Acc. -τορα (Euph. 110), dat. -τωρι (Epic. in *Arch. Pap.* 7, 4), gen. -τωρος (Choerob.).

•DER ηλεκτρίς [f.] adjunct of the moon (Orph. *H.* 9, 6); ηλεκτρον [n., -ος [m., f.] (on the gender cf. LSJ and Schwyzler 1950: 34<sup>4</sup>) 'gold mixed with silver, amber' (Od.) with Ἡλεκτρίδες νῆσοι 'the amber islands' (Str., Plin.), ηλεκτρώδης 'like amber' (Hp., Philostr.), ηλέκτρινος (Dor. ἄλ-) 'of amber' (Call., Luc., Hld.), ηλεκτροόμαι 'become ἦ' (Zos. Alch.); ηλέκτραι· τὰ ἐν τοῖς κλινόποσι τῶν σφιγγῶν ὄμματα (Phot.). Several PN's: Ἡλέκτρα, Ἀλεκτρώνα (Rhodos), Ἡλεκτρώων (after Ἀμφιτρώων; cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 656).

•ETYM Unexplained. von Wilamowitz 1931: 255 assumed Carian origin, but without sufficient grounds. Improbable IE etymologies in Bq. There seems no basis for DELG's statement that the word is IE. Leroy and Halleux *Glotta* 52 (1974): 36-52 stress that ηλεκτρον has two meanings: 'white gold', i.e. gold with a high percentage of silver, like the Lydian gold from which the first coins were made, and 'amber'. However, ηλέκτωρ cannot mean 'brilliant', as amber is not brilliant, and the meaning and etymology of this word are unknown. They then derive the word ηλεκτρον from the verb ▶ἀλέγω, which they interpret as λέγω 'count' plus copulative ἄ-. This is wrong: see there. The word has nothing to do with the verb, as its meaning does not fit. Thus, the word remains without etymology. On the words, see also Ruipérez 1972: 231ff.

**ηλέματος** ⇒ ηλεός.

**ηλεός** [adj.] 'distracted, crazed' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ηλέ [voc.] (Il.); αλεός (-αι- cod.)· ὁ μάταιος, ἄφρων. Αἰσχύλος 'foolish' (H.), αλεόφρων· παράφρων (H.).

•DER Denominative verb ἀλεώσσειν· μωραίνειν 'be foolish' (H.). Abstract ἡλοσύνη (Nic., late Epic; Pfeiffer *Phil.* 92 (1937): 1ff. and 8), Aeol. ἀλοσύνα (Theoc. 30, 12), probably metrical for ἡλεο-, ἀλεο-. Further ἡλιθα [adv.] 1. 'very much, exceedingly' (Hom. always ἡλιθα πολλή(ν); A. R.), 2. 'in vain, to no avail' (Call., A. R.); the formation has a parallel, be it incomplete, in the local and temporal adverbs in -θα (ἐνθα, διηθά, μίνυνθα) and in the numeral adverb διχθά, etc. Thence ηλίθιος (Dor.

ἄλ-) 'idle, vain, foolish' (Pi., IA), *ηελιθιον* [adv.] (*IG* 1<sup>2</sup>, 975 [VI<sup>1</sup>]), *ηλιθι-ώδης* (Philostr.), -ότης (Att.), -όω (A.), -άζω (Ar.). Here probably also ηλέματος (Aeol. Dor. ἄλ-) 'idle, foolish' (Sapph., Alc., Theoc.), of unclear formation, but improbable is haplology for \*ηλεμόματος (Bechtel 1921, 1: 44). Difficult to analyze are the verbs ἄλλο-φρονέω 'to be senseless' (Hom., Hdt.) and ἄλλο-φάσσω 'to be delirious' (Hp.). Acc. to Fick (see Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἄλλοφρονέω, ηλεός and Leumann 1950: 116<sup>82</sup>), the first member contains an Aeolic variant of ηλεός, i.e. \*ἄλλος < \*ἄλιος (whence voc. \*ἄλλε = ηλέ O 128); cf. αλεό-φρων above. Later it was construed as derived from ἄλλος (thus Hdt. 7, 205). As the medical expression ἄλλοφάσσω cannot be Aeolic, it must have been formed after ἄλλοφρονέω or contain the pronoun ἄλλος; see Leumann 1950: 309<sup>82</sup>.

•ETYM Formed like ἐνεός, κενεός, ἐτεός, etc., ηλεός recalls ▶ηλάσκω, ▶ἀλάομαι, but has no further cognates. Lat. *ālea* 'game of dice' does not continue Dor. \*ἄλεά. The variants ηλεός, αλαιός (H.) point to a noun with PG suffix \*-ay-(os), with \*ay > \*ey > \*e; see *Pre-Greek*: suffixes (6. αι/ει). Moreover, the suffix -ιθ- is Pre-Greek. The form ἄλλ(ο)- seems to have been derived from \*a<sup>l</sup>(o)- with palatalized -<sup>l</sup>-, which resulted in -λλ-; however, the relation between *ālay*- and *ā<sup>l</sup>*- remains unclear. Does it derive from \*a<sup>l</sup>yo-, a reduced form of \*ālayo-?

**ηλιαία** [f.] 'supreme court at Athens'. ⇒ ἄλης.

**ηλίβατος** [adj.] Meaning unknown (Il.), in Hom. always (and later frequently) of πέτρη (-α) 'rock', but also of several other objects, e.g. δρύες, ἄντρον, Τάρταρος, κύμα; interpreted as 'steep, high, deep', later also as 'enormous, big', see Buttman 1825:2: 176ff. ('steep' or 'slippery'), which may all easily be later guesses. <?>

•VAR Dor. ἄλ-.

•DER Beside it ηλιβάτας (τράγος, Antiph. 133, 3).

•ETYM Unexplained. Another unclear epithet of πέτρη is ▶αἰγίλις. Cf. also ἡλιτενής πέτρα· ὑψηλή 'high' (Suid.). Acc. to Buttman 1825:2: 176ff., it is from \*ἡλιτό-βατος, meaning ἄβατος, δύσβατος vel sim. (by comparison with ἡλιτό-μηνος), with "Silbendissimilation".

**ἡλιθα** •VAR ηλίθιος. ⇒ ηλεός.

**ηλίκος** [adj.] 'as old, as large', relative and indirect interrogative pronoun (IA). <IE \*k<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>li- 'how (big)?'>

•VAR Dor. ἄλ- (Theoc.).

•DER Beside it the demonstrative τηλίκος, Dor. τάλ- 'thus old, thus large' (Il.) with τηλικόσδε, τηλικούτος (Att.) and the interrogative πηλίκος 'how old?, how large?' (IA).

•ETYM From the relative stem ὁ-, ἄ- (see ▶ός 1), after ▶πηλίκος and ▶τηλίκος. A parallel formation is OCS *je-likъ* ('tantus) quantus'. See also on ▶ἡλιξ.

**ἡλιξ** [m., f.] 'of the same age, as old' (σ 373). <IE \*sueh<sub>2</sub>-lik- 'as old'>

•VAR Dor. ἄλιξ.

•COMP As a second member in παν-αφ-ἡλιξ 'without any companions of his own age' (X 490). Mostly only as an indication of age, e.g. ὁμ-ἡλιξ 'of the same age' (Il.;

with ὁμηλικ-ίη 'age group, generation' (Il.), ἀφ-ῆλιξ, Ion. ἀπ- 'beyond youth, elderly' (*h. Cer.* 140), but also 'youthly' (Phryn. Com.).

•DER Abstract ἡλικία, -ίη 'group of the same age' (Π 808), 'manhood'; ἡλικιώτης, fem. -τις 'of the same age' (IA), Cret. φαλικιώτας (β-της cod.)· συνέφιβος 'id.' (H.). On ἡλιξ, ἡλικία see especially Chantraine 1956a: 155ff.

•ETYM Cret. φαλικιώτας points to original \*σφαλιξ, from the IE reflexive \*sue (in *fhe*; see ►ἔ, ἐ) with the same suffix as in ►ἡλίκος, ►τηλίκος, ►πηλίκος. Thus it is properly "who is of the same kind". For the semantics, cf. Skt. *sva-ka-* 'relative, friend' and ►ἔτης, as well as ►ἄελιοι.

ἥλιος [m.] 'sun' (Il.). <IE \*seh<sub>2</sub>u-el- 'sun'>

•VAR Epic ἥελιος, Dor. Aeol. Arc. ἀέλιος, Dor. (trag.) also ἄλιος.

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. in plant- and animal names like ἡλιο-τρόπιον, -κάνθαρος (Strömberg 1940: 48 and 75, Strömberg 1944: 11).

•DER ἡλιώτης (ἥελ-), fem. -τις 'belonging to the sun' (S., AP), ἡλιακός (άλ-) 'id.' (Hell.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 393f.); Ἠλιάδες [f.pl.] 'daughters of the sun' (Parm., A. R.; also sing. as an adj. [Luc.]) with masc. Ἠλιάδης 'son of the sun' (Str., D. S.); see Chantraine 1933: 356 and 362f.; ἡλιώδης 'sunlike' (Chaerem.), Ἠλιών [m.] month name (Termessos), ἡλίτης (λίθος Dam. *Isid.* 233). Denominative verbs: 1. ἡλιόμαι 'be in the sun, be sun-struck' (IA) with ἡλίωσις (Hp., Thphr.), -όω 'to expose to the sun' (Aët.). 2. ἡλιάζομαι 'bake in the sun' (Arist.), -άζω 'id.' (Str.) with ἡλίασις 'exposure to the sun' (Gal., D. C.), ἡλιαστήριον 'place in the sun' (Str., pap.). 3. ἡλιάω 'expose to the sun, be like the sun' (Arist.).

•ETYM Cretan ἀβέλιος in H. (Pamphyl., acc. to Heraclid. Mil.; cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 667), i.e. ἀφέλιος, points to an original \*σᾱφέλιος, differing only in ablaut from Skt. *sūrya-* 'sun' (beside *sūra-*). Both languages have an *l*-stem, IE \*seh<sub>2</sub>u-el-, \*sh<sub>2</sub>u-l- (cf. Skt. *svār* [n.] < \*suH<sub>1</sub> < \*sHul) with a personifying suffix \*-iō-. The full grade is also found in Lith. *saulė*, MW *haul*; the zero grade, e.g. in OIr. *súil* 'eye'. The basis is a neuter *l/n*-heteroclitic, still seen in Av. *huuara*, gen. *x'āng* (< PIIr. \*suHan-s), as well as in Germanic in the interchange between Go. *sauil*, ON *sól*, OE *sōl*, and Go. *sunno*, OE *sunne* 'id.'. Connection with IE \*suel- 'burn' (see ►εἴλη) is formally impossible.

ἡλιτόμηνος [adj.] properly "missing the right month" (Schwyzer: 442; thus Vos *Glotta* 34 (1955): 290ff.), i.e. 'born prematurely' (T 118; after this AP, Plu.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>leit- 'make a mistake, miss'>

•COMP Late analogical formations are ἡλιτο-εργός (AP), ἡλιτόμηνος· ὁ μάτην ἐγκαλῶν 'who brings in a charge in vain' (H.), -μητιν (Epic in *Arch. Pap.* 7, 5, *Fr.* 1 R. 49; see ad loc.).

•ETYM Verbal governing compound from the aorist ἀλιτεῖν (see ►ἀλείτης) and μήν, with metrical lengthening of ᾱ- to ῆ- (ἄλιτόξενος Pi. O. 10, 6).

ἥλον [n.] plant-name, = βράβυλον or κοκκύμηλον (Seleuc. *apud* Ath. 2, 50a). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained.

ἥλος [m.] 'nailhead; wart, callus' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Dor. ἄλος.

•COMP E.g. ἀργυρό-ηλος 'adorned with silver nails' (Hom.), ἥλο-κόπος 'nailsmith' (pap.).

•DER Diminutive ἡλάριον (pap.); ἡλίτις adjunct of λεπίς (Dsc., Aët.); denominative verb ἡλόω, mostly with prefix, e.g. προσ-, ἐφ-, καθ-ηλόω 'nail on' (IA, Hell.) together with καθήλω-σις, -μα.

•ETYM Because of γάλλοι· ἥλοι, which may stand for Aeolic γάλλοι, ἥλος may be derived from \*φάλνος, \*φάλσος, vel sim. (cf. on ►Ἥλις), and could be equated with Lat. *vallus* 'pole, stake of a palisade' (Wackernagel KZ 25 (1881): 261; thus still Schrijver 1991: 170). There are no certain traces of the digamma in Hom., as ἀργυρό-ηλος can be metrically conditioned; see Chantraine 1942: 155f.

ἡλύγη [f.] 'shadow, darkness' (Ar. *Ach.* 684, H., Erot. s.v. ἐπηλυγάζονται). <PG?>

•VAR Also ἡλυξ (Choerob.); note λυγαῖος (S., E.).

•DER ἡλυγαῖος 'shadowy, dark' (Suid.), ἡλυγισμένος· κεκρυμμένος, ἐπεσκιασμένος 'hidden, overshadowed' (H.). More usual is ἐπηλυγάζομαι, -ίζομαι (-ζω) 'to overshadow, cover up' (Hp., Th., Pl.), whence ἐπηλυγισμός (H. s.v. ἡλύγη); further ἐπήλυγα [acc.] 'overshadowing' (of πέτραν, E. *Cyc.* 680; deverb.?), ἐπηλύγατος 'shadowy, dark' (AB, H.).

•ETYM To ἡλύγη belongs the poetic adjective λυγαῖος 'dark' (S., E.), which differs in anlaut; an explanation remains to be found. As ἡλύγη is much rarer than ἐπηλυγάζομαι, perhaps we should start from the verb. In this case, the -ιγ- could be secondary, like in ►ἐπήβολος, ►ἐπηετανός, etc. There is no convincing etymology. Fur.: 378 assumes a prothetic vowel ῆ-, for which, however, there is little or no evidence. Nevertheless, the co-occurrence of λυγαῖος and ἡλυγαῖος is remarkable (was it \*alug-? with lengthened prothetic vowel ā-?). The word might be Pre-Greek.

Ἥλύσιον [adj.] epithet of πεδίον (δ 563, A. R. 4, 811, Str., Plu.), also without a head substantive (*IG* 14, 1750); rarely Ἥλύσιος· λειμών, χώρος (Luc., late inscr.), the abode of the Blessed after death. <PG>

•DER Ἥλύσιος 'Elysian' (αὔραι, etc., *IG* 14, 1389). Also ἐν-ηλύσιος· ἐμβρόντητος, κεραυνόβλητος 'struck by lightning' (H.), ἐνηλύσια (A. *Fr.* 17)· τὰ κατασκηφθέντα χωρία (H.)? taken as "being in Elysion", as those hit by lightning acc. to folk belief would come in a higher form of life (thus Cocco, see below). In the same mg. also the simplex ἡλύσια [n.pl.] (Polem. Hist. 93).

•ETYM Traditionally analyzed as Pre-Greek (on Elysion as a Pre-Greek conception see Nilsson 1941(1): 324ff.). However, it was often connected with ἐλεύσομαι, ἡλυθον too (e.g. Campanile 1969: 30ff.), but against this view was argued by Wackernagel 1889: 5, Güntert 1919: 38<sup>3</sup>. Explanations from Semitic (e.g. Lewy 1895: 219ff., Cocco *Biblos* 31 (1955): 401ff.) are also to be considered wrong. Beekes 1998: 19-23 argued against the idea that somebody struck by lightning would go to Elysion (against Burkert *Glotta* 39 (1961): 208-213). The word is a derivative in -iō- from a geographical name \*Alut- or \*Elut-, with a long initial vowel which may be metrically conditioned.

ἥμα 'dart'. → ἥμη.

**ἤμαι** [v.] 'to sit' (epic, Hdt.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s-* 'sit'>

•VAR 3sg. ἵσται, 3pl. εἵαται (for ἦαται), ἕαται, ipf. ἦμην (Il.); IA has κάθ-ημαι (κάτ-), κάθηται, 3pl. κάθηνται, κατ-έαται, ipf. (ἐ-)καθήμην.

•COMP With prefix ἔφ-, rarely ἄφ-, ἐν-, μέθ-, ὕφ-ημαι (Il., Od.). A second prefix was frequently added to κάθημαι, because it was seen as a simplex: e.g. ἐγ-, ἐπι-, προ-, συγ-κάθημαι (IA).

•ETYM Old verb for 'to sit', also found in Indo-Iranian and Anatolian: Skt. *āste*, Av. *āste* = ἵσται < IE \**h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s-toi*, Skt. *āsate* = ἦαται < IE \**h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s-ntoi* (Av. *ānhante* is a secondary thematization); with (probably more original) stative inflexion, Hitt. 3sg. *eša(ri)*, 3pl. *ešanta(ri)*; for the other Anat. languages, see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *eš-a(ri)* / *aš-*. Anatolian also has an active in the meaning 'to sit', e.g. Hitt. *ešzi*. This suggests that the root is identical to \**hes-* 'to be (present)'. The aspiration comes from ἔζομαι, ἵζω.

**ἤμαιον** [n.] Name of a coin, acc. to H. = ἡμιωβέλιον. διώβολον παρὰ Κυζικηνοῖς (Herod., Phoen., Rhodes, etc., Bechtel 1921(2): 654 and 1921(3): 301). <?>

•ETYM Related to (or connected with) ἤμι-, with remarkable elision of the ι- (cf. Schwyzler: 434); further unclear.

**ἡμαρ** [n.] 'day' (Il.). <IE \**Heh<sub>2</sub>mer* 'day'>

•VAR Cyp. ἀματι-ἀματι 'day after day' (cf. Myc. *we-te-i-we-te-i*).

•DIAL Dor., Arc. ἄμαρ, -ατος; note Arc. ἄματα πάντα 'all days'. Myc. *a-mo-ra-ma* /*āmōr-āmar*/ 'day after day', *di-wi-ja-me-ro* perhaps /*dwi-āmeron*/ 'period of two days', see De Lamberterie BSL 94 (1999): 264.

•COMP As a second member e.g. in ἐνν-, ἑξ-, αὐτ-, παν-, προ-ἡμαρ 'nine days long', etc. (Hom.); on this type of compound see Leumann 1950: 100f. (against Wackernagel *Glotta* 2 (1910): 1ff.). As a first member e.g. ἡμερό-κοιτος 'sleeping by day' (Hes.); as a second member e.g. in ἐφ-ἡμερος (Pi., IA; -έριος Od.) 'living only a day, transient, daily' together with ἐφημερίς, -ία, -εὔω, -εὐτήριον.

•DER ἡμάτιος 'daily, at day' (Hom., Hes.).

Lengthened form ἡμέρα, Ion. -ρη, Dor., etc. ἀμέρα, Locr. ἀμάρα 'id.' (Il.). See also on ▶τήμερον, ▶μεσημβρία. Thence: ἡμέριος (ἀμ-) 'living only one day, daily' (trag.), ἡμερινός 'belonging to the day' (IA; Chantraine 1933: 201), ἡμερήσιος (or -ίοιος? See Debrunner *Glotta* 13 (1924): 169) 'lasting one day, belonging to the day, daily' (IA), ἡμεραῖος 'id.' (pap.), ἡμερούσιος [adv.] 'daily' (pap. IV<sup>p</sup>; after ἐπιούσιος; Debrunner *Glotta* 13 (1924): 169). Denominative verb ἡμερεύω 'to spend the day', also with prefixes δι-, παν- (IA); thence ἡμέρευσis 'spending the day' (Aq.).

•ETYM A cognate of ἡμαρ is Arm. *awr* 'day' < \**āmōr*. The ending -ωρ, like in τέκμαρ: -μωρ, is also supposed for the first member of Myc. *a-mo-ra-ma*. The word is not found in any other branch. The extension ἡμέρα, on which see Chantraine 1933: 228, may have its aspiration from ἐσπέρα (Schwyzler: 305, Wackernagel 1916: 45). On ἡμαρ and ἡμέρη in Homer, see Debrunner *Mus. Helv.* 3 (1946): 40ff.; on ἡμαρ used as a plural, Leumann 1950: 100, who considers it to be an innovation. See further Clackson 1994: 96f.

**ἡμεδαπός** [adj.] 'of our land, native' (Att.). <IE \**nsme-* 'we'>

•ETYM The synonymous form Skt. *asmad-īya-* 'our' points to a suffix -απος (cf. on ἀλλοδαπός). On the stem of ἡμεδ- = *asmad-*, cf. ▶ἡμεῖς. Szemerényi KZ 73 (1956): 59f. assumes old ablaut.

**ἡμεῖς** [pron.pers.] 'we, us' (Il.). <IE \**ne/os* 'we'>

•VAR Accus. ἡμᾶς, Ion. ἡμέας, Dor. ἀμέας, acc. ἀμέ, Aeol. ἄμμες, acc. ἄμμε.

•DER Possessive ἡμέ-τερος, Dor. ἀμέ-τερος, ἀμός, Aeol. ἄμμέ-τερος, ἄμμος 'our'.

•ETYM The accusatives ἀμέ, ἄμμε go back to \**nsme* (see below) and, by adopting nominal inflexion, they resulted in the paradigm nom. ἀμέας, ἄμμες, later also ἡμεῖς < -έας, with a new accus. ἡμέας, and with irregular contraction ἡμᾶς. Then came the genitives ἡμῶν, ἡμέων, ἀμέων, ἀμμέων. On the datives ἡμῖν, etc., see below.

The archaic forms ἀμέ, ἄμμε < \**āsme* agree exactly with Av. *ahma* 'us'; in Skt. *asmān* 'id.', it received the nominal ending. Other forms like Skt. *nas* (enclitic), Lat. *nōs*, Go. *uns* (< IE \**nōs*, \**ns*) show for \**āsme* = Av. *ahma* IE basis with added element -(s)*me*: \**hsme* < \**hs-sme*. The spiritus in ἄμ-, ἡμ- could be analogical after ὕμ-. The dative ἡμῖν, Dor. ἀμῖν, Aeol. ἄμμι(v), from \**āsmi(v)*, recalls the Indo-Iranian demonstratives and interrogatives Av. *ahmi*, *āsmi* 'in eo', Av. *kahmi*, Skt. *kāsmi* 'in quo?'; cf. Cret. ὄτι-μι, μῆδι-μι. The long -iv is an innovation (after the long-vocalic endings in ἡμ-ών, -εῖς, etc.?).

Like Latin and Celtic, Greek lost the specific nominative for 'we', Go. *weis*, Hitt. *uēš*, Skt. *vay-ām*, etc., and used the accusative.

**ἡμέν** [pcl.] in ἡμέν ... ἥδε ..., 'both ... and also ...' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>e* ?>

•ETYM From ▶ἦ 'really' and μέν. Cf. on ▶ἡδέ.

**ἡμερος** [adj.] 'tame, civilized, cultivated' (o 162, also *Tab. Heracl.* 1, 172; codd. Pi. and A. wrongly ἄμ-). <?>

•COMP Negated ἀν-ἡμερος 'uncultivated, rough, wild' (A., Hell.). As a first member in ἡμερό-φυλλος 'with improved leaves', 'improved' (ἐλαία; Isyll. 20).

•DER ἡμερίς (sc. ἄμπελος) 'improved vine' (ε 69) with ἡμερίδης 'regarding the ἡμερίς' (οἶνος, Διόνυσος; Plu.); ἡμερότης 'tame, gentleness, cultivation' (IA), ἡμερία 'id.' (pap.); denominative verb ἡμερώ 'tame, cultivate, improve' (IA) together with ἡμέρ-ωσις 'improvement, cultivation' (Thphr., D. S.), -ωμα 'cultivated plant' (Thphr.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 186f.), -ωτής 'tamer' (Max. Tyr.). On the accent cf. ἐλεύθερος like this (: ἄγριος) expressing an opposition.

•ETYM Unclear. Several hypotheses (litt. in Frisk): (1) related to Skt. *yāmati* 'tame, subdue'; (2) to Skt. *sāntva-* [n.] 'gentleness', MoHG *sanft*, etc.; (3) to a WGM. word for 'sad, sorrowful': OHG *jāmar*, etc. The form ἄμερος is a hyperdoricism (Forssman 1966: 41ff; Bonfante *Riv. fil. class.* 99 (1971): 68 denies this).

**ἡμί** [v.] 'to speak' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>ǵ-* 'say'>

•VAR 3sg. ἡσί, Dor. ἡτί, almost only in ipf., especially 3sg. ἦ 'he said' (to 1sg. ἦν).

•ETYM New forms were built in Greek on the petrified form ἦ < \**h<sub>1</sub>ek-t* < IE \**h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>ǵ-t*, after φημί, φησί, ἔφην. Cf. also ablauting ▶ἄνωγα 'command, order'.

**ἡμι-** comp. element 'half' (Il.). <IE \**sēmi-* 'half'>

•COMP In compounds, e.g. ἥμισύ-τριτον [n.] 'the third half = one and a half' (Archil. 167), ἡμιτεκετο [gen.] 'half a έκτεύς' (Cret.).

•DER 1. ἥμισυς (-τυχς) 'half, properly substantival [m.] (ὁ ἥμισυς τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ; plur. ἥμισυες Φ 7), τὸ ἥμισυ (Il.; after τὸ ὅλον), adjective fem. ἥμισυα, Epid., Ther. ἡμίτεια (Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 447). With regressive assimilation ἡμισυς (Erythrae V<sup>a</sup>, etc.). Lesb. αμισεων is a reverse spelling for ἡμι-, see Hodot 1990: 71. An o-stem ἡμισσον [n.] 'half' < -τφ-ον, found in Dor. and Arc. Denominative verbs ἡμισεύω 'halve, cut in half' with ἡμισευμα 'half' (LXX), with apharesis μίσευμα 'id.' (Perga); ἡμιοιάζω [v.] 'to halve, cut in half' (Hero; cf. the verbs in -ιάζω in Schwyzler: 735). 2. ἡμίνα [f.] 'half' (Cret., Cypr.; Bechtel 1921, 1: 448), also as a measure (Sicily; thence borrowed into Lat. *hēmīna*); for the formation cf. δωτίνη and Chantraine 1933: 205. 3. ἡμίχα· ἡμισατήρα (H.), cf. ▶δίχα.

•ETYM Old expression for 'half', also in Skt. *sāmi-*, Lat. *sēmi-*, Gm., e.g. OHG *sāmi-* 'id.'. The functional identity is reflected in parallel compounds (that need not be inherited, however): Skt. *sāmi-jīva-* = Lat. *sēmi-vīvus*, cf. ἡμί-βιος and OHG *sāmi-queck* 'half-living', 'half-dead'. An old locative of the root \**sem-* 'one' (see ▶εἶς), thus properly meaning 'in one half (of two)'.

**ἥμωρος** [adj.] · ἄμωρος 'bereft' (H.). <IE \**smer-* 'receive as a share'>

•VAR Thence ἥμορίς· κενή, ἐστερημένη 'empty, bereft'. Αἰσχύλος Νιόβη (Fr. 165); ἡμόριξεν· ἄμωρον ἐποίησεν 'made possessionless' (H.).

•ETYM The regular Ionic-Attic outcome of \*ἄ-σμορος, and identical with Hom. (Aeol.) ἄ-μμορος; see ▶μείρομαι (μόρος, ▶μοῖρα) and ▶κάμμορος.

**ἥμος** 'when, while'. → τῆμος.

**ἡμύω** [v.] 'to bow down, perish' (Il.); rarely transitive 'sink, ruin' (A. R., Musae.). <?>

•VAR Aor. ἡμῦσαι.

•COMP Also with κατ-, ἐπ-, ὑπ-.

•DER Also ἄμύω 'id.' (Hes. Fr. 216). Here probably also the perfect ὑπεμνήμυκε (X 491) for \*ὑπ-εμήμυκε (with metr. length.), see Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἡμύω.

•ETYM Unexplained.

**ἦν** [interj.] interjection calling attention: 'hey!, look over there', also ἦνιδε (ἦν ἰδε), ἦν ἰδοῦ (Ar., Herod., Hell.). Added in Argiv. ταδ-έν, τὸνδεὸν-έν. <IE? \**h<sub>1</sub>ēn* 'see there'>

•ETYM Acc. to Frisk, the formally identical Lat. *ēn* is a Greek loan, at least in part.

**ἦνεκής** = διηνεκής.

**ἦνία** [n.pl.] 'reins, bridles' (Hom., Hes., Pi.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ensieh<sub>2</sub>* 'rein'>

•VAR ἦνίαι [f.pl.], also -ία [sg.] (post-Hom.), Dor. ἄν- (ἄν-).

•DIAL Myc. *a-ni-ja* /an<sup>h</sup>iai/, *anijapi* /an<sup>h</sup>iāp<sup>h</sup>i/ [dat.pl.f.]. Is the Homeric neuter secondary?

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἦνί-οχος 'driver', 'charioteer' (Il.; epic also -ῆα, -ῆες, metrically conditioned) with ἦνιοχ-ικός, -έω (epic -εύω), -ησις, -εἶα. As a second member e.g. in χρυσ-ἦνιος 'with golden reins'.

•ETYM As Lacon. ἀνιοχίδων = ἦνιοχέων (IG 5(1), 213) seems to point to original psilosis (the origin of the aspiration is unknown), ἄνία may go back to \*ἄνσία and be identical with a Celtic word for 'rein', Mlr. *éis(s)i* [m.pl.] < \**ansio-*. It has further been connected with Lat., Balt. and Gm. expressions for 'grip, handle': Lat. *ānsa* = Lith. *qsa*; semantically more doubtful is ON *æs* [f.] < \**ansiā* 'hole for shoe-strings'.

**ἦνίκα** [conj.] 'when, at the time when' (χ 198). <IE \**io-* relative pron.>

•VAR Dor. Aeol. (Pi., Theoc.) ἀνίκα, also ἄν-. A form without -κα in koinè-Cypr. *a-ni/hani*/ (Kafizin 267).

•DER Beside it τῆνίκα, πῆνίκα; cf. on ▶ἡλίκος.

•ETYM From the relative ὅ-, ᾗ- (see ▶ὅς 1) with the same adverbial ending as in αὐτί-κα, ὅ-κα. The element -νι- is found in the Arc. dem. ὁ-νι. For the \**-eh<sub>2</sub>-*, cf. ▶ἡλιξ.

**ἦνίς** [acc.pl.] epithet of βοῦς, βοῦν (Hom.). <?>

•VAR ἦνῖν (ἦνῖν?) [acc.sg.] Hom., ἦνιος [gen.sg.] A. R. 4, 174.

•ETYM Probably with sch. A 1 'yearling, one-year-old', for which Wackernagel 1955(2): 1171 suggested a lengthened grade formation of a word for 'year' also seen in ▶ἐνιαυτός, with criticism of other ideas. Not very probable; criticism by Szemerényi *Sprache* 11 (1965): 6-12.

**ἦνορέη** = ἀνήρ.

**ἦνοψ, -οπος** [adj.] of χαλκός (Π 408, Σ 349 = κ 360), of οὐρανός and πυρός (Call. Fr. anon. 24, 28); also PN (Il.). Meaning debated, already in antiquity, cf. ἦνοπα· λαμπρόν, πάνυ ἔνηχον, διαφανῆ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Formation in -οψ, but further unclear; originally \**ḡh<sub>2</sub>n-οψ* (Chantraine 1942: 152). Cf. νῶρ-οψ, αἶθ-οψ, which are also said of χαλκός, but remain without clear interpretation. Older literature in Frisk.

**ἦνυστρον** [n.] 'the fourth stomach of ruminants, rennet stomach'; also a dish (Ar., Arist.). <PG?>

•VAR ἐν- (LXX).

•ETYM The form with ἐν- perhaps arose under the influence of ἔντερα, ἐγκοιλία (but it is late in any case). Assuming \**ḡh<sub>2</sub>nυστρον*, ἦνυστρον is traditionally connected with a NGm. word for 'rennet stomach', e.g. MoNw. dial. *vinstr* [f.], but it differs regarding the quantity of the first syllable and the color of the intermediate vowel (although Gr. -υ- might be analogical after ὑστέρα). As a pre-form, IE \**u<sub>2</sub>ēnes-tro-*, -*trā-* has been assumed. Further, with a different suffix, there is OHG *wanast* 'belly', also 'the first stomach of ruminants', Skt. *vaniṣṭhū-* [m.] 'entrails' vel sim. (used as an offering). However, a digamma is uncertain, and the connection with the Germanic and Sanskrit words seems most improbable, as the forms are not well comparable. I think the ending in -στρον is Pre-Greek (Pre-Greek: suffixes s.v. -στρο-). Fur.: 258<sup>42</sup> points to the variation ε/ι, for which he gives parallels.

**ἦπανᾱ** [v.] and ἦπανεῖ· ἀπορεῖ, σπανίζει, ἀμηχανεῖ 'is at loss, is in need of' (H.). <?>

•DER Further ἦπανία· ἀπορία, σπάνις, ἀμηχανία H., EM 433, 17; conj. in AP 5, 238.

•ETYM Reminiscent of πανία ‘plurimonia’, so metrical lengthening for \*ἄ-πανία (WP 2, 8) has been suggested. However, cf. σπανία ‘lack, shortage’. DELG wonders how ἡ- can reflect an ἄ- privative.

**ἡπάομαι** [v.] ‘to mend, repair’ (Hes. *Fr.* 172, Ar. *Fr.* 227, Gal., Aristid.). <?>

•VAR Aor. ἡπήσασθαι, perf.ptc.pass. ἡπημένος.

•DER ἡπητής ‘mender, repairer’ (X. *Cyr.* 1, 6, 16 [worse v.l. ἀκεσταί], Batr., pap.; rejected by Atticists, cf. Fraenkel 1912: 15), fem. ἡπήτρια (pap.); ἡπητρα [pl.] ‘mender’s wages’ (pap.), ἡπητήριον ‘mender’s instrument, needle’ (Ael. Dion.).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. πηδάω and other deverbatives with lengthened ē-vowel (Schwyzer: 719); further unclear. The root shape is reminiscent of Hitt. *happ-zi* ‘to join, attach’ (connected with Lat. *aptus* by Puhvel).

**ἥπαρ, -ατος** [n.] ‘liver’ (Il.). <IE \*(H)iek<sup>w</sup>-r ‘liver’>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἡπατοσκοπέω ‘inspect the liver’ (to predict the future)’ (LXX).

•DER ἡπάτιον name of a dish (Ar.); ἡπατίτις [f.] ‘belonging to the liver’ (Hp.), also name of a stone and a plant (Plin., Ps.-Dsc., Strömberg 1940: 41); ἡπατ-ικός, -ιαῖος, -ίας, -ηρός ‘ptng. to the liver’ (Hp.); ἡπατος [m.] name of a fish (com., Arist.; Strömberg 1943: 45f.; acc. to Thompson 1947 s.v. Egyptian [?]).

•ETYM The IE word for ‘liver’, \*iek<sup>w</sup>-r, gen. \*iek<sup>w</sup>-n-és (-ós), is also retained in Skt. *yákṛ-t*, *yakn-ás* and indirectly in Lat. *iecur*, *iecin-or-is*. In other languages the *r/n*-stem led to a paradigm split: e.g., OAv. *yākara*, MP *jakar*, MoP *jigar* (but Pashto *yīna*, and perhaps Old Iran. *huγāyna*, for \**ha-yākana*-, properly “of common liver”, acc. to Krause KZ 56, 304ff.), or Lith. (*j)ėknos* ‘fish egg; calf; (plur.) spawn’, Ru. *ikrá* ‘id.’ <\*(H)ik<sup>w</sup>-r-. In some branches, we find initial \*l-, which may have been taken from the word for ‘fat’ (cf. on ▶λίπος): Gm., e.g. OHG *lebara*, Arm. *leard* (with the ending of \*iek<sup>w</sup>); attempts to connect the *l*-forms with \*iek<sup>w</sup> by assuming an anlaut \*li- have failed (Schmidt 1889: 198f., Benveniste 1935: 132). Hitt. *li-i-ši* is probably a loan (Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). Szemerényi KZ 73 (1956): 191 suggested that the Greek long vowel must be secondary, e.g. from ἡτορ; this is also advocated by Kortlandt.

**ἡπεδανός** [adj.] ‘weak, light, slight, halting’ (Il.). <?>

•ETYM Formation like ῥιγεδανός, πευκεδανός (Chantraine 1933: 362, Schwyzer: 530, Risch 1937: 106), but further unclear, like several emotional adjectives. An Ionic word, acc. to DELG. Pokorny maintains the uncertain comparison with Lith. *opūs* ‘soft, receptive, invalid’ (beside which \*ἥπος [n.] has been assumed, like ῥίγος to ῥιγεδανός); it has also been compared with Skt. *apuvā*- ‘mortal fear’ (see Hoffmann 1955: 80ff., who also connects it with OP *afuvā* and \**h<sub>1</sub>ep-* ‘to seize’).

**ἡπειρος** [f.] ‘continent’ as opposed to the sea and the islands, ‘coast’, also in opposition to the inland (Il.), as a TN Epeiros. <IE? \**Heh<sub>2</sub>per-* ‘shore’>

•VAR Dor. ἄπειρος, Aeol. ἄπερος.

•COMP As a first member in ἡπειρο-γενής ‘born on the mainland’ (A. *Pers.* 42).

•DER ἡπειρώτης, fem. -τις ‘inhabitant of the continent, of Asia Minor, of Epeiros’ (IA; on the formation Fraenkel 1912: 128 n. 1) with ἡπειρωτικός (X.); denominative

verb ἡπειρόομαι, \*ὦω ‘become (part of the) continent, connect with the mainland’ (Th., Arist.).

•ETYM Except for the suffixal yod, PGr. \*ἥπεριος agrees with the WGM. word for ‘shore’, OE *ofer* [m.], MoHG *Ufer*, etc., PGM. \**ōfera-*, which points to IE \**āpero-* < \**Heh<sub>2</sub>pero-*. Arm. *ap’n* ‘shore’ (Benveniste 1935: 13) cannot be compared phonetically (so is it a substrate word?).

**ἡπεροπεύς** [m.] ‘cheat, deceiver’ (λ 364, A. R. 3, 617, AP 9, 524, 8). <PG(S)>

•VAR -ηῖς [f.] (Hom., apud Str. 1, 2, 4).

•DER ἡπεροπεύω (only present stem) ‘cheat, deceive’ (Hom., Hes.) together with ἡπεροπευτής (only voc. -τά Γ 39 = N 768, *h. Merc.* 282, etc.; on the formation Fraenkel 1910: 20f., Fraenkel 1912: 34) and ἡπερόπευμα (Critias).

•ETYM Because of the rarity of the attestations, ἡπεροπεύς could be a back-formation from ἡπεροπεύω. The basic form \*ἡπερ-οψι, \*ἡπερ-οπός, -ή that was assumed received various explanations (see Frisk). Kuiper’s connection (Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 283f.) with ▶ἀπάτη is semantically attractive, but an IE reconstruction is excluded in this case. A loan from Pre-Greek is quite possible (thus also DELG), especially in view of suffixal -ορ-.

**ἡπίαλος** [m.] ‘ague, ague from fever’ (Thgn., Ar., Hp., etc.; on the meaning Strömberg 1944: 82ff.); ‘nightmare’. <PG(V)>

•VAR ἐπίαλος Alc. apud EM 434, 6 (probably after ἐπί). Cf. ἡπίολος ‘moth’ (Arist. *HA* 605b 14; v.l. -όλης) with ἡπιόλιον-ριγοπυρέτιον ‘ague’ (H.).

•DER ἡπιαλώδης ‘ague-like’ (Hp.), ἡπιαλέω ‘suffer from agues’ (Ar., Arist.), ἐξ-ηπιαλόομαι ‘turn into an ague’ (Hp.).

•ETYM Acc. to Strömberg 1944: 82ff. (with parallels), it is from ἥπιος, so properly “mild fever”, which would be a taboo paraphrase. This seems an improbable hypothesis. On the suffix -αλο-, see Chantraine 1933: 246f. The word ἡπίολος ‘moth’ (better, -όλης; after the nouns in -όλης) should not be separated from ἡπίαλος, as is shown by the words adduced by Bugge *BB* 18 (1892): 166: Lith. *drugys* ‘fever, malaria, butterfly, moth’ (related to Ru. *drožát* ‘shiver’), Alb. *ethe* ‘fever’ with *ethëzë* ‘moth’ (“feverbird”). In folklore, butterflies, etc. bring fever (Frisk). Given the variation α/ο, it is probably a Pre-Greek word (Fur.: 258, 342). See also on ▶ἐφιάλης.

**ἥπιος** [adj.] ‘friendly, gentle, kind, mild, soothing’ (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>e-h<sub>2</sub>p-i-* ‘friendly’>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἡπιό-φρων ‘with mild intention’ (Emp.).

•DER ἡπιότης ‘mildness’ (Hell.) and the rare denominatives ἡπιόομαι ‘to become mild’ (Phld.), ἡπιαίνω ‘id.’ (Arist. *Mu.* 397b 1; uncertain).

•ETYM Mostly connected with Skt. *āpi-* ‘friend’. Floyd *Glotta* 71 (1993): 10-16 confirms this connection and compares the uses in Homer and the Rigveda, especially the turn of phrase πατήρ ὡς ἥπιος. As Pinault *LALIES* 6 (1987): 111-128 convincingly shows, the central meaning of ἥπιος in Homeric Greek is ‘favorable, well-disposed’ (French *propice, favorable*), not ‘mild’. Van Beek (p.c.) suggests that we should reconstruct \**h<sub>2</sub>e-h<sub>2</sub>p-i-* ‘fitting, allied’ (of the type Skt. *cákri-* ‘doing’ < \**k<sup>w</sup>é-k<sup>w</sup>r-i-*) on the basis of Greek and Sanskrit; this is more convincing than a

lengthened grade locative *\*h<sub>2</sub>ēp-i* ‘proche’, from which Pinault departs, a formation which would be isolated.

**ἡπύω** [v.] ‘to sound loudly, cry loudly’ (Il.). <?>

- VAR Dor. Arc. ἀπύω, aor. ἡπύσαι.
- COMP Also with ἀν-, ἐπ-, βρι-ήπυ-ος ‘crying loudly’ (N 521).
- DER ἡπύτᾱ ‘cryer’, as an epithet (H 384, Q. S., Opp.), Ἡπυτίδης name of a herold (P 324).
- ETYM It is possible that ἡπύω is based on a noun *\*ἡπυς* ‘loud cry’ (Fraenkel 1910: 165). On the ending, cf. γηρύ-ω, οἰζύ-ω, αὐ-σαι; further unclear. The comparison with Lat. *vāpulo* ‘to be beaten’ (probably properly ‘lament, cry’) and Gm. words like Go. *wopjan* ‘cry’ (which suppose a deviating labial) supposes an initial digamma. However, there is no trace of it in Homer. Improbable comparison by Fur. 236 with ▶αὐω ‘to cry, call’.

**ἦρα** [acc.sg.] (or [n.pl.]?) ‘service, favor’ in (ἐπὶ) ἦρα φέρειν ‘do a favor’ (Il.); post-Hom. as a postposition with gen. = χάριν ‘for the sake of, on account of’ (B., Call.). <IE *\*ueh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘true’?>

- DER ▶ἐρίηρες [pl.] ‘faithful’, also ἐπίηρος (perhaps a reinterpretation of ἐπὶ ἦρα φέρειν in e.g. A 572 and 578). Also βριηρόν·μεγάλως κεχαρισμένον ‘highly charming’ (H.; perhaps βρι- is a mistake for ἐρί-); PN Πολυ-ήρης, etc. The appurtenance of Lesb. ▶ῥώνα and ▶ἐπιήρανος ‘pleasant’ is doubtful.
- ETYM A pre-form *\*f<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>p-a* (on the digamma, see Chantraine 1942: 152; on the formation, Sommer 1948: 138) can be connected in several ways. First, with words for ‘friendly’: Lat. *sevērus* ‘earnest’, if < *\*sē vērō* ‘without friendliness’ (but see now Nussbaum 1998 apud De Vaan 2008 s.v. *sevērus* on this word), Gm., e.g. ON *værr* ‘friendly’, OHG *ala-wāri* ‘friendly’. Alternatively, it can be connected with the word for ‘true’: Lat. *vērus* = OIr. *fir* = OHG *wār*, OCS *věra* ‘faith’, etc., from *\*ueh<sub>1</sub>-ro-*. Within Greek, some have tried to connect it with ▶έορτη, ▶έρανος, ▶έροτις.

**Ἥρα** [f.] Hera, the wife of Zeus (Il.). <PG>

- DIAL Myc. *E-ra*, Ion. Ἥρη; Cyp. Ἐραι [dat.] (see Del.<sup>3</sup> 681, 4).
- COMP As a first member e.g. in Ἥρα-κλής, -κλῆς (Il.), explanation in Kretschmer *Glotta* 8 (1917): 121ff., with βίη Ἥρακληίη (probably an Achaeon formula, see Ruijgh 1995: 82f.), also -κλήϊος, -κλειος and Ἥρακλειδης (Il.).
- DER Ἥραϊος ‘belonging to H.’ (IA); fem. -αία, -άα place name (Arcadia VI<sup>a</sup>) with Ἥραιεύς inhabitant of Heraia; also Ερφαῖοι (El.); Ἥρα(ι)ών month name (Tenos, Eretria).
- ETYM The Mycenaean, Cyprian and Arcadian forms without digamma make El. Ερφαῖοι suspect. Therefore, the connection with Lat. *servāre*, etc. is quite improbable. Other proposals are highly doubtful: e.g. to IE *\*Hieh<sub>1</sub>-r-* ‘year’ (see ▶ώρα). As with most theonyms, Pre-Greek origin is most probable.

**ἡράνθεμον** [n.] ‘spring anthem’ (Dsc.). <GR>

- ETYM From ἔαρ ‘spring’; cf. Strömberg 1940: 72. On the formation, see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 53f.

**ἡρανος** [m.] ‘keeper, lord, helper’ (Hell. poetry), in H. = βασιλεύς, ἄρχων, σκοπός, φύλαξ ‘king, ruler, overseer, guardian’. <?>

- VAR Found as ἐπι-ἡρανος ‘powerful, ruling, protecting’ in earlier sources (Emp., Pl. Com., AP).
- DER ἡρανέων·βοηθῶν, χαριζόμενος ‘helping, charming’ (H.).
- ETYM For the suffix, cf. ▶κοίρανος. Since Fick 1874-1876(2): 270, it has been compared with Skt. *vāraka-* ‘who wards off, opponent’ (or, rather, *vāranā-* ‘averting, strong’ RV), from the root of ▶έρυμαι. Frisk compares ἐπι-ἡρανος with ἐπι-βουκόλος and asks whether ἡρανος is an archaizing simplex. Connection with ▶ἦρα, ▶ἐπίηρος seems semantically improbable.

**ἡρέμᾱ** [adv.] ‘quietly, gentle, slowly, a little’ (Pl., Ar., Arist.); also ἡρέμᾱς (A. R. 3, 170; antevocalic), -μί (Ar. *Ra.* 315). <IE? *\*h<sub>2</sub>remH-* ‘rest, be quiet’>

- DER Comp. ἡρεμέστερος (X., Thphr.; innovation, not an old *s*-stem to Go. *rimis*), together with ἡρεμιάτης (Hp.); ἡρεμιος ‘id.’ (Thphr.; back-formation from ἡρεμιέω) with ἡρεμότης (late); further ἡρεμαῖος ‘quiet’ (Pl., Hp.). Denominative verbs: 1. ἡρεμιέω ‘be quiet’ (Pl., Hp., etc.) with ἡρεμῆσις ‘rest’ (Ti. Locr., Arist.), also ἡρεμία ‘id.’ (Arist.; after the type ἐπιδημιέω : ἐπιδημία; Schwyzler: 469; cf. also ἡρεμιος [: ἐπίδημιος]); 2. ἡρεμιζέω ‘calm’ (X., Arist.) with ἡρεμισμα (Comm. Arist.); 3. ἡρεμάζω ‘be quiet’ (LXX).
- ETYM See Schwyzler: 622 on the formation: ἡρέμᾱς, like ἀτρέμᾱς (ibid. 620); on ἡρεμί (-ει), ibid. 623. The word ἡρέμᾱ cannot be separated from a widespread group for ‘rest, quiet’: e.g., Skt. *rámate* ‘to rest, etc.’, Lith. *rimti* ‘to be quiet’ (the acute accent pointing to a root-final laryngeal), Go. *rimis* [n.] ‘rest’, OIr. *fo-rimim* ‘to set, lay’. A prefix ἡ- cannot be assumed (cf. ▶ἡβαιός); neither is a lengthened prothesis attractive (the archaic epic word ▶ἡῖθεος, with metrical lengthening, is not a parallel).

**ἡρι** [adv.] ‘early’ (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-er-i* ‘(early) in the morning’>

- COMP As a first member e.g. in ἡρι-γένεια ‘born early’ (Il.), epithet of Ἥως, also as a substantive denoting dawn; later also -ῆς (A. R.); ἡρι-γέρων ‘early grey’, also the plant ‘Senecio’ (Thphr.; Strömberg 1940: 56).
- ETYM Seems to stand for *\*ἡερί* (cf. ἡέριος, Ἡερί-βοια). This used to be explained as from *\*ἄιερί* as a locative with lengthened grade, beside a full grade *\*a<sub>1</sub>er-i* seen in Greek in ▶ἄριστον ‘breakfast’, as well as in Go. *air*, ON *ár* [adv.] ‘early’. The noun is seen in Av. *aia<sub>1</sub>ra*, gen. *aia<sub>1</sub>n* ‘day’. However, the lengthened grade assumed for Greek is found nowhere else. Kiparsky *Lang.* 43 (1967): 624-6 convincingly derived the form from a locative *\*aus-er-i* ‘in the early morning’, belonging to the root *\*h<sub>2</sub>eus-* of ▶ἠώς, to which ▶ἡκανός also belongs. The old explanation should be rejected.

**ἡρίον** [n.] ‘burial mound, barrow’ (Ψ 126). <?>

- COMP As a first member in ἡρι-εργής·τυμβώρυχος ‘grave digger’ (H.).
- DER Not here the river name Ἡριδανός.
- ETYM Formation like κηρίον : κηρός, μηρία : μηρός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 59). By the ancients, it was connected with ἔρα ‘earth’ (cf. Schwyzler: 424, where unclear



πολύηρος· πολυάρουρος, πλούσιος 'having much farmland, rich' [H.] is adduced), but given μέγα ἥριον in Ψ 126, we should rather reconstruct \*μηρίον. Often derived from a root \*uer- 'cover', with reference to Gm. words like ON *vör* [f.] 'hill or bank of stones or gravel', ON *ver* [n.] 'dam' < IE \*uorio-, which derive in the first place from a verb for 'avert', Go. *warjan*, etc. This is not convincing, as it supposes a lengthened grade for Greek.

**ἥρος** [m.] with ἥρισκος of unknown meaning (Delos IV -III<sup>a</sup>). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained.

**ἥρυγος** 1 [f.] name of a thistle-like plant, 'Eryngium' (Nic. et al.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Mostly ἥρύγγιον (Thphr.), also ἥρύγγη (Plin.) and ἥρυγγίτης (Plu.).

•DER ἥρυγγίς [f.] 'belonging to E.' (Nic.).

•ETYM Formation like εἰλιγγος and πίσυγγος; the suffix -Vγγ- is much more frequent in athematic forms like φάρυγξ, etc. Acc. to Strömberg 1940: 72, it derives from ἔαρ, ἥρος 'spring', as "spring flower". Clearly a Pre-Greek word.

**ἥρυγος** 2 [m.] 'goat's beard' (Arist. HA 610b 29). <PG(S)>

•ETYM Although the meaning 'goat's beard' is unexplained beside those of ἥρυγος 1, the word is clearly Pre-Greek.

**ἥρωνα** [f.] 'consecrated object' = ἱερωνία (inscr. Thermi near Mytilene, IG 12(2), 242, cf. also 251).

•ETYM For ἱερωνία, a Lesbianized form. See Hodot ZPE 49 (1982): 187-9.

**ἥρως** [m.] 'lord, hero' (Il.). <PG>

•VAR Gen. -ωος, rarely -ωνος, -ωνι, -ωντι, etc. (details in Schwyzler: 479f., 557, 582).

•DIAL Myc. *ti-ri-se-ro-e* /tris-ērō<sup>b</sup>es/.

•DER ἥρώϊος, ἥρῳος 'heroic' (Pi., Pl.) together with ἥρώϊον, -ῶον 'sanctuary of a hero' (IA); ἥρωϊκός 'id.' (Att., Arist.). Several feminine formations (cf. on βασιλεύς): 1. ἥρωϊς (Pi.); 2. ἥρωϊνη, ἥρῳνη, ἥροϊνα (Ar., inscr.); 3. ἥρῳϊσσα, ἥρῳσσα (A. R., inscr.); 4. ἥρῳασσα (Creta); 5. ἥρως (Lilybaeum II<sup>a</sup>), probably an innovation (after θῆλυς or γρηῦς?); ἥρῳιασταί, ἥρῳισταί (-οῖσταί, -ωσταί) [pl.] 'adorer of heroes' (inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>); after the nouns in -αστής, -ιστής, see Fraenkel 1910: 175ff.; ἥρῳισμός 'adoration of heros' (Mytilene); the verb ἥρῳίζω only in Eust. 4, 1 in the sense of 'write epic poems'. PN Ἡρυλλα (Chantraine 1933: 252).

•ETYM Not from ἥρωϝ-, as previously assumed, because of the Mycenaean form. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

**Ἡσιόδος** [m.] PN Hesiod (since Pi.). <?>

•DER Ἡσιόδειος (Pl.).

•ETYM Solmsen 1901: 81 supposed a governing compound to ἦμι \*φοδῆν 'to start a song'. See on ▶ αὐδή; further Knecht 1946: 48f. A survey of the proposals is given by Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 68 (1990): 66-67.

**ἥσυχος** [adj.] 'quiet, silent, slow' (Hes.). <?>

•VAR Also ἥσύχιος (Φ 598), ἥσύχιμος (Pi. O. 2, 32; analogical to ἥσυχία, Arbenz 1933: 77), ἥσυχαιός (Att.; to ἥσυχῇ).

•DIAL Dor. ἄσυχ- is not a hyperdoricism, see Forssman 1966: 48ff.

•DER ἥσυχῇ, -ῇ [adv.] 'quiet, softly, secretly' (IA; Schwyzler: 550); ἥσυχία, -ίη 'rest' (σ 22); ἥσυχάζω, -άσαι 'be quiet, rest, bring to rest' (Att.) with ἥσυχαστικός 'calming' (late).

•ETYM Unexplained. A hypothesis by Osthoff and Brugmann is given in Pok. 890 and WH s.v. *sinō*: that it is from the root \*seh- in Lat. *sēmen*. This is now viewed as impossible, as the word had initial hā-.

**ἦτα** [n.] the seventh letter of the alphabet (Hp., Pl.). <LW Sem.>

•ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *ḥēth*. See Schwyzler: 140.

**ἦτορ** [n.] 'heart' (Il.); on the meaning Bolelli *Ann. d. Scuola Norm. di Pisa* 17: 65ff. and Biraud *LAMA* 10: 1-32. <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>t-r 'heart, intestines'>

•VAR Only nom.-acc. except ἦτορι (Pi., Simon.).

•COMP As a second member in μεγαλ-ἦτωρ, -ορος 'magnanimous' (Il.).

•DER ἦτρον [n.] 'abdomen' (IA; on the formation Schwyzler: 461) with ἦτριάος 'belonging to the abdomen' (Ar.); cf. e. g. νεφρ-ιαῖος and Chantraine 1933: 49.

•ETYM Old r-stem with Aeol. -op from zero grade \*-r. The word is also found in Gm. and Celt., e.g. ON *æðr* [f.] 'vein', OHG *ād(a)ra*, MHG *āder* 'vein', plur. 'intestines', OIr. *inathar* (< \*en-ōtro-) 'intestines'. On the meaning 'heart' ~ 'intestines', cf. e.g. OE *hreðer* 'breast, belly, heart' next to OHG *herdar* 'intestines'. See also ▶ κῆρ, ▶ καρδία.

**ἦτριον** [n.] 'warp' (Pl., E., Theoc.). <?>

•VAR ἄτριον Theoc. 18, 33 (better -ιον?).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. ἥριον. Semantically, connection with ▶ ἄττομαι 'set the warp in the loom' is probable; cf. the derivatives ἄσμα, διάσμα with related meaning. It is difficult to give a precise derivational model, however. The word ▶ ἐπήτρητοι 'closely woven, thronged' perhaps also belongs here.

**ἦττων** •VAR Ion. ἥσσων. = ἦκα.

**ἦντε** [pcl.] 'as, just like' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>ē 'or'>

•ETYM From ἦ, ἦ(f)έ 'or' and \*(H)ute, found in Skt. *utā* 'and, also'. See Schwyzler 1950: 564 and 576. Cf. ▶ εὔτε.

**Ἡφαιστος** [m.] the divine smith, god of fire, also meton. for 'fire' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Dor. Aeol. Ἥφ-, Ἄφ-, Att. vases Ἡφαίστος (Schwyzler: 276; on the form of the name also Kretschmer *Glotta* 30 (1943): 115ff.).

•DIAL Myc. *A-pa-i-ti-jo* PN / (H)āp<sup>a</sup>aistios/.

•COMP Ἡφαιστό-τευκτος 'made by H.' (S.), ἀν-Ἡφαιστος 'without H., without warmth' (πῦρ, E. Or. 621).

•DER Ἡφαιστῖος, -ίων month-name (Thess.), Ἡφαιστῖτις (scil. λίθος) name of a stone (Plin.). Ἡφαιστία [pl.] 'festival for Hephaestus' (Att.), -εῖον 'temple of H.' (IA), also -τεῖον (pap. I<sup>a</sup>, after Ἀσκληπι-εῖον), etc.; -ιάς 'a plaster'.

•ETYM A Pre-Greek theonym; the form without -i- shows a typical Pre-Greek variation (Fur.: 296, 336) and points to original s'.

ήχη [f.] 'sound, noise' (Il.). <IE \*(s)ueh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>h</sup>- 'sound'>

•VAR Dor. ἀχά.

•COMP As a second member e.g. in ὑψ-ηχίς 'with high neighing' (ἵπτος, Il.); ἀντ-ηχος 'sounding towards' (Ph.), to ήχή, ήχος or ήχέω.

•DER ήχίεις 'sounding, making noise' (Il.; with shortening ήχέντα Archil. 74, 8; see Schwyzler: 246). ήχώ [f.] 'sound, noise' (Dor. ἀχώ), also personified (*h. Hom.*, Hes. Sc., Pi., A.). ήχος [m.] (secondarily [n.], Schwyzler: 512) = ήχή, together with ήχώδης (Hp., Hell.); also as a PN φαχος (Arc.), short name like φαχus (Cor. Chalcid.). Verb ήχέω, aor. ήχησαι, often with prefix, e.g. ἀντ-, ὑπ-, 'sound, rustle, give a sound' (Hes.); with ἀντ-ήχημα, -ήχησις, ήχέτης, -τᾶ (ἀχ-) 'who sounds, cicada' (Hes.; also from ήχος, Schwyzler: 500, Fraenkel 1910: 165), ήχητής Hes. with ήχητικός 'sounding' (late), ήχεϊον 'drum' (Ph., Plu.). See also on ►ιάχω, ►ιαχή.

•ETYM ήχή (from \*fāχā, ήχώ, and secondary ήχος (cf. κόμπτος, τάραχος) continue a root noun or an uncharacterized verb. These were replaced by innovations ήχή and deverbative (or denominative?) ήχέω. Beside it stands a primary zero grade reduplicated present μι-φᾶχ-ω; see ►ιάχω.

The forms ήχή, ήχέω have no exact parallels in other languages. The closest are Lat. *vāgīre* 'wail' (though with IE \*-g-) and a few Baltic and Germanic words with initial \*su-, e.g. Lith. *svagiù*, -*ėti* 'to sound' (IE \*-g<sup>(h)</sup>-), OE *swōgan* 'sound' (IE \*-g<sup>h</sup>- as in ήχή).



θαιρός [m.] 'pivot of a door' (M 459, Q. S., Agath.), also 'axle of a chariot' (S. Fr. 596).

<IE \*d<sup>h</sup>uer- 'door'>

•COMP θαιροδύται· οἱ ἐν τῷ ζυγῷ δακτύλιοι, δι' ὧν οἱ ῥυτῆρες 'the rings on the yoke, whence the reins' (H.).

•DER θαιραῖος (Poll.).

•ETYM A technical term, which Brugmann *IF* 17 (1904-1905): 356ff. derived from \*θαρ-ιό-ς (thus IE \*d<sup>h</sup>ur-*io-*) as "Türgänger", from ►θύρα and ιέναι 'to go'. The form reconstructed for Greek would rather contain the suffix \*-*io-*, thus \*d<sup>h</sup>ur-*io-*. This remains uncertain. MoNw. (dial.) *darre* 'pivot of a door, small standard in the corner of a sledge' (Falk & Torp 1910: 178) is remotely related at best.

θάκος [m.] 'seat, chair' (Att.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Epic Ion. Dor. θῶκος (since Il.), lengthened θόωκος (β 26, μ 318 verse-finally; see below).

•COMP As a second member e.g. in σύν-θακος, -θακος 'who shares his chair with someone else' (S., E.).

•DER Denominative verbs: 1. θάσσω, epic θαάσσω (only present stem) 'sit' (Il.) < \*θαφακ-ιω, see below; θαάζω for \*θαάσσω; 2. θᾶκέω, θωκέω (also with prefix, e.g. συν-, ἐν-) 'sit' (post-Hom.) together with θάκημα 'sitting' (S.), ἐνθάκησις 'sitting' (S.), ἐνθακή 'ambush' (Pompeiiopolis; deverbative), θακεῖον 'seat' (Attica IV<sup>a</sup>; cf. ἀρχεῖον, Chantraine 1933: 61). 3. θακεύω 'go to stool' (Plu., Artem.). On ►θαάζω, see s.v.

•ETYM From θάβακον· θᾶκον ἢ θρόνον H., it appears that \*θᾶko was contracted from \*θά(φ)ακος; θῶκος would then come from θό(φ)ᾶκος (not from θώ(φ)ακος, as per Frisk et al.), shortened \*θό(φ)ακος; it yielded θόωκος after diectasis. Details on θᾶκος, θῶκος in Björck 1950: 349ff. Connection with \*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>- (comparing θωμ-ός 'heap') as zero grade and *ō*-grade is impossible because of \*θαφακ-ος. In accordance with Schulze 1892: 435, \*θαφακος has been explained as assimilated from \*θόφακος, but this is most improbable. The word must be Pre-Greek, as was observed by Fur.: 342. A suffix -ακ- is frequent in Pre-Greek (*Pre-Greek: Suffixes*); the variation \*-αφ-/ -οφ- is normal in substrate words.

θάλαμος [m.] 'inside room at the back of a house' (as opposed to μέγαρον, δῶμα); room for women and bedroom, also a room for provisions (Il.; on the meaning Wace *JHS* 71 (1951): 203ff.), in mariners' language 'the lowest deck of a ship' (Timae., Poll.). <PG(V)>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in θαλαμη-πόλος [f.], late [m.] 'chamber maid, lady's-maid; eunuch' (Od.; -η- metrically conditioned). θαλάμη [f.] 'lair, den, cavity of the body' (ε 432, E., Hp., Arist.), as a nautical term = θάλαμος (Luc.); on θάλαμος ~ -μη see Porzig 1942: 284.

•DER θαλαμιά 'oar hole' (Hdt. 5, 33), also 'oar at the lower deck' (Ar. *Ach.* 533, inscr.); θαλαμίας [m.] 'rower in the θάλαμος or θαλαμιά' (Th. 4, 32, App., Them.), in this meaning also θαλάμᾱς (Ar. *Ra.* 1074) and θαλαμίτης (sch. ad loc.). From θάλαμος also the rare θαλαμήϊος (Hes. *Op.* 807, A. R.), θαλαμαῖος (Ph.), θαλαμῖς (An. *Ox.*) and denominative θαλαμεύομαι, -εὔω [v.] 'to (be) take(n) into the θάλαμος, as a wife' (Ph., Hld. et al.) with θαλαμεύτρια = νυμφεύτρια (Poll.); θαλάμευμα = θάλαμος E. *Ba.* 120 (Iyr.), cf. Chantraine 1933: 185; θαλαμευτός (Tim. *Pers.* 245).

•ETYM Reminiscent of ►θόλος 'circular building', but further unknown; Pre-Greek origin is quite possible, as its structure (CaC-aC-) is typical for such words. It could be cognate with θόλος (Fur.: 342). Not related to ►όφθαλμός.

**θάλασσα** [f.] 'sea' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•DIAL Att. θάλαττα, Late Cretan θάλαθθα (Buck 1955: §81b), Lacon. in σαλασσο-μέδοισα Alc. 84.

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. θαλασσο-κράτωρ (Hdt., Th.), ἀμφι-θάλασος 'surrounded by the sea' (Pi.; bahuvrīhi); often in hypostases, mostly with -ιος (-ίδιος), e.g. ἐπι-, παρα-θαλάσσιος, -ίδιος (IA).

•DER θαλάσσιος 'belonging to the sea, maritime' (Hom.), -ία [f.], -ιον [n.] as a plant name (Dsc.; Strömberg 1940: 114), θαλασσ-ίδιος (Hdt.), -αῖος (Simon., Pi.) 'id.', θαλασσώδης 'sea-like' (Hanno *Peripl.*), θαλασσερός [m.] 'kind of eye-salve' (Gal.); θαλασσίτης (οἶνος Plin.). Denominatives: θαλασσ-εὔω 'be in the sea' (Th.), -όμαι, -όω 'to be filled by sea water, turn into sea' (Arist., Hell.) with θαλάσσωσις 'inundation' (Thphr., Ph.), -ίζω 'to be like sea water, wash in sea water' (Ath., pap.).

•ETYM For the notion of 'sea', the Greeks did not use the stem \**mor-i-*, limited to the European languages (Lat. *mare*, MoHG *Meer*, etc.), but they used old words in a new meaning (ἅλς properly 'salt', πόντος properly 'path'), or borrowed words from Pre-Greek, like πέλαγος. The latter is the case for θάλασσα. It belongs to the gloss Maced. (?) δαλάγχαν· θάλασσαν (H.). Fur.: 195 notes that it is uncertain that δαλάγχαν is Macedonian (Kallérís 1954 does not give it). The word, with its prenasalized variant, is typically Pre-Greek. Fur. further connects σάλος, ζάλος, which seems possible but remains uncertain. Acc. to Lesky *Herm.* 78 (1943): 258ff., θάλασσα was originally a foreign word for 'salt water'. See Beekes fthc. [on PG \*ky].

**θάλλω** [v.] 'to flourish, grow' (Hes., *h. Cer.* 402). <IE \**d<sup>h</sup>(e)h<sub>2</sub>-l-*, *d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-l-* 'flourish, green'>

•VAR Them. aor. ἔθᾱλον (*h. Hom.* 19, 33, Hell.), perf. with present meaning τέθηλα, Aeol. Dor. τέθᾱλα (Il.); later forms s-aor. ἀν-έθηλα (Ael.), fut. ἀνα-θάλλῃσθαι (AP).

•COMP Also with prefix (ἀνα-, etc.).

•DER 1. From the root aorist: θάλος [n.] 'sprout', only metaph. (Il.) with ἀμφι-θαλής 'surrounded by θάλος (θάλεα), rich' (X 496; also to θαλεῖν); adj. fem. θάλεια 'flowering, rich' (Il.; on the accent cf. ἐλάχεια, see ►ἐλαχύς), while \*θαλύς [m.], -ύ

[n.] is found only in θαλέων [gen.pl.] (X 504); instead of it we find θαλερός (Il.), like γλυκερός to γλυκύς, θαλία, -ή 'flower, abundance', plur. 'festival' (Il., Hdt.; Scheller 1951: 39 with different analysis) with θαλιάζω [v.] 'to amuse oneself' (Plu.). PN Θάλης (-ής), gen. Θάλεω, Θάλητος, etc. (Schwyzer: 461f.). See also on ►θαλύσια. 2. From the present: θαλλός [m.] 'green twig, especially of the olive; sprout', also '(festive) gift' (ρ 224) together with θαλλία [f.sg.] 'foliage' (Thphr.), θαλλία [n.pl.] 'gifts' (pap.), θάλλινος 'consisting of θαλλοί' (Rhodes). Θαλλώ [f.] 'goddess of growth' (Iusi. *apud* Lycurg. 77, Paus. 9, 35, 2).

Secondary presents: 1. to the root aorist: θᾱλ-έθω (Il.; see Chantraine 1942: 327, Shipp 1967: 39); 2. to the perfect: θηλέω, θᾱλέω, aor. θηλήσαι, θᾱλ- (Il.), together with ἐρι-θηλής 'richly growing' (Il., Hes.), etc. (but cf. ἐριθαλής· εἶδος δένδρου 'kind of tree' H., *erithales* [n.] Plin. to θάλος). Lengthened from θηλέω: τηλεθάω, old only the ptc. τηλεθάων (Il.; Chantraine 1942: 359).

•ETYM Ascertained correspondences are found only in Albanian and Armenian: present Alb. *dal* 'to sprout' < \**d<sup>h</sup>al-n-* (which may even be identical with θάλλω, cf. on ►βάλλω), aor. *dol(l)a* < IE \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-l-* as in τέθᾱλα, and the Arm. adjective *dalar* 'green, fresh', which has been compared directly with θαλερός. The Celtic material (MW *deillyau* 'to emanate, proceed, etc.'), and the Germanic even more so (see Pok. 234), is best considered separately. See LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**d<sup>h</sup>alh<sub>2</sub>-* (which cannot be the correct reconstruction, however).

Clackson 1994: 118ff. argues concerning the comparison Arm. *dalar* : θαλερός that -ar- is a productive suffix in Armenian and that 'the semantic development may be independent'.

**θάλπω** [v.] 'to warm', rarely intr. 'to be warm' (Od.). <PG>

•VAR Aor. θάλψαι.

•COMP Also prefixed with ἀνα-, ἐπι-, συν-, ὑπο-, etc.

•DER θάλπος [n.] 'warmth' (IA) with δυσ-θαλπής 'with bad warmth, shivery' (P 549); or from θάλπω; θαλπωρή 'refreshment' (Hom.); θάλψις 'warming' (Hp.); θαλπινός 'warming' (Pi.; cf. τερπινός; Chantraine 1933: 193); θαλπεινή 'Iris' (Strömberg 1940: 82); PN Θάλπιος B 620. Lengthened ptc. pres. θαλπῶν 'warm' (τ 319, Arat. 1073; on the formation see Risch 274).

•ETYM Connection with θάλλω as 'make flourish' is improbable. The root is also found in ►θαλυκρός, \**d<sup>h</sup>al-uk<sup>w</sup>-*; the syncopated form, without -u-, yielded θάλπω. Thus Kuiper *Lingua* 21 (1968): 270-275 and Fur.: 384, 391. On syncope in Pre-Greek, see Fur.: 378-385.

**θαλυκρός** [adj.] 'warm, glowing' (Call. *Fr. anon.* 69, AP 5, 219), in H. = ἱταμόν, λαμπρόν, βλοσυρόν, ἀναιδές, πανούργον 'rash, splendid, hairy, shameless, knavish', with θαλυκρέονται· ψεύδονται 'they are deceived' (H.). <PG>

•DER θαλύ<πτ>εσθαι· φλέγεσθαι 'to be burnt [up]'; θαλύψαι· θάλψαι, πυρῶσαι 'to [soften by] heat, burn'; θαλυσόμενος· φλεγόμενος 'who is burnt (up)' (H.).

•ETYM Beside the present θαλύσσομαι, the aorist had θαλύψαι (Schulze GGA 1897: 874; Schwyzer: 704). Brugmann connected it with ►θάλπω 'to heat', assuming that -π- represents \**k<sup>w</sup>*, and that its labial element found as -υ- in θαλύσσομαι, etc. in the

preceding syllable, after which -κ- was retained. Although (as Frisk remarks) this is not convincing from an IE point of view, such mechanisms are well-known for substrate words. Both θάλπ- and θαλύκ- can be explained as from *\*tal-uk<sup>w</sup>-*, while in θαλυκρός we have retention of *k* after *u*. See on ▶θάλπω. The form ἀλυκρός is unclear; see ▶ἀλέα 1 'warmth'.

**θαλῦσια** [n.pl.] 'offerings of first fruits' (I 534, Theoc. 7, 3). <IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>l-* 'flourish, grow green'>

•DER θαλύσιος ἄρτος 'bread from the first corn' (Ath. 3, 114a; cf. on Θαργήλια), θαλυσιὰς ὁδός 'the road to the Th.' (Theoc. 7, 31); patronymicon Θαλυσιάδης (Δ 458).  
•ETYM From θάλλω, etc., first from an adjective *\*θαλός*, -ύ (found only in θαλέων [gen.pl.] and θάλεια [f.], of δαῖς, ἐορτή), as was observed by Solmsen 1901: 37 and Solmsen *Glotta* 1 (1909): 80. On the formation, see Fraenkel 1912: 124 and Chantraine 1933: 41f. On the Thalysia see Nilsson 1941(1): 468.

**θαμά** [adv.] 'often' (Il.). <?>

•DER θαμάκις (: πολλάκις) 'id.' (Pi.). θαμινά 'id.' (Pi., Hp.), adjective θαμινός 'crowded, close-set' (Call.; cf. πυκινά, -ινός) with θαμινάκις (Hp.); also θαμεινός after αἰπεινός (*h. Merc.* 44). Next to θαμά stands the *u*-stem *\*θαμύς* (τάχα : ταχύς) in θαμέες [pl.] 'close-set, crowded', θαμειά [f.] (Hom.; on the accent Schwyzer: 385); cf. also Θαμυ-κλῆς PN (Bechtel 1917b: 197). Compar. θαμύντεται· πυκνότεραι (H.), cf. ἰθύντατα. Here also θάμυρις (H.), probably after πανήγυρις, by which H. glosses it; also as a PN (B 595, inscr.); cf. Bechtel 1917a: 25f.; further ὁδοὺς θαμυροῦς· τὰς λεωφόρους 'highways'; θαμυρίζει· ἀθροίζει, συνάγει 'brings together' (H.); also intr. (BCH 50, 401, Thespieae). Denominative of θαμά: θαμίζω [v.] 'to frequent' (Il.; cf. Schwyzer: 736).

•ETYM It was previously assumed that θαμ-ά was a reduced grade beside ▶θημών, ▶θωμός, but this is impossible, since the latter two derive from θη- in τί-θη-μι. This had a zero grade θε- < *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-*, as in ▶θέμεθλα, ▶θέμις. Therefore, the etymology remains unknown.

**θάμβος** [n.] 'amazement, fright' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•COMP As a second member e.g. in ἀ-θαμβής 'fearless, undaunted' (Ibyc., B.) with ἀθαμβία, -ίη 'fearlessness' (Democr. 215); back-formation ἄθαμβος 'undaunted' (Democr. 216), also as a PN (Delphi); cf. ἔκθαμβος below; see Schwyzer: 469.

•DER θαμβάλεος (Nonn.). Denominative verbs: 1. θαμβέω, -ῆσαι, also with prefixes like ἐκ-, 'be amazed, be frightened' (Il.), Hell. also trans. 'amaze, frighten' (LXX), together with θάμβ-ισις, -ιημα (Aq.), ἔκθαμβος (Plb.). 2. θαμβάινω intr. 'id.' (Pi.). 3. θαμβεύω trans. 'id.', together with -ευτής (Aq.).

•ETYM Beside θάμβος, Greek has an archaic-looking perfect ▶τέθηπα 'I am perplexed' with the thematic root aorist ταφεῖν (ταφών, τάφε; Il.); from the latter derives τάφος [n.] = θάμβος (Od., Ibyc.). Secondary to τέθηπα are θήπω· ἐπιθυμῶ, θαυμάζω; also, ▶θώψ. However, a nasal did not voice a following stop in Greek; Barton *Glotta* 71 (1993): 1-9 incorrectly assumes a complicated series of developments; ὁμφαλός disproves the rule ND < ND<sup>h</sup>, and ἄνθρωπος is a Pre-Greek word; the rule has been rejected on several occasions. Moreover, there is no evidence

for *e*-vocalism (viz. *\*d<sup>h</sup>emb<sup>h</sup>-*), as we would expect if the word were of IE origin, so the whole approach thus far has been wrong: θάμβος and τέθηπα cannot be genetically related. The group is further isolated; Go. *af-dobn* [ipv.] 'become speechless' cannot be connected. Just as doubtful is the connection with a Germ. group for 'hit', e.g. ME *dabben* 'hit softly', MoHG *tappen*. The variation θαπ-/ταφ-/θαμβ- (with Pre-Greek prenasalization), to which *\*θαφ-* in θαῦμα, etc. also belong, cannot be IE. The rare form θωπ- is a variant of *\*θαυπ-*. The whole group is of Pre-Greek origin; thus already Kuiper 1956: 225 and Fur. *passim*.

**θάμιξ** [?]· ἀλώπηξ 'fox' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Improbable hypothesis by von Blumenthal 1930: 36ff.; see WH s.v.

**θάμνος** [m.] 'bush, shrub' (Il.). <PG>

•VAR Also [f.], after other tree names.

•DER Diminutive θαμνίσκος [m.] (Dsc.), θαμνίτις 'shrub-like' (Nic. *Th.* 883), θαμνώδης 'id.' (Thphr.), θαμνάς = ῥίζα (EM). Beside it θάμνη (-α) [f.] 'wine from pressed grapes (?)' (Herod. 6, 90, *Gp.*).

•ETYM The word θάμνος exists next to θαμινός and θαμά just as πυκνός next to πυκινός and πύκα; the barytonesis is caused by the substantivization (cf. Schulze 1933a: 124<sup>1</sup>). For the meaning, cf. the explanation in H.: θάμνοι· δασέα καὶ πυκνὰ δένδρα 'dense and thick trees'. Not, as per Alessio *Studi etruschi* 18 (1941): 414, related to Lat. *tamnus*; see WH s.v. With its ending in -αμν(ος), the word seems Pre-Greek; its meaning makes this quite possible.

**θάνατος** [m.] 'death' (Il.). <IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>(u)enh<sub>2</sub>-* 'die'>

•COMP Compounds like ἀ-θάνατος 'immortal' (Il.), θανατη-φόρος 'death-bringing' (A.; -η- metrically and analogically conditioned, Schwyzer 438f.).

•DER Adjectives: θανάσιμος 'bringing death, going to die' (IA; on the formation Arbenz 1933: 17 and 70f.; rarely θανατήσιμος, op. cit. 78f.); also θανατώδης (Hp.), θανατόεις (S., E.), θανατήσιος (Afric.; after βιοτήσιος, βροτήσιος), θανατικός (D. S., Plu.), θανατηρός (Eust.); θανατούσια (sc. ἱερά) [pl.] 'festival for the dead' (Luc.; after γερούσιος). Denominative verbs: 1. θανατόω 'kill, bring to death, sentence to death' (IA) with θανάτωσις; 2. θανατάω 'like to die', also 'be dying' (Pl.); 3. θανατιάω 'id.' (Luc.). Old perfect τέθηγκα 'I am dead', plur. τέθναμεν, ptc. τεθνηώς, τεθνεώς, Aeol. inf. τεθνάκην, with the thematic root aorist ἔθανον 'I died' (Il.), the fut. θανοῦμαι (Il.) and a present θνησκω (inscr.), θνήσκω (mss.), Aeol. θναισκω (Hdn. Gr. 2, 79); in prose mostly ἀπο-θνήσκω; also with other prefixes, e.g. κατα-θνήσκω, -θανεῖν, -τέθηγκα (all Il.); on the function of the prefix see Schwyzer 1950: 268f. Verbal adjective θνητός 'mortal' (Il.). Thence θνήσιμος (only Arg. to S. OT 7) with θνησιμαῖον 'cadaver' (LXX); in the same meaning also θνασίδιον, θνησ(ε)ίδιον (Lesbos, Ael.; Schwyzer: 270). Verbal subst. θνήσις 'dying, mortality' (medic.), εὐθνήσιμος 'preparing a soft death' (A. Ag. 1294) from εὐ θνήσκειν; cf. εὐθάνατος, -τέω, -σία.

•ETYM The comparison with the Skt. aorist *á-dhvanī-t* 'he disappeared' and the ptc. *dhvān-tá-* 'dark' previously led to a reconstruction IE *d<sup>h</sup>uēnh<sub>2</sub>-*, but this etymological connection is not certain. The Greek forms θαν-(εῖν) and θάνα-(τος), θνα-(τός)

point to a reconstruction *\*d<sup>h</sup>nh<sub>2</sub>-*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>nh<sub>2</sub>-e-* beside *\*d<sup>h</sup>nh<sub>2</sub>-C-*. LIV<sup>2</sup> therefore combines them under a root *\*d<sup>h</sup>enh<sub>2</sub>-* 'sich in Lauf setzen, sich davonmachen', to which also belong Indo-Iranian forms like Ved. *dhānvati* 'flows', *prá dhanvati* (YV) 'dies', as well as ToA *tsnāntār* [subj.] 'flow'. Semantically, this is possible, but not wholly convincing.

**θάπτα** [f.] · μυῖα, Κρήτες 'fly (Cretan)' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM Fur.: 388, etc. compares λάττα < \*λαπτα (glossed as μυῖα, Πολυρρήνιοι H.), δάπτης (Lyc.), and Lat. *tabānus* 'horse-fly'. However, see ▶θάπτω on Latte.

**θάπτω** [v.] 'to bury' (Il.). <IE? *\*d<sup>h</sup>emb<sup>h</sup>-* 'dig, bury'>

•VAR Aor. θάψαι, pass. ταφῆναι, also -θῆναι, perf. pass. τέθαμμαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, συν-, κατα-.

•DER τάφος [m.] 'burying, tomb' (Il.), ταφή 'id.' (IA); derived from this the hypostases ἐν-, ἐπι-τάφιος 'ptng. to a burial' together with ἐνταφιάζω, ἐνταφιαστής (LXX, pap.); ἐπιταφίω [v.] 'to attend a burial' (inscr.); ταφήϊος 'ptng. to a burial' (Od.), ταφεύς 'grave-digger' (S.), ταφ(ε)ών '(place) of a tomb' (inscr.), ταφικόν 'burial costs' (pap.). τάπρος [f.] (on the genus see Schwyzler 1950: 34) 'ditch (for fortification, etc.)' (Il.) together with ταφρεύω 'make a ditch' (Att.), whence ταφρεῖα, τάφρ-ευμα, -ευσις, -ευτής; rare τάφρη 'id.' (Ion.); τράφος (*Tabl. Heracl.* I, 130). Uncertain θάπτ<ρ>α· μνημα (cod. μυῖα). Κρήτες 'monument (Cret.)' (H.); see Latte *Glotta* 34 (1955): 196f.

•ETYM It has traditionally been compared with Arm. *damb-an* 'tomb', starting from IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>mb<sup>h</sup>-*. Greek would also have generalized the zero grade θαπ-, ταφ- < \*θαφ-, and the full grade *\*d<sup>h</sup>emb<sup>h</sup>-* would have been eliminated in both languages. However, Clackson 1994: 120f. doubts that the words are old. Armenian and Greek could well be borrowings; IE origin is uncertain.

**Θαργήλια** [n.pl.] Ionic-Attic festival before the harvest, connected with the cult of Apollo (Hippon., Archil.), also Ταργήλια (Milete). <PG(v)>

•DER Θαργηλιών (Ταργ-) month name (IA), Θαργήλιος (Ταργ-) PN (Ion.). Beside it θάργηλος, acc. to Crates *apud* Ath. 3, 114a name of a bread, which was otherwise called θαλύσιος (ἄρτος) (s. θαλύσια), also name of a pot (χύτρα) with cooked fruits, which was considered a symbol of fertility (Suid., H., *EM* 443, 19).

•ETYM Pre-Greek origin is demonstrated by the variant forms with T-.

**θάρνυμαι** ⇒θορός and θρέομαι.

**θάρσος** [n.] 'confidence, courage, audacity' (Il.). <IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>ers-* 'bold'>

•VAR Att. θάρρος (partly a reshaping of Hom. θάρσος, etc. acc. to Leumann 1950: 115); Aeol. θέρσος.

•COMP E.g. εὐ-θαρσής 'of good courage' (A.), θερσι-επής 'talking courageously' (B.; on the first member Schwyzler: 448).

•DER θαρσαλέος, -ρρ- 'with confidence, courageous' (Il.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 253f.), Θερσίτης PN (Hom., etc.), θαρσήεις 'courageous' (Call., Nonn.; innovation, see Schwyzler: 527); denominative verb θαρσέω (-ρρ-), aor. θαρσῆσαι 'be courageous' (Il.; cf. Schwyzler: 724, Chantraine 1942: 349; hardly from

εὐθαρσέω as per Leumann l.c.) together with θαρρητικός (Arist.). Beside θάρσος, θέρσος we have the adjective θρασύς 'audacious, courageous, bold' (since Il.), often as a first member, e.g. θρασυκάρδιος 'with audacious heart' (Il.), Rhod. Θαρσύ-βιος, Ther. Θαρ(ρ)ύ-μαχος (more forms in Schwyzler: 284); thence θρασύτης 'boldness' (IA), Θρασώ epithet of Athena (Lyc.), denominative verb θρασύνω, θαρσύνω, -ρρ- 'encourage' (Il.) with θάρσυνος 'with confidence' (Il.; deverbale; cf. Schwyzler 491); compar. θρασίων (Alcm.), θρασύτερος, superl. -ύτατος (Att.); see Seiler 1950: 55f. Cf. also ▶ἀτάσθαλος.

•ETYM An exact correspondence to θρασύς would be Skt. *dhṛṣú-*, but the latter is only attested in grammarians; the typical form is *dhṛṣṇú-* 'bold' (RV), from *dhṛṣṇóti* [3sg.pres.] 'be audacious'. The s-stem θέρσος (for which secondarily θάρσος, θράσος by influence of θρασύς) has no parallel in Sanskrit. Greek has only the denominative verbs θαρσέω, θαρσύνω, while other IE languages have primary formations: Skt. *dhṛṣ-ṇ-ó-ti*, perf. *da-dhárṣa*, Go. *ga-dars* 'dare, toλμῶ', Lith. *drįsti* 'dare' (with infixed nasal, cf. OPr. *dyrsos* [adj.] 'courageous, skillful').

**θάσσω** 'sit'. •VAR θαάσσω. ⇒θᾶκος.

**θάσσω** 'quicker'. •VAR Att. θάππων. ⇒ταχύς.

**θαῦμα** [n.] 'wonder, astonishment' (Il.). <PG>

•VAR Hdt. et al. θῶμα (mss. also θῶυμα; see below).

•COMP As a first member e.g. in θαυματοποιός 'wonder-worker = juggler' (Pl., D.).

•DER θαυματός 'wonderful' (Hes. Sc. 165, *h. Hom.*, Pi.) with θαυμάσιος 'id.' (IA; Schwyzler: 466), from which θαυμασιότης (Hp.); θαυματόεις 'id.' (Man.); Θαύμας, -αντος (Hes.; Schwyzler: 526, Chantraine 1933: 269). Denominative verbs: 1. θαυμάινω 'wonder, admire' (θ 108, *h. Ven.* 84) with Dor. Θωμάντας (Phleius); 2. θαυμάζω 'id.' (Il.; on the formation Schwyzler: 734) with θαυμαστής 'admirer' and θαυμαστικός (Arist.), θαυμασμός 'admiration' (Hell.), θαύμακτρον probably 'money paid to see a conjurer's tricks' (Sophr. 120; cf. Chantraine 1933: 332); 3. θαυματίζομαι· ἐκπλήττομαι 'I am astonished' (H.). PN Θάμων (Boeot.); cf. γνῶμα : γνώμων et al.; see Bechtel 1917b: 214.

•ETYM The word θαῦμα belongs to the group of θάμβος, τέθηπα, etc. with Pre-Greek labial/ f (Fur.: 228-33). This also explains θῶμα with αυ/ω, beside which (with "etymological" notation) there is also θῶυμα in Hdt.; the variation cannot be explained in IE terms. Thus Kuiper 1956: 225 and Fur.: 236, 242. It is possible, though by no means certain, that θαῦμα, etc. are verbal nouns of a word for 'see, observe' in ▶θέα 'looking at', θεάομαι 'behold', etc.

**θάψος** [f.] name of a plant, 'fustic, Rhus Cotinus', used for dyeing yellow (Theocr.). <LW?>

•VAR Also θαψία ρίζα (Thphr.); θαψία [f.] 'deadly carrot, Thapsia garganica' (Arist., Thphr.).

•DER θάψινος 'yellow-colored' (Ar.).

•ETYM Identical with the name of the peninsula Thapsos (on the eastern coast of Sicily), or derived from it. See Strömberg 1940: 127.

**θέα** [f.] 'sight, aspect, spectacle' (IA). <PG>

- VAR Ion. θέη (Syrac. θάα?; see Kaibel 1899-1901(1): 200).
- COMP As a first member in ►θεωρός 'spectator, envoy at a festival', s.v.
- DER PN Θάϊς [f.] (D. S.). Verb θεάομαι, Ion. θηέομαι, Dor. θαέομαι (with θάμεθα [Sophr.] and other contracted forms; see Bechtel 1921, 2: 191) 'to look at, behold' (II.), also with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-, κατα-, συν-. Several deverbals: 1. θέαμα, θέημα 'sight, spectacle' (Semon., A.); 2. θέασις 'contemplation, insight' (Gal., Porph.); 3. θατύς (Dor. < \*θαατύς)· ἵκριον (= 'bank in a theatre'), θεωρεῖον, ἐς θατύν· εἰς θεωρίαν H.; 4. θέατρον, θέητρον 'place for spectators, theatre' (IA) with several compounds and derivatives, e.g. ἀμφι-θέατρος [adj.] 'having place for spectators around' (e.g. of ἵππόδρομος, στοά), substantivized -ον 'amphitheatre' (D. H., Str.), θατρικός, θατρίζω, θατρισμός; 5. θατήης, θεητήης 'spectator' (IA) with θατικός (Arr.); 6. θηητήρ (φ 397), θατήρ (B. 9, 23) 'id.'; 7. θεήμων 'id.' (APl.).
- ETYM At the basis of θέα, etc. is \*θḗfā. In Ionic-Attic, \*θḗfā gave θέα, where one would expect contraction of two like vowels after loss of f (see the discussion in Peters 1980a: 301f.). Other primary nouns are probably θῆβος (= θῆφος)· θαῦμα and θήγεια (= θήφεια)· θαυμαστά, ψευδῆ and θηταλά (= θηφαλά)· θαυμαστά, ψεύδεσιν ὅμοια (all H.). The verbs θḗ(f)έομαι, θη(f)έομαι (with ao > eo) and the development giving θεάομαι are discussed in Szemerényi SMEA 3 (1967): 71-72. They can be taken as denominatives, or alternatively as deverbatives (Schwyzer: 720) with θέη, θέα as back-formations (this direction seems to be indicated by the chronology of the attestations)? No IE cognates; the word is Pre-Greek, as is proven by the variations (see ►θαῦμα, ►θάμβος). Incorrectly, Szemerényi Glotta 33 (1954): 256, who traces \*θḗfā to IE \*d<sup>h</sup>msuā.

**θειλόπεδον** ⇒ εἰλόπεδον.

**θεῖνω** [v.] 'to slay', also 'to kill' (II.). <IE \*g<sup>wh</sup>en- 'strike, slay'>

- VAR Reduplicated aor. πε-φν-εῖν (II.), med. ἐπέφατο (cod. ἀπ-)· ἀπέθανεν 'he died' (H.); beside it also, probably as an innovation, the thematic root aor. θενεῖν (E., Ar.) and the ptc. θείνας of the s-aorist (Υ 481); fut. θενῶ (Ar.), 3sg. perf. pass. πέφαται, inf. πεφάσθαι (II.), together with fut. pass. πεφήσεται (O 140, etc.).
- COMP The verbal adjective as a second member in compounds, e.g. ἀρηϊ-φατος (see also on ►διφάσιος).
- DER Beside it ►φόνος [m.] 'murder', s.v.; cf. also Ἀργεῖφόντης.
- ETYM From this root, Indo-European formed an athematic root present: 3sg. Skt. *hānti* = Av. *jainti* = Hitt. *kyen-zi* 'he slays, kills', IE \*g<sup>wh</sup>én-ti. This was replaced by a thematic root formation: YAv. *janaiti* 'kill', Lith. *genù* 'to drive (cattle), hunt', OCS *ženŭ* 'to drive, pursue', as well as perhaps Arm. *jnem* 'slay' (which may instead be denominative from *jín* 'stick'). Other formations are OIr. *gonim* 'to wound, kill' (iterative) and Lat. *-fendō* in *dē-*, *of-fendō* (with a suffixal *-d-*). The reduplicated aorist is also found outside Greek, e.g. in Indo-Iranian: Av. *auua-jaynaŋ* (if not an intensive) 'he struck' = πέφνε. The perfect formations also correspond: Skt. 3sg. *ja-ghān-a* < IE \*g<sup>wh</sup>e-g<sup>wh</sup>on-; πέ-φα-ται and Skt. 3pl. *ja-ghn-úhi* < \*g<sup>wh</sup>e-g<sup>wh</sup>n-. Verbal adjectives: Skt. *hatā-* = Av. *jata-* = -φατος, IE \*g<sup>wh</sup>n-to-. The full grade thematic yod-

present θεῖνω was connected (cf. Frisk) with Lith. *geniù* (inf. *genėti*) 'to prune branches' (< IE \*g<sup>wh</sup>en-iō), beside OCS *žbnjŭ* (inf. *žeti*) 'to reap, mow'. However, as Derksen 2008 s.v. \*žeti II remarks, the Balto-Slavic words point to a root-final laryngeal. Arm. *jñjem* 'to wipe off, clean' could belong here phonetically as well, but differs in meaning. Connection with Alb. *gjan* 'to hunt, follow' is very doubtful. On the meaning of the IE root, see recently García Ramón 1998: 139-154.

**θεῖον** [n.] 'brimstone' (II., IA). <IE \*d<sup>h</sup>ues- 'smoke'>

- VAR Epic θέειον, also θήϊον (χ 493).
- DER Diminutivum θε(ι)άφιον (H., Tz.; θέαφος Eust.), adjective θειώδης 'sulphuric' (Str., medic.); denominative verb θειώω, θεώω, epic θεειώω (also prefixed with δια-, ἐκ-, περι-) 'treat with sulphur' (Od., medic.); thence θεώματα· τὰ περικαθαυτήρια 'purificatory offerings' (H.).
- ETYM The basic form was θέειον, whence θεῖον by hyphaeresis and, by further loss of the ι, θεώω, θεάφιον. The hapax θήϊον arose by metrical lengthening and change of suffix. Perhaps Hom. θέειον derives from \*θφέειον; it would be a substantivized adjective from a noun \*θφέος [n.], properly 'smoke', formed from a verbal root \*d<sup>h</sup>ues- 'smoke, breathe' (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.) in Lith. *dvėsti* 'breathe, blow'. Not connected to ►θεός. Cf. ►θύω 2.

**θεῖος** [m.] 'uncle, father's or mother's brother' (Att.). <ONOM>

- DER Innovations are πρόθειος 'great-uncle' (Laodicea; after *proavus*) and θεία [f.] 'aunt' (pap.; for τηθίς acc. to Schwyzer 1950: 31).
- ETYM Onomatopoeic \*θη, with a suffix -ειος? Cf. reduplicated τηθη. From θεῖος came Ital. *zio* 'id.'

**θέλω** [v.] 'to enchant, beguile, cheat' (II.). <?>

- VAR Aor. θέλξαι, pass. θελχθῆναι, fut. θέλξω (Od.); iterative ipf. θέλγεσκ' (γ 264).
- COMP Rarely with prefix (δια-, ἐπι-, κατα, παρα-). θέλξι- as a first member in governing compounds, e.g. θελξι-επής 'with enchanting words' (B.), θελξι-φρων 'enchanting the mind' (E. [lyr.]); see Schwyzer 443.
- DER θελκτήρ 'enchanter, etc.' (h. Hom. 16, 4) with θελκτήριον 'charm' (II.), adj. θελκτήριος 'enchanting' (A., E.); θελκτωρ 'id.' (A. Supp. 1040 [lyr.]); θελκτρον = θελκτήριον (S. Tr. 585), θέλγιτρον 'charm, spell' (E.); θέλγμα 'id.' (sch., H.); θέλκταρ (cod. θέρκαλ)· θέλγμα (H.), Fraenkel Glotta 32 (1953): 29; (κατά-)θέλξις 'charm' (Plu., Luc., Ael.).
- ETYM Unexplained. Several unconvincing hypotheses: that it is related to Lith. *žvelgiù* 'look at' (de Saussure MSL 8 (1894): 443, who connects it as 'enchanting by an evil look'); to Skt. *hvarate* 'go obliquely' < \*g<sup>h</sup>uel- with Gr. enlargement -γ- (Ehrlich 1910: 29); to Gm. words like OE *dolg*, OHG *tolc* 'wound' (Havers IF 28 (1911): 190ff.; see also on ἀσελγής).

**θελεμόν** [adj.] epithet of πῶμα 'drink' (A. Supp. 1027 [lyr.]) of unknown meaning, glossed by H. as οἰκτρόν, ἥσυχον 'pitiable, quiet', connected with ►θέλω by Hdn. Gr. 1, 171. <PG?>

•ETYM Unexplained. Cf. θελιμ(ν)ά (τε καὶ στερεωπά) Emp. 21, 6; taken as “supporting, basic”, on which see Solmsen 1909: 63. See discussion on ►-θελυμνος. Fur.: 317 thinks the word is Pre-Greek (due to suffix -εμος).

•**θελυμνος** [adj.] in προ-θελυμνος, epithet of δένδρεα (I 541), of χαῖται (K 15), of σάκος (N 130); post-Hom. of various objects (δρῦς, καρήατα). <PG>

•COMP Also in τετρα-θελυμνος epithet of σάκος (O 479 = χ 122); cf. τριθελυμνος = τρίπτυχος (Eust. 849, 5).

•DER The simplex is unknown, but Sturz read it in Emp. 21, 6 for traditional θελιμ(ν)ά (Diels and others: θελεμνά).

•ETYM We may compare the prefix in προ-θελυμνος with πρό-ρριζος ‘of which the root is gone, uprooted’, Lat. *prō-fundus* ‘of which the bottom is removed, deep’, Skt. *pra-parṇa-* ‘whose leaves have fallen off, stripped of the leaves’. The second member of προ-θελυμνος, which can be reconstructed as \*θέλυμα as well as \*θελυμνον (-ος), has been interpreted as ‘base’ since antiquity. Thus, προ-θελυμνος would mean ‘the base (bottom) of which is removed; without foundation’, which might fit in all occurrences except N 130 (after this Nonn. D. 22, 183; 2, 374). Improbably, Wackernagel 1916: 237ff. (with criticism of older views), who recognizes in προ-θελυμνος a variant of τετρα-θελυμνος ‘with four layers’, with προ- as the Aeolic parallel of τρα- from \*πτρρα- (cf. τρά-πεξα). The glosses of H., ἀθελυμνοι κακοί; ἀθελυμνον ἄκουσμα· κακόν are unclear, as is θέλυμνον· ὄλον ἐκ ῥιζῶν (Latte *apud* Mayrhofer KEWA 2: 94 fn.). Krahe *Die Antike* 15 (1939): 181 thinks the word is Pre-Greek. This is without a doubt correct, because of the suffix (-υμνος). Older attempts (e.g., Wackernagel above, or the comparison with Sanskrit *dhariṇa-* [n.] by Mayrhofer) should therefore be discarded.

θέλω = ἐθέλω.

•**θεμέθλα** [n.pl.] ‘fundaments, base’, also metaph. (Il.). <IE \*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>- ‘put, make’>

•DER Also θεμεῖλια [n.pl.] ‘id.’ (Il.), a metrically lengthened form of θεμέλια, adjective θεμέλιος ‘belonging to the fundaments’, as a substantive (sc. λίθος) ‘foundation-stone’ (Att.) with θεμελιόω ‘lay the foundation’ (X.), θεμελίωσις ‘fundament’ (LXX). A poetical-archaizing back-formation is θέμειλον (AP) with the same meaning, -α (verse inscr. Adana).

•ETYM Formations with θλο- and λο- from a nominal *m*-stem. Cf. θεμούς s.v. ►θεμόω. On the formation of θεμέλιος, see also Frisk *Eranos* 41 (1943): 51ff. Cf. also ►θεμέρη, ►θέμις. See also Rix 1994: 35-53.

•**θεμέρη** [adj.] · βεβαία, σεμνή, εὐσταθής ‘firm, revered, well-based’; θέμερον· σεμνόν. ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ τὸ σεμνύνεσθαι θεμερύνεσθαι ‘revered; hence, σ. ‘to be revered’ is also called θ.’ (H.). <IE \*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>- ‘put, make’>

•COMP As a first member in θεμερῶπις, epithet of Ἀρμονίη (Emp. 122, 2), of αἰδώς (A. Pr. 134 [lyr.]); θεμερόφρονas· συνετούς, σώφρονas ‘understanding, wise’ (H.).

•DER As a simplex only θεμέρα ὅπι (v.l. Pi. N. 7, 83), θεμε[ρώτε]ρα (IG 14, 1018: 3 [IV<sup>o</sup>], if supplied correctly).

•ETYM Beside θέμερος (or θεμερός) ‘solid, firm’ stands \*θέμιστος in Θεμιστο-κλῆς (cf. Ἀριστο-κλῆς), like κράτιστος from κρατερός (Frisk *Eranos* 48 (1950): 6). The basis would be nominal θεμ-, as found in θεμούς (s.v. ►θεμόω), ►θέμεθλα, θεμέλια. It is doubtful that we should assume a separate word θέμερος in the meaning σεμνός ‘revered’. The IE etymology, too, is not without doubts.

•**θέμις** [f., n.] ‘justice, law, custom’, also goddess of justice (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Different oblique forms: gen. θέμιστος (β 68; Thess. inscr.), dat. -ιστι (O 87; Thess. inscr.), acc. -ιστα (E 761, Y 4); θέμιδος (A. Pr. 18), θέμιτος (Pi. O. 13, 8); rarely also θέμιος (Hdt. 2, 50; v.l. -ιδος), θέμεως (inscr. Metropolis); acc. θέμιν (Hes.), voc. Θέμι (O 93). Plur. θέμιστες, acc. -ιστας, etc. ‘statutes, (divine) laws, oracles’ (Hom., Hes., Thgn., Pi.).

•DIAL Myc. *te-mi*, gen. *ti-mi-to*; cf. Ruipérez *Minos* 5 (1957): 176f., 181ff.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in θεμι-σκόπος ‘guarding justice’ (Pi.), θεμισ-κρέων ‘ruling through justice’ (Pi.), θεμιστο-πόλος ‘protecting the laws, obeying the oracles’ (h. Cer. 103, inscr. Delphi III<sup>a</sup>). As a second member e.g. in ἄ-θεμις ‘lawless, unlawful’ (Pi., E.), ἄ-θέμιτος ‘id.’ (Hdt.), ἄ-θέμιστος ‘id.’ (Il.), also ἄ-θεμιστίος (Od.; metrical variant).

•DER Θεμιστός (A. Th. 694 [lyr.]; after ἄ-θέμιστος); θεμιτός in οὐ θεμιτόν = οὐ θέμις (IA); Θεμιστίος epithet of Zeus, ‘Lord of the θέμιστες’ (Plu.); also month name (Thessaly); θεμιστεῖος ‘regarding the θ.’ (Pi.); θεμιστοσύνη = θέμιστες (Orph. H. 79, 6). Denominative verbs: 1. θεμιστεύω ‘to proclaim the laws, oracles’ (Od.) with θεμιστεία ‘oracle-giving’ (Str.). 2. θεμιτεύω ‘to behave lawfully’ (E. Ba. 79 [lyr.]). 3. θεμιζέτω· μαστιγούτω, νομοθετείτω. Κρήτες ‘to flog, frame laws (Cret.)’ (H.); to be changed in \*θεμισσέτω (= Paus. Gr. Fr. 202) acc. to Bechtel 1921, 2: 786; aor. ptc. θεμισσάμενος (Pi.). Several PNs, e.g. Θεμιστο-κλῆς (see on ►θέμερος).

•ETYM In Av. *dā-mi-* [f.] ‘creation’, also ‘creator’ ([m.] and [f.]), we seem to have a formation corresponding to θέμις. Cf. the same difference between θέ-σις, -θε-τος as opposed to *-dā-ti-*, *-dā-ta-* ‘basis, justice, law’ (= θέμις). The remarkable formations θέμιστες, θέμιστος, etc. are problematic; the explanation by Schulze as a compound of θεμι- and στᾱ- ‘stand’ leads to unsurmountable difficulties, acc. to Frisk s.v. However, C. J. Ruijgh suggested (pers. comm.) that interchange between *i*-stem forms and forms in -(σ)τ- seems to point to Pre-Greek origin. Acc. to Fraenkel, the occasional neuter forms originated from synonymous expressions like δέον, καλόν, προσήκον; this is possible, but this may be an inheritance from Pre-Greek as well. On the meaning of θέμις, see Vos 1956.

•**θεμόω** [v.] only aor. θέμωσε in (νῆα) ... φέρε κύμα (...), θέμωσε δὲ χέρσον ἰκέσθαι (I 486, 542). <?>

•DER Denominative verb to θεμός, which is only found in θεμούς· διαθέσεις, παραινέσεις ‘dispositions, exhortations’ (H.) and in the PNs Θέμ-ανδρος, Θεμό-θεος (Bechtel 1917b: 201f.).

•ETYM The usual rendering with ‘to cause, enable’ or simply ‘drove ashore (landwards)’ (LSJ) is too abstract; for a denominative verb, we would rather expect ‘to provide with θεμός’ vel sim. The etymology remains unknown.



**θέναρ, -αρος** [n.] 'palm of the hand' (also metaph.), 'sole of the foot' (Il.). <IE \**d<sup>h</sup>en-r* 'palm of the hand'>

•COMP Also as a second member, e.g. ὀπισθέναρ [n.] 'back of the hand' (Poll.) for \*ὀπισθο-θέναρ, παραιθένατα· τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν μικρῶν δακτύλων παρὰ τὸ θέναρ, ἤγουν ἐπὶ τὸν καρπὸν 'what [runs] from the small fingers along the palm, or rather up to the wrist' (H.).

•DER Denominative verbs: θεναρίζει· τύπτει 'strikes'; ἐνθεναρίζει· ἐγχειρεῖ 'undertakes, attacks' (H.).

•ETYM Old word for 'palm of the hand', also found in Gm.: OHG *tenar* [m.], *tenra* [f.] 'id.' (thematic derivations of the *r*-stem). Hypothetical further combinations in Pok. 249.

**θεοκόλος** [m.] 'servant of a god, priest' (Dyme II<sup>a</sup>). <IE \**k<sup>w</sup>el-* 'turn, move around'>

•VAR Also θεηκόλος (Schwyzer: 438).

•DER Denominative θεοκολέω [v.] (also θεη-); -ία, -εών (Hell.).

•ETYM Innovated on the model of βουκόλος 'cow-herd', but occasionally, the expected form θεο-πόλος, -έω is found (Pl. *Lg.* 909d, Phot., Suid.; cf. αἰ-πόλος).

**θεοπρόπος** [m.] 'fortune-teller, seer', also as an adjective 'prophetic'. <IE \**prep-* 'appear'>

•DER Θεοπροπέω (only ptc.) 'prophesy' and θεοπρόπιον, -ία 'prophesy, oracle' (Il.).

•ETYM From ►θεός 'god' and ►πρέπειν 'to catch the eye, be conspicuous'. Semantically analyzed by Bechtel 1914 s.v. as 'the one who appears from god'.

**θεός** [m., f.] 'god, goddess' (Il.). <IE \**d<sup>h</sup>(e)h<sub>2</sub>s-* 'god'>

•COMP Myc. *te-o* /t<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>os/. Very frequent in compounds, e.g. ἄ-θεος, θεο-ειδής; θεός-δοτος after Διός-δοτος; on the form θεσ- see ►θέσκελος, θέσπις.

•DER 1. θεά [f.] 'goddess' (epic; see Wackernagel 1920-1924(2): 25; on θεά and θεός [f.] in Hom. see Humbach *MSS* 7 (1955): 46ff.). 2. θείαινα [pl.] 'goddesses' (after τέκταινα et al.; in Hom. as metrical filling; not an archaic form as per Chantraine *REGr.* 47: 287'). 3. θεῖος 'divine' (Il.; cf. below) with θειώδως [adv.] (pap.), θειότης 'godliness' (LXX, NT, Plu.), θειάζω 'prophesy, worship as a god' (Th.), also with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-θειάζω 'swear by the gods' together with (ἐπι-)θειαςμός (Th.). 4. θεϊκός 'id.' (late). 5. Denominative verb θεόω, -όομαι 'turn into a god, become a god' (Call.), mostly with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-θεόω 'id.' (pap., Plb., Plu.) together with ἀποθέωσις (Str.).

•ETYM The connection with Arm. *di-k'* [pl.] 'gods' < \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>s-* seems to be generally accepted. The old etymology \**θῆεσ-ός* with Lith. *dvasià* 'spirit', MHG *getwās* 'ghost' has been abandoned, as there is no trace of the *ʃ* in Greek and since the Armenian word contradicts it. To \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>s-* further belong Lat. *fēriae* 'festive days', *fēstus* 'feastly', *fānum* 'temple' < \**fasnom* < \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>s-nom*; see Rix *Kratylos* 14 (1969 [1972]): 179f. and more recent literature in De Vaan 2008: s.vv. We must assume thematicizations of an old *s*-stem \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>s-* from the root \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-*, since Arm. and Lat. presuppose a full grade, while Greek requires a zero grade \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>s-*. The *-s-* is preserved in θέσ-κελος et al. as well as in θεῖος < \**θέσ-ιος*.

**θεουδής** [adj.] 'god-fearing, devout' (Od.). <GR>

•DER θεούδεια [f.] 'fear of god' (A. R. 3, 586).

•ETYM Contracted Att. PN Θουδής, Θουδιάδου. The form stands for θεο-δρής < \*θεο-δρής, which is derived from \**δρῆος* > ►δέος 'fear'. The meaning 'like a god' (in late poets) arose from confusion with θεο-ειδής.

**θέπτανος** [adj.] 'touching, [here:] set on fire' (H.). <IE \**d<sup>h</sup>eg<sup>wh</sup>-* 'burn'>

•ETYM Compared with Lith. *dėgtinas* 'what has to be burned', which is derived from *degù, dėgti* 'to burn'. Cf. on ►τέφρα 'ashes'. However, acc. to Maas *ByzZ* 37 (1937): 381 and Latte *Glotta* 34 (1955): 198f., it is corrupt for θεπταίνων· ἀπτόμενος (Cyr.), which Latte corrects to θε(ε)ιγγάνων. On the origin of suffixal -τανος, Lith. *-tinās* (IE \**-t<sup>h</sup>Ho-*?), see Benveniste 1935: 107f.

**θεράπων, -οντος** [m.] 'attendant, servant; companion' (Il.). <PG>

•VAR Aeol. (gramm.) gen. -ονος (see below); also θαραπ- (see Threatte 1980 (index) and Fur.: 352), probably recent.

•DER Diminutive θεραπόντιον (D. L.). θεραπάιννα [f.] 'servant, maid' (IA), together with θεραπαινίς, -ίδιον (Pl., Men.); also θεραπῆνη 'id.' (H. *Ap.* 157; see below) together with θεραπνίς (AP); unclear is θεραποντίς, epithet of φερνή (A. *Supp.* 979). Also θέραψ, -απος [m.], mostly plur. 'id.' (E.) together with θεράπιον (Hyp.), -πίς (Pl. *Mx.* 244e). Denominative verb θεραπεύω 'serve, honour, care for, heal' (since v 265) with several nouns: θεραπεία, Ion. -ηῖη, θεραπείαμα 'serving, etc.' (IA), θεραπείσιν 'id.' (Phld.); θεραπευτής 'servant' (IA) with θεραπευτικός (Pl., X., Arist.), also θεραπευτήρ (X., Aristox.; probably Doric, Fraenkel 1912: 54f.) together with θεραπευτρίς (Ph.), -εὔτρια (EM); θεραπῆϊος = θεραπευτικός (AP), -ηῖς [f.] (Orac. *apud* Jul. *Ep.* 88b).

•ETYM Except as 'servant', θεραπῆνη also occurs in Eur. and successors in the meaning 'dwelling, habitation' (θεράπναι· αὐλῶνες, σταθμοί H.), which is reminiscent of δοῦλος· ἡ οἰκία (H.); one might assume a meaning 'house', whence a collective 'servants'. We can hardly separate the Laconian TN Θεράπναι, -ναι from θεραπῆνη 'house' (cf. also τέραμνα with the same meaning); this points to Pre-Greek origin of the whole group. The form θεραπῆνη can be derived from an *n*-stem θεράπων; the *nt*-stem may be secondary (cf. θεραπάιννα). Van Brock *Rev. Hitt. As.* 1959: 117-126 compares Hitt. *tar pašša-*.

**θέρμος** [m.] 'lupine, *Lupinus albus*' (middle com., Thphr.). <IE \**g<sup>wh</sup>er-mo-* 'warm'>

•DER θέρμιον 'id.' (pap.), θέρμινος 'from Lupine' (Luc., Dsc.).

•ETYM Identical with θερμός 'warm', with a regular shift of accent upon substantivization. See Strömberg 1940: 82. See ►θερμός.

**θερμός** [adj.] 'warm' (Il.). <IE \**g<sup>wh</sup>er-mo-* 'warm'>

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. Θερμο-πύλαι (Hdt.; see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 267). On ἄ-, ἔκ-, ἔν-θερμος, etc. see below on θερμή and θερμαίνω.

•DER A. Substantives: 1. θερμή, also -μᾶ (see Chantraine 1933: 102 and 148) [f.] 'warmth, heat, heat of fever' (IA) with ἄ-θερμος 'without warmth', ἔν-θερμος 'having warmth inside, warm' (Strömberg 1946: 95); θερμίζω [v.] 'to be feverish' (Euboea). 2.

θερμότης 'warmth, heat' (IA). 3. θερμωλή 'id.' (Hp.; Frisk *Eranos* 41 (1943): 52). 4. θερμέλι· ή θέρμη Suid. (Strömberg 1944: 79). 5. θέρμασσα = κάμινος 'oven' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 267; formation unclear, cf. Schwyzler: 525f.).

B. Adjectives: 1. θερμώδης 'lukewarm' (Aret.); HN Θερμώδων, -οντος (Boeotia, Pontos; see Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 2 (1950-1951): 236; 3, 162). 2. θερμηρός epithet of ποτήριον (H. s.v. κελέβη; to θέρμη?).

C. Verbs: 1. θέρμετο ipf. 'became warm' (Il.), θέρμετε [ipv.] (θ 426; after it Ar. *Ra.* 1339); on the formation cf. Schwyzler 722f.; 2. θερμαίνω, aor. θερμῆναι 'warm up' (Il.), often with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-θερμαίνω 'heat up completely' (Hp., Arist.) with deverbale ἔκθερμος 'very hot' (Vett. Val.); from there θέρμανσις 'heating' (Arist.) with θερμαντικός 'suited to warm' (Pl., Arist.), θερμασία 'heating, warmth' (Hp., Arist.; cf. Schwyzler 469), θέρμασμα 'warming cuff' (medic.; see Chantraine 1933: 176), θερμάστρα (see θερμάζω below); θερμαντήρ 'warmer', 'kettle for boiling water' (Poll.) with θερμαντήριος 'warming' (Hp., inscr.). 3. θερμάζω 'id.' only aor.opt.med. θερμάσσαιο (Nic. *Al.* 587) together with θερμάστρα [f.] 'furnace' (Call.; also to θερμαίνω); also written θερμαύστρα, by confusion with θερμαυστρίς (θέρμ-), 'fire-tongs' (Arist., H.), cf. πυρ-αύστρα 'id.' (αὔειν 'scoop fire'); also metaph. as the name of a dance (Poll., Ath.) with θερμαυστρίζω (Critias, Luc.); from θερμάστρα: θερμαυστρίς (θέρμ-) = θερμαντήρ (Eup., LXX); the forms in -αστρ-, -αυστρ- are not well distinguished, cf. Schulze 1933a: 189; by dissimilation θέρμαστις meaning unclear (Attica IV<sup>a</sup>) with θερμάστιον (Aen. Tact.).

•ETYM Inherited adjective, identical with Arm. *jerm* 'warm', Thraco-Phr. *germo-* (in TNs, e.g. Γέρμη), IE *\*g<sup>wh</sup>er-mo-*; also, in substantivized function, Alb. *zjarm, zjarr* 'heat'. With *o*-vocalism, originally substantival, IE *\*g<sup>wh</sup>or-mo-* in Skt. *gharmā-* [m.] 'heat', OPr. *gorme* 'id.'; secondarily, also adjectival in Av. *garāma-*, Lat. *formus*, MoE *warm*. See ►θέρομαι, ►θέρος.

**θέρομαι** [v.] 'to become warm, warm oneself' (Il.). ◀IE *\*g<sup>wh</sup>er-* 'warm'►

•VAR Rarely act. θέρω 'to warm' (A. R., Nic.), only present stem except aor. pass. subj. θερέω (ρ 23; for \*θερή-ω), fut.ptc. θερσόμενος (τ 507).

•COMP As a second member e.g. in εἰλη-θερής, but see on ►εἰλη.

•DER θέρος [n.] 'summer' (Il.), 'harvest' (IA). Thence θέρειος 'belonging to the summer', fem. θέρεια, -η (scil. ὥρα) 'summer' (Pi., Hdt.), θερινός 'id.' (IA; after χειμερινός etc., Chantraine 1933: 201), θερόεις 'id.' (Nic. *Al.* 570; poetic formation, Schwyzler: 528), θεριακός 'fitting for the summer' (ἱμάτια θ. pap. VI<sup>p</sup>; after ἡλιακός et al.); θερίδιον 'summer residence' (Jul.), θέρετρον 'id.' (Hp.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 332). Denominative verb θερίζω, aor. θερίσαι 'harvest, mow down' (IA), also intr. 'pass the summer' (X., Arist.), with θερισμός 'harvest' (Eup., X.), θεριστής 'harvester' (Att.) with -ιστικός (pap.), also -ιστήρ 'id.' (Lyc. 840), -ιστήριον 'sickle' (LXX); θέριστρον 'summer tunic' (LXX, pap.), -ιστριον 'id.' (Theoc.; Wackernagel KZ 33 (1895): 50); θέριστρα [pl.] 'reward for harvesting' (pap.).

•ETYM Formally, Skt. *hāras-* [n.] 'heat' < IE *\*g<sup>wh</sup>eros-* corresponds exactly with θέρος, like Arm. *jer* 'id.'. The meaning 'summer' is a Greek innovation ('heat' = θέρμη, θάλπος). In the sense of 'harvest', θέρος may be from θερίζω \*'to do summertime work'. The thematic root present θέρομαι agrees with OIr. *fo-geir* 'warms, heats'. The

other languages have different formations: Arm. *jeṛ-nu-m*, aor. *jeṛ-ay* 'warm oneself' (Skt. *ghṛ-no-ti* 'lights, burns' [gramm.]; cf. *ghṛ-nā-* [m.] 'glow, heat'), OCS *grěti sę*, 1sg. *grějō sę* 'to warm oneself' (*gorjō, gorěti* 'burn'), etc.

**θέσις** [f.] 'situation, position, adoption, custom, etc.' (Alc., Pi.). ◀IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* 'set, make'►

•COMP Very frequently as a derivative of prefixed verbs, e.g. διά-, σύν-, υπό-θεσις (from δια-τίθημι, etc.).

•DER -θέσιμος in παρα-, περι-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-θέσιμος (from παράθεσις, etc.; cf. Arbenz 1933: 91f.).

•ETYM Greek θέσις corresponds to a Skt. formation which is found only in derivatives and compounds: *-(d)hiti-*, e.g. *āpihiti-* = ἐπιθεσις (from *api-dhā-* = ἐπι-θη-), *ūpahiti-* = ὑπόθεσις (from *upa-dhā-* = ὑπο-θη-); cf. *apihi-ta-* = ἐπιθε-τος, *upahi-ta-* = ὑπόθε-τος; with Av. *tarōi-dī-ti-* (-ī- secondary) 'putting aside, etc.' from *tarō-dā-* (= Skt. *tiro-dhā-* 'id.', ptc. *tirohi-ta-*); also, late Lat. *con-diti-ō* 'foundation' (after *condi-tus, -tor* from *con-dō*). Additionally, one finds various full grade forms (IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-ti-* as opposed to *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ti-*): Go. *ga-deds* 'putting, adoption' (*du suniwe gadedai* > 'εις υἱοθεσίαν' Eph. 1, 5), *missadeþs* 'crime', OHG *tāt*, Av. *-dāiti* in *ni-dāiti-* (from *ni-dā-* 'lay down'), etc., Lith. *dėtis* 'load', OCS *blago-dětv* 'benediction', and probably also Lat. *\*fē-tis* 'settlement, treaty' in *fēti-ālis* 'war-messenger'. A verbal noun of ►τίθημι; cf. also ►θεσμός and other derivatives.

**θέσκελος** [adj.] 'marvelous, wonderful' (Il.). ◀IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>s-* 'god-, holy'►

•ETYM Compounded from \*θεσ- 'god' (see ►θεός) and ►κέλομαι 'drive', thus properly 'moved by a god'. On the *e*-vocalism of the second member, see Schwyzler: 449<sup>3</sup>. Cf. ►θεσπέσιος, ►θέσφατος.

**θεσμός** [m.] 'settled agreement, law, custom' (ψ 196). ◀IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-d<sup>h</sup>mo-*? 'agreement, custom'►

•VAR Dor. τεθμός, Lacon. Arc. Locr. also θεθμός.

•COMP E.g. θεσμο-θέται, ἔνθεσμος.

•DER θέσιμος, τέθμιος, θέθμιος 'lawful, customary' (IA, Dor., etc.); θεσμοσύνη 'lawfulness' (AP).

•ETYM Synonymous Celtic words (OIr. *deidmea*, MW *deddf* [f.]) require a pre-form *\*d<sup>h</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>mo-* (-ā-). Reduplicated *\*d<sup>h</sup>e-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-m-o-* is impossible for Greek, because this would give \*\*τεθεμός vel sim. Rather, θε- could be the same form of the root as in θέ-σις et al., to which suffixes -θμ- or -σμ- were added within Greek. In θεθμός, the result of Grassmann's Law was removed by influence of θέσις.

**θεσπέσιος** [adj.] 'divine, superhuman, enormous, wonderful' (Il.). ◀IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>s-* 'god' and *\*sek<sup>w</sup>-* 'speak'►

•COMP As a first member, e.g. θεσπι-δαές (πύρ, Il.; see on ►δαίω) and as a PN.

•DER Thence θεσπίζω, aor. θεσπίσαι, -ίξαι (Theoc.) 'prophesy, give an oracle' (Hdt., trag.) with θεσπίσματα [pl.] (rarely [sg.]) 'oracle' (trag.), θεσπιστής 'fortune-teller, prophet' (Man.). Also θέσπις, ιος, -ιν, -ιδα 'id.' (Od.). Here also Θεσπιαί [pl.] town in Boeotia and other TNs.

•ETYM Like e.g. ἀμβρόσιος from ἄμβροτος, θεσπέσιος derives from \*θέσ-σπ-ετος, a compound of \*θεσ- 'god' (see ►θεός) and the verb (ἐνι-)σπεῖν 'to proclaim' (see ►ἐν(ν)έπω), with a suffix -ετο- (cf. ἄ-σπ-ετος). Thus, it properly meant 'proclaimed by a god'. It is thought that θεσπης was from \*θέσ-σπ-ις; however, Hamp MSS 43 (1984): 50f. explains that θεσπι- is the Caland form of θεσπεσιος, and therefore arose by decomposition.

**Θεσσαλία** [f.] 'Thessaly' (Hdt.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Att. Θετταλ-, Thess. Πετθαλ-, Boeot. Φεττ-.

•DER -ός (Hdt.), PN (B 79, son of Heracles, father of Pheidippos and Antiphos); -ειος (Gal.); fem. -ίς 'Thessalian' (S.); -ιώτις (Hdt.); -ικός (Hp.). -ικέτης 'serf in T.' (Philocr. Hist.); -ίζω [v.] 'to imitate the Thessalians, speak Thessalian' (Ael.);

•ETYM No doubt a Pre-Greek name, probably from \*K<sup>w</sup>et<sup>h</sup>al-. This explains all the variants, notably σσ/ ττ/ τθ. Connection with θεσσάσθαι 'to pray' is rejected by Chantraine s.v.

**θέσσαισθαι** [v.aor.] 'pray, ask'. <IE \*g<sup>wh</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>- 'pray'>

•VAR Ptc. θεσσάμενος, 3pl.ind. θέσαντο (Hes., Archil.); glosses θέσσεσθαι αἰτεῖν, ἰκετεύειν 'to ask (for), supplicate'; θεσσόμενος· δεόμενος, ζητούμενος, ἰκετεύων 'wanted, sought for, supplicating' (H.).

•COMP As a second member in πολύ-θεστος et al., probably also in ►ἀπό-θεστος, PN Ἀγλω-θέστης (Fraenkel 1910: 14 n. 2).

•DER Θεστορίδης, Θεστόρειος; Θέστωρ "entreater", father of Kalchas, etc. (Il.).

•ETYM A sigmatic aorist beside ►ποθέω 'entreat'. Together with the Boeot. PN Θιόφειστος, this points to IE \*g<sup>wh</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>- + -σασθαι. OIr. has a subjunctive in -s-, 1pl. -gessam (recalling θέσσαισθαι), and an indicative *guidiu* 'pray' = ποθέω. Iranian has a yod-present in Av. *jaidiieimi* = OP *jadiyāmiy* 'pray', which may be identical to the supposed present θέσσεσθαι (IE \*g<sup>wh</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>-i-). Cf. also the EN ►Θεσσαλοί.

**θέσφατος** [adj.] 'decreed by a god, decided' (Il.), also 'enormous' (ἀήρ η 143; cf. ἀχλὺς θεσπεσίη η 42; different Schwyzer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 10). <IE \*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>s- 'god, holy'>

•DER Also ἄ-θέσφατος (ὄμβρος, θάλασσα et al.; Il.), properly "what has not been decided by the gods", i.e. "what does not fit in a given order" (Fraenkel 1923: 281f.). Perhaps a pleonastic privative ἄ-, like in ἄ-βέλτερος, but cf. the analysis in Benveniste 1969(2): 140ff.

•ETYM Compound from \*θεσ- 'god' (see ►θεός) and the \*to-ptc. of φημί. Cf. ἄ-φατος, as well as διφάσιος, etc.

**θέω** 1 [v.] 'to run' (Il.). <IE \*d<sup>h</sup>eu- 'run'>

•VAR Fut. θεύσομαι, ipf. θέεσκον (Hom.), later aor. θεῦσαι (Vett. Val.).

•DIAL Myc. *pe-ri-to-wo* /Peri-t<sup>h</sup>owos/ (in Πειρίθοος, εἰ by metrical lengthening).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, παρα-.

•DER Θεῦσις 'running' (Corn. ND 1), θοός 'quick' (Il.) with Θόας, -αντος PN, also HN (Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 2 (1950-1951): 236; 3, 162), Θόωσα [f.] PN (Od., Emp.); θοάω 'bring in quick movement, move quickly' (E.) together with θόασμα 'dancing place' (Orph. H. 49, 6). On ►βοηθός, -θέω, see s.v.

•ETYM The thematic root present θέ(φ)ω (cf. θεῦ· δεῦρο, τρέχε 'Over here!, Run!' [H.]) is identical with Skt. *dhavate* 'stream, flow', except for the diathesis. Skt. *dhāvati* 'run, stream' with lengthened grade has no counterpart in Greek; epic θείη and θείειν have metrical lengthening, and the latter may stand for \*θε(φ)έμεν (cf. Chantraine 1942: 102; 346; 492). The Germanic word for 'dew' remains uncertain: OHG *tou* [m.], ON *dogg*, gen. *doggwar*, PGM. \**dawwa*-, etc. < IE \*d<sup>h</sup>ómo-, -ā (would be Gr. \*θό(φ)ος, \*θο(φ)ή). The gloss ἄδδε· ἐπείγου 'hurry!' (H.) is also unclear.

**θέω** 2 [v.] 'to glow', only in ὀδόντων λευκὰ θεόντων (Hes. Sc. 146); thence by imitation ὕλη χλωρὰ <θ>ούση (Theoc. 25, 158) and ποίην ... χλωρὰ θεούσαν (*Epigr. Gr.* 1046, 83). <IE? \*d<sup>h</sup>eu- 'glow', GR>

•VAR Cf. θοόν· λαμπρόν 'bright' (H.; also explained as ὀξύ, σκοτεινόν, ἰσχυρόν, ταχινόν 'bright, dark, strong, swift'); θοῶσαι· ὀξύναι, λαμπρύναι 'blaze, make brilliant' (H.).

•ETYM For λευκὰ θεόντων, Wackernagel 1955(2): 852ff. attractively reads one word λευκαθεόντων (from λευκαθέω for \*λευκάθω = λευκαθίζω). If this is correct, θέω 'to glow' would cease to exist. The explanation of θοός, θοῶσαι as λαμπρός, λαμπρύναι probably goes back on the same tradition. From \*λευκάθω also comes the name of the goddess Λευκαθέα (Wackernagel 1955(2): 852ff.).

**θεωρός** [m.] 'spectator, envoy to a festival or to an oracle' (IA, post-Hom.), also name of an overseer (Mantineia, Thasos). <IE \*uer- 'observe'>

•VAR As a loan from Attic, adapted to the local dialect, Dor., etc. θεᾶρός, Arc. also θαορός; Ion. also θεωρός (Paros), θευρός (Thasos).

•COMP As a first member in θαρο-δόκος 'who receives the θ.', together with -δοκέω, -δοκία (inscr.).

•DER 1. θεωρίς (sc. ναῦς) [f.] 'ship of the θ.' (IA); 2. Θεάριος epithet of Apollo as an oracle-god (Troezen), θεάριον 'meeting place of the θ.' (Pi.); 3. θεωρικός 'reserved for the spectators', τὸ θ. 'contribution of the spectator' (Att.). 4. θεωρία, -ίη, θαρία, Boeot. θαωρία (hybrid form) 'perception, awareness; mission to a festival'. 5. θεωροσύνη 'id.' (Man.). 6. denominative verb: θεωρέω 'be θεωρός, observe, contemplate' (IA), together with θεωρητικός 'contemplative, etc.' (Arist.; θεωρητής Phld.), θεωρήμα (Att., Arist.), -ησις (Pl.; Röttger 1937: 17f.), -ητήριον et al. On Θεάριστος Zucker *Maia* 11 (1959): 162.

•ETYM Properly "who watches a show", \*θεᾶ-(φ)ορός, \*θεη-(φ)ορός > θε(ε)ωρός with quantitative metathesis and hyphaeresis; also, θεωρός > θευρός, probably after -ορος (as in ἔφορος). See Buck 1953: 443f. and Szemerényi *Glotta* 33 (1954): 250<sup>2</sup>. Koller *Glotta* 36 (1958): 273ff. connects θεωρός with θεός, which is implausible; see the objections in DELG. The meaning 'theory, theoretical, etc.' is not found until after Aristotle, and developed from 'contemplation of a Form' (cf. Festugière 1936).

**θήγω** [v.] 'to sharpen, whet; to excite' (Il.). <IE \*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>g- 'whet, sharpen'>

•VAR Also θηγάνω (A. Ag. 1535 after H.), aor. θήξαι. With ὀ-vocalism: τέθωκται· τεθύμωται 'to be provoked'; τεθωγμένοι· τεθυμωμένοι 'who are provoked' (H.); less certain are θῶξαι (also θᾶξαι)· μεθύσαι, πληρῶσαι 'to make drunk, make full'; τεθωγμένοι (also τεθαγμένοι)· μεμεθυμένοι 'drunken' et al., (H.).

•DIAL Dor. θάγω.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. παρα-, συν-, ὑπο-.

•DER θηγάνη 'whetstone' (A., S.; H. also θήγανον) with θηγανίτης λίθος 'id.' (IG 14, 317, Sicily); θηγαλέος 'sharp' (AP, Chantraine 1933: 253); in H. also θηγάνεον, θηγόν-όξυ, ἡκονημένον, ἀκονητόν 'sharp, sharpened', θήξις· ροπή, στιγμή, τάχος 'decision [weight], point [of time], speed'.

•ETYM From IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>g-oH*, with the Arm. instrument noun *daku*, gen. pl. *dakuam* 'axe', probably from an *u*-stem IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>g-u-* 'sharp'. See Lidén 1906: 55. LIV<sup>2</sup> (following Clackson 1994: 116ff.) calls this connection with Arm. uncertain.

**θήκη** [f.] 'case, chest; tomb' (IA). <IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* 'set, make'>

•COMP Very frequently as a second member, both prefixed (δια-, ὑπο-, συν-, etc.) and with nominal first member (βιβλιο-, χαλκο-θήκη).

•DER Diminutive θηκίον (pap.) and θηκαῖος 'for the tomb' (Hdt.); thence again several derivatives.

•ETYM Often connected with Skt. *dhākā-* [m.] 'container, etc.' (gramm.), but perhaps independent formations; see ► τίθημι.

**θηλέω** [v.] 'to flourish'. ⇒ θάλλω.

**θηλή** [f.] 'mother's breast, nipple' (IA). <IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* 'suck(le)'>

•COMP As a second member e.g. in ἄ-, εὖ-, νεό-θηλος (-θηλής).

•DER θηλώ· τροφός, τήθη 'nurse, grandmother' (H., Plu.). Denominative verb θηλάω 'to suckle, suck' (IA, Dor.) with θήλασμα, θηλασιός 'suck(!)ing' (Plu., pap.), θηλάστρια 'wet-nurse' (S., Com.); also θηλαμίων 'id.' (Sophr., Thespis), probably to θηλά-σαι after τελά-σαι : τελα-μίων et al.; here θηλαμινού· νεογνού 'new-born'; θήλαντο· ἐθήλασαν 'they suckled' (H.; correct?); cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 361. Uncertain θηλονή 'wet-nurse' (Plu. 2, 278d).

•ETYM A counterpart to θηλή is *\*fēla* 'mother's breast' in Lat. *fēlare* 'to suckle', IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-leh<sub>2</sub>*. From similar pre-forms stem Latv. *dēls* 'son' < *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-lo-*, properly "suckling", and U *feliuf* [acc.pl.m.] 'sues lactantes, i.e. 'sucklings' (Untermann 2000: 271f.); Lith. *dėlė* 'leech'.

Various languages have forms with an *i*-extension, which comes from the present of the verbal root, *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i-*: Lat. *filius* 'id.' < *\*d<sup>h</sup>(e)h<sub>1</sub>i-l-io*, Latv. *dile* 'sucking calf' (IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>i-l-*), Mlr. *del* 'nipple', OHG *tila* [f.] 'female breast'. Unclear is Arm. *dayl*, *dal* 'Biestmilch'; Hübschmann 1897: 437, Pedersen KZ 39 (1906): 406. On Lat. *fēlix* 'fertile', see the comments in De Vaan 2008 s.v. Cf. ► θήλυς and ► θήσθαι.

**θήλυς** [adj.] 'female', also metaph. (Il.). <IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* 'suck(le)'>

•VAR Fem. -εια, ntr. -υ; also a fem. subst., cf. Chantraine 1942: 252.

•COMP Compounds like θηλυ-γενής, μισό-θηλυς.

•DER θηλυδρία 'woman-like man' (Hdt., Arist.), from *\*θηλυδριον* (Chantraine 1933: 72); θηλυκός 'womanly, womanish' (Arist., Hell.; cf. Chantraine 1956a: 165), θηλώδης 'womanish' (Ar.), θηλώτις [f.] 'id.' (Prisc.); θηλύτης 'womanhood' (Arist.); denominative verb θηλύνω 'make womanish' (Ion., Hell.). On the comparative θηλύτερος see Benveniste 1948: 117f.

•ETYM A formal counterpart to θήλυς < IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-lu-*, except for the accent, is Skt. *dhārú-* 'suckling'. The Skt. form may directly derive from the verb 'suck' (see ► θήσθαι) with a suffix *-ru-* or *-lu-*, while for the Greek form we may assume an intermediate nominal *l*-stem.

**θημα** •VAR θημών. ⇒ τίθημι.

**θην** [pcl.] 'indeed, certainly, without a doubt', in ἦ θην, οὐ θην et al. (Il.). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained.

**θήρ, -ρός** [m.] 'wild animal, beast of prey' (Il.). <IE *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>ueh<sub>1</sub>r-* 'wild animal'>

•DIAL Aeol. φήρ (Pi.).

•COMP E.g. θηρο-φόνος 'killing wild beasts' (Thgn.), Θηρε-φόνος (Paus. 5, 3, 3; on the compositional vowel -ε- see Schwyzler 438); ἔν-θηρος 'full of wild beasts' (trag.), ἄ-θηρος (Hdt., A.) 'without wild beasts', also 'without hunting' (from θήρα; Sommer 1948: 149f.).

•DER θηρίον 'wild animal, hunted animal' (Od.; Wackernagel 1916: 218; originally diminutive); post-Hom. also 'animal', with several derivatives: diminutive θηρίδιον (Thphr.), θηράφιον (Damocr. *apud* Gal.; Wackernagel *Glotta* 4 (1913): 243f.); θήραφος 'spider' (Cyren. 62), probably a back-formation; θηριακός 'regarding the animals' (medic.), θηριώδης 'full of wild animals, animal-like' (IA); θηριότης 'animal being' (Arist); denominatives: 1. θηριόομαι, -όω 'to turn into an animal' (Pl., Eub.) with θηρίωσις (Luc.); beside it θηρίωμα 'malignant ulcer' (medic.) from θηρίον 'id.'; 2. θηριάζομαι 'id.' (*Corp. Herm.* 10, 20). θήρειος 'ptng. to wild animals' (IA). Denominative verbs: 1. θηράω 'to hunt' (A.), perf. ptc. πεφειράκοντες (Thess.); thence θηρατήρ, -άτωρ (-ρητ-) 'hunter' (Il.) with θηρατήριος (S.); also θηρατής 'id.' (Ar.) together with θηρατικός (X.); θήραμα 'hunting booty' (E.), θήρατρον 'hunting device, net' (X.); θηράσιμος 'worth hunting, worth trying' (A. *Pr.* 858). Here also belongs the back-formation θήρα 'hunt, booty' (Il.) together with θηροσύνη 'id.' (Opp., AP), θηρότις· θηρεύτρια (H.), after ἀγρότις. As a second member -θήρας, e.g. ὀρνιθο-θήρας 'bird-catcher' (Ar., Arist.). 2. θηρεύω 'to hunt' (τ 465) together with θηρευτής 'hunter' (Il.), θηρευτικός (Ar., X., Arist.), also θηρευτήρ (Opp.), fem. θηρεύτρια (pap.), θήρευμα 'catch' (S., E., Pl.), θήρευσις 'hunt' (Ph).

•ETYM Lat. *fērus* 'wild' underwent pretonic shortening from *\*fērō-* (cf. Schrijver 1991: 343), which makes a reconstruction *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>ueh<sub>1</sub>r-* possible. The plural forms θήρες, θηρών have exact counterparts in Eastern Lith. *žvėres*, *žvėrių*, < IE *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>ueh<sub>1</sub>r-es*, -om. Most BSl. forms were transferred into the *i*-stems: nom.sg. Lith. *žvėris*, OCS *zvěrb* 'id.'. Also related is ToB *šerwe* 'hunter' < *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>ueh<sub>1</sub>r-uo-*.

**θής, θητός** [m.] 'serf, bondsman; hired labourer' (Od.). <PG>

•VAR Fem. θήσσα, Att. θήττα (E., Posidipp.). Also θάτας· θήτας (θάτας· θύτας 'sacrificers' cod.), τοὺς δούλους. Κύπριοι 'slaves' (Cypr.) (H.).

•DER θητικός 'of a serf' (Lex. *apud* D., Arist.), θητεύω 'be a serf; work for wages' (Il.) with θητεία 'wage-earning' (S., Isoc.), θητεῖον 'wages' (Ath.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Argumentation against connection with θέω 'run' in Fraenkel 1910: 87<sup>2</sup>). Acc. to Aßmann *Glotta* 9 (1918): 96, it is a loanword from West Semitic.

See E. Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 79f. on the meaning, etc. The original form was \**t<sup>h</sup>āt-*, thus it was probably Pre-Greek.

**θησαυρός** [m.] 'treasury, warehouse, receptacle, treasure' (Hes.). <PG>

- COMP E.g. θησαυρο-φύλαξ 'guard of the treasury' (Hell.).
- DER θησαυρικός 'belonging to the treasury' (pap.), θησαυρώδης 'full of treasures' (Philostr.); θησαυρίζω 'save, collect' (IA) together with θησαύρισμα 'savings, store, treasure' (Democr., trag.), θησαυρισμός 'storage, preservation' (Arist., Thphr.), -ιστής 'who preserves' (Poll.) with -ιστικός (Arist.).
- ETYM No etymology, but probably a technical loanword, without a doubt from Pre-Greek. The appearance of the word could suggest a pre-form in \*-ar<sup>w</sup>-o-. From Greek, Lat. *thēsauros*, *thēsaurizō*.

**θῆσθαι** [v.inf.pres.] 'suck' (δ 89). <IE \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-i-* 'suck, suckle'>

- VAR Aor. 3sg. θῆσατο (Ω 58, Call. *Jov.* 48), θησάμενος (*h. Cer.* 236); θῆσατο 'suckled' (as opposed to 'sucked', *h. Ap.* 123); act. θῆσαι· θρέψαι, θηλάσαι 'to feed, suckle' (H.).
- ETYM IE has a root \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-*, found in Greek θη- (θηλή, θῆλυς, τιθήνη, γαλαθηνός, θήνιον· γάλα H.) and in Sanskrit (inf. *dhātave*, *dhātri-* 'wet-nurse', etc.). Correspondences to θῆ-σθαι have a yod-present: OHG *tāen*, 1sg. *tāju*; Latv. *dēt*, 1sg. *dēju* 'to suck'. Although it seems athematic, a yod-present \*θῆ-ι-σθαι may be assumed for θῆσθαι as well; it is perhaps an innovation after the aor. θῆσατο (Frisk). Beside these formations, there was an *i*-present \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-(e)i-* in Skt. *dhāyati*, which agrees with OCS *dojъ* and with Go. *daddjan*, OSwed. *dægga* 'suck' (with "Verschärfung" [gemination] of the yod). Further forms belonging to this present: Skt. *dhītá-* 'sucked', *dhenú-* 'milk cow', MHG *diēn* 'suckle'. See LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>(i)-* 'Muttermilch saugen'. Discussion of Anatolian forms like Lyc. *tideimi* 'child' in Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *tēta(n)-*. Unrelated is ► τιθασός.

**θῆτα** [n.] the eighth letter of the Greek alphabet (Ar.). <LW Sem.>

- VAR Gen. θήτατος (Democr. 20), Lat. *tetates* [pl.] from θήτατες; further uninflected.
- ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *ṭēth*. See Schwyzer: 140.

**θίασος** [m.] 'Bacchic revel; religious guild' (IA). <PG>

- DER θιασώτης 'participant of a θ.' (IA), fem. -ώτις (Opp.) together with -ωτικός; also θιασίτης 'id.' (Ion. and Hell. inscr.) together with -ιτικός; θιασώδης 'θ.-like, belonging to a θ.' (Nonn.); θιασῶνες· οἵκοι, ἐν οἷς συνιόντες δειπνοῦσιν οἱ θίασοι 'halls in which the companies took their meals communally' (H.). Denominative verbs: 1. θιασεύω 'introduce in a θ., participate in a θ.' (E., Str.) with θιασεῖα (Procl.); 2. back-formation θιάζω in ἐξεθιάζε· χορείας ἐπετέλει 'was performing dances'; ἐπεθιάζεν· ἐχόρευεν 'was dancing', aor. θιάσαι· χορεύσαι (H.).
- ETYM Formation like θύρσος et al. An expression of the Dionysiac religion, and as such suspected of foreign origin: probably Anatolian (= Pre-Greek?), in spite of older interpretations in Indo-European terms (see Bq).

**θῖβις** [f.] 'basket of papyrus' (LXX). <LW Sem.>

- VAR Nom. also θίβις, θίβη; gen. -εως, also θίβωνος· κιβωτοῦ, Κύπριοι 'coffer (Cypr.)' (H.).

•ETYM A loan from Semitic, Hebr. *tēbhāh*, which itself is a loan from Egyptian *db:t* 'box'; see E. Masson 1967: 76.

**θιβρός** [adj.] meaning uncertain (only in Alexandrian poets); epithet of Κύπρις (Call. *Fr.* 267), of Σεμίραμις (Euph. 81), of ὤεα χελύνης (Nic. *Al.* 555), and of ὀφίων κῆρ 'snake-poison' (Nic. *Th.* 35). <PG(V)>

- VAR Also θιμβρός (Nic. *Th.* 35 v.l.).
- DER The Spartan name Θίβρων is often found as Θίμβρων in the mss. (Harp., Phot., Su.). Besides Θίβρον· τὸ τρυφερόν (Theognost.).
- ETYM Explained gropingly by the ancients as 'hot, soft, etc.'; cf. H.: θιβρόν· τρυφερόν, καλόν, σεμνόν, ἀπαλόν 'delicate, beautiful, revered, soft'; θιβρήν· φιλόκοσμιον, καλλυντικὴν .... καὶ παρὰ μὲν Νικάνδρῳ τὴν ἔμπυρον καὶ καυστικὴν, τινὲς δὲ χαλεπὴν. Although the etymology is uncertain, the prenasalized form points to Pre-Greek origin. Therefore, not related to φοῖβος (as per Ehrlich 1910: 33, who derives it from IE \**g<sup>w</sup>h<sub>1</sub>g<sup>w</sup>-ro-*, based on comparison with Slov. *žigra* 'tinder').

**θιγγάνω** [v.] 'to touch with the hand, occupy oneself with' (Ion. Dor. Arc.; not in Attic or in Hom.; see Wackernagel 1916: 222). <IE? \**d<sup>h</sup>eig<sup>h</sup>-* 'smear, knead'>

- VAR Aor. θιγεῖν (Lacon. σιγῆν Ar. *Lys.* 1004), fut. med. προσ-θίξει (E. *Heracl.* 652; codd. -εις), τεθίζομαι (E. *Hipp.* 1086), aor. pass. θιχθῆναι (S., E.).
- COMP Also with prefix like προσ-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-.
- DER θίξις 'touch' (Hp., Arist.), θίγμα 'id.' (Pergam.), θιγμάτων· μασμάτων 'stains' (H.); uncertain θιγῆμα (AP 12, 209; cod. φιλήματα) and θιγάνα 'cover?' (Delph., Labyadae inscr. C 39).
- ETYM The form θιγγάνω has been analyzed as a nasal present of the IE root \**d<sup>h</sup>eig<sup>h</sup>-* (see ► τεῖχος), with supposed parallels in Lat. *fiŋgō* 'to spread, knead, form, etc.', Arm. *diz-anem* 'to heap up' (for further forms, see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.). The -γ- would have spread from the present to the aorist θιγεῖν (for \*τιχεῖν). This etymology presupposes, however, that original IE \**g<sup>h</sup>* became γ after nasal, but this is incorrect, as is shown by ► ὄμφαλος (see ► θάμβος).

**θίς, θίνος** [m., f.] 'heap (of sand), beach, dune, shore' (Il.). <PG?>

- DER ἀποθινόομαι 'silt up' (Plb.). As a second member in ἀκρο-θίνια (-va) [pl.] (rarely [sg.]) 'the upper part of a heap, offering of first fruits' (mostly post-Hom. poetry), a compound from ἄκρος θίς and a suffix -ιο- (differently, Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 289).
- ETYM Without explanation. Wackernagel 1916: 82 A. 2) compares Skt. *dhīṣṇya-* [adj.] 'put on a heap of earth', substantival 'heap of earth with sand', which would go back to an *n*-stem IE \**d<sup>h</sup>isen-*, *d<sup>h</sup>isn-*. Thence he derives Gr. \*θίων, \*θιην, θῖν-, of which the nom. θίς would be an innovation. Improbable. Often compared with MoHG *Düne* and cognates, but this is formally impossible. There have been unsuccessful attempts to relate θίς to the root of ► τίθημι; the word is rather a loan (from Pre-Greek?).

**θιώτης** of ἄρτος (pap. II<sup>p</sup>). <?>

- ETYM Unknown.

**θλάσπις** [f.] 'shepherd's purse, Capsella bursa pastoris' (Hp.). <?>

•VAR Gen. -ιος, -εως; θλάσπι [n.] (Dsc., Plin.).

•DER θλασπίδιον (Ps.-Dsc.).

•ETYM Unknown; folk-etymological derivation from θλάω by Dsc. 2, 156 (see Strömberg 1940: 155). A neuter in -ι is extremely rare in Greek.

**θλάω** [v.] 'to crush, bruise' (Il.). <?>

•VAR (Arist., Herod.), aor. θλάσ(σ)αι (Il.), pass. θλασθῆναι, fut. θλάσω (Hp.), perf. τέθλασμαι (Alex., Theoc.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀμφι-, κατα-, συν-.

•DER θλάσις 'crushing' (Arist.), θλάσμα 'bruising, bruise' (Arist.), θλαστός (Com.); θλάστης 'crusher' = ἐμβρυοθλάστης (medic.), θλαστικός 'crushing' (Arist.); θλαδίας [m.] 'eunuch' (LXX, Ph.) with θλαδιάω (H.) = φλαδιάω; from \*θλάδος, \*θλαδεῖν, cf. φλαδεῖν.

•ETYM No certain connection. Cf. ►θλίβω and ►φλάω.

**θλίβω** [v.] 'to press, bruise' (ρ 221). <?>

•VAR Aor. θλίψαι.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-, συν-, ἐν-, ἀπο-.

•DER θλίψις 'pressure' (Arist.), also prefixed (ἐκ-, etc.); θλιμμός 'id.' (LXX, Aq.); ἀπό-θλιμμα 'what is pressed out, sap' (Hp.), also with ἐκ-; (ἐκ-)θλιβή 'pressure' (LXX, Gal.) together with θλιβερός (Paul. Aeg.), θλιβώδης (Aq.); θλιβίας = θλαδίας (Str.).

•ETYM It has been proposed that it is cross between θλάω and φλίβω (also τρίβω?) (Walde IF 19 (1906): 105, Güntert 1914: 149).

**θνήσκω** 'die'. ⇒ θάνατος.

**θοάζω 1** 'sit'. ⇒ θάσσω.

**θοάζω 2** 'move quickly'. ⇒ θέω.

**θοίνη** [f.] 'meal, banquet, feast' (IA, Dor., Hes. Sc. 114). <PG?>

•VAR Dor. θοίνα, Hell. θοίνα.

•COMP θοινοδοτέω 'to host a banquet' (Crete I<sup>a</sup>-I<sup>p</sup>), θοιναρμίστρια [f.] 'mistress of the banquet' (inscr.).

•DER θοινάτικός (v.l. -νητ-) 'of a banquet' (X. Oik. 9, 7). Denominative verbs: 1. θοινάω, -άομαι 'to entertain, feast' (δ 36) together with θοινάμα 'entertainment, banquet' (E. Ilyr., Posidon.), θοινατήρ 'host' (A. Ag. 1502) with θοινατήριον = θοίνη (E. Rh. 515), θοινάτωρ 'host' (E.), -ήτωρ (AP), θοινατάς 'id.' (Kallatis I<sup>a</sup>); on Doric α see Fraenkel 1912: 16f., Björck 1950: 140ff. 2. θοινάζω 'to entertain' (X., Ael.). 3. θοινίσαι v.l. for θοινησαι (Hdt. 1, 129).

•ETYM Previously derived from \*θωι-να, and connected with ►θώσθαι · δαίνυσθαι, θοινᾶσθαι (A. Fr. 49), θῶται· εὐθηνεῖται, θοινᾶται (H., also θώσασθαι, θωθῆναι); θωσοῦμεθα (Epich. 139), θωστήρια· εὐωχητήρια (Alcm., H.); see Frisk. However, the verb has no etymology; Pre-Greek origin of the group (including ►θώς 'jackal?') seems possible.

**θόλος** [f.] 'round building with conical roof, rotunda', 'round bath' (Od.). <PG>

•VAR Hell. also [m.]; see Schwyzer 1950: 32<sup>4</sup>, 34<sup>2</sup>. On σαλία, θαλιο- see below.

•DER Diminutive θολίδιον (Att.). θολία 'conical hat with broad brim' (Theoc. 15, 39), also 'chest with conical lid' (Poll.); cf. σαλία (σ- < θ-)· πλέγμα καλάθω ὅμοιον, ὃ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς φοροῦσιν αἱ Λάκαιναι. οἱ δὲ θολία 'something plaited, like a basket, which Laconian women wear on the head; others: θ.' (H.); see also H. θαλιοποιοί, which Latte corrects to \*θαλλοκοποιοί. θολωτός 'provided with θ., with conical form' (Procop.), θολικός 'id.' (Suid.).

•ETYM A technical word without explanation. The comparison with a European word for 'valley, etc.', e.g. Go. *dal(s)* [m., n.] 'φάραγξ, βόθυνος', ON *dalr* 'valley, arch', OCS *dolъ* 'βάραθρον, λάκκος', Ru. *dol* 'valley, lower part', MW *dol* [f.] 'valley', should be discarded. The connection with θάλαμος (e.g. Maaß *RhM* 77 (1928): 1ff.) makes more sense; the variation α/ο is typical of Pre-Greek.

**θολός** [m.] 'mud, dirt, ink of the cuttlefish' (Hp., Arist.; on the accent Schwyzer: 459), also adjectival 'troubled' (Ath.). <?>

•DER θολερός 'troubled' (IA), θολώδης 'id.' (Hp., Arist.), θολώω 'make turbid, unclean' (IA) together with θόλωσις 'making turbid' (Arist., Gal.).

•ETYM The word has been connected, as \*θφολός, with some Gm. terms for turbidness of the mind: primary verb OS *for-dwelan* 'neglect, forsake', OHG *gi-twelan* 'be deafened, linger', with several verbal nouns (ON *dvöl* [f.] 'lingering', OS *dwalm*, OHG *twalm* 'stupefaction', Go. *dwals* 'stupid'). These may or may not be connected with a Celtic word for 'blind', e.g. OIr. *dall*. There is no indication, however, that these IE forms (more in Pok. 265) are cognate. Fur.: 391 compares ὀλός 'the dark sap of the cuttlefish' (Hp.).

**θοός 1** 'quick'. ⇒ θέω.

**θοός 2** [adj.] 'sharp', in νήσοις ἐπιπρόεηκε Θοῇσιν (ο 299); cf. Str. 8, 3, 26 Θοὰς δὲ εἶρηκε τὰς Ὀξείας κτλ. (Bechtel 1914 s.v.); said of γόμοι, ὀδόντες, πελέκεις, ξίφος (Hell. and late: A. R., AP). <?>

•DER Factitive aorist ἐθόωσα 'I made sharp' (ι 327), pass. perf. ptc. τεθωμένος (Nic., Opp.).

•ETYM No certain connection; probably not related to Skt. *dhārā* 'cutting edge, blade (of a sword)' (compared by Schulze 1933a: 370).

**θορός** 'masculine seed'. ⇒ θρώσκω.

**θόρυβος** [m.] 'noise, crying, tumult, confusion' (Pi., IA). <PG>

•DER θορυβώδης 'full (of) noise, etc.' (IA) and denominative θορυβέω (also prefixed with ἀνα-, ἐπι-) 'make noise, stir, confuse' (IA); θορυβητικός 'noisy' (Ar.) and θορύβηθρον plant name = λεοντοπέταλον (Ps.-Dsc.); on naming motive Strömberg 1940: 80, on the formation ibid. 146.

•ETYM Formation like ὄτοβος, κόναβος, φλοῖσβος, et al. (Chantraine 1933: 260). The reduplicated form τον-θορύ-ζω (see Tichy 1983: 215f.), τόνθρυς is comparable. Perhaps θρῦ-λέω, θρῦ-λος also belong here; see also ►θρέομαι. The variation θορυβ- (from \**tarup*-?), τον-θρυ-, θρυ(λ)- suggests a Pre-Greek word (cf. Fur.: 229, 381).

**θοῦρος** [adj.] 'rushing, impetuous, furious' (Il.). <IE \**d<sup>h</sup>erh<sub>3</sub>*- 'jump, mount'>

•DER θούρις, -ιδος [f.] (Hom., H.), θουράς (Nic., Lyc.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 354f.); extended in θούριος 'id.' (trag.); also θουραῖος, θουρήεις et al. (H.); denominative ptc. θουρῶσαι [nom.pl.f.] 'rushing towards' (Lyc. 85), from θουράω + accus.

•ETYM From \*θόρ-φος, either directly from the aorist θορεῖν or as a transformation of an *u*-stem \*θόρ-υ-ς (cf. μανός < \*μαν-φ-ός, στενός < \*στεν-φ-ός, etc.). Not related to ▶ἀθύρω, as per Persson 1891: 59.

**θρᾶνος** [m.] 'bench, supporting beam' (Att. and Hell. inscr., Ar.). <PG?>

•DIAL Myc. *ta-ra-nu* /t<sup>h</sup>rānus/.

•DER Diminutive θρανίον 'id.' (Ar.) together with θρανίδιον (Ar.); θρανίτης 'rower of the upper of the three rows' (Th., Ar.), see Morrison *Class. Quart.* 41 (1947): 128ff.; fem. θρανίτις (κώπη; Att.); θρανιτικός (Callix.); θρανίας [m.] (Marcell. Sid.), θρᾶνις or -ίς (Xenocr.) = ξιφίας 'swordfish', after the shape of the upper jaw, cf. Thompson 1947 s.v.

Denominative verb θρανεύω 'to stretch to the tanner's board' (Ar. *Eq.* 369), also θρανεύεται· συντριβέται 'was rubbed together' (H.), ἀθράνευτον· ἄστρωτον 'bare' (H. = E. *fr.* 569); cf. συν-θρανῶ and ▶θρανύσσω.

θρήνυς, -υος [m.] 'footstool' (Hom.), cf. Hermann *Gött. Nachr.* (1943): 8; Chantraine 1933: 118; Benveniste 1935: 56), also θρήνυξ, -υκος (Euph.), θρᾶνυξ (Corinn.) with a secondary κ-enlargement; see Chantraine 1933: 383.

•ETYM If vo- or vu- is a suffix, we can connect the aorist inf. θρήσασθαι, which is usually translated as 'to sit down' (only Philet. 14 [IV-III<sup>a</sup>]: θρήσασθαι πλατάνω γ<ρ>αίη ὕπο).

This group of words is often connected with ▶θρόνος, whence the assumption that θρᾶνος, θρήνυς originally meant 'support'. Recently, De Lamberterie 2004: 236-253 has argued that θρόνος is a younger form of \*θόρνος (Myc. *to-no*, Cyp. θόρναξ H.). He assumes a root \**d<sup>h</sup>erh<sub>2</sub>*- 'support, hold', found in Skt. *dhar-*, assuming \**d<sup>h</sup>orh<sub>2</sub>-no-* for \*θόρνος, with loss of laryngeal by the Saussure Effect. This would mean that θρᾶνος, θρήνυς derive from the zero grade of the root. The fact that the Indo-Iranian root is *aniṭ* is problematic for this account, however. The existence of variants θόρν- and θρόν- could also be an indication of Pre-Greek origin. See ▶θρησκεύω.

**θρᾶνύσσω** [v.] 'to crush'. <?>

•VAR Only aor. ptc. θρανύξαντες (Lyc. 664); συν-θρανῶν 'id.', only perf. pass. συντεθράνωνται (E. *Ba.* 633; = συμπέπτωκε 'has dashed together' H.).

•DER Cf. also θρανεύεται· συντριβέται 'is rubbed together' (H.).

•ETYM Connection with a hypothetical noun \*θραυσ-ανό-ς from θραύω 'shatter' inspires little confidence (cf. Sommer 1905: 64f.). Acc. to Frisk, more probable is connection with θρανεύω 'stretch on the tanner's bench', which H. glosses as συντριβέται. One hypothesis posits the meaning change 'tan (torture)' > 'crush', together with formal adaptation, perhaps to ἀμύσσω, νύσσω, etc. (Sommer 1905: 64f.). Thus also DELG. See ▶θρᾶνος.

**θράσος** •VAR θρασύς. = θάρσος.

**θράσσω** [v.] 'to trouble, disturb' (Pi., Hp., Att.). <IE? \**d<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>h</sup>*- 'irritate'>

•VAR Att. θράττω; aor. θράξαι (A., E.), pass. ἐθράχθη (S. *Fr.* 1055); perf. τέτρηχα intr. 'be troubled, agitated' (Il.).

•COMP Sometimes with prefixes ἐν-, ὑπο-, ἐπι-.

•ETYM The form θράσσω is a primary yod-present from \*θράχ-ιω, beside the old perfect \*τέ-θράχ-α. The rare aorists θράξαι and ἐθράχθη could be innovations after the type πράσσω : πράξαι for older ταραξί (like δαμιάσαι), from which the present ▶ταράσσω was formed, which has the same disyllabic stem form as ταραχή and may be a denominative of it. The form ταραχή should not be explained as from \**d<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>2</sub>-eg<sup>h</sup>*-, since the verbal forms point to a full grade \**d<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>h</sup>*-. Therefore, the only possibility seems to be \**d<sup>h</sup>řh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>h</sup>*-, with secondary accent (see Rix 1976: 73f.), in spite of earlier objections (cf. *Dev.* 206ff.). The form ▶τραχύς 'raw, hard' is a primary nominal formation. The words for 'dregs, sediment' (e.g. ON *dregg* [f.], OLith. *drāgēs* [pl.], Alb. *drā*, Lat. *fracēs* [f.pl.]) should be kept separate from θράσσω. The same holds true for the Baltic group of Lith. *drāgēs*, *dérgti* 'soil, defile, etc.'; the acute accent does not point to a laryngeal (with unattractive \*\**d<sup>h</sup>erh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>h</sup>*- next to \**d<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>h</sup>*-), but rather to PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>erg-*, where the acute is a result of Winter's Law. A possible comparison is that with the Slavic group of OCS *raz-dražiti* 'incite, provoke', which (like Greek) could point to \**d<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>h</sup>*-. However, Derksen 2008 s.v. \**drāžiti* objects that the Slavic accent does not point to a laryngeal. Lit.: Tichy 1983: 171f.

**θράττα** [f.] name of a small sea-fish (middle com., Arist.). <?>

•DER Diminutive θράττιδιον (Anaxandr.).

•ETYM Acc. to Strömberg 1943: 86, properly "the Thracian"; see ▶Θράξ. Otherwise, it could be a deformation of θρίσσα (s.v. ▶θρίξ).

**θραυπαλος** [f.] name of a plant, ephedra campulopoda (Thphr.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**θραυπής, -ιδος** [f.] name of a small bird (Arist. *HA* 592b). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**θραύω** [v.] 'to break in pieces, shatter, enfeeble' (IA). <?>

•VAR Aor. θραῦσαι, pass. θραυσθῆναι, perf. pass. τέθραυσμαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, περι-, συν-.

•DER (ἀπό-, σύν-)θραῦσις 'breaking, etc.' (Arist.), acc. to H. also = σφῦρα, ἡ τοῦς βώλους θραύουσα 'hammer breaking the earth', from which MoGr. dial. (Chios, Ikaros) θράψα (Kukules 'Arch. 'Ep. 27: 61ff.); θραῦμα (A., etc.), also θραῦσμα (Agatharch., Arist.) 'fragment, crushing, wound'; θραυσμός 'breaking' (LXX), θραυστήριος 'appropriate for breaking' (Aët.); θραυστός 'breakable, broken' (Ti. Loc., Thphr.); θραῦλον· κόλουρον 'truncated' (wrong von Blumenthal 1930: 38), θραῦρον· τραγάνον, θραυόμενον 'broken in pieces' (H.; see Schwyzler: 282).

•ETYM The α-vocalism is unexplained. Bechtel 1914 s.v. connects it with θρυλίζω, ▶\*θρυλίσσω (θρυλίχθη, θρυλίξαι), etc. See there and s.v. ▶θρύπτω.

**θρέομαι** [v.] 'to cry aloud, shriek, proclaim' (A., E., always of women). <IE? \**d<sup>h</sup>reu-*>



•VAR Only present except *θρεύετο* (poet. inscr., Epid. IV<sup>a</sup>), artificially formed after *θρεῦμαι* (A. Th. 78); on the imperfective aspect see Fournier 1946: 90 and 228.

•COMP Very frequently as a second member, e.g. *ἄλλο-θροος* 'with another man's voice, with foreign language' (Od.).

•DER *θρόος*, Att. *θρούς* [m.] 'noise, murmur, rumour' (Δ 437, Pi. N. 7, 81, Th., X.). Iterative deverbative (or denominative) verb *θροέω* 'cry, proclaim, speak' (trag.), with aor. *θροῆσαι*; rarely with prefix *δια-*, *προσ-* et al.; pass. *θροεῖσθαι*, *θροηθῆναι* 'be drowned, confused, frightened' (LXX, NT); from there *συνθρόησις* 'confusion, shyness' (S. E. M. 9, 169).

•ETYM Beside the thematic root present *θρέ(φ)ομαι*, which points to IE \**d<sup>h</sup>reu-o-*, Armenian has an athematic root present *erdnum*, aor. *erdu-ay* 'swear', from QIE \**d<sup>h</sup>ru-neu-mi* (cf. OLat. *deicō* next to Gr. *δείκνυμι*). See Frisk 1944: 8ff., where relation with *θάρνυται* as 'speak' (*δηλοῖ τὴν διὰ λόγων ἔντευξιν* H.) is also considered. Non-IE words like *θόρυβος*, *θρυλέω*, *θρύλος* must be kept separate. Pok. 255 contains much Greek material of non-IE origin. Cf. also ►*θρήνος* and ►*τονθορύζω*.

**θρήνος** [m.] 'dirge, lament, lamentation' (IA, Ω 721; on the meaning Diehl *RhM* N.F. 89 (1940): 90 and 112). ◀PG?▶

•COMP Compounds like *θριν-φδός* 'who sings a lament' (Alciph.), together with *θριν-φδέω*, -ία (E., Plu.); *ἔν-θρήνος* 'full of lament' (pap.).

•DER *θρινώδης* 'like a lament' (Pl.), *θρήνωμα* = *θρήνος* (pap. I<sup>a</sup>, cf. Chantraine 1933: 186f.). Denominative verb *θρινέω*, aor. *θρινῆσαι* 'start a lament, lament, wail for' (Ω 722), also prefixed, e.g. *ἐπι-*, *κατα-*, with several derivatives: *θρήνιμα* 'lament' (E.), *θρινη-τής*, -ιτήρ (A.) 'lamentation', also *θρινήτωρ* (Man.); *θρινητικός* (Arist.); *ἐπιθρήν-ησις* (Plu.).

•ETYM In the first place, *θρήνος* should be connected within Greek with ablauting *θρώνας*, *κηρήν*. *Λάκωνες* 'drone' (Lacon.) (H.) and reduplicated *τενθρήνη* 'hornet' (cf. also on *ἀνθρηδών*; see Kuiper 1956: 221f.). In other languages, we find words denoting sounds of similar appearance: Skt. *dhrāṇati* 'sounds' (gramm.) and the Gm. word for 'drone', e.g. OS *dreno*, and Go. *drunjus* 'sound'. These are rather independent onomatopoeic formations. We are probably dealing with a Pre-Greek word.

**θρήνυξ** •VAR *θρήνυς*, *θρήσασθαι*. ⇒ *θράνος*.

**θρησκεύω** [v.] 'to perform or observe religious customs' (Hdt.), 'to worship' (LXX). ◀PG?▶

•DER *θρησκεία*, Ion. -ῆϊη 'holy service, religious practice' (Ion.), also *θρήσκευμα*, -ευσίς 'id.' (Hell.); *θρησκευτής* 'worshipper' (late); deverbally *θρήσκος* 'fear of the gods' (Ep. Jac. 1, 26) with *θρησκώδης* 'id.' (Vett. Val.); *θρήσκια* [n.pl.] 'religious customs' (POxy. 1380, 245, II<sup>p</sup>, OGI 210, 9, Nubia III<sup>p</sup>).

On the history of *θρησκεύω*, -εία see van Herten 1934.

•ETYM As *θρήσκος* is clearly deverbally, another starting point for *θρησκεύω* must be found. Another σκ-present is found in the glosses *θρήσκω*· *νοῶ* 'to think of' and

*θράσκειν*· *ἀναμνησκειν* 'to remember' (H.); *θρησκεύω* could be an enlargement of these. The glosses would point to Ionic origin for *θρησκεύω*.

Beside the present *θρήσκω*, we also find a gloss *ἐνθρεῖν*· *φυλάσσειν* 'to guard, observe' (H.). However, if we explain this as a zero grade thematic aorist, then *θρήσκω*, which must derive from \**d<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>2</sub>-ske/o-*, becomes unexplainable. Perhaps, then, the word is Pre-Greek.

The relevant nominal gloss *ἀθερές*· *ἀνόητον*, *ἀνόσιον* 'stupid, unholy' (H.) could point to a neuter \**θέρος* or an aorist \**θερεῖν*.

Further connection with ►*θρόνος*, ►*θράνος* is improbable.

**θρίαί** [f.pl.] Nymphs on the Parnassos who fed Apollo; also name of pebbles that served as lots of an oracle (Philoch. 196, Call. Ap. 45; uncertain conj. *h. Merc.* 552). See the texts in Amandry 1950: 27-29. ◀?▶

•VAR Also *θρίαί*.

•COMP *θριοβόλοι* [pl.] 'who threw the θ.' (Epic. *apud* St. Byz. s.v. *Θρία*, Suid.).

•DER *θριάζειν*· *ἐνθουσιᾶν*, *ἐνθουσιάζειν* 'be inspired, be possessed by a god' (H.) from S. (Fr. 466) and E. (Fr. 478) together with *θρίασις* (Suid.); also *θριάσθαι*· *μαντεύεσθαι* 'to divine' (AB 265).

•ETYM Origin unknown. von Wilamowitz 1931: 379ff. thought it was originally identical with *θρία* 'leaves of the fig'. See Amandry 1950: 62, 133 and Fur.: 191 (uncertain). There seems little reason to connect it with *θριαμβος*.

**θρίαμβος** [m.] name of hymns sung at festivals for Dionysus (Cratin. 36), also said of the god (*Trag. Adesp.* 140 et al.); also a Hell. rendering of Lat. *triumphus* (Plb., D. S.). ◀PG▶

•DER *θριαμβικός* = *triumphālis*, *θριαμβεύειν* = *triumphāre*.

•ETYM Formation like ►*διθύραμβος*, ►*ἵαμβος* and, like these, probably Pre-Greek. Since Sommer 1905: 58ff., it has often been connected with the numeral 'three' ('Dreischnitt' vel sim.), which is impossible. Acc. to Sturtevant *Class. Phil.* 5 (1910): 323ff., it is from *θριάζω*, *θρίασις*, by influence of *ἵαμβος*. See also Theander *Eranos* 15 (1915): 126. Fur. 191 connects it with *τριάζω* 'to conquer'.

**θριγκός** [m.] 'topmost course of stones in a wall, cornice, frieze', also metaph. (Od.), 'fence' (E., Ar.). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR Mostly plur., late also *τριγρός* (SIG 1231, 6 [Nicomedia III-IV<sup>p</sup>], H., sch.), *θριγγός* (v.l. Plu. 2, 85f.), *θριγγός* (v.l. Dsc. 4, 85).

•DER *θριγκίον* (Luc., App.), *θριγκώδης* 'like a coping' (H.) sub *αἵμασιαι*; *θριγκώ* [v.] 'to provide with a θ., crown, complete' (ξ 10 et al.) with *θρίγκωμα* = *θριγκός* (J., Plu.), see Chantraine 1933: 186f.

•ETYM A term of construction; see discussion on ►*γείσων*. The forms *τριγρός* and *θριγγός* may show old variation or more recent developments. The form *στριγγός*· *τειχίον*, *στρικτόριον*, *στεφάνη δώματος* 'little wall, crown of a building' (H.) may be a cross of *τριγρός* and *στρικτόριον* (= Lat. *strictōrium*). The word is without a doubt Pre-Greek.

**θρίδαξ, -ακος** [f.] 'lettuce' (Epich., Ion., Hell.). ◀PG(V)▶

•DER θριδακίνη 'id.' (Att., Hell.; Chantraine 1933: 204) together with -ίνης [f.] (Stratt.), θριδακίσκα (Alcm. 20; Chantraine 1933: 407), θριδάκιον (Plu.); also θριδακίας = μανδραγόρας θήλυς (Dsc., Chantraine 1933: 94) and the adjective θριδακ-ής [f.] (Nic.), -ώδης (Dsc.) 'lettuce-like'. Several by-forms: θίδαξ (Arr., H.) together with θιδρακίνη (H.; metathesis of liquids, see Schwyzer: 258), θρύδαξ (pap.; after θρύον?), θρόδαξ (H.) together with θοδράκιον (Choerob.).

•ETYM Acc. to Nehring *Glotta* 14 (1925): 151, it is Pre-Greek. Because of the typical leaves, Strömberg 1940: 39 thinks of θρίον 'fig-leaf, leaf in general' and compares οἶδαξ 'unripe figs'. By folk-etymological association with τρι- 'three' arose τετρακίνη = θριδακίνη (Hippon. 135). For the interchange ο/ι, cf. τορνία· σταφυλή beside θρινία· ἄμπελος (Fur.: 392).

**θρίναξ, -ακος** [f.] 'three-pronged fork, trident' (Ar., *Tab. Heracl.* 1, 5, Nic.). <PG(S, V)>

•DER Thence Θρινακίη [f.] "fork-island", name of a mythical island (Od.), later identified with Sicily, and changed to Τρινακρία (τρία ἄκρα) by folk etymology; also Θρινακίς [f.] (Str.); adj. Θρινάκιος 'Sicilian' (Nic.).

•ETYM Technical word in -ᾶξ (Chantraine 1933: 377ff.). Mostly interpreted as a compound with τρι- 'three', but the attempts at finding an IE etymology have failed (see examples in Frisk). Fur.: 189 compares τρίναξ 'an instrument in agriculture', with τ/θ; note also the suffix -ακ-, frequent in substrate words. Another comparison has been with θρίον 'fig-leaf' (because of the form), with θρινία· ἄμπελος ἐν Κρήτῃ 'vine on Crete' (H.); very unlikely.

**θρίξ** [f.] 'hair', especially the bodily hair in opposition to κόμη, the well-groomed hair of the head (Il.). <?>

•VAR Gen. τριχός.

•COMP E.g. τριχό-φυλλος 'with leaves like hair' (Thphr., of a pine forest), οὐλό-θριξ 'with curly hair' (Hdt., etc.).

•DER 1. θρίσσα, Att. θρίττα [f.] < \*θρίχ-ια 'Clupea alosa' (middle com., Arist.), a kind of anchovy called after its hairlike bones (Strömberg 1943: 47f.; also Thompson 1947 s.v.); diminutive θρισσίον (pap.); in the same meaning also τριχίς, -ίδος [f.] (Ar.), τριχίδιον (Alex.), τριχίας [m.] (Arist.). 2. Diminutive τρίχιον (Arist.). 3. τριχώδης 'full of hair, hairlike' (Hp., Arist.). 4. τριχωτός 'hairy' (Arist.; cf. τριχόομαι below). 5. τρίχινος 'of hair' (Pl., X.). 6. τριχίτις, -ιδος [f.] sort of alum (after its fibrous structure; Dsc., Plin.). 7. τριχία 'knot' (pap.). 8. τριχισμός 'hairline split of a bone' (Paul. Aeg.), as if from \*τριχίζω; cf. Chantraine 1933: 143ff. Denominative verbs: 1. τριχόομαι, -όω 'to (be) provide(d) with hair' (Arist.); thence τρίχωμα 'hair growth' (Hdt., E., X.) together with τριχωμάτιον (Arist.); τρίχωσις 'hair growth' (Arist.). 2. τριχιάω 'to suffer from a hair disease' (Hp., Arist.) together with τριχιάσις, name of some hair diseases (medic.). 3. \*τριχίζω cf. τριχισμός above.

•ETYM The words for 'hair' are different in most Indo-European languages. The comparison with Mlr. *gairb-driuch* 'bristle' (from *garb* 'raw' and \**driḡu-* or \**driku-*) is better abandoned. Lith. *drikà* 'threads hanging from the loom' (Fraenkel 1955 s.v. *draikas*) presupposes \**d<sup>(h)</sup>rik-*, and therefore cannot be connected.

**θρίον** [n.] 'fig leaf', secondarily also 'leaf' in general; mostly as the name of a dish from eggs, milk, and honey in fig leaves (Ar.). <?>

•COMP As a second member in λεπτό-θρίος 'of fine leaves' (Nic.) with metrical shortening of -ι-.

•ETYM No etymology; a Mediterranean word (Frisk)? Cf. θρινία· ἄμπελος ἐν Κρήτῃ 'vine (Cret.)' (H.), and see also θρίναξ and θρίδαξ.

**θρίσαι** [v.] 'to cut off' (Archil., E., Dsc.). <IE>

•VAR Also ἀπο-θρίξαι, -ασθαι (v.l. E. Or. 128, Ael.), after θρίζ(?); aor. ἔθρισεν δόμον (A. Ag. 536), mostly derived from ἀπο-θερίσαι. Also συνέθρισε· συνέτεμε, λεπτὰ ἐποίησεν. ἀπὸ τοῦ θρίσαι, ὃ ἐστι τεμεῖν 'was cut down, made small; from θ., which means to cut' (H.).

•ETYM Mostly taken as a syncopated form of ἀπο-θερίσαι (LXX, Ael.), belonging to θερίζω 'to mow down' (s.v. ► θέρομαι); the syncope is supposed to be metrically licensed, but it was hardly influenced by θραύω, θρύπτω (as per Frisk). Cf. ► θρίψ.

**θρίψ** [m.] 'woodworm' (Thphr., Men.). <PG?>

•VAR Gen. θρίπος.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in θριπ-ήδεστος 'eaten by woodworms' (Ar., Hyp., Att. inscr.), from ἔδεστος with compositional lengthening).

•DER θριπώδης 'full of woodworms' (Thphr. HP 3, 8, 5; v.l. θριπιδέστατος), together with θριπωδέστατος.

•ETYM Cf. ἴψ, κνίψ, σκνίψ. Güntert 1914: 134f. assumes a transformation of \*θρύψ based on these words, which would belong to θρύπτω 'crumble, rub'; unlikely. See Gil Fernández 1959: 114f. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

**θροέω** 'call, proclaim, speak'. ► θρέομαι.

**θρόμβος** [m.] 'clump, clot, curd', especially of blood (IA). <PG?>

•DER θρομβίον (Dsc.), θρομβήϊον (Nic.), θρομβώδης 'full of clumps' (IA), θρομβόομαι 'form θ., congeal' together with θρόμβωσις 'curdling, thrombosis' (medic.).

•ETYM Compared with MoIc. *drambr* [m.] 'knag, knot' for the reconstruction IE \**d<sup>h</sup>rómb<sup>h</sup>o-*. However, deaspiration of stop after nasal (thus Schwyzer: 333) did not occur in Greek (see especially ► ἀμφί and ► ὀμφαλός; cf. οἶ ► θάμβος), so a direct connection is impossible. The same holds for the comparison with the group of Lith. *dramblỹs*, *dremblỹs* 'fat belly', Latv. *dramblis* 'glutton'. Within Greek, θρόμβος is generally connected with ► τρέφω as 'make congeal', med. τρέφεσθαι, them.aor. τραφεῖν 'to congeal'; θρόμβος would then mean "curdled mass". The verb later received the specialized meaning 'make thick, feed', and had its proper development in Greek. Since τρέφω does not have a convincing IE etymology, the present word would be of Pre-Greek origin as well (Fur.: 274 takes no decision).

**θρόνα** [n.pl.] 'flowers', as a decoration in woven tissues and embroidery (Il.), as a medicine and charm (Hell. poets). Acc. to the sch. on Theoc. 2, 59, the Thessalians used θρόνα for colorful embroidered figures (πεποικιλμένα ζῶα), and the Cypriots for variegated clothes (ἄνθινα ἱμάτια); H. glosses θρόνα both as 'flowers' and as

'colorful embroideries' (θρόνα· ἄνθη, καὶ τὰ ἐκ χρωμάτων ποικίλματα); cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 448; Bowra *JHS* 54 (1934): 73. <PG(V)>

•COMP ποικιλό-θρονος as an epithet of Aphrodite (Sapph. 1, 1), probably after θρόνα ποικίλα (X 441); likewise χρυσό-, ἀργυρό-θρονος et al., see Lawler *Philological Quarterly* 27 (1948): 80ff.

•ETYM Many desperate attempts at finding an etymology: for example, Lidén 1897: 67f., 95f. compared Alb. *drë-ri*, *drë-ni* [m.] 'deer' (PAlb. \**drani*- 'variegated'?, = Illyrian δρανίς [corrected for ἀρ-]· ἔλαφος 'deer' [H.]), from IE \**d<sup>h</sup>roni*-. Solmsen *KZ* 35 (1897/98): 474f. compared θρόνα as 'herbs, flowers' with Ru. *děrn* 'lawn, grass', etc. (rejected by Vasmer 1953 s.v. *děrn*). Fur.: 189 compares τρόνα· ἀγάλματα, ἢ ῥάμματα ἄνθηνα 'statues, colorful stitchings' (H.), which proves Pre-Greek origin.

**θρόνος** [m.] 'throne, seat', also 'chair of state, judge's seat'. <PG?>

•DIAL Myc. *to-no* /t<sup>h</sup>ornos/, *to-ro-no-wo-ko* /t<sup>h</sup>orno-worgos/.

•COMP χρυσό-θρονος 'with golden throne' (Il.).

•DER Diminutives θρονίς [f.] (Them.), θρόνιον (EM, Ptol.); further θρονίτης (cod. -τις)· πρῶτιστος 'principal' (H.); θρονιτικός 'throne-like' (Sidyma); denominative verb θρονίζομαι 'be placed on the throne' (LXX) together with θρονιστής 'enthroner' (liter. pap.), θρονισμός 'enthronisation' (D. Chr.); also θρόνωσις 'id.' (Pl. *Euthd.* 277d; as a rite of the Corybantes), as if from \*θρονόομαι; cf. Chantraine 1933: 279.

•ETYM The formation has been compared with that of κλόνος, which would belong to κέλομαι; the root is assumed to be \**d<sup>h</sup>er*- 'to hold, support', found in Skt. *dhar*-, perf. *dādḥāra*. Within Greek, this root has been recognized in ἐνθρεῖν· φυλάσσειν 'to guard' (H.) (see ►θρησκεύω). The original meaning θρόνος would then be 'supporter, bearer'.

A number of formal problems persist, however. First, a suffix \*-ono- does not seem to have existed in Indo-European or in Greek: there is no certain instance of IE \*CC-on-o- (as opposed to the normal thematic type \*CoC-no-). Since Greek has only a few forms in nom. -ονος (next to the frequent types in -ων, gen. -ωνος and -ων, gen. -ονος; see Chantraine 1933: 159ff.), derivation from \**d<sup>h</sup>er*- with such a suffix is improbable. No other words for 'chair' are derived from the root \**d<sup>h</sup>er*-, nor does Greek have a certain derivative from this root (see Pok. 252f.).

Secondly, the connection with ►θράνος 'bench' and θρήνυς 'footstool' (see De Lamberterie 2004) is problematic, as there are no indications for a *seṭ* root \**d<sup>h</sup>erh<sub>2</sub>*- in PIE. Neither is there any indication that ►θρησκεύω has anything to do with θρόνος. A related form within Greek is θρόναξ· ὑποπόδιον. Κύπριοι. ἢ ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ 'footstool (Cypr.) or a sanctuary of Apollo in Laconia' (H.), for which one assumes metathesis from \*θρόναξ, which is perhaps derived from θρόνος.

Greek words in -ονος are suspected to be of Pre-Greek origin; cf. also χρόνος and Κρόνος with a typical consonantal variation. This may be the case for θρόνος as well.

**θρόος** 'call, voice'. •VAR Att. θροῦς. ⇒ θρέομαι.

**θρυαλλίς** [f.] 'wick', also the plant name 'plantain, *Plantago crassifolia*' (Thphr., Nic.), the leaves of which were used to make wicks (hence it was also called λυχνίτις, Strömberg 1940: 78 and 106). <PG(S)>

•DER From θρυάλλις or from the diminutive θρυαλλίδιον (Luc.) as a back-formation θρύαλλον [n.] 'shower of smut?' (Vett. Val. 345, 22).

•ETYM Cf. φουσαλλίς, συκαλλίς; see Schwyzer: 484 and Chantraine 1933: 252 and 346. The suffix occurs mostly with plants or birds, so the word is probably Pre-Greek. Cf. ►θρύον.

**\*θρυλίσσω** [v.] 'to crush, smash'. <IE \**d<sup>h</sup>reus*- 'crumble'>

•VAR Or \*θρυλίζω? Only in θρυλίχθη δὲ μέτωπον (Ψ 396), θρυλίξας (Lyc. 487).

•DER θρύλιγμα 'fragment' (Lyc. 880).

•ETYM May be analyzed as a denominative verb from \*θρυλος 'fragment', which would belong to MW *dryll* 'fragment', Gallo-Rom. \**drullia* [pl.] 'waste', and go back to IE \**d<sup>h</sup>rus-lo-* vel sim. The primary verb is seen in Germanic, e.g. Go. *driusan* 'fall down', properly \*'crumble (down)'; Lat. *frustum* 'morsel' is probably derived from this verb, like Latv. *druska* 'morsel, crumb' with velar suffix. It is doubtful whether θρυλ[λ]εῖ· ταρασσει, ὀχλεῖ 'agitates' (H.) belongs here; it may also be an occasional use of θρυλεῖν 'brag, boast' (Frisk). Another hypothetical connection is with ►θραύω (Bechtel 1914 s.v.), but then its vowel would remain unexplained, as one would expect \**d<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>2</sub>-u-*; one might also compare ►θρύπτω.

**θρύλος** [m.] 'murmur' (Batr., Orph., pap.). <IE? \**d<sup>h</sup>reu-* 'murmur, drone, rumble' (or PG?)>

•VAR Also θρύλλος.

•DER Further θρυλέω (-λλ-) [v.] 'to boast, brag' (Att.), also with δια- and other prefixes; πολυ-θρύλ(λ)η-τος 'much discussed' (Pl., Plb.), θρύλημα 'gossip, boast' (LXX); also θρυλίζω 'produce a false tone on the cithara' (h. Merc. 488; cod. θρυαλ-[would be metrically better] = θρυλλ-?), together with θρυλισμός, -ιγμός (D. H.).

•ETYM While it seems most obvious to assume that θρυλέω was derived from θρύλος, both the dates and the frequency refute this. Rather, θρυλέω was formed after the many (denominative, deverbative or primary) onomatopoeic verbs in -έω, e.g. κομπέω, κελαδέω, βομβέω, δουπέω, ροιβδέω (see Schwyzer: 726), from which the rare and late θρύλος was a back-formation. It seems obvious that θρυλέω is connected with θρέομαι, θόρυβος, τονθορύζω. It has been suggested that it is a zero grade derivative of IE *d<sup>h</sup>reu-* (Pok. 255), but this root is not well attested (though there is Gr. θρέομαι). As Frisk remarks, it is questionable whether one should analyze an onomatopoeic word in such a purely grammatical way. The frequent notation -λλ- may be an expressive gemination, but it may also point to Pre-Greek origin. Fur.: 237, 281 separates the word from the IE forms and connects it with θόρυβος, with variant \*θρυφ-.

**θρύον** [n.] 'reed, rush' (Il.). <PG(S,V)>

•COMP As a first member in θρυο-πώλης 'seller of reed' (pap.).

•DER θρυόεις 'rich in reeds' (Nic.), fem. θρυόεσσα place on the Alpheios (Λ 711), also called Θρύον (B 592); θρυώδης 'id.' (Str.); θρύινος 'made of reeds', θρυῖτις 'grown with reeds' (of γῆ, pap.). Fur. 135 adduces θρύσιος (EM 456, 31) and θρύσις (sch. Φ 351). On ►θρυαλλίς, see s.v.

•ETYM Formally, one may compare βρύον, but further details are unclear. Sommer's connection (Sommer 1905: 60f.) with the Balto-Slavic group of OCS *trbsti* [f.] 'reed, cane', Lith. *tr(i)ušis* 'id.' (which presupposes IE *\*truso-*) is impossible because of the anlaut. The variants with -σ- (see Fur. above) point to a Pre-Greek word, and this is not unexpected in the case of a plant name.

**θρύπτω** [v.] 'to break in pieces, crumble, enfeeble, weaken', med. 'to be effeminate or prudish, be enervated' (IA). <EUR>

•VAR Aor. θρύψαι, pass. τρυφήναι (Il.), later θρυφθῆναι (Arist.), θρυβῆναι (Dsc.), perf. med. τέθρυμμαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐν-.

•DER 1. τρύφος [n.] 'fragment' (δ 508, Hdt., Pherecr. et al.). 2. τρυφή 'softness, luxuriousness, wantonness' (Att.); τρυφερός 'soft, wanton' (Att.; after θαλερός, γλυκερός et al.) together with τρυφερότης (Arist.); τρυφήλός 'id.' (AP); τρυφαλός = τροφαλός and transformations of it (Luc.); τρύφαξ 'wanton, debauchee' (Hippod.); denominative verb τρυφάω, also with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, with ἐντρυφής = τρυφερός (Man.), 'live softly, luxuriously, be wanton' (Att.) with τρύφημα 'wantonness, luxuries', also concrete (E., Ar.), τρυφητής 'voluptuary' (D. S.). 3. θρύμμα 'fragment' (Hp., Ar.) with θρυμματίς [f.] a kind of cake (middle com.), perhaps also θρυμνός 'a kind of fish' (H.). 4. θρύψις 'tiring out, softness, debauchery' (X., Arist.) with θρύψιχος = τρυφερός 'dainty' (Theognost., H.), after μείλιχος (Chantraine 1933: 404). 5. From the present: θρυπτικός 'mellow, crumbling' (Gal., Dsc.), 'softness' (X., D. C.), θρύπτakon· κλάσμα ἄρτου. Κρήτες 'morsel of bread (Cret.)' (H.).

•ETYM The word θρύπτω may continue a pre-form *\*d<sup>h</sup>rub<sup>h</sup>-ie/o-*, and is compared to Northern European forms: Latv. *drubaža* 'piece, fragment', *drubazas* 'splinter', OS *drūbōn*, *drūvōn* 'to be sad', OIr. *drucht* 'drop' (PCI. *\*drub-tu-*). Latvian also has forms in *p*, e.g. *drup-u*, *drup-t* 'crumble', and in Germanic we find variants too: ON *drjúpa* [v.] 'to drip' (*dropi* [m.] 'drop'). It is probable that ►δρύπτω was modelled on θρύπτω. We are probably dealing with a non-IE substrate word from Europe of the type discussed by Kuiper *NOWELE* 25 (1995): 68-72.

**θρώσκω** [v.] 'to spring, leap upon, rush, dart' (Il.). <IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>erh<sub>3</sub>-* 'leap, mount'>

•VAR θρώσκω (Schwyzer: 710, Chantraine 1942: 317), aor. θορεῖν, fut. θοροῦμαι (Il.), ἔθρωξα (Opp.), perf. ptc. fem. τεθορούης (Antim. 65); after θορεῖν the pres. θόρνυμαι (Hdt. 3, 109, S. Fr. 1127, 9, Nic. Th. 130) for original θάρνυσθαι = κυσκεσθαι 'to conceive' in H.; there also thematic θαρνεύει· ὀχεύει 'covers'; see also on ►θρέομαι.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, ὑπερ-.

•DER 1. From θρω-: θρωσμός (θρωςμός) 'springing, rising' (K 160, Λ 56 = Υ 3; A. R. 2, 823); θρώσις 'cord, line' (Theognost., H.). 2. From the aorist: θορός [m.] (Hdt., Hp., Arist.), θορή [f.] (Hdt., Alcmaion) 'masculine seed', properly 'spring, jump'; from there θορικός 'of seed' (Arist.), θοραῖος 'containing seed, etc.' (Nic., Lyc.), θορώδης 'id.' (Gal.), θορόεις 'consisting of seed' (Opp.); denominative verb θορίσκομαι 'to receive semen' (Ant. Lib.; cf. κυῖσκομαι). On ►θοῦρος, see s.v.

•ETYM The only plausible comparison is found in OIr. *-dair\** 'to leap upon', together with the nouns *der* 'young girl' (< PCI. *\*derā*) and MW *-derig* 'ratty'. The ablaut pattern is identical to that of ►βλώσκω, μολεῖν, μολοῦμαι. The root was *\*d<sup>h</sup>erh<sub>3</sub>-*, with *\*d<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>3</sub>-* giving θρω- before a consonant; θορή contains an *o*-grade *\*d<sup>h</sup>orh<sub>3</sub>-*; the forms with θαρν(ευ)- go back to an old nasal present *\*d<sup>h</sup>r-n-(e)h<sub>3</sub>-* > *\*θαρνω-μι*, which was regularly transferred into the class of *vu*-presents. The form θόρνυμαι has analogical *op* for *ap* after ἔθορον (cf. Harðarson 1993a: 218). The fut. θορέομαι may go back to *\*θερο-* < *\*d<sup>h</sup>erh<sub>3</sub>-* with metathesis (Ruipérez *Emerita* 18 (1950): 386-407); the aorist may have its vocalism from here.

**θύαρος** [m.] 'darnell, Lolium temulentum' (Ps.-Dsc.). <PG>

•ETYM Formation in -αρος like κόμαρος, κίσθαρος, et al. (Strömberg 1940: 58). Connected with ►θύω 'rage, seethe' by comparison with, e.g., Ru. *durnica* 'id.' from *dur* [f.] 'stupidity'. However, the form in -αρος rather points to a Pre-Greek word (cf. the sequence -υ-αρ-), and connection with θύω is a mere guess.

**θυάω** 'be ratty'. ⇒θύω 1.

**θυγάτηρ, -τρός** [f.] 'daughter' (Il.). <IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>-ter-* 'daughter'>

•DIAL Myc. *tu-ka-te*, *tu-ka-te-re*, *tu-ka-ta-ši* /t<sup>h</sup>ugātēr, -eres, -arsi(?)/.

•COMP Rarely in compounds, late as a first member, e.g. θυγατρο-ποιία 'adoption of a daughter' (Cos, Rhodos).

•DER Diminutive θυγάτριον (Com., pap.); θυγατρίδους, Ion. -δέος [m.] 'daughter's son, grandson', θυγατρίδῃ [f.] 'daughter's daughter, granddaughter' (IA), also θυγατερῆς [f.] (Magnesia; after patronymics in -ίς); θυγατρίζω 'call daughter' (com.; cf. Schwyzer 731').

•ETYM Old word for 'daughter', preserved in most IE languages: Skt. *duhitār-* (nom. *duhitā*; on the accent, see below), OAv. *dugadar-*, Arm. *dustr*, Osc. *futir*, MoHG *Tochter*, Lith. *duktė*, OCS *dŕsti*, ToB *tkācer*, ToA *ckācar*, all from IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tér-*. New evidence has come from Anatolian: HLuw. *tuwatra/i-* 'id.', Lyc. *kbatra-* 'daughter'. According to Kloekhorst 2008, these forms point to an old full grade of the root, and he reconstructs *\*d̥ueṭr-* < *\*d̥uegr-* < *\*d<sup>h</sup>uegh<sub>2</sub>tr-*. The ablaut pattern of Greek (barytone θυγάτηρ) would confirm this reconstruction; it is, then, unnecessary to explain θυγάτηρ as opposed to Skt. *duhitā* by analogy after the vocative θύγατερ.

**θυεῖα** [f.] 'mortar' (Com.), also 'oil-press' (pap.). <IE? *\*d<sup>h</sup>uH-* 'fly about, dash'?>

•VAR Also -εῖη (Nic. Th. 91); late also itacistic -ία, -ίη; also θυεῖον [n.] 'id.' (pap.).

•DIAL Myc. *tu-we-ta* /t<sup>h</sup>uestās/.

•DER Diminutive θυ(ε)ίδιον (Ar.); back-formation (?) θυῖς, -ίδος [f.] (Damocr. *apud* Gal.). Further θυέστης [m.] 'pestle' (Dionys. Trag.).

•ETYM Formation like ἐγγχείη (to ἐγγχος), etc., which points to *\*θυεσ-ιά* as a derivative in -ία from θύος 'burnt sacrifice' (Solmsen 1909: 250 fn.). We may compare other words in -ία for *concreta*, especially names of vases like ὑδρία, ἀντλία (Scheller 1951: 48ff.). The meanings 'mortar' and 'oil-press' are supposed to have developed from 'vase for pounding the incense', which is rather strange. The neuter θυεῖον is

reminiscent of the vessel name ἀγγεῖον. On the formation of θυέσ-της, see Chantraine 1933: 312f.

**θύελλα** [f.] 'thunderstorm, hurricane' (Il., Arist.). <IE \*d<sup>h</sup>euhs- 'storm, rage, dash'>

- COMP θυελλό-πους (Nonn.) after ἀελλό-πο(υ)ς (Θ 409) et al.
- DER θυελλώδης (sch. S.) like ἀελλώδης (sch. Il.).
- ETYM From θύω 'storm, rage, dash', perhaps based on ▶ἄελλα, in which the suffix in -l- was inherited.

**θυηλή** [f.] '(part of) a victim sacrificed in a burnt offering' (I 220). <IE? \*d<sup>h</sup>euhs- 'storm, dash'>

- DER Lengthened form (Chantraine 1933: 186f.) θυηλήματα [pl.] (Thphr. *Char.* 10, 13; beside στέμματα). Cf. further: 1. θαλήματα [pl.] 'id.' (Milete V<sup>a</sup>), lengthened from \*θαλή (type ἀγκάλη : ἄγκος) or after ἄλημα, παιπάλημα? 2. θαλήματα [pl.] 'sacrificial cake' (Com., Thphr.), from an λ-derivative to ▶θύω. θυλέομαι (Porph.) is a back-formation from θαλήματα.
- ETYM Formation like ▶γαμφηλαί (but this is not from ▶γόμεφος; s.v.), ἀκανθηλή (: ἄκανθα, Hdn.). Other comparanda are some barytones like ἀνθήλη (to ἄνθος, ἀνθέω), δέικηλον (from δείκνυμι), τράχηλος (from τρέχω, τροχός). The form θυηλή would then be derived from θύος or (less probably) directly from θύω 'to sacrifice'.

**θύλακος** [m.] 'sack, bag', mostly made of leather (IA). <PG>

- VAR θυλλίς· θύλακος (H.), θυλίδες· οἱ θύλακοι (H.); also θύλαξ (com.), perhaps a back-formation from θαλάκιον.
- COMP As a second member in παρσουλακίρ (= παραθυλακίς)· τὸν τρίβωνα, ὅταν γένηται ὡς θύλακος 'a threadbare garment, as it came to be like a sack' (H.; Lacon.).
- DER Diminutives: θαλάκιον (IA), θαλακίς [f.] (Ael.), θαλακίσκος [m.] (com., Dsc.). Other derivatives: θαλακή 'scrotum' (*Hippiatr.*), θαλακώδης (Thphr.), θαλακοίς (Nic.) 'like a sack'; θαλακίτις in plant names (Dsc.): θ. μήκων (after the capsules of the seeds), θ. νάρδος (after the acorn-like stock of the root; Strömberg 1940: 36); θαλακίζειν· τὸ ἀπαιτεῖν τι ἐπόμενον μετὰ θαλάκου. Ταραντῖνοι (H.). Short form, possibly with hypocoristic gemination: θαλ(λ)ίς (H.).
- ETYM Unexplained. Like σάκκος, probably foreign. The suffix -ακ- points to Pre-Greek origin (*Pre-Greek: Suffixes*). A form \*θυλ(ο)-, obtained after removing a suffix -κ(ο)-, has been compared with Lith. *dundilis* 'puffed, big-bellied', but this is only speculation.

The forms θαλλίς· μάρσιππος μακρός 'long bag' and θάλλικα· σάκκου εἶδος 'kind of bag' (H.), with different vocalism, are unexplained.

**θύμαλλος** [m.] name of a fish 'Thymallus vulgaris, Salmo thymallus' (Ael.). <PG(S)>

- ETYM Formation in -αλλος (Chantraine 1933: 317 compares κορύδ-αλ(λ)ος et al.), which has been connected with θύμιον 'thyme' because of the scent (Strömberg 1943: 60f.; doubts in Thompson 1947 s.v.).-- However, as the suffix is Pre-Greek, it is improbable that the basic word was of inner-Greek formation. Via Lat. *thymallus*, the word was borrowed as Ital. *temolo*, etc.

**θυμάλωψ, -ωπος** [m.] probably 'piece of firewood, charcoal' (Com., Luc. *Lex.* 24). <PG(S)>

- ETYM Formation like αἰμάλωψ 'mass of blood, blood clot' (Hp., pap.), νυκτάλωψ 'seeing in the night' = 'day-blind(ness)'; secondarily 'night-blind(ness)', based on which ἡμεράλωψ was created. Since the present word has nothing to do with 'seeing', we are probably dealing with a Pre-Greek suffix -λωψ. Cf. also ▶ἀγγίλωψ, ▶αἰγίλωψ, which no doubt derives from a Pre-Greek word as well.

**θύμβρα** [f.] name of a sweet-scented plant, 'savory, Satureia Thymbra' (com., Thphr., Dsc.). <PG(V)>

- VAR Also θύμβρον (Thphr.) and θυμβραία (Hp. *apud* Gal.; after other plant names in -αία). By metathesis (or adaptation to θρύ-πτω?): θρύμβη (*Gp.*).
- DER θυμβρώδης 'like θ.' (Thphr.), θυμβρίτης οἶνος 'wine spiced with θ.' (Dsc.).
- ETYM Hardly derived from θύμιον, θύμιος 'thyme' (Strömberg 1940: 149), in which case the -β- could be epenthetic between μ and ρ. Persson 1891: 56<sup>4</sup> proposed a derivation from τύφω in -ρ-, with nasalization and deaspiration. This is most improbable, unless the word is Pre-Greek (where prenasalization is common); there was no deaspiration after nasal (cf. ▶ἄμφι). The proposal is rejected by DELG. Niedermann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 14 recalls Anatolian TNs like Θύμβρη, Θύμβριον, and on the other hand Τυφρηστός (southern spur of the Pindos, named after θύμβρα?). Clearly a non-IE Greek plant name, probably Pre-Greek; note the metathesized form. The ending -αία is remarkable. The Anatolian toponyms could stem from a language related to Pre-Greek.

**θυμέλη** 'hearth'. = θύω 2.

**θυμιάω** [v.] 'to produce smoke, fumigate' (IA). <IE \*d<sup>h</sup>euH- 'smoke'>

- VAR Aor. -ιάσαι, Ion. -ιῆσαι; lengthened forms: θυμι-άζω, -ατίζω (*Gp.*), -αίνω (*gloss.*), -ατεύω (sch.).
- COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-.
- DER (Ionic forms unmarked): θυμίασις, mostly from the prefixed verbs (ἀνα-, ἐπι- et al.), 'fumigating' (IA); θυμίαμα, also from the prefixed verbs, 'incense' (IA); ἐπιθυμιατρός 'fumigator' (Ephesus), θυμιατρον 'vessel for fumigation' (Milete, Hell.), also θυμιατρίς (Dam.), mostly θυμιατήριον (IA); deverbal θυμῖη = -ήμα (Aret.); θυμιατός 'fir for fumigation' (Hp., Arist.), -τικός 'id.' (Pl.).
- ETYM Formation in -ιάω (after κوني-άω, etc.; Schwyzler: 732) from ▶θυμός in its old meaning 'smoke', which was lost in the Greek base form.

**θύμιον** [n.] 'thyme' (IA). <PG?>

- VAR Rarely -ος [m.].
- COMP As a first member in θυμι-ελαία [f.] name of a plant, perhaps 'Daphne Cnidium' (Dsc., Plin.; cf. on ἐλαία) together with -αῖτης (οἶνος) 'wine spiced with θ.' (Dsc.); θυμι-οξ-άλμη [f.] 'drink from thyme, vinegar and brine' (Dsc.).
- DER θύμιον = σμίλαξ, also 'large wart' (Hp., Dsc.; cf. Strömberg 1940: 97), θυμίτης 'spiced with θ.' (Ar., Dsc.), θύμιον (μέλι) 'made of θ.' (Colum., Apul.), θυμίεις 'rich

in θ'. (Choeril.), θυμώδης 'θ'-like' (Thphr.). Denominative verb θυμίζω 'taste θ.' (sp. medic.), θυμυχθείς· πικρανθείς 'bitter' (H.).

•ETYM Primary derivative in -μο- from ►θύω 2 'smoke', named after its scent (Strömberg 1940: 27)? This is doubtful. A variant of ►θύμός with short \*u seems impossible in IE terms. As a local plant name, the word is liable to be of Pre-Greek origin. Cf. further the fish name ►θύμαλλος.

**θύμός** [m.] 'spirit, courage, anger, sense' (Il.); on meaning and use in Hom., etc. Marg 1938: 47ff.; also Magnien *REGr.* 40 (1927): 117ff. (criticism by Wahrmann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 214f.). <IE \*d<sup>h</sup>uH-mo- 'smoke'>

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. θυμο-βόρος 'eating the heart' (Il.), θυμ-ηγερέων 'gathering one's spirit, coming to oneself' (η 283; Leumann 1950: 116<sup>83</sup>, Chantraine 1942: 349), θυμᾶρης, θυμήρης 'delighting the heart' (Il.; Bechtel 1914 s.v., Leumann: 66); πρό-θυμος 'prepared, willing' (IA) with προθυμία, -ίη 'willingness' (B 588) and -έομαι [v.] (IA).

•DER Diminutive θυμίδιον (Ar. V. 878); adjectives θυμικός and θυμώδης 'passionate, vehement' (Arist.); denominative verbs: 1. ►θυμιάω 'fumigate' together with θυμίη 'incense'; 2. θυμίομαι 'get angry' (IA), rarely -όω 'id.' (E. *Supp.* 581), together with θύμωμα 'anger' (A. *Eu.* 861, Epigr.), θύμωσις 'id.' (Cic. *Tusc.* 4, 9, 21); 3. θυμιάινω 'be angry' (Hes. *Sc.* 262, Ar., A. R.).

•ETYM Identical with Skt. *dhūmā-*, Lat. *fūmus*, Lith. *dūmai* [pl.], OCS *dymъ* 'smoke'; the meaning 'smoke' is preserved in ►θυμιάω. On the meaning of ►θύμός, see Chantraine 1933: 134. OHG *toum* 'steam, vapor', with an IE diphthong \*ou, has been cited. Cf. ►θύω 2. DELG compares ►θύω 1 'rush in, rage', because derivation from 'smoke' is judged to be difficult.

**θύννος** [m.] 'tunnyfish' (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 1, 62, A. *Pers.* 424, Arist.). <PG>

•VAR Fem. θύννᾱ or \*-η, gen. -ης (Hippon. 26, 2 W, see LSJ *Supp.*); also -ίς, -άς (com.).

•COMP As a first member e.g. in θυννο-σκόπιος 'watcher for tunnies' (Arist.), -έω (Ar.) together with -ία, -εῖον (Str.).

•DER θύννᾱξ, -ᾱκος [m.] (com.; affective formation, see Björck 1950: 62); θυννίτης 'tunny fisher' (inscr. Varna), θύννειος, θυνναῖος 'of tunny' (Ar.), θυννώδης 'tunny-like' (Luc.), θυννεῖα [pl.n.] 'tunny-fishing' (Troezen), θυννευτικός 'belonging to tunny-fishing' (Luc.; as if from \*θυννεύω, cf. also ἄλιευτικός et al.); denominative verbs θυννάω 'catch tunny' (Ar.), also -ίζω (Suid.).

•ETYM Mediterranean word, often compared to Hebr. *tannin* 'big water-animal, whale, shark' (Lewy 1895: 14f.), but this is rejected by DELG. See Strömberg 1943: 126f. and Thompson 1947 s.v., also on folk etymologies (from θύω, θύνω). Borrowed as Lat. *thynnus*, *thunnus*, whence the Romance forms are derived. The fem. in short -α could point to Pre-Greek origin (see Bq.).

**θύνω** 'rush in'. ⇒ θύω 1.

**θύον** [n.] name of a tree, the wood of which was burned for its good fragrance: 'arborvitae' (ε 60, Hell.), 'Callitris quadrivalvis'. DELG also gives 'Juniperus foetidissimus' (s.v. θύω 2). <?>

•VAR Also θύια, θύα.

•DER θυῖον 'resin' (Thphr.).

•ETYM It has been suggested that it is a primary derivative of ►θύω 2. The relation of these forms is not clear; it does not seem very probable that two distinct trees had nearly identical names.

**θύος** [n.] 'burnt offering', mostly in plur. θύη (Il.). <IE \*d<sup>h</sup>euH- 'smoke'>

•DIAL Myc. *tu-we-a* /t<sup>h</sup>ue<sup>h</sup>a/ 'aromatic products'.

•COMP As a first member in ►θυοσκόος, θυο-δόκος 'accepting burnt offerings' (E.), θυη-πόλος 'making offerings, priest(ess)' (A., E.), together with -έω, -ία (θυη- after the plural?).

•DER θυόεις, θύηεις 'rich in incense, etc., fragrant' (Il.; θυῶεν· εὐῶδες 'fragrant' H.); θυώματα [pl.] 'incense, spices' (Ion.), lengthened from θύος (cf. Chantraine 1933: 187) rather than from a denominative \*θυόομαι, -όω, though such a verb seems presupposed by the ptc. τεθυωμένος 'with odour' (I 172 et al.), to which also θυωθέν (Hedyl. *apud* Ath. 11, 486b); θυῖσκη (LXX, J; v.l. -ος), also θύσκη, -ος [f.] (pap., Suid., EM) 'censer', after καθίσκος et al.; θυῖτης (λίθος) [m.] name of an Ethiopian stone (Dsc., Gal.).

•ETYM Primary derivative of ►θύω 2. Thence Lat. LW *tūs*, *tūris* [n.] '(frank)incense'. See further ►θυεῖα.

**θυοσκόος** [m., f.] name of a sacrificial priest, probably "observer of sacrifices" (Hom., E.), also as a translation of Lat. *haruspices* (D. H.); adjectival θυοσκόα ἱρά (IG 14, 1389: 12; verse inscr.). <IE \*(s)keu- 'observe'>

•DER θυοσκεῖν· ἱεροῖς παρέξεσθαι, ἢ θεοῖς 'to attend to a sacrifice' (H.); θυοσκεῖς [2sg.] (A. Ag. 87; -κινεῖς codd.); on the hyphaeresis from \*θυοσκοεῖν cf. βοηθεῖν from βοηθός.

•ETYM An analysis of θυο-σκόος as containing a second member \*σκορός is attractive. This seems to be found as well in Go. *un-skawai* (for \**us-skawai*?) *si jaima* = νήφωμεν. The Gm. iterative OS *skauwōn*, OHG *scouwōn* 'see, perceive' is certainly connected, being parallel to the Greek iterative ►κοέω 'to note, perceive' with *s-mobile* (s.v. and LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*(s)keu<sup>h</sup>-, for further cognates). Cf. also ►ἀνακῶς.

**θύρα** [f.] 'door, doorleaf, mostly plur. 'gate' (Il.). <IE \*d<sup>h</sup>uer- 'door'>

•VAR Ion. θύρη.

•DIAL Myc. *o-pi-tu-ra-jo* /opi-t<sup>h</sup>uraiōi/ 'doorkeeper'

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. θυρᾶ-ωρός (X 69), θυρ-ωρός, -ουρός (Sapph.) 'doorkeeper' (cf. on ►όράω), as a second member with thematic enlargement, e.g. πρό-θυρ-ον 'place before the gate, forecourt' (Il.).

•DER Diminutive: θύριον (Att.) and θυρίδιον (Gp.), θυρίς [f.] 'window (opening)' (IA) with θυριδεύς 'window frame' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>; cf. the names in -εύς in Chantraine 1933: 128), θυριδῶ 'provide with a window' (pap.) together with θυριδωτός (inscr.). Further θυρεός [m.] 'door-stone' (ι 240, 313), name of a long shield = Lat. *scutum*

(Hell.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 51), together with θυρεός 'cover with a shield' (Aq.); θύρετρα [pl.] '(frame of a) door' (epic), together with θυρετρικός (Chios); θύρωμα, often plur. -ώματα 'doorway' (IA; cf. Chantraine 1933: 187); θυρών, -ώνος [m.] 'hall, antechamber' (S.). Adjective θυραῖος, Aeol. θύραος 'belonging to the door, standing before the door, outside, foreign' (trag., Hell.). Denominative verb θυρώ 'to provide with doors' (Att.) together with θύρωσις (Epid.), θυρωτός (Babr.). Θυραυλέω [v.] 'to sleep before the door' is from a compound with αὐλή; \*θυράγματα· ἀφοδεύματα 'excrements' (H.; in wrong position), as if from θυράζω.

•ETYM Starting from θύρ-δα· ἔξω. Ἀρκάδες 'outside (Arc.)' (H.), θύσθεν for \*θύρ-σθεν = θύρα-θεν (Tegea), and from θύραζε 'outside, outdoors' < \*θύρᾱς-δε, we can reconstruct a consonant stem IE \**d<sup>h</sup>ur-*, which is attested in many other languages: OHG *turi* = *Tür* (properly plur.) < IE \**d<sup>h</sup>ur-es*; Lith. *dur-is* [acc.pl.], *dūr-ū* [gen.pl.], Skt. *dūr-ah* [acc.pl.] < IE \**d<sup>h</sup>ur-ns* (on the anlauting *d-* instead of *dh-*, cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *dvār-*). This root noun is frequently replaced by suffixed formations, e.g. the *i*-stem in Lith. *dūr-y-s* [nom.pl.], *dūr-i-ū* [gen.], the *o*-stem in Go. *daur* [n.] = MoHG *Tor*, etc., by an *n*-stem in Arm. *dur-n*, by a *h*-stem in Gr. θύραι, and also in Arm. *dr-a-c'* [gen.dat.acc.pl.], *dr-a-w-k'* [instr.]. - Beside the zero grade \**d<sup>h</sup>ur-*, we find the full-grades \**d<sup>h</sup>uer-*, \**d<sup>h</sup>uor-*, e.g. in Skt. nom.pl. *dvār-ah*, acc.pl. *dūr-ah* (see above), which were often generalized as in Lat. *for-ēs*, ToB *twere*. Enlargements: Skt. *dvār-a-* [n.], OCS *dvor-ъ* 'court', Lat. *for-is* 'outside', *for-ās* '(towards) outside'. A zero grade \**d<sup>h</sup>ur-* has been supposed in ▶θαιρός 'pivot of a door', but its appurtenance is not certain. The thematic enlargement of πρό-θυρ-ον also occurs, e.g., in Skt. *śatā-dur-a-* 'with a hundred doors' (Sommer 1948: 131). Cf. Benveniste 1969:1: 311ff.

**θύρσος** [m.] 'the thyrsos-wand', wreathed in ivy and vine-leaves with a pine-cone at the top (E.). <LW Anat.>

•COMP E.g. θυρσο-φόρος, ἄ-θυρσος (E.).

•DER Diminutive θυρσίον (Hero), θυρσάριον (Plu.); plant name θύρσιον (Ps.-Dsc.), θύρσις (Cyrano), θυρσ-ίνη and -ίτης (Dsc., see Strömberg 1940: 50; the last also name of a stone, Redard 1949: 55); θυρσίων name of a dolphin-like fish (Ath., Plin.; see WH s.v. *tursiō*). Denominative verbs: θυρσάζω 'flourish the θ.' (Ar. *Lys.* 1313; Lacon. ptc. θυρσαδδῶν = -αζουσῶν), θυρσώ 'use as a θ.' (D. S.). Does θυρξεύς, epithet of Apollo in Achaea (Paus. 7, 21, 13), also belong here? See Boßhardt 1942: 77.

•ETYM Loanword from Anatolia; cf. HLuw. *tuwarsa-* 'vine' (Laroche *BSL* 51 (1955): p. xxxiiiif., Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 271f.). See Heubeck 1961: 80.

**θυρωρός** 'doorkeeper'. = θύρα and ὀράω.

**θύσανος** [m.] 'tassels, fringe' (Il.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Usually plur. -οι; on θυσσανόεις see below.

•DER θυσσανόεις (Il.; on -σ- see below), θυσσανωτός (Hdt., J.) 'framed with tassels', θυσσανώδης 'tassel-like' (Thphr.), -ηδόν [adv.] 'id.' (Ael.).

•ETYM Technical word in -ανος (Chantraine 1933: 200). Acc. to Persson 1912(1): 45, it is from \*θύσσα < \*θύθ-ια, which would be identical with Latv. *duša* 'bundle of straw, etc.' < IE \**d<sup>h</sup>ud<sup>h</sup>-ih<sub>2</sub>*. A primary yod-present is found in θύσσειται· τινάσσειται 'shakes'

(H.), but Latte states that the word is an invention of grammarians in order to explain θύσανος. Skt. *dūdhi-* 'tempestuous' and several Gm. words (Pok. 264f.) are unrelated because of their meaning; therefore a separate IE pre-form \**d<sup>h</sup>ud<sup>h</sup>-* can hardly be reconstructed. The variation σ/σσ rather points to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 387, who refers to e.g. Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς. This would be understandable for a word of this meaning.

**θύσθλα** [n.pl.] 'the sacred implements of Bacchic orgies' (Z 134), secondarily 'sacrifice' (Lyc.; influence of ▶θύω 2). <PG>

•ETYM The form θύσ-θλα has been derived from ▶θύω 1 by means of a suffix -θλο- (Chantraine 1933: 375). This derivation does not seem adequate: it presupposes a much more general meaning than the very specific one of the present entry. It is rather be a loan, either from Anatolian or from Pre-Greek. Hardly related to θύρσος (as per Benveniste 1935: 203).

**θύω 1** [v.] 'to rush in, storm, rage' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Also θύω (Hom., *h. Merc.* 560; cf. Chantraine 1942: 51 and 372), θύνω (Il.), ipf. also ἐθύνεον (Hes.), aor. ἔθυσσα (Call. *Fr.* 82).

•COMP Rarely with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ὑπερ-.

•DER θυ(ι)άς, -άδος [f.] "the storming one", 'thyiade, Bacchante' (A., Tim.), also θυῖα [f.] (Str. 10, 3, 10 [and S. *Ant.* 1151, *lyr.*?]; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 95); Θυῖα [n.] name of a festival of Dionysus in Elis (Paus. 6, 26, 1), Θυῖος name of a Thessalian and Boeotian month (inscr.); Θυώνη epithet of Semele (*h. Hom.*, Sapph., Pi.); also θύστα· θυῖα and θυστάδες· νύμφαι τινές, αἱ ἔνθεοι, καὶ Βάκχαι 'maidens that are possessed, Bacchae' (H.); Θυστήριος epithet of Bacchus (EM); θύνος· πόλεμος, ὁρμή, δρόμος 'war, assault, race' (H.; from θύνω; not = Skt. ptc. *dhūna-*); θύσις (Pl. *Cra.* 419e as an explanation of θυμός). Deverbative: θαύω 'be ruddy (of swines)' (Arist.; after βακχάω, μαργάω et al.; see Schwyzler: 726<sup>2</sup>). Unclear θυωθείς· μαυεῖς, ὁρμήσας 'frenzied, inspired' (H.). On ▶θύελλα and ▶θύσθλα, see s.vv. Here also θαύκται [m.pl.] (Troezen II<sup>a</sup>), if = 'mystae sive thiasotae'; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 174; DELG shares this under ▶θύω 2.

•ETYM The form θύνω has been analyzed as an old *vū*-present \*θύ-νφ-ω (with ἐθύνεον < \*ἐ-θύ-νφ-ον), and identified with Skt. *dhūnóti* 'shake'. It is unclear, however, what 'to shake' has to do with the meaning of this verb. A stem θυσ- has been posited for θυστάδες, θύσθλα, and also for θύω, if this derives from \*θύσ-ιω. It is uncertain, however, that this supposed \*θυσ- has anything to do with our verb (Lat. *furō* is better left aside; see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). See also ▶θύω 2. The hesitation between θύω 1 and θύω 2 shows how uncertain the interpretation is. One can hardly even rule out that \*θυσ- is of foreign origin. Note rare forms or meanings, such as θύστα, θυτάδες, θαύω. Pok. 261ff. gives an enormous amount of forms and meanings, but no close parallel for the meaning of θύω 1. In the present situation, without further research, nothing can be said.

**θύω 2** [v.] 'to offer by burning, sacrifice, slaughter' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Fut. θύσω, aor. θύσαι (Il.), τυθῆναι (Hdt.), perf. τέθυκα, τέθυμαι (Att.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-, κατα-, προ-, συν-.



•DER Derivations partly show the older meaning of 'smoke, incense' (see below): 1. θύμα 'sacrifice' (IA, etc.); 2. ἔκ-, πρό-θυσις from ἔκ-, προ-θύω (late); 3. θυσία see below on θύτης; 4. ►θύος [n.] with ►θυέστης et al. 'incense'; 5. ►θύον 'life-tree'; 6. θυητά [n.pl.] 'incense' (Aret.; on the formation cf. s.v. ►θυηλη); 7. θυ(ε)ία [f.] 'strong-smelling cedar, thuja' with θυϊον [n.] 'resin' (Thphr.); to ►θύος? 8. θύτης [m.] 'sacrificer' (Hell.; ἔκ-θύτης from ἔκ-θύω E.); θύτας (Thess.), together with θυτεῖον 'place for the sacrifice' (Aeschin.), θυτικός 'belonging to the sacrifice' (Hell., directly from θύω), θυσία 'ceremonial offering' (h. Cer.); from there θυσιάζω 'sacrifice' with θυσιάσμα, -αστήριος, -ον; 9. θυτήρ [m.] 'id.' (trag.) together with θυτήριον 'sacrificial animal' (E.), also 'altar', name of the constellation Ara (Arat.; Scherer 1953: 192); 10. θύστας ὁ ἱερεὺς παρὰ Κρησὶ 'priest (Cret.)' (H.), fem. θυστάς, -άδος 'belonging to the sacrifice' (A., S.); 11. θύστρα [n.] = θύματα (Cos); 12. θυ<σ>τηρίοις· θυμιατηρίοις 'censer' (H.); 13. θυσμικός 'regarding the sacrifice' (ἔτος; Paros, Tenos). See also ►θυηλή, ►θυμός; not in ►θύμον, ►θυμάλωψ. Unclear θύμελη 'hearth, altar' (trag.), with θυμελικός.

•ETYM The verb was probably thematicized in Greek. We find a yod-present in Latin *suf-fiō* 'fumigate', explained as from *\*-d<sup>h</sup>uH-ie/o-*. Ragot *RPh.* 75 (2001): 144 connects Hitt. *tuh<sup>h</sup>hae-zi* 'to sigh' from *\*d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-*, which would be very far semantically. However, Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *tuh<sup>h</sup>hae-zi* now asserts that the meaning is 'to produce smoke' in Hitt. as well (said of volcanoes). Tocharian has a verb *twasastär* [3sg.med.] 'to ignite', which Hackstein 1995: 354 connects with our root. It is often supposed that 1. θύω and 2. θύω were originally identical. A semantic core like 'rush, rage, whirl, make dust, smoke' vel sim. has been assumed, but this is far from compelling. The different languages show a mass of formations and meanings which can no longer be neatly interpreted; see Pok. 261-267 (and 268-271) for all material. See also ►τύφομαι. On the other hand, θάνατος, θολός and ἀθύρω, which were connected with our verb by Frisk and others, are unrelated.

**θυωρός** [m.] 'table for offerings, 'ἱερὰ τράπεζα' (Pherecyd. Syr., Call.). <IE *\*uer-* 'observe'>

•VAR Also θυωρίς [f.] (Poll.).

•DER θυωρίτης· τραπεζίτης 'banker' (H.), metaph. in Lyc. 93; θυωρία 'ceremonial offering' (Didyma), θυωρεῖσθαι· εὐωχεῖσθαι 'to relish' (H.).

•ETYM From *\*θυο-φωρός* (cf. θυωρόν· τράπεζαν τὴν τὰ θύη φυλάσσουσιν H.); see also ►θυρωρός (but θυο- is difficult). By association with θεός, θεωρία, etc., the spellings θεωρίς, θεωρία arose (Poll., Didyma, imperial period). Not from *\*θυε-ωρος* < *\*θυ-ἄφορος*, as per DELG s.v., as this is semantically implausible.

**θωή** [f.] 'penalty' (N 669, β 192). <IE? *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-* 'put'?>

•VAR θωήη, θωήη (Archil., Ion. inscr., Call.), θοά (IG 1<sup>2</sup>, 114: 42; Att.).

•COMP As a second member in ἀ-θῶος 'unpunished, innocent' (IA) with ἀθωόω 'declare somebody innocent' (LXX).

•DER Denominative verbs: θοάω (IG 1<sup>2</sup>, 4: 7; 12), fut. θοάσει (IG 2<sup>2</sup>, 1362: 14; Att.), θωέω (Delph.), θοέω (Locr.) with ἀθώιος· ἀζημίωτος 'immune from penalties' (H.), θοαῖα (Cret.), θοάζω (El.) 'fine, punish'; thence θωῖαις (Delph.).

•ETYM Formation in -ιά (cf. στωιά, στο(ι)ά, etc.), often derived from τίθημι as 'the settled penalty' with o-grade of the root; a rather simplistic solution.

**θῶκος** = θᾶκος.

**θῶμιγξ, -ιγγος** [f.] 'cord, string; bow-string' (Hdt., trag., etc.). <PG(S)>

•DER Denominative θωμίσσει· νύσσει, δεσμεύει 'to pierce, fetter' (H.), θωμιχθεῖς (Anacr.).

•ETYM Formation in -ιγγ-, which proves Pre-Greek origin.

**θωμός** [m.] 'heap' (A., Ar., Thphr.). <IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-* 'set, lay'>

•DER Denominative θωμεύσαι· συμμίζει, συναγαγεῖν 'mix together, gather together' (H.).

•ETYM Probably identical with a Gm. word for 'judgement, opinion, situation, etc.', Go. *doms*, ON *dómr*, OHG *tuom*. An old verbal noun of IE *d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-* 'set, lay' (see ►τίθημι), thus it properly means 'setting', etc.; cf. ►θέσις, ►θημών.

**θώραξ** [m.] 'cuirass' (Il.), 'trunk, chest' (Hp.). <PG>

•VAR Ion. θώρηξ, hyper-Aeol. plur. θόρρακες (Alc.).

•DIAL Myc. *to-ra-ke* [n.pl.].

•COMP E.g. θωρακο-φόρος 'wearing a cuirass', χαλκεο-θώρηξ 'with bronze cuirass'.

•DER θωρακείον (A., inscr.), θωράκιον (Plb.) 'breastwork, parapet'; θωρηκτής 'soldier with cuirass' (Il.; on the formation Trümpy [see below]), θωρακίτης 'id.' (Plb.); θωρακικός 'belonging to the trunk' (Aët.), θωρακαῖος 'with cuirass (?)' (Delos II<sup>3</sup>). Denominative verbs: 1. θωρήσσομαι, -ω 'to put on a cuirass, armor oneself' (Il.), also metaph. 'to strengthen oneself (with wine, οἶνω, etc.)' (Hp., Thgn.) with θώρηξις 'drinking to intoxication' (medic.). 2. θωρακίζω 'to armor' (Th., X.) together with θωρακισμός (LXX).

•ETYM Technical word without etymology; probably a loan. Unrelated to Skt. *dhāraka-* 'container', but compared with Lat. *lōrica* as a loanword. As a medical term, the meaning 'trunk, etc.' is probably secondary from 'cuirass, armour'. Ample treatment by Trümpy 1950: 10ff. See also Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 354. Most probably a Pre-Greek word; Fur. 302<sup>35</sup> points to a v.l. θύραξ, which would prove Pre-Greek origin. Fur. gives more examples of ω/v; Pre-Greek *\*u* was often rendered by Greek ω. The suffix -ᾱκ- is very frequent in Pre-Greek.

**θώς, θωός** [m., f.] 'jackal, Camis aureus' (Il., Hdt., Arist.); on the meaning (also a ferret?) see Körner 1930: 17f. <PG?>

•COMP No compounds or derivatives.

•ETYM Several hypothetical explanations (see Frisk). Fraenkel *IF* 22 (1907-08): 396ff. interpreted it as 'glutton', related to ►θῶσθαι, ►θοίνη. Probably a loanword; perhaps Pre-Greek.

**θῶσθαι** [v.] 'to eat'. <PG?>

•DER θωστήρια [pl.] = εὐωχητήρια 'offer-food' (Alcm., H.; cf. Kukula *Phil.* 66 (1907): 226ff., Bechtel 1921, 2: 374).

•ETYM Connected with ►θοίνη; Pre-Greek origin seems quite possible, however.

\*θώσσω [v.] 'to make drunk, intoxicate', in θῶξαι· μεθύσαι, πληρῶσαι 'to intoxicate, make full', θᾶξαι· μεθύσαι; τεθωγμένοι ... μεμεθυσμένοι, τεθαγμένοι· μεμεθυσμένοι (all H.), θωχθείς (S. Fr. 173; contracted from θωρηχθείς? See Schwyzler: 16'), etc. <?>

•ETYM The traditional connection with θήγω is doubted by WP 1, 823; instead, they connect it with θοί-νη (as \*θο(ι)άκ-ιω, \*θο(ι)-αξ). DELG thinks the connection with θήγω is folk-etymological.

θωῦσσω [v.] 'to bark, bay, cry aloud, call aloud' (trag.). <?>

•VAR Aor. θωῦξαι.

•COMP Also with prefix: ἀνα-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-.

•DER Agent noun θωῦκτήρ (APl. 4, 91).

•ETYM Formation in -ύσσω; further details unknown. Perhaps derived from θώς \*'cry like a jackal'?

θώψ, θωπός [m.] 'flatterer', secondarily also as an adjective (IA). <PG?>

•DER θωπικός 'flattering' (Ar.), θωπεύω [v.] 'to flatter' together with θωπεία, θώπευμα 'flattery', diminutive θωπευμάτια [pl.], θωπευτικός (Att., etc.); θώπτω [v.] 'id.' (A.).

•ETYM Hardly a root noun of τέ-θηπ-α, ►θάμβος, as per Saussure 1879: 156, since this is a Pre-Greek word. Cf. θώψ· κόλαξ, ὁ μετὰ θαυμασμοῦ ἐγκωμιαστής 'flatterer, praiser' (H.), which may be due to learned analysis.

## I

-ī [pcl.] particle added to pronouns, mostly of demonstrative value. <IE \*-iH 'demonstrative pcl.>

•VAR Att. ὁδ-ī, οὔτοσ-ī, νυν-ī, etc.; also El. το-ī, Boeot. ταν-ī, etc., rarely -īv.

•ETYM Comparable with the enclitics Skt. OAv. *īm*, *ī*, and *-i* in Hitt. *aši*, *uni-*, *ini-* 'that (one)'; perhaps also seen in Lat. *utī*. Gothic has a deictic element *-ei*.

ī [f.] 'she', anaphoric/reflexive pronoun (S. Fr. 471; also Ω 608?). <IE \*sih<sub>2</sub> 'she'>

•ETYM Identical with Go. *si*, OIr. *sí*, Skt. *sī-m* [acc.]. See Ruijgh 1996: 335-352.

īa [f.] 'one and the same', also '(the) one' as opposed to 'the other' (Il.); 'that one' (Gortyn). <IE \*-i- pron. 'he, she'>

•VAR Acc. *īav* (Il., ξ 435). Incidental forms, partly doubtful, in Lesb., Thessal., Boeot. [Corinn.] and in Hp. (*Morb.* 4, 37), gen. *īḥs*, dat. *īḥ* (Il.); further dat. n. *īṓ* (Z 422), acc. m. *ión* (IG 5(1), 1390: 126 [Messen. I<sup>o</sup>], after Z 422; not quite certain), dat. m. *īṓ* (Gortyn).

•ETYM An old pronoun without certain correspondences outside Greek, originally only feminine, and adapted to μία in inflexion (Frisk). It probably continues an inflected form of \**h<sub>1</sub>i-*, rather than a reflex of \**smih<sub>2</sub>*, gen. *-ieh<sub>2</sub>-s* (the latter option was recently defended by J. Katz, lecture at the ECIEC 2007). Ruijgh *Lingua* 28 (1971): 172 separates the Cretan pronoun *lós* 'ἐκεῖνος' and thinks that Homeric *īṓ* (only Z 422) is an artificial form.

īa [f.] 'cry, lament, voice' (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 1, 85, A., E. [lyr.]). <ONOM>

•VAR Ion. *īḥ* [f.].

•DER As an interjection, *īaí* (S., Ar.) and *īḥ* (A. [lyr.], Ar., Call.); *īḥios*, epithet of Apollo "who is invoked with *īḥ* (παιών)" (Pi., trag. [lyr.]); also 'lamenting, sad' (S., E. [lyr.]); denominative verb *īázw* 'cry aloud' (Theognost.).

•ETYM Elementary formation like *lów*, *lów*, etc.; the noun arose from the interjection. Cf. ► *lómwroi*, ► *láleμος*, also ► *lówes* and ► *lów*.

īaíw [v.] 'to (make) warm, delight, heal' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aor. *īānai* (Ion. *īḥnai*), pass. *īanθḥnai*.

•DER On *īḥdonés*: εὐφροσύνη, ἐπιθυμία, χαρά 'joy, desire' (H.) see Latte, who reads *īḥdonáiz*.

•ETYM In Skt., we find a *yod*-present *īṣanyáti* 'to urge on, incite' that might correspond to *īaíw* as \**Hisṇ-je/o-*. The etymology has been doubted because of the deviant meanings. If correct, *īaíw* and *īṣanyáti* may be derivatives of an \**r/n*-stem

(cf. Ved. *iśāṇ-i*, and perhaps also *ιερός*), which was based on primary *iś-yati*, *iś-nāti* 'bring in quick movement' (with the root-noun *iś-* 'refreshment, comfort'). See van Brock 1961: 255ff. and Ramat *Sprache* 8 (1962): 4ff. Comprehensive suggestion by García Ramón; see on ► *ιάομαι*. Cf. ► *ιερός*.

**ιάλεμος** [m.] 'lament, dirge' (trag. [lyr.], Theoc.), 'tedious, dull person', also adjectival 'slow' (Hell.; cf. below). <PG>

•VAR *ιήλεμος* (on the distribution Björck 1950: 16).

•DER *ιαλεμώδης* 'pitiful' (H., Phot., Suid.), *ιαλεμέω*, -ίζω (ιη-) [v.] 'to lament' (Hdn., Call.) together with *ιηλεμίστρια* [f.] 'wailing woman' (A. Cho. 424, lyr.).

•ETYM It is improbable that this expressive word derives from the interjection ► *ιή*. The suffix is found only in ► *κοάλεμος*, which may have influenced the later meaning of *ιάλεμος*. Zacher *IF* 18 *Anz.*: 86 assumes Thraco-Phrygian origin for *ιάλεμος*. Since *κοάλεμος* is probably Pre-Greek, the same must hold for the present word (Fur.: 151, 317).

**ιάλλω** [v.] 'to send forth, stretch out' (Il.; also Th. 5, 77, Dor.); intr. 'flee' (Hes. *Th.* 269). <IE? \**sel-* 'set in movement'>

•VAR Aor. *ιῆλαι*, Dor. (Sophr.) *ιᾶλαι*, fut. *ιαλῶ* (ἐπ- Ar. *Nu.* 1299).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐπ- (ἐφ-, see below), προ-.

•DER *Ἰάλλμενος* PN (Il.), see below.

•ETYM A reduplicated yod-present \**i-al-ῶ*; the reduplication has spread to the non-presentic forms. If the aspiration in *ιάλλω* (Hdn. Gr. 1, 539; also in *φιαλεῖς* [Ar. V. 1348] and *φιαλοῦμεν* [Ar. *Pax* 432] for (ἐ)πιαλ-) is original, *ιάλλω* could belong to ► *ἄλλομαι* 'jump' (Leumann 1950: 80 n. 45). The connection with Skt. *īyarti* [pres.] 'to incite, set in motion' (Frisk) is impossible, as this continues \**h<sub>3</sub>i-h<sub>3</sub>er-ti*. Narten *MSS* 26 (1969): 77ff. connects it with Skt. *sīsarti* 'stretch out, draw out', and separates *sistrate* [3pl.med.] 'to flow, run'. Within Sanskrit, this root is synchronically distinct from *sar-* 'to stretch out', but probably etymologically related. Further cognates of this root are ToB *salāte* [pret.med.] 'jumped', ToB *salamo*, ToA *salat* 'flying' (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 1.\**sel-* 'sich losschnellen, springen'). Connection of Lat. *salio* 'jump' seems probable, but see the objections in De Vaan 2008 s.v.

**ἴαμβος** [m.] name of a metrical foot and a verse, 'iambus, mocking verse' (Archil., Hdt., Att.). <PG>

•COMP E.g. *ιαμπο-ποιός* (Arist.), *χωλ-ιαμβος* 'choliambus' (Demetr. *Eloc.*; cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 284f.).

•DER *ιαμβικός* 'iambic, mocking' (Arist., D. H.), *ιαμβώδης* 'mocking' (Philostr.), *ιαμβύλος* 'mocking poet' (Hdn.), *ιαμβύκη* name of an instrument (Eup., H.; cf. *σαμβύκη*), *ιαμβεῖος* 'iambic', *ιαμβεῖον* [n.] 'iambic verse' (Att.). Denominative verbs: *ιαμβίζω*, -ιάζω 'speak, mock in iambi' (Gorg., Arist.) with *ιαμβιστής* 'mocking poet' (Ath.).

•ETYM Like *διθύραμβος* and *θρίαμβος*, *ἴαμβος* is doubtless of Pre-Greek origin. See Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 354f. For the formation, cf. ► *ἴθυμβος*. See ► *διθύραμβος*.

**ἴαμνοι** 'lower land, humid meadow'. ⇒ *εἰαμενή*.

**ιάνθινος** [adj.] 'violet-colored' (Str., Plin., Aq., Sm.). <GR>

•DER Backformation *ἴανθος* [m.], -ον [n.] = ἴον (H., Theognost.).

•ETYM Properly 'violet-flowered', from ἄνθινος (see ► *ἄνθος*) and determinative first member ἴον 'violet'. Differently on *ἴανθος*, Derooy *Glotta* 35 (1956): 193.

**ιανογλέφαρος** [adj.] 'with violet-blue eyes' (Alcm. 13, 69, of girls). <GR>

•VAR Cf. *ιανοκρήδεμνος* ἴοις ὅμοιον τὸ ἐπικράνισμα 'head-dress that resembles a violet' (H.).

•ETYM Extended from *ιο-γλέφαρος* (Pi.) after comparable compounds with *κυανο-* (e.g. -χαίτης, etc.). The word *κυανοβλέφαρος* first occurs in *AP* 5, 60; note also *ἀγανο-βλέφαρος* (Ibyc.). With different second member: *ιανόφρυς* (*PMich.* 11, 13), modelled on *κυανόφρυς*. On *ιανογλέφαρος*, see Taillardat *RPh.* 79 (1953): 131ff. and Treu 1955: 265 and 285. Not related to *ἑάνος*.

**ἰάομαι** [v.] 'to heal' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aor. *ιάσασθαι*, Ion. *ιήσασθαι* (Il.), pass. *ιάθην*, *ιήθην* (IA), fut. *ιάσομαι*, *ιήσομαι* (Od.), perf. *ἴαμαι* (*Ev. Marc.* 5, 29).

•DIAL Myc. *i-ja-te*.

•COMP Rarely with prefix (ἐξ-, ἐπ-).

•DER 1. *ἴαμα*, Ion. *ἴημα* [n.] 'medicine, healing' (IA) together with *ιαματικός* (Cyran.); 2. *ἴασις* 'healing' (IA) together with *ιάσιμος* 'curable' (Arbenz 1933: 71f.), probably also *ἰασίωνη* plant-name, 'Convolvulus sepium (?)' (Thphr., Plin.); Strömberg 1940: 81 because of its medical use (though this is unknown); 3. *ἴασώ* [f.] name of a healing goddess (Ar., Herod.), from *ἴασις* or from the aor., cf. *Καλυψώ*. 4. *ιατήρ* 'physician' (Il., Cypr., with *ιήτειρα* [adj., f.] 'healing' (Marc. Sid.), *ιατήριον* 'medicine, healing' (medic., Q. S.); 5. *ιάτωρ* 'id.' (Alcm., Thess. inscr.) with *ιατορία* 'medical art' (B., S. [lyr.]); 6. *ιατής* 'id.' (LXX) with *ιατικός* (Str.) 7. *ιατρός* 'id.' (Il.), with *ιατρικός*, ἡ *ιατρική* (τέχνη) 'art of healing' (IA), *ιάτρια* [f.] 'midwife' (Alex.), *ιατρίνη* 'id.' (imperial period), *ιατρεύω* 'heal' (Hp.) together with *ιατρεία*, -εῖον, *ιατρευσις*, -εσμα, -ευτικός; 8. *ἴατρα* [n.pl.] 'payment for healing' (Epidauros, Herod.). More on *ιατήρ*, *ιάτωρ*, *ιατρός* in Fraenkel 1910-1912 (index); on the difference *ιατήρ* : *ιάτωρ* see Benveniste 1948: 46. Here also *Ἰάσων*?

•ETYM Schwyzler: 681 and 683 explains *ἰάομαι* as a transformation of earlier athematic \**ἰά-μαι* (seen in *Ἰα-μενόν* M 139, 193 and in Cypr. *ἰιασθαι*?). Doubts on the connection with *ιαίνω* in Schulze 1892: 381f. On the quantity of the *i-* (*i-* in Hom., later also *ī-*), see Schulze l.c. and Sommer 1905: 9f. See also van Brock 1961: 9ff. García Ramón 1986: 497-515 derives the verb from the root \**h<sub>1</sub>eis-* (Pok. 509) 'move strongly, drive on, comfort'. The root may have the form \**h<sub>1</sub>i(e)sh<sub>2</sub>-*. The root-final \**h<sub>2</sub>* is apparent from *ινάω* and Skt. *iśnāti*, while he supposes that the long *ī* spread from the reduplicated athematic present \**h<sub>1</sub>i-h<sub>1</sub>ish<sub>2</sub>-*, which gives PGr. \**ihamai*. He also connects ► *ιαίνω* from \**h<sub>1</sub>is(h<sub>2</sub>)n-ie/o-*, like Skt. *iśanyāti*.

**Ἰάονες** = Ἰωνες.

**Ἰαπετός** [m.] Iapetos (Il.). <PG(s)>

•VAR *Ἰ-* metrically lengthened.

•ETYM The name was connected with the biblical Japheth, see e.g. West 1978: 134. The idea seems most improbable for a god thrown into Tartaros by Zeus. Further, the name is often connected with *ιάπτω* as “the one thrown off” (Θ 479, Hes.), with *Ἰαπετιονίδης* (Hes.).

The interpretation seems improbable to me (it is a mere guess). It seems obvious that the name, of a pre-Olympian god, is Pre-Greek. A suffix -ετος is found in Pre-Greek, *Pre-Greek*: Suffixes 42. Fur.: 155<sup>2</sup> mentions a demon Ἀσβετός (which he compares with Ἀσπετος: ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς ἐν Ἡπείρῳ H.); it is also found in TNs, cf. Ταύγετον, Ταλετόν.

**ιάπτω** [v.] ‘to shoot, send on, hurt, wound’ (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aor. *ιάψαι* (Il.), pass. *ιάφθῃ* (Theoc.), fut. *ιάψω* (A.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. *προ-*.

•DER On ►*Ἰαπετός*, see s.v.

•ETYM For the range of meanings, see ►*βάλλω*. There is no reason (as per Schulze 1892: 168<sup>3</sup>, Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἵπτομαι, LSJ) to assume two different words with the respective meanings ‘shoot’ and ‘hurt’ (this is still maintained in the Supplement to LSJ; the meanings given there are rather different from those in Frisk and DELG). The reduplication was generalized from the present to the other tenses. Etymology unclear. Often combined with ►*\*ἵπτομαι*, ἵψασθαι ‘squeeze, oppress’, but this is semantically difficult. It is uncertain whether the original present of *ιάψαι* is contained in *ιάσσειν* (cod. -εῖν) *θυμοῦσθαι*, δάκνειν ‘to be angry, bite’ (H.); one could assume *\*h<sub>2</sub>i-h<sub>2</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>*, but again the meanings are difficult to combine.

**ιασιώνη** plant name. = *ιάομαι*.

**ιάσμη** [f.] ‘jessamine, *Jasminum officinale*’ (Aët.). <LW Iran.>

•DER *ιάσμινον* [n.] ‘oil of jasmine’, also *ιασμ-έλαιον* [n.] (Aët.).

•ETYM From Iranian; cf. MP *yāsmān*, MoP *yāsaman*, *yāsam*, *yāsamīn*, etc.

**ἱάσπις, -ιδος** [f.] ‘jasper’ (Pl., Thphr.), also the plant-name (Dsc.), probably from the color (Strömberg 1940: 26). <LW Sem.>

•VAR Acc. -iv.

•COMP As a first member in *ιασπ-αχάτης* ‘jasper-like agate’ (Aët., Plin.) et al.

•DER *ιασπίζω* ‘be like jasper’ (Dsc.).

•ETYM Oriental LW. Cf. Hebr. *jāšpe*, Akk. *jašpu* name of a stone; originally Egyptian? See Lewy 1895: 56 and E. Masson 1967: 65f.

**ιαύω** [v.] ‘to sleep, rest, spend the night’ (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-*, *h<sub>2</sub>u-es-* ‘pass the night’>

•VAR Rare aor. *ιαῦσαι* (λ 261, Call.) and fut. *ιαύσω* (Lyc.).

•COMP Also with *ἐν-*, *παρ-*, *ἐπ-*.

•DER *ιαυθμός* ‘sleeping-place, bed’, *μηλ-ιαυθμός* ‘sheep fold’ (Lyc.), *ἐνιαυθμός* ‘abode’ (EM; uncertain Call. Fr. 127); doubtful *ἱαυός* *κοίτη* ‘bed’ (H.).

•ETYM Reduplicated present (secondary *ιαῦσαι*, *ιαύσω*) of the root seen in *αὔ-λις*, *αὐ-λή*, and *ἀέσκω*, from *\*h<sub>2</sub>i-h<sub>2</sub>eu-s-ié/o-*. Peters 1980a: 34ff. (followed by Hackstein 1995: 220f., LIV<sup>2</sup> 293 s.v. *\*h<sub>2</sub>mes-*) reconstructs *\*h<sub>2</sub>us-ié/o-*, and thinks that the reduplication is a secondary addition within Greek. This suggestion must be rejected, since the

development of *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-* to Greek *αὔ-* is unacceptable. There is also unreduplicated *αὔει* (Nic. Th. 263, 283). Cf. the related aorist ►*ἄεσα* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-es-*. The glosses *ἄιες* and *αἰέσκοντο* in H. are unclear; see Latte. See ►*αὐλή*.

**ιάχω** [v.] ‘to cry aloud, shout, shriek, resound, roar’ (Il.). <IE *\*u(e)h<sub>2</sub>g<sup>h</sup>-* ‘cry, sound’>

•VAR Aor. *ιαχῆσαι* (h. Cer. 20), pres. also *ιαχέω* with fut. *ιαχῆσω* (trag.); perf. ptc. *ἀμφιαχυῖα* (B 316), to which *ἀμφιάχω* (Orph., Q. S.).

•COMP Also *περι-*, *ἐπ-ιάχω* (Hom.), *ἀντ-ιαχέω* (Theoc., A. R.).

•DER *ιαχή* ‘cry, noise’ (Il.; cf. Porzig 1942: 228) with ►*αὐίαχοι*; *ιάχημα* ‘id.’ (E. [Iyr.], AP; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 186); see ►*Ἰακχος*.

•ETYM From reduplicated *\*fi-fách-ω* (on the digamma, see Chantraine 1942: 139f.). A thematic aorist *\*φαχεῖν*, *\*φάχε* is supposed for Homeric *ἴαχε*, which functions as an aorist (see Chantraine 1942: 393 and Schwyzler: 748). The present may derive from the aor. *ιαχῆσαι* or (less probably) be denominative from *ιαχή*. On the unreduplicated ptc. *ἀμφι-(f)αχυῖα*, see Schwyzler: 767 and Chantraine 1933: 1, 421. The long scansion of the α, which occurs once in a while in the tragedians, may result from expressive gemination of the velar (cf. ►*Ἰακχος*), but influence of the present *ἄχέω* has also been assumed. See also ►*ήχη*.

**ιβάνη** [f.] ‘water-bucket’. <?>

•VAR Also *ἴβανον* [n.]. LSJ does not give a form *\*ἴβανος* (DELG s.v. *ιβάνη*). *ἴβδης* ‘cock, plug in a ship’s bottom’,

•ETYM Usually connected with ►*εἴβω*; doubts in Bq. The word seems to live on in Tsakon. *ιμάνι* ‘bucket to scoop water’; see Kukules Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 27: 61ff., as well as on *ιμάς*. See also Fur.: 220f. - The word *ἴβδης* can hardly be IE. Fur.: 307 compares Hitt. *impa* ‘load’. Though it has to do with emptying a ship, it is not evident that it belongs to the word *ιβάνη*.

**ἴβηνοι** [m.pl.] · [σοροί, θῆκαι, ὀστράκιναι, κιβωτοί] *εὐθυμοί* ‘urns, cases, earthenware, box; cheerful’ (H.). <?>

•VAR There is also *ἴβηνος* *πλησμονή* ‘satiety’ (H.).

•ETYM Unknown.

**ιβηρίς, -ιδος** [f.] plant-name, ‘pepperwort, *Lepidium*’ (Damocr. *apud* Gal., Aët. *apud* Ps.-Dsc.). <?>

•ETYM Probably named after its native environment, Ἰβηρία (Strömberg 1940: 124f.). Alessio *Studi etruschi* 15 (1941): 205ff. thinks the name is Aegean, like ►*ιβίσκος*, *ιβάνη*, et al.

**ἴβις** [f.] ‘ibis, Egyptian bird’ (Hdt., Ar.). <LW Eg.>

•DER *ιβιών* ‘chapel where ibises live’ (pap.).

•ETYM Eg. *hb*, *hib*; see Roeder in PW s.v. *Ibis* 813.

**ιβίσκος** [m.] a kind of mallow, ‘marsh mallow = *ἀλθαία*’ (see on ►*ἀλθαίνω*). <PG(V)>

•VAR V.l. in Ps.-Dsc. 3, 146, Erot. Also *ἐβίσκος* (Gal., Aët.).

•ETYM Formed like other plant names, e.g. synonymous *ἀλθίσκος* (Chantraine 1933: 407). Further unclear; it seems to be identical with Lat. (*h*)*ibiscum* (also *eb-*, *-us*),

which is attested earlier (since Verg.). Given the form of the suffix, it was perhaps taken from there, in which case Celtic origin is possible (WH s.v.). Cf. also on ►ιβηρίς. Fur.: 355 thinks the word comes from Greek and is of Pre-Greek origin, where ε/ι is frequent.

**ιβύ** [pcl.] Interjection or adverb (H., Phot. from Telecl.). <ONOM; LW Anat.>

•DER ιβύει· τύπτει, βοᾷ 'strikes; cries' with deverbal ιβύς· εὐφημία, στιγμή 'auspiciousness; spot' (H.). A velar suffix is shown by the glosses in H.: ἴβυξ· ὀρνέου εἶδος, καὶ ἴβις 'kind of bird, also an ibis' (see Thompson 1895 s.v.), ἴβυκη· εὐφημία and ἴβυκτηρ 'singer of a march-song on Crete' (cod. ἴβηκ-). Perhaps also Ἴβυκος PN (Radermacher *Glotta* 16 (1928): 135f.). The gloss ἴβυκινήσαι· ἐπευφημῆσαι, βοῆσαι 'sing praises to; cry' (H.; ἴβυκηνίσαι EM) is a cross with βυκινίζω, βυκανίζω (Eust.; see ►βυκάνη). Details in Kock ad Telecl. 58. With a dental suffix ἴβυδηνας· τοὺς εὐφημοῦντας 'using auspicious words' (H.), cf. the sound-imitating nouns in -δος, like κέλαδος, etc.

•ETYM Onomatopoeic word; Lydian (►ιβύ) or Ionic (ἴβυκινήσαντες), acc. to H. It was also used as a cry of surprise, which explains why it is glossed with τὸ πολὺ καὶ μέγα by H. It is unclear how the meanings τύπτειν and στιγμή should be understood. Cf. ►βύζω and ►ιύζω.

**ἰγδης, -εως** [f.] 'mortar' (Sol., Com., AP). <PG?>

•VAR Also ἰγδη [f.] (Hdn. Gr., Hp.).

•DER Diminutive ἰγδιον (Gp., Paul. Aeg.), verbal noun ἰγδισμα (as if from \*ἰγδίζω 'to pound the mortar') name of a dance (EM, Suid.; cf. Lawler *ClassJourn* 43 (1948): 34).

•ETYM The form is reminiscent of λίγδος 'mortar' (Güntert 1914: 158). As a technical term, it is most probably a loan. It can hardly belong to ►ἰκταρ, ►ἰξ, nor to ►αἰχη. Fur.: 351 believes it is of Pre-Greek origin (note -γδ-); on the variation λ-/zero, see Fur.: 392, 7.

**ἰγκρος** [m.]· ἐγκέφαλος 'brain' (H.); also Hdn. <GR>

•ETYM For \*ἰγκρος with ι < ε before nasal (see Schwyzler: 275), a hypostasis of ἐν and the zero grade of κάρᾱ, κάρη 'head'; cf. ἔγκαρος and ἀκαρός. See Nussbaum 1986: index.

**ἰγνητες** [pl.] 'αὐθιγενεῖς, native' (A. D., H.), also as a name of the old inhabitants of Rhodes (Simmias II, H.). <IE \*genh<sub>1</sub>- 'procreate'>

•ETYM From \*ἐν-γνη-τες, a compound of ἐν and the root \*genh<sub>1</sub>- in ►γίγνομαι (cf. γνήσιος from \*γνη-τό- < \*ḡnh<sub>1</sub>-τό-) with a suffix -τ-.

**ἰγνύη** [f.] 'hollow of the knee, ham' (Il.). <IE \*genu- 'knee'>

•VAR ἰγνύα (Arist.), also forms pointing to \*ἰγνύς (ἰγνύσι h. Merc. 152, ἰγνύων, -ύν Arist.).

•ETYM A hypostasis \*ἐν-γνύ-η 'place in the knee'. The stem ἰγνύς was formed after ἰξύς, ὀσφύς and other body-parts in -ύς. See Solmsen 1909: 214f. See ►γόνυ.

**ἰγνύς** 'dust'. ⇒ ἰκνύς.

**ιδανός** [adj.] 'fair, good-looking' (Call. Fr. 535, H.). <IE \*uid- 'see'>

•COMP ἰδανό-χροος 'with beautiful colors' (Ep. Alex.).

•ETYM Primary derivative of ►ιδεῖν; cf. πιθανός, ικανός et al. (Chantraine 1933: 196f.).

**Ἰδάρνας** [m.]· ὁ ἐκτομίας, οἱ δὲ βάρβαρον· οἱ δὲ μάντεως ὄνομα· οἱ δὲ πόλιν τῆς Καρίας εἶναι Ἰδάρνην, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης τοὺς μάντεις λέγεσθαι 'eunuch; barbarian; name of a diviner; name of a city of Karikos, whence the name of the diviners' (H.). <LW Anat.>

•ETYM From the Carian town Ἰδάρνη; further details in Maaß *RhM* 74 (1925): 432ff.

**ιδέ** [conj.] 'and' (Il.), '(and) then' (Cypr.). <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>(e)i- 'he, that'>

•ETYM Perhaps from the deictic pronoun \*h<sub>1</sub>i- and δέ 'and, but'. Details in Schwyzler 1950: 566f. Cf. ►ήδέ.

**ιδέα** [f.] 'appearance, form', whence in philosophical terminology 'idea, prototype, category' (IA). <IE \*u(e)id- 'see'>

•VAR Ion. -έη.

•ETYM Verbal abstract from ►ιδεῖν. For the formation, cf. ►ἀλέα 'warmth of the sun' et al. in Chantraine 1933: 91. On the meaning, see Brommer 1940, Wersdörfer 1940: 43ff., Gillespie *Class. Quart.* 6 (1912): 179ff., and Baldry *Class. Quart.* 31 (1937): 141ff.

**ιδεῖν** [v.aor.] 'behold, recognize' (Il.). <IE \*ueid- 'see, know'>

•VAR Ind. εἶδον (ἴδον).

•COMP Often with prefix, ἀπ-, εἰσ-, κατ-, συν-, etc.

•DER On ►ιδέα, ►ιδανός, see s.v.v. Also ἰδανικός κόσμος 'realm of ideas' (Ti. Loc. 97d). Note that ἰλλός = ὀφθαλμός (H., e.g. s.v. ἐπιλλος) does not derive from IE \*uid-lo- (von Blumenthal 1930: 36), but was created from ἐπιλλος· παράστραβος, ἰλλώπειν· στραβίζειν et al. Cf. on ►ἰλλός.

•ETYM Old thematic root aorist, formally identical with Arm. *egit* and Skt. *ávidat* 'he found', IE \*h<sub>1</sub>e-uid-e-t. Cf. also Lat. *videō*. The perfect was ►οἶδα 'I know'. As a present, Greek used suppletive ►όράω; cf. Kölligan 2007: 274-285. See also ►ινδάλλομαι, ►εἶδομαι, ►εἶδος.

**ἰδη** [f.] 'wood, wooded hill' (Hdt., Theoc.). <PG>

•VAR Dor. (Theoc.) ἰδα.

•DER As a TN Ἰδη wooded hill in western Mysia (Il.) and on Crete (D. P., Paus.); thence Ἰδηθεν, Ἰδαῖος (Il.).

•ETYM Pre-Greek word without further etymology.

**ιδιος** [adj.] 'own, private' (Od.). <IE \*sue- reflexive pronoun>

•VAR Dor. φίδιος, Arg. ἡίδιος.

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. ἰδιο-γενής 'of one's own kind' (Pl. *Plt.* 265e; opposite κοινο-γενής), Hell.

•DER 1. ἰδιώτης [m.] 'private, layman, uneducated man' (IA; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 311) with the fem. ἰδιώτις (Hell.); thence ἰδιωτικός 'belonging to an ἰδιώτης, common, ordinary, vulgar, vile, uneducated' (IA; Chantraine 1956a: 120 and 123) and ἰδιωτεύω 'act or live on one's own, be uneducated or without esteem' with ἰδιωτεία 'private life, uneducatedness' (Att.); also ἰδιωτίζω 'pronounce in a special

way' (Eust.). 2. ιδιότης, -ητος [f.] 'specific character, peculiarity' (Pl., X.). 3. ιδικός = ἴδιος (late). 4. ιδίομαι [v.] 'to make one's own, appropriate' (Pl.) with ιδίωμα 'specific character, peculiarity' (Hell.), ιδίωσις 'isolation, appropriation' (Pl., Plu.). 5. ιδιάζω 'be peculiar, live on one's own' (Arist.) with ιδιαστής, ιδιασμός (late).

•ETYM As is shown by Arg. φηδειστας = ιδιώτης (cf. κηδεσ-τής, El. τελεσ-τα), ἴδιος goes back to original \*φηδιος, derived from the reflexive φηε = ξ (IE \*sue) (on ε > ι, see Schwyzler: 256). A different etymology connects it with Skt. ví 'separate', in which case Arg. ἡδιος would have its aspiration after εαυτοῦ, ἕκαστος, etc. However, an equivalent of Skt. ví is not found elsewhere in Greek.

ἰδῶ [v.] 'to sweat' (v 204, Hp., com.). <IE \*sueid- 'sweat'>

•VAR Aor. ἰδῆσαι (Arist., Thphr.).

•COMP Rarely with prefixes ἐξ-, ἀν-.

•DER ἶδος [n.] 'sweat' (Hp. Coac. 105), 'heat' (Hes. Sc. 397, Emp.) with ἰδάλμιος 'causing sweat' (Hes. Op. 415; after εἶδος : εἰδάλμιος, Arbenz 1933: 29); ἀν-ιδ-ίτι 'without sweat' (Pl. Lg. 718e).

•ETYM The glosses εἶδος· καῦμα and ἡεῖδος· πνίγος (H.) point to an s-stem \*φείδος from IE \*sueid-os-, beside \*suoido- [m.] in Skt. svéda-, OHG sweiz 'sweat'. The form ἶδος shows Ionic psilosis and itacistic notation (favored by ►ιδρώς). The verb ἰδῶ = εἰδῶ (after κηκίω etc.) represents older \*εἰδῶ = Skt. svédate 'sweats', IE \*sueid-. Cf. Rix 1985: 339-43. Other derivations are Skt. svídyati = OHG swizzit 'id.' < IE \*suid-ie-ti, and a ske/o-present in Latvian and Iranian (Leumann IF 58 (1941): 120).

ἰδμων 'knowing'. ⇒ οἶδα.

ἰδνόμαι [v.] 'to bend oneself, double oneself up' (Hp.). <?>

•VAR Aor. ἰδνωθῆναι (Hom.), act. ἰδνώ (Hdn. Gr. 1, 451).

•ETYM From a verbal adjective \*[f]ιδ-νός 'curved'? The comparison with Skt. vedá- [m.] 'bundle of grass' is uncertain; see Mayrhofer EWAia 2: 581. WH s.v. compares Lat. vidulus 'twined basket'; doubtful. The lemma \*ueid- (Pok. 1124) should be dismantled. Cf. ►ἵτυς, ►εἰμάδες; also ►ἵρις and ►οῖνος.

ἰδρις 'expert'. ⇒ οἶδα.

ἰδρύω [v.] 'to make sit down, settle, establish, found' (Il.). <IE? \*sed- 'sit'>

•VAR Aor. ἰδρῦσαι, pass. ἰδρυνθῆναι (T 78, H 56), perf. pass. ἰδρῦμαι (A.), Act. ἰδρυκα (Arist.).

•COMP Often with prefix, especially καθ- (whence again ἐγ-καθιδρύω et al.).

•DER ἰδρυμα 'what has been established or founded: statue, temple' (IA), ἰδρυσις 'founding, settlement' (Hp., Pl., Str., Plu.).

•ETYM Frisk followed Schwyzler in positing a noun \*ιδρυ-, which would ultimately reflect a derivative in -r- (comparing ἔδρα) of the root \*sed- in ►ἔζομαι, ►ἴζω. The ι- was explained as from ἴζω or as a reduced grade of ε, but the latter is impossible. See now Manessy-Guitton 1970, who departs from s<sup>d</sup>- with reduced grade; Meier-Brügger 2000: 90f. posits \*s<sup>d</sup>-w<sup>r</sup>-y-.

ιδρώς, -ῶτος [m., f.] 'sweat', also metaph. of other moisture (Il.). <IE \*sueid- 'sweat'>

•VAR Epic dat. -ῶ, acc. -ῶ (cf. below).

•COMP Rarely in compounds, e.g. ἰδρωτο-ποιέω (Arist.), δυσ-ιδρώς 'with bad sweat, having difficulty sweating' (Thphr.), also with transition to a thematic stem, e.g. καθ-ιδρός 'covered with sweat' (LXX).

•DER Diminutive ἰδρώτιον (Hp.); ἰδρώεις 'sweaty' (B.), ἰδρώδης 'accompanied by sweating' (Hp.), ἰδρωτικός 'sudorific' (Hp., Thphr.); ἰδρώα (?) pl. 'smallpox' (Hp. Aph. 3, 21; reading uncertain) together with ἰδρω-τάρια, -τίδες 'id.' (medic.; cf. Strömberg 1944: 102); ἰδρώιον 'sweat-towel' (pap.); ἰδρυσύναι [pl.] 'efforts that cause sweat' (poet. inscr. Phrygia, imperial period). Denominative verbs: ἰδρώω 'sweat' (Il.) together with ἰδρωσις 'sweating' (late) and ἰδρωτήρια [pl.] 'sudorifics' (Paul. Aeg.); ἰδρώτω 'id.' (Gal.).

•ETYM Gr. ἰδρώς corresponds to Arm. k'irtn 'sweat', which goes back to an r-stem \*suid-r-. This formation is also found in Latv. sviēdri [pl.], Alb. dirsë 'sweat'. This r-stem was combined in Greek with a stem in -ōs-, which is found in Lat. sūdōr, if from \*suoidōs. Like γέλως, ἔρω, et al., ἰδρώς was later transformed into a stem in -τ-. The old s-stem is still seen in epic ἰδρῶ [acc.] (perhaps to be read as -όα; Chantraine 1942: 54), perhaps also in ἰδρῶ [dat.], if for -οῖ (doubtful; see Chantraine 1942: 211), and in several derivatives: ἰδρῶ-ω, ἰδρώεις (\*-os-uent-; see Ruijgh Lingua 28 (1971): 173), ἰδρώιον. On the absence of the digamma in Hom., cf. ►ἐμέω (other explanations are no better; Chantraine 1942: 156). Cf. ►ἰδῶ.

ιδῦοι [m.pl.] ἰδῦοι 'witnesses' (μάρτυρες, συνίστορες, Lex Solon. apud Ar. Fr. 222, Paus. Gr. fr. 151, H.), also οἱ τὰς φονικὰς δίκας κρίνοντες 'who are in charge of murder trials' (H.). <IE \*ueid- 'know'>

•ETYM For \*φιδῦοι = Lacon., etc. ►βιδυ(ι)οι; see also Kretschmer Glotta 18 (1930): 91f.

ἰέμαι [v.] 'to move forward, hasten, be eager, desire' (Il.). <IE \*uei(H)- 'move towards, go for, desire'>

•VAR Aor. (ἐ)είσατο, fut. ►εἴσομαι.

•ETYM The form \*ἰέμαι (on the digamma, see Chantraine 1942: 142), as a middle of ἴημι, was taken at an early stage as an old athematic formation (e.g., Chantraine 1942: 293). The word belongs to the widespread group of Skt. véti, 3pl. vyánti 'to pursue, drive', Lith. vỹti, 1sg. vejù 'hunt, pursue', and perhaps also Lat. vīs 'you want' (Meiser 1998: 224), in-vi-tus 'unwilling'. Cf. Ruijgh Lingua 28 (1971): 170f. Harðarson 1993b: 159ff, assumes a reduplicated \*μῑ-μῑh<sub>1</sub>-entoi, which was contracted to \*μῑientoi, from which a stem \*μῑie- was abstracted. The aspiration was taken from ἴημι. Cf. further ►ἰωκή (unclear -κ-), as well as ►ιέρᾱξ (appurtenance unclear), ►ῖς (possible), ►οῖμος (certainly) and ►ιότης (unclear).

ιέρᾱξ, -ᾱκος [m.] 'hawk, falcon' (Alcm. 28, E., Ar., Arist.); also a name of a fish (Epich. 68; Strömberg 1943: 113f.). <IE? \*ueiH- 'pursue' or PG?>

•VAR Also ἱρηξ, -ηκος (epic Ion. since Il.).

•COMP Rarely in compounds, e.g. ιερακο-βοσκός 'falconer' (pap.).

•DER Diminutive ιερακίσκος (Ar.); ιερακίδιον, -άδιον 'statuette of a hawk' (Delos II<sup>a</sup>; on the mg. Chantraine 1933: 70), ιερακείον 'hawk-temple' (pap. II<sup>a</sup>), ιερακιδεύς

'young hawk' (Eust.; like ἀετ-ιδεύς et al.; Boßhardt 1942: 78f.); ἱερακάριος 'falconer' (*Cod. Cat. Astr.*); ἱερακίτης name of a stone, after its color (Plin., Gal.), ἱεράκιον, also -ία, -ιάς, -ίτις plant-name, 'hawk-weed, Hieracium' (Ps.-Dsc.; on the unclear naming motive Strömberg 1940: 118). ἱεράκ-ειος, -ώδης 'hawk-like' (late).

•ETYM Though ἱριγξ in Hom. shows no digamma (Chantraine 1942: 156), the glosses βείρακες, ἱέρακες and βειράκη· ἡ ἀρπακτική (H.) point to an original \*ῥιράξ, with -ᾱκ- as in several other animal names. Ebel KZ 4 (1855): 164f. started from an adjective (or noun) \*ῥίρος, which he connected with (ῥ)ίριαι. The secondary form ἱέραξ would then be folk-etymological based on ἱερός. Possible but uncertain; alternatively, the suffix -ᾱκ- could point to Pre-Greek origin.

**ἱερός** [adj.] 'holy', 'dedicated to a god, divine', also used in a glorifying way: 'glorious, excellent, strong, quick, etc.' (Il.). <IE \*ish<sub>2</sub>ro- 'holy'>

•VAR Dor. and NWGr. ἱαρός, Ion. poet. ἱρός, Aeol. ἱρος. Substantivized: ἱερόν [n.] 'consecrated area, temple' (post-Hom.), ἱερά [n.pl.], rarely sing. 'votive offering, (animal) sacrifice' (Il.).

•DIAL Myc. *i-je-ro*, *i-je-re-u*, *i-je-re-ja*, *i-je-ro-wo-ko* /<sup>(h)</sup>iero-worgos/.

•COMP As a first member in many compounds, not mentioned here.

•DER Dialectal forms are often not mentioned separately: 1. ἱερεύς (Il.), Arc. Cypr. ἱερός, Ion. also ἱέρεως (hardly taken from ἀρχιέρεως, Sommer 1948: 129) [m.] 'who performs sacrifices (τὰ ἱερά), sacrificer, priest' (on mg. and spread Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 81f.). From ἱερεύς: a) several feminines (cf. on βασιλεύς: ἱερεία (Il.), Cypr. ἱερήϊα, Ion. ἱερέη, -ῆ; ἱερίῃς (Megar.), ἱερίσσα (pap. II<sup>a</sup>); b) the nouns ἱερεία 'priestly office' (Thyateira; cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 311), ἱερεῖον, -ήϊον 'sacrificial animal' (Il.), ἱερ(ε)ωσύνη 'priestly office' (IA) with ἱερ(ε)ώσυνος 'priestly' (Hell.); c) the adjective ἱερευτικός 'priestly' (pap.); d) the denominatives ἱερεύω [v.] 'to offer, consecrate' (Il.) with ἱερευσις (sch.) and ἱερεῦσιμος (Plu. 2, 729d, besides θύσιμος; Arbenz 1933: 94), or from ἱερός, ἱερά; ἱερεύομαι, ἱερεύσασθαι [v.] 'to be priest' (Hell.). 2. ἱερόλας = ἱερεύς (S. Fr. 57; uncertain; on the formation see Chantraine 1933: 238). 3. ἱερίτιν· καθαρμοῦ δεομένην, ἱκέτιν (H.: A. Fr. 93). 4. ἱερατικός 'priestly, hieratic' (Pl. *Plt.* 290d, Arist.; cf. also ἱερατεύω, ἱερατεία below). 5. ἱερεὺς PN (Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 220). 6. Several denominative verbs: a) ἱερεύω; b) ἱεράομαι 'to care for the victims (ἱερά)' (Hdt., Th.); c) ἱεράζω 'id.' (Ion. islands), Boeot. ἱαπειάδδω, probably from ἱαρεία; d) ἱερώω 'to consecrate' (Att., Locr., etc.) together with ἱερώμα 'consecration' (Cret., Epid., etc.), ἱερωτός (Thess.); e) ἱερίζω = καθαίρω 'cleanse' (H.) (see ἀγνίτης) with ἱεριστής 'who cares for the ἱερά' and ἱερισμός 'holy service' (Hell.); f) ἱερατεύω 'be priest' with ἱερατεία, ἱεράτευμα, ἱερατεῖον; ἱεριτεύω 'id.'; ἱερωτεύω 'id.' with ἱερωτεία; all dialectical, Hell.; on the formation Schwyzer: 732, Solmsen *Glotta* 1 (1909): 80.

•ETYM The different meanings and the formal variation induced many scholars to split ἱερός into two or even in three words. Thus, a separate ῥιερός 'rapid, quick' (whence ἱεραξ 'hawk', s.v.) was assumed because of the long anlaut in ἱερόν ἰχθύον Π 407, ἱαρός ὄρνις (Alcm. Fr. 26), and ἱερός ὄρνις (AP 7, 171). This length can easily be explained as metrical lengthening. In the meaning 'strong, forceful', however, ἱερός would be identical with Skt. *iṣirá-* 'strong, active'. A third ἱερός 'holy' would have

connections with Italic and Germanic words like Osc. *aisusis* 'sacrificiis', Palign. *aisis*, U. *erus* 'dis', OHG *ēra* 'honor'. Duchesne-Guillemin 1937: 333ff. supported the old comparison with Skt. *iṣirá-* by pointing to the agreement between ἱερόν μένος and Skt. *iṣirēṇa mānasā* [ins.]. See R. Schmitt 1967: 111-114 on this correspondence. Further literature: Wülfing von Martitz *Glotta* 38 (1960): 272-307 and Wülfing von Martitz *Glotta* 39 (1961): 24-43; Locher 1963. Formally, the Greek dialects show three different forms: ἱερός, ἱαρός, ἱρός. Ramat *Sprache* 8 (1962): 4-28 connects it with Skt. *iṣṇāti* 'set in movement', which means that the root contained a laryngeal. García Ramón 1992b: 183-205 assumed a pre-form \**h<sub>1</sub>ish<sub>2</sub>-ro-* because of the connection with ▶ἰνάω. He also assumed that the laryngeal was lost between \*s and r. Lesbian ἱρος, then, continues the regular pre-form \**isro-*, while Dor. ἱαρός and Att. (etc.) ἱερός replaced the suffix with -apo- or -epo-. On the meaning (against ἄγιος, ἄγνός), see Nilsson 1941(1): 61ff.; also, Bolkestein 1936, Palmer *Eranos* 53 (1955): 4ff., and Defradas *RPh.* 81 (1955): 208ff.

ἵζω 'sit down'. → ἕζομαι.

ἰή → ἰήιος.

**ἰηθενέουσα** [adj.] · ἐκπεπληγμένη, καὶ ἀπορούσα; ἰαθενεῖ· διαπορεῖ ἐπὶ τινὶ κακῷ. Κῶοι 'driven away, looked away from; be in difficulty in some harm (Cos)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained. DELG suggests that the glosses may be corrupt. Fraenkel KZ 77 (1961): 188 proposes to change ἰη-, ἰα- into the privative particles νη-, νᾱ-, based on comparison with ▶εὐθενέω 'be strong'.

**ἰήϊος** [adj.] epithet of Apollo, who is invoked by the call ἰή (παιών) or ἰήϊε παιάν. Also said of βοά, γόος, κάματοι, 'accompanied by laments' (Pi., trag. [lyr.], A. R.). <ONOM>

•DER Here also ἰάζω 'cry' (Theognost.).

•ETYM From the interjection ἰή (A., Ar., Call.), to which ἰήτε (Pi. P. 6, 120) was taken to be a plural (Wackernagel *Phil.* 95 (1943): 184), but the latter is rather a form of ἦμι. The same holds for ἰή (Call., *H.Ap.* 103); see Strunk *Glotta* 38 (1960): 79-82.

ἰήϊος has been incorrectly derived from ἦμι by the ancients ("ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφέσεως καὶ τοξείας" H.). Cf. ▶ῆϊε and ▶Εὐϊος.

**ἦμι** [v.] 'to send (away), let go, throw, hurl, etc.' (Il.); details on the inflexion in Schwyzer: 686f., 741, 770, 775. <IE \*(H)ieh<sub>1</sub>- 'throw'>

•VAR Aor. ἔηκα, ἦκα, inf. ἔμεναι, εἶναι, med. εἶμην (ἡκάμην), inf. ἔσθαι, pass. εἶθην, ἔθηναι, fut. ἦσω (Il.); perf. med. εἶμαι, act. εἶκα (Att.), ἔωκα (Hell.).

•DIAL Myc. (jo-)i-je-si / (hō) <sup>h</sup>i-en-si/; i-je-to / <sup>h</sup>i-eto/

•COMP Mostly (in some forms exclusively) prefixed, e.g. ἀν-, ἀφ-, ἐφ-, καθ-, προ-, συν-, ὕφ-, etc., in several mgs.

•DER Many derivatives, almost only from the prefixed forms: 1. ἦμα 'throwing, throw (of a javelin)' (Ψ 891), ἦμων 'throwing (a javelin)' (Ψ 886); κάθημα, Hell. -εμα (Schwyzer: 523) 'collar' (Antiph., LXX); μεθήμων 'negligent' with -μοσύνη (Hom.), συνήμων 'companion' (A. R.) with -μοσύνη 'treaty, companionship' (Il.). 2. ▶έσμός 'swarm (of bees)'. 3. ἄν-, ἄφ-, ἔξ-, ἔφ-, κάθ-εις, etc. (IA; ἔσις only Pl. *Cra.* 411d, 420a



as an artificial formation, *EM* 469, 49) together with ἀφέσιμος et al. (Arist.); 4. ἐννεσῖαι 'advice' (Il.), ἐξεσίη 'sending out' (Hom.), ἀνεσία 'leaving off' (Cratin.); on the formation see ► ἐννεσῖαι. 5. ἐνετή 'clasp, needle' (Il.). 6. ἐν-, ἀφ-, καθ-ετήρ (Hp., Hell.) together with -ετήριος, etc.; καθετηρίζω, -ισμός (medic.). 7. ► ἐφέται, ► ἐφετμή; ἀφέτης 'sender, hurler' (Plb.). 8. συνετός 'sensible' (Pi., IA, beside σύνεσις 'comprehension'), ἄν-, ἄφ-, κάθ-ετος, etc.; ἄν-, προ-ετικός (: ἄν-, πρό-εσις; X., Arist., Hell.).

•ETYM The pairs ἔθικα : Lat. *fēci* and ἔηκα : Lat. *iēcī* point to an archaic formation with *k*-extension. On the original distribution of these forms, see Untermann 1993: 461-8. Latin innovated the present *iaciō* 'to throw', whereas Greek kept the old reduplicated athematic present. Further cognates are found in Anatolian: Old Hitt. *pe-jezzi* 'sends away', *u-jezzi* 'sends hither' contain prefixes and preserve the old meaning. It has also been connected with Hitt. *je/a-* 'to do, make' (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**Hieh<sub>1</sub>-*), but see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *je/a-* for objections to this view. For the initial laryngeal, cf. Peters *Die Sprache* 22 (1976): 157-161, who shows that Aristophanes consistently has ἦμι < \**Hi-Hieh<sub>1</sub>-mi*. Kortlandt thinks that PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>* originated from an Indo-Uralic velar phoneme, and that the \**k* alternating with \**h<sub>1</sub>* in ἔθικα (and perhaps ἔηκα) might be a remnant of the old situation.

**ιθαγενής** [adj.] 'born here, born in lawful matrimony' (ξ 203, Ion., A., Arist.). <IE \**id<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>e* 'here'>

•VAR Secondary ιθαγενής (Schwyzer: 448).

•ETYM Formation like αὐθι-γενής; a bahuvrihi of γένος, possibly with an inherited adverbial first member ιθα- = Skt. *ihá*, Prāk. *idha*, Av. *ida* 'here', as well as Lat. *ibi* 'there'. The same pronominal stem \**h<sub>1</sub>i-* is found in Cyp. ► ἴν, and the same suffix in ἔν-θα.

**ιθαρός** [adj.] 'cheerful, bright'. •VAR ιθαίνω = εὐφρονῶ (Hsch.). ⇒ αἰθήρ.

**ἴματα** [n.pl.] 'steps'. ⇒ εἶμι.

**ἰουλίς** [?] name of a fish (BCH 60, 28; Boeot., II<sup>a</sup>). <PG?>

•ETYM Thought to be a mistake for ἰουλίς (see ► ἰουλος), but adding a θ by mistake is not very probable. Fur. 391 argues for a 'regular' variation in Pre-Greek words.

**ἴθρις** ⇒ ἔθρις.

**ἴθυμβος** [m.] name of a bacchic song with dance; one who performs this dance (Poll. 4, 104, H., Phot.). <PG>

•ETYM Formation like ἵαμβος, διθύραμβος, etc., and like these probably a loanword from the substrate.

**ἰθυπτίων** [adj.] 'flying straight (of a lance)' (Φ 169, verse-final). <IE \**pet-* 'fly, fall' or \**pieh<sub>2</sub>-*>

•VAR Only accus. μελίην ἰθυπτίωνα.

•ETYM Analyzed as a compound of ἰθύς and the zero grade of πέτομαι, with ending after the nouns in -ων, -ίων (καταπύγων, οὐρανίων, κυλλοποδίων), for older \*ἰθύ-

πτ-ιος (type ὁμόγνιος). Hackstein *Glotta* 70 (1992): 154-167 proposed a meaning 'striking straight' with zero grade \**pih<sub>2</sub>-* and analogical πτ-; see ► πτήσσω.

**ἰθύς** [adj.] 'straight, just' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Also adverbial 'straightforward' (Il.), beside rare ἰθύ, ἰθέως; cf. on ► εὐθύς. Superl. ἰθύντατα (Hom.), perhaps after ἰθύνω.

•COMP Often as a first member (see Strömberg 1946: 156), e.g. ἰθυ-ωρίη, for which see ► εὐθυωρία; also ἰθυ-βέλεια epithet of Artemis 'whose arrows go straight' (ZPE 88, 1991, 70 l. 11, I<sup>a</sup>).

•DER 1. ἰθύς [f.] 'straight direction, course, enterprise', only accus. ἄν' ἰθύν, πᾶσαν ἐπ' ἰθύν, etc. (Hom.); explanation in Schwyzer: 463, Frisk *Eranos* 43 (1945): 221; 2. ἰθύτης [f.] 'id.' (Aret.). Denominative verbs: 1. ἰθύω, aor. ἰθῦσαι (also with ἐπι-) 'go straight, strive, aim (for)' (Il.); 2. ἰθύνω, aor. ἰθύναι, pass. ἰθυσθῆναι (also with prefixes δι-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, κατ-ἰθύνω, etc.) 'straighten, direct, steer, lead' (Il.) together with ἰθυντήρ 'who steers, leader' (Theoc., A. R.), fem. ἰθύντιρα (Orph. A. 352), adj. -τήριος 'steering, leading' (S. *Ichn.* 73); also ἰθύντωρ (Orph.), ἰθύντης (H.) 'id.'; deverbial ἰθυνα = εὐθυνα (Chios V-IV<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM The comparison with Skt. *sādhú-* 'straight, just', *sādhati*, *sādhnoti* 'reach the goal' is obsolete, as the zero grade in *sīdhyati* 'id.' and ptc. *siddha-* is due to the vocalization of a laryngeal, viz. \**seHd<sup>h</sup>-* beside \**sHd<sup>h</sup>-*. Therefore, earlier reconstructions with a long diphthong can now be forgotten. A Cret. fem. εἰθεία confirms the existence of a form \**eiθús* (De Lamberterie 1990: 287f.). Willi KZ 114 (2001): 117-146 proposes connection of both ἰθύς and εὐθύς with \**Hieud<sup>h</sup>-*, for which root he assumes a basic meaning 'make right' (\**Hieu-d<sup>h</sup>-?*). Cf. further ► εἶθαρ.

**ικανός** 'enough'. ⇒ ἴκω.

**ἴκελος** [adj.] 'comparable, resembling' (Il.). <IE \**ueik-* 'resemble'>

•VAR Also εἴκελος (after εἰκών, εἰκάζω, etc.; originally perhaps for metrically lengthened ἴκελος, Leumann 1950: 306 A. 76)

•COMP As a second member in θεο-(ε)ἴκελος 'god-like' (Il.) et al., and in ἐπι-, προσ-(ε)ἴκελος 'resembling' (Hom., Hdt.) from ἐπι-, προσ-έοικα; cf. also on ἐπεικής.

•DER ἴκελῶ 'make identical' (AP).

•ETYM Old formation on the basis of the zero grade of the root of ► εἶοικα, with a suffix -λο- (Chantraine 1933: 243). Cf. ἄ-ϊκής beside ἄ-εικής.

**ικέτης** [m.] 'suppliant', also attributive 'seeking refuge' (Il.). <IE \**seik-* 'reach, grasp the hand'>

•VAR Fem. ἰκέτις, -ιδος (Hdt.).

•DER 1. ἰκέσιος 'of the ἰκέτης, etc.', epithet of Zeus as a protector of suppliants (trag., etc.); 2. ἰκεσία 'request for protection, supplication' (E., Aeschin.); 3. ἰκετήσιος = ἰκέσιος (v 213), after φιλοτήσιος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 41f.; Fraenkel 1912: 151f.); beside this ἰκτήριος from ἰκτήρ (see ► ἴκω); a cross is ἰκετηρία (scil. ῥάβδος), properly 'the twig (of laurel or olive) of the suppliants', 'request' (IA), ἰκετήρες = ἰκέται (S. OT 185; Iyr.), ἰκετηρίς [f.] (Orph. H.); reversed ἰκτης (Lyc. 763); 4. ἰκετικός = ἰκέσιος (Ph., Aq.). 5. Ἰκέτυλλος PN (Att. inscr.; Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 219 and

225'). Denominative *ικετεύω* [v.] 'to be a suppliant' (Il.) together with *ικετρία* (Att.), also *ικέτευμα* (Th.), *ικέτευσις* (Suid.) = *ικεσία*; *ικετευτικός* (sch.).

•ETYM From ► *ἴκω*, *ικέσθαι*. Several details on the formation in Fraenkel 1910-1912 (see index); on the meaning, see van Herten 1934.

**ικμαμένος** ⇒ *αἰχμή*.

**ικμάς, -άδος** [f.] 'wetness, moisture, secretion' (P 392, Hdt.). <IE? \**seik-* 'pour out' (not from \**seikw-*)>

•COMP As a second member (transformed to an o-stem) ἄν-, ἔν-, δύσ-ικμιος (Hp., Arist.), as a first member in *ικμίο-βωλον* [n.] 'moist clump of earth' (Dsc.; on the ntr. gender cf. on ► *διόσπυρον*).

•DER *ικμαδῶδης* (H. s.v. *ἴκμενος*), *ικματῶδης* (Ach. Tat.; after *αἰματῶδης*) 'moist'; also *ικμαῖος* (A. R.), *ἴκμιος* (Call.), *ικμῶδης* (sch.), *ικμαλέος* (Hp., Opp.); *ικμαίνω* 'moisten' (A. R.). *ἴκμαρ*· *νοτίς* 'moisture' (H.). Here also the back-formation *ἴκη* 'duckweed, Lemna minor' (Thphr.; different on the formation Strömberg 1940:113); also *ἴκμῆλιος* τ 57? Speculations by Lacroix *Collection Latomus* 28 (1957): 309ff.

•ETYM Formation in -άδ- like *νιφάς* et al. (Schwyzer: 507f., Chantraine 1933: 349ff.) from an μ-stem. A primary aorist was perhaps retained in *ἱξαί*· *διηθῆσαι* 'filter' (H.). Outside Greek, there are several relatives, e.g. Skt. *siñcāti* 'pour out' (nasal present), OHG *sihan* 'strain, filter', OCS *svčati* 'urinate' (iterative). The reconstruction \**seikw-* in Pokorny and LIV<sup>2</sup> does not work for Greek, nor for Germanic. The root is \**seik-*, with a pure velar.

**ικμάω** 'winnow'. ⇒ *λικμάω*.

**ἴκμενος** [adj.] epithet of οὖρος 'wind' (A 479, Od.). <IE? \**seik-* 'reach, grasp'>

•ETYM Old athen. ptc. like ἄρμενος, ἄσμενος, etc. (Schwyzer: 524, Chantraine 1942: 384), probably derived from *ἴκω*, *ικέσθαι* 'arrive', but the proper meaning is unclear. Perhaps "mit dem man gut vorwärts kommt" (Schwyzer), thus "with which one advances well", i.e. 'favorable'. Others (Schulze 1892: 493, Bechtel 1914, et al.) suggest that the word meant 'desired' (comparing Lat. *flātus optati*), and connect it with *προ-ἴκτης*, *ικετεύω*, etc. They derive this group from a verb 'ask' (Go. *aihtroñ*; also, *αἰκάζει*· *καλεῖ* H.) instead of from *ἴκω* 'come'. Casevits *Eos* 83 (1995): 27-32 proposes that the word belongs to *εἰκα* 'resemble', \**ῥίκμενος* meaning 'qui convient, adapté à', but I find the assumed development of meaning unconvincing.

**ικνέομαι** 'come'. ⇒ *ἴκω*.

**ικνός, -ύος** [f.] 'dust, ashes' (Cyrene). <PG(V)>

•VAR Cf. *ἴκνον*· *κονίαν*, *σιμῆμα* 'dust, soap' (H.) and *ἰγνός* 'id.' (Hp. *Nat. Mul.* 88).

•ETYM Like previous authors, Fur.: 118 compares *λιγνός* 'smoke, soot', but without referring to his p. 391 on the alternation λ/zero. The variation (also κ/γ) proves a Pre-Greek word. Fur. further compares *λιγνός* with *ἀλισγέω* 'pollute' (298), which is formally difficult.

**ἴκρια** [n.pl.] 'half deck' (Hom., B.), 'platform, stage, benches' (Hdt., com., inscr., etc., cf. Beare *Class. Rev.* 53 (1939): 54f.); sing. 'mast' (Eust. 1533, 31 [?]). <?>

•VAR Probably ἴ- (Ar. *Th.* 395, Cratin. 323).

•COMP *ἰκρίο-ποιέω* [v.] 'to build a platform' (Hell. inscr.); *ἐπ-ἰκρίον* [n.] 'yard-arm' (ε 254, 318, A. R.), properly a hypostasis 'what is on the ἴκρια'; as an adjective perhaps in Nic. *Th.* 198.

•DER Denominative verb *ἰκρίω* 'to provide with ἴκρια, construct a platform' (Att. inscr., D. C.), whence *ἰκρίωμα* 'support, framework' and *ἰκριωτῆρες* [pl.] 'uprights, flooring of a deck' (Att. inscr.; often written *ἠκ-*).

•ETYM Technical term without etymology. On the meaning, see also Martin *RPh.* 83 (1957): 72-81.

**ἰκταίνω** ⇒ *ἴκταρ* 1.

**ἴκταρ** 1 [adv., prep.] 'near, near by' (Hes., Alc., A.), with gen. or dat. <PG?(V)>

•VAR *ἴκαρ*· *ἐγγύς*, καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον τοῦ ἐφικνεῖσθαι 'near; to reach at' (H.).

•ETYM Acc. to Schwyzer: 630f., the same formation is found in ► *ἄφαρ*, ► *εἶφαρ*, etc. Like these, *ἴκταρ* could be a verbal noun in -(τ)αρ. It has been connected with Lat. *icō* 'to strike', comparing the Skt. adverbs *ghanám* and *taḍítas* 'near', from *han-* 'beat' and *taḍ-* 'strike', for the semantics. The expression *ὑπερικταίνοντο πόδες* (ψ 3) is unclear in meaning; Aristarchus interpreted it as ἄγαν ἐπάλλοντο; this is often connected with *ἴκταρ*. A v.l. *ὑποακταίνοντο* is glossed with *ἔτρεμον* by (H.); see Bechtel 1914 s.v. *ἰκταίνω*. If the variant in H. is reliable, the word is Pre-Greek (κτ/ κ). See ► *ἴγδις*, ► *αἰχμή*.

**ἴκταρ** 2 [n.] 'genital parts of a woman' (Hp. *Mul.* 2, 174). <PG?>

•ETYM Correction for ἦπαρ, acc. to Erot. and Gal. 19, 105. Most probably a Pre-Greek word; see Fur.: 134<sup>75</sup>.

**ἴκταρ** 3 [m.] name of a small worthless fish (Call. *Fr.* 38, Eust.). <PG>

•VAR *ἰκτάρα* (H.), also *κτάρα*· *ἰχθύς βραχύτερος πάντων* 'shortest fish of all' (H.), *ἰκτάρα* (sch. Opp. *H.* 1, 762).

•ETYM See Thompson 1947 s.v. Given the variants, the word is clearly Pre-Greek (Fur.: 376f.).

**ἴκτερος** [m.] 'jaundice' (Hp.), often plur.; also name of a bird, Lat. *galgulus* (Plin.), named after its color. <PG?>

•DER *ἰκτερικός*, *ἰκτερώδης* 'jaundiced, regarding jaundice' (medic.), also *ἰκτεριώδης* 'id.' (Hp., Dsc.; after *ἰκτεριάω*) and *ἰκτερόεις* 'id.' (Nic.); *ἰκτερίτις* [f.] 'rosemary' (Ps.-Dsc.; used as a remedy, see Strömberg 1944: 29), -ίτης 'id.' (gloss.); *ἰκτερίας* name of a yellow stone (Plin.; like *καπνίας* et al., Chantraine 1933: 94). Denominative verbs *ἰκτερόομαι* (Hp., Gal.), *ἰκτεριάω* (M. Ant., S. E.) [v.] 'to suffer from jaundice'.

•ETYM The formation is reminiscent of ὕδερρος, χολέρα (Chantraine 1933: 228), but further details are unknown. The connection with ἴκτις, ἰκτίνο is defended by Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 6 (1956): 236f., who assumes a color root *ik-* 'yellow, green', and compares *ἰκμαλέον*· *χλωρόν*, ὕγρόν 'green, moist' (H.). This remains speculative. Acc. to Fur.: 321, the group -κτ- points to Pre-Greek origin.

**ἰκτίνο** [m.] 'kite' (IA). <IE? \**tkiH-in-* 'kite'>

•VAR Also (secondary?) ἰκτίν (-ίς), gen. -ῖνος (com., Paus.), after δελφίς acc. to Thompson 1895 s.v.

•ETYM For the formation, ἐχῖνος has been compared (Chantraine 1933: 204), but ἰκτίνος is probably inherited and identical with Arm. *c'in* 'id.'. Skt. *śyená-* [m.] 'eagle, falcon', Av. *saēna-* name of a big bird of prey are rather deviant. For the reconstruction *\*tkiH-in-*, see Beekes in Kortlandt 2003: 200. See ►ἰκτερος.

**ἰκτίς, -ιδος** [f.] 'marten' (Ar., Arist.). ◀?▶

•VAR Also ἰκτίς, gen. -ιδος.

•DER κτίδεος (ἰκτίδεος Suid.) in κτιδέη κυνέη 'helmet of marten skin' (K 335, 458), with apocope of the first vowel; artificial back-formation κτίς in H. s.v. κτιδέα.

•ETYM No etymology; see on ►ἰκτερος.

**ἴκω** [v.] 'to come, reach' (Hom., Pi. Dor. Arc.). ◀IE *\*seik-* 'reach, grasp (with the hand)'▶

•VAR ἰκάνω (epic), ἰκνέομαι (Od., almost only prefixed, see below), with aor. ἰκέσθαι, fut. ἴξομαι (Il.); epic aor. ἴξε, ἴξον (Chantraine 1942: 418f., Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 213), perf. ἴγμαι (Od.).

•COMP Often with prefix (in prose almost exclusively), especially ἀφ-, ἀπ- (whence εἰς-, συν-αφ-ικνέομαι, etc.), also ἐξ-, ἐφ-, καθ-, etc. (see Fraenkel *Glotta* 35 (1956): 88ff.).

•DER 1. ἴξις (ἴξις) 'passage, direction' (Hp.); from ἀφικνέομαι, etc. ἄφιξις 'arrival' (IA), rarely ἔφ-, κάθ-, δί-ιξις; 2. ἴκτωρ, ἰκτῆρ = ἰκέτης, ἰκέσιος, also προσ-, ἀφ-ἰκτωρ 'id.' (trag.) together with ἰκτῆριος (S.); 3. ►ἰκέτης together with ἰκετεύω, etc.; beside it (προσ-)ἰκτης (Hell. poetry); 4. πόθ-ικ-ες [pl.] 'προσῆκοντες, relatives' (Tegea V<sup>a</sup>); 5. ἰκανός 'enough' (IA prose), cf. πιθανός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 196f.); see also ►ἴκμενος, ►προίξ.

•ETYM The verb ►ἴκω has been compared, but the point of the comparison is unclear. The forms in long vowel (ἴκω, ἴγμαι) may be secondary morphological creations of Greek. All other forms have short vocalism, including ἰκανός and other nominal formations. The full grade was thought to occur in ►ἐνεῖκαι 'carry off', but this is now connected with ►ἐνεγκεῖν; in any case, it was semantically deviant from ἴκω.

An acceptable connection is provided by Lith. *siékiu*, *siékti* 'reach with the hand, swear', *at-siékiu* 'reach with the hand', ToB pres. *siknaṃ*, subj. *saikaṃ* 'set foot', for which IE *\*seik-* is reconstructed. See LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*seik-* 'erreichen', where the form U *pru-sikurent* 'confirm' is also adduced, but this is uncertain. The Lithuanian acute accent is unexplained under this reconstruction, however.

**ἰλάειρα, ἰλαος, ἰλαρός, ἰλεως** ⇒ ἰλάσκομαι.

**ἰλάσκομαι** [v.] 'to propitiate, appease, reconcile', intr. perf. and aor. pass. 'to be merciful' (Il.). ◀IE *\*selh<sub>2</sub>-* 'reconcile'▶

•VAR Rarely ἰλαμαι (*h. Hom.* 19, 48; 21, 5; inf. ἰλασθαι Orph. A. 944; on the quantity of the anlaut see below), ἰλαόνται (B 550, ἰλάεσθαι A. R. 2, 847); aor. ἰλάσ(σ)ασθαι (Il.), ἰλάξασθαι (Delph., A. R.), pass. ἰλασθῆναι (LXX); fut. ἰλάσ(σ)ομαι (Pl., Orac. *apud*

Paus. 8, 42, 6), ἰλάζομαι (A. R.); Aeol. perf. ἰπν. ἔλλαθι (gramm., B. 10, 8), plur. ἔλλατε (Call. *Fr.* 121); besides ἰλάθι, ἰλάτε (Theoc., A. R.), ἰληθι (γ 380, π 184), cf. below; subj. ἰλήκησι (φ 365), opt. ἰλήκοι, etc. (*h. Ap.* 165, AP, Alciphrr.).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐξ-.

•DER ἐξίλασις, (ἐξ-)ἰλασμός (LXX), ἰλασία (inscr. imperial period), (ἐξ-)ἰλασμα 'appeasement, expiatory sacrifice' (LXX), ἰλάσιμος 'appeasing' (M. Ant.; after ἰάσιμος, etc., Arbenz 1933: 93), ἰλαστήριος 'appeasing', -ιον 'propitiatory gift' (LXX, pap.), also analogical ἰλατήριον (*Chron. Lind.*), ἰλαστής 'appeaser' (Aq., Thd.) with ἐξίλαστικός (Corn.).

Older formations: 1. ἰλαος (epic, Arc.; on the quantity of the α see below), ἰλεως (Att., also Ion.), ἰλεος (Cret. since III<sup>a</sup>, also Hdt.), ἡλεῖσθι [dat.] (Lacon., *IG* 5(1), 1562 [VI-V<sup>a</sup>]), ἰλλαος (Aeol., gramm.) 'merciful, benevolent'; Arc. 'appeased'; denominative verb ἰλαόομαι (*MAMA* 1, 230), ἡλεῶμαι, ἡλεόομαι (A. *Supp.* 117 [lyr.], Pl.) 'to appease', together with ἡλεῶσις (Plu.), ἡλεωτήριον (Phot., Suid.). 2. ἰλαρός 'cheerful, glad', also = ἰλεως (Ar., X.) together with ἰλαρότης, ἰλαρία, ἰλαρώ, -ρύνω, -ρεῦομαι (Hell.); Lat. loan *hilarus*, -is. 3. ἰλλάεις, -εντος (Alc.), ἰλᾶς, -ἄντος (Hdn. Gr., H.), lengthened from ἰλλαος, ἰλαος (cf. Schwyzler: 527). 4. ἰλάειρα [f.], said of φλόξ and σελήνη (Emp.; on the varying quantity cf. below), also ἐλάειρα (sch., Steph. Byz.) and ΕΛΕΡΑ (Kretschmer 1894: 208; see also Schulze 1933a: 716), innovated after πείρα, κτεάτειρα, Δάειρα, etc., see Chantraine 1933: 104, Schwyzler: 543.

•ETYM The Aeol. imperative ἔλλαθι, ἔλλατε is decisive for the interpretation of these forms, from older *\*he-hla-t<sup>h</sup>i*, -te. They may therefore be analyzed as old perfect forms, cf. τέτλαθι, ἔσταθι, δείδιθι. The length of the α in ἔλλαθι (B. 10, 8) must be secondary; perhaps the Attic form was seen in εἰληθι· ἡλεως γίνου 'be merciful' (H.), which was remodelled after φάνηθι, etc., presumably because the reduplication was no longer recognizable.

Another source of innovations was the reduplicated present ἰλάσκομαι < *\*si-slh<sub>2</sub>-ske/o-*, with short -ᾱ- perhaps analogical after the s-aorist. The anlauting long vowel was introduced into other forms: into the perf. subj. and opt. ἰλήκησι, ἰλήκοι instead of expected *\*εἰλ-*; perhaps also into ἰλάθι, -τε and Hom. ἰληθι (cf. εἰληθι H.).

The ī- was further introduced into the aorist and future: ἰλάσ(σ)ασθαι, ἰλάξασθαι, ἰλάσσομαι, ἰλάξομαι; beside these, there is a short vowel in ἰλάσσει (A 147), ἰλασσάμενοι (A 100), ἰλαμαι (*h. Hom.*; but ἰλασθαι Orph.), ἰλάομαι, as well as in ἰλαρός and ἰλάειρα (Emp. 85). Because the short ī- cannot be understood in terms of ablaut, it may replace an older e-grade (in ἐλάειρα, *\*ἐλαμαι*, *\*ἐλαρός*). The forms ἰληφος, ἡλεως (secondary ἰλαος) are from reduplicated *\*si-slh<sub>2</sub>-uo-*.

The discussion by Klingenschmitt MSS 28 (1970): 75-88 is fundamental, showing that Arm. *atač'em* 'to pray' < *\*slh<sub>2</sub>-ske/o-* is the closest cognate. The Greek form goes back to *\*si-slh<sub>2</sub>-ske/o-*; the aorist would have been *\*selh<sub>2</sub>-s-*, but the beginning has taken over the i-vocalism from the present. This explains the forms with short ī-. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*selh<sub>2</sub>-* and Clackson 1994: 173-4 are somewhat sceptical about this proposal. Lat. *sōlārī* 'to comfort' is related too, but has an obscure lengthened grade *sōlH-* (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.).

**Ἰλη** [f.] 'band, troop', especially a division of the Spartan youth; troop of horses = Lat. *turma* (Pi., S., X.). <IE? \*uel- 'turn, wind'>

•DIAL Dor. Ἰλα.

•COMP As a first member in Ἰλ-άρχης, also -αρχος (Hell.) together with Ἰλαρχέω, -ία, Boeot. φιλαρχίω. H. has βειλάρχας as an explanation of βειλαρμοστάς (Tarent.).

•DER Ἰλαδόν 'in squadron' (B 93, Hes. *Op.* 287, Hdt.), which was metrically easier than \*Ἰληδόν.

•ETYM The gloss Ἰλαί· τάξεις, συστροφαί (H.) could point to original \*Ἰφίλαι, and be derived from Ἰλλω 'press together' < \*ḡi-ul-e/o- (see ►εἰλέω). If this is correct, Ἰλη would show an unexpected reduction of the geminate with compositional lengthening. Solmsen 1901: 227' departs from \*Ἰλ-vā, comparing πῖλναμαι for the vocalism. However, in the latter form, the ι is explained as an analogical *schwa secundum*.

**Ἰλια** [n.pl.] · μόρια (δῶρα cod.) γυναικεῖα; Ἰλιον· τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐφήβιον διηλοῖ. καὶ κόσμον γυναικεῖον παρὰ Κῶις 'female private parts; the female pubes; a woman's ornament (Kos)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM In the last meaning, Ἰλια has been connected with ►εἰλέω 2 'turn, wind', with ι for ει like perhaps in Ἰλη. The Greek gloss may also be a loan from Lat. *ilia*, -ium [n.pl.] 'the soft, the lower part of the body, intestines, womb' (cf. on ►ἰξύς).

**Ἰλιγγος** •VAR Ἰλιγξ. ⇒ εἰλιγγος, εἰλιγξ.

**Ἰλιος** [f.] 'Ilios, the city of Troy' (Il.); -ιον only O 71, always in tragedy (E.). <LW Anat.>

•ETYM In a treaty between the Hittite king Muwattali II (1290-72) and Alaksandu (which must be Homer's Alexander) of *Wilusa*, *Wilusiya*, a small state in the far north West of Anatolia. First considered by Kretschmer *Glotta* 13 (1924): 205-13, it has in recent years been generally accepted that this refers to Schliemann's ruins. See e.g. Latacz 2001: 98-119. There is no agreement on the interpretations of the Greek form Ἰλιος (as the -s- would normally have been preserved; so this form must come from a variant without -s-). The f- is ascertained by Homer. On *Troy* see ►Τροίη (which originally only denoted the land).

**Ἰλλάς** ⇒ εἰλέω 2.

**Ἰλλός** [adj.] 'squinting' (Ar., Sophr.). <IE? \*uel- 'turn, wind', PG?>

•VAR Fem. Ἰλλίς· στρεβλή, διεστραμμένη 'twisted, distorted' (H.). Note Ἰλλός = ὀφθαλμός (Poll. 2, 54).

•DER Ἰλλώδης 'id.' and Ἰλλαίνω (Hp.), Ἰλλώπτω (com.), Ἰλλίζω (Suid.) [v.] 'to squint, look askance', also Ἰλλωσις 'squinting' (Hp.) as if from \*Ἰλλόω. PN Ἰλλεύς (see Boßhardt 1942: 132).

•ETYM From Ἰλλω 'turn, wind'? Or from Pre-Greek? See ►εἰλέω 2.

**Ἰλλω 1** 'press together'. ⇒ εἰλέω 1.

**Ἰλλω 2** 'turn'. ⇒ εἰλέω 2.

**ἱήλσις** 'distress'. ⇒ εἰλέω 1.

**ἱλύς, -ύος** [f.] 'mud, slime, dregs, impurity' (Ion., Il., Arist.). <IE \*(H)iHlu- 'mud, dark'>

•VAR The i- is long; on the length of the u see LSJ.

•DER ἱλυώδης (Hp., Hell.), ἱλυόεις 'muddy' (A. R., Nic.); ἱλύωμαι· ἐρρύπωμαι (H.). Further ἱλύματα (Gal. 13, 45) as a cross with λύματα. Adjective ἱλύ (cod. εἰλύ)· μέλαν 'black, dirty' (H.).

•ETYM Formation like ἀχλύς, etc. (see Schwyzler: 495), and identical with a Slavic word for 'mud', e.g. OCS *ilъ*, gen. *ila* (old *u*-stem); also in Latv. *īls* 'very dark'.

**ἱμαλιά** [f.] 'heap of flour, abundance', glossed by H. with τὸ ἐπίμετρον τῶν ἀλεύρων. ἐπιγέννημα ἀλετριδος. καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀχύρων χνοῦς. καὶ περισυρία 'the excess of wheat-meal; surplus of a grinding woman; dust from the chaff; abundance'. <?>

•DER ἱμαλῖς, -ίδος [f.] 'yield (of flour), etc.', in H. = νόστος, δύναμις, ἐπικαρτία, ἡδονή, ἀπαρχή τῶν γινομένων 'yield, quality, profit, enjoyment, first-fruits of that which is produced'; thus Trypho *apud* Ath. 14, 618d (Doric word); also 'song of the mill, ἐπιμύλιος ᾠδή' (H., Poll.) and as an epithet of Demeter in Syracuse (Polem. Hist. 39).

Adjective ἱμάλιος, in H. = πολὺς, ἱκανός, νόστιμος 'much, sufficient, abundant', etc., also a month name in Hierapytna (SGDI 5040, 4).

•ETYM Popular terms of agriculture that rarely occur in literature. For the ending of ἱμαλιά, we should first compare ἀρμαλιά 'distributed food, portion', ἀχυρμιά 'heap of chaff', φυταλιά 'plants in the garden', etc. On the other hand, ἱμαλῖς is reminiscent of τροφαλῖς 'fresh cheese' and μολυβδῖς 'clump of lead' (Chantraine 1933: 342ff.).

Frisk assumes a derivation in -μαλ- from the root seen in ►ἡθέω 'sieve'; extremely doubtful, because ablaut \*sēi- / sī- does not exist. See on ►ἀρμαλιά. On Lat. *simila* 'finest flour of wheat', see ►σεμίδαλις.

**ἱμανήθηρη** [f.] 'well-rope' (Herod. 5, 11). <?>

•ETYM Formation like κολυμβήθρα (related to κολυμβάω), ἀλινδήθρα (to ἀλινδέω, ἀλίνδω), et al. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 373f.), which would presuppose a verb \*ἱμανάω (Bechtel 1921(3): 304) or \*ἱμαίνω; see on ►ἱμάς (especially ἱμονιά).

**ἱμάς, -άντος** [m.] 'leather strap', for drawing, lashing, etc., 'thong' of a sandal, of a door, etc.; as a term of construction, 'beam' (Il.; Delebecque 1951: 63, 187f.). <IE \*seh<sub>2</sub>i-m(n)- 'rope'>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἱμαντ-ελίεται [pl.] 'pricker of tapes', name of the Sophists in Democr. 150; ἱμαντελιγμός, name of a game (Poll. 9, 118); compounds of ἱμάντας ἐλίσσειν, cf. Fraenkel 1910: 244.

•DER Diminutive ἱμάντιον (Hp.), ἱμαντ-άριον (Delos II\*, etc.), -ίδιον (EM), -ίσκος (Herod.); adjective ἱμάντινος 'of ropes' (Hdt., Hp.), ἱμαντώδης 'rope-like' (Pl., Dsc., Gal.); denominative verbs: 1. ἱμάσσω, aor. ἱμάσαι a) 'lash' (Il.) together with ἱμάσθλη 'lash, whip' (Il.); also μάσθλης (perhaps cross with μάστιξ, cf. on ►μαίομαι); b) 'provide with ἱμάντες, i.e. beams' only in ἱμασσία 'beams?' (IG 4, 823: 26 [Troezen IV\*]; see Fraenkel 1910: 149, Bechtel 1921, 2: 510). 2. ἱμάσσω 'thrash, wallop' (also 'to

fetter' in *Del.*<sup>3</sup> 409, 7? Cf. Brugmann *IF* 29 (1911-1912): 214). 3. ἱμαντώ 'provide with ἱμάντες, i.e. bed-straps' in ἱμαντωμένην κλίνην (H. s.v. πυξ<ίνην>); thence ἱμάντωσις (LXX, Poll.), ἱμάντωμα 'hawser' (H.). Independent of ἱμάς, but cognate with it: 1. ἱμαῖος (sc. ῥοή), ἱμαῖον (μέλος, ἄσμα) 'song while scooping water' (Call., Tryphon, Suid.) with ἱμαῖοδος (haplological for ἱμαῖο-αῖοδος) 'who sings an ἱμαῖον' (Poll., H.); 2. ἱμάω 'to draw (water) with a rope (from a well)', also metaph. (Arist., Ath.), usually ἀν-, καθ-ἱμάω (Ar., X.) together with ἱμητήρ (κάδος, Delos II<sup>a</sup>), ἱμητήριος (H., see ἱβανατρίς), ἀν-, καθ-ἱμησις (Plu.); 3. ἱμονιά 'well-rope' (com., Ph., Luc. et al.; Scheller 1951: 75f.); 4. ►ἱμανήθρη 'id.'

•ETYM As a secondary formation in -ντ-, ἱμάς presupposes a noun \*ἱμā or \*ἱμα 'rope', which is also continued in ἱμάω, ἱμαῖος. An *n*-stem is continued by ἱμονιά and by καθ-, κατ-μονεύει· καθῆσι, καθιεύ 'lets go' (H.), which probably derive from \*ἱμων. Likewise, ►ἱμανήθρη may go back to \*ἱμάνη (via \*ἱμανάω, or perhaps \*ἱμαίνω; cf. πλεκτάνη, ἀρτάνη), or to \*ἱμα.

Note the variable quantity of the anlauting vowel: long in ἱμονιά, ἱμανήθρη, καθιμάω, but short in ἱμαῖος, and most of the time also in ἱμάς (except Φ 544, K 475 etc.; see Schulze 1892: 181, 466<sup>4</sup>) and its compounds and derivatives. This variation cannot go back to old ablaut (as Frisk stated), but rather continues \**sh<sub>2</sub>i-*, which gives a long vowel after metathesis to \**sih<sub>2</sub>m-*, and a short vowel without it; regarding the conditioning, see Schrijver 1991: 519ff., who supposes that stressed \**Hi* resulted in the long vowel.

The form \*ἱμων reconstructed above exactly matches a Germanic word for 'rope': ON *sími*, OS *símo* [m.], and also Skt. *sīmān-* [m., f.] 'skull, boundary' (although this has a slightly deviant meaning), all from IE \**sh<sub>2</sub>i-mon-*, *sh<sub>2</sub>i-men-* (note that for Gm., \**seh<sub>2</sub>i-m-* is possible too). A suffix -*m-* is also found in Irish *sim* 'chain'.

The primary verb meaning 'to bind' is still found in Indo-Iranian, Baltic and Hittite, e.g. Skt. *syāti* < \**sh<sub>2</sub>-ie/o-*, *sināti* < \**si-neh<sub>2</sub>-ti*, ptc. *sita-* < \**sh<sub>2</sub>-to-*, Lith. *siėti*, 1sg. *sienù* < \**sh<sub>2</sub>-ei-*, Hitt. *išhai-*<sup>1</sup>.

García Ramón *Minos* 29-30 (1994-1995): 335-346 connects Myc. *a-ja-me-no-/ai*<sup>(h)</sup>aimeno-/ 'inlaid', with a semantic specialization from 'put on' < 'attach, bind'.

**ἱμάτιον** [n.] 'outer garment, dress, cloth', often plur. -ια (Att.). <IE \**ues-* 'clothe'>

- VAR Ion. εἱμάτιον (εἱματίος inscr. Ceos), Dor. ἡμάτιον (Cyrene IV<sup>a</sup>).
- COMP As a first member e.g. in ἱματιο-πώλης 'cloth-seller' (Critias, pap.).
- DER Diminutive ἱματίδιον, -ιδάριον (Ar.) and denominative ἱματίζω [v.] 'to clothe' (pap., NT), whence ἱματισμός (εἶμ-) 'clothing, wardrobe' (Thphr., Plb., inscr.).
- ETYM An informal diminutive of εἶμα, Cret. *ῥῆμα* (see ►ἔννυμι), with early transition of εἰ = /ē/ to ī. See Wackernagel *IF* 25 (1909): 330.

**ἱμάω** 'to draw with a rope'. ⇒ ἱμάς.

**ἱμβηρίς** [?] · ἔγχελυς. Μηθυμναῖοι 'eel (Methymna)' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM The ending is reminiscent of λεβηρίς 'snake-skin' (Muller 1926: 30). Do we therefore have to read ἱμβηρίς?

The word resembles some Balto-Slavic words for 'eel', e.g. Lith. *ungurys*, Ru. *úgor*. A pre-form IE \**Hengw-* has been reconstructed, with ε > ι before nasal (but this is not a

general rule in Greek) and Aeolic development of the labiovelar. No IE proto-form can be reconstructed for these words. The ending, which is also seen in λεβηρίς, rather points to a Pre-Greek word. On -ῖη-, see *Pre-Greek: Suffixes*. If one assumes interchange initial λ-/zero as well as prenasalization, the words could be identical. Note that ε/ι is frequent in Pre-Greek. The relation to ►ἔγχελυς, Lat. *anguilla*, etc. is unclear.

\***(f)ἱμβω?** [v.] 'to yoke, harness (horses)'? <?, PG?>

- VAR Aor. ἱμψας· ζεύξας. Θετταλοί 'having yoked (Thess.)' (H.).
- DER Ἴμψιος· Ποσειδῶν ὁ Ζύγιος 'Poseidon the Yoke'; γμιβάναι (= f-)· ζεύγαναι (H.). Bechtel 1921, 1: 206 adduces the Boeot. PN *ῤμπίδας*.
- ETYM Two hypotheses have been advanced: that the word is related to Lat. *vinciō* 'to wind around', *vicia* 'vetch' with labiovelar auslaut (followed by LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**uiekw-*); or to Go. *bi-waibjan* 'to wind around', etc. In both cases, the semantic connection does not seem to be very strong. There seems no reason to connect the two glosses ἰψών· δεσμοκτήριον 'prison' (but see also on ►ἵπος) and ἰψόν· τὸν κισσόν. Θε<ο>ύριοι. 'ivy' (H.). Note that the gloss Ἴμψιος has -μψ-, although it is not an aorist. This could be a Pre-Greek variant. See Latte on γμιβάναι.

**ἱμερος** [m.] 'longing, yearning, love' (Il.). <IE? \**seh<sub>2</sub>i-mr*, \**sh<sub>2</sub>i-men-* 'bond'>

- COMP ἐφ-ἱμερος 'filled with yearning, lovely' (Hes., Archil., A.), ἱμερό-γυιος 'with lovely limbs' (B.).
- DER ἱμερόεις 'longing, lovely' (Il.), ἱμερώδης 'id.' (Callistr.); ἱμείρω, -ομαι [v.] (also with ἐφ-) 'yearn, desire' (Il.), together with ἱμερτός 'longed for, lovely' (since B 751).
- ETYM The old connection with Skt. *iṣmā-* 'spring, (god of) love' (lex.), which belongs to *icchāti* (< \**h<sub>2</sub>is-ské-ti*) 'to wish', may be semantically possible, but it leaves the formation of the Greek word (secondary suffix -*ero*?) unexplained. Another proposal by Bally *MSL* 12 (1903): 321 assumed a reconstruction \**si-smer-o-*, and a *yod*-present \**si-smer-ie/o-*, by comparison of Av. *hi-šmarənt-* 'well-conducted' to Skt. *smārati* 'to remember' (< \**smér-e-ti*). As remarked by Weiss *HSPH.* 98 (1998): 47ff., the problem with these proposals is that they lead us to expect Aeolic \*ἱμερος, while we consistently find ἱμερος, ἱμέρρω in Sappho and Alcaeus. Weiss convincingly derives ἱμερος from \**sh<sub>2</sub>i-* 'to bind' instead, as found in Skt. *syāti*, Hitt. *išhai-*<sup>1</sup>: he reconstructs a heteroclitic \**seh<sub>2</sub>i-mr*, \**sh<sub>2</sub>i-men-*, with a suffix \**-mer/n-* also found in τέκμαρ and ἥμαρ (Weiss *ibid.*: 54 points to ἡμέρα as a formal parallel for ἱμερος); he also compares ►αἶμων. This means that ἱμερος may originally have been a bond or spell. See ►αἶμονα.

**ἱμονιά** 'well-rope'. ⇒ ἱμάς.

**ἱμπαταον** ⇒ παπταίνω.

**ἱν** [pron.] · αὐτήν, αὐτόν. Κύπριοι 'her, him (Cypr.)' (H.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>i-* 'he'>

- ETYM Identical with OLat. *im* 'eum', from the IE demonstrative \**h<sub>2</sub>i-* seen in Lat. and Go. *is*, etc. See also ►ἵνα, and on ►μιν, ►νιν.

**ἴνα** [adv., conj.] 'where, to where' (Hom., also IA); as a final conjunction 'that, in order that, etc.' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>i- 'he', etc.>

•ETYM Origin unclear. For the ending, we may compare Skt. instrumentals like *yéna*, *téna* 'by which, by that', OHG *hina* (< \**nā*), OIr. *cen* 'on this side' (from IE \**k<sub>i</sub>*- in *ἐ-κεῖ*), etc. The stem *i-* is perhaps cognate with the IE relative \**H<sub>1</sub>io-* (see ▶ ὅς), or was formed after interrogative \**τίνα*. On the use, see Schwyzler 1950: 672ff. and Gonda 1956: 92, 126f., 141. See also Monteil 1963: 376-384 and Ruijgh *Lingua* 28 (1971): 171.

**ινάω** [v.] 'to empty, purify', also προῖεσθαι 'to be sent forth' acc. to H. s.v. *ινᾶσθαι*. <IE? \**Hish<sub>2</sub>*-, \**His-neh<sub>2</sub>*->

•VAR -άομαι (also -έω, -όω gramm.), fut. med. *ινήσομαι* (Hp.).

•COMP With prefix ὑπερ-ινάω 'empty excessively, vehemently' (Hp. *apud* Erot.) together with ὑπερίνησις (Hp. *Loc. Hom.*) and ὑπέρινος 'excessively emptied, exhausted' (Hp. *Epid.* 6, 5, 15, Arist., Thphr.).

•DER *ινηθμός* 'emptying, cleaning' (Hp. *Loc. Hom.*), *ἴνησις* 'id.' (ibid., Pherecyd. Hist. VI<sup>a</sup>). Uncertain *ἐπινάω* (comm. Arist. VI<sup>p</sup>); on ▶ *περίναιος* (-εος), etc. s.v.

•ETYM Assuming that 'send forth' was the original meaning and that the *i-* was long, *ινάω* was compared by Meister *KZ* 32 (1893): 136ff. (cf. Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:3, 301 and Bechtel 1921(3): 304f.) with Skt. *iṣṇāti* 'to bring in quick movement', also 'to spurt out' (cf. on ▶ *ἰαίνω*). This is followed by García Ramón 1986: 497-514, see on ▶ *ἰάομαι*. The reconstruction is taken over by LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**h<sub>1</sub>eish<sub>2</sub>*-.

**ινδάλλομαι** [v.] 'to appear, seem' (Il., Att.). <PG?>

•VAR Only present stem except *ινδάλθην* (Lyc., Max.).

•DER *ινδαλμός* 'appearance, image' (Hp.), *ἴνδαλμα* 'id.' (LXX).

•ETYM For the formation, one hypothesis has compared ἀγάλλομαι and posited a noun \**ἴνδαλον* vel sim. Frisk states that it must eventually belong to ▶ *ιδεῖν*, ▶ *εἶδος*, comparing ▶ *εἶδωλον* for the *λ*-stem, and citing Chantraine 1942: 142 on the digamma. The nasal is supposed to have spread from a nasal present, and is also recognized in Skt. *vindāti* 'find' and in several Celtic forms, e.g. OIr. *ro-finnadar* 'finds out', and nouns like OIr. *find* 'white', Gaul. *Vindo*-(*magus*, -*bona*) < PCl. \**uindo*-. However, note that these supposed cognates have a different meaning. The conclusion of Indo-European origin is drawn too quickly. The formation in -αλ- (and -αλμος) is non-IE: for ▶ *σχινδαλμός* and ▶ *ὀφθαλμός*, this becomes evident from their variants with *σχ*-/ *σκ*-, *-ινδ*-/ *-ιδ*-, and -αλ(α)μος. Therefore, the word is rather Pre-Greek. The apparent agreement in form and meaning with \**ueid*- is just like that between ▶ *ὀφθαλμός* and \**h<sub>3</sub>ek*:-: such coincidences may be expected to occur every now and then.

**ινδουρος** [m.] 'ἀσπάλαξ 'mole' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM The similarity with Skt. *undura*- 'rat' is rather accidental; see Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v. (not mentioned in Mayrhofer *EWAla* 3: 34f.). For the ending, we may compare ▶ *σκιούρος* 'squirrel', which must be a loan, perhaps from Pre-Greek.

**ἴνις** [m., f.] 'son, daughter' (A., E. [lyr.], Lyc., Call., also Cypr. inscr.; cf. Leumann 1950: 274<sup>21</sup>). <ONOM?>

•VAR Accus. -iv.

•ETYM Acc. to Walde *Glotta* 13 (1924): 127ff., it is from \**ἔν-γν-ις* with Cypr. *iv* < *εν* and assimilation to the nasal with compensatory lengthening like in *γίνομαι*. This would confirm the Achaean character of the word. OIr. *ingen*, Ogam *inigena* 'daughter' have also been compared, as well as *νεο-γν-ός* 'newly born'. Alternatively, we may compare the expressive forms *ἴννος* (ἴννην· κόρην μικράν, ἴννους· παῖδας H.), Byz. and MoGr. *νινί* 'child, pupil' (older litt. in Frisk). See now Masson *REGr.* 88 (1975): 1-5.

**ἴννος 1** 'child' (H.). •ETYM See on ▶ *ἴνις* 'son, daughter'.

**ἴννος 2** [m.] '(young) mule', = *γίννος* (Arist.); more on the mg. in H. s.v. and Meister *KZ* 32 (1893): 143ff., with a wrong etymology. <?>

•COMP As a second member probably in ▶ *ὄνιννος* name of an animal.

•ETYM A foreign word without explanation, like *γίννος*. Borrowed as Lat. *hinnus*, with *h-* after *hinnire*. Cf. on ▶ *ὄνος*.

**ἴντυβος** = *έντυβον*.

**ἰξ** [m.] name of a worm that damages the vine (Alcm. 43). <PG?>

•VAR Gen. *ἰκός*.

•ETYM See Gil Fernández 1959: 115f. Probably related to ▶ *ἰψ* as a substrate element.

**ἰξalos** [m.] '(castrated) he-goat' (Δ 105, AP; on the mg. see Maaß *RhM* 74 (1925): 464f.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Cf. *ισχαλωμένοι· δεδερματωμένοι* 'skinned?' (H.), and *ἰσκαί· αἱ αἰγῖαι μῆλωται* 'goatskins' (H.).

•DER *ἰξαλή* [f.] 'goatskin' (Hp. *Fract.* 29) with several orthographic variants: *ισάλη* (sch. Ar. *Nu.* 72), *ιθέλη* (Poll.), *ιττέλη* (Poll.), *ισσέλη* (Theogn.), *ισσέλα*, *ισθλή*, *ιθέλα* (H.), etc.

•ETYM Older scholars like Solmsen and Bechtel considered the variations as evidence for Anatolian origin. The word is Pre-Greek, acc. to Fur.: 129, 286, 349, 379, 393. The form with *ἰσκαλ*- shows syncope of the *α/ε*; that with *ισχαλ*-, metathesis. The variation *α/ε* is well known in Pre-Greek words. I suggest that the word had \**ikt'al*- with a palatalized *t'* as its second consonant. See *Pre-Greek*: 5.5, also. Heubeck 1961: 66 and 80.

**ἰξός** [m.] 'mistletoe, the birdlime prepared from it', metaph. of all kinds of sticky substances (Hp., E., Ar., Arist., Thphr.). <EUR>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in *ἰξο-βόρος* name of thrush, 'Turdus viscivorus' (Arist.).

•DER *ἰξία* 'mistletoe' (perhaps derived from *ἰξός* in the mg. 'birdlime', cf. Strömberg 1937: 114), also name of a thistle, 'χαμαιλέον λευκός, Atractylis gummifera' (in this mg. also *ἰξίνη* [Thphr., Strömberg 1937: 86]), name of a disease: 'varicose vein' (Arist., Thphr.), cf. Scheller 1951: 42; *ἰξίας* [m.] a thistle, 'χαμαιλέον μέλας, Cardopatum corymbiferum' (Dsc.), *ἰξιώεις* 'made of ἰξίας' (Nic.); *ἰξιον* 'leaf of the χαμαιλέον λευκός' (Gal.); *ἰξώδης* 'sticky' (Hp., Luc.). Denominative: 1. *ἰξεύω* 'catch

with birdlime' (Artem., Poll.); from there ἰξευτής 'birdcatcher' (LXX, Bion) together with ἰξευτικός, also ἰξευτήρ (Man.), fem. -εύτρια (Plu.; Τύχη ἰξεύτρια = *Fortuna viscata*); 2. ἰξόομαι 'be smeared with birdlime' (Thphr.).

•ETYM An old cultural word, identical with synonymous Lat. *viscum* (*viscus*). It has been compared with Germanic and Slavic names for the cherry (also used for preparing birdlime), e.g. OHG *wihsele* 'morello', Ru. *višnja* 'cherry'. DELG wonders whether the word is IE, but given the structure, it is rather a European loanword.

**ἰξύς, -ύος** [f.] 'waist, loins' (ε 231 = κ 544, Hp., Hell. poetry). <PG(V)>

•DER Adverb ἰξυόθεν (Arat.); also ἰξύα, -η (EM).

•ETYM Formation like ὀσφύς, νηδύς, δελφύς, etc.; ἰξύα was created after δελφύα, ἰγνύη, et al. (Schwyzer: 463). Etymological relation with Lat. *ilia* [pl.] 'side of the body' is improbable. Fur.: 393 proposed to connect ▶ ἰσχίον 'hip'; if correct, the word is Pre-Greek because of the variation.

**ἰόμωροι** [pl.] epithet of the Ἀργεῖοι (Δ 242, Ξ 479). <?>

•ETYM The explanation by the scholia as 'famous for their arrows' is incorrect, because the ἰ- is short (see ▶ ἰός 2). The epithet ἀπειλάων ἀκόρητοι in the second part of the verse suggests connection with ἰά, ἰή 'crying', as do the expressions βοῖν ἀγαθός and ὑλακό-μωροι (κύνες ξ 29, π 4). The sense of the second member has also been unknown since antiquity; cf. Leumann 1950: 37 and 272<sup>18</sup>. On the second member, which derives from \**moh<sub>1</sub>-ro-* 'great', see ▶ ἐγγεσίμωρος.

**ἰον** [n.] 'violet' (Hom., Thphr.). <LW Medit.>

•COMP Determinative compound λευκό-ιον = ἰον λευκόν 'stock, gillyflower' (Thphr.; Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 257); often as a first member, e.g. ἰο-ειδής 'violet-colored' (Il.; of πόντος), ἰο-στέφανος 'crowned with violets' (h. *Hom.* 6, 18, Pi., Thgn.), ἰό-κολπος 'with violet bosom' (Sapph.; Treu 1955: 171); on ἰο-δνεφής see ▶ δνόφος; on ▶ ἰάνθινος s.v.

•DER ἰόεις 'violet-colored' = 'deep blue' (σίδηρος Ψ 850, θάλασσα Nic.); ἰωνιά 'violet-bed', also a plant name (Thphr.), after ῥοδων-ιά, θημων-ιά (Scheller 1951: 70f.); ἰοντίτις [f.] plant name = ἀριστολόχεια (Dsc.; after κληματίτις?, Redard 1949: 72).

•ETYM The gloss γία (for φία)· ἄνθη 'flowers' (H.) and the epic metrics confirm the initial f- and the connection with Lat. *viola*. Both probably come from a Mediterranean language; see WH s.v.

**ἰονθος** [m.] 'young, downy hair', usually 'eruption on the face which accompanies the first growth of the beard' (Hp., Arist., Phld.). <IE? \**ui-uond<sup>h</sup>-o-* 'facial hair'>

•DER ἰονθώδης 'like ἰ.' (Thphr., Gal.) and ἰονθάς [f.] 'hairy, beard-like', of αἰξ 'goat' (ξ 50; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 354).

•ETYM May belong to a word for 'hair', etc., which appears in Celtic, Germanic and Balto-Slavic: Mlr. *find* 'hair', OHG *wint-brāwa* 'eyelash' < IE \**uend<sup>h</sup>-o-*; with a different formation, Mlr. *fēs* 'hair', OPr. *wanso* [f.] 'the first beard', CS *psb* 'moustache' (IE \**uend<sup>h</sup>-s-o-* or \**uond<sup>h</sup>-s-o-*). The Greek word would have to represent a reduplicated formation \**ῥί-ῥονθος*. The words have been interpreted as verbal nouns of IE \**uend<sup>h</sup>-* 'to wind'. For the meaning, cf. ▶ ἰουλος within Greek.

**ἰορκος** 'roe, gazelle'. → δορκάς.

**ἰός 1** 'one and the same'. → ἰά.

**ἰός 2** [m.] 'arrow' (Il.), see Trümper 1950: 67. <IE \**(H)isu-* 'arrow'>

•VAR Plur. ἰοί, also ἰά (Υ 68).

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἰο-δόκος 'receiving arrows', of φαρέτρι (Hom.), -η [f.] 'quiver' (A. R.); on ▶ ἰοχάαιρα s.v.

•ETYM Compared with Skt. *īsu-* [f., m.], Av. *išu-* 'arrow' < \**(H)isu-*; Greek ἰός < \**ihwo-* must be a thematization of this word. Meier-Brügger *MSS* 49 (1988): 75-77 thinks that ἰά is the ntr.pl. of PGr. \**ihu*, and that ἰός is a secondarily thematicized singular derived from it.

**ἰός 3** [m.] 'poison' (Pi., trag., Plu.). <IE \**uiso-* 'fluidity, slime, poison'>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἰο-βόρος 'eating poison' (Nic., Opp.).

•DER ἰώδης 'poisonous' (imperial period).

•ETYM Old word for 'poison', replaced in many languages by other (and in most cases euphemistic) expressions, like Gr. φάρμακον, Lat. *venenum*, German *gift*, French *poison*, etc. Besides Greek, the word is still present in Tocharian, Indo-Iranian and Italo-Celtic: ToA *wäs*, ToB *wase* 'poison, venom' < \**uisó-*, Skt. *viśá-* [n.], Av. *viša-*, Lat. *virus* [n.], Mlr. *fi* < IE \**uiso-*. Tocharian and Skt. clearly point to a reconstruction \**uiso-*; the length in Latin, Irish and Greek should then be explained as secondary. Matasović 2008 s.v. \**wisu-* assumes an old root noun nom. \**ueis*, gen. \**uis-os*, which was levelled in various ways in the daughter languages. This could explain the occurrence of athematic forms like Av. *viš-* 'id.'. Szemerényi 1989: 91 argues that ἰός underwent secondary lengthening in hiatus, whereas De Vaan *apud* Matasović 2008 suggests a secondary formation \**uis-jo-*. Forms with deviating meaning are perhaps found in Skt. *viṣ-* 'faeces', Lat. *virus* in the meaning 'viscous liquid, slime, sap', W *gwyar* 'blood'. For this reason, the present entry has been identified with ▶ ἰός 4.

**ἰός 4** [m.] 'rust' on iron, 'verdigris' on copper, bronze (Thgn., Hp., Pl., Theoc., *SIG* 284, 15 [Chios IV<sup>a</sup>]). <?>

•DER ἰώδης 'rust-colored' (Hp., Thphr.).

•ETYM Given the varying meaning of IE \**uis(o)-* (see on ▶ ἰός 3), the present word has been identified with it. It could be due to different technical uses.

**ἰότης** [f.] 'will, decision' vel sim. (Hom.), in θεῶν ἰότητι, etc. On the use in Homer see Krarup *Class. et Med.* 10 (1949): 13. <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>eis-* 'wish'>

•VAR Only dat. ἰότητι (Hom., A. R.); ἰότατι (Alc. ā 309 LP, A. *Pr.* 558 [lyr.]), except for ἰότητα O 41.

•ETYM Etymology uncertain. There are two hypotheses: 1) related to Skt. *iṣ-* 'to wish' (pres. *icchāti*), either from \**h<sub>2</sub>iso-teh<sub>2</sub>t-* or \**h<sub>2</sub>isto-teh<sub>2</sub>t-* from the ptc. \**h<sub>2</sub>istó-* = Skt. *iṣṭá-* 'wished' (Chantraine 1933: 294); 2) to ἔμαι 'to hasten, desire', in which case we would have to posit \**ῥιό-της* (or, with haplological shortening, \**ῥιότό-της* from \**ῥιότος* 'wishing' = Lat. (*in-*)*vītus*, for which see on ▶ ἔμαι). However, ἔμαι has a long ī-. Improbable suggestion by Leumann 1950: 127ff., who explains ἰότητι as from



a false split of διηιοτήτι (-τος) 'enmity' into διή ιότητι, -τος. The Boeot. PN Θειο-  
ρίοτος strongly speaks in favor of original \*φιότητι.

**ἴουλος** [m.] 'down, first growth of the beard, etc.; corn sheaf; catkin'; also name of a  
centipede-like worm (λ 319, A. Th. 534, Arist., Thphr.). <IE \*uel- 'turn, wind'>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ιουλό-πεζος "with feet like an ἴουλος", also of a ship,  
i.e. 'with many rowers' (Lyc. 23).

•DER ιουλίς [f.] fishname 'Coris iulis' (Arist.), because it resembles a centipede  
(Strömberg 1943: 125; also Thompson 1947 s.v.), also called ἴουλος (Eratosth.); Ἰουλῶ  
[f.] "goddess of the corn sheaf", i.e. Demeter (Semus 19); thence the back-formation  
ἴουλος 'song for Demeter' (ibid., Eratosth.), also καλλιῖουλος (for καλλι-ἴουλος,  
Semus); ιουλῶδης 'like a centipede' (Arist.); denominative verb ιουλίζω 'get down'  
(Tryph.).

•ETYM From reduplicated \*ῥί-ῥολνος (cf. ▶ῖονθος), related to οὔλος 'woolly, fuzzy'  
and ▶εἰλέω 2 (< \*ῥελνέω) 'turn, wind'.

**ιοχέαιρα** [adj.] epithet of Artemis, also used as a substantive (Hom.; Pi. P. 2, 9 [with  
shortening of the i-], poet. inscr.), also of the φαρέτρα (AP 6, 9); also name of the  
viper (Nic. Fr. 33). <IE \*Hisu- 'arrow' and \*ǵʰesr- 'hand'>

•ETYM Since antiquity, this epithet has often been explained as 'shaking out arrows,  
she who shoots arrows', from ἰός 'arrow' and χέω 'to pour', by comparison with  
δούρατ' ἔχευαν E 618. However, Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 7 (1956): 275ff. more  
convincingly derived it from ἰός and χεῖρ as 'who has arrows in her hand'; this is  
supported by Skt. formations like *īṣu-hasta-* 'who holds an arrow in the hand', *śūla-*  
*hasta-* 'holding a lance in the hand'. See also R. Schmitt 1967: 177ff., Hagen *Glotta* 76  
(1998): 53-58, and especially Peters 1980a: 223-228 with an extensive discussion.

**ἰπνη** [f.] name of a bird (Boios *apud* Ant. Lib. 21, 6). <?>

•DER Also ἵππια (or rather \*ἵπτα, with Vossius, because of the alphabetical order),  
ἵττα. δρυοκόλαψ, ἔθνικῶς 'woodpecker (dialectal)' (H.).

•ETYM The form ἵττα recalls ▶σίττη; further unclear. Cf. Solmsen 1909: 173<sup>2</sup>.

**ἰπνόν** [n.] = ἵππουρις (Thphr. HP 4, 10, 1), a plant. <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**ἰπνός** [m.] 'furnace', also 'kitchen' and 'lantern' (IA). <IE? \*sp-nó-, \*sep- 'boil, bake'>

•DIAL Myc. *i-po-no*.

•COMP ἰπνο-πλάθος 'oven-maker' (Pl.), Ἐφ-ἰπνος Ζεὺς ἐν Χίῳ 'Zeus in Chios' (H.).

•DER Diminutive ἰπνίον (medic.); ἰπνών (Delos III\*), ἰπνίων (Gortyn) 'kitchen';  
ἰπνίτης (ἄρτος) 'bread baked in an oven' (Hp.); ἰπνιος 'belonging to an oven', ἵπνια-  
τὰ καθάρματα τοῦ ἰπνοῦ 'the offscourings from an oven' (H.) (Call. Fr. 216); ἰπνεύω  
[v.] 'to bake in an oven' (H.; *ἡπνε[ύεσθαι]* IG 1<sup>2</sup>, 4: 15) together with ἰπνευτής:  
*furnarius* (gloss.).

•ETYM The form ἰπνός may have developed from \*ἰπνός (cf. Ἐφ-ἰπνος and  
*ἡπνε[ύεσθαι]* IG 1<sup>2</sup>, 4: 15). It has been compared with a synonymous West Germanic  
word: OE *ofen*, OHG *ovan* 'oven', also ON *ofn*, from PGm. \**ofna-* < \**ufna-*.  
However, these words cannot be combined because of the vocalism (and the Greek

aspiration). The same holds true for the forms with velar: Go. *auhns*, OSw. *oghn*,  
from PGm. \**oχna-*, \**oχna-* < \**ύχna-*, \**uzná-*. Neither is there any possibility to  
connect it with Skt. *ukhá-* [m.], *ukhā* [f.] 'pot, cooking-pot'. A new proposal, which  
seems the most promising to date, has been advanced by Vine 1999a: 5-30: derivation  
from the root \**sep-* of ἔψω as \**s<sup>h</sup>p-no-*, with a secondary zero-grade yielding -i-. The  
formation, an adjective in -νό- with active sense, must be old.

**ἵπος** [f., n.] 'press', of a fuller, or for medical purposes; 'weight (in a mouse-trap, etc.)'  
(Pi., Archil., Hp., Ar.). <?>

•VAR The primary aorist ἵψασθαι, with fut. ἵψεται (A 454 = Π 237, B 193), rather  
means 'to squeeze, oppress' than 'to damage' (φθεῖραι, βλάψαι H.); pres. ἵπτω =  
βλάπτω only EM 481, 3.

•DER Denominative verb ἵπώω 'to press' (Hdt., Hp., A.), also with ἀπ-, ἐξ-; ἵπωσις  
'pressing, pressure' (Hp.), ἰπωτήριον 'oil-press, wine-press' (pap.), 'bougie' (medic.),  
ἰπωτρίς 'pressing' (σπάθη, medic.), ἐξιπωτικός 'pressing out' (Gal.).

•ETYM Unexplained. One could compare ἰψών-δεσμοτήριον 'prison' (H.).

**ἵππος** [m., f.] 'horse, mare' (Il.), collective fem. 'cavalry' (IA). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ekuo-* 'horse'>

•DIAL Myc. *i-qo* /hikk<sup>w</sup>os/, *i-qi-ja* /hikk<sup>w</sup>ia/ 'chariot'.

•COMP Very frequent in compounds: bahuvrīhis (λεύκ-ἵππος), governing  
compounds (ἵππό-δαμ-ος, ἵππι-ηλά-της), determinative compounds (ἵππο-τοξότης),  
compounds with transformed second member (ἵππο-πόταμος, ἵππι-αγρος for ἵππος  
ποτάμιος, ἄγριος, see Risch IF 59 (1949): 287; on ἵππο-κορυστής see ▶κόρυς); with  
metrically conditioned ἵππιο- for ἵππο- in ἵππιο-χαίτης, -χάρμης (epic). As a first  
member also augmentative, especially in plant-names (ἵππο-λάπαθον et al.,  
Strömberg 1940: 30).

•DER A. Substantives: diminutive ἱππάριον (X.), ἱππίσκος 'small statue of a horse'  
(Samos IV<sup>a</sup>), etc., ἱππίδιον as a fishname (Epich.; Strömberg 1943: 100). ἱππότης [m.]  
'horseman, chariot driver' (Il.; in Homer always ἱππότης), fem. ἱππότης (Nonn.);  
ἱππεύς 'chariot fighter' (Il.), 'horseman' (Sapph., A., Hdt.), 'knight' as a social class  
(Hdt., Ar., Arist.); thence ἱππεύω, see below; also as a name of a comet like ἱππίας  
(Plin., Apul.; Scherer 1953: 107); ἱππών 'stable' (Att. inscr., X.); ἱππάκη 'cheese of  
mare-milk' (Hp.), also a plant name (Strömberg 1940: 136; formation like ἐριθάκη,  
ἄλωνάκη et al.); ἵππερος 'horse-fever' (Ar., like ἵκτερος, ὕδερος); ἵπποσύνη 'art of  
driving, cavalry' (Il.).

B. Adjectives: ἱππᾶς [f.] 'belonging to a horse, status and census of the knights in  
Athens' (Hp., Arist.); ἵππειος 'belonging to a horse' (Il.); ἵππιος 'id.' (Alc., Pi., trag.),  
often as an epithet of gods (Poseidon, Athena, etc.); thence Ἰππιών as a month name  
(Eretria); ἱππικός 'id.' (IA; Chantraine 1956a: 141); ἱππώδης 'horse-like' (X.).

C. Verbs: 1. ἱππάζομαι (also with ἀφ-, ἐφ-, καθ-, etc.) 'drive horses, serve as a riding-  
horse' (Il.) together with ἵππασία, ἵππασιμος, ἵππαστήρ, -άστρια, ἵππαστής, -αστικός,  
ἵππασμα, ἵππασμός. 2. ἵππεύω 'id.' (IA), originally from ἱππεύς, but also referring to  
ἵππος; also with prefix, e.g. ἀφ-, καθ-, παρ-, συν-; thence ἵππευτήρ, -τής, ἵππεία,  
ἵππευσις, ἵππευμα; details in Boßhardt 1942: 34f. Countless proper names, both full  
and short names (Ἰππόλυτος, Ἰππίας, Ἰππη, etc., etc.). See Delebecque 1951.

•ETYM Derives from the inherited word for 'horse', represented in Skt. *ásva-*, Av. *aspa-*, Lat. *equus*, Venet. *ekvon* [acc.], OIr. *ech*, OE *eoh*, OLith. *ešva* 'mare', ToB *yakwe*, as well as perhaps the Thracian PN Βετεσπιος and Arm. *ēš* 'donkey'. All these forms derive from IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ekuo-*. According to Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *\*ekku-*, the Anatolian evidence (Hitt. phonetic complements in *-us*, *-un*, HLuw. *aśu-*, Lyc. *esb-*) points to an athematic stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>eku-*. This form must have been thematized in PIE to *\*h<sub>2</sub>ekuo-* after the separation of Anatolian. From this form, we expect an outcome Gr. *\*ἔππος*, so one problem is the vocalism *i-*, for which Mycenaean origin has been suggested. A second problem is the initial aspiration. Connection with *ώκός* cannot be demonstrated. A form with geminate velar is found in ἱκκος (EM 474, 12), ἱκκος PN (Tarent., Epid.); see Lejeune 1972: 83<sup>1</sup>. A recent discussion of the origin of the type ἵππεύς is found in De Vaan JIES 37 (2009).

ἵπταμαι 'fly'. ⇒ πέτομαι.

\*ἵπτομαι 'press'. ⇒ ἵπος.

ἵρην •VAR ἱρήν. ⇒ εἰρήν.

ἴρις, -ιδος [f.] 'rainbow' (Il.), also of the halo of the moon, etc. (Arist., Thphr., Gal.), as a plant name 'purple Iris', etc. (Arist., Thphr.), see Strömberg 1940: 49; also name of a stone (Plin.). As a PN Ἴρις, -ιδος, -iv daughter of Thaumás and Elektra, messenger of the gods (Il., Hes.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Acc. -ίδα, -iv.

•DER ἱρινός (com., Thphr., Plb.), -εος (Nic.) 'made of the Iris'; ἱρώδης 'like a rainbow' (Arist.), ἱρίτις [f.] name of a stone (Plin.), see Redard 1949: 55; denominative ἱρίζω [v.] 'to be iridescent' (PHolm. 7, 6).

•ETYM Evidence for the original form *ῑρίς* comes both from an inscription from Corinth and from the epic metrics (see Chantraine 1942: 152).

The name of the goddess is no doubt identical with the appellative. This appellative has been derived from the root *\*ueh<sub>2</sub>i-* 'bend', which is also seen in ►ἰτέα and ►ἵτυς; a suffix *-r-* is also seen in the Germanic group of OE *wīr*, ON *vírr* 'metallic wire, twisted ornament' (Kretschmer *Glotta* 2 (1910): 354).

Fur.: 356 compares ἑριδας τὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ ἱριδας (H.), and concludes to Pre-Greek origin; does Εἰρίς (formerly explained as *\*E-ῑρίς* with prothetic vowel, which is impossible for an IE word) point to the same? Against the traditional etymology, it must be said that a pre-form PIE *\*uh<sub>2</sub>i-r-i-* is hard to motivate.

ἴς 1 [f.] 'power, strength' (Hom., Hes.). <IE *\*uiH-* 'strength'>

•VAR Accus. ἴν(α) (3 times, only before vowel, see below), instr. ἴφι.

•DER ἴφι-ος 'strong' (ἴφια μῆλα Hom., D. P.) with PNs like *φιφιάδας*, *φιφίτος* (Boeot., Cor.), ἴφης (I 667, etc.; pet name); ►ἴφθμος does not belong here.

•ETYM The gloss γίς (= *ῑίς*) ... ἰσχύς (H.) confirms the identity of (f)ίς 'strength' with Lat. *vīs* 'id.'; the expected accus. (f)ἴν = Lat. *vim* can be restored from ἴν, which is always antevocalic.

ἴς [f.] 'sinew, tendon' (Hom., Hp., Archil., Ar.), 'tendon of the neck' (P 522), 'muscle fibres, fibrin, fibre of plants, ribs of leaves' (Pl., Arist., Thphr.); details on the botanical usage in Strömberg 1937: 129ff. <IE? *\*uiH-* 'tensile force'>

•VAR Gen. ἴνός; mostly plur. ἴνες, dat. ἴνεσι, late ἰσίν, ἴναις.

•COMP ἄ-, πολὺ-ἴνος 'without, with many ἴνες', etc. (Thphr.).

•DER ἰνίον [n.] 'the tendons at the back of the head, the neck' (Il., Hp., Arist.), cf. κρανίον, and see Chantraine 1933: 59; ἰνώδης 'sinewy, fibrous' (X., Arist., Thphr.); probably also ἰναία· δύναμις 'power, capacity' (H., uncertain conj. *Peripl. M. Rubr.* 46); denominative verbs: ἰνῶ 'to provide with ἴνες, strengthen' (Hdn.), ἐξ-ινῶ 'remove the ἴνες, make powerless' (Lyc.), also ἐξ-ινίζω, -ινιάζω (Gal., *Peripl. M. Rubr.* et al.).

•ETYM It is debatable whether ἴς 'sinew' (which seems to have had initial *f-*) is a concretization of ἴς 'strength', or if it was originally a separate word. We may compare the meaning 'tensile force' in Skt. *váyas-*, which also means 'power, etc.'. It is mostly assumed that the *n*-stem inflexion ἴνα, ἴνες, etc. arose from an accus. (f)ἴνα, with *-a* added like in Ζῆν-α. This is quite possible. Scheftelowitz *IF* 33 (1913/1914): 158f. assumed an independent word (f)ἴς, (f)ἴνός 'sinew' (cf. γίς· ἰμάς 'strap' H.) from a verb 'bow, bend', seen in ►ἵτυς, ►ἵρις.

ἴσᾱμι [v.] 'I know'. <GR>

•VAR Inf. ῑισάμην (Gortyn).

•ETYM A Doric innovation (Theoc., Cret., etc.) starting from the 3pl. ἴσαντι = Att. ἴσασι, based on ἴσταντι : ἴσᾱμι. Rejected by Floyd KZ 90 (1976): 166-177.

ισάτις [f.] name of a blue-coloring plant, 'woad, Isatis tinctoria' (Hp., Thphr., Samos IV<sup>a</sup>). <?>

•VAR Gen. -ιδος, -ιος, -εως.

•DER ἰσατώδης 'woad-like' (Hp., Aret.).

•ETYM Lat. *vitrum* 'id.' and OHG *weit*, OE *wād* 'woad' have been adduced, as well as MLat. *waisda* (Prellwitz 1905 s.v.); these seem too far off, but perhaps all these words are loans from a common source. The plant was probably named for its glass-like color (see De Vaan 2008 s.v. *vitrum*).

ισθμός [m.] 'small entry, spit of land, strait of earth or sea, neck', especially as a TN of the strait of Corinth (IA). <PG?>

•VAR Also fem., after ἡ ὁδός, etc. (cf. Schwyzler 1950: 34<sup>2</sup>).

•COMP As a second member with a suffix *-io-* in the hypostasis παρ-ίσθμια [n.pl., sg.] 'fauces, tonsils' (Hp., Arist.).

•DER ἰσθμιος 'belonging to the Isthmos' (Pi., trag.), τὸ ἰσθμιον 'collar' (σ 300), τὰ ἰσθμια 'fauces' (Hp.); ἰσθμιον also metaph. from the neck of a flask (Cypr. word in Pamphil. *apud* Ath. 11, 472e; different Leumann 1950: 271); τὰ ἰσθμια name of the Corinthian games (Pi., Simon., Ar.) together with ἰσθμιο-νίκης, -νικος 'winner at these games' (B.), ἰσθμιασταί 'spectators of the games' (title of a play of A.; like Ἀπολλωνιασταί, etc., Chantraine 1933: 317); ἰσθμιάζω (Suid., H.), also ἰσθμιάται (Delos II<sup>a</sup>); ἰσθμικός, -ιακός 'belonging to the Isthmos, the Isthmian games' (Ar.,

Str.), ισθμώδης 'isthmus-like' (Th.). Denominative ισθμαίνω = ἄσθμαίνω, with ἴσθμα = ἄσθμα 'panting' (H.), arose as a cross of ισθμός with ἄσθμαίνω.

•ETYM Derivation from εἶμι 'go' with a suffix -θμο- has been assumed, by comparison with the by-forms Ἰθμός, Ἰθμο-νίκα (inscr.) and Ἰ-θμα, εἰς-Ἰ-θμη. In derivatives of this root, the meaning 'strait' is also found in ON *eið* [n.] 'strait of land', from IE \**Hoi-dʰo-* (or \**Hoi-to-*). However, the -σ- is unexplained, and as a basic form \**Hidʰmo-* cannot be accounted for. Chantraine 1933: 137 therefore assumes adaptation of a local loan; likewise, Fur.: 294<sup>o</sup>.

**ισίκιον** [n.] 'a dish of mince-meat' (Ath. 376 b, pap.). <LW Lat.>

•DER ἴσικος 'id.' (Alex. Aphr., *Pr.* 1, 22), ἰσικιάριος and ἰσικιομάγειρος 'butcher'.

•ETYM From Lat. *insicium*

**ἴσκα** [f.pl.] 'fungus growing on oaks and walnut-trees' (Aet. 7, 91, Paul. Aeg. 6, 49).

<PG(V)>

•VAR ὕσκα, uncertain reading Aet. 7, 91.

•ETYM Unknown. If the variant is reliable (Fur.: 367), it would point to a Pre-Greek word.

**ἴσκα** 'sheep-skin'. → ἴξαλος.

**ἴσχω** [v.] 'to make like, imitate, think like, interchange' (Hom.), also 'to imitate, feign' (τ 203 with λέγων; cf. Lat. *simulāre*), 'to suppose by mistake' (χ 31, after τ 203); thence 'to suppose' (Simon. 130). In Alexandrian poets (where also 1sg. ἴσκον, ptc. ἴσκων) 'to speak, say' (Theoc., A. R., Lyc.). <IE \**ueik-* 'resemble'>

•VAR Only 3sg. ipf. ἴσκε(v) and ptc. ἴσκοντες, ἴσκουσα.

•ETYM Probably from \**fik-sk-w*; see on ►*ἔοικα*, as well as Bechtel 1914 s.v. and Chantraine 1942: 317.

**ἴσος** [adj.] 'equal' in number, strength, size, status, etc. (Il.). <IE? \**ueid-* 'see, know'>

•VAR Epic ἴσος, fem. ἴση (see below), Arc. Cret. Boeot. ἴσφος (H. γίγον- ἴσων).

•COMP Very frequent as a first member, e.g. ἰσό-θεος 'god-like' (Il.), hypostasis of ἴσος θεῶ or a bahuvrīhi 'having gods as equals' (Risch 1937: 186; cf. Sommer *IF* 55 (1937): 195<sup>2</sup>), ἰσό-πεδον 'plain' (Il.), ἰσό-πεδος 'of the same level, as high as' (Hdt., Hp.; cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 15), ἰσ-ηγورίη, -ία 'equal right to speak, political equality' (IA; a compound of ἴσον ἀγορᾶσθαι); on ►*ἰσοφαρίζω* s.v. As a second member e.g. in ἄ(v)-ισος 'unequal, unfair' (IA).

•DER ἰσότης 'equality' (Pl., Arist.), ἰσάκις 'as often' (Pl.), ἰσαχῶς 'in as many ways' (Arist.); denominative verbs: ἰσάζω 'make, be equal' (Il.) with ἰσασιός (Epicur.) and ἰσαστικός (Eust.); ἰσόομαι, -όω 'to become (make) equal' (since η 212); ἰσαίομαι 'to be (made) equal' (Nic., Arat.).

•ETYM Formally, ἴσφος > epic ἴσος (on the digamma, cf. Chantraine 1942: 144; the apparent prothetic vowel in ἐ-(φ)ῖση is artificial; Beekes 1969: 65f.), Att. ἴσος. The development corresponds to that in \*μόνφος > epic μοῦνος, Att. μόνος, and \*ὄλφος > epic οὔλος, Att. ὄλος, etc.

As IE \**su-* was not retained in Greek, the comparison with Skt. *viṣu-* 'to several sides' must be given up. Phonetically, a basic form \**uitʰuo-* would do, but the

morphological connection to a zero grade \**fid-* from εἶδος 'shape' (thus Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 205) is hypothetical. An ingenious but probably incorrect analysis as δύω 'two' + thematization of a suffix -τυ- by Meillet *BSL* 26 (1925): 12f. Extensive discussion by Ruijgh *Minos* 20-22 (1987): 533-544.

**ἰσοφαρίζω** [v.] 'to match oneself against, measure oneself with' (Il., Hes., Simon., Theoc.); 'to make equal' (Nic. *Th.* 572). <GR>

•VAR Only present.

•ETYM With comparable meaning, there is also ἀντιφερίζω 'to oppose somebody' (Il.), after ἀντι-φέρω. The word αὐτοφαρίζειν αὐτοματεῖν 'to act spontaneously' (H.) arose after the example of ἰσοφαρίζω. This probably stands for \*ἰσοφορίζω = ἴσα φέρειν, from hypothetical \*ἰσο-φόρος, but the α-vocalism is unclear. Perhaps after an unknown example (type ἰσοβαρής)? However, note that the α is also found in φαρέτρα.

**ἴσσασθαι** · κληροῦσθαι 'to be appointed by lot' (H.).

•ETYM See Bechtel 1921, 1: 120 and Luther 1935: 70. See ►*αἶσα*.

**ἰσάνω** [v.] 'to arise, acquire'. <GR>

•VAR Hell. present for ἴστημι (Plb., pap., inscr.), formed to the inf. ἰσάναι.

•ETYM A parallel case is that of Cret. στανύω 'install' (πόλιν στανυέσθων *SGDI* 5040, 66), which has been compared with Av. *fra-stanuuantī* 'they gain an advantage'. In reality, the Cypr. form is rather a thematic enlargement of a primary present of the type αἰνυμαι, probably after τανύω et al. See Schwyzler: 696f., 698f.

**ἴστημι** [v.] 'to make stand, set up, take position, bring to a standstill, etc.' (Il.). <IE \**steh₂-* 'stand, set'>

•VAR Med. ἴσταιμι 'to stand up, etc.', aor. στήσαι, στήσασθαι, fut. στήσω, aor. pass. σταθῆναι (Od.), fut. σταθήσομαι (Att.); intr. aor. στήναι with fut. στήσομαι 'take a stand, arise', perf. ἔστηκα 'to stand'.

•DIAL Dor. ἰστάμι

•COMP Very often with prefix, ἀνα-, κατα-, ἀπο-, ἐξ-, μετα-, etc.

•DER Several (partly inherited) derivations are ►*ἰστός*, ►*σταθμός*, ►*σταμῖνες*, ►*στάσις*, ►*στατήρ*, ►*στήλι*, ►*στήμων*, ►*στοά*, etc. See also ►*στάμνος*, ►*σταυρός*.

•ETYM The intr. athem. root aorist ἔστην neatly corresponds to Skt. *ástḥām* < PIE \**h₁é-steh₂-m*. Beside this, Greek innovated (already in Hom.) a transitive *s*-aorist ἔστησα, like ἐφῶσα beside ἐφῶν, etc. The intr. future στήσομαι was originally built from ἔστην, but became associated with the *s*-aorist later. Also, the trans. reduplicated athematic present ἴστημι is limited to Greek; one may compare τίθημι, ἵημι, βίβημι. Both Indo-Iranian and Italo-Celtic have thematic formations: Skt. *tīṣṭhati* 'stands', Lat. *sistit* (both < \**sth₂-e-ti*). The intr. perf. ἔστηκα, plur. ἑστάμεν is old (leaving aside the enlargement in -κ-), and together with Skt. *tastháu*, plur. *tasthimá*, Lat. *stetimus* it continues an IE perfect formation. The verbal adjective στατός (Il.), also in Skt. *sthitá-* 'standing', Lat. *status*, ON *staðr*, etc. < PIE \**sth₂-to-* is old as well. For more different IE formations, see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**steh₂-*. See also ►*ἰσάνω*.

**ιστία** 'hearth'. •VAR Ion. -ῖη. → *ἑστία*.

**ιστός** [m.] 'beam (of a loom), loom, tissue; mast' (Il.). <IE \*steh<sub>2</sub>- 'stand, set'>

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. ἰστο-δόκη 'support of the mast' for the mast when let down (A 434), ἰστο-πέδη 'hole in the keel for stepping the mast' (μ 51 = 162, Alc. Z 2, 6); cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 26; ἰστο-βοεύς 'pole, thill' (Hes. *Op.* 431, 435, A. R. 3, 1318 and *Orac. apud* Paus. 9, 37, 4), metrical enlargement of \*ιστό-βοος = ἰστός βόειος, βοῶν (cf. ἵππο-πόταμος) after the instrument names in -εύς; also ἰστο-βόη (AP 6, 104, after -δόκη, etc.).

•DER ἰστίον, mostly plur. -ία 'sail' (Il.), also 'curtain' (LXX), 'piece' as a measure (pap.).

•ETYM Formation like φορτίον 'load, wares' et al. (Chantraine 1933: 59). Belongs to ἵσταμαι (or a lost present of the type Lat. *si-st-ō*) as "stand"; originally used for the (standing) beam of the loom; cf. Chantraine 1928: 14 and Hermann *Gött. Nachr.* (1943): 7. See also ►ἵστημι, ►στήμιον.

**ἴστωρ, -ορος** [m.] 'knowing, expert' (*h. Hom.* 32, 2, Heraclit., B., S.), 'witness' (Hp., Boeot. inscr., Att. oath for ephebes in Poll. 8, 106), in unclear mg. Σ 501, Ψ 486 ('witness' or 'arbitrator?'), also Hes. *Op.* 702. <IE \*ueid- 'see, know', \*uid-tor->

•DIAL Boeot. ἴστωρ.

•COMP With prefix in συν-ἴστωρ 'witness, conscious' (to σύν-οἶδα; trag., Th., Plb.) with συνιστορέω 'to be conscious of a matter' (Hell.); ἐπι-ἴστωρ 'knowing something, familiar with' (φ 26, A. R., AP et al.), ὑπερ-ἴστωρ 'knowing all too well' (S. *El.* 850 [lyr.], momentary formation); ἀ-ἴστωρ 'unknowing' (Pl. *Lg.* 845b, E. *Andr.* 682), πολυ-ἴστωρ 'polyhistor' (D. H., Str.), φιλ-ἴστωρ 'who loves knowledge' together with φιλιστορέω (Str., Vett. Val.).

•DER ἰστόριον 'testimony' (Hp.), ἱστορία (see below). Denominative verb ἱστορέω (also with prefix, e.g. ἀν-, ἐξ-) 'be witness or expert, give testimony, recount, get testimony, find out, search' (Ion., trag., Arist., Hell.) together with ἰστόρημα 'account' (D. H.); usually ἱστορία, -ιή 'knowledge, account, (historical) account, history, search, investigation' (IA, Hell.), which formally derives from ἴστωρ, but was functionally associated with ἱστορέω. Adjective ἱστορικός 'regarding ἱστορία or ἱστορεῖν, historical' (Pl., Arist., Hell.; cf. Chantraine 1956a: 134-136).

•ETYM From \*uid-tōr, an agent noun of οἶδα, ἴσμεν. The word itself, but especially the derivations ἱστορέω, ἱστορίη that arose in Ionic, have spread over the Hellenic and Hellenistic world together with Ionic science and philosophy. The aspiration is probably not original; explanation in Schwyzler: 226 and 306. Unsuccessful attempt by Floyd *Glotta* 68 (1990): 157-166 to derive the word from ἴω 'sit, seat' as 'convenor'. On the history of the concepts ἴστωρ, ἱστορέω, ἱστορίη, see Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 93f., Fraenkel 1910: 218f., Snell 1924: 59ff., Keuck 1934, Frenkian *REIE* 1 (1938): 468ff., Leumann 1950: 277f., Muller *Mnem.* 54 (1926): 235ff., and Louis *RPh.* 81 (1955): 39ff. See ►οἶδα.

**ἰσχίον** [n.] 'hip-joint, haunches' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•COMP As a second member e.g. in ἐξ-ἰσχίος 'standing out from the haunch' (Hp.), εὐ-ἰσχίος 'with beautiful hips' (Hell. poetry).

•DER Diminutive ἰσχάριον (Hero); ἰσχιακός 'belonging to the hip' (Thphr.); ἰσχιάς, -άδος [f.] (scil. νόσος) 'pain in the hip' (Hp.) with ἰσχιαδικός (medic.), as a plant-name = λευκάκανθα (Dsc., as a remedy against ἰσχιάς, Strömberg 1937: 194); ἰσχιάσις = ἰσχιάς (medic.; as if from \*ισχιάω, see Schwyzler: 505 and 732); denominative verb ἰσχιάζω (ἰσχιάδδεν H.; Lacon.) 'bend the hip-joint' (Procop., Suid., Phot., H.; uncertain Gal. 18 [1] 786).

•ETYM No etymology. If ἴσχι· ὀσφύς 'loins' (H.) is correct, the formation corresponds to that of ἄλφι and μέλι. Skt. names for body parts like *sákthi* 'thigh-bone' (which is unrelated to ἰσχίον) and *ásthi* 'bone' seem to have a similar formation, but these probably have -i < \*-H. Latte thinks that ἴσχι is simply a mistake for ἰσχίον. Fur.: 393 connects it with ἰξύς, which seems quite possible if one assumes consonant metathesis in ἰσχίον. One might assume a Pre-Greek pre-form \*ikʰ-; cf. on ►ἰξάλος. Pre-Greek had several words ending in -i, which is very rare in inherited Greek (*Pre-Greek*: 3.1b).

**ἰσχνός** [adj.] 'dry, arid, languishing, lean' (IA). <?>

•COMP E.g. ἰσχνό-φωνος 'with dry (weak) voice' (Hdt., Hp., Arist.), often connected with ἴσχω (v.l. ἰσχό-φωνος; cf. below on ἰσχναίνω) and understood as 'having an impediment in one's speech'; ἔν-ισχνος 'a little dry' (Nic. *Al.* 147; cf. Strömberg 1946: 128).

•DER ἰσχνότης 'dryness, etc.' (Hp., Arist.); denominative verbs: 1. ἰσχναίνω (also with prefixes like κατ-, ἀπ-) 'dry up, make lean' (IA) with ἰσχνασία, -ιή 'dried up state, leanness' (Hp., Arist.), ἰσχνασιός (Hp.), ἴσχνανσις (Paul. Aeg.) 'emaciation', ἰσχναντικός 'fit for reducing' (Arist.); 2. ἰσχνόομαι 'to get dry', -όω 'to make dry', also with ἀπ-, ἐξ-, etc. (Hp., Arist.), together with ἴσχνωσις, -ωτικός (medic., etc.). Further ἰσχαλέος 'dry, barren' (τ 233, Man.) and ἰσχάς, -άδος [f.] 'dried fig' (com., Arist.) with derivatives ἰσχαδο-πώλης, ἰσχαδίων, etc. (com.).

•ETYM The pair ἰσχνός, ἰσχαλέος does not show an old interchange ν : λ (which is no IE category, though it does have a parallel in σμερδνός : σμερδαλέος). One might have expected a verb ἰσχαίνω (cf. κερδαλέος : κερδαίνω), which incidentally is often found as a v.l., but this may also be a cross with ἰσχάνω 'to hold back'. A cognate *u*-stem has been assumed in Av. *hišku-*, Mlr. *sesc* 'dry', IE \*si-sk-u-(o-). These are derived from a root \*sek- 'wither' (see Pok. 894). For ἰσχνός, an *ad hoc* base form \*si-sk-sno- has been assumed (Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 475). The derivational basis for ἰσχάς is unclear; given οἰνάς, κοτινάς, φυτάς, μυρτάς, etc., one would expect a noun.

**ισχύς, -ύος** [f.] 'power, strength, might' (Hes.). <PG?>

•COMP Compound ἀν-ισχύς 'powerless' (LXX). As a first member e.g. ἰσχυρο-ποιέω 'strengthen, fortify' (Plb.), as a second member in ἀν-ισχυρός 'powerless' (Hp., Str.), ὑπερ-ισχυρός 'extremely strong' (X., Arist.).

•DER Denominative verb ἰσχύω, aor. ἰσχῦσαι (also with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, ἐξ-, κατ-, ὑπερ-) 'have power, be strong' (Pi., Hp., Att.) together with ἰσχυσις (LXX).

Adjective ἰσχυρός 'powerful, strong, mighty, vehement' (IA); thence ἰσχυρικός 'strong' (Pl. *Tht.* 169b), see Chantraine 1956a: 147, with denominatives: 1. ἰσχυρίζομαι

'to prove one's strength, exert oneself, proclaim emphatically, etc.' (Heraclit., Att.), also with prefixes like δι-, ἀπ-, ἀντ-, together with the desiderative ἰσχυρ-εἶω 'to venture to affirm' (Hp.); 2. κατ-ισχυρεύομαι 'to be violent' (Aq.).

PN Ἰσχύλος (inscr.).

•ETYM The glosses (Lacon.) βίσχυν, γισχύν· ἰσχύν (H., also Hdn. Gr. 1, 509) point to PGr. \*ῑσχός, which was connected with Skt. *vi-śah-* 'to have in one's power' by Brugmann *IF* 16 (1904): 493f. and Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 209. The latter word belongs to the root \**seǵh-* (s.v. σχεῖν, ► ἔχω) with a prefix \**ui-* 'apart, asunder', but this prefix does not exist in Greek, so the etymology fails. However, Myc. *i-su-ku-wo-do-to* has no digamma, which means that the *ῑ-* in the glosses may be secondary after \*ῑίς 'power' (thus Meillet *BSL* 27 (1927): 129ff., though with false explanation of the *i-* as "prothetic"). The connection with ἔχειν seems rather improbable. On the *ū*-stem (like πληθός, νηδός, etc.), see Schwyzler: 463f. and Meid *IF* 63 (1958): 19, who assumes an abstract formation from an adjective \*ῑι-σχ-ός 'resisting' (-*u-* like in ἔχου-ρός), which is not very convincing. Chantraine *Emerita* 19 (1951): 134ff. considers connection with ἰξύς, ἰσχίον. Pre-Greek origin seems quite possible.

ἰταμός [adj.] 'headlong, hasty, eager, bold, reckless' (Att.). ◀?▶

•DER Also ἴτης, -ου [m.] 'id.' (Ar., Pl.), and ἰτητικός = ἰταμός (Arist.); from ἰτάω? See ► εἶμι. Further ἰταμότης (Pl., Plb.), ἰταμία (LXX) 'vigour, effrontery', ἰταμεύομαι 'be ἰτ.' (Jul. Or. 7, 210c; interpolated).

•ETYM Mostly, ἴ-της is derived from ἰέναι 'to go' (Chantraine 1933: 318) as "Draufgänger" (thus already in antiquity, e.g. Pl. *Prt.* 349e, 359c), though most other oxytones in -μός are substantives (ποταμός, etc.). Probably a word from the Attic popular language (incorrectly, Fraenkel 1912: 58f.).

ἰτέα [f.] 'willow' (Φ 350), also 'shield made of willow' (E., Ar.; cf. Trümper 1950: 73). ◀IE \**ueh<sub>1</sub>i-* 'bend', \**uh<sub>1</sub>i-tu-*▶

•VAR Epic Ion. ἰτέη (-εῖ- A. R. 4, 1428, with metrical lengthening?).

•COMP Compound ἰτεό-φυλλος 'adorned with willow-leaves' (Halic. III<sup>a</sup>).

•DER ἰτεῖνος 'of willow' (Hdt., Thphr., pap.), ἰτεών 'willow forest' (Gp.).

•ETYM Formation like πελέα and other tree names (Chantraine 1933: 92). From a noun parallel to (ῑ)ίτυς, which derives from \**ueh<sub>1</sub>i-* 'bend'; cf. γιτέα (= ῑιτέα)· ἰτέα (H.). See on ► ἴτυς for further etymology. Itacistic writing has been assumed for the initial ἰ- on account of the Att. deme name Εἰτέα (cf. on οἶσος).

ἴτον [n.] Thracian name for a kind of mushroom (Thphr. *fr.* 167, Plin. *H.N.* 19, 36). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR οὐτόν· τὸ ὑπ' ἐνίων οἰτόν (H.).

•ETYM Probably ῑιτόν (thus DELG). Fur.: 110, 184 connects it with ► ὕδνον, ὕτνον 'truffle' which has variants οἶδνον, οἶτνον. Furnée is mistaken to assume a prothetic ὀ-, since ὀ- and οὐ- just indicate *ῑ-*, a bilabial [w]. So we have \**wit-* and \**wid-n-*, with a suffix beginning with *n-*, and voicing before the nasal (cf. Fur.: 110 on σπίκανος, σπιγνός; on the suffixes with a nasal added after a consonant, see *Pre-Greek: Suffixes*,

-*v-*). Moreover, in ὕτνον, the *ι* became *υ* after the *w*, which itself disappeared before the *υ* (so *wit-* > *wut-* > *ut-*).

ἴτριον [n.] name of a cake (IA), made from sesame and honey acc. to Ath. 14, 646d. ◀?▶

•VAR Usually plur.; long initial syllable in Ar. *Ach.* 1092.

•COMP ἴτριον-πώλης (Poll.) 'seller of ἴτριον'.

•DER ἴτρίνεος 'like ἴτριον' (AP).

•ETYM Unknown; probably a loanword.

ἴττον [n.] · ἔν. Κρήτες 'one (Cret.)' (H.). ◀?▶

•ETYM See Latte 1953, who notes that Solmsen *BB* 17 (1891): 135 reads δῖττον.

ἴτυς, -νος [f.] 'felloe, rim of a shield', also metaph. 'shield' (Il.). ◀IE \**ueh<sub>1</sub>i-* 'bend', \**uh<sub>1</sub>i-tu-*▶

•ETYM Aeol. ῑίτυς (gramm.; cf. also Chantraine 1942: 144) proves that the connection with ἰτέα, οἶσος, ἴρις is correct. It therefore properly means 'bend, curve' (whence first 'willow?'), a derivative in -*tu-* from a verb 'bend, twist', seen in Lat. *viēō* 'to bind, twist', Skt. *vyāyati* 'wind, wrap, envelop', ptc. *vītá-*, Lith. *výti*, 1sg. *vejù*, ptc. *výtas*, Ru. *vit'*, 1sg. *vju* 'to turn, wind'. Greek ῑίτυς corresponds exactly to Lat. *vitus* 'felloe' (also *vitūtus* 'provided with a felloe', concluded from βιτωτός *Ed. Diocl.*), but the latter is rather a loan (WH s.v.). Elsewhere, there are also traces of *tu*-derivatives, both in Greek and in Balto-Slavic: ἰτέα, οἶσος next to OPr. *witwan* 'willow', OCS *větnv*, Ru. *vítvina* 'twig, rod'.

ἰυγή •VAR ἰυγμα, ἰυγμός. ► ἰύζω.

ἰυγξ, -γγοσ [f.] name of a bird, 'Iynx torquilla' (Arist., Ael.), which was bound to a turning wheel during incantations to win back a lost love; thence the meaning 'spell, charm' (Pi., Ar., X. [cf. Gow *JHS* 54 (1934): 1ff.] and Theocr. 2, 41 [cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 26 (1938): 63]); also (mostly in plur.) name of certain Chaldaic gods (Procl., Dam.). ◀PG(S)▶

•DER Ἰύγγιος month name in Thessaly (*IG* 9(2), 258: 5); to Ἰυγγίης· ὁ Διόνυσος (H.)? Cf. on ἰύζω; ἰυγικός 'belonging to the ἰυγες' (Dam.).

•ETYM Formation like πῶνγξ, στρίγξ, σύριγξ, and other names of birds and musical instruments (Chantraine 1933: 3 and 398). It has been connected with ἰύζω, after the crying of the bird (e.g. Osthoff *MU* 4 (1881): 185<sup>2</sup>). However, it was without a doubt originally a loanword that was adapted to ► ἰύζω by folk etymology.

ἰύζω [v.] 'to cry aloud, howl' (Il.). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR Aor. ἰύξαι (Pi. *P.* 4, 237). Also ἀν-ύζω (Q. S.). Cf. ἀβυκτον (cod. -ηκτον)· ἐφ' οὗ οὐκ ἐγένετο βοή ἀπολλυμένου (H.), and ἐκβιούζει· θρηνεί μετὰ κραυγῆς 'bewails with crying' (H.); DELG explains the *ῑ* as analogical after ἰάχω, but this seems unnecessarily complicated; see below.

•DER ἰυγή (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 9, 43, S., Nic.), ἰυγμός (Σ 572, A., E.) 'crying', also ἰύγματα [pl.] 'id.' (A. *Dict.* in *PSI* 11, 1209, 17); ἰύκτης [m.] 'howler, flutist', only in ἰύκτᾱ (Theoc. 8, 30; after ἡπύτᾱ, ἡχέτᾱ, Fraenkel 1910: 223).

With prenasalization *λυκτόν· τορόν* 'piercing' and *λυγγοδρομεῖν· ἐκβοιθεῖν*. *Βοιωτοί* 'to march out to aid (Boeot.)' (H.), after *βοιηδρομεῖν*; perhaps a mistake for *λυγο*-.? Also *Ἰυγγίης· Διόνυσος* (H.), with the Thessalian month name *Ἰύγγιος*; details in Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 98.

•ETYM A verbalized interjection, cf. *ἰῷ* (Hdn. Gr. 1, 506); or is the latter a back-formation from *ἰύζω*? We also find *ἰού*, *ἰώ*, *ἰαῦ*, but these may have had another initial. From the interjection also *Ἰυός*, epithet of Dionysus (Lycaonia; cf. Robinson *AJA* 31 (1927): 26ff., *Wahrmann Glotta* 19 (1931): 161). See further ▶ *ἰυγξ*.

The forms *ἀβύκτον* (cod. -*ηκτον*)· *ἐφ' οὐ οὐκ ἐγένετο βοή ἀπολλυμένου* (cf. Latte ad loc.) and *ἐκβιούζει· θηρινεῖ μετὰ κραυγῆς* (H.) point to *\*ἰύζω* (cf. Fur.: 277). With its prenasalization, the word is typically Pre-Greek; note the vocalism of -*βιούζει*.

**ἰφθιμος** [adj.] 'powerful, strong, vigilant' (Hom., Theoc., D. P.). <PG>

•ETYM Uncertain etymology, as the meaning itself is uncertain. The absence of a digamma (Chantraine 1942: 143) makes connection with *ἴς*, *ἴφι* impossible. Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 289ff. and Kuiper *ZII* 8 (1930): 249f.) connected it with *φθάνω* and Skt. *kṣáyati* 'possess, dominate'; doubts in Schwyzer: 326'. Athanassakis *Glotta* 49 (1971): 1-21 explains the word as from *\*ἰφι-τιμ-ος* (with *τιμ-* 'honor'), but syncope does not occur on a regular basis in Greek, so this must be wrong. The word is non-IE and therefore probably Pre-Greek, just as Fur.: 318 assumes (following Ruijgh 1957: 155<sup>3</sup>).

**ἰφιος** ⇒ *ἴς* 1.

**ἰφυνον** [n.] kind of lavender, 'Lavandula Spica' (Ar., Epich., Thphr.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 391 connects *τίφιον* [n.] 'Scilla autumnalis' (Thphr.), (see Strömberg 1940: 155f.) with *ἰφυνον* as a variant without *τ-* (for which there are only few examples, however). Nevertheless, a Pre-Greek word is probable *a priori*.

**ἰχανάω** [v.] 'to desire, try, crave' (Hom., Babr., Herod.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>2</sub>ǵh<sup>h</sup>-, h<sub>2</sub>i-h<sub>2</sub>ǵh<sup>h</sup>-* 'desire'>

•VAR Often med. -*άομαι*.

•DER Also *ἰχαίνω* 'id.' (Call. *Aet.* 1, 1, 22).

•ETYM Probably an innovation after *ὑφανάω* : *ὑφαίνω* et al. (see Schwyzer: 700). More details on the formation in Risch 1937 (par. 112e) and Chantraine 1942: 360. An alternating *r*-stem may be seen in *ἰχαρ* 'desire' (A. *Supp.* 850 [lyr.]). For the connection with Skt. *ihate* 'desires', Av. *iziieiti* 'longs for', see ▶ *ἄχηγν*.

**ἰχθῦς, -ύος** [m.] 'fish' (Il.). <IE *\*dǵh<sup>h</sup>uH-* 'fish'>

•COMP Often as a first member, mostly with added *ο*, e.g. *ἰχθυο-πώλης* 'fish seller' (com.) beside *ἰχθυ-βόλος* (A., AP; -*βολεύς* Nic., Call.). As a second member in *ἄν-, εὔ-, πολύ-ἰχθυς* (Str.), also *πολυ-ἰχθυος* (h. *Ap.* 417; metrically convenient).

•DER Diminutive *ἰχθύδιον* (com., pap.), probably from *-υ-ἰδιον* > *-ύδιον*; later *-ῦ-* (Schwyzer: 199 and Fraenkel 1912: 177f.; different Chantraine 1933: 70).

Other substantives: *ἰχθύᾱ*, Ion. -*ύη* 'dried fish(skin), fishery' (medic., pap.); *ἰχθυήματα* [pl.] (rarely sing.) 'fish-scales' (Hp.); *ἰχθυῖα* 'fishery' (Procl.); *ἰχθυεῖον* 'fish market' (Nesos; uncertain); *ἰχθυόνερ· ἰχθυαγωγοί* H.; cf. Schwyzer: 487.

Adjectives: *ἰχθυόεις* 'rich in fish, consisting of fish' (Hom.); *ἰχθυώδης* 'rich in fish, fish-like' (Hdt.); *ἰχθυηρός* 'consisting of fish, scaly, polluted' (Ar., Ph.), *ἰχθυηρά* [f.] 'fish-taxes' (pap.); *ἰχθυικός* 'regarding fish, fish-like' (LXX), -*ικῆ* 'fish toll' (Magnesia, Ephesus); *ἰχθυακός* 'id.' (Aq., Sm., Thd.); *ἰχθυῖνος* 'id.' (Ael.).

Verbs: *ἰχθυάω* 'fish', also intr. 'behave like a fish' (Od.), also *ἰχθυάομαι* 'fish' (AP). Cf. the derivatives of *ἄλς* (*ἀλι-εύς*, -*εύω*, -*εία*, etc.), which compete with the group of *ἰχθῦς*.

•ETYM On the accent, see Schwyzer: 377f. and Berger *MSS* 3 (1953): 7. An old word for 'fish' in general, also found in Armenian and Baltic: Arm. *jukn* (acc. to Kortlandt, -*k-* is a reflex of the laryngeal, like in *mu-kn* < *\*muH-n-* beside *μῦς*), Lith. *žuvīs*, *žuvỹ* [gen.pl.], Latv. *zuvs*. For the "prothetic" vowel *i-*, cf. on ▶ *ἰκτινός* and ▶ *χθές*. The word is now reconstructed *\*dǵh<sup>h</sup>uH-*, the long vowel in the nom. being caused by a laryngeal. The western languages (Latin, Celtic, Germanic) had a different word for 'fish': Lat. *piscis*, OIr. *íasc*, MoHG *Fisch*.

**ἰχλα** [f.] name of a sea-fish. <PG(V)>

•VAR *κίχλα*, *κίχλη* (BCH 60, 28 [Boeotia II<sup>a</sup>], H.); cf. *ἰχάλη* = *ἐσκευασμένος ἰχθῦς*. ἡ *κίχλη* τὸ ὄρνεον 'a prepared fish; thrush', and *ἰχλα· κίχλα* (H.), also *ἴσλαι* = *κίχλαι* 'thrushes' (H.). Nasalized *κίγκλος*.

•ETYM See Lacroix 1938: 52f. The variants show that the word is Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 130, 297f., 379. On the initial *κ-*, see Fur.: 391.

**ἰχνος** [n.] 'footstep, trace, track, sole of the foot' (p 317). <?>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in *ἰχνο-σκοπέω* 'look at the track (or traces)' (A., S., Plu.).

•DER *ἰχνιον* 'id.' (Il.), with *ὑπ-ἰχνιος* 'what is under the sole' (Q. S.). Denominative verb *ἰχνεύω* 'to trace' (X 192), also with prefix, e.g. *ἀν-, ἐξ-, δι-*; thence *ἰχνευτής* 'bloodhound, Ichneumon' (Hdt., S.), also *ἰχνευτήρ* 'id.' (Opp., Nonn.; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 134f.) and *ἰχνευτήρα* (Corcyra); *ἰχνεύμων, -ονος* [m.] "tracer", name of an Egyptian kind of weasel, 'Ichneumon', also metaph. of a kind of wasp (Arist., Eub.); *ἰχνευμα* 'trace' (Poll.); *ἰχνευτικός* 'good at tracing' (Ph., Arr.). Also *ἐξ-ἰχνιαζώ* 'to trace' with *ἐξίχνιασμός* (LXX, Aq.), from *ἰχνος* after the verbs in -*ιάζω* (cf. Schwyzer: 735) rather than from *ἰχνιον*. *Ἰχναίη* epithet of *Θέμις* (h. *Ap.* 94) derives from the TN *Ἰχναί* in southern Thessalia.

•ETYM Formation in *\*-nos-* like *ἔρνος*, *κτῆνος*, etc., but of unclear origin. Perhaps related to ▶ *οἰχομαι*, which is doubted by DELG s.v. Different explanations by Wood *Class. Phil.* 16 (1921): 65 and Wood *Class. Phil.* 21 (1926): 72. Perhaps the form *ἰχματα· ἰχνια* (H.) stands for *ἰθματα* (related to ▶ *εἶμ*). West *Glotta* 77 (1999): 123f. reads *ἰχματα* in N 71.

**ἰχώρ, -ῶρος** [m.] 'juicy, watery part of blood' (Hp., Arist.; from the poetic language, see Leumann 1950: 310), 'blood of the gods' (E 340, 416), secondarily of the blood of the Giants (Str. 6, 3,5), blood in general (A. Ag. 1480 [anap.]). <?>

•VAR Acc.sg. *ἰχῶ* (E 416).

•COMP As a first member e.g. in *ἰχω(ρο)-πρόέω* [v.] 'to run with serous matter' (Hp.).

•DER ἰχωρώδης 'serous' (Hp.).

•ETYM Without an exact morphological parallel (cf. Schwyzler: 519 and 569, Chantraine 1942: 212), and probably a foreign word. Several unconvincing explanations have been proposed: a loan from Hitt. *ešhar* (which is related to ▶ξαρ), e.g. Heubeck 1961: 81 and Neumann 1961: 18; comparison with ἰκμάς (Pisani *RILomb.* 73 (1939-40): 492ff.); or with ἰχαρ, ἰχανάω (Bolling *Lang.* 21 (1945): 49ff.), etc. All of these and other previous proposals are rejected by DELG, which continues by stating that the word is probably Indo-European; this is far from certain, of course. Acc. to Jouanna and Demont *REA* 83 (1981): 197-209, we should start from the technical, medical conception, and not from the poetic one.

ἵψ, ἵπος [m.] name of a worm that eats horn and wood, notably vines (φ 395, Thphr., Str.). <PG(V)>

•COMP Ἴπο-κτόνος name of a god in Erythrai (Str. 13, 1, 64).

•ETYM Rhyming with θρίψ, κνίψ, σκνίψ; Frisk suggests a cross of one of these with ▶ἱξ. Traditionally connected with ἵψασθαι (see ▶ἵπος). See also Gil Fernández 1959: 116. Rather, ἱξ and ἵψ reflect one and the same Pre-Greek word \*ikʷ-, which was adapted in two different ways.

ἵψος [m.] a tree, 'cork-oak, Quercus Suber (?)' (Thphr. *HP* 3, 4, 2). <?>

•VAR Also ἰψός; ἰψόν· τὸν κισσόν. Θ<ο>ύριοι 'ivy (Thurii)' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. Some compare \*(f)ίμβω.

ἰώ [exclam.] 'alas!' (A.). <ONOM> •DER ἰωή 'cry, noise (Il.), ἰώα (A.). =>ἰή, ἰήϊος.

ἰωγή = ἐπιωγαί.

ἰωκή [f.] 'rout, pursuit' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Acc.sg. ἰώκα (Λ 601); see Chantraine 1942: 231, Egli 1954: 12f.

•DER ἰωχμός 'id.' (Il., Hes., Theoc.; cf. Trümper 1950: 160), ἰωξίς· δίωξίς 'pursuit' (H.), παλῖωξίς 'pursuit in turn' (Il., App.), whence προῖωξίς (Hes. *Sc.* 154).

•ETYM Primary formations from ἰώκει 'pursues' (Cor.), so for (f)ιωκή, παλι-(f)ίωξίς, etc. On traces of the digamma, see Chantraine 1942: 143; ἰωχμός (with metrically lengthened ī-) is from \*iok-smó-. For the relation between ἰώκει (only inscr. Corinth, see LSJ) and ἰέμαι, see ▶διώκω. The verb may be Pre-Greek.

Ἴωνες [m.pl.] 'Ionian', one of the four Greek main tribes (since N 685 Ἰάονες ἔλκεχίτωνες). <?>

•VAR In epic poet. mostly plur. Ἰάονες, rarely sing. Ἴων, Ἰάων.

•DIAL Myc. *I-ja-wo-ne*.

•COMP As a second member in Παν-Ἴωνες (Eust. 1414, 36), a back-formation after Παν-ἑλληνες from Πανιώνιον [n.] 'temple of all Ionians', -ια [pl.] name of the festival (Hdt.), Πανιώνιος [m.] epithet of Apollo and others (inscr.).

•DER 1. Ἰάς, -άδος [f.] 'Ionian woman, Ionic' (Hdt., Th.), Ἰακός (Plb.), formed to Ἴωνες after Ἑλληνες; Ἑλλάς. 2. Ἰαόνιος 'Ionic, Greek' (A. [lyr.]), Ἰαονίς [f.] (Nic.); late Ἰώνιος 'id.' (Philostr.), Ἰωνίς [f.] (Call., Paus.), Ἰωνιάς [f.] (Nic., Str.); here Ἰωνία 'Ionia' (A. *Pers.* 771), Ἰαονίη-θε (Nic. *fr.* 74, 2). 3. Ἰωνικός 'Ionic' (Hdt., Th.). 4. ὁ

Ἰόνιος (κόλπος) [m.] 'the Ionic Sea' (between Epirus and Italy). 5. Ἰάνειος patronymic (Thess.). 6. ἰωνίσκος [m.] Ephesian name of the fish χρυσόφρυς 'gilt-head' (Archestr.), cf. Strömberg 1943: 86.

Denominative verb ἰωνίζω [v.] 'to speak Ionic' (A. D.).

Uncertain is the appurtenance of Ἰαωλκός, Ἰωλκός town in Magnesia on the Pagasaic gulf (since Hes. *Th.* 997), which could properly mean 'port of Ionians' if it derives from \*Ἰαφο-ολκός.

•ETYM The foreign adaptations of the tribal name, Eg. *jwn(n)*, Hebr. *jāwān*, OP *yauna*, etc., point to a pre-form \*Ἰάφονες, but a further analysis of this form is uncertain. A shorter form \*Ἰον-ες is supposed in Ἰόνιος (Jacobsohn *KZ* 57 (1930): 76ff.), if it is not a reshaping after χθόνιος (Beaumont *JHS* 56 (1936): 204 connects Ἰόνιος with Ἰώ). In any case, Ἰάς and Ἰαωλκός can be explained from Ἰάονες, Ἴωνες. Unclear Ἰάνων (anapestic in A. *Pers.* 949f. [lyr.]). Acc. to Vendryes *BSL* 25 (1924): 49, the accent in Ἴωνες shows the Attic shift as in ἔγωγε.

As the proper meaning is unknown, the name remains without a clear etymology. An interesting attempt was recently made by Nikolaev 2006, who suggests an original meaning 'die Kräftigen', starting either from \*uiH- 'force' or from \*h<sub>1</sub>ish<sub>2</sub>-, to which a suffix \*-āwon- was added.

See also Ruijgh *Minos* 9 (1968): 109-155 and Heubeck *MSS* 48 (1987): 139-148.

ἰωρός [m.] mg. uncertain (A.D.). <?>

•ETYM Acc. to A. D. *Pron.* 55, 26 Att., = ὁ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως φύλαξ, wrongly connecting the pronoun ἵ. Cf. Hdn. 1, 200: ὁ γνήσιος φύλαξ; Suid. gives ἰωρός· θυρωρός, φύλαξ· καὶ παροιμία· οὐδ' ἐντὸς ἰωροῦ· καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐκτὸς ἰωροῦ ἐκέλευεν εἶναί τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους. (*App. Prov.* 4, 39), so a ban (ἐντὸς, ἐκτὸς ἰωροῦ) on a killer, taken as 'house' by H.; cf. also ἰωρός· τὸ ὄρ<ε>ινὸν χωρίον, καὶ τὸ ὄρος. καὶ οἶκος, καὶ ὁ τούτου φύλαξ (H.). Boisacq posited \*φι-φωρό-ς, related to ὄραω, ὦρα, Hom. οὔρος 'guardian'; this is purely hypothetical.

ἰῶτα [n.] the ninth letter of the alphabet (Pl. *Cra.* 418b). <LW Sem.>

•VAR Indeclinable.

•DER ἰωτακισμός 'repetition of the iota' (Quint.), after σολοικισμός, ἀττικισμός, etc.

•ETYM From Semitic, cf. Hebr. *jōdh*; see Schwyzler: 140 and 313.

Ἴωψ, -ωπος [m.] name of a small fish (Nic., Call. in Ath., Ael., Hdn. *Gr.* 1, 247).

<PG(S)>

•VAR Boeot. ἰωψ (*BCH* 60, 28, II<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Thompson 1947 s.v. No doubt a local word for small useless fishes, i.e. a Pre-Greek word (cf. on ▶ἱκταρ 3). I therefore think that it started with \*wʷ-, like e.g. ἰύζω.



## K

κα [pcl.] ⇒ κε.

καβαθα ⇒ γάβαθον.

**κάβαισος** [m.] 'gluttonous fellow' (Cratin. 103), also PN (*IG* 5(2), 271: 9 [Mantineia IV<sup>a</sup>]). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also κάβασος (Poll. 6, 43 v.l.).

•ETYM In antiquity, the word was analyzed as a compound of κάβος and αἶσα, which is of course nonsense. For the ending, cf. Ἀγόραισος (*SGDI* 3269, 12; 3386, 36; Schulze 1933a: 665). The meaning and structure of the word point to Pre-Greek origin. Fur.: 214 points to the v.l. κάβασος. If we combine these variants, we arrive at a Pre-Greek form \**kamas*⁹. He further connects καμιασός· βάραθρον 'abyss', which is possible but uncertain; the comparison with καμιασὴν 'fish' is even more uncertain.

**καβάλλης, -ου** [m.] 'workhorse, nag, ἐργάτης ἵππος' (Plu., AP, H.). <LW Anat.>

•DER καβάλλ(ε)ιον [n.] 'id.' (inscr. Callatis, H.), also metaph. = ἡ πρώτη τοῦ τρικλίνου κλίνη· διὰ τὸ ἀνάκλιτον 'the first couch in a dining-room with three couches' (H.). Further καβαλλάτιον (< Lat. \**caballatium*) plant name, = κυνόγλωσσον (Ps.-Dsc.; cf. the plant names in ἵππο-, Strömberg 1940: 30); καβαλλάριος (Teucros Astrol.) = Lat. *caballarius* 'groom' (gloss.), καβαλλαρικός (μύλος, τάπης *Edict. Diocl.*).

•ETYM The PN Καβαλλᾶς (IV<sup>a</sup>, *Rev. Arch.* 1925, I 259) shows that the word is old in Greek. Like Lat. *caballus*, W PN *Caballos*, καβάλλης (with technical and popular -ης; Chantraine 1933: 30f.) is an Asiatic loan or a Wanderwort, perhaps originally an ethnicon like *Wallach* et al. It has been compared with Turk. *käväl* epithet of *at* 'horse', MoP *kaval* 'second class horse of mixed blood', and further with Ru. *kobýla* 'mare'. Connection with the Anat. EN Καβαλεῖς (Καβηλέες Hdt.) is uncertain, as is the appurtenance of κάβηλος, κάληβος· ἀπεσκολυμμένος τὸ αἰδοῖον (H.), cf. on βάκηλος.

**καββαλικός** [adj.] 'good at throwing somebody to the ground', said of a fighter (Gal. *Thras.* 45). <GR>

•DER Compar. καββαλικότερος (Plu. *Mor.* 236e, M. Ant. 7, 52).

•ETYM Laconian for καταβλητικός.

**Κάβαρνοι** [m.pl.] name of the priests of Demeter on Paros (*IG* 12(5), 292 [III<sup>p</sup>], H.).

•DER Κάβαρνις, poetic name of Paros (St. Byz.).

•ETYM See Κάβειροι

-καβδαλος = αὐτοκάβδαλος.

κάβειος [adj.] · νέος. Πάφιοι 'young (Paph.)' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM The word has been corrected to \*κάβειρος, which is possible but uncertain. It has been suggested that it refers to the fact that the Kabeiroi are often children. The word is probably Pre-Greek.

Κάβειροι [m.pl.] name of chthonic gods, especially on Samothrace and Lemnos, as well as in Boeotia (Pi., Hdt., inscr.). <PG>

•VAR Κάβειροι· καρκίνιοι 'crab, pair of pincers' (H.); whether there is any relation with the gods, is unknown.

•DER Καβειρίδες (νύμφαι); Καβειρώ mother of the C.; Καβείριον sanctuary of the C.

•ETYM Not related to Skt. *Kūbera-* (Wackernagel KZ 41 (1907): 316ff.), see Mayrhofer KEWA s.v. The root of the name is clearly the same as that in Κάβαρνοι. This root must have been Pre-Greek \**kabar*-. The palatalized consonant explains both \**a* > *e* and the *i*; before the *v*, the palatal character was neglected. See Beekes *Mnem.* 57 (2004): 465-477. See Hemberg 1950.

κάβος [m.] measure of grain: 4 ξέσται (LXX). <LW Orient.>

•ETYM From Hebr. *qab*. Cf. also Eg. *kb*, see Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 247. See ▶ γάβαθον, ▶ καβαθα.

κάβουρος [m.] 'crab' (Eust.), see Rohlf's 1930: 94f.<sup>834</sup>. <PG>

•DER καβουρᾶς 'crab-fisher' (*Inscr. Ephes.* 4282).

•ETYM MoGr. has κάβουρος 'crab'. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek; cf. on ▶ σκίουρος.

κάγκαμον [n.] name of the 'resin of an oriental tree' (Dsc.). <LW Orient.>

•ETYM Related to Arab. *kamkām*, but not to the word for 'saffron', Arab. *kurkum*, Hebr. *karkōm*, Akk. *kurkānu*. Cf. on ▶ κρόκος. Lat. *cancatum* was borrowed from κάγκαμον (since Plin.).

κάγκανος [adj.] 'arid, barren' (Il.). <PG>

•DER καγκάνεος 'id.' (Man.). Denominative καγκαίνει· θάλπει, ξηραίνει 'heats, dries'; also καγκαλέα· κατακεκαυμένα 'what has been burnt up' (H.), which is probably an innovation after the many adjectives in -αλέος meaning 'arid, dry' (ἀζαλέος, αὐαλέος, etc.). Without a suffix: καγκομένης· ξηρᾶς τῷ φόβῳ (H.) and πολυ-καγκίης epithet of δίψα 'thirst' (Λ 642), perhaps formed to a present \*κάγκομαι.

•ETYM Words for 'hunger, pain' are traditionally connected with the group of κάγκανος: the full grade primary verbs κέγκει· πεινᾷ 'is hungry' (Phot.); from other IE languages: Lith. *keĩkti*, 1sg. *keĩkia* 'to ache' (\*'burns, withers'), secondary ON *há* 'to tease, pain' < PGm. \**hanhōn*, and the verbal nouns Lith. *kankà* 'pain', Go. *huhrus* 'hunger', denominative *huggrjan* 'to hunger'.

If this comparison is correct and if we reconstruct a root \**kenk-*, the ablaut of κάγκανος, etc. must be secondary. Schulze KZ 29 (1888): 269f. connects the glosses κακιθής· ἄτροφος ἄμπελος 'untended vine', κακιθές· χαλεπόν, λιμηρές 'harsh,

hungry', κακιθά· λιμηρά (H.), the second member of which would belong to ▶ αἶθω, ιθαίνω; but if so, the first member could also be κακός, as DELG s.v. notes.

Because of the root structure (nasal and *a*-vocalism), the word is suspect of Pre-Greek origin. The words compared mean 'hunger, pain', and not primarily 'arid, dry'.

κάγκελ(λ)οι [m.pl.] 'railings, barrier, starting gate' (pap., inscr., imperial period; sch.), also as a measure (μέτρῳ τῷ καγκέλλῳ, etc.) in pap. <LW Lat.>

•VAR Sometimes sing. -ος, ntr. -ον.

•DER καγκελ(λ)ωτή 'provided with lattice', of διαβάθρα, θύρα (pap., sch.).

•ETYM From Lat. *cancelli* [pl.] 'id.' (Cic.); likewise, καγκελλάριος (Lyd. *Mag.*, pap. VI<sup>p</sup>) = Lat. *cancellarius* (since IV<sup>p</sup>).

καγκύλας [acc.pl.] · κηκίδας. Αἰολεῖς 'mussels (Aeol.)' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Cf. κογχύλαι· κηκίδες (H.) and κογχύλια· τὰ ὄστρεα. καὶ πορφύραι. Oettinger *General Linguistics* 40 (2003): 71ff. concludes that καγκ- is just a mistake for κογκ-. However, the variation α/ο is typical for Pre-Greek, as is κ/χ. Therefore, there seems no reason to reject the attested form. Of course, the word has nothing to do with MoHG *Hengst*, etc.

καγρᾶς [m.] · καταφαγᾶς, Σαλαμίνιοι 'gluttonous (Salaminian)' (H.). <GR>

•ETYM From κατα- and γράω (Bechtel 1921, 1: 421).

καγχαλάω [v.] 'to rejoice, exult' (Il.). <GR>

•VAR Only pres. and ipf. καγχαλάσκει (A. R., Q. S.).

•COMP Also with prefix: ἐπι-, περι-.

•DER καγαλίζεται· χαίρει, ἰλαρύνει 'rejoices' (H.).

•ETYM Expressive verb of onomatopoeic character. If one compares κακχάζω and καγχάζω, -αλάω may be considered as a lengthening, comparing ἀσχαλάω, βαυκαλάω (see ▶ παμφαλάω). However, Apollonius and Bechtel 1914 reject the derivation from καγχάζω, and connect it with χαλάω 'to relax, let go', assuming intensive reduplication. Further arguments in favor of the former view are given by Tichy 1983: 222f.

κάδαμος [adj.] · τυφλός. Σαλαμίνιοι 'blind (Salamis)' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM If reliable (see Schmidt ad loc. and van Herwerden 1910 s.v.), it may belong to Hom. κεκαδών, κεκαδήσει 'to rob'. Not related to Lat. *cadamitās* (which is secondary for *calamitās*; see WH s.v.). One gets the impression of a Pre-Greek word (*a*-vocalism), and it is preferable to abandon attempts at an inner-Greek or Indo-European etymology.

Καδμίλος [m.] one of the ▶ Κάβειροι, son of Kabeiro and Hephaistos; he is the younger man, beside an older one and the Mother Goddess. <PG>

•VAR Also Κάσμιλος, Κάμλλος; on the forms of the name see Beekes *Mnem.* 57 (2004): 466ff.

•ETYM The suffix of this name has been compared with *Muršili* and *Troilos*, and *Morinail* (of the Lemnos inscription). As a whole, it may be identical with that of

*Hasammil(i/as)*, a Hattic god. Was it originally *\*Haf<sup>h</sup>mil*? It is probably a derivation of Kadmos, though there is no tradition that confirms this.

**Κάδμος** [m.] name of a hero, the founder of Thebes (Od.) <PG(S)>

- VAR Κασμος (vase Rhegium).
- DER Καδμείος, Καδμήιος [adj.] (Hes.); Καδμεία 'the hill of Thebes' (X.); Καδμειῶνες 'the inhabitants of Thebes' (Il.); καδμεία (γῆ) 'cadmia, calamine' (Dsc.).
- ETYM The connection with ►κέκασμαι is certainly wrong. The name is found for a river in Thesprotia and for a mountain and a river in Caria. Therefore, the word is without a doubt Pre-Greek, and of unknown meaning (Beekes *Mnem.* 57 (2004): 465ff. and Beekes *Kadmos* 43 (2004): 172f. This is confirmed by the name Καδμίλος which has a suffix -ιλ-, which is well known in Anatolia. The structure of the name agrees with that of Πάτμος, Λάτμος, Λάκμος. There is no further support for the gloss κάδμος· δόρυ, λόφος, ἀσπίς (H.). Cf. on ►Καδμίλος.

**κάδος** [m.] 'vessel for wine and other fluids'; also a measure (IA). <LW Sem.?, PG?>

- DER Diminutive κάδιον (LXX, Delos III<sup>a</sup>, Cyrene II-III<sup>p</sup>), καδίσκος, also 'voting urn' (Att.); with hypocoristic gemination and familiar suffix -χ- (Chantraine 1933: 404) κάδιχος, as a measure 'half a ἐκτεύς' (Lac., H.), together with κεκαδίσθαι (-ίχθαι?) 'to be rejected by a vote' (Lac., Plu. *Lyc.* 12); also κάδιξι (Herac.), probably after χοῖνιξ and ἄδιξι (Ar. *Fr.* 709); hypercorrect καταδίχιον (Tauromenion) for \*καδδίχιον as if from κατά and δίχα. See Wackernagel 1907: 11f., Bechtel 1921, 2: 374f., Fraenkel *Phil.* 97 (1948): 163.
- ETYM Generally considered to be a loanword, probably from Semitic, cf. Hebr. *kad* 'bucket' (Schwyzer: 64 and 152 and E. Masson 1967: 42-44). From κάδος, Lat. *cadus* and Arab. *kādūs* were borrowed (Lokotsch 1927: N° 988). Fur.: 130 compares ἄδιξι, with interchange κ/ zero, and suggests that the words are Pre-Greek.

**κάδουσα** [f.]· εἶδος σταφυλῆς 'a kind of vine' (H.). <PG>

- ETYM The word is most probably Pre-Greek (Fur.: 173<sup>55</sup>).

**κάδυρος** [m.]· κάπρος ἄνορχις 'boar without testicles' (H.). <PG>

- ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 39 connected it with Hom. κεκαδῶν, κεκαδήσει 'to rob'. Cf. Perpillou 1996: 112-124. The connection seems improbable; the element -υρ- rather points to Pre-Greek origin.

**καθαπή** [f.] name of a vessel (PSI 4, 420, 26 [III<sup>a</sup>]). <GR>

- ETYM Named after the strap through its handles (Bonner *AmJPh.* 62 (1941): 453ff.); as an adjective, καθαπτός means 'connected with' (E. *Fr.* 752).

**καθαρός** [adj.] 'clean, spotless, pure, unmixed, white (of bread, linen)' (Il.). <PG(V)>

- VAR Dor. κοθαρός (Herac. et al.), Aeol. κόθαρος (Alc.).
- DER καθάρειος (-ιος) 'pure, elegant' (Arist., Men., Plb.); adverb καθαρείως (X.), after ἀστείος; on καθάρυλλος (of ἄρτος, etc., com.) cf. Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 219<sup>3</sup>. καθαρότης 'purity' (Hp., Pl.), καθαρ(ε)ιότης 'purity, refinement' (Hdt.). Denominative verbs: 1. καθαίρω (κοθ- Herac.) 'to purify' (Il.), aor. καθῆραι (-ἄραι), often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, περι-; thence κάθαρσις (IA; κόθ- El.)

'purification', καθαρμός 'atonement' (Hdt., trag.), κάθαρμα (often plur.) 'purification, refuse' (Att.); καθαρτής 'purifier, conciliator' (Hp., S.), -τήρ 'id.' (Man., Plu.), -τήριος (D. H.); καθάρσιος (to καθαρτής, κάθαρσις, καθαρτός) 'purifying' (Hdt., trag.), καθαρτικός 'id.' (Hp., Pl.). 2. καθαρίζω 'to purify' (LXX), also with prefixes ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, περι-, with καθαρισμός (LXX), καθάρσις (pap.), etc. 3. καθαρεύω 'to be pure' (Ar., Pl.) with καθάρευνσις (H., EM); also καθαρι-εύω (Paus., gramm.). 4. καθαρι-όω 'to purify' (LXX).

- ETYM No etymology, see Frisk and DELG for unsuccessful older attempts. The variation α/ο points to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 391 even connects it with ἀθαρής, but this is doubtful). Alternatively, Peters 1993b: 95ff. takes up the old connection with Skt. *śithirā* 'loose', reconstructing *\*k<sub>1</sub>th<sub>2</sub>-ro-*, but this etymology needs too many ad hoc assumptions: independent dissimilatory loss of the first *r* in both branches, doubtful laryngeal aspiration *\*tH* > θ (πλατύς is a strong counterexample, and cannot be explained away by πλαταμών), and too complicated semantics.

**καθειστόν** [n.]· εἶδος φιλήματος 'kind of kiss' (H.). <?>

- ETYM Mistake for κλειστόν? Latte suggests καθελκτόν.

**κάθιδοι** [m.]· ὕδριαι. Ἀρκάδες 'vessels (Arc.)' (H.). <?>

- ETYM Hoffmann 1891: 103 considers reading κάθυδροι 'those filled with water' or κάθυδοι 'id.' (from ὕδος; cf. ὕδαλεός). For -ι- instead of -υ-, Thurneysen *Glotta* 12 (1922): 146 compares Μετίδριον = Μεθύδριον. See ►κηθίς.

**καί** [conj.] 'also, even; and' (Il.). <IE *\*k<sub>1</sub>mt-* 'along with, downwards'>

- DIAL Arc. Cypr. κας (secondarily κα).
- ETYM From \*κατι (cf. Hitt. *katti*) > \*κασι > κάς, καί (Ruijgh 1967a: §293). Also found in ►κασίγνητος. Acc. to Klingenschmitt MSS 33 (1975), καί, Arc. Cypr. κας 'also, even; and' and -κάς in ἀνδρα-κάς may all derive from *\*k<sub>1</sub>Ns(-i)*.

**καιάδας** [m.] 'pit or cavern at Sparta, into which people sentenced to death (or their bodies) were thrown' (Th. 1, 134, Paus. 4, 18, 4, D. Chr. 80, 9). <PG>

- VAR Gen. -ου, Dor. -ᾶ.
- DER Also καιάτας, -έτας 'id.' (Eust. 1478, 45); καιετός 'fissure produced by an earthquake' (Str. 8, 5, 7), καιάτα· ὀρύγματα· ἢ τὰ ὑπὸ σεισμῶν καταρραγέντα χωρία 'pits; places split by earthquakes' (H.).
- ETYM The connection with Skt. *kévaṭa-* [m.] 'pit' must be rejected (Kuiper 1991: 27), and we cannot reconstruct PIE *\*kaiu<sub>1</sub>-t-*; cf. Mayrhofer KEWA s.v. The form καιετός may be a reshaping after ὀχετός, (σ)κάπετος, etc., and καιάδας does not necessarily contain an old variant with -δ-, since glosses like γαιάδας· ὁ δῆμος ὑπὸ Λακώνων 'people (Lacon.)', γανσάδας· ψευδής 'false' (H.) show that Laconian extended the use of the suffix -δᾶ-. The forms καιάτας, -έτας are secondary.
- It seems clear that the word is Pre-Greek. A pre-form *\*kaw<sup>h</sup>at-* would probably give *\*καιφα/ετ-*, where the ε is from *a* after a palatalized consonant; the δ can also be interpreted as a normal variant of τ. See Fur.: 180, 349 and on ►κητώεσσαν.

**καιέτα** [f.]· καλαμίνθη. Βοιωτοί 'mint' (H.). <PG>

•VAR *καίετας* (without accentuation, Apollon. *Lex.* s.v. *κητώεσσαν*), *καιατῶν* [gen.pl.] (Anon. Lond. 36, 57). Also *καίατα(ς)*.

•ETYM Has been connected with *καίω*, because of the burning taste (Fraenkel 1910: 62 A. 2, Bechtel 1921, 1: 306). The word is rather Pre-Greek, though a direct connection with ► *καιάδᾱς* is not evident.

**καικίας, -ου** [m.] 'northeast wind' (Ar., Arist.). <?>

•ETYM For the formation, cf. *ἀπαρκτίας*, *Ὀλυμπίας*, and other wind names (Chantraine 1933: 95); basis uncertain. Already Ach. Tat. *Intr. Arat.* 33 (cf. von Wilamowitz 1931: 265<sup>2</sup>) explained it as "(the wind) coming from the *Καίικος*", a river in Aeolis, comparing the similar names *Ὀλυμπίας*, *Ἑλλησποντίας*, etc. Others (Pisani KZ 61 (1934): 187, Huisman KZ 71 (1954): 99) take it as "the blind one" = "the dark, obscuring one" from the word for 'blind, one-eyed': Lat. *caecus* 'blind', OIr. *caech* 'one-eyed', Go. *haihs* 'id.', Skt. *kekara-* 'squinting'. Lat. *aquilō* 'north wind', from *aquilus* 'dark', has also been compared. Not very probable.

**καινός** [adj.] 'new, newly found, unexpected' (IA). <IE \*ken- 'new, fresh'>

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. in *καινο-τομέω* (: *καινὰ τέμνειν*), properly an expression of mining: 'cut out a new (type of) stone', metaph. 'introduce innovations (in the state)' (Att.), together with *-τομία*, *-τόμος*; *καινο-ποιέω* 'introduce innovations, renovate' (S., Plb.) together with *-ποιῖα*, *-ποιητής* (see Fraenkel 1912: 90f.).

•DER Abstract *καινότης* 'innovation' (Att.). Denominative verbs: 1. *καινίζω* 'to innovate, inaugurate' (trag.), also with prefix, especially *ἀνα-* (Isoc., Str., Plu.), *ἐγ-* (LXX, NT); thence (*ἐγ-*)*καινίσις*, *-ισμός* (LXX); deverb. *ἐγκαίνια* [pl.] 'consecration of a temple' (LXX, NT). 2. *καινών* 'to innovate, inaugurate' (Hdt., Th.), *ἀνα-* (NT, etc.), whence (*ἀνα-*)*καινώσις* (J., NT). PNs *Καινίας*, *Καίνιος*, etc. (Bechtel 1917b: 229), *Καινεύς* together with *Καινεΐδης* (Boßhardt 1942: 128, Debrunner 1923: 32).

•ETYM Comparisons have been made with YAv. nom.sg. *kaine* 'girl', acc. *kaininam*, Skt. gen.pl. *kanīnām* 'id.', full grade *kanyā* 'girl' (reinterpreted as an *ā*-stem), and the adj. *kanīna-* 'young'; grades of comparison *kāniyas-*, *kāniṣṭha-*. Another cognate is Lat. *recēns* 'fresh, new, young', which must derive from *re-cen-t(i)-*, from a verb 'to rise, begin' seen in OIr. *cinim* 'to originate', OCS *-četi*, 1sg. *-čьnq* 'begin' < IE \*ken-. The appurtenance of OW *cein* 'beautiful' is doubtful (cf. Matasović 2008 s.v. \*kani-. See Pok. 563f. and LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*ken-).

**καίνυμαι** [v.] 'to overcome, surpass, excel' (Od.). <GR?>

•VAR In *ἐκαίνυτο* (γ 282, Hes. Sc. 4), *ἄπε-* (θ 127, 219; A. R. 2, 783), *περι-καίνυται* (Nic. Th. 38), act. ipv. *καινύτω* (Emp. 23, 9).

•ETYM Perhaps analogical from ► *κέκασμαι*, ► *κέκασται* after *δαίνυμαι*, *ἐδαίνυτο*, which were connected with *δέδασμαι*, *δέδασται* (Brugmann 1886-1900 2: 1012, Brugmann 1913: 339; also Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 373).

**καίνω** [v.] 'to kill' (trag., Timocr. 1, 9, Theoc. 24, 92). <GR>

•VAR Aor. *κανεῖν* (*κανῆν* Theoc. l.c.), fut. *κανῶ*, perf. *κέκονα* (S. Fr. 1058).

•COMP Also with *κατα-* 'id.' (X.).

•DER *κοναί· φόνοι* 'murders' (H.).

•ETYM By-form of ► *κτείνω* with the same simplification of the anlaut as in *χαμαί* beside *χθών* (Schwyzer: 326). It was supposed that *καίνω*, *κανεῖν* arose from *κατα-κανεῖν* by dissimilation from *κατα-κτανεῖν* (Kieckers IF 36 (1916): 233ff., Chantraine *Sprache* 1 (1949): 142<sup>3</sup>), but it is difficult to connect this with the chronology of the attestations.

**καίπετος** [m.] · *ἄξινη* 'axe-head' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Stands at an alphabetically wrong place in Hesychius. Specht KZ 52 (1925): 90 compared CS *cěpiti* 'split'. It is rather a Pre-Greek word (in which *-ετο-* exists as a suffix).

**καιρός** [m.] 'right measure, (right, decisive) point of time, (favorable) opportunity, time of the year, time' (Hes.; cf. *καίριος* below). <?>

•COMP *καιρο-φυλακέω* [v.] 'to guard (at the right time)' (D., Arist.), *ἄ-, εὖ-καιρος* with *ἄ-, εὖ-καιρία*, *-έω*, etc.

•DER *καίριος* 'finding its mark, decisive, deadly' (Il.); 'coming at the right time, convenient'; *καιρικός* 'at the right time, belonging to certain times', *καίριμος* 'deadly' (Macho *apud* Ath. 13, 581b; not quite certain), 'matured', of wine (PFlor. 143, 2; III<sup>2</sup>), after *ῥιμιος* (Arbenz *Die Adj. auf -μιος*: 55 and 59).

•ETYM Uncertain. Several proposals: related to *κείρω* as 'decisive moment' or '(a certain) time', for which compare Lat. *discrimen* (Persson 1891: 107, Brugmann *Sächs. Ber.* 52 (1900): 410<sup>1</sup>); to *κεράννυμι* 'mix' (Brugmann IF 17 (1904-1905): 363f.; morphologically complicated; similarly, Benveniste 1940a: 11ff., who asserts that it is properly "atmospherical mix"); to *κύρω* 'meet, meet accidentally' (Bq, phonetically difficult); to Skt. *kālā-* 'time' (Güntert 1923: 232; phonetically impossible, on which see Mayrhofer KEWA s.v.). On the meaning of *καιρός*, see Wersdörfer 1940: 54ff. and Pfister 1938: 131ff.

**καῖρος** [m.] 'row of thrums (on the loom), to which the threads of the warp are attached' (Ael. Dion. Fr. 440, Phot. 304, EM); the exact construction remains unknown. <?>

•DER *καίρωσις* (Poll. 7, 33, H.), acc. to H. = *τοῦ στήμονος οἱ σύνδεσμοι* 'the fastenings of a warp', a collective abstract from \**καίρω* 'to provide with *καῖροι*'; *καίρωμα* = *καῖρος* (Ael. Dion. l.c., see Chantraine 1933: 187), also 'texture' (Call. fr. 295); *καιρωτίδες* (*-ωστ(ρ)ίδες*) 'female weavers' (Call. fr. 356, H., Suid.). Note *καιροσέων*, epithet of *ὀθονέων* (η 107) for *καιρουσέων* (on the explanation Wackernagel 1916: 84f. against Kretschmer *Glotta* 13 (1924): 249 who sticks to his interpretation), gen.pl. of *καιρόεσσα*, fem. to *καιρόεις* which properly means 'provided with *καῖροι*'; exact meaning uncertain. Cf. *καιρία*, mostly ► *κειρία* (*-η-, -ι-*).

•ETYM A technical expression of unclear meaning, and therefore etymologically difficult. According to H. Petersson (see Pok. 577f.), it is related to Arm. *sarik'* [pl.], gen. *sareac* 'sling, rope', as well as to *sard*, instr. *sardi-w* 'spider'. Clackson 1994:139-140 pleads for a different origin of the Armenian *sari-k'*, which rather means 'chain, fetter', also 'band'. Cimochoowski *Ling. Posn.* 5 (1955): 194 connected it with Albanian *thur* 'twine, weave'.

**καίω** [v.] 'to kindle', med.-pass. 'to burn' (Il.). <IE? \*keh<sub>2</sub>u- 'burn'>

•VAR Att. κάω, aor. καῦσαι, epic (also Att. inscr. IG 1<sup>3</sup>, 374: 96; 261) κῆαι, pass. καῖναι (epic Ion.), καυθῆναι, fut. καύσω, perf. κέκαυκα, κέκαυ(σ)μαι (IA).

•DIAL Myc. *a-pu-ke-ka-u-me-no, pu-ka-wo* /pur-kawos/ (vel sim.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-, ὑπο-. Among the compounds, note ἔγκανυμα, -σις, -(σ)τής, -στήριον, -στον (> Lat. *encaustum*; the red purple with which the Roman emperors signed, from where Fr. *encre*); also ὑπόκανυσις, -στης, -στήριον, -στρᾶ, etc.

•DER 1. καῦμα 'fire, heat, glow' (Il.) with καυματ-ώδης (Hp., Arist.), -ηρός (Str.), -ίας (Thphr.; of the sun) 'burning, glowing', καυματίζω 'burn, singe' (NT, Plu., Arr.). 2. καῦσις (ἔγκανυσις, etc.) 'burning' (IA) together with (ἐγ-, κατα-)καύσιμος 'inflammable' (Pl., X.). 3. καῦσος [m.] 'causus, bilious remittent fever, etc.' (Hp., Arist.), from καῦσαι, or rather with a suffix -σο- (Strömberg 1944: 87f.)? Thence καυσία 'Macedonian hat against the sun', καύσων 'id.', also 'heat, hot wind, etc.' (LXX, NT, medic.), καυσώδης 'burning, hot' (Hp., Thphr.), καυσόομαι, -όω 'to have causus, burn; to heaten' (medic., NT, pap.) together with καύσωμα 'heating' (Gal.). 4. καυ(σ)τήρ [m.] 'burner, burning iron' (Pi., Hp.), fem. gen. καυστερῆς, epithet of μάχης (Il.) or καμίνου (Nic.), from \*καύστειρα (Schwyzer: 474, Chantraine 1942: 192; note the switch of accent); καυτήριον 'branding iron, brand(mark)' (LXX, D. S., Str.), diminutive καυτηρίδιον (Gal.), denominative verb καυτηριάω 'to brand' (Str., NT). 5. καύστης [m.] 'heater, etc.' (pap.). 6. καύστρᾶ [f.] 'place where corpses were burnt' (Str., inscr.). 7. καυστικός, rare καυτ- 'burning, inflammable' (Arist.). 8. καυθμός 'scorching (of trees), firewood' (Thphr., pap.). Beside these formations there are older ones whose connection with καίω became less clear due to phonetic developments: ►κᾶλον 'wood', ►κηλέος 'burning, blazing', ►κηώδης, ►κηώεις 'smelling', κηνα mg. uncertain; πυρκαϊά, πυρκαϊή, adj. -ιός.

•ETYM All forms go back to a root καυ-, καϝ-: καίω (whence Att. κάω) derives from a yod-present \*κάϝ-ιω, while the once enigmatic form ἔ-κη-α is now explained from *eka<sup>h</sup>wa* < \*h<sub>1</sub>e-keh<sub>2</sub>u-s-m by Kiparsky *Lang.* 43 (1967): 627-8. This form is often incorrectly written with -ει-, as in κείαντο, etc. (see Chantraine 1942: 9), and in Att. κέαντος with quantitative metathesis. The full grade also occurs in epic κηλέος, κηώδης, and in Delph. κηνα, which shows a PGr. κηϝ- beside κάϝ-.

For an etymology, we have to rely on Baltic material: Lith. *kūlės* 'Brandpilze, Flugbrand, Staubbrand des Getreides', *kūlēti* 'brandig werden', Latv. *kūla* 'old, dry, grass of last year' (cf. Fraenkel 1955 s.v.). These would represent a zero grade *kū-* < \*kHu-, beside a full grade \*keh<sub>2</sub>us- continued in Greek ἔκηφα, and zero grade \*kh<sub>2</sub>u- in \*κάϝ-ιω, καῦ-μα.

**κάκαλα** [n.pl.] · τείχη. Αἰσχύλος Νιόβη (Fr. 166) 'walls' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Uncertain hypothesis by Solmsen 1909: 215: related to ποδο-κάκη 'piece of wood in which the feet of prisoners were tied' (Leges *apud* Lys. et D., Pl. Com. 249, sch. [not in LSJ]), also written -κάκη (perhaps after κακός). Chantraine comments: "rapprochement en l'air".

**κακιθής** [adj.] · ἄτροφος ἄμπελος 'a withering grapevine' (H.). <?>

•VAR Also κακιθές, κακιθά (H.), κακιθή (Theognost. *Can.* 109).

•ETYM Acc. to Collinder *Eranos* 67 (1969): 210, it is itacistic for κακ[ο-]ήθης. See ►κάγκανος.

**κακκάβη 1** [f.] 'three-legged pot' (com.), acc. to Ath. 4, 169c = χύτρα. <PG?>

•VAR Also κακάβη, κάκαβος (Gal., Alex. Trall.), κάκκαβος [m.] (Nicoch., Antiph.).

•DER Diminutive κακ(κ)άβι(ο)ν (Eub., pap.).

•ETYM Technical LW of unknown origin. Semitic origin proposed by Lewy *Glotta* 16 (1928): 137 and Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 19 (who compares Akk. *kukubu*); rejected by E. Masson 1967: 83-83, but defended again by Szemerényi *IF* 73 (1968): 194f. In the meaning 'kettle', it could be a metaphor of 'partridge', acc. to Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 48 (1970): 53. Lat. *cac(c)abus*, diminutive *cac(c)abulus* (= κακουβαλουμ in Ps.-Dsc.; André *Latomus* 14 (1955): 518) are borrowed from the Greek. Cf. WH s.v. *cac(c)abus*. Given the variations and the variant in Lat. *cascabus* 'cacabus grandis' (gloss.), cited by Fur.: 298, the word is likely to be Pre-Greek.

**κακκάβη 2** [f.] 'partridge' (Ath. 9, 390a). <LW Anat.>

•VAR κακκαβίς [f.] (Alcm. 25).

•DER κακκαβίζω 'to quack', of a partridge (Arist., Thphr.), of owls (Ar. *Lys.* 761; v.l. -βάζω; cf. κικκαβάζω); also κακκάζω, of hens (H.).

•ETYM For the ending, Chantraine 1933: 260 compared ὄτοβος, κόναβος, θόρυβος; further onomatopoeic. Lat. *cacabāre* 'quack' was borrowed from Greek. One may compare Lat. *cacillāre* 'id.', MoHG *gackern*, MoDu. *kakelen*, Ru. *kokotát*, etc., all onomatopoeic for 'to quack'. On the other hand, Hitt. *kakkapa-*, Akk. *kakkabānu* 'partridge' have also been compared (Benveniste 1962: 7); see also Szemerényi *IF* 73 (1968): 94 and Cardona *Orbis* 16 (1967): 161-164. Neumann 1961: 60 suggests Lydian origin.

**κακκάω** [v.] 'to shit' (Ar. *Nub.* 1384, 1390), κάκκη 'human ordure' (Ar. *Pax* 162).

<ONOM>

•ETYM Lallwort from the language of children with expressive gemination, like Lat. *cacāre*, Mlr. *caccaim* 'to shit', *cacc* 'ordure', Du. *kakken*, Ru. *kákat*, Arm. *k'akor* 'dung', etc.

**κακ(κ)αλία** name of several plants (Dsc., Plin.).

•VAR κακαλίσ· νάρκισσος 'narcissus' (H.). ⇒ ἀκακαλίσ.

**κακός** [adj.] 'bad, awful, worthless' (Il.). <IE? \*knk- 'slight', PG?>

•VAR Grades of comparison: κακώτερος (Il.), κακίων, κάκιστος (Il.), after ἄριστος acc. to Seiler 1950: 100f., but see now DELG *Supp.*

•DIAL Myc. *ka-zo-e* /kazohes/.

•COMP Often as a first member (in opposition to εὖ); also as a second member, e.g. bahuvrihi ἄ-κακος 'who does not know what is bad, unguilty' (Sapph., A.); also ἄ-κάκᾱς (Dor.), epithet of Hades (Megara), of Darius (A. *Pers.* 855 [lyr.]), cf. Chantraine 1933: 28.

•DER Abstracts: 1. κακότης 'badness' (Il.); 2. κακία 'id.' (Thgn., Att.; on κακότης: κακία see Porzig 1942: 212); 3. κάκη 'bad character, cowardice' (A., E.); after πάθη,

βλάβη, cf. Frisk *Eranos* 43 (1945): 221; as a second member in στομα-κάκη a disease of mouth and teeth (Str., Plin.).

Denominative verbs: 1. κακίζω 'to revile', -ίζομαι 'to behave badly, be a coward' (Il.), with κακισμός (Phld., Str.), κάκισις (Vett. Val.) 'scorn'; 2. κακώω 'to revile, damage, ruin' (Il.) together with κάκωσις 'maltreatment, damage' (IA), κακωτής 'damager', κακωτικός 'damaging, harmful' (Ph., Vett. Val.); 3. κακύνομαι 'to prove to be bad or cowardly', -ύνω 'to damage' (E., Pl.).

•ETYM No clear etymology. Neo-Phrygian κακο(υ)ν is a loan from Greek, acc. to Solmsen KZ 34 (1897): 52<sup>4</sup> and others. De Lamberterie (see DELG *Supp.*) compares OAv. *kasu-* 'small, slight', with grades of comparison *kasiiah-*, *kasišta-* 'smallest'. However, if this is accepted, his reconstruction of a PIE root *\*kak-* may be altered to *\*knk-*. Another option is comparison with the root of Lith. *keñkti* 'to ache' < *\*kenk-*, and the Germanic group of Go. *huhrus* 'hunger'. Alternatively, the word could be Pre-Greek.

**κάκτος** [f.] 'a kind of thistle, cardoon, cactus' (Epich., Theophr., Theoc.). <PG?>

•ETYM Foreign word of unknown origin (cf. Strömberg 1937: 102). See André 1956 s.v. *cactus*. Lat. *cactus* was borrowed from the Greek. Fur.: 321, 371 thinks the -κτ- points to Pre-Greek and compares ἀκακία.

**κακχαδία** · ισχνόφωνοι 'with weak voices' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Schmidt corrects it to κισχαῦδαι, which would be contracted from καί ισχαῦδαι; cf. σχαῦδαι (= ισχαῦδαι) · ισχνόφωνοι (H.).

**καλαβοῦτοι** [?] · ἐν τῷ τῆς Δερεάτιδος ἱερῷ Ἀρτέμιδος ἀδόμενοι ὕμνοι 'songs sung of Artemis in the sanctuary of D.' (H.). <?>

•ETYM On a suggestion by Laum, see Wahrmann *Glotta* 17 (1929): 242f. M. Schmidt suggests reading *\*καλαβοΐδια*; see ►καλαοΐδια. Latte reads -βῶται.

**καλαβύστας** ⇒ ασκάλαβος.

**καλαβώτης** ⇒ ασκάλαβος.

**καλαδία** [f.] · ῥυκάνη 'plane-tree' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Acc. to von Blumenthal 1930: 39, it belongs to κλαδαρός, κλάδος (?).

**καλάζει** [v.] · ὀγκοῦται. Ἀχαιοί 'is elated (Achaian)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**κάλαθος** [m.] 'basket' (Ar., Arist.), also metaph. of various objects, e.g. 'capital of a pillar' (Callix.), 'reservoir of an oil-lamp' (Hero). <PG?>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in καλαθη-φόρος [f.] 'bearer of a κ.' (Ephesus III<sup>p</sup>), Καλαθηφόροι title of a comedy by Euboulos. On -η- see Schwyzer 438f.

•DER καλαθίσκος (Ar., Lys.), -ον [n.] (Delos II<sup>a</sup>); καλάθιον (Poll. Orib.); also καλάθωσις 'coffering of a ceiled roof' (gloss.).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. ►γυργαθός (γύργαθος), ►κύαθος, ὄρμαθός, etc. Connected with ►κλώθω by de Saussure 1879: 267, which is formally impossible. Probably Pre-Greek.

**καλάϊνος** [adj.] 'blue-green, bluish', of stones, earthenware, etc. (PSI 4, 396, 9 [III<sup>a</sup>], *Peripl. M. Rubr.* 39 [cod. καλλεανός], AP, Dsc.). <?>

•VAR Also καλλ-.

•ETYM An adjective in -ινος, seemingly derived from κάλλαις 'blue-green stone, turquoise' (Plin. *NH* 37, 151), but this could also be a back-formation. Comparison with ►κάλλαιον 'cock's comb, the feathers of a cock' and ►καλαῖς 'hen' is improbable.

**καλαῖς** [f.] 'hen', msc. 'cock' (IG 4<sup>2</sup>(1), 40: 5, 41: 6 Epid. [V<sup>a</sup>]). <?>

•VAR Only acc. -ιδα.

•ETYM No etymology. Mostly taken from ►καλέω. Bechtel 1921, 2: 510f. posits *\*καλαρίς*, a fem. of *\*καλαρός*, which would properly mean "the calling one", by comparison with Skt. *usā-kala-* 'cock', "who calls early" (see ►ῆικανός). However, we cannot obtain *\*καλα-* from ►καλέω, as the root ended in -h-. Pagliaro *Arch. glott. ital.* 39 (1954): 145ff. identifies καλαῖς 'hen' with κάλλαῖς 'turquoise' (and with καλάῖς τὸ ἱστῖον H.), καλάϊνος, and perhaps with κάλλαιον. Fur.: 125 fn. connects it with Lat. *gallus*.

**καλαμίνθη** [f.] name of an odoriferous plant (Hp., Ar., Arist.). <PG(s)>

•VAR Also -μινθα (Philum. *Ven.*, Phot.), -μινθος (Nic. *Th.* 60).

•DER καλαμινθίνη 'id.' (medic.; after ῥητίνη, etc., Chantraine 1933: 204), καλαμινθίτης (Dsc., of οἶνος), καλαμινθώδης 'full of κ.' (Str., Apollon. *Lex.*). Καλαμίνθιος name of a frog (Ar. *Batr.* 224).

•ETYM Unknown. The formal agreement with κάλαμος and μίνθη does not permit a conclusion. The assumption of a pre-form *\*καλαμο-μίνθη* with dissimilation is unconvincing. A derivation καλάμ-ινθος from κάλαμος (Schwyzer: 526) and the assumption of a foreign word, with popular adaptation to κάλαμος and μίνθη, remain hypothetical as well. Cf. Chantraine 1933: 370. A Pre-Greek word is most probable because of the suffix and the meaning.

**καλαμίνδαρ** [?] · πλάτανος ἡδονιεῖς (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**κάλαμος** [m.] 'reed, grass-stalk', often metaph. of objects made of reed, 'flute of reed, fishing rod, reed pen', etc. (*h. Merc.* 47 [cf. Zumbach 1955: 5], Pi., IA); on the botanical mg. see Strömberg 1937: 100f. <IE *\*kolh<sub>2</sub>-m-*, *klh<sub>2</sub>-em-* 'reed, straw'>

•VAR καλάμη [f.] 'stalk or straw' (Hom., Hdt., X., Arist.).

•COMP Especially in botanical terminology (Strömberg 1937: 112), e.g. μονο-κάλαμος 'with a single stalk' (Thphr.), καλαμη-φόρος 'with reed' (X. *HG* 2, 1, 2; v.l. -ο-, cf. Schwyzer: 526), καλαμη-τόμος 'cutting off stalks' (A. R.).

•DER Diminutives καλαμίσκος (Ar., medic.), καλάμιον (pap.); καλαμῖς [f.] name of several objects made of reed (Hell.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 342f.); collective καλαμία (-εία) 'reed' (pap.); καλαμών 'id.' (lit. pap.); καλαμάριον 'reed-case' (pap.).

καλαμεύς 'fisher' (Pancrat. *apud* Ath.); also καλαμευτής 'id.' (AP; as if from *\*καλαμεύω*, cf. Chantraine 1933: 318); καλαμίτης 'provided with κάλαμος, etc.' (D.).

καλάμιος 'made of reed' (IA), καλαμίς 'of reed' (E. [lyr.]), καλαμώδης 'full of reed, reed-like' (Arist., Thphr.), καλαμικός 'id.' (pap.).

καλαμώ [v.] 'to provide with reed, splint (a bone) with reed' (Gal.) together with καλαμωτή 'fence of reed' (Eust., H.); καλαμίζω 'blow a reed flute' (Ath.).

From καλάμη : καλαμαία [f.] 'kind of grasshopper' (Theoc. 10, 18), καλαμαῖον [n.] 'kind of cicade' (Paus. Gr., H.), cf. Gil *Emerita* 25 (1957): 315f. and Georgacas *Glotta* 31 (1951): 216), καλαμάομαι 'collect grain-stalks, gather ears (of corn)' (Cratin., LXX, Plu.) with καλάμημα (Thd.).

•ETYM An old word for 'reed, straw', with cognate forms in Latin *culmus*, Germanic (e.g. OHG *halm*), Balto-Slavic (e.g. OPr. *salme* 'straw', Latv. *salms*, Ru. *solóma*, SCr. *slāma*). Except for κάλαμος, -μη, all these forms can go back to IE \**kolh<sub>2</sub>-mo-*, *kolh<sub>2</sub>-meh<sub>2</sub>-*. Therefore, κάλαμος has been explained as from \*κόλαμος (comparing ποταμός, πλόκαμος) by vowel assimilation, but this unsatisfactory solution is unnecessary, as the proto-language may have had a paradigm \**kolh<sub>2</sub>-m*, \**klh<sub>2</sub>-em-*, i.e. an *m*-stem, which was thematized in the separate branches. From κάλαμος, Lat. *calamus* and Skt. *kalāma-* 'writing reed', Arab. *qalam* > Osman. *kalēm* > MoGr. καλέμι were borrowed (Maidhof *Glotta* 10 (1920): 11).

**κάλανδρος** [m.] 'kind of lark' (Dionys. Av. 3, 15). <PG>

•ETYM Ending like τάρανδ(ρ)ος, Μαϊάνδρος; origin unknown. Thence Ital. *calandro* 'lark' (Meyer-Lübke 1911-1920: N° 1486). See also WH s.v. *caliandrum*. No doubt either Pre-Greek, or a loan from Anatolia.

**καλαοΐδια** [f.] · ἀγών ἐπιτελούμενος Ἀρτέμιδι παρὰ Λάκωσιν 'contest in honour of Artemis (Laconian)' (H.). <GR?>

•ETYM Acc. to Fraenkel *Glotta* 4 (1913): 35, a univerbation of καλεῖν and αἰδεῖν. Acc. to Frisk, it is rather a derivation in -ιο- from καλαί οἰοδαί.

**καλάπους** [m.] 'shoemaker's last', καλαρίνες ὀχετοί. Λάκωνες 'water-pipes (Laconian)'; καλαρρυγαί· τάφροι 'ditches' (H.). =>κάλον.

**καλάρης** [m.] a small bird (Arist. HA 609a). <PG?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**καλάσιρις, -ιος** [f.] an Egyptian garment with tassels or fringes at the bottom (Hdt. 2, 81, Cratin. 30; a Persian garment in Democr. Eph. 1), also worn at the Mysteries in Andania (Messenia) (IG 5(1), 1390: 17; written -σιρις); Καλασίριες [m.pl.] name of a kind of Egyptian soldier (Hdt. 2, 164; after the garment or *vice versa*?). <LW Eg.>

•VAR Also -σιρις.

•COMP As a second member in τρυφο-καλάσιρις name of a women's garment (Ar. Fr. 320, 6; cf. Risch IF 59 (1949): 269).

•ETYM Egyptian word without certain etymology; cf. Spiegelberg *Zs. f. ägypt. Spr.* 43 (1905): 87ff. On the notation, see Schwyzler *Glotta* 11 (1921): 75f. Further discussion in Drioton-Vandier 1962: 572f.

**καλαῦροψ, -οπος** [f.] name of a herdsman's staff, which was thrown to drive back the cattle to the herd (Ψ 845, Antim., A. R.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also κολλόροβον (Hipparch. Ptol.; written κολλώροβον in BGU 59.13), = κορύνη 'staff' (H., who has κολλορόβον), see Fur.: 145f.

•DER καλαυρόπιον (Artem.). Unclear is καλαυρόφης· βακτηριοφόρος 'staff-bearer' (H.), at an alphabetically wrong position; Fur.: 146<sup>18</sup> suggests that it is a mistake for \*καλαυροπο-φορίς.

•ETYM Explained as an Aeolic compound καλα-φροψ by Schwyzler: 224 and Chantraine 1942: 158, but with unexplained second member. The comparison of the first member with Skt. *śalā-* 'stick' (cf. on ▶κῆλα) or with ▶κλάω, κλάσαι must be forgotten.

It is a typical Pre-Greek word, containing a labialized phoneme *r<sup>w</sup>*, from a pre-form \**kalar<sup>w</sup>-ap-*, where the labial element was anticipated in καλαυροπ-, and colored the following \**a* into o. In κολλορ-, the preceding \**a* was colored to o as well, and the first \**a* was assimilated to the following o or ω (which may have been contracted from αυ). Compare ▶ἄλοξ for the phenomena described here, which are typical of Pre-Greek loans.

**καλέω** [v.] 'to call, call by name, name' (Il.). <IE \**klh<sub>1</sub>-* 'call' >

•VAR Epic also κικλήσκω, Aeol. κλήμι, Cyp. καλήζω, aor. καλέσ(σ)αι (Il.), pass. κληθῆναι (Archil.), fut. καλέω (IA since Γ 383), καλῶ (Att.), καλέσω (young Att., Hell.), perf. med. κέκλημαι with fut. κεκλήσομαι (Il.), act. κέκληκα (Ar.).

•COMP Very frequently with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐν-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, παρα-, προ-, προσ-, συν-. As a first member in καλεσσί-χορος 'calling to the dance' (Orph. L. 718; Schwyzler: 443f.); cf. ▶ὁμοκλή (also ὁμ-), ὁμο-κλέω, -άω.

•DER With a disyllabic stem: 1. κλήτωρ 'Caller', epithet of κῆρυξ (Ω 577), also as a PN (O 419), with Καλητορίδης (N 541); καλη- as in καλή-μεναι (K 125; athem. Aeol. formation?) 2. Καλήσιος (Z 18); 3. κάλεις = κλῆσις 'nominative' (gramm.).

With a monosyllabic stem: 4. κλῆσις 'call, invitation, summon, etc.' (Att. Hell.), often to prefixed verbs, e.g. ἐπικλη-σις 'surname' (Il.); 5. -κλημα, e.g. ἔγκλη-μα 'reproach, accusation' (Att.) with ἐγκλήμων, -ματικός, -ματίζω, etc. 6. κλητήρ, -ῆρος 'herald, witness' (A., Att.); ὁμοκλη-τήρ 'who calls' (Il.) from ▶ὁμοκλή, -έω; ἀνακλητήρια [n.pl.] 'festival when a king is nominated' (Plb.); 7. κλήτωρ, -ορος 'witness', also PN (Hell.), after κλητήρ (Fraenkel 1910: 17f.; on καλήτωρ : κλητήρ see Benveniste 1948: 29, 40, 46). 8. κλητός 'called, invited, welcome' (Hom.; Ammann 1956: 14 and 21) with κλητεύω 'call to justice, etc.' (Att.), (ἀνα-, etc.)-κλη-τικός; often from the prefixed verbs, e.g. ἔκκλη-τος 'called in' (IA, Dor.) with the collective abstract ἐκκλησία 'called meeting' (IA), 'community, church' (LXX, NT); with ἐκκλησι-άζω and -αστής, -ασμός, etc.; with nominal first member in πολύ-κλη-τος 'often called', i.e. 'called on from many sides' (Δ 438, K 420). 9. κλή-δην 'by name' (I 11; cf. ἔξονομακλήδην); 10. ἐπικλη-ν 'with (sur)name' (Pl.; Schwyzler: 425). Deverbative formation καλιστρέω = καλέω (D. 47, 60 from Harp., Call.; probably first from a noun, cf. ἐλαστρέω, Schwyzler: 706). On κληῖζω, κληδών (κλη-, κληη-) see ▶κλέος.

•ETYM The disyllabic verbal stem in καλέσαι (analogical καλέσσαι), beside κλη- in κέκλημαι, κικλήσκω, κλητός, points to a root \**klh<sub>1</sub>-* (καλε- going back to \**klh<sub>1</sub>-e-*). Latin has *clā-* (*clāmare*, *clārus*) beside *calā-re*, both from a zero grade root. The



present καλέω may be an innovation after καλέσαι; differently, Harðarson 1993a: 82<sup>98</sup>.

Cognate verbal forms include Lat. *calāre* 'to announce, summon', U *kařetu* < \**kalē-tōd*; further, OHG *hellan* 'to resound' and OS *halōn* 'to call, fetch' (= *calāre*), OE *hlōwan* 'to low', Hitt. *kalliš-zi* / *kališš-* 'to call, summon'. Noticeable among the nominal forms are Skt. *uṣā-kal-a-* 'cock' (see on ► ἡϊκανός) and Lat. *clārus* 'sonorous, bright' < \**klh-ro-*, MoHG *hell* 'id.'. κέλαδος 'noise' is not cognate.

κάλη 'tumour'. ► κήλη.

κάληβος · ἀπεσκολυμμένος τὸ αἰδοῖον 'with cut off private parts' (H.). ► βάκηλος, as well as καβάλλης.

καλιά [f.] 'hut, barn, granary, nest' (Hes.). <?>

•VAR Ion. -ιή; καλιός [m.] 'hut, scale' (Epich., Cratin.).

•DER Diminutive καλίδιον (Eur.); καλιάς, -άδος [f.] 'hut, nest, chapel' (Attica IV<sup>a</sup>, D. H., Plu.) with καλιάδιον (Delos II<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM The word καλιά differs from other oxytone words in -ιά by its ι, which is long almost everywhere (but short in Theoc. 29, 12). Etymological connection with ► καλύπτω, etc. is extremely doubtful.

καλίδια [n.pl.]? · ἔντερα. Κύπριοι 'entrails (Cypr.)' (H.). <PG?(v)>

•ETYM Lidén KZ 61 (1934): 23ff. connected it with Arm. *k'atird* 'intestines (of animals)', with -rd after *leard* 'liver', and Lith. *skilvis* 'stomach'. Fur.116 compares γάλλια· ἔντερα (H.) and considers the word to be Pre-Greek.

καλινδέομαι [v.] 'to roll about, wallow' (IA). <PG>

•VAR Only present stem.

•COMP Also with ἐν-, προ-, προσ-, συν-.

•DER καλινδήθρα 'place for horses to roll' (Ael.), καλίνδησις 'name of a throw of the dice' (Alciph.).

•ETYM Perhaps (but not quite certainly) the aorist δια-καλίσαι 'transport by rolling' (SIG<sup>2</sup> 587, 158) belongs here, together with διακάλισις (Hermione); also, ἐσ- and παρ-κάλισις (Epid.); however, cf. on ► κάλον. For the formation, cf. ἀλινδέομαι and κυλινδέομαι (Güntert 1914: 131f.); DELG thinks it is a cross of these two. Fur.: 391 reminds of the alternation κ-/ zero in Pre-Greek words.

καλιστρέω ► καλέω.

καλλαβίς, -ίδος [f.] name of a lascivious dance (Eur. 163, Phot.). <PG?>

•VAR Also καλαβίς (H.) = τὸ περισπᾶν τὰ ἰσχία, ἢ γένος ὀρχήσεως ἀσχημόνως τῶν ἰσχυῶν κυρτουμένων.

•ETYM The word seems to be derived from \*κάλλαβος; it would belong to the group of popular, lower class words in -βος (cf. Chantraine 1933: 260ff.). Acc. to Bechtel 1921, 2: 375, it derives from \*καταλαβίς, but this is semantically unexplained. Fur.: 343 compares κόλαβρος, a song that accompanies the κολαβρισμός.

κάλλαιον [n.] 'wattles' (Ar., Ael., Paus.), 'cock's crest' (Arist.), 'cock's tail feathers' (Ael. Dion.). <PG?>

•VAR Usually plur. -α.

•ETYM Unknown. The connection with καλαῖς 'cock' was rejected by WP 1, 444. Probably Pre-Greek. See ► καλαῖνος, ► καλαῖς.

κάλλαῖς, -ιδος [f.] 'blue-green stone, turquoise' (Plin.). ► καλαῖνος.

καλλαρίας [m.] a kind of cod-fish (Archestr., Opp., H. s.v. λαζίνης). <PG>

•VAR γαλ(λ)αρίας· ἰχθύς, ὁ ὀνίσκος 'cod-fish' (H.), γαλλερίας, γελαρίης (Dorion) and χελλαρίης = ὀνίσκος (Dorio *apud* Ath. 3, 118c).

•ETYM Acc. to Frisk, formed from κάλλος with a suffix -ίας (Chantraine 1933: 94). The synonymous γαλ(λ)αρίας is sometimes connected with γαλεός 'dog-fish' (?); see Strömberg 1943: 130f., as well as Thompson 1947: 97. The variants clearly point to a Pre-Greek word (Fur.: 140); the two variants with ε's and the geminate -λλ- suggest a pre-form \**kal'ar-*.

καλλιᾶς [m.] 'monkey' (Din., Herod., H.). <GR>

•VAR Ion. -ίης, Dor. -ίαρ (H.).

•DER PN Καλλίας.

•ETYM Perhaps a euphemistic usage of the PN (cf. Gal. 18 : 2, 236 and 611), which has been connected with κάλλος. Cf. Kretschmer KZ 33 (1895): 560 and Kretschmer 1909: 122. A semantic parallel from Indic is given by Schulze KZ 56 (1929): 124: MInd. *sumukha* "nice face", as a way of addressing an ape. Cf. also Spitzer KZ 57 (1930): 63.

καλλιβάντες [?] · ὅμοια σμιλίοις καὶ ψαλίσιν, ἐν αἷς τὰς ὀφρὺς κοσμοῦσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, [ἄνθη.] [ἢ γένος ὀρχήσεως ἀσχημόνως τῶν ἰσχυῶν κρατουμένων] (H.). <PG?(s)>

•ETYM Unknown. Words with the suffix -(ι)βαντ- are mostly Pre-Greek.

καλλιέρω [v.] 'to bring καλὰ ἱερά', i.e. 'to sacrifice favorably' (IA); intr. impersonal (of a sacrifice) 'to be καλὰ ἱερά, work out well' (Hdt.). <GR>

•VAR Aor. καλλιερῆσαι (IA), perf. κεκαλλιέρηκα (X.).

•DER καλλιέρησις (Attica), -ημα (H., EM); Dor. καλλιαρία (Cos; from \*καλλιέρω).

•ETYM Compounded from καλὰ ἱερά (cf. Schwyzler: 726), with adaptation of the first member to nominal compounds with καλλι-. See ► καλός.

Καλλικύριοι ► Κιλλικύριοι.

καλλονή •VAR κάλλος, καλλύνω. ► καλός.

κάλον [n.] 'wood, logs (for burning), timber' (h. Merc. 112, Hes. Op. 427, Ion. trag., Call., Cyrene), also 'wood for ships' = 'ship' (Lacon. in Ar. Lys. 1253, X. HG 1, 1, 23, Plu. Alc. 28.). <PG?>

•VAR Mostly plur. -α.

•COMP As a first member in καλοτύπος· ὁ δρυκολάπτης 'woodcutter' (H.), καλοπέδιλα [n.pl.] "wooden shoes", fetters for the feet of a cow (Theoc. 25, 103); καλόπους, -ποδος [m.] "wooden foot", i.e. 'shoemaker's last' (v.l. in Pl. Smp. 191a and Poll. 2, 195; Edict. Diocl.), also καλά-πους (Pl. l.c., Poll. 10, 141; after τετρά-πους?), with

the diminutive καλοπόδιον (Gal. 6, 364 [v.l. -απ-], Suid.); as technical expressions, καλόπους and καλοπόδιον entered into Eastern languages, e.g. Arab. *qālib*, whence Osman. *kaly* 'form, model' > MoGr. τό καλούπι 'id.', MP *kala*παδ, MoP *kālbud* (Maidhof *Glotta* 10 (1920): 11; Bailey *TPS* 1933: 49). Of doubtful appurtenance is καλαρ<ρ>ύα 'canal, water conduit' (Ambracian acc. to sch. Gen. Φ 259), καλαρρυφαί (cod. -γαί)· τάφροι· Ἀμερίας 'ditches' (H.), acc. to Schwyzler: 438<sup>4</sup> properly "wooden water conduit"; similarly καλαρίνες· ὀχετοί· Λάκωνες 'water-pipe (Lacon.)' (H.); cf. ρινοῦχος 'canal', etc., see Kretschmer *Glotta* 4 (1913): 335.

•DER κάλινος 'of wood' (Epich., Lyc., A. R., Cyrene); diminutive (?) κάλιον (-ίον?)· ξυλάριον, βακτηρίδιον 'small piece of wood; small staff; καλύριον (-ύφιον?)· ξυλήφιον 'piece of wood' (H.).

•ETYM The word has been connected with ▶καίω, καῦσαι as 'firewood', by comparison with the synonymous δαλός 'fire-brand' < δαφ-ελός (to ▶δαίω), under the assumption that κάλον would represent \*κάφ-ελον. However, since Dor. κάλον cannot be derived from it, it was necessary to assume \*κάφ-αλον (Schwyzler: 248, Lejeune 1972: 263). Nevertheless, in the case of a pre-form \*καφ-αλ-, Pre-Greek origin is much more likely. The connection with ▶καίω is not certain at all. From the plur. κάλα, Latin borrowed *cāla* [f.] 'dry wood, firewood'. See ▶κῆλα.

**καλός** [adj.] 'beautiful, noble, good' (Il.); on the mg. Smothers *Traditio* 5 (1947): 1-57, also Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 261. <?>

•VAR Primary compar. καλλίων (Alc. ntr. κάλιον [see below], El. καλίτερος [graphic?], rarely καλώτερος, καλλιώτερος), sup. κάλλιστος; Dor. adv. (Alcm. 98) καλλά; cf. Wackernagel 1916: 87f.

•DIAL Epic Ion. κάλός, Boeot. καλφος (*Del.*<sup>3</sup> 538 [VI<sup>1</sup>]).

•COMP Rare as a first member (for καλλι-, εὔ-), e.g. καλό-φυλλος 'with beautiful leaves' (Thphr.; after μακρό-, λειό-φυλλος, etc.); as a second member e.g. ἀπειρό-καλος 'not knowing what is beautiful' (Pl.; from τὸ καλόν). Note especially καλοκάγαθία (orators, X.), univerbating abstract of καλός κ(αί) αγαθός (IA; see Berlage *Mnem.* 60 (2007): 20ff.).

•DER καλότης 'beauty' (Chrysipp. *Stoic.* 3, 60). With geminate: 1. κάλλος [n.] 'beauty' (Il.), as a second member e.g. in περι-καλλής 'very beautiful' (Il., bahuvrīhi); thence κάλλιμος 'beautiful' (Od., *h. Hom.*; after κύδιμος, see Arbenz 1933: 10ff.), καλλύνω 'give beauty, make beautiful, sweep' (S., Pl., Arist.) with καλλυντής 'sweeper' (pap. II<sup>a</sup>), κάλλυντρον 'broom', also name of a shrub (Arist.), κάλλυνθρον 'duster' (LXX, pap.), καλλυντήρια [n.pl.] name of a purificatory festival (Phot., *EM*), καλλύσματα [pl.] 'dust' (Ceos). From κάλλος also καλλονή 'id.' (cf. ἡδονή), καλλοσύνη 'id.' (E.). 2. compar. καλλίων, κάλλιστος (Il.); thence καλλιόμοι 'be made more beautiful' (LXX), καλλιστεύω, -ομαι 'be the most beautiful' (Ion.) with καλλιστεῖον, καλλίστευμα 'sacrifice of the most beautiful, price of beauty, price of honour' (S., E., inscr.). 3. καλλι- as a first member (Il.); e.g. καλλι-γύναικ-α, -ος, -ι 'with beautiful women' (cf. Sommer 1948: 62), also in PNs, whence short names like Καλλίας, etc.

•ETYM Att. κάλός and Ion. κάλός both derive from καλφός; the noun κάλλος, the compar. forms καλλίων, κάλλιστος and the first member καλλι- differ from these by their geminate -λλ-, an explanation of which is still wanting. One proposal has been

a basis \*κάλ-νος or \*κάλ-ιος for κάλλος (and καλλίων, κάλλιστος, while καλλι- may be analogical?), but this does not inspire confidence, as κάλλος seems to be a Greek innovation (cf. Chantraine 1933: 416f.), and there is no good explanation for καλλι- either. The assumption of expressive gemination (Chantraine l.c.) is an *ad hoc* hypothesis and not a solution. Beside καλ-φός (with an old suffix \*-wo-), one would expect καλι- as a first member (is it retained in Alc. κάλιον?), which Wackernagel KZ 61 (1934): 191ff. recognized in Skt. *kaly-āṇa-* 'beautiful'. Pinault *BSL* 98 (2003) assumes that the original Skt. form was fem. *kalyāṇī-* 'with beautiful hips', the second part of the compound being Skt. *āṇī-* 'axle-pin, linch-pin'; 'part of the leg above the knee'. Schwyzler: 447<sup>6</sup> derives καλλι- from antevocalic \*καλι-, whence καλλι- and (as a back-formation) κάλλος, etc. Differently, Risch 1937 (par. 62a): -λλ- is from a compar. \*κάλλων < \*καλιων, whence κάλλιστος, etc. Similarly, Seiler 1950: 68ff.: a neuter comparative \*κάλλον < \*κάλιον was interpreted as a positive, and resulted in a new comparative κάλλιον, καλλίων (whence κάλλιστος, etc.).

**κάλη** [f.] 'trot' (Paus., Plu., Hippiatr.). <PG(V)>

•DER καλπάζω 'to trot' (A. Fr. 145A, Aq., Suid.) with καλπασμός (Philum. *apud* Orib.).

•ETYM Technical term of horse riding without etymology, perhaps originally onomatopoeic ("clapper"). Brugmann (e.g. Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 1: 260, 572) connected it with OPr. *po-quelbton* 'kneeling', Lith. *klūpti* 'to kneel, stumble', Germanic (e.g. Go. *hlaupan* 'walk'), but these forms cannot explain the Greek -α-. The same holds for the comparison with κέλης, κολυφρόν· ἐλαφρόν 'nimble' (H.). Fur.: 379 compares σκαλπάζειν· ῥεμβωδῶς βαδίζειν 'to walk around at random' (H.), σκαλαπάξει· ῥέμβεται 'id.' (H.) with prothetic σ-, which suggests that the word is Pre-Greek.

**κάλπις, -ιδος** [f.] 'pitcher' (η 20; on the mg. Brommer *Herm.* 77 (1942): 358 and 365). <PG?>

•VAR Acc. -ιν, -ιδα.

•COMP καλπο-φόρος 'carrying a pitcher' (epigr.).

•DER κάλη (κάλην v.l. for -πιν Plu., Hdn.) name of a constellation (Vett. Val.; Scherer 1953: 173 and 190); κάλπος· ποτηρίου εἶδος 'kind of drinking vessel' (H.). Diminutive κάλιον (Pamphil. *apud* Ath. 11, 475c).

•ETYM Without a certain explanation, like many other vessel names. Most often connected with a Celtic word for 'urn, bucket', e.g. OIr. *cilorm* (< \**kelpurno-*), but this does not explain the -α-. Acc. to others, it is connected with Assyr. *karpu* 'vase, pot' or with OHG *hal(a)p* 'handle'. Lat. *calpar* (formation unclear) was borrowed from κάλη. Fur.: 146 connects it with κελέβη, for which there seems no reason. Still, κάλπις is possibly Pre-Greek.

**κάλτιος** [m.] 'shoe' (Rhinh., Plu., *Edict. Diocl.*). <LW Lat.>

•VAR Also κάλτοι (for κάλτ<ι>οι?)· ὑποδήματα κοῖλα, ἐν οἷς ἵππεύουσι 'hollow sandals, in which horsemen rode' (H.).

•ETYM A Sicilian loanword from Lat. *calceus* (καλίκιοι Plb. 30, 18, 3).

**καλύβη** [f.] 'hut, cabin' (Hdt.); 'bridal bower' (A. R.); 'sleeping-tent' (*PFlor.* 335, 2). <PG(V)>

- VAR Also καλυβός (Epigr. Gr. 260, Cyrene), κολουβός· ἔπαυλις 'farmstead' (H.).
- DER καλυβίτης 'living in a hut'; καλυβο-ποιέομαι [v.] 'to make oneself a cabin' (Str.).
- ETYM The variant κολουβός, adduced by Fur.: 343, shows that the word is Pre-Greek. Pre-Greek has a rule α - υ > ο - υ; see Fur.: 340.

**κάλυγες** [?] · τὰ ἔμβρυα 'embryos' (H.). <PG>

- ETYM The structure of the word (καλ-υγ-) is typically Pre-Greek.

**καλυδίλα** [?] · γέφυρα 'bridge' (H.). <PG?>

- ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek word.

**καλύδριον** [n.] 'a small cable' (*BCH* 29, 543, Delos II<sup>a</sup>). <PG?>

- ETYM Unknown. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

**κάλυξ**, -ῦκος [f.] 'cup, calyx of a flower, husk, shell, pod, rosebud', also metaph. for the ornament of a woman (Σ 401). <PG(S)>

- COMP As a first member e.g. in καλυκοστέφανος 'crowned with buds' (B.).
- DER Diminutive καλύκιον (Dsc., H.); καλυκώδης 'κ.-like' (Thphr.), καλύκειος λίθος name of a stone found in the fish called σάλπη (H.); also κάλυξις· κόσμος τις ἐκ ῥόδων 'an ornament made of roses', κάλυξις· ῥόδων καλύκια 'rosebuds' (H.), καλύκωσις 'rosebud?' (Aq.), as if from \*καλύσσω, or \*καλυκόω; cf. the formations in Chantraine 1933: 288 and καλυκίζειν· ἀνθεῖν 'to blossom' (H.).
- ETYM On the ending -υξ, cf. Chantraine 1933: 383. The word resembles Skt. (class.) *kalikā* 'bud', but must probably be kept separate; see Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v. Cf. ▶ κύλιξ and ▶ σκαλλίον. Both root and suffix look Pre-Greek (καλ-υκ-).

**καλύπτω** [v.] 'to cover, hide' (Il., IA). <PG(V)>

- VAR Aor. καλύψαι, perf. med. κεκάλυμμαι, etc.
- COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀμφι-, κατα-, περι-, συν-, also with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ- in the mg. 'to open up, reveal'.
- DER 1. See ▶ καλύβη; 2. καλυφή 'submerged land' with ἀποκάλυφος (αἰγιαλός, ἄρουρα) 'land that can be cultivated after inundation' (pap.), περικαλυφή 'envelopment' (Pl. *Lg.* 942d); on -βη and -φη beside καλύπτω Schwyzer: 332f. 3. (προ-, παρα-, etc.) κάλυμμα 'cover, veil, etc.' (Il.) with καλυμματίον (Ar.). 4. συγκαλυμμός 'cover' (Ar. *Av.* 1496). 5. ἐγ-, κατα-, ἀπο-κάλυψις 'cover, etc.' (Hell.); here, probably as an endearing name Καλυψώ [f.] "one who covers" (Od.), properly a goddess of death acc. to Güntert 1919, see also Bérard *REGr.* 67 (1954): 503f. 6. καλυπτήρ, -ήρος [m.] 'cover, tile' (Hp., Arist., Att.), καλυπτηρίζω 'cover with tiles' (inscr.), fem. καλύπτειρα 'veil' (AP); ἐπι-, ἐγ-, ἀνακαλυπτήριον, -ια 'concealing; ceremony of unveiling' (Arist.). 7. καλύπτρα, -ρη [f.] 'veil, cover' (Il.). 8. ἐκ-καλυπτικός 'revealing' (*Stoic.*, S. E.).
- ETYM The word has been compared to κρύπτω for the formation. In Western European languages, a full grade thematic root present \*kel-e/o- is found, e.g. in OIr. *celim*, Lat. \*celō, -ere (in *occulere*), OHG *helan* 'to hold back, hide'. Further, with a

lengthened grade, deverbative Lat. *cēlāre*, 'to hide', and a zero grade yod-present in Germanic, e.g. Go. *huljan* 'to veil, conceal'. Cf. ▶ κέλυφος.

However, in this way neither the Greek *a*-vocalism nor the element υ + labial can be accounted for. In view of the variants, the root καλυβ/π/φ- is clearly Pre-Greek. Cf. on ▶ καλύβη, which proves Pre-Greek origin in a different way.

**κάλχη** [f.] 'murex, purple flower, Chrysanthemum coronarium' (Alcm., Nic., Str.), metaph. as a term of construction 'rosette of a capital' (Att., Hell., inscr.). <PG?>

- VAR With metathesis of aspiration χάλκη (Meisterhans 1900: 103f.), also χάλχη.
- DER Denominative verb καλχαίνω 'to be purple' (Nic. *Th.* 641), originally medial, metaphorically trans. 'to ponder deeply' (ἔπος, S. *Ant.* 20), intr. 'to be unquiet, excited' (E. *Heracl.* 40), 'to long for' (Lyc. 1457).
- ETYM A loan of unknown origin. The poetic meaning 'to ponder, be excited' may have arisen after ▶ πορφύρα : ▶ πορφύρω, which were secondarily connected with each other. It cannot be decided whether the name of the seer Κάλχας belongs here as well.

**κάλως** [m.] 'reefing rope, cable, rope in general' (ε 260). <PG?>

- VAR Acc. -ω, -ων; κάλος (ε 260 and Hdt.), Hell. plur. -ωες, -ωας, -ωσι
- COMP καλω-στρόφος 'rope-twister' (Plu. *Per.* 12).
- DER Diminutive καλώδιον, also καλοίδιον (com., Th., inscr., pap.).
- ETYM No etymology; probably a technical loan. The IE etymologies that have been proposed (see Frisk) are untenable.

**καμάν** [f.] · τὸν ἀγρόν. Κρήτες 'field (Cretan)' (H.). <?>

- DIAL Myc. *ka-ma* a plot of land, *ka-ma-e-u* 'tenant of a *ka-ma*' (see below).
- ETYM Unknown. An interpretation /kamas/ has been proposed; see Lejeune *RPh.* 42 (1968): 233f. and Ruijgh *Lingua* 58 (1982): 208.

**κάμαξ**, -ακος [f., m.] 'pole to support the vine, bar, shaft of a spear' (Σ 563). <PG(S)>

- DER καμάκιον (sch.), καμάκινος 'made of one bar' (X.), καμακίας σίτος 'corn with a stalk that is too long' (Thphr.; cf. Strömberg 1937: 91).
- ETYM Formation like δόναξ, πῖναξ, κλίμαξ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 377ff.). Several languages have similar words for 'bar, wood, stick, etc.', but they are all different: Skt. *śamyā* 'stock, nail', Av. *simā* 'part of the harness of the wagon for horses', Arm. *sami-k* 'pl.' 'wood of the yoke', Gm., e.g. MHG *hamel* 'bar, bobbin'. Fur.: 221 compares ἀμάκιον· κάμαξ (H.), with alternation κ/zero (see *ibid.* 391). The suffix -ακ- is highly frequent in Pre-Greek. See ▶ καμασίην.

**καμάρα** [f.] 'vault, vaulted room, wagon and bark with vaulted roof' (Hdt., LXX, Str.). <LW?>

- DIAL Ion. -ρη.
- DER καμάριον (inscr.), καμαρία· κοιτῶν καμάρας ἔχων 'having a vaulted chamber of beds' (H.), καμαρικός 'vaulted' (Ath. *Mech.*).  
Denominative verbs: 1. καμαρώω 'to provide with a vault' with καμαρώσις 'vault' (Hell.), καμάρ-ωμα 'vault' (Str., Gal.), -ωτός 'vaulted' (Str.), -ωτικός 'used in vaulting' (pap.); 2. καμαρεύω [v.] 'to accumulate, exert oneself' (H.). Further

καμάρης· δέσμης 'package, bundle', καμάραι· ζώναι στρατιωτικάι 'belts for soldiers', καμαρίς· κοσμάριον γυναικεῖον 'women's ornament' (H.); cf. below.

•ETYM The form καμάρα recalls Av. *kamarā* 'girdle', with a different meaning that is, however, found in the glosses καμάρη, καμαρίς (H.). Lat. *camurus*, -a, -um 'curved (of horns), vaulted' has also been adduced. Comparisons with other languages remain uncertain: e.g. Skt. *kmārati* 'to be curved' (gramm.; see Mayrhofer KEWA s.v.), Gr. ▶κμέλεθρον if from \*κμέρεθρον (?), the Gm. word for 'heaven', e.g. Go. *himins*. It is rather a loan, perhaps from an eastern language (from Carian, acc. to sch. Orib. 46, 21, 7). From the Greek word, Lat. *camera* was borrowed; thence it was borrowed into Germanic and Balto-Slavic. See ▶κάμινος.

**κάμαρος 1** [m.] name of a poisonous plant, kind of Aconitum (?), also = δελφίνιον, 'larkspur' (Hp., Stratt., Nic., Dsc.). <EUR>

•VAR Also κάμματος.

•ETYM It has been compared with the Germanic and Slavic word for 'hellebore': OHG *hemera*, Ru. *čemerica* (from CS *čemerb* 'poison', properly 'hellebore'), and Lith. *kēmeras* 'hemp agrimony (*Eupatorium cannabinum*), burr marigold'. The notation κάμμορον (Dsc., Erot.) can be folk-etymological after κάμμορος 'unhappy'. Given the distribution, the word seems to be a loan from a European substrate language (see Beekes 2000: 28). From κάμματος: *kammári* 'spurge' in Lower Italy; see Rohlfs ByzZ 37 (1937): 53, Rohlfs 1930: N° 877, and Dawkins JHS 56 (1936): 4.

**κάμαρος 2** [adj.] = ἀσφαλής (Apollon. *apud* sch. Orib. 46, 21, 7). <?>

•ETYM The word would be Carian. Further unknown. See ▶καμάρα.

**καμασίν, -ήνος** [m.] name of an unknown fish (Emp., AP, Hdn. Gr., H.). <EUR>

•ETYM Given the fish name ἡλακατῆν (from ἡλακάτη), one would posit a basic form \*κάμασος for καμασίν, with suffixal -ασος like in πέτασος, κόμπασος (Chantraine 1933: 435; unclear). It has been connected with Balto-Slavic words for the 'sheatfish': Lith. *šāmas*, Latv. *sams*, Ru. *som*, etc. Further, connected with ▶κάμαξ 'pole, bar' by Solmsen 1909: 122f.; on the naming motive, see Strömberg 1943: 36. Probably a loan from the European substrate. Fur.: 214 connects it with κάβα(ι)σος, καμασός, but without evidence.

**κάμηλος** [m., f.] 'camel' (Hdt., A., Ar.). <LW Sem.>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in καμηλο-πάρδαλις [f.] 'giraffe' (Agatharch., LXX; Strömberg 1944: 12); also in καμηλάτης for \*καμηλ-ελάτης 'camel-driver' with καμηλ-άσιον 'camel-driver's wages' (pap.), -ασία 'camel-driving' (Dig.).

•DER Diminutive καμήλιον; adjectives καμήλειος, καμηλικός 'belonging to a camel', καμηλώδης 'like a camel' (Gal.); nouns καμηλίτης (Arist.), καμηλάριος 'camel-driver'; καμηλών 'camel stable'; verb καμηλίζω 'to resemble a camel' (Hld.).

•ETYM From Semitic (originally Babylonian?; Grimme Glotta 14 (1925): 17); cf. Hebr. *gāmāl* (= γαμάλ· ἡ κάμηλος παρὰ Χαλδαίους H.), with (Ionic?) development of ā to η in -ηλος; cf. Γαυγάμηλα = καμήλου οἶκος Str. 16, 1, 3 (Kretschmer KZ 31 (1892): 287). From κάμηλος come Skt. *kramela-* (after *krámate* 'stride'), Lat. *camēlus*, and the European forms.

**κάμιλος** [m.] 'rope, cable' (sch. Ar. V. 1035, Suid.). <LW Sem.>

•ETYM From Semitic, acc. to Lewy 1895: 154, who compares Arab. *ḡamal* 'id.'. Others argue that it arose from the v.l. κάμιλος for κάμηλος Ev. Matt. 19, 24, Marc. 10, 25, Luc. 18, 25 (κάμηλον διὰ τρήματος ραφίδος διελθεῖν 'a camel going through the eye of a needle'), as 'rope' would fit better.

**κάμινος** [f.] 'furnace for smelting, baking, burning, etc.' (Hom. Epigr. 14, Hdt., A.).

<PG?(S)>

•VAR Also -η (pap. VIP).

•DER Diminutive καμίνιον (Gp., Olymp. Alch.). Other substantives: καμινῶ γρηῤς 'furnace woman' (σ 27; Chantraine 1933: 116); καμινεύς name of an artisan working at a furnace, e.g. 'smith' or 'potter' (D. S.; Boßhardt 1942: 76); καμινίων 'id.' (Tegea IP); καμινίτης ἄρτος (Philistion *apud* Ath.).

Adjectives: καμίνιος 'belonging to the furnace' (Thphr.); καμινῆος 'id.' (Ezek.) with καμινῆα = κάμινος (LXX; cf. Chantraine 1933: 86); καμινώδης 'like a furnace' (Str.). Verb καμινεύω 'to burn or smelt in a furnace' (Arist., Thphr., Str.) with καμινευτής = καμινεύς (pap. III<sup>a</sup>, Luc.), καμινευτήρ (αὐλός) 'pair of bellows in a smithy' (AP), fem. -εὔτρια (Aristarch.), καμινεία (-ία) 'burning, smelting' (Thphr., Gal.). All derivatives are rare, most of them late.

•ETYM On the gender, see Schwyzler 1950: 34<sup>2</sup>. A technical loan of unknown origin. The comparison with καμάρα has little value; that with OCS *kamy* 'stone' is possible. Is it a loan from the north or from the east? From κάμινος, Lat. *camīnus*, to which MHG *kamin*, etc. are related. Note that -iv- is a Pre-Greek suffix.

**κάμματος 1** [m.] 'kind of crab' (Epich., Sophr., Rhinth., H.), on the mg. cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. <PG(V)>

•VAR καμμαρίς 'id.' (Gal.); κομμάραι ἢ κομάραι· καρίδες. Μακεδόνες 'shrimps' (Maced.) (H.).

•ETYM Has been compared with ON *humarr*, LG and MoHG *Hummer*. However, the variation a/o points to a Pre-Greek word (which may in turn be a loan from elsewhere). Skt. *kamāṭha-* [m.] 'turtle' is unrelated in any case. From κάμματος, Lat. *cammarus* was borrowed.

**κάμματος 2** ⇒ κάματος.

**καμμονή** [f.] 'perseverance, successful defense' (X 257, Ψ 661, APl.), on the mg. see Trümper 1950: 201f. <GR>

•ETYM For \*καταμονή, with Aeolic treatment of the preposition, either as an abstract of κατάμονος (Hell.), or with a metrically conditioned change of the suffix for \*καμμονή = καταμονή (Hell.), belonging to καταμένειν. See ▶κάμμορος.

**κάμμορος** [adj.] 'unhappy' (Od., A. R.). <GR>

•ETYM Aeolic for metrically unfit \*κατά-μορος (via \*κάτ-μορος), a hypostasis for κατὰ μόρον (μόρου) 'who is subject to μόρος, fate'. Beside it exists the older form κάσμορος· δύστηνος 'unhappy' (H.), = \*κάσμορος < \*κάτ-σμορος.

**κάμνω** [v.] 'to toil, labor, build; to get tired, die, be in danger, be in need' (Il.); the euphemistic meaning 'to die' almost only in epic οἱ καμόντες, Att. οἱ κεκηκότες.

◀ IE \**kemh₂-* 'exert oneself, get tired' ▶

•VAR Aor. καμῖν, fut. καμοῦμαι, perf. κέκηκα, Dor. (Theoc.) κέκιᾶκα, epic ptc. κεκηκώς.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐκ-, συγ-. As a second member in compounds: ἀ-κάματος 'without fatigue' (Il.). ἀ-κάμας, -αντος 'indefatigable' (Il.); more usual -κη-τ- (-κιᾶ-τ-), -κη-το- (-κιᾶ-το-), e.g. ἀ-κμής, -ῆτος 'id.', ἄ-κητος 'id.', πολὺ-κητος 'prepared with much labor'.

•DER Verbal noun κάματος [m.] 'labor, much demanding labor, fatigue, pain' (Il.); καματώδης 'tiring' (Hes., Pi.), καματηρός 'tiring, tired' (Ion., *h. Ven.* 246), after ἀνηρός, etc.; καματηρόν 'with fatigue' (Man.); also the verbal forms καματῶν-κοπιῶν 'weary', ἐκαμάτευσεν μετὰ κακοπαθείας εἰργάσατο 'he labors with perseverance' (H.), to καματάω, -τεύω.

•ETYM Beside the thematic nasal present κάμνω, which is a Greek innovation, Sanskrit has an athematic nasal present: e.g. med. *śamñite* 'to exert oneself, labor'. The disyllabic root \**kemh₂-* is also seen in the ipv. *śamīśva* and in the agent noun *śamītār-* 'who prepares'; Gr. κάματος < \**kemh₂-eto-* is a different formation (on the type, see Vine 1998). The thematic aorist ἔκαμιν, ἔκαμε is paralleled by Skt. *āśamat*, both from zero grade \**kemh₂-e/o-*; the full grade sigmatic aor. *āśamiṣṭa* (RV) points to an older athematic root aorist \*(*h₂e-*)*kemh₂-t*. The Greek zero grade is κμη-, PGr. κιᾶ- < \**kemh₂-C-* (in κέκηκα, ἄκητος), which gave Skt. *śān-tā-* [ptc.]; see Rix 1976: 73. Traces of the root in other languages have not been found with certainty; perhaps in some Celtic nouns, like Mlr. *cuma* 'trouble', *cumal* 'female slave'. See ▶ κομῖω.

**κάμπανος** [m.] 'weighing-machine, steelyard' (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>). ▶ LW Lat. ▶

•ETYM From Lat. *campana*.

**κάμπη** 1 [f.] 'caterpillar, silkworm' (Hp., com., Arist., Thphr.). ▶ ?

•COMP πιτυο-κάμπη 'caterpillar of the pine woods, Gnethocampa processionea' (Dsc.; also αἱ πιτύιναι κάμπαι).

•ETYM Related to κάμπτω, in the sense of 'curve'? However, note Skt. *kaṇā* 'caterpillar', Latv. *kāpe*, *kāpars* 'larva of an insect, caterpillar'; if cognate with *kaṇā*, κάμπη was adapted to καμπή, κάμπτω by folk etymology (Frisk). The explanation in Strömberg 1944: 9 is unclear. See Gil Fernández 1959: 147 (who refers to Arist. *IA* 706b and 709a). The etymology seems doubtful.

**κάμπη** 2 [f.] 'sea monster' (Epich. *apud* H., D. S., Nonn.). ▶ PG(V) ▶

•VAR Also κάμπος [n.] in Libya (Lyc.; H.), after κῆτος 'id.'?

•ETYM It has been compared with ἵππο-καμπος. Fur.: 119 mentions κέμιορ-μέγα κῆτος (< \**keμιορ?*) and γεμῖος-κοῖτος, γεμῖλους τοὺς ἰχθύς, τὰς πηλαμύδας 'tunnies' (H.); this would show that the word is Pre-Greek.

**κάμπτω** [v.] 'to bend, curve, turn' (Il., IA). ▶ PG(V), EUR ▶

•VAR Fut. κάμψω, aor. κάμψαι, pass. καμψῆναι (A., Th.; v.l. I 158), perf. pass. κεκάμφθαι (Hp.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐπι-, περι-, συν-; as a first member e.g. in καμψί-πους epithet of Ερινύς (A. *Th.* 791 [lyr.]), mg. uncertain.

•DER Substantives: 1. (ἀνα-, ἐπι-, περι-, συγ-)καμπή 'curve, curvature' (IA) with κάμπιος 'bent' (E. *IT* 81, at verse end; after πομπή: πόμπιος, see Arbenz 1933: 81); ἐπικάμπιος 'forming an ἐπικαμπή, bow, bend', military and architectural expression (Ph. *Bel.*, Plb.). 2. (ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐπι-, συγ-, etc.)κάμψις 'bow, curving' (IA); 3. καμπτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'bender, curver', as a military and sports term, 'curve, turning-point of the racecourse' (X., Arist., Herod.) with καμπτήριος (sch.). 4. περικάμπτης 'tergiversator' (gloss.).

Adjectives: 5. καμπύλος 'bent, curved' (Il.; after ἀγκύλος, Chantraine 1933: 250) with καμπύλη [f.] 'crook, crozier' (Ar., Plu.), καμπουλίρ (= καμπυλῖς)· ἐλαίας εἶδος. Λάκωνες 'kind of olive tree' (H.), καμπυλότης 'curvedness' (Hp., Arist.), καμπύλλω 'curve' [v.] (Hp.), also καμπυλεύομαι, καμπυλδομαι (medic.), καμπυλιάζω (Phot., Suid.); poetical lengthening καμπυλόεις (AP; Schwyzler 527). 6. ἐπι-, περι-καμπής 'curved', from ἐπι-, περι-κάμπτω. 7. καμπτικός 'flexible' (Arist., Poll.). 8. καμψόν-καμπύλον 'bent, curved' (H.); after γαμψός? (cf. Stang *Symb. Oslo* 23 (1944): 46ff.).

•ETYM A non-ablauting verbal stem καμπ-, with primary formations καμπή (and καμπύλος?), and a *yod*-present κάμπτω. In other languages, we find scattered nominal formations, partly in metaphorical meanings (so that the comparison is often uncertain: Latv. *kampis* 'curved wood, hook for a kettle', Lith. *kaĩpas* 'corner, side, hidden place', also 'curved wood at the collar (of a horse)', which remind of Lat. *campus* 'field' (properly 'curve, depression?'), OCS *кѣтъ* [m.] 'corner' and a Germanic adj. 'mutilated, lame', e.g. Go. *hamfs*. Baltic has several words for 'curved, etc.' with *u*-vocalism: Lith. *kuĩpas* 'curved', Latv. *kumpt* 'become bent', etc.

Lat. *campāsare* 'to sail around, bend off' was perhaps borrowed from κάμψαι; and from καμπή were borrowed Lat.-Rom. *camba*, *gamba* and Alb. *kēmbë* 'leg, foot'; from καμπύλος, Osman. *kambur* 'hump, humpy' > MoGr. καβούρης. Amantos (*apud* Kretschmer *Glotta* 16 (1928): 179) assumes a noun \*γάμμα, \*κάμμα in Byz. γαμματίζω = κάμπτω, -ομαι.

Most parts of Frisk's discussion have been maintained here, as it nicely illustrates how unreliable the material is: the words adduced with their alternations are rather from a substrate language. Add to this the fact that an IE reconstruction would require a form \**kh₂mp-*, a root structure that is suspicious. The conclusion can only be that καμπ- is of Pre-Greek or European substrate origin. Cf. on ▶ γαμψός and ▶ γνάμπτω, for which the same conclusion is reached.

**κάναβος** [m.] 'wooden framework around which artists molded wax or clay; block-figure; mannikin; lean person' (Stratt., Arist., Poll., H.). ▶ PG(V) ▶

•VAR Also κάνναβος; κίνναβος (Suid.) [f.l. acc. to LSJ 953], κινναβεύματα-πανουργήματα 'crimes' (H., Phot.; uncertain Ar. *Fr.* 699).

•DER κανάβιος, -ινος 'belonging to a κ., like a κ.' (AP, H.).

•ETYM On the formation, cf. words in -βος like κάκκαβος, κόλλαβος, σίττυβος (Chantraine 1933: 262); perhaps from ▶ κάννα 'reed', if properly a 'reed frame'.

However, given the variation v/vv, the word would be Pre-Greek; note Lat. *canaba*, *cannaba*.

**κάναδοι** [m.] · σιαγόνες, γνάθοι 'cheeks, jaws' (H.). <EUR?, PG?>

•ETYM See on γνάθος s.v. ► γναθμός.

**καναχή** [f.] 'noise, sharp sound' (Il.). <PG?(v)>

•DIAL Dor. -ά.

•COMP As a first member in *καναχή-πους*, Dor. -χά- 'with noisy feet' (Alcm.).

•DER *καναχέω*, aor. -ῆσαι (τ 469, Cratin., A. R.), lengthened *καναχίζω* (M 36, κ 399 v.l., Hes. Sc. 373) [v.] 'to ring, clash' (cf. Schwyzler 736, Porzig 1942: 231); aor. δια-, ἐγ-, ἐκ-*κανάξαι* of gurgling and gulping sounds (E. Cyc. 152 and 157, Ar., Eup.), *κανάξαι* acc. to Poll. 10, 85 = τὸ ἐκκενώσαι ἢ ἐκπιεῖν 'to empty, drink up'; *κανάξας-ἐγγέας* 'pouring' (H.); *καναχηδᾶ* 'with noise' (Hes. Th. 367 et al.), -ηδόν 'id.' (D. P., Aret.) and the *hapax* *καναχῆς* (A. Ch. 152 [lyr.], of δάκρυ), *καναχός* (Nic. Th. 620; of βάτραχοι 'frogs'), both first from *καναχέω*; *καναχισμός* (Orac. Chald.) from *καναχίζω*.

•ETYM Explained as an expressive formation like *στοναχή* (related to *στενάχω*; cf. Chantraine 1933: 403), derived from a verb 'to sing, etc.' seen in Lat. *canō* = OIr. *canim*, whence names for 'cock' like Gr. ► ἡκανός, Go. *hana*, etc. are derived. Fur.: 343 compares *κόναβος* and concludes that the word is Pre-Greek.

**κάνδαρος** [m.?] · ἄνθραξ 'charcoal, coal' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM Generally connected with Skt. *candrā-* 'glowing, light', Lat. *candor* 'white glow', *candeō* 'to glow'. This etymology must be wrong: how could a stem form *κανδ-* ever arise? Fur. 391 connects *κάνδαρος* with *ἄνθραξ* (with alternation κ-/zero), which is not evident. Still, Pre-Greek origin seems certain.

**κάνδαυλος** [m.] a Lydian meal or sauce (com., Men.). <LW Lydia>

•VAR Also *κάνδυλος*.

•ETYM Loan from Lydia?

**κάνδυς, -υος** [m.] a mantle with sleeves, worn by the Persians (X.). <LW Orient.>

•ETYM From OP \**kantu-*: see Szemerényi 1991: 2034f.; also, Happ IF 68 (1963): 99.

**κανδύτᾱνες** [?] 'chest where precious clothes are kept' <LW Iran.>

•VAR *κανδυτάναι*, *κανδύλαι*.

•ETYM From OP \**kandu-dāna-*. See de Lamberterie in DELG Supp. (also RPh. 70), who cites Szemerényi connecting the first member of the Persian word with a root \**kam-* 'to cover'. Extensive discussion, with various explanations for the second member, in Brust 2005: 290ff.

**κάνθαρος** [m.] 'kind of (dung-)beetle, Scarabaeus pilularius', also metaph. of a drinking cup, canoe, fish (Strömberg 1943: 123f.), and a women's ornament (IA). <PG, LW Sem.>

•COMP As a second member e.g. in ἡλιο-, κυκνο-*κάνθαρος* (com.).

•DER *κανθάριον* name of a cup (Att. inscr., Plu.); *κανθαρίς* a beetle, also name of a fish and a plant (Hp., Arist.); *κανθάρεως* name of a vine (Thphr.; -εως like in

ἐρινεώς; see on ► ἐρινεός), *κανθαρίτης οἶνος* (Plin.), both of the *Κανθάριος* ἄκρα on Samos (Str.), (also called Ἄμπελος, Redard 1949: 97); *κανθαρίας* name of a precious stone (Plin.); *κανθαρώδης* 'like a κ.' (sch.).

•ETYM Not well explained. Connected with the name of the ass (κάνθων, *κανθήλιος*) by Strömberg 1944: 10f., with the same suffix as in χίμαρος, κίσσαρος, et al. (Chantraine 1933: 226f.). Hardly probable. On the plant name *κανθαρίς*, ἀντικάνθαρον, see Strömberg 1940: 140. DELG s.v. points out that there are anthroponyms (Bechtel 1917b: 582 and 589) as well as toponyms like *Κάνθαρος*, a port of Piraeus, and concludes from this that the term may be from Pre-Greek, with is likely. As an Akkadian word *kanda/uru-* 'cup' exists, it would be a loan in this meaning; see Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 672.

**κανθήλια** [n.pl.] 'panniers on both sides of the pack-saddle' (Ar., Artem.), also 'curved pieces of wood at the back of a ship', which were used when a tent was drawn up' (H.). <PG(v)>

•VAR Also -ιον [acc.sg.] 'rafters' in architecture (IG 2<sup>2</sup>, 463: 73); ὄνος *κανθήλιος* 'pack-ass' (Pl., com., X.).

•DER *κανθηλικός* 'belonging to the pack-basket or pack-ass' (pap.). Also *κανθίαι-σπυρίδες* 'creels' (H.), *κάνθων* = ὄνος *κανθήλιος* (Ar., AP), *κανθίς-ὄνις* 'dung of an ass' (H.).

•ETYM The relations of these words among each other and to other similar formations are unclear, due to their specialized technical meanings. Formally, we may compare *κανθήλια* with *κειμήλια*, *γαμήλιος*; also note *τράχηλος*, *γαμφηλαί*, and other words with a suffix -ηλ-. The form *κανθίαι* could be another derivation without λ. The form (ὄνος) *κανθήλιος* 'ass' is secondary to *κανθήλια* 'pack-baskets' (Debrunner IF 54 (1936): 55); *κάνθων* and *κανθίς* could be short forms (like Lat. *cabō* to *caballus*). Lat. *cant(h)ērius* 'castrated stallion', also 'rafters', which has a different suffix, cannot be separated from *κανθήλια*, -ιος. However, there is no Indo-European etymology; acc. to Deroy *Glotta* 35 (1956): 190f., it is a Mediterranean word. Fur.: 130 connects it with *ἀνθήλιον* (Charax), with alternation κ-/zero, and assumes Pre-Greek origin; he further connects it with *κανθίαι-σπυρίδες* and with *κάθος-σπυρίς* (Fur.: 290). See ► *κάνθαρος*, ► *κανθός*, ► *κανθύλη*.

**κανθός** [m.] 'corner of the eye' (Arist., Nic., Gal.); poet. 'eye' (Hell.); acc. to H. also 'opening in the roof for the smoke, funnel, καπνοδόκη' and 'pot, kettle, χυτρώπους' (Sicilian). <PG>

•COMP Hence the hypostasis *ἐγκάνθιος* 'which is in the κανθός' (Dsc., Gal.) with *ἐγκανθίς* [f.] 'tumor in the inner angle of the eye' (Cels., Gal.), acc. to Poll. 2, 71 = 'inner corner of the eye'; also *ἐπικανθίς* 'id.' (Hippiatr., v.l. in Poll. l.c.).

•DER *κανθώδης* 'rounded' (Call. Fr. 504 conj. Hemsterhuys; codd. *καθν-*, *κυκν-*).

•ETYM Not well explained. *κανθώδης* in Callimachos does not allow us to assume an original meaning 'curve'. It has been compared with Celtic words like W *cant* 'iron band, brim', Gallo-Rom. \**cantos*, and a Slavic word for 'corner (of a farm), etc.', e.g. Ru. *kut*. However, this comparison is problematic, since Gr. -θ- remains unexplained, and because the Slavic words are suspect of western European origin.

The material accumulated by Belardi *Rend. Acc. Linc.* 8: 9 (1954): 610ff. and Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 209 needs to be sifted. Since there is no IE etymology, and since an IE pre-form is impossible (\**kh<sub>2</sub>nd<sup>h</sup>*- would have given \*καθ-), the conclusion must be that the word is Pre-Greek.

**κανθύλη** [f.] 'swelling, tumor', only in κανθύλας τὰς ἀνοιδήσεις. Αἰσχύλος Σαλαμίνιαις (*Fr.* 220) 'swellings' (H., at an alphabetically incorrect place). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Also κονθιλαί· αἱ ἀνοιδήσεις (H.).

•ETYM The comparison with a Germanic word for 'ulcer, pus', e.g. OHG *gund*, Go. *gunds* 'γάγγραινα', would require that κονθ- is original, or that κανθ- is secondary for \*καθ- (which is highly unlikely). Strömberg 1944: 94 derives κανθύλη from the name of the ass (κάνθων, κανθήλιος), which is semantically unconvincing. The variation α/ο is clearly Pre-Greek, as is the suffixation (*Fur.*: 201<sup>14</sup>).

**κάννα** [f.] 'reed, Arundo donax, reed-fence, -mat' (Com., inscr., Plb.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Often plur. Further forms see below.

•DIAL Myc. *ko-no-ni-pi* /konōni-p<sup>hi</sup>/. Ion. κάννη.

•COMP As a first member in κανη-φόρος [f.] 'female carrying a basket' (Ar.), κανηφορ-έω, -ία, -ικός.

•DER 1. κάνης, -ητος [m.] (Solon. Law in Plu. *Sol.* 21, Crates Com., D. H.) with κανητο-ποιός (Hippon. 116). 2. κάννηκες· πλέγματα ταρσῶν 'windings of wickerwork' (H.). 3. κανοῦν, Ion. κάνεον, epic also -ειον [n.] 'reed basket, dish' (Il.; substantivized adjective). Diminutive κανίσκος, -ίσκιον (Ar.), κανίδιον (pap.); further κανάστρον (Hom. *Epigr.*, Nicophon, Attica, Crete; cf. on ζύγαστρον), also -αυστρον (like θερμα(ύ)στρα; see ▶θερμός), -ιοτρον, -υστρον (inscr., pap., Poll.; Kretschmer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 283) = Lat. *canistrum*; thence καναστραῖα· κοῖλά τινα ἄγγεῖα 'any hollow vessels' (Suid.); κανάσθον (Naucratis). Cf. also ▶κάναβος, ▶κάνναθρον, ▶κάνων.

•ETYM From Babylonian-Assyrian *qanū* 'reed', which may come from Sumerian-Akkadian *gin* 'id.', Ugar. *qn*, Punic *qn*. See E. Masson 1967: 47. The word κάννα was borrowed as Lat. *canna* 'reed, etc.'; see WH s.v. *Fur.*: 303 points out that κανάθρον, etc. are clearly Pre-Greek formations, so the word may have been of Anatolian origin; note further the Mycenaean form pointing to variantion α/ο, which is also a sign of Pre-Greek origin.

**κάνναβις** [f.] 'hemp, Cannabis sativa' (Hdt., S., Dsc., Gal.). <LW Orient.>

•VAR Gen. -ιος, -εως. Also κάνναβος (Poll. 10, 176).

•DER καννάβιον 'id.' (Ps.-Dsc., *Gp.*), κανναβίς, -ίδος [f.] 'dress of hemp', plur. 'hemp seeds burnt and used at a steam-bath' (Hdt., Ephipp. Com.); thence κανναβισθῆναι· πρὸς τὴν κάνναβιν ἐξιδρῶσαι καὶ πυριασθῆναι (H.); κανναβίσκα [n.pl.] 'hemp shoes' (Herod. 7, 58); καννάβινος 'from hemp, hemp-like' (AP); κανναβάριος member of a professional organization = *stupparius* (Ephesus, gloss.; Wahrmann *Glotta* 22 (1934): 42f.).

•ETYM Loan of unknown eastern origin, perhaps Scythian or Thracian (Hdt. 4, 74f.); cf. also Sumer. *kunibu* 'hemp'. From κάνναβις comes Lat. *cannabis*; the word

reached Germanic (OE *hænep*, OHG *hanaf*, etc.) before Grimm's law. *Fur.*: 343 connects it with κόμβος, on insufficient grounds.

**κάνναθρον** [n.] 'cane or wicker carriage' (X. Ages. 8, 7, Plut. Ages. 19, H., Eust.).

<PG(V)>

•VAR Also κανάθρον.

•ETYM Perhaps from κάννα 'reed' with a suffix -θρο- (cf. Chantraine 1933: 373f.). Lidén 1924: 227ff. assumes a compound from κάννα and a word for 'wagon box' in ▶ἄθρας· ἄρμα. 'Ρόδιοι (H.), which is highly improbable. The gloss is considered to be corrupt by Latte. On the suffix, see *Fur.*: 303<sup>39</sup>.

**κάνων, -όνος** [m.] 'straight rod, bar, stave or grip to handle the shield, directive, rule, model, etc.' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•DIAL Myc. *ko-no-ni-pi* /konōni-p<sup>hi</sup>/.

•DER Diminutive κανόνιον (Ph. *Bel.*, Hero); κανονίς 'ruler, frame, etc.' (Arist., Ph. *Bel.*); κανονίης [m.] 'straight man, like a rod' (Hp. *Aēr.* 24); κανονικός 'belonging to the κάνών' (Hell.); κανονωτός 'provided with κανόνες' (pap.). Denominative verb κανονίζω 'to measure, decide' (Arist.) with κανονισμοί [pl.] (Man.), κανόνισμα (AP), κανονιστικός (Choerob.).

•ETYM Most often connected with κάννα as \*'stave of reed'. The variation α/ο shows that it is a Pre-Greek word. The Semitic etymology by Lewy 1895: 133 (Hebr. *qānoeh* 'measuring reed, balance') is not to be preferred.

**κανωπικόν 1** [n.]? = πιτοῦσσα or πιτύουσα, 'spurge' (Dsc. 4. 165). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**κανωπικόν 2** [n.]? 'kind of cake' (pap.). <LW Eg.>

•ETYM Probably derived from the TN Κάνωπος in Lower Egypt. See ▶Κάνωπος.

**κάνωπον** [n.]? 'elderflower, elder bark' (Alex. Trall. 12). <?>

•ETYM No etymology. See André 1956 s.v. *canopus*.

**καπάνα** [f.] Thessalian word for 'wagon' = ἀπήνη (Xenarch. 11, H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also -η 'crossbar of the wagon (?)' (Poll. 1, 142), καπάναι (καπαλαί cod.)· φάτναι 'mangers' (H.).

•DER καπάναξ 'side-piece of the wagon box' (Poll. *ibid.*; cf. δίφραξ from δίφρος); καπανικώτερα epithet of Θετταλικά (δεῖπνα) in Ar. *Fr.* 492, in Ath. 9, 418d = ἁμαξία 'filling a wagon', acc. to H. as an alternative = χορταστικώτερα, ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης 'more foodful, more plenteous (after φ. = manger)', from καπάνη = κάπη. Unclear καπάνη· τριχίνη κυνὴ 'helmet of hair', καπάνια· ἀρπεδόνες 'cords', καπαλίζει· ζευγηλατεῖ 'drives a yoke' (H.). Perhaps also Καπανεύς PN (Boßhardt 1942: 121)?

•ETYM Assuming an original meaning 'chest, box', a formation in -ānā from ▶κάπη, ▶κάπτω has been assumed (Chantraine 1933: 206), especially comparing ἀπήνη. However, Kuiper 1956: 213<sup>9</sup> compared ἀπήνη in the light of the alternation κ-/ zero, which would mean that the word is Pre-Greek. This seems most probable. *Fur.* 224<sup>96</sup> further compares γάπος· ὄχημα. Τυρρηνοί 'wagon (Etruscan)' (H.). καπάνα is



further reminiscent of Gallo-Romance *capanna* (Alessio *Studi etruschi* 19 (1946-1947): 175<sup>34</sup>).

**κάπανοι** [m.] · ἀλφίτων εἶδος 'barley-groats' (Phot.). <?>

•DER One connects the PN Καπανάς, L. Robert 1963: 171<sup>4</sup>.

•ETYM Unknown.

**καπέτις, -ιος** [f.] a Persian measure, 1/48<sup>th</sup> of an ἀρτάβη (Polyaen. 4, 3, 32) = χοῖνιξ (H.). <LW Iran.>

•DER Also καπίθη [f.] a Persian measure = 2 χοίνικες (X. An. 1, 5, 6) = 2 Att. κοτύλαι (H.).

•ETYM Persian words, so a connection with κάπτω is improbable. They are certainly not from a Persian cognate of κάπτω, as DELG assumes. Others reference Skt. *kapāṭi* [f.] 'two handfuls (?)' (lex.), on which see Mayrhofer *EWAia* 3 s.v. and Lagarde 1866: 198. Frisk (Supp.) refers to MoP *qafiz* (also Arab.), a measure.

**κάπετος** = σκάπετος.

**κάπη** = κάπτω.

**κάπηλος** [m.] 'merchant, innkeeper' (IA; on the mg. cf. on ἔμπορος). <PG?(S)>

•DER Secondly as an adjective = καπηλικός (A., Com. *Adesp.*, D. H.). Fem. καπηλίσ 'female merchant or innkeeper' (com., pap.), καπήλισσα (sch.); καπηλείον 'shop, tavern' (Att.); καπηλικός 'belonging to a κάπηλος' (Pl., Arist.); καπηλεύω [v.] 'to be a retail trader' (IA) with καπηλεία 'retail trade' (Pl., Arist.) and καπηλευτικός = καπηλικός (Ph Lg. 842d).

•ETYM Derivation from κάπη 'crib, manger' has been considered, assuming that the word could mean 'chest' ('who sells from a chest'); highly improbable. As loanwords, Lat. *caupō* 'innkeeper', etc. have been compared (WH s.v.). Fur.: 257 considers Hitt. *ḫappar* 'purchase, price' as a comparandum. As there is no etymology, the word could be Pre-Greek (the suffix does occur in Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 115).

**καπνός** [m.] 'smoke, steam' (Il.). <PG?, EUR?>

•DIAL Μυσ. *ka-pi-ni-ja*.

•COMP καπνο-δόκη 'flue (of a chimney)' (IA), δύσ-καπνος 'with an unpleasant smoke' (A., Thphr.).

•DER Substantives: 1. κάπη (com.), short form of καπνοδόκη; also = καπνιαῖος λίθος (PHolm.; see below); 2. καπνία for κάπη (Moer. 292, gloss.; cf. Scheller 1951: 56); 3. καπνίας [m.] (a) a wine that got its special taste by fumigation (com.), (b) a kind of jasper (= καπνίτης, after its color (Dsc., Plin.), (c) of the poet Ekphantides (Ar. V. 151), διὰ τὸ μηδὲν λαμπρὸν γράφειν 'because he wrote nothing clearly' (H.). 4. καπνίτης [m.] name of a stone, after the color (Alex. Trall.; Redard 1949: 55), καπνίτις [f.] plant name, 'fumitory, *Fumaria officinalis*', after its smoke-colored leaves (Ps.-Dsc.), also called κάπνιος and καπνός (Strömberg 1940: 27).

Adjectives: 5. κάπνε(ι)ος (scil. ἄμπελος) [f.] 'vine with smoke-colored grapes' (Arist., Thphr., pap.); 6. καπνώδης 'smokey, smoke-colored' (Arist., Thphr., Plb.); 7.

καπνηλός 'like smoke' (Nic. Th. 54); 8. καπνιαῖος λίθος 'smoke-colored quartz' (PHolm.).

Denominative verbs: 1. καπνίζω 'to smoke, produce smoke, be smoke-colored' (Il.), aor. καπνίσ(σ)αι (also with prefix ἀπο-, περι-, ὑπο-), κάπνις 'exposure to smoke' (Arist.), κάπνισμα 'incense' (AP), καπνιστήριον perhaps 'steam-bath' (inscr. Priene); 2. καπνόομαι 'to vanish into smoke' (Pi., E.); 3. καπνιάω 'to smoke a bee-hive' (A. R. 2, 131), after θυμιάω; 4. καπνέω 'to make vanish into smoke, burn' (Nic. Th. 36). Beside καπνός, there is an aorist ἀπό (δὲ ψυχὴν) ἐκάπυσσεν 'he breathed forth' (X 467; κάπυσσεν Q. S. 6, 523), with a present καπύσσω· ἐκπνέων 'breathing out' (H.); the supposed base form seems preserved in κάπυς· πνεῦμα 'breath, spirit', also κάπος· ψυχὴ, πνεῦμα (H.). Uncertain is the gloss καπυκτά· πνέοντα 'breathing' (H., at an alphabetically wrong place); is it connected with καπύσσω? Cf. ▶ἀλύω beside ἀλύσσω. The stem with -υ- also in ▶καπυρός 'dry, etc.'; uncertain is the appurtenance of ▶κέκηφε· τέθνηκε 'is dead' (H.), ▶κεκαφιότα (Hom.).

•ETYM A pre-form \**kwap-nó-* has been assumed in view of the comparison with Lith. *kvāpas* 'breath, smell', *kvēpti*, 1sg. *kvēpiū* 'to gasp, breathe', Latv. *kvēpt*, 1sg. *kvēptu* 'to smoke, smell'. This group is close to Go. *af-hwarpjan* 'to suffocate, extinguish', *af-hwarpnan* 'to extinguish', but this has root-final -p instead of expected -f or -b. It is unclear whether Lat. *vapor* 'vapor, smoke' is cognate with these words, with its v- instead of expected qu-. Schrijver 1991: 260f. assumed a laryngeal in view of the Latvian word and posited \**kuh<sub>2</sub>ep-*, but it is improbable that such a form would result in Gr. \*κφαπ-. Frisk remarks: "Man hat somit in den verschiedenen Sprachen mit zahlreichen, nicht unerwarteten Entgleisungen zu rechnen". At any rate, Mycenaean does not have a -w-. This has been explained as a dissimilation PGr. \**k<sup>w</sup>-p* > \**k-p*, cf. Schwyzler: 302 for more examples, but most etymologies adduced there are doubtful.

Indo-European origin is improbable. \**kap-* is unproblematic for Pre-Greek; an u-stem (κάπυς) is frequent in Pre-Greek (see Heubeck 1961: 31-39), as is a suffix -n- after consonant (Pre-Greek: Suffixes). However, in view of the similarity of the Balto-Slavic material and of Lat. *vapor*, it may be best to assume a European substrate word.

**κάππα** [n.indecl.] the tenth letter of the Greek alphabet (Callias *apud* Ath. 10, 453d). <LW Orient.>

•ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *kaph*. See Schwyzler: 140.

**κάππαρις** [f.] 'caper plant, *Capparis spinosa*' (Hp., Arist.). <LW Orient.>

•VAR Gen. -εως, -ιος.

•DER Diminutive καπ(π)άριον (pap.). κάππαρος [m.] a fish (PCair. Zen. 83, III<sup>a</sup>), after the way of preparation, see Strömberg 1943: 88.

•ETYM Berger MSS 9 (1956): 13ff. connected the word with MoP *kabar* 'id' and Burušaski *čopuri*, *čopari*.

**κάπρος** [m.] '(wild) boar', also epithet of σῦς (Il.); as a fish name = 'Capros aper' (Arist.; after the sound, Thompson 1947 s.v., Strömberg 1943: 101). <?>

•DER Diminutive καπρίδιον, -ίσκος (com.); fem. κάπραινα of a lewd woman (com.); καπρία [f.] 'the ovary of a rutting sow' (Arist.); καπρών 'pigsty' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>); (σῦς) κάπριος = (σῦς) κάπρος (Il., A. R.); κάπριος 'having the form of a boar' (Hdt. 3, 59), κάπρειος 'belonging to a boar' (Nonn.).

Denominative verbs: καπράω 'to go to the boar', of a rutting sow (Arist.), also καπριάω (Arist. v.l., Ar. Byz.), on the formation see Schwyzler: 731f.; καπρίζω 'id.' (Arist.); καπρώζομαι 'to rut', of the boar (Sciras Com.).

•ETYM Agrees with a Italo-Germanic word for 'he-goat', Lat. *caper*, U *cabru* 'caprum', and in Germanic e.g. ON *hafr*. An uncertain trace of the word in Celtic is supposed in Gallo-Rom. \**cabrostos* 'honeysuckle, privet'. The newly created Greek name of the he-goat, τράγος, made another use possible for \**kapro-*. The word was probably first used appositively with σῦς, as in Homer. Lat. *aper* 'boar' took the vowel of *caper*, but is further unrelated.

Briand 1997: 91-115 analyzes the attested forms as continuing an old adjective 'devouring (greedily)' from the root \**kap-* 'to take' (Lat. *capiō* 'id.', G *happen* 'to swallow, snatch'). The root was used for a snatching way of eating (Hom. κάπη 'crib', κάπτω 'to gulp down', cf. τράγος 'goat' beside τρώγω), and the adjective lexicalized in the separate languages, where it came to denote different male animals. See DELG *Supp.* If the root was Indo-European, it must have been \**kh<sub>2</sub>p-*, not \**kap-*; alternatively, it was borrowed from the European substrate. See ►κάπτω.

**κάπτω** [v.] 'to gulp down' (Hdt., Herod., com., Arist.). <IE \**keh<sub>2</sub>p-* 'seize' (?)>

•VAR Fut. κάψω, perf. -κέκαφα, -κέκαπται.

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, ἐγ-, ὑπο-.

•DER (ἀνά-)κάμνις 'swallowing' (Arist.); κάμματα [pl.] 'what is supped up, sacrificial cake' with καμματίδες [pl.] 'laurel leaves, for supping up' (Nicocl. 2); ἔγκαφος 'what you have in your mouth' (Eup. 330). Further κάπη [f.] 'crib' (Θ 434, δ 40, S. *Ichn.* 8, Lyc. 95), κάπηθεν (Suid.).

•ETYM The present κάπτω might be identical with Lat. *capiō* 'to take' and the Gm. verb Go. *haffjan* 'to raise'. In use and meaning, however, it corresponds much better to popular MoLG (= MoHG) *happen* 'to swallow', MoDu. *happen* 'to snap'. These belong to IE \**keh<sub>2</sub>p-* 'to seize, etc.', which has several variants. The form κάπη 'crib' is rather an old formation than a direct derivation from κάπτω (cf. κώπη).

**καπυρός** [adj.] 'dry, brittle, crackly, clear-sounding' (Hp., Epich., Antiph., Arist., Theoc.). <PG?, EUR?>

•DER καπύρια, -ίδια [pl.] 'kind of cake' (pap.); καπυρόομαι 'to be dried, singed, crackly' (Str., Orib.), καπυρίζω 'make noise, drink' with καπυριστής 'drinker' (Str.).

•ETYM Derived from the *u*-stem in \*καπύω (κάπυς), so properly 'giving smoke, burnt'; on the meaning, see Legrand *REGr.* 20 (1907): 10ff. and Bogiatzides *Ἀθηνᾶ* 26 (1914): 109ff. See ►καπνός.

**καπύσσαι** = καπνός.

**κάρ** [n.] indecl. 'head', only in ἐπὶ κάρ 'on its head, topsy-turvy' (Π 392) and ἀνὰ κάρ 'upwards' (Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 79). ⇒ κάρᾱ.

**κάρᾱ** [n.] 'head' (trag., Cratin., Eup.). <IE \**krh<sub>2</sub>-(e)s-n-* 'head'>

•VAR κάρη (epic).

•DIAL Myc. *ka-ra-a-pi* [instr.pl.] /krā<sup>h</sup>at-p<sup>h</sup>i/.

•DER As a first member in καρᾱ-τομέω 'to behead' (E., J.) with καράτομος 'beheaded' (S., E.), apparent basis καρᾱτόμος 'beheading' (Lyc.), cf. on δειροτομέω s.v. ►δέρη; καρῆβαρέω (-άω) 'to feel heavy in the head, be sleepy, have a headache' with καρῆβαρία, -ίη, etc. (Hp., Arist.); from there Lat. *caribaria* > Fr. *charivari*, (WH 1, 854); on ►καραδοκέω s.v. Cf. ►κράσπεδον, ►κρησφύγετον, ►κρήδεμνον.

Other forms: A. recent analogical formations to κάρᾱ, κάρη: dat. τῷ κάρᾱ (A., S.), κάρη (Thgn.); κάρης, -ην (Call., Nic.), κάρᾱν (Anacreont.).

B. Older disyllabic forms: epic καρῆ-ατος, -ατι, plur. -ατα; also κάρη-τος, -τι; a new nom.sg. κάρηαρ (Antim.) was made to καρῆατα.

C. monosyllabic forms: κῶ-ατος, -ατι, pl. -ατα; usually contracted (also trag.) κῶ-ατός, -τί, plur. κῶ-ατα (Pi. *Fr.* 8); further isolated forms: κράτεσφι (K 156; probably sg.), κῶ-ατων (χ 309), κῶ-ασίν (K 152), κῶ-ατας (E.); κῶ-ατα accus.sg. (θ 92, trag.), nom.sg. (S. *Ph.* 1457); new nom.sg. κῶ-ας (Simm. 4).

D. κάρᾱ (antevoc.) as a nom.pl. (*h. Cer.* 12), κάρᾱ [pl.] (?), Sannyr. 3). On ►κάρηνα see s.v. and below.

•ETYM The origin of the Greek forms has to be judged by the Skt. word for 'head'. The oblique forms are, e.g., *śirṣṇ-ás* [gen.sg.], adverbial abl. *śirṣa-tás*, which represent a zero grade root *śirṣ-n-* < \**krh<sub>2</sub>-s-n-*, i.e. an *s*-stem enlarged with *-n-*. The disyllabic nom.-acc. *śiras-* (also Av. *sarah-*) derives from \**krh<sub>2</sub>-os*. Therefore, it appears that Gr. κῶ-ατος represents earlier \**krāhatos* (which may also be found in Myc. *ka-ra-a-pi*) < \**krh<sub>2</sub>-s-nt-os*, which by contraction gave κῶ-ατός (κρητός, acc. to Zenodotus). The antevocalic form \**krāsn-* is continued in ►κῶ-ανίον. The explanation of the Greek disyllabic forms has to start from the plur. κάρηνα < \**karasna* < \**krh<sub>2</sub>-es-n-h<sub>2</sub>*, which formed the basis for the creation of the singular forms καρῆατος, -ατι (for earlier \**karahatos*, -τι), if these were not innovated from the sg. κάρη. This nom.-acc.sg. may go back to analogical \*κάρᾱσ-α (like ὄνομα); from κάρη, the forms κάρη-τος, -τι were constructed.

Beside the old *s*-stem, there are isolated forms without *-s-*: ἐπὶ κάρ 'on its head', ἔγκαρος, ἵγκρος, ἐγκέφαλος 'situated in the head' and κατὰ (ἀπὸ) κῆρθεν 'from the head down' (Hom., Hes.), ►κρήδεμνον 'head-band'. The explanation is debated: κατὰ κῆρθεν (whence ἀπὸ κῆρθεν) may stand for κατ' ἄκρηθεν (see especially Leumann 1950: 56ff.), but this seems unnecessary; ἔγκαρος has been interpreted as a learned innovation of κάρη after κεφαλή: ἐγκέφαλος; on ►κρήδεμνον, see s.v. An *s*-less form κάρ is supported by Arm. *sar* 'height, top' < \**krh<sub>2</sub>-r-o-*. Very extensive treatment by Nussbaum 1986 (review by Beekes *Kratylos* 34 (1989): 55-59). Perpillou *KZ* 88 (1974): 230-234 analyzes the form \**krh<sub>2</sub>-s-r/n-* 'head' and discusses the possibility of a suffix *-uer*, *-uen-*. See ►καρώ 1, ►καρώ, ►καρωτόν, ►κέρας, ►κράνος, ►κριός.

**κάρᾱ** · αἶψ ἡμερος Πολυρρήνιοι· ὑπὸ Γορτυνίων... ἄλλοι δὲ ἡ συκῇ. Ἴωνες τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν 'tame goat (Polyrrhenian); others: fig-tree (Gortynian); cattle, head (Ionian)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM The gloss is partly corrupt; see Latte. The meaning αἶξ seems to be confirmed by καρανῶ; see on ▶ κάρηνα.

**κάραβος** [m.] 1. 'a prickly crustacean' (Epich., Ar., Arist.; cf. Thompson 1947 s.v.), metaph. a light canoe (EM); 2. 'a horned beetle' (Arist.). <PG(V)>

•VAR σκορόβυλος· κάνθαρος 'kind of beetle' (H.).

•DER καραβίς 'kind of sea-crab' (Gal., Sch.), καράβιον = ἐφόλκιον 'small boat towed after a ship' (H. s.v. ▶ ἐφόλκια, sch.); probably also καραβαία· δίκρουν ξύλον 'forked timber' (H.). Further κηραφίς = καραβίς (Nic. *Al.* 394), secondary after the names in -φ(ο)-, and η an epic imitation for α?

•ETYM Cohen *BSL* 27 (1927): 100 gives several similar Arabic words. Boisacq s.v. suggests that -βος is Macedonian for Gr. -φος < IE \*-bʰo-.

Fur. (index) connects it with several other words: καρβάρειοι· κάραβοι (H.), additional prenasalized forms καράμβιος (Ar. Byz. *Epit.* 9, 11; v.l. Arist. *HA* 551b 17), ▶ κεράμβυξ (Nic. *Fr.* 39, H.; s.v.), and κεράμβηλον (H.); the suffix -ηλο- is well-known in Pre-Greek. These forms cannot be derived from κέρας, as assumed by Frisk. Fur. further posits \*σκαραβαῖος on the basis of Lat. *scarabaeus*, which seems unavoidable. The form σκορόβυλος perhaps continues \*σκαραβ-υλ-, where both α's turned to -ο- before the -υ- in the following syllable (Fur. 340 discusses the phenomenon, but did not see that it operated here); thus, we have evidence for σκαραβ-. Then there is ▶ γραψαῖος (Diph. Siph. *apud* Ath. 3, 106d) = κάραβος, which Fur. assumes to stand for \*γαρψαῖος (doubtful). The word ▶ σκορπίος does not seem to belong here.

In conclusion, it is clear that we are dealing with a Pre-Greek word \*(s)karab- with several of its usual variants. From κάραβος came Lat. *cārabus* 'crab', also 'small boat' (also Romance, e.g. MoFr. *caravelle*) and a Slavic word for 'ship', e.g. Ru. *korábl'*.

**κάραγος** [m.] · ὁ τραχὺς ψόφος, οἶον πριῶν 'raw sound, like a saw' (H.). <GR?>

•ETYM Related to κέκρᾱγα, like τάραχος (-χή) to τέτρηχα. See ▶ κράζω. Alternatively, is it Pre-Greek?

**καρᾶδοκέω** [v.] 'to await the outcome of something (μάχη, πόλεμος, etc.), wait for something, take care' (Hdt., E., Ar., X., Plb.); in Hdt. perhaps an Atticism; cf. Wackernagel 1916: 31. <GR>

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, δια-.

•DER (ἀπο-)καρδοκία 'eager expectation' (Aq., *Ep. Rom.*, *Ep. Phil.*).

•ETYM On the use of καρδοκέω, cf. Aly *Glotta* 15 (1927): 104f. Acc. to the traditional assumption, properly 'expect something with the hand stretched out', which is neither factually nor formally very convincing. Given δωρο-, ξενο-δοκέω, etc. (ὁδοι-δοκέω after ὁδοι-πορέω), one would expect καρᾶ- to be the object of δοκέω. DELG remarks that καρᾶ 'head' may have been used in the sense of 'end, outcome' here, for which we may compare κραιάινω 'to accomplish'.

**καράκαλλον** [n.] 'cap' (AP, *Edict. Diocl.*). <LW Lat.>

•DER καρακάλλιον (pap. V-VI<sup>p</sup>).

•ETYM From Lat. *caracalla*. Probably originally Gaulish; see WH s.v.

**κάραννος** •VAR κάρανος, etc. = κάρηνα.

**καρβάν** [?] 'outlandish, foreign'. <LW Orient.>

•VAR Acc. -ᾱνα (A. *Supp.* 129 [lyr.], H.), κάρβανος (A., Lyc.).

•DER καρβάειν, καρβαῖζειν, καρβανίζειν = βαρβαρίζειν 'to behave like a foreigner' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. Acc. to Kretschmer *Glotta* 31 (1951): 250, it is from the toponym Qarbana (= Herakleion) in Egypt, whence the captive Danaeans escaped to the Peloponnese. Acc. to Hommel *Phil.* 98: 132ff., καρβάν is identical with Hebr. κορβάν (NT), properly 'sacrificial gift', which became an epithet for Phoenician merchants, but this is hardly convincing; see E. Masson 1967: 107. Perhaps there is a relation with the name of the east wind in Cyrene, Κάρβας. Arist. (*Vent.* 973b) has ἀπὸ τῶν Καρβανῶν τῶν κατὰ Φοινίκην. Phoenician, acc. to Thphr. *Vent.* 62. Acc. to Neumann 1961: 92f., it is from Hitt. *kurewana-* 'foreign state that is not a vassal' (on the meaning, see Puhvel s.v.).

**καρβάτινος** [adj.] 'made of skins' (Ph. *Bel.*). <EUR>

•VAR καρβάτιναι [f.pl.] 'shoes of unprepared leather' (X., Arist.); also καρπάτινον· ἄγρο<ι>κικόν ὑπόδημα μονόδερμον 'one-layer farmer's sandal' (H.).

•ETYM Formation like δερμάτινος, etc.; it has been compared with words for 'shoe, etc.' in Balto-Slavic, Germanic, and Celtic, e.g. Lith. *kūrpė* 'shoe', Cz. *krpě* 'id.', ON *hriflingr*, OE *hrifeling* 'id.', OIr. *cairem* 'shoemaker', but the formations differ among each other. Further, Lat. *carpisc(u)lum* 'kind of shoe' (IV<sup>p</sup>), which is considered to be a loanword because of its late attestation. In yet other respects, these words seem to be technical loans; cf. Beekes 2000: 28. From καρβάτινος came Lat. *carpatinus* 'of raw leather'. See ▶ κρηπίς.

**κάρβις** [?] · μαστροπός 'pimp' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. DELG notes: cf. Lat. *carissa*?

**κάρδαμον** [n.] 'nose-smart', 'Lepidium sativum' (X., Ar.). <PG?(S)>

•VAR Also παρδαμάλη (Phot.).

•COMP As a first member in καρδάμων, haplological for καρδαμ-άμων [n.] 'cardamom' (Thphr., Dsc.; on the formation Schwyzer: 263).

•DER καρδαμῖς = κάρδαμον (Nic., Plu.), after κεδρίς, etc. acc. to Chantraine 1933: 343; καρδαμίνη 'id.', also = σισύμβριον, etc. (Dsc.; Chantraine 1933: 204); καρδαμάλη 'Persian cake from κάρδαμον' (Trypho *apud* Ath.; as ἀμυγδάλη, etc.); καρδαμίζω 'to talk cress', i.e. 'to talk nonsense' (Nic. *Th.* 617). By-form καρδάνη 'id.' (gloss.), after βοτάνη?

•ETYM Among the plant names in -αμον (Schwyzer: 494, Chantraine 1933: 133), there are several clear loanwords, and the same holds for κάρδαμον. Doubtful suggestion in Strömberg 1944: 38: from \*κάρδος = κράδος 'twig' in καρδίδιον, ἄνα-, κατακάρδιον. The solution of Grošelj *Razprave* 2: 41 is no better: related to ▶ σκόροδον. The suffix -αμον is known from Pre-Greek (Fur.: 64<sup>269</sup>). The word has been connected with Hitt. *karšani* 'an alcalic plant' (Fur.: 252).

**καρδία** [f.] 'heart', metaph. 'soul, spirit' (Il.), also 'cardiac orifice of the stomach' (Hp., Th.), 'heart of wood' (Thphr., pap.; Strömberg 1937: 125ff.). <IE \**kēr(d)*, gen. \**krd-(i)os* 'heart'>

•VAR Ion. -ίη, epic mostly κραδίη.

•COMP As a first member, e.g. καρδι-αλγέω 'to suffer from heartburn', together with -ής, -ία, -ικός (Hp.); very often as a second member, e.g. θρασυ-κάρδιος 'with daring spirit' (Il.).

•DER κάρδιον [n.] 'heart-shaped ornament' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>), καρδικός 'belonging to the heart' (pap.), καρδιᾶτις [f.] Pythagorean name of the number of five (*Theol. Ar.*); καρδιώσσω, Att. -ώττω = καρδιαλγέω (Epich., Hp., Ar., Arist.) with καρδιωγμός (Hp.), also καρδιάω (καρδιόωντα Nic. Al. 581); καρδιόω 'to revive' (LXX). Beside it κῆρ (epic), κέαρ [n.] (Pi., B., trag.), κῆρι [dat.], κηρόθι [adv.] 'in the heart', together with κηραίνω [v.] 'to be afraid' (E., Max., Ph.).

•ETYM The word καρδία may be compared with other body parts in -ία, like κοιλία, ἄρτηρία, λαυκανίη. The starting point is a monosyllabic neuter κῆρ < IE \**kēr(d)* with ablaut: cf. Lat. *cordis* < IE \**kṛdés*, which would have resulted in Gr. \*καρδός or \*κραδός. We often find an *i*-stem, which is probably old, in the genitive: Hitt. *kardiaš* [gen.] next to nom. *ke-ir* /*kēr*/. The *i*-stem also appears in Lith. *širdis* (but this is expected for an old root noun), Arm. *srt-iw* [instr.] beside *sirt* [nom.] < IE \**kērd*, and in Skt. the -i is found in the nom.-acc. *hārdi*, while the gen. is *hṛdás*, like Lat. *cordis*.

Disyllabic κέαρ was created by poets as a false archaism of κῆρι, based on ἔαρ (ῆρ) : ῆρι 'spring'. On the accent of κῆρ, see Schwyzler: 377 and Berger MSS 3 (1953): 3. Further, e.g., OIr. *cride* < *kṛd-īo-*, OCS *srědv-ce* beside OCS *srěda* 'middle' < PSlav. \**serdā*, Go. *hairto*, gen. *hairtins* (transformed into an *n*-stem like *augo* 'eye', *auso* 'ear', etc.), Skt. *hṛd-aya-* [n.] = Av. *zərəd-aē-* [n.]. The Indo-Iranian word shows a secondary \**ḥ*- instead of \**č*- < IE \**k-*, probably by contamination with another word, while the original \**č*- is preserved in *śraddhā* 'to trust'. See now the collection of different formations in Wodtke et al. 2008: 417ff. Cf. also on ►κραδάω.

**κάρδοπος** [f.] 'kneading-trough' (com., Pl., Hom. *Epigr.*, Nic.; for the fem. gender, cf. the instances in Schwyzler 1950: 34<sup>2</sup>; on καρδόπη [Ar. *Nu.* 678] see ibid. 28<sup>1</sup>). <PG>

•DER Diminutive καρδόπιον (Delos II<sup>a</sup>); καρδοπεῖον 'cover of a trough' (H.; cod. -ιον), also 'muzzle' (Ar. *Fr.* 301); also κάρποδος (H.), with metathesis?

•ETYM No clear etymology. Fur.: 257<sup>38</sup> suggests Hitt. *ḫarduppi* with uncertain meaning. No doubt a Pre-Greek word.

**κάρηνα** [n.pl.] 'heads, tops, mountain tops' (Il.). <IE \**kerh₂-* 'head, horn', \**krh₂-es-n-h₂*>

•VAR Secondary sing. κάρηνον (*h. Hom.*), κάρᾶνον (A. *Cho.* 396 [lyr.], Mosch. 1, 12).

•DER Hence κάραννος: κεκρύφαλος, κρήδεμνον 'headband', Aeol.; καρανῶ: τὴν αἶγα. Κρήτες 'goat (Cretan)' (H.); Lacon. κάρᾶνος 'chief' (X. *HG* 1, 4, 3) is a Persian loanword from \**kāra-na-* 'leader of the *kāra-*', acc. to Testen *Glotta* 69 (1991): 173f.; unclear is Κόραννος: βασιλεὺς Μακεδονίας probably an appellative. Denominative

verbs: καρανῶ 'to crown, complete' (A.); \*καρανίζω 'to behead' in καρανιστήρες ... δίκαι σφαγαί τε (A. *Eu.* 186), καρανιστῆς μύρος (E. *Rh.* 817).

•ETYM From \**karahna* < \**krh₂-es-n-h₂*, which is also continued in Skt. *śirṣā*. OHG *hirn(i)*, MDu. *hersene* 'brain' (from \**kerh₂snio-*) also belong here. The alternating *r*-stem is found in καράρα· κεφαλή 'head' (H.) < \**karasra*, and probably also in Lat. *cerebrum* 'brain' < \**keras-ro-* < \**kerh₂-(e)s-ro-* (but see also Nussbaum 1986: 243). Further relatives are ►κάρᾶ, ►κρανίον, ►κραίνω; see also ►κέρας.

**καρθμοί**· κινήσεις 'movements' (H.). ⇒ σκαίρω.

**κάρις** [f.] name of small crustaceans; see Thompson 1947 s.v. <PG?>

•VAR Gen. -ίδος (Anan., old com.), -ίδος (middle com.); also κουρίς, κωρίς (Epich., Sophr.).

•DER καρίδιον (Arist.), καριδάριον (Anaxandr.); καριδόω (τὸ σῶμα) 'to move (the body) like a καρίς; to wriggle, twist about like a shrimp' (Anaxandr.).

•ETYM Ath. 3, 106b says ἀπὸ τοῦ κάρᾶ· τὸ πλεῖστον γὰρ μέρος τοῦ σώματος ἢ κεφαλὴ ἀπηνέγκατο, which is clearly folk-etymological. Ehrlich *KZ* 39 (1906): 556f. derived κάρις from \*καρσίς and κουρίς, κωρίς from \*κορσίς, but there is no evidence for such a form (cf. on ►κόρσις). Acc. to Frisk, it rather belongs to κάραβος as a popular short form. κουρίς and κωρίς are unexplained; Chantraine (see DELG) pleads for association with κῶρα, κούρα 'girl', but this is hardly understandable. The variation may well point to a Pre-Greek word. Cf. Ačāryan 1937: 4, who considers καρίς together with Arm. *karič* 'scorpion' as an Asiatic loan.

**καρκάδων, -ωνος** [?] 'the price paid to Charon by the dead for their passage' (Phot., Suid.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**καρκαίρω** [v.] only in Y 157 κάρκαρε δὲ γαῖα πόδεσσιν ὀρνυμένων, explained in antiquity as ἐκραδαίνετο, σείετο 'trembled', or as ἐνόφει 'roared' (details in Fraenkel 1910: 132<sup>2</sup>, though with a wrong explanation). <IE \**kerH-* 'praise (loudly)'>

•VAR ἐκάρκαρον· ψόφον τινὰ ἀπετέλουν 'produced a noise' (H.).

•ETYM A *yod*-present with intensive reduplication (Schwyzer: 647), of onomatopoeic origin. Sanskrit has an athematic reduplicated form *car-kar-ti* 'to mention with praise'. Not related to ►κῆρυξ.

**κάρκαροι** [adj.]· τραχεῖς 'coarse, rough' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Seems to agree with Skt. *karkara-* 'hard', but this is a late form; cf. Mayrhofer *EW Aia* 3 s.v. On the other hand, cf. ►κάρχαρος and ►καρκίνος. Fur.: 130 adduces ►κέρχνος 'raw voice, hoarseness' and 'raw surface', which would be a Pre-Greek variant, with the interchanges α/ε and κ/χ.

**κάρκαρον** [n.] 'prison' (Sophr. 147). <LW Lat.>

•VAR Also -ος (D. S. 31, 9), -ον or -ος (Vett. Val. 68, 26); κάρκαροι· δεσμοί 'fettters' (H.), also κάρκαρα, explained i.a. with μάνδραι 'enclosed space', but the gloss is corrupt.

•ETYM From Lat. *carcer*; see WH s.v.

**καρκαρίς** [?] · ξύλων ἢ φρυγάνων φορτίον 'timber; a load of firewood' (H.). <?>

•ETYM DELG supposes it is a mistake for καγκανίς; see ► κάγκανος.

**καρκίνος** [m.] 'crab' (Epich., IA), metaph. 'ulcer, pair of pincers, kind of shoe, etc.', also name of a constellation (Scherer 1953: 167f.). On the mg. also Thompson 1947 s.v. <PG(V)>

•DER Diminutive καρκίνιον (Arist., Hp.), also 'kind of slipper' (Herod.), καρκινάς, -άδος [f.] (Gal., Ael.); καρκινίας [m.] name of a precious stone (Plin.; after the color; like καπνίας, etc., Chantraine 1933: 94); καρκινευτής 'crab-catcher' (Artem. 2, 14; after ἀλιευτής, ὀρνιθευτής et al.); καρκινώδης 'crab-like' (Arist., medic.). Denominative verb καρκινώ 'bend, crook one's fingers' (Antiph., Thphr.; cf. Strömberg 1937: 65), -όομαι 'become cancerous, suffer from cancer' (Hp.) with καρκίνωμα 'cancer' (medic.), καρκίνωσις 'formation of dangerous growth' (Aët.); καρκίνωθρον (codd. -αθρον, -ηθρον) plant name, 'Polygonum aviculare' (Dsc. 4, 4; after Strömberg 1940: 147 properly "Krebsmittel", but rather after the roots spreading like a crab).

•ETYM Clearly connected with Lat. *cancer* 'crab', Skt. *karkaṭa*- 'id.', but not all morphological details are clear. Like Lat. *cancer* from \**car-cro*-, καρκίνος may also have undergone a dissimilation of *r*-sounds, and later added the suffix -ίνο-. The etymological connection with Skt. *karkaṭa*- is doubted in Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 64 and by Fur.: 129. A loan from καρκίνος is Skt. *karki(n)*- 'the crab in the zodiac' (perhaps *karka*- 'crab' [lex.] is a back-formation).

Connection with the adjective for 'hard' (see ► κάρκαρος, κράτος) was deemed possible by Frisk, but this is a substrate word, like the present entry. Fur. connects it with κάρχαι· καρκίνοι, καὶ <κ>όχλοι. Σικελοί (H.), not mentioned in Frisk or DELG, which is completely self-evident. The interchange κ/ χ proves Pre-Greek origin. Fur. doubts the appurtenance of Lat. *cancer* < \**karkro*-, and prefers to connect it with γάγγραινα, γάγγλιον. For καρκίνος, he also adduces (op.cit. 130) the PN Κερκίνος and the HN Κερκινεύς (Thessaly), with \*κερκιν-. The suffix -ίνο- can also be Pre-Greek (Fur.: 129<sup>54</sup>; *Pre-Greek: Suffixes*).

**κάρνη** [f.] · ζημία 'punishment' (H.). <?>

•VAR αὐτόκαρνος· αὐτοζήμιος 'self-punished' (H.).

•ETYM It has traditionally been compared with Lat. *carināre* 'insult, ridicule' (Enn., gramm.) and (without an *n*-suffix) several Celtic, Germanic and Balto-Slavic words: OIr. *caire* 'blame', OHG *harawēn* 'mock', Latv. *karināt* 'tease', Ru. *kor* 'insult, scoff'; perhaps also ToAB *kārnā*- probably 'to strike, afflict'. Note that καρν- can hardly be explained in IE terms (\**ʔ* would give ρα), which means that the word may be Pre-Greek. The word κάραννος hardly belongs here, although glossed as ζημία by H. (cf. DELG), or \*καρανίζειν 'to behead' in καρανιστήρ, -τής, which is derived from κάραννον (see ► κάρηνα). See ► κερτομέω.

**κάρνος** [?] · φθείρ, βόσκημα, πρόβατον 'louse, beast, cattle' (H.). <PG?; GR?>

•ETYM In the meaning φθείρ, it is related to κόρις, etc. (see also ► κάρων 1 and καρός); in the sense 'βόσκημα, πρόβατον' perhaps with the group of ► κέρας? Fur.: 371,

however, connects it with ἀκαρί 'mite'. On Κάρνειος [m.] epithet of Apollo on the Peloponnesus, see Nilsson 1941(1): 532f. and Robert *REGr.* 80 (1967): 31ff.

**κάρουινον** [n.] name of a sweet wine (*Edict. Diocl.*: καρούινου Μεονίου; Hippiatr., gloss.). <?>

•ETYM Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 19 assumes a loan from Semitic: Akk. *khurunnu* 'sesame wine' (first from Hitt.); this is doubtful. Note οἶνος καρύϊνος (Gal.; from Maeonia); also, ἀβόλλης, χιτῶν καρδίνοσ (pap.), perhaps for καρύϊνος 'nut-brown'?

**κάρων 1** [n.] plant name 'cumin, Carum carvi' (*Theb. Ostr.* 135 [I<sup>p</sup>], v.l. Dsc. 3, 57). <?>

•VAR Also καρῶ [f.] (Dsc. l.c., Orib., uncertain Ath. 9, 371e; popular formation acc. to Chantraine 1933: 116).

•ETYM Perhaps from κάρ· φθείρ (H.), because a corn of cumin would resemble a louse.

**κάρων 2** [n.] · μεγάλη ἀκρίς 'big locust' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also κάρνος (see Fur.: 371).

•ETYM See Gil Fernández 1959: 148. Fur.: 341 compares ἀκορνός = ὀκορνός (H.), and further πάρνος. Thus, it is clearly a Pre-Greek word.

**καρός** [gen.] only in τίω δέ μιν ἐν καρὸς αἴση (I 378), indicating something useless. <?>

•ETYM The word καρμοίρους also perhaps belongs here, explained by H. in two ways: τοὺς ἐν μηδεμῇ μοίρα, ἢ μισθοφόρους 'serving for wages'. Most often interpreted as "(cut off) piece, futile" and connected with κείρω, but perhaps rather from κάρ 'louse' (H.), which acc. to Frisk would be more visual and expressive. Moreover, we cannot obtain καρ- from the root of κείρω, which did not have a laryngeal.

**καρόω 1, -όομαι** [v.] 'to plunge into a deep sleep, stupefy, anesthetize' (Hp., Antipho Soph., Arist.), med. 'to be stupefied'. <?>

•COMP Also with ὑπο-.

•DER κάρωσις 'heaviness in the head, drowsiness' (Hp.), κάρωτικός 'stupefying' (Arist., Gal.), καρώδης 'id., drowsy, soporific' (Hp.; on the formation cf. ὑπνώδης and the verbal derivations in -ώδης in Chantraine 1933: 431); κάρωτίδες (ἀρτηρίαί) [pl.] 'carotid arteries' (medic.), also sg.; deverbal κάρος [n.] 'torpor, drowsiness' (Arist., Phld., A. R.), cf. καρός· κωφός, οἱ δὲ σκοτόδιнос 'deaf, numb; dizzy' (H.).

•ETYM The word is often taken as a denominative of κάρα, κάρη 'head': "to have a heavy head", like καρῆβαρέω. This is doubtful. The verb was originally intransitive, and later joined the class of factitives in -όω. Cf. κάρωθεις· τὴν κεφαλὴν σεισθεις, μεθυσθεις ἢ βαρηθεις 'shaken in the head, drunk or heavy' (H.).

**καρόω 2** [v.] 'to estimate'. <?>

•VAR Only ptc. aor. καρούσαντες (*IG* 9(2), 1229: 25 [Thessal. II<sup>a</sup>]) and καρούσθαι· ὠνεῖσθαι 'to buy', καρούμενος· ὠνησάμενος 'bought' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. Cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 206f.

**καρπαία** [f.] name of a mimetic dance in arms of the Thessalians (X. *An.* 6, 1, 7, Ath. 1, 15f.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Also καρρία· εἶδος ὀρχήσεως 'kind of dance' and κάρπεα· ὀρχησις Μακεδονική 'Macedonian dance' (H.).

•ETYM The description of the dance in Ath. l.c. (and in Max. Tyr. 28, 4 without mention of the name) does not allow a comparison with καρπός 'fruit' or with καρπός 'root of the hand'. The variation -αα / -εα / -ια points to substrate origin; see *Pre-Greek*: Suffixes: -αι- / -ε(ι)-.

**καρπάλιμος** [adj.] 'swift, eager' (Il., *h. Merc.* 225, Ar. *Th.* 957 [lyr.], A. R.), epithet of πόδες, of γένυες (Pi. *P.* 12, 20). <PG>

•VAR Adv. καρπαλίμως (Il.).

•ETYM On the formation, see Arbenz 1933: 28f. The etymology is unknown. Schrader KZ 30 (1890): 473 connected it with καρπός 'root of the hand' as "handy", with further connection to OHG *hwerban* 'turn', etc.; see ►καρπός 2. Solmsen KZ 30 (1890): 602 does not connect it with καρπός and starts directly from the meaning 'to turn'. Others recognize the base form in κάλπη 'trot' (with dissimilation of λ - λ to ρ - λ). A first syllable καρπ- can hardly be of IE origin.

**κάρπασον** [n.] name of a plant with poisonous sap: 'white hellebore, Veratrum album' (med., Orph.). <PG(V)>

•DIAL Myc. women's names *Ka-pa-si-ja*, *Ka-pa-ti-ja*.

•COMP ὄπο-κάρπασον (Dsc.; Lat. *opocarpathon*) = ὀπός καρπάσου 'sap of the κ.' (= Lat. *sucus carpathi*, Plin.), after ὄπο-βάλασμον; ξυλο-κάρπασον (Gal.) after ξυλο-βάλασμον (Risch IF 59 (1949): 287).

•ETYM Lat. *carpathum* with *th* instead of -σ- points to foreign (Mediterranean) origin. Both forms already existed in Mycenaean. A form with dental is found also in the name of the island Κάρπαθος, which was named after the plant (Bogiatzides *Ἀθηνᾶ* 29 (1917): 72ff.); the TN Καρπασία (Cyprus) also belongs here. The *s*-form also entered Latin (*carpasum*, *carbasa*). Derivation from καρπός (Brugmann *Sächs. Ber.* 51 (1899): 185) is not feasible. The variation θ/σ is typical for Pre-Greek and points to a palatalized phoneme -θ-.

**κάρπασος** [f.] 'a kind of fine flax' (D. H. 2, 68, sch. Ar. *Lys.* 736), 'cotton' (*Peripl. M. Rubri* 41). <LW Ind.>

•VAR Also -α [n.pl.] 'sails from linen' (AP 9, 415, 6; after ἰστία). Also κάλπασος (pap.).

•COMP ψευδο-κάρπασος [m.] = ►κάχρυ (Ps.-Dsc.; s.v.).

•DER καρπάσιον 'Spanish flax' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>), καρπάσινος 'made of κ.' (LXX, Str., D. H.) = Lat. *carbasinus*. λίνον Καρπάσιον 'from K. on Cyprus' (Paus. 1, 26, 7).

•ETYM Reminiscent of Skt. *karpāsa-* [m.] 'cotton bush', but the exact relation is unknown. The word κάρπασος is usually thought to be a loan from Indic (cf. also Mayrhofer *EWAla* s.v.), but acc. to Porzig *ZII* 5 (1927): 272ff., the origin is a Mediterranean or Anatolian language. Lat. *carbasus*, -a was borrowed from κάρπασος, -α (either directly or indirectly); see WH and Fohalle 1925: 172-175. There is no connection with the plant κάρπασον. On 'cotton', see also ►βαμβάκιος.

**καρπήσιον** [n.] name of an aromatic plant from Anatolia, 'Valeriana Dioscoridis' (Gal., Alex. Trall.). <PG?>

•VAR καρπησία = κάρπασος (Paul. Aeg.; not -ον as given by Frisk).

•ETYM On the meaning, see Thiselton-Dyer *Journal of Phil.* 34 (1915): 310f.; on the ending -ήσιος, see Chantraine 1933: 41f. The etymology is unknown. Fur.: 349 compares κέρπαθος (Uran. 12), a kind of incense. The word can hardly be IE; thus, probably Pre-Greek.

**καρπός 1** [m.] 'fruit, fruits of the earth, corn, yields' (Il.). <EUR>

•DIAL Myc. *ka-po* /*karpōs*/.

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. καρπο-φόρος, ἄ-καρπος.

•DER Diminutive καρπίον (Thphr., pap.); adjectives: κάρπιμος 'giving fruit' (trag., com., Hell.; cf. Arbenz 1933: 45 and 47), καρπώδης 'rich in fruits' (imperial period). Denominative verbs: 1. καρπόομαι 'to reap fruits, exploit' (IA), -όω 'to offer, produce fruit' = 'to bring (burnt) sacrifices' (A., LXX) together with κάρπωμα 'fruit, sacrifice' and κάρπωσις 'use, profit, sacrifice', καρπώσιμος (Hermipp. Hist.); cf. Bechtel 1921(1): 449 and 1921(2): 550. 2. καρπίζομαι (-ίζω Paros; Hell. inscr.) 'to reap fruits' (E., Hell.), -ίζω 'to fertilize' (E. [lyr.]); καρπισμός 'yields' (Arist., Thphr.). 3. καρπεύω, -εύομαι 'to reap fruits' (Hyp., Hell.) with καρπεία 'profit, income', καρπεῖον 'id.', also = καρπός.

•ETYM Commonly compared with the root \**kerp-* of Lat. *carpō* 'to pluck (off)', Lith. *kerpū* 'to cut with scissors', Hitt. *karp(ije)-zi* 'to take away, lift, pluck', which would imply that καρπός originally meant 'what is plucked or reaped'. Another comparandum is the Germanic word for 'autumn', e.g. OHG *herbist* (\**karp-isto*- "best time to pluck"). However, the assumption is that the α in καρπός may represent vocalic \**ɣ*. Yet, in classical Greek, \**ɣ* would normally have given -ρα-, and the Mycenaean form proves that there was no \**ɣ* in Proto-Greek, as its normal reflex between two stops is Myc. /-or-/ (see García Ramón *Minos* 19 (1985): 195-226). This has led to the assumption that PGr. \**karp-* is a secondary zero grade, but this seems unlikely. DELG posits an "a populaire", which means that the word is a loan, perhaps from a European substrate? The connection with ►κρώπιον is probably wrong (the word is Pre-Greek).

**καρπός 2** [m.] 'wrist' (Il.). <?>

•COMP As a first member in καρπό-δεσμον, -δεσμος, -δέσμιον 'bracelet' (pap., Luc.), hypostasis ὑπο-κάρπιος 'under the wrist' (Aristaenet.).

•DER καρπωτός 'reaching to the wrist' (LXX); καρπίζομαι [v.] 'to be taken by the hand', i.e. as a sign of manumission, ἐπὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ = 'adseror in libertatem' (gloss.); καρπιστής 'emancipator' (Arr.), καρπισμός, -ιστία 'vindictae' (gloss.).

•ETYM Has been connected with a Germanic verb for 'turn, etc.', e.g. Go. *hwaiban*, OHG *hwerban*, *hwerfan* 'to turn (intr.), whirl' (see on ►καρπάλιμος). In this case, the basic form would be \**k<sup>w</sup>ɾpo-*, from an IE root \**k<sup>w</sup>erp-* 'to turn' (cf. Schwyzler: 302 for the dissimilation \**k<sup>w</sup>-p* > *k-p*). However, the fact that the verb is limited to Germanic makes the connection uncertain. Michler *Herm.* 94 (1966): 314-319 assumes that it is the same word as καρπός 'fruit'; see the remarks in Frisk *Suppl.* s.v.

**κάρρον** [n.] 'wagon with four wheels, car' (LXX, pap., *Edict. Diocl.*). <LW Lat.>

•VAR Also -ος (*Ed. Diocl.*).

•COMP As a first member in καρρο-πιγός, -ποιός (gloss.).

•DER Diminutive καρρίον (gloss.) and καρρικὸς γόμος 'load of a wagon' (Palmyra IP).

•ETYM From Lat. *carrus* (the Greek gender is after ἄρμα; late Lat. also -um), which itself comes from Celtic. Further details in WH s.v. *carrus*.

**κάρσιον** [adj.] · πλάγιον 'sideways' (H.). <GR>

•VAR Also -ίως (Suid.).

•ETYM Taken from ἐγ-, ▶ ἐπικάρσιος.

**κάρτα** [adv.] 'strongly, very' (Ion., trag.). <GR>

•ETYM From \*καρτύς = κρατύς (cf. καρτερός, κάρτιστος); see on ▶ κράτος. On the ending -α, see Schwyzler: 622f.; on the ablaut type, see Ruijgh 1980: 189-198.

**καρτάζωνος** [m.] Indian word for the rhinoceros (Ael, N.A. 16, 20). <LW Iran.>

•ETYM To be corrected to \*καργάζωνος; cf. MoP *karyadān*. See Benveniste 1929: 371-376.

**καρταῖπος** [n.] 'larger cattle, beasts' (Gortyn). <GR>

•VAR Plur. καρταί-ποδα (Gortyn) like τετρά-ποδα (sing. τετράπος Gortyn).

•ETYM Innovation of msc. \*καρταί-πως for καρταί-πους (Pi.) = κραταί-πους 'with strong feet' (Hom. *Epigr.*). It also bears a short form, κάρτην (for -ταν)- τὴν βοῦν. Κρήτες (H.); see Bechtel 1921, 2: 787, Fraenkel *Glotta* 35 (1956): 86ff., and Fraenkel 1956a: 101; however, the gloss is probably corrupt (see Latte s.v. and p. 815).

**κάρταλλος** [m.] 'basket with pointed bottom' (LXX, Hell., Ph., H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Rarely -αλος.

•DER Diminutive καρτάλλιον (Hell.).

•ETYM Technical or popular word in -αλλος (cf. Chantraine 1933: 245ff.), which was formerly connected with a root \*k(e)rt- 'turn' (Pok. 584), "aber im einzelnen dunkel" (Frisk). It was also supposed in ▶ κύρτος. However, the variant with single -λ- rather points to a Pre-Greek word, and this would not be surprising, given the meaning. DELG and Fur.: 352 suggest to connect καρταλάμιον and κερτύλλιον.

**καρτός** [adj.] 'cut', epithet of πρᾶσον 'onion', κρόμμυον 'garlic'; τὸ καρτόν 'chive' (Dsc., Gal., *Gp.*); also of clothes, perhaps 'finely cut' (*IG* 2<sup>2</sup>, 1514: 39f.; of χλανίς, χλανίσκιον). <GR>

•VAR καρτοί· κεκουρευμένοι 'who have had the hair cut' (H.).

•ETYM Zero grad verbal adjective of ▶ κείρω. For the connection with onion, cf. MoHG *Schnittlauch* 'chive' from *schneiden* 'to cut', and *Knoblauch* 'garlic', from OHG *klobo-louh*, related to OE *clufu* 'onion' and OHG *klioban* 'to split'; cf. also Lat. *sectile porrum* 'chive'. The vocalization καρτ- is analogical after the full grade κερ-.

**κάρῥκη** [f.] name of a Lydian 'soup of blood and spices' (Pherecr., Ath., Plu., Hdn.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also -ύκη.

•COMP As a first member in καρυκο-ειδής (Hp.), -ποιέω (Ar.).

•DER καρύκινος 'κ.-colored', i.e. 'dark red' (X.); denominative verbs: 1. καρυκεύω 'to provide with κ., prepare' (Alex., Men.), also 'to mix, confound' (Erot., H.), with καρυκεία (Ath.), καρύκευμα (Poll., comm. Arist.); 2. καρυκάζειν· ταραττειν 'to agitate' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Frisk suggested Lydian origin; but the variation points to a Pre-Greek (= Pre-Antolian) word; see Fur.150<sup>38</sup>. The structure καρ-υκ- fits the picture of Pre-Greek (see *Pre-Greek: Suffixes*).

**κάρυον** [n.] 'nut' (Epich., Ar., Thphr.). <PG(V)>

•COMP καρυο-ναύτης 'who sails in a nut' (Lyc.); καρυό-φυλλον 'dried flower-bud of the clove, *Eugenia caryophyllata*' (medic.), acc. to Maidhof *Glotta* 10 (1920): 11 folk-etymological adaptation of a loan (Skt. *kaṭuka-phala*).

•DER 1. καρύα [f.] 'walnut-tree', especially 'hazel, *Corylus avellana*' (S., LXX, Thphr., etc.; on the gender Schwyzler 1950: 30). 2. Diminutives: καρύδιον (Philyll. 19) with καρυδῶν 'castrate', καρυδῶσις (Hippiatr.); καρυῖσκος (LXX). 3. Adjectives: καρύϊνος 'of nuts, nut-brown, etc.', -ώδης, -ηρός 'nut-like' (Hell.); καρυωτός 'with nut-like hump or fruit' (= 'date-tree'), καρυώτις [f.] 'kind of date' (Hell.); substantive καρυῖτης 'kind of Euphorbia' (Dsc.; Strömberg 1940: 53, Redard 1949: 72). 4. Adverb: καρυηδόν 'like nuts' (medic.). 5. Verb: καρυατίζω 'play with nuts' (Ph.; after the verbs in -ατίζω). A lengthened plural form in καρυήματα· κάρυα. Λάκωνες 'nut (Lacon.)' (H.; after τραγήματα et al.; Chantraine 1933: 178).

•ETYM Several words have been compared, but they all differ from κάρυον and from one another: Lat. *carīna* 'ship's keel' (since Enn. and Plaut.), 'shell of a nut' (Plin.); Skt. *karaka*- [m.] '(shell of the) coconut' (lex.), 'jar for water'. For Lat. *carīna*, a Greek loan (from καρύϊνος = \*'like a nut-shell' > 'ship's keel?') has been supposed (WH s.v.); for *karaka*-, the priority of the meaning 'coconut' beside 'water-jar' is doubted by Mayrhofer *EWAia* 3: 59 (later form).

Beside κάρυον, we find ἄρυα· τὰ Ἡρακλεωτικὰ κάρυα (H.), which points to a Pre-Greek word (interchange κ-/ zero; Fur.: 391). The connection with a group \*kar-'hard' (Pok. 531f.) is completely hypothetical.

**κάρφω** [v.] 'to dry up, wither, wrinkle' (Od.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Aor. κάρψαι, fut. κάρψω.

•COMP Also with κατα-, ὑπο-.

•DER 1. κάρφος [n.] 'arid stalk, twig, halm, hay' (IA); diminutive καρφίον (Dsc.), καρφηρός 'consisting of arid stalks' (E. *Ion* 172; cf. αὐχηρός, αὐστηρός et al., Chantraine 1933: 232f.), καρφίτης 'id.' (AP), καρφώδης 'full of κ.' (gloss.), καρφεῖα [n.pl.] = κάρφη [pl.] (Nic. *Al*. 118); καρφόμαι (AP) = καρφύνεσθαι· ξηραίνεσθαι, φθείρεσθαι 'to dry up, perish' (H.); see Fraenkel 1906: 294. 2. κάρφη [f.] 'hay' (X., Arr.). 3. καρφαλέος 'arid' (Il.), like αὐαλέος; perhaps from κάρφος, cf. Chantraine 1933: 253f. 4. κατακαρφής 'withered' (Nic. *Fr*. 70, 9).

•ETYM There is no correspondence in the other IE languages to a zero grade thematic root present κάρφω (does κάρφος stand for older \*κέρφος?). A widespread group in Balto-Slavic and Germanic has been adduced, e.g. Ru. *koróbit* 'to curve, bend', refl.



'to writhe', beside which (with anlauting *s-*) *skórbnut* 'to writhe', Lith. *skrèbti*, 1sg. *skrembù* 'to get a thin crust, get stiff', MoIc. *herpa-st* 'to draw together convulsively', ON *skorpna* 'writhe, wither', etc., from a root IE (*s*)*kerb<sup>h</sup>-*, (*s*)*kreb<sup>h</sup>-* (Pok. 948f.). Within Greek, we also find the glosses κορφῶς· ἐλαφρῶς 'light, small' and κέρβαλα· ἀσθενή 'weak' (H.). The problem with this Indo-European etymology is the consistent *α*-vocalism of the Greek words. The comments by Frisk are illustrative ("Die expressive Wortgruppe hat offenbar lautliche Entgleisungen und Verschränkungen erlitten"), as are those of DELG ("Les rapprochements proposés par les étymologistes ne donnent satisfaction ni pour la forme ni pour le sens"). It seems, then, that the word is non-IE and it may well be Pre-Greek. In this context, note the vocalism of κορφῶς.

**καρχαλέος** [adj.] 'arid, scorching, biting, sharp' (Φ 541 [v.l. καρφ-], Nic. Th. 691 [v.l. καρφ-], A. R.). <?>

•ETYM A cross of κάρχαρος and καρφαλέος? DELG remarks that the oldest sources attest to the sense 'arid', which could mean that the readings with -φ- are to be preferred. See ▶ κάρφω, ▶ κάρχαρος.

**κάρχαρος** [adj.] 'biting, sharp, raw' (Alcm. 140, Lyc., Opp.). <PG(V)>

•VAR With reshaped ending καρχαρέος (EM).

•COMP καρχαρόδων (-ους), -οντος 'with sharp teeth' (Il., Hes., Ar., Arist., Thphr.; cf. Sommer 1948: 93).

•DER καρχαρίας [m.] 'kind of shark' (Pl. Com., Sophr.; cf. Thompson 1947 s.v., Strömberg 1943: 45).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic reduplicated formation (Schwyzer: 423; cf. Tichy 1983: 174<sup>20</sup>), which has been compared with Skt. *khara-* 'hard, raw, sharp', MoP *xār(ā)* 'rock, thorn'; however, Skt. *kh-* does not correspond to Gr. -χ-. Acc. to Leumann 1950: 156, κάρχαρος was taken from Hom. καρχαρόδοντες. An unaspirated form appears in ▶ κάρκαροι · τραχείς καὶ δέσμοι (H.).

Blanc REGr. 107 (1994): 686-693 thinks that the word is connected with χάραξ 'pointed pole' and χαράσσω 'to sharpen, engrave, etc.'. Fur.: 130 rejects the IE comparison (see Mayrhofer EWAia 3: 139). The comparison with κάρκαροι rather points to Pre-Greek origin; Fur. refers to Urart. *harhar* 'heap of stones', Arm. *karkaṛ* 'slippery rock'.

**καρχήσιον** [n.] 'a drinking vessel which is narrower in the middle', metaph. 'masthead, top', also 'cage or chamber in a torsion engine' (Sapph., Pi., IA). <PG?>

•VAR -άσιον (Pi.).

•DER καρχήσιος [m.] 'halliard of a ship, rope in general' (Gal.).

•ETYM Foreign word of unknown origin; cf. Schwyzer: 470, Chantraine 1928: 3, and Hermann Gött. Nachr. (1943): 1f. Borrowed as Lat. *carchesium* (see Friedmann 1937: 20ff.), whence Sp. *carquesia*, Ital. *calcese* > MoFr. *calcet*. The word could be Pre-Greek.

**καρώ** [f.] 'cumin, Carum carvi' (Dsc., Gal., Orib.). <PG?>

•DER καρωτόν [n.] 'carrot' (Ath. 9, 371e? Uncertain); Lat. *carota* (Apic.).

•ETYM A-form of the word κάρον. Derived from κάρη 'head', like κεφαλωτόν 'kind of onion' from κεφαλή, by Frisk. However, the form in -ώ seems Pre-Greek.

-κάς adverbial suffix. ⇒ ἐκάς.

**κασαλβάς, -άδος** [f.] 'strumpet' (Ar.). <PG(V)>

•VAR κασσαβάς (EM).

•DER κασάλβιον 'brothel' (sch. Ar. Eq. 1825 v.l.), κασαλβάζω (Ar., Hermipp. Com.). Also κασωρίς with κασωρεύω (Lyc.) and κασωρίτις 'id.' (Hippon., Antiph.), κασώριον (Ar. Eq. 1285) = κασωρικός δόμιος (uncertain conj. in Hippon. 74); κασαύρα· κασωρίς, πόρνη 'strumpet, prostitute', also κασαυράς, with κασαυρεῖα [pl.] (H.). Short form κάσσα (Lyc.).

•ETYM Vulgar words. There seems no reason whatsoever to connect it with κασᾶς 'blanket'. The form κασ-ωρ- continues κασ-αυρ- (a well known development in Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 301<sup>32</sup>). In turn, the form κασαυρ- may continue κασαβ-, with β varying with υ, φ. The relation between κασαλβ- and κασαβ- is unclear; Fur.: 305f. thinks that the λ is secondary, but he gives only little evidence. I am inclined to think that the λ is old, and suggest that κασαλβ- originates from \*kasal<sup>w</sup>-, with a labialized phoneme l<sup>w</sup> that may easily have become w > b.

**κασᾶς** [m.] 'horse-cloth' (Agatharch., X. Cyr.). <LW Orient.>

•VAR Acc. -ᾶν, acc.du. -ᾶ. Also κασῆς (PTeb.), also κάσσος (Hdn. 1, 208), acc. to H. ἱμάτιον παχὺ καὶ τραχύ, περιβόλαιον 'thick and coarse cloth, covering cloth', and κάς ... δέρμα 'skin' (H., PLond. 2, 402 V 5).

•COMP As a first member in κασ(σ)ο-ποιός (pap., Ostr.).

•DER κασωτός epithet of ἐσθῆς (Diog. Oen.).

•ETYM An oriental loanword; cf. Hebr. *kissē* and *k'sūt*, properly 'cover, overgarment' (Cuny MSL 19 (1915-16): 193f. and Nyberg in Björck 1950: 295). Borrowed from Greek as Lat. *casula*; see Kramer AfP 45 (1999): 192-204 and Kramer AfP 46 (2000): 62-64.

**κασία** [f.] 'cassia, Cinnamomum iners', a kind of cinnamon (Sapph., Melanipp., Hdt., Thphr.). <LW Orient.>

•VAR Ion. -ίη (rarely -σσ-).

•DER κασιίζω 'to smell or taste cassia' (Dsc.).

•ETYM An oriental loanword; cf. Hebr. *q'sī'āh*, Assy. *kasīa*. Originally Austro-Asiatic (Kretschmer Glotta 27 (1939): 250 after Gonda). Cf. E. Masson 1967: 48f. and Welles 1934: 342.

**κασίγνητος** [m.] 'brother (of the same mother)' (Il.). <IE \*kmt-i- + \*ǵnh<sub>1</sub>-to- 'born together'>

•VAR κασιγνήτη [f.] 'sister, cousin' also Corc., Cypr., Lesb. (cf. Bowra JHS 54 (1934): 65), Thess. κατίγνητος [m.].

•COMP αὐτο-κασίγνητος (Il.), -ήτη (κ 137), πατρο-κασίγνητος, -ήτη 'uncle, aunt' (Hom.), ματρο-κασιγνήται [pl.] 'uterine sister' (A. Eu. 962); συγ-κασιγνήτη ('own sister' (E. IT 800).

•DER Short form (see below) κάσις, -ιος [m., f.] 'id.' (trag., Call., Nic.), σύγ-κάσις '(own) sister' (E. Alc. 410 [Iyr.]). Also κάσιοι (for -ιες?)· οἱ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγέλης ἀδελφοί τε καὶ ἀνεψιοί. καὶ ἐπὶ θηλειῶν οὕτως ἔλεγον Λάκωνες 'brothers and cousins who are from the same band; the Laconians also say it in the case of females' (H.); cf. Leumann 1950: 307, where κάσις, κασίγνητος are questionably taken from poetical language. Unclear are κασεν (Lacon. *Knabeninschr.*; see Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 270ff., Schwyzer: 625<sup>5</sup> [for καθ' ἑν?]) and καινίτα· ἀδελφῇ, καινίτας· ἀδελφούς καὶ ἀδελφάς (H.), perhaps Cyprian < κασιγνητ- (with itacism)? See von Blumenthal 1930: 22.

•ETYM From *\*\*kmti-ḡnh-,to-*, so 'born together', i.e. from the same mother. On κασι- < \*κατι-, see on ► καί. See Ruijgh 1957: 137f and Beekes 1969: 219f.

**κασκάνδιξ** [?]· ἡ γηθουλῖς 'kind of onion' (H.). ◀PG(S)▶

•ETYM It has been connected with σκάνδιξ, -ῖκος 'chervil', σκάνδυξ, -ῦκος (v.l. Dsc. 2, 138), assuming reduplication and dissimilation of σκ - σκ (Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 1: 856, Schwyzer: 260). The word is Pre-Greek, in view of the *a*-vocalism and the suffixation.

**κασκός** [m.]· ὁ μικρὸς δάκτυλος 'small finger' (H.). ◀?▶

•VAR Also κακκός 'id.' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown.

**κάσμορος**· δύστηνος 'unhappy' (H.). ⇒ κάμμορος.

**Κασσάνδρα** [f.] daughter of Priamos (Il.). ◀IE *\*(s)kend-* 'raise', *\*keNs-* 'order'▶

•DIAL Ion. -η. Also Κασάνδρα (first syllable always long), Κεσάνδρα (Cor., Tarent. vases.), Κατάνδρα (Att. amphora). On the forms Sommer 1948: 189f. Cf. also Myc. *ke-sa-do-ro* /Kessandros/, *ke-sa-da-ra* /Kessandra/.

•ETYM Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 8 (1957): 272-274 suggested derivation from a root κασ- in κέκασμαι. DELG *Supp.* suggests to connect the Myc. PN *ke-sa-me-no* and the root *\*keNs-*.

García Ramón 1992a follows Heubeck in connecting κέκασμαι, but reconstructs a root *\*(s)kend-* for this form. The name would be a Motionsbildung to *Kassandros*, which is then a *τερψίμβροτος* compound, i.e. *\*knd-ti-*, which we find in *Καστι-άνειρα* and *Κασσ-άνορ*, the group *-ti-* yielding *-σσ-*. The Myc. PNs in /Kess-/ , on the contrary, would be derived from the root *\*keNs-*, and are not cognate.

**κασσίτερος** [m.] 'tin' (Il.). ◀PG▶

•VAR Att. καττίτερος.

•COMP As a first member in κασιτερο-ποιός 'tinner' (Ptol.).

•DER κασιτερίνος (καττι-) 'made of tin' (Att. inscr., Arist.); Κασσιτερίδες νῆσοι 'the tin-islands', probably South-West of Britain (Hdt. 3, 115, Str.); κασιτερᾶς [m.] 'tinner' (pap.); κασιτερώ 'tin' (Dsc.).

•ETYM Elamite origin has been suggested, from *\*kassi-ti-ra* 'coming from the land of the Kassi' (whence Κασσίτιρα island in the Indian Ocean [Dion. *apud* St. Byz.]?). Further, Celtic names like *Cassi-velaunus* were also connected, with the Κασσιτερίδες νῆσοι giving their name to the metal (cf. e.g. Κύπρος: *copper*), or vice

versa. More recently, Freeman *Glotta* 75 (1997): 222-225 pleaded for Near Eastern origin, referring to Κασσίτερα in Steph. Byz.

The Greek word spread widely: Lat. *cassiterum* (after *ferrum*, *aurum* et al.), OCS *kositero*, Skt. *kastira-*, Arab. *qazdir*, etc. The group σσ / ττ is typically Pre-Greek, so the word would have come from Greece or Western Anatolia, like the word for 'lead', ► μόλυβδος.

**κασσύω** [v.] 'to stitch, sew together like a shoemaker' (Nic. Fr. 85, 6). ◀PG▶

•DIAL Att. καττώ (com., Pl.).

•COMP Also with ἐν-, ἐπι-, παρα-, συν-.

•DER κάσσυμα (Hp.), κάττυμα (com.) 'sole of a shoe', καττός [f.] 'piece of leather' (Ar. Fr. 285).

•ETYM The form καττός is not the basis (as per Kretschmer *Glotta* 1 (1909): 52f.), but rather a back-formation from καττώ. The "foreign phoneme" σσ / ττ, in combination with the *a*-vocalism, shows Pre-Greek origin.

**κάστανα** [n.pl.] 'sweet chestnuts' (Mnesith. *apud* Ath. 2, 54b, Gal. Dsc. v.l.). ◀PG?(S), LW Anat.▶

•VAR Also κάστανοι (Gal.); sing. κάστανον (Gp.), -ος (H. s.v. καρύαι), καστανίαι (Dsc.).

•COMP As a second member in βαλανο-κάστανον = βάλανος καστανικός (thus Gal.) and βολβο-κάστανον 'earth-nut' (Alex. Trall.).

•DER καστάναια, -εια [pl.] = κάστανα (Att. inscr.), καστανέη 'chestnut tree', καστανεών 'chestnut forest' (Gp.), καστανικός (Gal.; see above), καστανάικον κάρυον (Thphr.); Καστανίς αἶα land in Anatolia (Nic. Al. 271; cf. Καστανέα = πόλις Μαγνησίας EM).

•ETYM The η in καστηνοῦ (gen.) 'chestnut-tree' (Nic. Al. 269) is unclear. An Anatolian word? Except for the TN mentioned, cf. Arm. *kask* 'chestnut', *kaskeni* 'chestnut-tree'. From κάστανον, -άνεια comes Lat. *castanea* (cf. e. g. *picea*), whence OHG *chestinna*, and, via new borrowing, MoHG *Kastan(i)e*. Further, see WH s.v. *castanea*. Fur.: 389 has a variation κ / τ, but there is no Pre-Greek material for this (the *k* in Armenian may be due to assimilation). The variation -αα / -εια may, however, be a Pre-Greek feature (Pre-Greek: Suffixes 6. -αι/-ε(ι)-).

**κάστον** [n.]?· ξύλον. Ἀθαμᾶνες 'timber (Athamanian)' (H.). ◀PG?▶

•ETYM Fur.: 164 compares ἄκαστον· ἡ σφενδαμνος 'maple', noting that the hard wood of this tree is excellent for building; he further compares κόστον 'wooden part of a carrier' (343). Several other proposals can be found in Frisk.

**κάστωρ, -ορος** [m.] 'beaver' (Hdt., Hp., Arist.). ◀?▶

•DER καστόρ(ε)ιος 'belonging to the beaver' (Pi., X., Dsc.), καστόρ(ε)ιον [n.] 'castor (= Bibergeil)' (pap., Plu.); καστορίδες [f.pl.] 'Laconian race of dogs, initially elevated by Castor' (AP, Poll.), 'beaver' (Opp., Ael.); καστορίζω 'to be like castor' (Dsc., Vett. Val.).

•ETYM Since Kretschmer 1909:121-3, it has been assumed that the name Κάστωρ, who was known as σωτήρ of women, was transferred to the beaver, presumably because

of the medicinal effect of castor for women's diseases. This idea has been uncritically taken over, and in fact Kretschmer gives no specific argument. Gantz 1993: 323-328, who discusses the Dioskouroi rather extensively, mentions nothing about a relation with the beaver, so Kretschmer's idea should be abandoned.

Schrader-Nehring 1917: 138 point out that the animal no longer existed in Greece; the word would be foreign. It is first mentioned in Hdt. 4, 109 in the North Pontic area, which is close to the supposed homeland of the Indo-Europeans, so the word could in principle be inherited. A Pre-Greek word for 'beaver' may have been λάταξ.

κάστωρ was borrowed by Latin, and thence it spread to the other European languages. From καστόρ(ε)ιον comes Skt. *kastūri* [f.] 'musk'.

**κασύτας** [?] · Συριακὸν βοτάνιον 'Syriac plant' (H.). <LW Sem.??>

•VAR Also καδύτας (Thphr. CP 2, 17, 3) 'Cassyta filiformis'.

•ETYM From Arab. *kašūth*; cf. Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 19. Fur.: 256 remarks that the assimilation to -συ- does not prove anything, and that the plant probably came from Anatolia.

**κασωρίς** = κασαλβάς.

**κάτα** [adv., prep.] 'down(wards), against, along, through, over, across, concerning' (Il.). <IE \**kmt-* 'down, with, along'>

•VAR As a prep. with gen. and acc.

•DER Also καται- in καται-βαταί (v 110), καται-βάτης epithet of Zeus, etc. (Thera, Melos, Thasos, trag.); cf. ▶ καταιτυξ.

•ETYM Identical with Hitt. *kattan* [adv.] 'below, underneath', *katta* [postpos.] 'along with' (for further distinction in Old Hittite, see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.); the old Celtic word for 'with', e.g. OW *cant*, OIr. *cét-*, may belong here, too. The IE base form is then \**kmt-*, possibly with further connection to IE \**kom* in Lat. *cum*, etc. (see ▶ κοινός). The by-forms καται- and Arc. κατύ are best explained as analogical after παραί and ἀπύ.

**καταδίχιον** [n.] name of a vase (IG 14, 427: I, 15, Tauromenion). <GR>

•ETYM Hypercorrect form of \*καδίχιον. See ▶ κάδος.

**καταίτυξ, -υγος** [f.] name of a leather helmet without φάλος or λόφος (K 258). <?>

•ETYM Formally reminiscent of ▶ ἀντυξ. The explanation by the sch. παρὰ τὸ κάτω τετύχθαι· λόφον γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει is useless, as it is clearly constructed from the text; see Trümpy 1950: 45. A loan, acc. to Bechtel 1914 s.v.; Semitic connection proposed by Lewy KZ 55 (1928): 29f., unconvincing according to Frisk.

**κατ' ἄκρας**

•VAR Ion. κατ' ἄκρης.

•ETYM See ▶ ἄκρος; on κατ' ἄκρηθεν, see ▶ κάρᾱ.

**καταρράκτης** [m.] 'down-swooping, sheer, waterfall, portcullis, movable bridge, sluice'; also name of a bird, 'cormorant' (Hdt., S., Ar.). <GR>

•VAR Ion. -ρρήκτης.

•ETYM From κατα-ρράττω, -ρρήσσω; see on ▶ ῥᾶσσω.

**κατασκενε** [v.subj.] 'he kills' (SGDI 4998: 1, 14f., Gortyn). <GR>

•ETYM Equivalent to Att. κατα-κτείνη, with a special phonetic development of the consonant group κτ- (Schwyzer: 325f., Strunk 1967: 99).

**κατενώπα** •VAR κατένωπα. = ἐνώπα.

**κατήλιψ, -ιφος** [f.] mg. unknown, perhaps 'ladder, roof-beam, upper story' (Ar. *Ra.* 566); = ἰκρίωμα 'scaffold' (H.). <?>

•ETYM For the formation, αἰγίλιψ, ἄλιψ have been compared; further unexplained.

**κατηφής** [adj.] 'with downcast eyes, ashamed, sad' (ω 432, Hp., E.). <GR>

•DER κατήφεια, epic Ion. -εῖη 'being downcast, etc.' (Il., Th.). κατηφέω (E., Arist.), aor. -ῆσαι 'to be downcast, be ashamed, etc.' (Il.); is κατηφής a back-formation? By-forms: κατηφόνες = κατηφέες (Ω 253; see Schwyzer: 487, Chantraine 1933: 160); κατηφιᾶω = κατηφέω (A. R., AP, Plu.), after the verbs in -ιᾶω.

•ETYM Uncertain. Acc. to Schwyzer 1908: 247ff., it is from ἀφή, ἄπτω as 'having the view downwards'; to the contrary, Kretschmer *Glotta* 5 (1914): 309. Blanc 1988: 33-48 (see DELG *Supp.*) connects the group of θάμβος, etc., and assumes \*κατα-τηφής 'completely stupefied'; one would rather expect \*-θητης, however.

**κατιάς, -άδος** 'surgical lancet' (Heliod. *apud* Orib. 44, 14, 4). <GR>

•DER κατιάδιον (Aret., C. D. 1, 2).

•ETYM Probably from καθίημι 'to let down (into)'; the psilosis does not surprise in Ionic.

**κατούλᾱ** [f.] juridical term of unclear mg. <?>

•DER κατουλέω.

•ETYM Cf. ἐξουλή (Schwyzer: 668).

**κατουλάς, -άδος** [adj.] epithet of the night (S. fr. 433, A. R. 4, 1695). <GR>

•ETYM From κατειλέω. Connected with ὀλοή by A. R. (folk etymology).

**κατρεύς, -έως** [m.] name of an Indian peacock (Clitarch., Nonn.). <LW Ind.??>

•ETYM Unknown, probably Indian; for the formation, cf. ἐριθεύς, χλωρεύς, etc. (Boßhardt 1942: 20). It hardly belongs to the Cretan town name Κατρεύς, Κάτρη, as per Boßhardt op. cit. 74. Cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.

**κάττα** word for 'cat', which replaced αἴλουρος (Ar. *Pl.* 693). <?>

•VAR κάττος (sch. Call., *H. Dem.* 110a, p. 79 Pf.).

•ETYM Origin unknown, but the word is found in Latin and most other languages of Europe.

**κατώτιον** [n.] 'lifeboat' (pap.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**καναλός** · μωρολόγος 'speaking foolishly' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM Perhaps related to ▶ κόβαλος.

**καύαξ** · λάρος (H.), name of a sea-bird, perhaps 'seamew, tern' (see Thompson 1895 s.v.). <PG(S)>

•VAR καύηξ, -ηκος [m.] (Antim., Hell.), also κήξ [f.] (ο 479) and κῆϋξ [m.] (Babr., Dionys. Av.).

•ETYM Ending like in *ιέραξ*, *ῥηξ*, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 380). Has been compared with bird-names like MW *cuan* 'screech-owl' and other Celtic words, whence Lat. *cavanus* 'id.', OHG (with regular sound shift) *hūwo* 'owl'. Within Greek, one also finds forms with internal velar: *καυκαλίας*: ὄρνις ποίος 'kind of bird', *καυκάλης*: ... ὄρνις H., with which are compared Lith. *kaukys* [m.] name of a crying bird and primary verbs like Skt. *kāuti* 'cry', Lith. *kaūkti* 'to howl, moan', etc.; cf. on ► *κωκύω*. Is *καύαξ*: πανούργος 'criminal' (Suid.) a term of abuse from comedy? See Kretschmer KZ 31 (1892): 354. The word with -ακ- is probably Pre-Greek (the second velar does not belong to the root). Cf. on ► *κῶβαξ*.

**καύης** [m.] name of a priest(ess) in Sardes (Hippon. 2). ◀LW Lyd.▶

•VAR Acc. -ην [f.] (IG Rom. 4, 1755 et al.; written -ειν).

•ETYM A Lydian word; cf. Latte *Phil.* 97 (1948): 43. From Lyd. *kaveś*, acc. to Masson *Jb. f. kleinas. Forsch.* 1 (1950-51): 182-188 and O. Masson 1962: 107f.

**καυκαλίας, -ίδος** [f.] an umbelliferous plant, 'Tordylium apulum' (Thphr., Nic., Dsc., Gp.). ◀PG?▶

•VAR Also *καῦκον* (Ps.-Dsc. 2, 139) and *καυκάλης*: βοτάνη τις, ὁμοία κορίφ (cod. κωρ-) 'a plant like coriander' (H.).

•ETYM On the suffix -αλίας, see Chantraine 1933: 251f. The plant was also called *δαῦκος* ἄγριος (Dsc. 2, 139); see Strömberg 1940: 153. Further hypotheses in Nencioni *Riv. degli stud. or.* 19 (1940): 101f. Is it Pre-Greek?

**καῦκος** [m.] 'cup' (gloss.). ◀?▶

•DER Diminutive *καυκίον* (pap. VIP, AP 9, 749 in lemm., Just.). Also *καυκάλιον* 'id.' (Alex. Aphr. *Pr.* 1, 94; after *βαυκάλιον*).

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *caucum* [n.] 'id.' (*Script. hist. Aug.*), but further unknown; cf. WH s.v. Schrijver 1997: 295 compares OIr. *cuach* 'cup'.

**καυλός** [m.] 'shaft, stalk, quill of a feather' (Il.); on the botanical and anatomical mg. Strömberg 1937: 95ff. and 49. ◀IE \**keh<sub>2</sub>ulo-* 'shaft'▶

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. *μονό-καυλος* (Thphr.; Strömberg 1937: 104f.), rarely as a first member, e.g. in *καυλο-κινάρα* 'the shaft of the artichoke' (Gp.); see Strömberg 1944: 7.

•DER Diminutives: *καυλίον* (Arist.), *καυλίοςκος* (J., D. S., Dsc.); further *καυλεῖον* = *καυλός* (Nic.; after ἀγγεῖον et al.); *καυλίας* 'sap of the shaft' (Thphr.), like *ρίζιας* 'root-sap', cf. Strömberg 1937: 91, Chantraine 1933: 94f.; *καυλίνης* fish name = *χλωρός* *κωβίός* (Diph. Siph. *apud* Ath. 8, 355c), after the color, acc. to Strömberg 1943: 26; formation like *Αἰσχίνης*; further *καυλικός*, *καυλώδης* 'like a stalk' (Thphr.), *καύλινος* 'consisting of a shaft' (Luc.), *καυλωτός* 'with a stalk' (Eudem. *Phil.* IV<sup>a</sup>; like *αὐλωτός*, etc.); *καυληδόν* 'stalk by stalk' (Opp.).

Denominative verb *καυλίζομαι* 'to have a shaft' (Ar. *Fr.* 404); *δικαυλέω* 'to have two shafts', *ἐκκαυλέω* 'to grow out in one shaft' (whence *ἐκκαύλησις*, -ημα) and

*ἐκκαυλίζω* 'to remove the shaft' (Thphr.) derive from virtual \**δι-καυλος*, \**ἐκ-καυλος*, etc. (*καυλέω* only Suid.).

•ETYM Old inherited word, also found in Latin and in Baltic: Lat. *caulis* [m.] 'shaft' (secondary *i*-stem); Lith. *káulas* 'bone, cube', Latv. *kaūls* 'id.', also 'shaft', OPr. *caulan* 'bone'; OIr. *cíal* 'faggot, bundle of sticks' < \**kāulā*. Not related to Skt. *kulyā-* 'ditch, canal' and the Gm. word for 'hollow', ON *holr*, Go. *us-hulon* 'to hollow out'.

**καυνάκης** = γαυνάκης.

**καυνός** [m.] · *κακός*, *σκληρός*, *κληρός* 'bad, hard, lot' (H.); in the last mg. also Cratin. 194 and Ar. *Fr.* 660 (see Kock ad loc.). ◀?▶

•DER *διακαυνιάσαι* = *διακληρώσαι* 'to assign by lot' (Ar. *Pax* 1081).

•ETYM In the meaning *κακός*, *καυνός* has been compared with a Balto-Germanic word for 'humble, shame, etc.', e.g. Go. *hauns* 'lowly, humble', MoHG *Hohn*, Latv. *kāuns* 'shame, contumely'. However, the text of Hesychius is very uncertain; the form *σκληρός* (in this meaning taken as related to *καίω* by Schulze KZ 29 (1888): 270) looks like a dittography (with σ- from *κακός*) of the following *κληρός*. DELG splits the word in two, but this too is unclear. See Fur. 237

**καῦρος** [adj.] = *κακός* (S. *Fr.* 1059, Phot., H.). ◀?▶

•ETYM Güntert 1914: 131 assumes a cross of *παῦρος* and *καυνός* = *κακός*. Frisk thinks that a cross of *κακός* and *παῦρος* is possible. There is no support for these suggestions.

**καυσία** [f.] name of a royal felt hat among the Macedonians (Hell.; see Hoffmann 1906: 55ff.). ◀?▶

•ETYM Unexplained; a suggestion was made by Sapir *AmJPh.* 60 (1939): 464. DELG connects it with *καίω*. Fur.: 119 refers to *γαύσαπος* and *γαυσάπης*; also, Lat. gloss on *gausape*.

**καυχάομαι** [v.] 'to boast, be proud' (Pi., Sapph.). ◀?▶

•VAR Aor. *καυχήσασθαι* (*καυχάσ[α]ιτο* Sapph. *Supp.* 4, 21), fut. *καυχήσομαι*, perf. *κεκαύχημαι* (2 *Ep. Cor.* 7, 14).

•COMP Also with *ἐκ-*, *ἐν-*, *κατα-*.

•DER *καύχα* [f.] 'ostentation' (Pi. *Nem.* 9, 6; back-formation), *καῦχος* [n.] 'object of boasting' (Syria V<sup>p</sup>; back-formation); *καύχημα*, -ᾶμα 'id.' (Pi.) with *καυχηματίας* 'boaster' (Ptol., sch.) and *καυχηματικός* (sch.), *καύχησις* 'boasting' (Hell.); *καυχήμων* 'boasting' (Babr.); *καυχητής* 'boaster' with *καυχητικός*, *καυχητιάω* (sch., EM).

•ETYM There is no direct parallel in the other languages; the connections with Arm. *kausim* 'to speak' and Lith. *šaukti*, 1sg. *šaukiu* 'to cry, call loudly' cannot be substantiated. The -au- remains unexplained.

**καφώρη** = σκαφώρη.

**καχάζω** [v.] 'to laugh loudly' (IA, Theoc.). ◀IE \**kha kha* 'ha ha'▶

•VAR Also *κακχάζω*, *καγχάζω* (on the gemination and nasalization see Schwyzler: 315 and 647), aor. *καχάσαι*, fut. *καχαζῶ* (Theoc.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. *ἀνα-*, *ἐκ-*.

- DER καχασμοί [pl.] (Ar. *Nu.* 1073, v. l.), καχαδία· ἰσχνόφωνοι 'thin-voiced' (H.).
- ETYM Reduplicated sound word with comparable forms in several languages: Skt. (gramm.) *kákhati*, OCS *xoxotati*, OHG *kachazzen* 'id.', Arm. *xaxan-k'* [pl.], Lat. *cachinnus* 'resounding laughter', with *cachinnō*, -āre. Genetic relation of these forms remains uncertain. See also ►\*κηκάζω.

**καχεξία** [f.] 'bad condition of body or mind' (IA). <GR>

- DER back-formation καχέκτης [m.] 'in bad condition, ill, ill-disposed', whence καχεκτικός, -τέω, -τεύομαι (Hell.), also καχεξίς (Phld. *Rh.* 1, 36 S.; uncertain). Opposite εὐεξία with -έκτης, etc.
- ETYM A compound of κακῶς ἔχειν.

**καχεταιρίη** [f.] 'bad company' (Thgn. 1169). <GR>

- ETYM From κακοὶ ἑταῖροι 'bad companions'. Cf. Porzig 1942: 212f.

**καχλάζω** [v.] 'to splash, bubble', of water (Pi., A.). <PG(V)>

- VAR Almost only present and imperfect.
- COMP Rarely with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ὑπερ-.
- DER καχλασμός (Zos. Alch., gloss.), ἀνακάχλασις (sch.). Rare by-form κοχλάζω (PHolm. 3, 1; conj. in Plu. 2, 59of.) with κόχλασμα (H. s.v. ἀπόβρασμα, πομφόλυξ).
- ETYM Onomatopoeic word with intensive reduplication (Tichy 1983: 252f.); cf. ►παφλάζω. It has been compared with ►κάχληξ. There is no IE etymology, but the variation α/ο (κόχλασμα) is typical of Pre-Greek.

**κάχληξ, -ηκος** [m.] 'small stones, gravel in a river-bed', also collective (Th., Str., J.). <PG(V)>

- VAR Also κόχλαξ, -ἄκος (LXX); ἄχλαξ· κάχληξ (Suid.), cf. Fur. 391.
- ETYM Formation in -ηξ, like τράπηξ, νάρθηξ, et al. (cf. Björck 1950: 261f.). The word has been connected with the Germanic word for 'hail', OHG *hagal* [m.], ON *hagl* [n.], etc. However, the alternations α/ο and κ-/ zero rather point to a Pre-Greek word. Güntert 1932: 28' and Porzig *ZII* 5 (1927): 269f. are also in favor of foreign origin.

**κάχρυς** [f.] 'parched barley' (IA), 'winter-bud' (Thphr.). <PG(V)>

- VAR Gen. -υος, in Dieuch. *apud* Orib. also -υδος; acc. -υδα. Also κάχρυ [n.] 'fruit of the frankincense-tree, also the tree itself' (Hp., Thphr., Dsc.).
- COMP As a first member καχρυο-φόρος 'with winter-buds' (Thphr.), καχρυ-φόρος 'bearing κάχρυ' (Nic.; epithet of λιβανωτής).
- DER καχρυώδης 'like winter-buds' (Thphr.), καχρυόεις = καχρυφόρος (Nic.); καχρύδια [pl.] 'chaff of the κάχρυς' (Arist.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 70), καχρυδίας [m.] 'κάχρυς-like' (πυρός, Thphr.), 'made of κάχρυς' (ἄρτος, Poll.); καχρυδιάζομαι 'bud in winter' (Cat. Cod. Astr.).
- ETYM Connected with κέγγρος 'millet' since Persson 1891: 103 and 124), but the meaning of the present etymon rather points towards 'parched, dry', which suggests connection with ►κάγκανος 'arid, barren'. Genetic connection is prohibited by the -χ- of κάχρυς, but we may think of a substrate element \*ka(n)k-. Fur.: 277 points to the variant κάγγρυς (also -ύδιον, -υδίας) found in the mss. This would point to

\*ka<sup>n</sup>kru- (with prenasalization); he also connects ►κέγγρος, but see s.v and the objection above.

**κάψα** [f.]? · κίστη, θήκη 'basket, chest' (Suid., cf. Phot.). <PG(V)>

- VAR κάμψα· θήκη, γλωσσοκομείον 'chest, casket' (H.).
- DER καψάριος (inscr.), καψίον (pap.), κα(μ)ψάκης (LXX), καψάκιον (pap.), καψάκιον· γλωσσόκομον 'case' (H.), καψικός (pap.).
- ETYM DELG comments that it is a borrowing from Lat. *capsa* 'box'; however, as the latter has no etymology, it is rather a loan from Greek, where the prenasalization points to a Pre-Greek word. For the structure of the word, cf. δίψα (note the short -α).

**καυοί** [?] · οἱ τοῖχοι 'walls' (H.). <?>

- ETYM No etymology.

**κάω** 'burn'. ⇒ καίω.

**κε** [pcl.] modal particle (Aeol. Cypr.), equivalent of IA, Arc. ἄν. <IE \*ken, kn modal pcl.>

- VAR κεν (Hom.); κα (Dor.; poetic kā).
- ETYM Gr. κα is reminiscent of Ru. -ko (after the dative of personal pronouns and after the imperative), also -ka (like kā). Further, the pair κα : κε is compared with γα : γε. In this line, the final nasal in κεν has been explained as an Ionic ν ἐφέλκυστικόν. Alternatively, connection with the Skt. particle *kām* and the Slav. preposition *kā* (both from IE \*kom) may be envisaged; note the comparison *nú kam* : *νύ κεν*. The form κεν has been connected as a full grade, beside the zero grade κα < \*kē before consonant, and in Arcadian καν before vowel; κε has, in this view, been reshaped after κα (Palmer 1962: 90-92). The phrase οὐ κὰν may have been changed to οὐκ ἄν. See Forbes *Glotta* 37 (1958): 179-182 and Lee *AmJPh.* 88 (1967): 45-56.

**κεάζω** [v.] 'to split, pound, rub to pieces' (Il.). <IE \*kes- 'cut'>

- VAR Aor. κεάσ(σ)αι, pass. κεασθῆναι, perf. ptc. pass. κεκεασμένος.
- DIAL Acc. to Palmer 1963: 186-8, Myc. *ke-ke-me-na* (ko-to-na) is also related in the sense of 'divided (land)' (cf. also on ►κείμεναι).
- COMP Also with ἀμφι-, δια-.
- DER εὐκέατος 'easy to split' (ε 60, Theoc. 25, 248), κέαρνα· σίδηρα τεκτονικά 'carpenter's axe' (after σκέπαρνον); uncertain Κεάδαο [gen.] (B 847).
- ETYM The disyllabic aorist κεάσ(σ)αι (with facultative analogical -σσ-) is formed like ἐλάσ(σ)αι, πετάσ(σ)αι, etc., and has been taken to derive from a root PGr. \*kesa- < PIE \*kesh₂-; the other forms (e.g. κεάζω) are then recent creations. This supposed PGr. \*kesa- has been compared with Skt. *śasi-śyati* 'he will cut', but the value of this form is doubtful, as the root *śas-* 'to cut' is *aniṣ*. An alternative assumption would be that the άζω-present is a Greek invention, and that the other forms are based on it (thus LIV² s.v. \*kes-). Another present formation is perhaps seen in κείων (ξ 425, verse-final), if for κέων < \*κεάων (Schulze 1892: 434).

Gr. *kes-* and Skt. *śas-* show a full grade *\*kes-*, as opposed to a zero grade in Lat. *castrō*, *-āre* 'cut', where *a* is explained as an anaptyctic vowel in a sequence of four consonants (Schrijver 1991: 496).

**κεβλή** [f.] 'head' (Call. *Fr.* 140, *EM*). <IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>eb<sup>h</sup>-l-* 'head'>

•VAR Also κεβαλή (H., *EM*), Macedonian for κεφαλή.

•COMP As a first member in κεβλή-γονος 'born from the head', epithet of Ἀτρυτώνη (Euph. 108) and of the moon (Nic. *Al.* 433).

•DER κεβλήνη- ἡ ὀρίγανος 'organy' (H.), from the three buds close to each other of the Origanums (Grošelj *Razprave* 2: 42); κέβλος- κυνοκέφαλος, κήπος 'kind of monkey' (H.).

•ETYM On κεβ(α)λή, see Pisani *Rev. Int. ét. balk.* 3 (1937): 14ff., and especially Kretschmer *Glotta* 21 (1933): 162 and Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 100ff.; also, Krahe *IF* 60 (1952): 297, who assumes Illyrian origin. Acc. to Mayer *Glotta* 31 (1951): 114ff. and Mayer *Glotta* 32 (1953): 72 the Illyrian TN *Cibalae* is to be included here as well. See also Chantraine *BSL* 61 (1966): 158 and 153. See on ► κεφαλή.

**κεβλήπυρις** name of an unknown bird (Ar. *Av.* 303); also used as a nickname of Themistocles (Hermipp. *Com.* V<sup>a</sup>). <?>

•ETYM Connection with ► κεβλή and πύρ (redpoll, 'Hänfling') is not comprehensible; cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.

**κέγχρος** [m., f.] mostly plural, 'millet, grain of millet', metaph. 'spawn of fish, small ball, speck in the eye, etc.' (Hes. *Sc.* 398, *Sapph.* 5, 13 [?], *Hecat.*, *Hdt.*, *Arist.*). <?>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in κεγχο-φόρος (Str.). With metathesis or dissimilation (cf. below) κέρχνος (Anaxandr., Gal., H.); also the TN Κερχνεία?

•DER 1. κεγχρίς [f.] = κέγχρος (Hp.), also name of a bird fattened with millet, Lat. *miliarius* (Ael.; cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.). 2. κεγχρίας [m.] 'millet-like protuberances' (ἐρπηγ, Gal.) with -ιδίος 'id.' (Dsc.). 3. κεγχρίνης [m.] 'snake with millet-like spots' (Nic., Lyc.); cf. κέγχρινος below. 4. κεγχρίτης 'id.' (Aët.), -ῖτις ἰσχάς 'dried fig' (AP). 5. κεγχαμίς [f.] 'kernel of a fig' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.), after καλαμίς, σησαμίς et al.; not a foreign suffix as per Schwyzler: 494; also -ιδώδης. 6. κεγχρώματα [pl.] 'small openings on a shield, used as visors' (E. *Ph.* 1386, cf. Chantraine 1933: 186; see also on κέρχνος). 7. κεγχερών, -ώνος [m.] 'place where iron is granulated' (Docum. *apud* D. 37, 26). 8. κεγχο-ιαίος 'of the size of a millet corn' (Luc., Dsc.; Chantraine 1933: 49). 9. κέγχρινος 'made of millet' (Dsc., Gal.). 10. κεγχρώδης 'millet-like', of eruptions (Hp.), of plants (Thphr.). 11. κεγχρωτός 'with corns, drips' (pap.). 12. Κεγχεαί [pl.] TN.

•ETYM Mostly derived from reduplicated IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>er-g<sup>h</sup>r-o-* "pulverized", with old dissimilation *r - r > n - r* (or *r - n*), and further connected with χέρμα, χεράς 'pebble, gravel', etc. The word κάχρυς has also been adduced, to which MHG *grūz* 'corn of sand or grain', Lith. *grūdas* 'corn', etc. can be connected. Niedermann 1927-1928: 111ff. assumes *\*κέρχνος* (with metathesis) < *\*kerk-sno-*, connecting it to OHG *hirso* 'millet' < *\*hirhso*; this is improbable. The etymology remains unclear. See on ► κάχρυς, which is argued to be Pre-Greek. However, if κέγχρος is Pre-Greek as well,

one would also expect forms without prenasalization (*\*κεχρ-ος*), and these do not occur.

**κέγχρων, -ωνος** [m.] 'name of a wind on the river Phasis, which is described as βίαιος καὶ χαλεπὴ καὶ θερμὴ 'violent, troublesome, warm' (Hp. *Aēr.* 15). <?>

•ETYM Acc. to Pisani *RILomb.* 73 (1939-40): 496 (with von Wilamowitz), it is from κέρχνος 'hoarseness', with metathesis. Schwyzler: 487 considers foreign origin.

**κεδάσσαι** = σκεδάννυμι.

**κέδματα** [n.pl.] (Hp.); acc. to Gal., Erot. and H. = αἱ χρονιώτεροι διαθέσεις νοσώδεις περὶ τὰ ἄρθρα 'chronical limb-diseases'. <?>

•DER κεδματώδης (Hp. *apud* Erot.; uncertain).

•ETYM Connected with κεδάσ(σ)αι 'to tear apart' by Prellwitz, but one would expect -κεδάσματα. The explanation is neither formally nor semantically satisfactory (DELG).

**κεδνός** [adj.] 'careful, trusty, cared for, noble, cherished, dear' (Il.). <IE? *\*keh<sub>2</sub>d-no-* 'cared for'>

•DER κεδνοσύνη (*IG* 3, 1370; metrical inscr., imperial times; cf. Wyss 1954: 64).

•ETYM A connection with κήδομαι, Dor. κᾰδος, epic κεκάδων < *\*k(e)h<sub>2</sub>d-* has been considered impossible because of the -ε-, but De Lambererie 1996 tries to revive this proposal in the light of Lubotsky's Law for Indo-Iranian: loss of a laryngeal before a glottalized PIE stop (*\*d, g, ḡ, ḡ<sup>w</sup>*) plus a consonant. If this is true, a pre-form *\*keh<sub>2</sub>d-nó-* lost its laryngeal before it colored the neighboring vowel to *\*a*. Fur.: 195 compares σκεθρός.

**κέδρος** [f.] 'cedar-tree' (ε 60). <?>

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. κεδρ-έλαιον 'cedar oil' (Aët.), ὀξύ-κεδρος [f.] 'prickly cedar' (Thphr.; cf. Strömberg 1940: 35).

•DER κεδρίς [f.] 'juniper-berry' (Hp., Ar.); κέδρον [n.] 'id.' (inscr., *EM*, H.); κεδρία 'cedar oil' (Hdt., D. S.), also κεδρέα (pap., medic.; after μηλέα, συκέα, etc.). κεδρίτης (οἶνος) 'wine with juniper flavouring'; κέδρινος 'of cedar-wood' (Hp., E., Arist.), also κεδρίνεος 'id.' (Nic.; metrical reshaping), κεδρωτός 'made of cedar-wood' (E. [lyr.]), Κεδρεᾶτις, -ιδος [f.] name of Artemis in Arcadian Orchomenos (Paus. 8, 13, 2; after Τεγεᾶτις, etc.). κέδρωστις, -εως [f.] 'bryony' (Dsc. 4, 182; after ἄγρωστις, s.v.). Denominative verb κεδρώ 'to lay in cedar resin, embalm' (Posidon., Str.).

•ETYM Unknown. The similarity with Baltic names of the juniper (e.g. Lith. *kadagys*) is limited to the first syllable; connection with Ru. *čad* 'vapor', OCS *kaditi* 'smoke' is also quite hypothetical. Borrowed as Lat. *cedrus*. Acc. to Fohalle 1925: 157ff., a Mediterranean word for 'cedar', Lat. *citrus* 'Thuia articulata', and Gr. κέδρος would have been adapted to each other; doubtful. See also ► κίτρον, -κίτρον.

**κείμει** [v.] 'to lie, be somewhere, happen, etc.' (Il.). <IE *\*kei-* 'lie, rest'>

•VAR 3sg. κείται, 3pl. κέεται (Att. κείνται), inf. κείσθαι, etc. (further forms in Schwyzler: 679).

•DIAL The interpretation of Myc. *ke-ke-me-na* is highly uncertain.

•COMP Very frequently with prefix in different mgs., ἀνά-, κατά-, παρά-, ἔγ-, ἔκ-, ἐπί-, σύγ-κειμαι, etc.

•DER 1. κοῖτος [m.] 'layer, bed, sleep' (Od.), κοῖτη [f.] 'id., matrimonial bed, nest, parcel, lot' (Od.); often in compounds, e.g. ἀπό-, σύγ-, ἡμερό-κοιτος, ἀ-, παρα-κοίτης (cf. on ἀκοίτης). From κοῖτος, κοίτη; κοιτίς [f.] 'box' (Men., J.; cf. Schwyzler: 127) with κοιτίδιον 'id.' (sch.); κοιτάριον 'bed' (sch.); κοιτών [m.] 'sleeping room' (Ar. Fr. 6, Hell.) with κοιτώνιον, -ωνίσκος, -ωνίτης, -ωνικός; κοιτατήριον 'id.' (Cyrene; cf. ἐσπιατήριον s.v. ▶ ἐστία); κοιταῖος 'lying on the layer' (Descr. *apud* D. 18, 37, Plb.), κοιτάριος 'belonging to the bed' (*Edict. Diocl.*). Denominative verb κοιτάζομαι 'lay down, nest' (Pi., Hell.), -άζω 'bring to rest, lay down', also 'partition the land' (from κοῖτη 'parcel'), Hell. Hence κοιτασία 'living together' (LXX), κοιτασμός 'folding the cattle' (pap.). 2. \*κοῖμη or \*κοῖμος, whence denominative κοιμάω 'to lay to rest, put to bed', κοιμάομαι 'to go to bed' (Il.); thence κοίμησις 'lying down, sleep (of death)' (Pl., LXX, NT), κοίμημα 'sleep, sleeping with' (S.), κοιμητήριον 'sleeping room, place of rest or burial' (inscr.); also κοιμίζω = κοιμάω with κοιμίσις, -ισμός, -ιστής, -ιστικός; rather reshaped from κοιμάω. 3. κειμήλιον [n.] 'valuable, precious thing' (Il.), secondary -ιοι [m.pl.] (Pl. *Lg.* 931a; apposition of πατέρες ἢ μητέρες); derivation in -ηλ- from a neuter \*κεῖμα (Frisk *Eranos* 38 (1940): 42 and Frisk *Eranos* 41 (1943): 52). In the same mg. κειμήλιον (Alc. G 1, 8)? Specht KZ 68 (1943): 145 (after \*θεμήλιον, θέμηλα); but see on ▶ κεμάς. Cf. also ▶ κῶμα and ▶ κῶμη. Verbal derivatives: iterative (παρε)-κέσκετο (ξ 521, φ 41); desiderative or future forms κείω, κείμεν, κείοντες, etc.; late lengthening κατεκείαθεν· κατεκοιμήθη 'went to sleep' (H.), after Hom. μετεκείαθεν.

•ETYM The full grade middle athematic present κείται, pl. κέεται may be compared with Skt. 3sg. *śaye*, 3pl. *śere*, which goes back to an old stative paradigm sing. \**kei-o*, plur. \**kei-ro*. Beside the stative, there was a regular middle, as evidenced by Skt. *śēte* (Av. *saēte* 'lies') and Anatolian, where we find Hitt. 3sg. *kitta* < \**kei-to*, next to Lyc. *sijēni, sijēni* 'id.' < \**kei-o*.

The nominal formations in -*t-* and -*m-* are also found outside Greek: Bret. *argud* 'light sleep' < \**are-koi-to-*, Go. *haims* 'village, home' < \**koi-mo-*, Latv. *sāime* 'family', Lith. *šeimyna* 'id.', OCS *seimoja* 'id.', OIr. *cóim* 'dear'. Other derivatives of the verb are seen in Lat. *civis*, Go. *heiwa-frauja* 'lord of the house', Skt. *śéva-* 'trustworthy, friendly, dear', and in Arm. *sēr* 'love' with denominative *sirem* 'love'.

κειμήλιον ⇒ κείμαι.

κειρία [f.] 'girth of a bedstead, bandage (for wounds, dead), tapeworms' (Ar. Av. 816, LXX, pap., medic., *Ev. Jo.* 11, 44). <PG(V)>

•VAR Often plur. Also κίρια, κηρία, καιρία.

•ETYM Connection with κείρος 'string, snare' or the like seems obvious, but then the most common notations, κ(ε)υρ-, κηρ-, remain incomprehensible. Cf. Scheller 1951: 57f. The variation is probably Pre-Greek: α before a palatalized consonant is realized as αι, which becomes ει and/or η (cf. λαίθαργος, λήθαργος). See Fur.: 235, 352 (who had not yet seen the mechanism).

κείρω [v.] 'to cut (off), shave', especially of hair; 'to mow off, cut down, ravage' (Il.). <IE \*(s)ker- 'cut'>

•VAR Aor. κείραι, epic also κέρσαι, pass. καρῆναι (καρθέντες with v.l. κερθέντες Pi. P. 4, 82), fut. κερέω, κερῶ, perf. pass. κέκαρμαι, new act. κέκαρκα (Hell.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, περι-. Compound ἀ-κερσε-κόμης 'with uncut hair' (Y 39), also ἀ-κειρε-κόμας, -ης (Pi.); on the form Schwyzler: 442, on the mg. Fink *Phil.* 93 (1938): 404ff.

•DER 1. κέρμα [n.] 'cut-off piece, especially a small piece of money, change' (Emp. 101, 1 [not quite certain], com., Hell.) with κερμάτιον (Hell.) and κερματίζω 'to change in small money' (Att., Arist.); from it κερματιστής 'money-changer' (*Ev. Jo.* 2. 14), κερματισμός 'cut into little bits' (Olymp.); κερματόομαι = -ίζομαι (Procl.). 2. κορμός [m.] 'cut-off piece, bobbin, trunk' (ψ 196) with κορμίον (Hell.), κορμηδόν 'in pieces' (Hld.), κορμάζω 'saw into pieces' (D. H.). 3. ▶ κουρά. 4. ▶ καρτός. Cf. also ▶ κόρση, ▶ κόρις, ▶ κερτομέω, ▶ κέλωρ 2.

•ETYM κείρω < \*κερ-ιω belongs to a widespread IE group of words, but there are no exact correspondences to the Greek verbal forms. The nearest are Arm. *k'ērem* 'to scratch, shave', Alb. *sh-qerr* 'tear apart' (pret. *sh-kora* < IE \**kēr-*); further, Hitt. *karš-zi* 'to cut off' (with *s*-enlargement like in ▶ κουρά). Forms with initial \**sk-* are frequent: OHG *sceran* 'to shave', Lith. *skirti*, 1sg. *skiriū* 'to separate', OIr. *scar(a)im* 'id.'. Skt. *kṛntāti* 'separates' shows an enlarged root \**kert-* (infix nasal present; perfect *ca-kart-a*); such a reconstruction would be possible for the aorist ἔκερσα (Risch 1937: 249).

The number of nominal derivatives in the separate languages is enormous; most of them are independent innovations. Thus, formal agreement exists between κέρμα and Skt. *cārman-*, Av. *carāman-* [n.] 'skin, hide', OPr. *kērmens* [m.] 'body' (IE \**kérmen-*); and only difference in ablaut grade between κορμός and OCS *krōma* [f.] 'steering oar, back part of the ship', Ru. *kormá* 'puppi'.

κείω 1 desiderative or future forms of ▶ κείμαι.

•VAR κείμεν, κείων, κείοντες, etc. ⇒ κείμαι.

κείων 2 'splitting' (ξ 425). ⇒ κεάζω.

κεκαδών [ptc.aor.act.] 'robbing' (Λ 334). <?>

•VAR κεκαδήσει [fut.] 'he will rob' (φ 153 = 170), κεκαδήσαι· βλάψαι, κακῶσαι, φείσασθαι, στερῆσαι 'to damage, maltreat, spare, rob' (H.); further med. ὑπὸ ... κεκάδοντο 'they receded' (Δ 497 = O 574) and the intr. plpf. ἐκεκήδει· ὑπε<κε>χωρήκει 'had withdrawn' (H.).

•ETYM The difference of meaning between the active-transitive and the middle-intransitive forms may perhaps be explained from the diathesis. The glosses κάδυρος· κάπρος ἄνορχις (suffix -υρ-) and κάδαμος· τυφλός. Σαλαμίνιοι (H.) rather seem Pre-Greek.

Connection with κήδω 'to care for, etc.' is possible (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**keh<sub>2</sub>d-*), but semantically not evident; ὑπὸ ... κεκάδοντο is sometimes connected with Lat. *cadō*, in which case the intransitive middle 'to recede' < 'to fall back' would be primary, the active meaning 'to rob' going back to a factitive 'to make fall' (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**kad-*, where



we would prefer a root reconstruction *\*k<sub>h</sub>ed-*). The connection with ► χάζομαι is phonetically impossible.

**κέκασμαι** [v.] 'to surpass, excel' (Il.). <IE? *\*k<sub>end</sub>-* 'excel'>

•VAR (ἐ)κέκαστο, κεκαδμένος (Pi. O. 1, 27).

•DER κάδμος· δόρυ, λόφος, ἀσπίς. Κρήτες 'stem, crest, shield (Cretan)' (H.), i.e. 'equipment' (see Bechtel 1921, 2: 787)? Cf. also ► Κάδμος.

•ETYM A synonymous active perfect is found in Skt. *śāsādūhi* 'excel', ptc. *śāsādāna*- (though note that Kümmel 2000b: 512-4 argues that the Skt. meaning is different). Quite uncertain is the connection with Mlr. *cā(i)d* 'holy', Gaul. *caddos* 'sanctus'. Within Greek, a present ► καίνυμαι was created analogically from κέκασμαι after δαίνυμαι : δέδασται. The root καδ- could be from *\*k<sub>end</sub>-*, seen in Sanskrit *chand-* 'to appear' (see García Ramón 1992a: 239-255). Heubeck *BNF* 8 (1957): 274-277 had argued earlier that κασ- is from *\*k<sub>ms</sub>-* (root *\*k<sub>e</sub>Ns-* 'proclaim, honor', LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.). The gloss on κάδμος seems unreliable; the proper names are also quite unclear.

**κεκαφηότα** [ptc.perf.act. acc.sg.m.] with θυμόν (E 698, ε 468); the mg. 'exhausted, tired' is certain in later authors, and is also found in Homer; cf. Nehring *Class. Phil.* 42 (1947): 113ff. <IE *\*keh<sub>2</sub>b<sup>h</sup>-* 'get tired, be exhausted, die'>

•VAR In later epic (Opp., Nonn.) constructed with γυῖα, δέμας or absolute; also -ηότας (Nonn.) and -ηότι (of θυμῷ, ταρσῷ; Opp., AP).

•ETYM The indicative is attested in κέκηφε· τέθνηκεν 'is dead' (H.); on the ptc. in -ηώς, see Schwyzler: 770 and Chantraine 1942: 428. Further connections are hypothetical: relation to ἐκάπυσσεν (ψυχὴν X 467), ἐγκάπτει· ἐκπνεῖ 'exhales' (H.), etc. (see on ► καπνός); or to κηφήν, κωφός 'deaf' (Solmsen 1909: 123, Bechtel 1914 s.v.).

**κεκῆνας** [?]· λαγούς. Κρήτες 'hares (Cret.)' (H.). <IE *\*k(e)h<sub>1</sub>-s-* 'grey'>

•ETYM Uncertain. For the *n*-stem, cf. λειχήν, κωλήν, et al. (Chantraine 1933: 167f., Schwyzler: 487). Skt. *śāsā-* 'hare' cannot be separated from the widespread name of the hare (in Germanic, e.g. OHG *haso*, also OPr. *sasins*, W *cein-ach* < *\*kasni*). Lubotsky 1989: 56f reconstructed *keh<sub>1</sub>-s-*, *\*kh<sub>1</sub>-s-* for this word, with *\*kh<sub>1</sub>s-no-* > Lat. *cānus* 'grey'. A dialectal assimilation of *\*k - s* > *\*k - k̄* has been assumed for Indo-Iranian (Skt. *śās-*) and Greek (κεκ-), but no trace of such a development is found in Modern Iranian and Pamir forms (e.g. Pashto *sōe*, Wakhi *sūi*; see Morgenstierne 1927: 66). This means that it is difficult to relate the Greek word.

**κεκρύφαλος** [m.] 'hair-net of a woman, envelopped by the ἀναδέσμη' (Il.), also 'part of the head-stall of a bridle' (X., Att. inscr.), 'pouch of the belly of a hunting-net' (X., Plu.); 'the second stomach of a ruminant, reticulum' (Arist.; Strömberg 1944: 63f.). See Marinatos 1967: B 22. <PG>

•ETYM Technical word of unknown, perhaps Asiatic origin, that may have been reshaped after κρύφα, κρύπτω. Unacceptable IE (κρύπτω, κορυφή, κρόκη) and Semitic etymologies in Bq. No doubt Pre-Greek.

**κέλαδος** [m.] 'sound, noise, sharp sound' (Il.; on mg. and spread see Trümper 1950: 155). <?>

•COMP Rarely in compounds, e.g. κελαδο-δρόμος 'who runs in the noise' (Orph.; of Artemis), δυσ-κέλαδος 'with terrible noise' (Π 357); on Εγ-κέλαδος s.v.

•DER κελαδινός (Aeolic -εννός Pi.) 'noisy, sounding' (Il.; Chantraine 1933: 195f.); κελαδητής 'id.' (γλώσσα, Pi. N. 4, 86); κελάδων, -οντος 'id.' (Il.), also a river name (H 133; see Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 2 (1950-1951): 236; Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 3 (1951-1952): 162), rather a secondary formation in -ντ- (cf. on ἰμάς) than from a denominative *\*κελάδω* (Schwyzler: 723, Bechtel 1914 s.v. κέλαδος). Denominative κελαδέω 'to sound, make noise' also transitive 'to sing of' (Il.), aor. κελαδήσαι, with κελάδημα (E.).

•ETYM Formation like ὄμαδος, χρομάδος, ροῖβδος, etc. (Schwyzler: 508, Chantraine 1933: 359f.). Not related to καλέσαι, κλητός, which is from *\*kelh<sub>1</sub>-* and would give -ελε-. It has been compared with ► κελαρύζω.

**κελαινός** [adj.] 'black, dark' (Il.). <?, PG?>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in haplological κελαι(νο)-νεφής 'with black clouds', of Ζεύς (Hom., Pi.); also of αἶμα (Hom.), of πεδίον, σκότος (Pi.); explanation in Leumann 1950: 202ff.

•DER Denominative verbs: κελαινόομαι 'to get dark' (A. Ch. 413, Iyr.), κελαινιάω 'to be black' (Opp., Nonn.), after the verbs of disease in -ιάω, Schwyzler: 732.

•ETYM Morphologically isolated and therefore difficult to assess. For the ending, cf. περκνός, ἐρεμνός, et al., but κελαι- remains unclear. Assuming a suffix -ιο-, we arrive at an *n*-stem *\*kel-n-*, which may be found in Lat. *colum-ba* 'dove' (after its color). See further ► κηλῖς. One might think of Pre-Greek *\*kelan'-o-*, with a palatalized nasal.

**κελαρύζω** [v.] 'to babble, murmur', of water (Il.). <?>

•VAR Only present stem except aor. κελάρυξε (*Lyr. Adesp.* 90, 1).

•DER κελάρυσμα 'murmuring' (Opp.), κελάρυξις 'id.' (H.).

•ETYM Expressive sound-word in -(ρ)ύζω, like τονθορύζω, γογγύζω, ὀλολύζω, κλύζω, probably related to κέλωρ· φωνή 'voice' (H.) (also κελωρύειν, -ρύσας H.), first from an adjective *\*κελαρός*, -ής (as ὕδωρ : ὕδαρης; see Bechtel 1914 s.v.), or from a by-form *\*κέλαρ* (cf. τέκμωρ : τέκμαρ; cf. Bq and Benveniste 1935: 17); otherwise, from κέλαδος? Certainly not related to καλέσαι.

**κελεα** [f.] name of an agon for youths in Sparta (Lacon. inscr., imperial period), cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 376. <PG>

•VAR Also ntr.pl.? Also -εα, -ηα, -οια; καιλοῖα, -υα.

•ETYM A hypothesis by Laum in *Wahrmann Glotta* 17 (1929): 242. The variation suggests a Pre-Greek word; cf. on ► κειρία. See DELG s.v. κελοῖα.

**κελέβη** [f.] 'vase with a big opening, kind of mixing bowl' (Anacr., Theoc., Call.). <PG?>

•DER κελεβήϊον (Antim. 17).

•ETYM Hebr. *koelob* 'vase' was compared by Lewy 1895: 104, but the Semitic word does not exist; see E. Masson 1967: 107f. Cf. also Kretschmer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 284. Acc. to Güntert 1932: 27<sup>2</sup>, it is related to Lat. *calpar*; see on ► κάλις. Schröder *Germ.-rom.*

*Monatsschrift* N.F. 10 (1960): 184 compares λέβης with 'movable κ-'. More probably, the word is Pre-Greek (though a suffix -εβ- is unknown).

**κελεβρά** [n.pl.] · λεπτά καὶ νεκρά κτήνη 'weak and dying herds' (H.). <?>

•ETYM The gloss is reminiscent of κενέβρεια. Is it corrupt?

**κελεῖς** · ἀξίνη 'axe' (H.). = κελεός.

•**κελεμν-** = ἀμφικέλεμνον, κελόντες.

**κελένδρυνον** [?] · δρύινον, κελαιόν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ μυσκέλενδρον (?)· καὶ τὸ μακρόν (H.); κελενδρύονα· ἀπὸ τοῦ κελόντος καὶ τῆς δρυὸς ὡς μακρόν καὶ δασύ (Phot. 154, 4). <PG?>

•ETYM These glosses are probably corrupt. The word(s) look Pre-Greek.

**κελέοντες** [m.pl.] 'the beams of the standing loom' (Ar. *Fr.* 795, Antipho *Fr.* 11, Theoc., Ant. Lib.), acc. to H. also τὰ ὅπως οὖν μακρὰ ξύλα, δοκοί, ἱστοί 'wood that is long in some sense, beams, masts or looms'. <IE?>

•ETYM Acc. to Frisk *IF* 49 (1931): 97f., originally a pres.ptc. of \*κελέω, which would be a denominative of \*κέλος and mean "rising up" vel sim. Formally, the latter could be compared with OCS *čelo* 'forehead', and further connected with ►κολωνός. It does not belong to κελοί = ξύλα (H.); cf. on ►κελεός. Fur. 245 assumes a pre-form \*κελέφοντες as a variant of \*κελεμος, which stands beside -κελεμνο- seen in ►ἀμφικέλεμνον.

**κελεός** [m.] 'green woodpecker, *Picus viridis*' (Arist.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM For the suffix see Chantraine 1933: 51. Perhaps it belongs to ►κολάπτω, ►κόλος, together with κελοί = ξύλα (H.) as "chopper, cutter" vel sim. (see ►κελέοντες)? Some recognize a diminutive in κελεῖς· ἀξίνη (H.), "hacking". Bechtel *KZ* 44 (1911): 357 connected Lith. *kūlti* 'to thresh', but acc. to Huber 1921: 16, the *variae lectiones* καλιός, κολιός, etc. are a sign of foreign origin. It is probable that these variations are due to Pre-Greek origin.

**κελέτρα** [f.] a term of land (*IG* 9(2), 521 [Larissa III<sup>a</sup>]). <?>

•ETYM The precise meaning is unknown. Frisk *Symb. Oslo.* 11 (1932): 64ff. analyzed it as 'drove', connecting it with ►κέλομαι, ►κέλλω. Unclear.

**κέλευθος** [f.] 'road, path, course, journey' (Il., also *IG* 5(2), 3: 23 [Tegea IV<sup>a</sup>]). <?>

•VAR Also ntr.pl. -α.

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. κευθο-ποιός 'making a path' (A.), more often as a second member, e.g. ἵππο-κέλευθος 'making the road on a chariot, chariot-fighter' (Il., of Patroclus); ►ἀκόλουθος 'following, attending'.

•DER κευθεῖα [f.] 'goddess of the road', epithet of Athena in Sparta (Paus. 3, 12, 4), after the nouns in -εῖα; κευθεῖας· τὰς ἐνοδίους δαίμονας 'the divinities [whose statues were situated] on the way' (H.); κευθήτης 'voyager' (AP 6, 120), after ἀγυῖτης, πολυῖτης et al.

•ETYM The difficulty of finding a parallel for the suffix -θη- within Greek resulted in attempts to connect κέλευθος with the root ἐλευθ- (in ἐλεύσομαι, etc.). For these old

attempts, see Frisk s.v. Specht 1944: 254 and 280 suggested direct connection with κεύειν, comparing *th* in Skt. *pánthāh* 'road' (see on ►πόντος) and in Lith. *keliūta* 'road'. Since the latter is clearly built on *kēli-as* 'road, street, course', it has no direct connection with κέλευθος; cf. Fraenkel *KZ* 72 (1955): 177. The word therefore remains without etymology. On κέλευθος and its relatives, see Ruijgh 1957: 123f.

**κελεύω** [v.] 'to urge, drive on, exhort, command' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aor. κελῦσαι.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. παρα-, δια-, ἐπι-, ἐν-.

•DER Derivations from compounded verbs are frequent, but are not indicated separately here: κέλευ(σ)μα 'exhortation, command' (IA), also 'call of the κευευστής', κευευσμός (IA), κευευσμοσύνη (Hdt.), κέλευσις (Att.) 'id.'; κευευστής 'commander of the rowers' (Att.; on the mg. see Richardson *Class. Quart.* 37 (1943): 55ff.); κευευστικός 'exhorting' (Att.). Enlarged ptc. κευετιόων, -όωντε (-άων, -άοντε) 'stimulating, inciting' (N 125, M 265), the model for which is unclear, cf. Schwyzler: 732<sup>3</sup>.

•ETYM If from ►κέλομαι 'to incite, set in movement', the -ευ- remains unexplained; it may be the same element as in κέλευθος 'road', and perhaps also in ►τελευτή, but we do not know.

**κελεφός** [adj.] 'leprous' (*Cat. Cod. Astr.* 8 (4), 189). <LW Sem.>

•COMP As a first member in κευφο-κομεῖον 'hospital for lepers' (*BMus. Cat. Copt. MSS.* p. 453, Nr. 1077).

•DER κελεφία 'leprosy' (Cyrano. 15).

•ETYM Synonymous ἀλφός 'lepra' has the same word-ending. Benveniste *RPh.* 38 (1964): 7ff. argued that the word was taken from Semitic, e.g. Syrian *qalāfā* 'cortex, squama, putamen', *qalāfānā* 'lepra'. Strömberg 1944: 99 thinks it is just a phonetic variant of κέλυφος 'shell' (with oppositive accent), which is semantically possible but seems improbable to me. See ►κέλυφος.

**κέλης, -ητος** [m.] 'runner' (1371), cf. Delebecque 1951: 49f.; also a fast-sailing ship (IA).

<IE? \*kel- 'run'>

•VAR Also Lacon. κέληξ 'runner' (*IG* 5(1), 213 [Sparta V<sup>a</sup>]).

•DER κελήπιον 'sloop, shallop' (Th., App.); κελητίζω [v.] 'to ride on race-horses' (O 679), κελητιά· κελητίζειν, ἵππεύειν 'to be a horseman' (H.).

•ETYM Perhaps a derivation in -ητ- (or -ηκ-) from ►κέλομαι 'to incite'. From Greek, Lat. *celēs, celōx* (after *vēlōx*) 'fast-sailing ship' was borrowed.

**κελλάς** [adj.] · μονόφθαλμος 'one-eyed' (H.). <?>

•ETYM A remarkable semantic identity as well as formal similarity are found in OIr. *coll*, Skt. *kāṇā-* 'one-eyed'. These may represent IE \*kol-no-. The geminate -λλ- may go back to -λν-, which in turn could be derived from an *n*-stem. The ending of κελλάς is different; Frisk and DELG suggest that it could be the feminine of κελλός, which H. glosses as στρεβλός, πλάγιος 'twisted, athwart'. The fact that the proposed cognates have *o*-vocalism casts doubts on the comparison (or could it point to an old *n*-stem?). Fur.: 354 connects it with κίλλιξ (H.), which is rather improbable.

κελλίβας ⇒ κιλλίβας.

**κέλλω** [v.] 'to drive, incite' (both trans. and intr.), 'to pull (a ship) ashore, to land' (Od.). <IE? \*kel- 'drive, incite'; (ὀ)κέλλω PG?>

•VAR The present only attested in grammarians. Aor. κέλσαι (Od.), fut. κέλσω (A., E.), κελῶ (H.).

•COMP One assumes a prefix ►ό- in ὀκέλλω [v.] 'to pull ashore' (IA), aor. ὀκεῖλαι, but this is unlikely (see ►ό-). Rarely with preverbs ἐπι-, ἐγ-, εισ-, συγ-κέλσαι (epic, Hp., Ar.); ἐπ-έκειλα Act. Ap. 27, 41.

•DER κέλομαι [v.] 'to drive on, exhort, call' (Il., Dor.) rarely with ἐπι-, παρα-; reduplicated aor. (ἐ)κέκλετο (Il.), to which a new present κέκλομαι (A. R.), also aor. (ἐ)κελήσατο (Pi., Epich., Epid.), fut. κελήσομαι (κ 296). Athematic κέντο (Alcm. 141) < \*κέλτο with dialectal Laconian devorment. See also ►κέλης, ►κελεύω; doubtful is the appurtenance of ►κλόνος.

•ETYM It is often assumed (e.g. DELG) that κέλλω 'to spur' and κέλλω 'to drive ashore' (in unprefix form; the latter occurs only in grammarians) are cognate, and that ὀκέλλω continues an old prefix ὀ-, also assumed in ὄζος 'branch' < \*Hosdo-. For the meaning 'to call' of κέλομαι, one has to assume that it secondarily developed from 'to drive on, summon, request'. However, this meaning is also reminiscent of καλεῖν, so we may also envisage two separate words for Greek: 1) (ὀ)κέλλω 'to haul ashore', which is Pre-Greek ("prothetic" vowel, and a technical term), and 2) κελ- 'to drive, summon'. The question remains, then, whether some or all forms of the latter derive from \*kelh<sub>2</sub>- 'to call' (thus, LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*kel- connect the reduplicated aorist (ἐ)κέκλετο with καλέω).

Connections with other languages are scarce and rather doubtful. Semantically, the secondary present Skt. *kalayati* (*kāl-*) 'drives' is close to Greek, but its appurtenance is uncertain (it could belong to \*kerH- 'to strew', acc. to LIV<sup>2</sup> l.c.). In Tocharian, we find PTo. \**kāl-* reflected in ToB 3sg.pres.med. *kalštär* 'goads' (only twice in this meaning), from which perhaps the pres. ToB *kalšām* 'to bear, endure', pret. *keltsa* developed. Not connected is PTo. \**kāl<sup>a</sup>*- 'lead, bring' from \**k<sup>w</sup>elh<sub>2</sub>*- 'to turn'; although it fits well semantically with the present root, its *seṭ*-character precludes comparison with κέλλω 'to drive'. A comparable nominal formation is Lat. *celer* 'quick'.

The meaning of (ὀ)κέλλω 'to run a ship aground', the usual way of landing (except in a harbor), is so concrete that I would assume a separate Pre-Greek verb; but I see no further indications for substrate origin.

**κέλυφος** [n.] 'husk or skin of fruit, skin of an onion, eggshell' (Ar. V. 545 [lyr.], Arist., Thphr., AP). <PG(S,V)>

•DER κελύφιον (Arist.), κελύφανον 'id.' (Lyc., Luc.), κελυφανώδης 'like a shell' (Thphr.); also κολύφανον· φλοιός, λεπύριον 'bark; husk, skin., etc.' (H.), perhaps with -ο- after κολέος, etc.

•ETYM For the neutral gender, which is rare in derivations in -φ-, cf. the synonyms σκύτος, νάκος, δέρος, etc. On account of the semantic and formal similarity, κέλυφος has been connected with the group of ►καλύπτω. Since the latter is Pre-

Greek, the same must be true of the present entry. Note -υφ-, which may be a Pre-Greek suffix. Cf. on ►κολέων.

**κέλωρ 1, -ωρος** [m.] 'descendant, son' (E. Andr. 1033 [lyr.], Lyc.). <IE? \*kelH- 'rise', \*kelH-ōr>

•DER κελώριον· παιδίον 'young child' (H.).

•ETYM The ending (cf. ἔλωρ, τέκμωρ) suggests an original neuter 'descendance'. Perhaps it arose from \*κέρωρ by dissimilation, from the root \*kerh<sub>3</sub>- 'to grow, create' in Arm. *ser* 'generation, descendance' (cf. ►κορέννυμι and ►κόρη). Alternatively, Fur.: 212<sup>30</sup> suggested Pre-Greek origin, comparing other forms in -ωρ like ἄχωρ, ἰχωρ, βιάτωρ, λείτωρ, ψόθωρ, but there are no further indications in this direction. Indo-European origin seems likely, and derivation from \*kelH- 'to rise' seems quite possible, cf. Lith. *kiltis* 'clan'.

**κέλωρ 2** [m.] · ἐκτομίας, γάλλος, σπάδων 'eunuch' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM If dissimilated from \*κέρωρ, the word may derive from ►κείρω 'to cut'. However, given the meaning, one would rather expect a foreign word.

**κέλωρ 3** [?] · φωνή 'voice' (H.).

•DER κελωρύειν· κεκραγέειν, βοᾶν 'to cry aloud, shout' (H., Phot.), κελωρύσας· φωνήσας, βοήσας 'having produced a sound, cried aloud' (H.). ⇒ κελαρύζω.

**κεμάς, -άδος** [f.] 'young deer, young dog' (K 361, A. R., Call.). <IE \*kemh<sub>2</sub>- 'without horn'>

•VAR Also κεμμάς (Q. S., AP, H.; hypocoristic gemination?) and κεμφάς (H.), perhaps after the animal names in -φάς, -φος, like γρομφάς.

•COMP κεμαδο-σόςος 'hunting young deer' (Nonn.).

•DER κεμήλιος epithet of Dionysus (Alc. G 1, 8); other interpretations in Risch IF 33 (1913/1914): 195 (see also on ►κεμήλιον). Note also ►κέμων.

•ETYM A derivation in -άς, probably from an *o*-stem \*κέμος = Skt. *śāma*- 'without horn' (cf. λίθος beside λιθάς). Cf. the Germanic word for 'hind, doe', e.g. OHG *hinta* [f.] < PGm. \*hin-ðī < IE \*kem-ti- (enlarged like *hund* 'dog' < PGm. \*hun-ða- < IE \*kun-tó-; see on ►κύων). Lubotsky 1988: 76 assumes a root \*kemh<sub>2</sub>-. The zero grade of the root is found in Lith. *šmūlas* 'without horn'.

**κέμμερος** [m.] · ἀχλύς, ὀμίχλη 'mist, fog' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**κέμων** [adj.] · ἑτερόφθαλμος 'one-eyed' (H.). <IE? \*skem- 'mutilated'(?)>

•ETYM Unknown; cf. perhaps Pok. 929 \*skem- 'mutilated'. DELG suggests it is a mistake for κέλλων; cf. on ►κελλάς.

**κενέβρεια** [n.pl.] 'carriion, especially of dead cattle' (Ar. Av. 538, Erot., Phot.); also 'dog-meat market' (Erot.). <PG?>

•VAR Also sg. (Ael. NA 6, 2).

•ETYM Unknown. Cf. ►κινάβρα. It looks like a Pre-Greek word.

**κενεών** 'hollow between ribs and hip, flank'. ⇒ κενός.

κενός [adj.] 'empty, idle' (Att.). <IE \**ken-* 'empty', \**ken-u-*>

•VAR Epic κενε(φ)ός (also IA, Cypr. and Epid.), epic Ion. κεινός (since Il.).

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. κενε-αυχές [voc.pl.] (Θ 230), -έα (AP), κεν-αυχής (Plu., AP) 'empty, vain' (the second member belongs to αὐχέω 'to boast', if it was not reshaped after this for earlier -ευχές after εὐχος, ►εὔχομαι; see Wackernagel 1916: 65); κέν-ανδρος 'empty of men' (A. Pers. 119 [lyr.], S. OC 917), whence -ία (A. Pers. 730 [troch.]), cf. Sommer 1948: 191; κεν-εμβατέω lit. 'tread on emptiness', 'lack a solid foundation, reach a cavity', whence κενεμβάτης (Plu., medic.), as if from \*κεν-εμβατής (after other derivatives in -βατέω derived from compounds with -βάτης).

•DER κενεών, -ῶνος [m.] 'the hollow space between hip and ribs' (epic Ion., X., LXX); κενεότης (-νότης) [f.] 'emptiness' (IA); κενήριον = κενοτάφιον (Hell.), probably after ἡρίον, if not composed with it; thence ψευδήριον 'id.' (Lyc.). Denominative κενώω, -νέω [v.] 'to empty, make desert' (IA), whence κένωσις, -νέωσις 'emptying' (Ion. poet., Att.), κενώσιμος (Anon. *apud* Suid.), κένωμα, -νέωμα [n.] 'empty space' (Hell.), κενωτικός [adj.] 'emptying' (Gal.).

•ETYM Att. κενός and Ion. κεινός, both from \*κενός, may be compared with στενός. Further, κενεός is reminiscent of ἐτερός. We should assume an old *u*-stem \*κενύς (it is not found in De Lamberterie 1990: 187f.). Ruijgh *Minos* 20-22 (1987): 537 compares the ablauting pair with ὀλός << \**ol-ewo-* and οὔλος < \**ol-wo-*. The root correspondence between κενός and the Arm. *o*-stem *sin*, gen. *sn-oy* 'id.' < IE \**ken-o-* is noteworthy. See Clackson 1994: 138-9 on this lexical correspondence.

κεντέω [v.] 'to sting, goad' (Pi.). <IE \**kent-* 'sting'>

•VAR Aor. κένσαι (Ψ 337), κεντήσαι (Hp.), κέντασα (Theoc. 19, 1), pass. κεντηθῆναι (Arist.), fut. κεντηθήσομαι (Hdt.), κεντήσω (S.), κεκέντημαι (Hp.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, παρα-, απο-, δια-.

•DER 1. κένσαι < \*κέντ-σαι points to a root κεντ-, which developed to κες- before dental. Thus κες-τός < \*κεντ-τός 'stitched' (epic); κες-τρον 'pointed iron' (Plin.), κεστρωτός and κέστρωσις (H.), presupposing \*κεστρώω, κες-τρος 'kind of arrow, etc.' (Plb., D. H., H.), diminutive κεστρίον (Attica) and κέστρειον 'stock of arrows (?)' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>); κες-τρα [f.] 'sharp hammer, arrow' (S., Ph. Bel., Hero), also a fish name = σφύραινα (Ar.; after the shape of the body, see Strömberg 1943: 35); κεστρεύς 'mullet' (IA) and κεστρίνος, -ινίσκος 'id.' (com.). 2. κέντρον 'sting', as a geometrical technical term also 'leg of a compass, centre of a circle' (Il.), perhaps a reshaping of κέστρον after κεντέω; thence many compounds and derivatives, e.g. κεντρ-ηνεκής 'driven by a goad' (Il.; cf. δουρ-, ποδ-ηνεκής); substantive ►κέντρων; adjectives like κεντρικός, κεντρώδης, κεντρήεις; fish and plant names like κεντρίνης, κεντρίσκος, κεντρίτης; denominative verbs κεντρώω 'to provide with a sting, to sting' (IA), κεντρίζω 'to sting' (X.); from κέντρον as a back-formation κέντωρ [m.] 'stimulator, driver' (Il., AP). 3. From κεντέω (κεντήσαι, -σω): κέντημα 'stitching, mosaic' (Arist., inscr. Smyrna [imperial period]), κεντητής 'mosaic-worker' (*Edict. Diocl.*), κεντητήριον 'picker' (Luc.), κεντητικός 'stingy' (Thphr.), κεντητός 'stitched, with mosaic' (Epict., pap.). 4. κοντός [m.] 'pole, crutch, staff to spur on cattle' (ι 487), which was borrowed into Lat. *contus*, *percontor*; thence κοντά-κιον, -άριον, -ίλος,

-ωτός, etc.; κοντός 'short' (Adam.) arose by reanalysis of κοντο-μάχος, -βόλος, -βολέω, where κοντός was taken as 'short'; likewise in κοντο-πορεία (Plb.).

•ETYM The sigmatic aorist κένσαι < \*κέντ-σαι is old; the formation of the present κεντέω is unclear (one would expect \*κοντέω); thence κεντήσαι, κεντήσω, etc. were created. Other languages have only isolated nominal formations: OHG *hantag* 'pointed', derived from PGm. \**handa-* (identical formation with κοντός), Latv. *sīts* 'hunting spear' < IE \**knt-o-*. Celtic words like Bret. *kentr* 'spur', W *cethr* 'nail' were probably all borrowed from Lat. *centrum*.

κέντρον 'sting, goad, etc.' = κεντέω.

κέντρων 1, -ωνος [m.] 'rogue' (S. Fr. 329, Ar. Nu. 450).

•ETYM From κέντρον; see ►κεντέω. Originally meant 'who bears the mark of the κέντρος'.

κέντρων 2, -ωνος [m.] 'piece of patchwork' (Hell.). <LW Lat.>

•DER κεντρωνάριον (pap. -όριον) mg. unknown (POxy. 2, 326 [I<sup>p</sup>]).

•ETYM From Lat. *centō* 'id.' and adapted to κέντρον. It cannot be established whether ►κέντρων 1 had any influence.

κέπφος [m.] name of an unknown water-bird, mostly identified with the stormy petrel, *Thalassidroma pelagica*, but without sufficient reason (Arist., Thphr., Lyc., Nic.); also metaph. of a simple man who can easily be deceived (Ar., Call.). <PG(V)>

•DER κεπφόομαι 'to be deceived easily, be simple' (LXX, Cic.).

•ETYM A by-form is κειμός, κούφος, ἐλαφρός ἄνθρωπος 'stupid person' (H.), where the prenasalization shows that the word is Pre-Greek. For the semantics, cf. the description of the bird κέπφος in H.: εἶδος ὀρνέου κουφοτάτου, etc., so 'a featherlight kind of bird'. Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912): 7<sup>i</sup> compared Lat. *hebes* 'blunt', but the bird name is no doubt primary. See Thompson 1895 s.v. See ►κάμπος.

κεραῖζω [v.] 'to destroy' (Il.). <IE \**kerh<sub>2</sub>-* 'damage', intr. 'fall apart'>

•VAR Aor. κεραῖσαι (Hdt.), -ῖξαι (Nonn.), fut. inf. κεραῖξέμεν (Π 830 for κεραῖξέμεν acc. to Bekker).

•COMP Also with ἐκ- (Call., AP).

•DER κεραῖστής 'destroyer' (*h. Merc.* 336; Zumbach 1955: 7); κεραῖσμός 'destruction' (D. H.).

•ETYM The secondary present κεραῖζω, which stands at the basis of the group, may have replaced an older primary verb. Skt. retains a nasal present in *śṇāti* 'breaks', but the etymological connection (thus Frisk) with OIr. *ar-a-chrin* 'to fear, perish' is not followed anymore in Matasović 2009. The disyllabic stem κερα- has an exact counterpart in the Skt. aorist *aśarīt* and in the OIr. preterit *do-cer* 'he fell', from IE *kerh<sub>2</sub>-*. In Greek, this stem is also seen in ἀ-κέραιος 'unhurt', and possibly also in ►ἀκήρατος 'id.' (η perhaps by metrical lengthening; cf. s.v.). The form ►κεραυνός is an independent formation; ►κήρ does not belong here.

κεραίς [f.] 'black radish', acc. to Thphr. a medical name of the wild radish, ῥάφανος ἄγρια. <LW Balkans>

•VAR Only acc. κεραῖν (Thphr. *HP* 9, 15, 5; *cerain* Plin. *HN* 19, 82); the accent given by Frisk is probably wrong.

•ETYM The agreement with the Slavic word for 'horse-radish, Cochlearia Armoracia' (e.g. Ru. *xren*, Cz. *křen*) is due to a loan from a common source. See Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 55.

**κεραῖς** [f.] 'a small bird' (Lyc. 1317). <IE? \**kerh<sub>2</sub>-u-* 'horn'>

•VAR Acc. -ῖδα

•ETYM Acc. to the sch., the name of a small bird that was put beside Medea in the passage cited. The gloss κεραῖς κορώνη (H.) also refers to this. Originally a feminine of κεράς 'horned', and therefore a bird of the *Bucerotidae*, says Frisk. However, note that this pre-form would have to yield a short -α-, while DELG gives a long α (s.v. κεραῖς, but not s.v. κεράς).

**κεράμβυξ, -υκος** [m.] 'longicorn beetle' (Nic. *Fr.* 39, H.); on the mg. see Goossens *Ant. class.* 17 (1948): 263ff. <PG(S,V)>

•ETYM Cf. σήραμβος, κόλυμβος, κόρυμβος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 261) and βόμβυξ, ὄρυξ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 383 and 397). Another formation is κεράμβηλον, glossed as κάνθαρος 'beetle' by H. and others; cf. πέτηλος, κίβδηλος, etc. The form cannot be derived from κέρας 'horn'. If the word has prenasalization, which seems probable, it is of Pre-Greek origin. Moreover, -ηλ(ο)- and -υκ- are Pre-Greek suffixes. Fur. (passim) compares κάραβος, καρά(μ)βιος, and παραβίδες, as well as \*σκαραβαῖος (all names of beetles); the form with κερα- may have been adapted to κέρας by folk etymology.

**κέραμος** [m.] 'potter's earth, tile, earthen vessel, jar, wine-jar, pottery' (Il.), in E 387 denoting a (subterranean) dungeon, a use which is Cyprian acc. to the scholiast (on this topic Leumann 1950: 270<sup>17</sup>, 273, and Latte *Glotta* 34 (1955): 200ff., who compares σιρός· πίθος, δεσμοκτήριον 'large wine-jar, prison' (H.) for the semantics. <PG?>

•DIAL Myc. *ke-ra-me-u* /kerameus/.

•COMP κεραμουργός 'potter' (Hell.).

•DER A. material adjectives: κερά-μινος (Hdt.), -μικός (IA), -μεος (Pl.), -μεοῦς (Att.; after ἐρεοῦς to ἐρέα), -μοῦς (Hell.), -μαῖος (Plb.), -μιος (Str.), -μήιος (Nic.), -μίτις (Hp., Plu.). B. Substantives 1. κεραμεύς 'potter' (Il.), to which Κεραμεικός [m.] 'potter's market' (X.), also as an adjective = -μικός, κεραμευτικός 'belonging to the potter' (D. S.), κεραμεῖον 'pottery' (Att.), κεραμεύω [v.] 'to make out of potter's earth, be a potter' (Att.), with κεραμεία 'pottery' (Pl.). 2. κεράμιον 'earthen jar, vase' (IA), κεραμύλλιον 'small pot' (Delos, pap., III<sup>a</sup>). 3. κεραμῖς [f.] 'roof-tile' (IA), κεραμίδιον (late) and κεραμιδῶ [v.] 'to cover with tiles' (Arist.). 4. κεραμ(ε)ών 'pottery' (Ar. *Lys.* 200, Hdn. Gr. 1, 32; 40). Denominative verb κεραμιόω [v.] 'to cover with tiles' (Att. inscr.), whence κεραμιωτός (Plb., Str.), κεράμιωσις (Epid. IV<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM No certain etymology. Connection with κεράσαι, κεράννυμι 'to mix' is formally unproblematic, but semantically not very convincing. A verb \**kerH-* 'to burn, glow' (Pok. 571f.), which is found in several Baltic and Germanic nominal derivations, e.g. Lith. *kārštas* 'hot, glowing, burning', Go. *hauri* [n.] 'coals', OHG *herd* 'hearth', would be better from the semantic side. However, among the words in

-(α)μιο-, several are suspected of being loans (Chantraine 1933: 133f., Schwyzler: 493f.). Therefore, this technical term for tile-making may well be Pre-Greek (or Anatolian). The Carian TN Κέραμος should be noted in this connection (Kretschmer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 284, Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 694).

**κερανίζαι** [v.] · κολυμβήσαι, κυβιστῆσαι 'to dive, tumble head first' (H.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR Also κρανίζαι· ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἀπορρίψαι 'to throw away on the head' (H.).

•ETYM The last word seems to be a denominative of κρανίον, and κερανίζαι would then be a reshaping after κέρας. This seems improbable. The variation might point to a Pre-Greek form. There is no (direct) connection with Lat. *cernuus* 'head foremost'.

**κεράννυμι** [v.] 'to mix, mix up' especially of wine with water, 'to temper', of the climate, etc. (com., Hyp.). <IE \**kerh<sub>2</sub>-* 'mix'>

•VAR Also κεραννύω (com., Hyp.), κεραίω (I 203, Delph. V<sup>a</sup>), κεράω (Od.; subj. κέρωνται Δ 260), κίρνημι, -νάω (Od.), aor. κεράσ(σ)αι (Il.), also (ἐπι-)κρήσαι (η 164, Hp.), pass. κρᾶθῆναι, κρηθῆναι (IA), also κερασθῆναι (Att.), perf. med. κέκρᾶμαι, -κρη- (Sapph., Pi., IA), also κεκέρασμαι (Arist.), fut. κερῶ (Att.), κεράσω (Them.), pass. κρᾶθήσομαι (Att.).

•DIAL Myc. *ka-ra-te-ra* /krātēra/.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially συν-.

•DER A. From monosyllabic κᾶ- (κρη-): 1. κᾶσις, κῆσις (σύγ-, etc.) 'mix' (IA), with \*κᾶσίον > MoGr. κρασί 'wine'. 2. κᾶμα (rarely also κᾶμμα, after βάμμα, etc.), Ion. κῆμα, 'mix, alloy', also 'mixed wine' (Ion., Hell.), whence κραμάτιον (Dsc.) and κραι(μ)άτινος 'consisting of an alloy' (pap.). 3. κᾶτήρ, κρητήρ [m.] 'mixer', 'mixing bowl', also metaph. 'crater' (Il.), whence κρατηρία 'id.' (Dsc.) and the diminutives κρατήριον, κρη- (Hp.), κρατηρ-ίδιον (Boeot., J.), -ίσκος (Delos III<sup>a</sup>, Ath.); κρατηρίζω [v.] 'to drink a bowl', 'to intoxicate oneself' (Sophr., D.). 4. compounds like ἄ-κᾶ-τος (-η-) 'unmixed' (Il.), αὐτο-κρη-ής 'mixed with itself', i.e. 'unmixed' (Nic. *Al.* 163), αὐτό-κρας 'id.' (Poll.).

B. From disyllabic κερά-: κατα-κέρασσις 'mixing (with water)' (Arist.), κέρασμα 'id.' (Hell.), συγ-κερασμός 'id.' (gloss.), κεραστός (εὖ-, ἐγ-κέρ.) 'mixed' (D. H., Plu., APl.), κεραστής 'mixer' (Orph.), ἐπι-, κατα-κεραστικός 'causing a (real) mix' (medic.), μετά-κερας [adj., n.] 'tempered, lukewarm' (com.), αὐτό-κερας [adj., adv.] 'unmixed' (Poll., Phryn.; cf. on αὐτοκρηής). See also ▶ ἀκήρατος 2. In the mg. 'unmixed' (οἶνος; Dsc. 5, 6, 10), ἀκέραιος is a reinterpretation of ἀκέραιος 'undamaged'; see ▶ ἀκήρατος 1.

•ETYM The *set*-character of the root \**kerh<sub>2</sub>-* is apparent from the verbal adjectives (ᾶ-)κᾶτος and corresponding Skt. *ā-sīr-ta-* 'mixed'. Gr. κίρνημι is from \**k'rnāmi*, which contains a *schwa secundum* and therefore did not vocalize the \**ɾ*. The nasal present found in Skt. *śrīṇāti* rather belongs with \**kreiH-* 'to shine, excell', acc. to Narten *KZ* 100 (1987): 270-96. On the other hand, Av. *sar-* 'to unite' does belong here, e.g. OAv. *sārəntē* [3pl.pres.]. The old aorist κεράσαι gave rise to analogical innovations κεραίω, κεράω, κεράννυμι, just like κερῶ, κεράσω, κερασθῆναι, κεκέρασμαι (with analogical σ); older forms are κρᾶθῆναι, κέκρᾶμαι.

**κεραός** [adj.] 'horned', secondarily 'made of horn' (Il.). <IE \**kerh<sub>2</sub>*- 'head, horn'>

•ETYM \*κεραός is identical with several words for 'deer' and other horned animals: Lat. *cervus* (like κεραός from IE \**kerh<sub>2</sub>u-o-*), MW *carw* 'deer' < IE \**k<sub>2</sub>rh<sub>2</sub>u-o-*, Alb. *ka* 'ox', Ru. *koróna*, SCr. *krāva* 'cow' < \**korh<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>2</sub>* with *centum*-treatment of \**k* from the zero grade, which must consequently have been present in the paradigm), Lith. *kárvė* 'id.'; also, with palatalisation and zero grade, OPr. *sirwis* 'roe'. We have to assume an original paradigm \**kerh<sub>2</sub>-u-o-*, \**krh<sub>2</sub>-eu-o-*. A parallel formation is the Germanic name of the deer, e.g. OHG *hiruz*, from QIE \**keru-d-*. All words derive from a word for 'horn', e.g. Av. *srū-* [f.]; see Nussbaum 1986: 19-47 and 139-157. See ► κέρας.

**κέρας** [n.] 'horn for blowing and drinking', metaph. 'branch (of a river), part of an army, top, etc.'. <IE \**kerh<sub>2</sub>-s-* 'horn, head'>

•VAR Gen. epic -ραος, Hdt. -ρεος, Att. -ρωσ, -ρᾶτος, dat. epic -ραϊ, Hdt. -ρεϊ, Att. -ρα, nom. acc. pl. epic -ρα(α), Hp. and Att. -ρᾶτα, gen. epic -ράων, Att. -ρῶν, -ρᾶτων, dat. -ρᾶσι, epic also -ράεσσι; late epic gen. sg. -ρᾶτος, nom. acc. pl. -ρᾶατα (further forms in Schwyzler: 515).

•DIAL Myc. *ke-ra-a* /*keraha*/ [nom. pl.].

•COMP As a first member in κερασ-φόρος 'with a horn' (trag.), also κερατο-φόρος 'id.' (Arist.); κεραο-ξόος 'polishing horn' (Δ 110, AP), thematically reshaped e.g. in κερο-φόρος (E.), also κερε-αλκής 'with strong horn' (A. R.). As a second member mostly -κερως [m., f.] < -κερα(σ)-ος, seen in ὑψί-, ἄ-κερως, etc.; special feminine form ὑψι-, καλλι-κέραν [acc.] (B.); isolated -κέρατος, e.g. ἄ-κέρατος (Pl., Arist.; τῆς ἀκεράτου beside τὴν ἀκέρων Pl. *Plt.* 265b, c), also ἄ-κέρωτος (AP), -κερος e.g. in νή-κεροι [pl.] 'hornless' (Hes. *Op.* 529); δί-κερας [n.] 'double horn' (Callix.) and the plant names αἰγό-, βού-, ταυρό-κερας [n.] (after the shape of the fruit, Strömberg 1940: 54); also αἰγο-κέρως 'Capricornus', with metrically conditioned gen. -κερήος (Arat., Q. S.).

•DER Diminutives: κεράτιον 'little horn' (Arist., Hell.), 'name of a weight and a coin, "carat" (Hero) = Lat. *siliqua* (inscr. and pap.); τὰ κεράτια 'the fruits of the carob-tree' (Ev. *Luc.* 15, 16, Dsc.); thence κερατία [f.] 'carob-tree' (Str., Plin.), also -τέα (pap., Gp.; after other tree names in -έα), κερωνία 'id.' (Thphr., Plin.), contaminated form κερατωνία 'id.' (Gal., Aët.).

Further substantives: κερασ-τής [m.] 'horned being' (S., E.; of ἔλαφος, Πᾶν, etc.), name of a snake 'Cerastes cornutus' (Nic.), fem. -στίς (A; cf. Fraenkel 1912: 209); also epithet of the island of Cyprus (Hdn. 1, 104, 15: ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλὰς ἄκρας ἔχειν, 'because it has many capes'); κερατίτις (μήκων) 'kind of poppy' (Thphr., Dsc.); κεραίτης [m.] = Lat. *cornicularius* (Lyd. *Mag.*), κεραΐτις [f.] "Hornpflanze" = τῆλις (Redard 1949: 41 and 72, Strömberg 1940: 54); κεραΐτης and κεραΐτις, however, rather belong to κεραία (see below); κερατίας [m.] name of Dionysus (D. S.), also name of a comet (Plin.; Scherer 1953: 107); κεραία [f.] name of several horn-like objects, e.g. 'yard, beam, cornucopia', as a sign of writing = Lat. *apex* (Att., Hell.); diminutive κεράδιον (Attica, Delos; or κεραΐδιον?); κερατών, -ῶνος [m.] name of an altar on Delos (Hell.); originally "place adorned with horns"; after the place names in -ῶν. Adjectives: κεράτινος 'made of horn' (X., Pl. *Com.*), κερατίνης [m.] 'the fallacy called

the Horns' (D. L., Luc.); κερατώδης 'hornlike' (Thphr.); κερόεις 'horned' (Anacr., Simon.); κερείνος 'id.' (Aq., Sm.).

Denominative verbs: 1. κερατίζω 'to but with the horns' (LXX); thence κερατιστής (LXX), κεράτισις (Apollod. *Poliorec.*); κερατισμός 'loss upon exchange of solidi in ceratia', as if from κερατίζω \*'to change in ceratia' (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>, Lyd. *Mag.*); 2. κερατώω 'to change into horn' (Ael.); 3. κερᾶω 'to provide with horns' (Arat.), 'to form a wing' (Plb.). Cf. also ► κεραός, ► κεραΐς, ► κερανίζαι, ► κερουτιάω, ► κέρνα.

•ETYM Beside the full grade root in κέρας 'horn' < \**kerh<sub>2</sub>-es-*, we find a zero grade in \*καρασ- in κάρᾱ, κάρηνα 'head, top' < \**krh<sub>2</sub>-es-*, which also gave Skt. *śíras-* [n.] 'head', and \*κράσ- < \**k<sub>2</sub>rh<sub>2</sub>-s-* in κρᾶνιον 'skull'. Cf. on ► κάρᾱ. The s-stem was enlarged with a suffix \**-ro-* in Lat. *cerebrum* 'brain' < \**keras-ro-* < IE \**kerh<sub>2</sub>(e)s-ro-*. Full discussion in Nussbaum 1986. The original meaning was probably 'horn', whence 'horned animal-head' and 'head' in general. Further related forms are discussed s.v. ► κάρᾱ, ► κρᾶνιον, ► κρήδεμνον, ► κράνος.

**κέρασος** [m., f.] 'bird cherry, *Prunus avium*' (Xenoph., Thphr.). <PG?>

•VAR κερσός (acc. to Hdn. Gr. 1, 209).

•DIAL Myc. PN *ke-ra-so* /*kerasō*/ [f.], see Heubeck *Kadmos* 4 (1956): 138-145; Chantraine 1968: 575.

•DER κερασία, -έα 'id.' (Gp.), cf. κερατία, -έα s.v. ► κέρας; κεράσιον 'fruit of the κ.' (Hell.), \*κεράσινος [adj.] in Lat. *cerasinus* 'cherry-colored', as a subst. κεράσινον [n.] 'cherry-colored paint' (PHolm.).

•ETYM As the improved cherry came from the Pontos area (cf. Κερασούς "rich in cherries", town on the Pontos), the name is probably Anatolian as well. Given its intervocalic σ, the form must be Anatolian or Pre-Greek. For the suffix, cf. ► θίασος, ► κάρπασος, which too are of foreign origin. Assyr. *karšū* has also been adduced. Cf. on ► κράνον 'cornelian cherry'. Gr. κέρασος, -ία, κεράσιον were borrowed into many languages: Asiatic names of the cherry-tree and the cherry, like Arm. *keřas*, Kurd. *ghilas*, and in the West, Lat. *cerasus*, -ium, VLat. \**cerasia*, \**ceresia*, -ea; from Latin came the Romance and Germanic forms like MoFr. *cerise*, OHG *chirsa* > *Kirsche*. Lit.: Olck in PW 11: 509f. and Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 356.

**κεραυνός** [m.] 'thunderbolt, lightning' (Il.). <IE \**kerh<sub>2</sub>-* 'shatter, smash'>

•COMP ► τερπι-κέραυνος, ἐγχει-κέραυνος 'who has the thunderbolt as a spear' (Pi.), after ἐγχει-βρόμος 'who thunders with the spear'; also κεραυνο-εγγής 'id.' (B.).

•DER κεραύνιος [adj.] 'belonging to the thunderbolt', also 'struck by a thunderbolt, hurling the thunderbolt' (trag.), also κεραυναῖος (AP 7, 49; Steph. -εῖος); κεραύνιον name of a mushroom '*Tuber aestivum*' (Thphr., Gal.), conceived as protecting against thunder, or as arisen from a thunderbolt; likewise κεραυνία = ἀεὶζων μικρόν (Ps.-Dsc.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 79f.; also name of a stone κεραυνίας, -νίτης (PHolm., Clem.). Denominative κεραυνόμαι [v.] 'to be struck by lightning', -όω 'to slay with a thunderbolt' (Hes.); κεραύνωσις 'thunderclap' (Str., Plu.).

•ETYM Thematic transformation of an *r/n*-stem \*κερα-φαρ, κερα-υv- 'shattering', from a verb 'to shatter' that was replaced by ► κεραΐζω. For the formation, cf. on

►ἐλαύνω. Not to be included here are Skt. *śāru-* 'arrow' and Gm. words like Go. *hairus* 'sword'.

**Κέρβερος** [m.] 'name of the dog that guarded the underworld' (Hes. 311, where he has fifty heads). <PG?>

•ETYM Traditionally connected with Skt. *karbara-*, *śārvara-* 'spotted', as an adj. *śabāla-* of the two dogs of the lower world (RV 10, 14, 10). This is doubted by Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v. *karbarah*, where, after Kuiper, an Austro-Asiatic origin is considered for the Skt. word (see also Mayrhofer *EWAlia* 3: 297). Thus, it has nothing to do with the Greek word. Lincoln *JIES* 7 (1979): 273-285 follows Schlerath, who showed that there were two hellhounds in the IE conception; this is most clear in Armenian, where Spitak 'white' is the dog of life, Siaw 'black' the dog of death. He ends with unfounded speculations. The dog may come from the East, he may as well be Pre-Greek; for neither do we have any evidence.

**κέρδος** [n.] 'cunning, wiles; desire to win, gain, profit' (Il.); plur. also 'good advice' (Hom.). <IE? \**kerd-* 'cunning'>

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. κερδο-φόρος 'bringing gain' (Artem.), as a second member in αἰσχρο-κερδής 'full of lowly craving, greedy' (IA).

•DER Diminutives κερδάριον, κερδύφιον (gloss.). Further κερδοσύνη 'ruse' (Hom., Cleanth. *Hymn.* 1, 28), κερδῶ [f.] 'the cunning one', i.e. 'fox' (Ar., Babr.); PN Κέρδων, -ωνος (D., Argolis), whence Lat. *cerdō* 'ordinary artisan'; also Κερδέων epithet of Hermes and Κερδεῖη Πειθῶ (Herod. 7, 74); Κερδῶς epithet of Apollo (Thessal., Lyc.), after Λητώς; also of Hermes (Plu., Luc.), also said of the fox (Babr.); κερδητικός 'greedy' (gloss.). Further κερδαλέος 'greedy' (Il.) and κερδαίνω [v.] 'to gain, have profit' (Pi., IA), aor. κερδήναι, -δάναι, -δήσαι. Comparative forms κερδίω 'more profitable' (Il.), κέρδιστος 'the most cunning' (Hom.). The positive has now been recognized in ►κορδύς.

•ETYM The only connections outside Greek are a few Celtic words: OIr. *cerd* 'art, handwork', also 'aerarius, figulus, poeta' < IE \**kerd-h₂-*, MW *cerdd* 'song'. The gloss κήρτεα· τὰ κέρδη (H.) is doubtful. R. Schmitt *Glotta* 51 (1973): 94-95 convincingly connected it with κορδύς· πανοῦργος 'crafty' (H.).

**κέρθιος** [m.] name of a small bird with a clear voice, perhaps 'treekreeper, Certhia familiaris' (Arist. *HA* 616b 28). <PG?>

•ETYM Unexplained; the word hardly belongs to ►κρέξ. Perhaps Pre-Greek.

**κέρκα** [?] · ἀκρίς 'locust' (H.). <PG?>

•VAR κέρκαξ· ιέραξ 'hawk, falcon', κέρκνος· ιέραξ ἢ ἀλεκτρύων 'cock' (H.).

•ETYM Fur.: 127 compares κερ-κ- with ἀ-κρ-ιδ-, comparing for the morphology γελ-γ-ιθ- beside α-γλ-ιθ-; doubtful at best. The words hardly belong to ►κέρκος 'tail', as per Frisk. The word is rather Pre-Greek.

**κερκάς** [?] · κρέξ τὸ ὄρνειον 'ruff, corncrake' (H.).

•VAR κερκιθαλῖς· ἐρφιδίος 'heron' (H.). ⇒ κρέξ.

**κέρκηρις**, -εως [?] name of a water-bird (*PCair. Zen.* 388b, III<sup>a</sup>, *BGU* 1252, 30, II<sup>a</sup>), Lat. *cerceris* (Varro *LL* 5: 79). <?>

•DER Cf. ►κερκίων [m.].

•ETYM Compared with Lat. *querquedula*, which is paraphrased with κερκήδης (gloss. 3, 319, 13, etc.). It is uncertain whether κέρκηρις belongs to κέρκος or to the group of κρέξ.

**κερκίς -ίδος** [f.] 'weaver's shuttle' (Il.); metaph. of comparable objects, e.g. 'great bone of the leg, tibia' (A. R., Heroph. Med.), 'wedge-shaped division of the seats in the theatre' (Hell.); as a tree name 'asp, Populus tremula, etc.' (Arist., Thphr.). The mgs. are discussed by Martin *REGr.* 80 (1967): 319f. <PG?>

•COMP As a first member in κερκιδοποιική (τέχνη) 'the art of a κερκιδοποιός' (Arist.); as a second member in παρα-κερκίς [f.] 'splint-bone' (Poll.).

•DER Diminutives κερκίδιον (pap.); κερκιδιαῖον 'wedge-shaped spool' (Attica); κερκίζω [v.] 'to use the weaver's shuttle' (Pl., Arist.), κέρκισις 'weaving' (Arist.), κερκιστική (τέχνη) 'art of weaving' (Pl.), κέρκιστρα [n.pl.] 'weaver's wages' (pap.). Further also κερκάδαι [pl.] 'the weavers', name of a society of weavers (Argos).

•ETYM Unclear. A technical word that seems to be Pre-Greek. Vendryes *REGr.* 25 (1912): 461 took it as a diminutive of ►κέρκος, assuming an original meaning 'stave, rod'.

**κερκίων** [m.] name of an Indian speaking bird, kind of mynah (perhaps *Acridotheres tristis* or *Gracula religiosa*; Ael. *NA* 16, 3; see Thompson 1895 s.v.).

•ETYM The suffix of κερκίων is found in πορφυρίων, ἀκανθίων, and other bird and animal names. Frisk derives it from κέρκος, following Ael., who argues ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς διασείεται τὸν ὄρρον, ὥς ποιοῦνται οἱ κίγκλοι 'because it wags its tail itself too, like the κ. do'.

**κερκολύρα** = κρέκω.

**κερκορώνους** [acc.pl.m.] name of an unknown Indian bird (Ael. *NA* 15, 14). <?>

•ETYM Thompson 1895 s.v. assumes haplology for \*κερκο-κρώνη.

**κέρκος** [f.] 'tail of an animal' (com., Pl. *Phdr.* 254d, Arist.), 'penis' (Ar., Herod.). <?>

•COMP κερκο-φόρος 'with a tail', ἄ-κερκος 'tailless' (Arist.); on ►κέρκουρος and ►κέρκωψ s.v.

•DER Diminutive κερκίον (Aq., Sm., Thd.); cf. ►κερκίς. Also the animal names ►κέρκα · ἀκρίς 'locust' (H.), κερκώπη name of a cicada (Ar.), see Strömberg 1944: 16 and cf. on Κέρκωπες, probably also ►κέρκαξ · ιέραξ (H.) and ►κέρκνος · ιέραξ, ἢ ἀλεκτρύων (H.). κέρκωσις 'tail-like growth' (medic.); κερκέτης· τὸ μικρὸν πηδάλιον 'small rudder' (H.; Paus. *Gr. Fr.* 118).

•ETYM As opposed to ►οὐρά, κέρκος seems to come from the lower stratum of the language and may originally have meant 'stave, rod' (but see on ►κερκίς). Origin unknown.

**κέρκουρος** [m.] 'light vessel' (Hdt., Hell.), originally Cyprian; also name of a sea-fish (Opp.; cf. Strömberg 1943: 48). <?>



•COMP Compounds ταυρο-κέρκουρος, κερκουρο-σκάφη names of different vessels (Hell., pap.).

•DER Diminutive κερκούριον (AP 5, 43; also [f.] PN); κερκουρίτης 'sailor on a κ.' (Hell., pap.).

•ETYM Properly a bahuvrīhi, 'having a κέρκος-like back', unless it is a folk-etymological adaptation of a foreign word (cf. the animal names in -οῦρ-, Pre-Greek (suffixes). Semitic hypothesis by Movers in Lewy 1895: 152. See Chantraine 1928: 13f. Latin borrowed *cercūrus* as a fish name (Ov., Plin.).

**Κέρκωπες** [m.pl.] 'name of two mischievous dwarves', which were 'fettered by Heracles (Hdt.), metaph. [sg.] 'teaser, rogue' (Aeschin.); name of a long-tailed ape (Manil.). <PG(S)>

•DER κερκωπία 'trickiness' (Semon.), κερκωπίζω [v.] 'to tease, joke' (Zenob., H.). Also, with *ā*-stem-enlargement, κερκώπη- τέττιξ θήλεια μὴ φωνοῦσα 'female cicada producing no sound' (H.).

•ETYM Interpreted as 'with tail-like figure', from ► κέρκος and -ωψ (Schwyzer: 426<sup>4</sup>). Gil *Emerita* 25 (1957): 312 considers κερκώπη 'τέττιξ' to be a compound \*κερκο-φωπ-η 'with shrill voice', but this does not fit H.'s explanation above. Rather, -ωπ is the ending of several Pre-Greek names.

**κέρνα 1** [n.pl.] 'transverse processes of the vertebrae' (Poll. 2, 180). <?>

•VAR Also -ναι [f.pl.].

•ETYM Mostly analyzed as \*kers-nā (cf. κάρηνα < \*karasna). An exact parallel to this form seems to be found in the Germanic word for 'brain', e.g. OHG *hirn(i)* (< IE \*kers-n-ījo- beside ON *hjarsi* < \*kers-on-). However, the formation was \*kerh<sub>2</sub>-s-n- with root-final -h<sub>2</sub>, which makes this derivation impossible. See Nussbaum 1986: 192. It is semantically tempting to compare κέρνα with ON *hvern* 'the two boat-shaped white bones in the brain of a fish', but like Go. *lvairnei* 'skull', this derives from initial IE \*k<sup>w</sup>- and belongs to ON *hverna* 'cooking utensils', etc.; cf. on ► κέρνος.

**κέρνα 2** [?] · ἄξινη 'axe-head' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Acc. to von Blumenthal 1930: 40, it is from κέρω, and to be separated from κέαρνα (see on ► κεάζω). DELG even proposes to read κέαρνα here.

**κέρνος** [n.] 'earthen vase with nipples all around, used in mystery cult' (sch. Nic. Al. 217; Ammon. and Polem. *apud* Ath. 11, 476f and 478c; H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Plur. κέρνεα· τὰ τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιθυόμενα 'that which is sacrificed to the mother of the gods' (H.); also -να (Poll. 4, 103); on the mg. Nilsson 1941(1): 128, 270f., 726.

•COMP As a first member in κερνο-φόρος (Nic., Ath.), to which κερνο-φορέω (sch.); short form κερνάς (AP 7, 709).

•DER Diminutive κερνίον (Att. inscr., Theognost.).

•ETYM Several unsuccessful IE etymologies have been proposed: relation to κέραμος, Skt. *carú-* 'kettle', ON *hverna* 'cooking utensils'; to Lat. *scrinium* 'chest', to Skt. *śārāva-* 'plate' (see the relevant litt. in Frisk). The by-forms κέρχνος (IG 1<sup>2</sup>, 313: 17,

314: 23), with κερχίνιον (IG 2<sup>2</sup>, 1533: 19; 23), show that the word was Pre-Greek, as Chantraine already saw (DELG).

**κερουτιάω** [v.] 'to toss the horns or head' (Ar. Eq. 1344). <IE \*kerh<sub>2</sub>- 'head, horn'>

•DER κερουτιασμός (Phot.).

•ETYM A denominative in -ιάω from \*κεροῦττα 'provided with horns', which is genuine Attic for κερούσσα (S., E.) or κερόεσσα (Anacr.), an epithet of the deer. It may originally have meant "to behave like a κερούσσα (ἐλαφος)". On the formation, where we expect \*κερατ-, see Nussbaum 1986: 153.

**κέρσα** [?] · Ἀσιανὸν ὄνομα 'an Asiatic name' (H.). <LW OP>

•ETYM Schmitt 1999: 53-57 states it is a loan from OP *krš*, a Persian weight, which perhaps derives from \*k<sup>w</sup>els- 'to draw furrows'.

**κερτομέω** [v.] 'to taunt, insult, mock, ridicule' (almost only poetic, Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Aor. κερτομήσαι (rare).

•COMP Also with ἐπι-. Compound φιλο-κέρτομος 'loving mockery' (χ 287, Theoc., APl.).

•DER κέρτομος 'insulting, slandering' (Hes. Op. 788, poet.), with κερτομία [pl.] 'mockery, slander' (Hom.); also with suffix -ιο-κερτόμιος 'id.' (Hom., S. [lyr.]), κερτόμησις (S. Ph. 1236). From ἐπικερτομέω: ἐπικερτόμ-ημα (Demetr.), -ησις (Hdn.) and, as a back-formation, ἐπικέρτομος (Q. S.).

•ETYM Prellwitz assumed a univerbation of κείρειν and τέμνειν, a type of formation which remains hypothetical. Fur.: 349 refers to καρτομιστής· χλευαστής 'mockers' (H.). The varying vocalism points to Pre-Greek origin.

The root has been connected with Lat. *carināre*, and the words cited under ► κάρνη 'punishment'. Schrijver 1991: 429 is right to connect it with the group of σκερβόλλω, -βόλλω, κερβόλλουσα 'to insult, mock, slander', which in turn is connected with (σ)κέραφος, σχέραφος. All these words are clearly Pre-Greek, a conclusion which Schrijver also reaches. It is unknown what the second elements were, or even if the words were compounds at all. Fur.: 349<sup>46</sup> suggests comparison with Hitt. *kartimiye/a-*zi 'to be angry', *kartiminu-* 'to make angry', which is possible, though the meanings are not the same. For a different but less likely proposal: Perpillou *RPh.* 75 (2001):145f.

**κερχνηίς, -ίδος** [f.] a kind of falcon, probably 'kestrel, windhover, Falco tinnunculus'.

<?>

•VAR Also -ής, -ήδος (Ar. Av. 304, 589); also κερχνηίς, -ρίς (Arist., Ael.), κέγχρη (Arist.), κέρχνη (H.).

•ETYM From κέρχνος 'raw voice, hoarseness', with the same variation as in χλωρηίς epithet of the nightingale (to χλωρός), etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 345f.). Also κέρχνη, after the feminines in -η-. Did κερχνηίς, etc. arise through metathesis? Hardly after κέγχρος 'millet' (defended by DELG); see Thompson 1895 s.v. κερχνηίς.

**κέρχνος** [m.] 'raw voice, hoarseness' (Hp., S. *Ichn.* 128), 'raw surface, rough excrescence' (S. Fr. 279), also = ὁ τῶν ἀργυρίων κονιορτός 'silver dust' (Poll. 7, 99).

<PG?>

•COMP ἄ-κερχνος 'without hoarseness' (Aret.), αἰμό-κερχνον [n.] 'cough with bloody sputum' (Hp.; substantivized bahuvrihi). From ἄκερχνος and κέρχνω the adjective κέρχνος (κερχνός?) 'raw (of the voice), hoarse' (Gal.) [??].

•DER κερχνώδης 'raw, hoarse' (Hp.), κερχνασμός 'rawness, hoarseness' (Gal.). Denominative κερχνόμαι [v.] 'to be raw or uneven', -όω 'to make uneven, engrave' (H.), whence κερχνώματα [pl.] 'unevennesses, elevated, embossed work' (H.); to be read as well in E. *Ph.* 1386 for κερχνώμασι - cf. on κέγγρος; κερχνωτός 'embossed, engraved' (H.); also κέρχνω [v.] 'to be or make hoarse' (Hp.). κερχαλέος 'raw, hoarse' (Hp.), also κερχναλέος (Hp. v.l., Gal.). On ►κερχνήϊς, see s.v.

•ETYM The derivation κέρχνος < \*κέρκ-σος has been proposed, but the bird name κρέξ hardly seems comparable. Perhaps the word is onomatopoeic in origin; cf. Skt. *ghar-ghara-* [m.] 'crackling, rattling', as well as, independently, Lat. *hirriō* 'to grumble', OE *gierran* 'to crack, creak, coo', etc. (Pok. 439). If we connect these, we could assume κέρχνος < \*g<sup>h</sup>er-g<sup>h</sup>r-o-; κερχαλέος would be analogical after ισχνός: ισχαλέος vel sim. Fur. 340 compares κάρχαρος. If the word is Pre-Greek, it could simply be \*KerK-no-, with automatic aspiration before the \*n (cf. Fur. 110).

ΚΕΣΚΕΟΝ [n.] 'tow' (Herod. 9a). <PG(S)>

•VAR Κέσκι<ον>· στυπείον, τὸ ἀποκτένισμα τοῦ λινοῦ 'what is combed from flax' (H.).

•ETYM Mostly analyzed as \*kes-kes-o-, from a root \*kes- 'to comb, hackle, scratch' in OCS *česati*, 1sg. *češō*, Hitt. *kiš-zi* 'to comb, card', with the verbal nouns Cz. *pa-čes* 'tow', Lith. *kasà* 'plait, braid' < IE \*kos-h<sub>2</sub>-, OIr. *cír* [f.] < \*kēs-rā (for the apparent lengthened grade, see the discussion in Matasović 2008 s.v. \*kīsrā). See also ►ξέω, ►ξαίνω, ►ξύω. A reduplicated formation \*kes-kes- is an improbable structure in IE terms. Word-final -εον may be the Pre-Greek suffix \*-ay- (Pre-Greek Suffixes sub -αι-/ε(ι)-).

ΚΕΣΤΟΣ [adj.] 'stitched'. ►κεντέω.

ΚΕΥΘΩ [v.] 'to conceal', also 'to be hidden' (Il.). <IE (s)keu-d<sup>h</sup>- 'conceal, hide'>

•VAR Also κευθάνω (Γ 453), κυνθάνει· κρύπτει 'hides, conceals' (H.), fut. κεύσω, aor. κεύσαι, also κύθε (γ 16), reduplicated subj. κεύθωσι (ζ 303), perf. κέκευθα.

•COMP Also with ἐπι- (ἐνι-, ἀμφι-).

•DER κεύθος [n.] 'hiding, cave, depth' (Il.), often plur. -εα; κευθμών, -μῶνες 'id.' (Od.), κευθμός, -μοί 'id.' (N 28, Lyc., Call.); also κευθῆνες· οἱ καταχθόνιοι δαίμονες 'subterranean deities' (Suid.).

•ETYM A close relative to κεύθω is found in Germanic in the OE *yod*-present *hýdan*, MoE *hide*. A further comparandum is Arm. *suzanem* 'to dive, hide', but this would presuppose an initial palatal \*k̑, which does not fit with the other words adduced, like Skt. *kuhú-* [f.] 'new moon' ('the hidden one'), *kuhara-* [n.] 'cave', etc. (rejected by Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *kúha*). Beside the words from IE \*keud<sup>h</sup>-, several forms with root-final \*t are found; see ►κύτος. See also on ►κύσθος, ►κύστις, and ►σκύτος and ►σκύλα.

ΚΕΦΑΛΗ [f.] 'head, the uppermost or top part, source, etc.' (Il.). <IE \*g<sup>h</sup>eb<sup>h</sup>-l- 'head'>

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. κεφαλ-αλγία 'headache' (Hp.), also -αργία (Luc.) by dissimilation; βου-κέφαλος 'with cow-head' (Ar.); also as a plant name (Strömberg 1940: 54); as a PN Βου-κεφάλας [m.] the personal horse of Alexander the Great (Str., Plu.).

•DER Diminutive κεφάλιον (Att. inscr.), -ίδιον (Poll., pap.), κεφαλίς [f.] 'bulb of an onion, toe-cap of a shoe, capital of a column, etc.' (Arist.), κεφαλὶς βιβλίου 'scroll' (LXX); κεφάλαιον [n.] 'the main thing, capital' (Pi., Att.); rarely adjectival κεφάλαιος (Ar. *Ra.* 854, *PMasp.* 151, 16, VIP), with κεφαλαϊώδης (adv. -ωδῶς) 'regarding the main point' (Hp., Arist., Hell.) and the denominative κεφαλαϊώω [v.] 'to summarize (the main points)' (Att.), whence κεφαλαῖωμα 'sum, total' (Hdt. 3, 159), -αῖωσις 'summary' (sch.), -αιωτής = Lat. *capitularius*, also -τία (pap. Rom. Emp.); κεφαλαία [f.] 'chronic headache' (medic.); κεφαλῶδης 'head-like' (Thphr.), κεφαλῖκός 'belonging to the head, to life' (pap., Dsc.); κεφαλίτης λίθος 'cornerstone, headstone' (H.), κεφαλίτης γλῆχων probably 'Mentha aquatica' (Hippiatr.); κεφαλίνη 'root of the tongue' (Poll.); κεφαλίνος fish name = βλεψίας (Dorio *apud* Ath.), see Strömberg 1943: 41, also κέφαλος 'Mugil cephalus' (Hp., com., Arist.), on which extensively Thompson 1947 s.v.; κεφάλωμα 'sum' (Messen., Delph.); after ἀνάλωμα acc. to Bechtel 1921, 2: 156, but cf. also κεφαλαῖωμα above; κεφαλωτός 'with a head' (Arist., Hell.), as a plant name 'thyme' (Ps.-Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 50; -ωτόν (sc. πράσον) 'onion' (pap.); κεφαληδόν 'per head' (Priene IV<sup>a</sup>). Denominative κ|εφαλίζω [v.] 'to behead' (BGU 1, 341, 9); in a different mg. κεφαλισμός 'table of multiplication' (Arist.); κεφαλῶω in κεκεφαλῶμένος 'provided with a head' (comm. Arist.); κεφαλῖώω in ἐκεφαλῖωσαν (Ev. Marc. 12, 4), which may mean either 'to beat the head' or 'to behead'. Furthermore hypostases προσ- (Dor. ποτι-), ὑπο-κεφάλαιον 'head cushion' (IA), ἀποκεφαλίζω [v.] 'to behead' (LXX, Phld.), -ισμός, -ισμα, -ιστής. •ETYM Old word for 'head', also found in Tocharian and Germanic: ToA *špāl* 'head', OHG *gebal* [m.], MHG *gebel* 'skull', OHG *gibilla* [f.] 'id.'; additionally, in the sense of 'front', OHG *gibil* [m.], Go. *gibla* [m.] (n-stem), and ablauting ON *gafl* [m.] 'side of a facade'. This points to an IE l-stem \*g<sup>h</sup>eb<sup>h</sup>-l-, but it is unclear from which root it is. The Greek suffixal -α- is difficult to explain. Cf. also γαβαλάν· ἐγκέφαλον ἢ κεφαλὴν (H.) and Macedonian (Illyrian?) κεβ(α)λή s.v. ►κεβλή.

Κέως, -ω [f.] one of the Cyclades (inscr., Str.). <PG(V)>

•DER Κεῖος, Ion. Κήϊος inhabitant of Keos (IA); Κέος [f.] place on Salamis (Hdt. 8, 76).

•ETYM Solmsen 1901: 125 suggests derivation from \*κῆφος 'fire' (to ►καίω), which must be wrong, as it is a Pre-Greek name. Fick 1905: 59 compares Κέως Κήϊος Κεῖος with Τέως Τήϊος and Κόως Κῶϊος and Cret. Λάτως Λάτιος, and notes as older forms Κήως Τήως Κῶως.

κῆβος [m.] 'monkey with a long tail' (Arist., Str., Gal.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also κῆπος (Agatharch., v.l. in Str. 16, 4, 16, Ael., where also κείπος) and \*κηφος because of Lat. *cephus* (Plin. *Nat.* 1, 18, 28 and 8, 70; *cef(f)us* Sol. 30, 22); in Lat. also *ceppus* (Pol. Silv.), *caepus* (v.l. Plin. *Nat.* 8, 70 = \*καῖπος?); cf. Fur.: 176, 232, 235.

•ETYM The Greek, but also the Latin variants (see Fur.: l.cc.) point to a Pre-Greek word. It was previously compared with Skt. *kapí-*, Hebr. *qōf*, Old Eg. *qefi* 'ape of the land Punt' and assumed to be a loan from an unknown source (acc. to Frisk, the vowel suggests Egyptian origin), see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *kapí-*, E. Masson 1967: 87<sup>2</sup>, and Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 244.

**κῆδος** [n.] 'care, mourning, funeral rites; connection by marriage, affinity' (Il.). <IE \**keh<sub>2</sub>d-s-* 'care, grief; hate'>

•VAR Dor. *kādos*. Primary superlative *κῆδιστος* 'closest, most dear' (Hom.).

•COMP As a second member in *ἀ-κῆδής* 'careless, unburi' (Il.), to which *ἀκήδεια*, *-ίη*, *ἀκηδέω*, *-ιάω*; also *ἀ-κῆδεσ-τος* 'id.' (Il.), *προσ-κῆδής* 'careful, related by marriage, friendly with' (φ 35, Hdt. 8, 136, A. R.); on formation and mg. see Sommer 1948: 110<sup>2</sup>, Levin *Class. Phil.* 45 (1950): 110f. As a first member in *Κηδι-κράτης* (IV<sup>a</sup>), perhaps after *Ἀλκι-*, see Bechtel 1917b: 236.

•DER 1. *κηδεστής* [m.] 'relative by marriage' (Att.), *κηδεστ(ε)ία* 'connection by marriage', *κηδέστρια* [f.] 'nurse' (pap.); also *κηδέστωρ* 'educator' (Man.). 2. Adjectives: *κῆδε(ι)ος* 'worth caring for, beloved, relative' (Il.), *ἐπικῆδειος* 'belonging to a corpse, belonging to grief' (E., Pl. *Lg.* 800e), *κηδόσυνος* 'dear' (E. *Or.* 1017) and *κηδοσύνη* (dat.pl. *-σύνῃσι*) 'grief' (A. R.). 3. Denominative *κηδεύω* [v.] 'to care for, bury, marry' (Att.), to which *κῆδευμα* 'connection by marriage' (S., E.), *-ενσις* 'care' (Ael., Plot.), *-ευντής* 'who cares for' (Arist.), *-εία* 'relatedness, burial' (E., X.), whence *κηδειακός* 'who buries the dead' (Pergam. II<sup>p</sup>).

Primary verb *κῆδομαι* 'to care, be cared for' (Il.), aor.ipv. *κῆδεσαι* (A. *Th.* 139 [lyr.]), fut. *κεκαδήσομαι* (Θ 353), perf. *κέκηδα* (Tyr. 12, 28); also with prefix, e.g. *περι-*, *προ-*; also act. *κῆδω*, fut. *κηδήσω* 'be grieved' (Il.); *κηδεμών* 'who cares for, educator, protector' (Il.), after *ἡγε-μών* (Schwyzer 522), to which *κηδεμονία* 'care', *-μονικός* 'caring for' (Hell.), *-μονεύω* [v.] 'to be protector' (Just.); metrical enlargement *κηδεμονεύς* (A. R., *APL*).

•ETYM A related *r*-stem is supposed in Av. *sādra-* [n.] 'grief, pain, disaster', so from PIE \**keh<sub>2</sub>d-s-*, \**keh<sub>2</sub>d-ro-*. Thieme 1938: 158f. recognized the *s*-stem in the obscure word Skt. *riśādas-*, which he took to mean 'caring for the foreigner'. This was recently defended by Pinault *Bulletin d'études indiennes* 17-18 (1999-2000): 466ff., but remains uncertain. Further nouns have been adduced from Italic, Celtic, and Germanic: Osc. *cadeis* 'malevolentiae' [gen.sg.], Mlr. *cais* 'hate, love' (perhaps from older 'care'), MW *cawdd* 'offensa, ira, indignatio', Go. *hatis* [n.] 'hate, anger'. The Germanic words all have the zero grade of the root, so we have traces of a PIE *s*-stem with root ablaut. There is no parallel to the verb *κῆδομαι* in the other languages.

**κηθίς, -ίδος** [f.] 'ballot box, dicebox' (Poll. 7, 203; not quite certain). <PG(V)>

•DIAL Perhaps Myc. *ka-ti* /kāt<sup>h</sup>is/, which Neumann *Glotta* 39 (1961): 176 thinks is Luwian.

•DER Diminutive formations: *κῆθιον*, *-ειον*, *-ιον* (Hermipp. 27, Poll., H.), *κηθάριον* (Ar. V. 674), *κηθίδιον* (Poll.); also with metathesis of aspiration *χείτιον* beside *κείτιον* (Eust. 1259, 36), and with loss of aspiration *κητίον* (Alciphr. 1, 39, 8, Ath. 11,

477d). Cf. *κάθος· σπυρίς* 'large basket, creel' (H.), also ► *κάθιδοι* (for *-ίδες?*)· *ὕδρια* 'jars' (H.).

•ETYM Comparison with *κώθων* 'beaker' is improbable. If *κητίον* is reliable, it points in the direction of Pre-Greek origin. The change of aspiration is Ionic, but the interchange *ιη/ει* is also typical of Pre-Greek (see Fur.: 352).

\***κηκάζω** [v.] 'to abuse, revile', only aor. subj. *κηκάσῃ* (Lyc. 1386). <ONOM>

•VAR *κηκαδεῖ* (*-άζει?*)· *λοιδορεῖ*, *χλευάζει* 'abuses, scoffs' (H.).

•DER *κηκασμός* 'abuse, scorn' (Lyc.); *κηκάς*, *-άδος* [f.] 'abusing, scorning' (γλώσση Call. *Fr.* 253), also as an epithet of *ἀλώπηξ* (Nic. *Al.* 185).

•ETYM Originally onomatopoeic; cf. the bird name *κῆξ* (see ► *καῦαξ*) and ► *καχάζω*; see also *κακός* and \**kāk-* in words for 'crow, raven' (Pok. 521). The comparison with OHG *huohōn* 'to mock, scorn', *huoh* 'mockery' (Frisk) is senseless.

**κηκίς, -ίδος** [f.] 'anything gushing forth, ooze', of blood, purple, pitch, fat (A., S.), 'dye from oak gall, oak gall' (Hp., D., Thphr.). <PG(V)>

•DIAL Dor. *κακίς*.

•DER Diminutive *κηκίδιον* (medic.). *κηκίω* [v.] 'to gush forth' (Il.), *κακίω*· *ιδροῦν* *ἀρχομαι*. *Λάκονες* 'begin to sweat (Lac.)' (H.), only present-stem, also with *ἀνα-*. It appears to be a denominative to an *ι*-stem.

•ETYM Traditionally compared with Lith. *šókti* 'to jump, dance', as if from IE \**keh<sub>2</sub>k-*. The gloss *καγκύλας*· *κηκίδας*. *Αἰολεῖς* is compared with Lith. *šankūs* 'nimble', but this cannot be connected here if the root was IE \**keh<sub>2</sub>k-*. The form *κηκίς*, *-ίδος* is either from an \**iH*-stem (suffix *-ιδ-*, but this is also a Pre-Greek suffix), or a back-formation from *κηκίω*. At any rate, the connection with *šókti* must be abandoned, and the word is Pre-Greek, because of the prenasalization in *καγκύλας*. Thraco-Phr. *σίκιν(ν)ις* 'dance of the satyrs in honor of Dionysus' (S., E.) does not belong here either.

**κῆλα** [n.pl.] 'arrows, projectiles (of the gods)' (Il., Hes., Pi., Orph.). <?>

•ETYM It has been compared with some Skt. words meaning 'cane, arrow', like *śará-* [m.], *śárya-* [n.], *śáryā-* [f.], *śalyá-* [m., n.], and further Mlr. *cail* 'spear', ON *hali* [m.] 'tail' (*n*-stem). However, all these words go back to a root with short vowel, as opposed to *κῆλα* with long vowel. Connection with ► *κάλον* 'wood' is rejected by Frisk and DELG. For further suggestions, see Pok. 552f.

**κηλάς, -ᾶ** [m.] name of an Indian stork, 'Marabu, Leptopilus argala' (Ael. *NA* 16, 4).

<LW Ind>

•ETYM Formation like *ἄτταγᾶς*, *ἐλεᾶς* (Chantraine 1933: 31f.), probably from Indic (cf. perhaps Hindi *hargēla*). Thompson 1895 s.v. suggests that the word was reshaped after *κῆλη* 'tumor, hump', because the bird had a great crop. On the accent, see Björck 1950: 63<sup>2</sup>.

**κηλάς** ⇒ *κηλίς*.

**κῆλαστρος** [f.] 'holly, Ilex aquifolium' (Thphr.). <PG>

•VAR Also -ον [n.]; κηλάστραι· σκαφίδες, ἀγγεῖα ποιμενικά. ἢ δένδρα 'bowls, vessels of shepherds; trees' (H.).

•ETYM Formation like ►δέπαστρον, ►κάναστρον, ►ζύγαστρον; the suffix is Pre-Greek (see *Pre-Greek: Suffixes*).

**κηλέος** [adj.] 'burning' (Hom., Hes.). <IE? \*keh<sub>2</sub>u- 'burn'>

•VAR Only in πυρὶ κηλέω (disyllabic), always verse-final except in Θ 217 and Ο 74 (πυρὶ κηλείω).

•DER περί-κηλος (Od.), κηλόν· ξηρόν 'dry' (H.) and καυαλέον ἢ καυαλές· ὑπὸ Αἰολέων τὸ αἶθος, ἢ κατακεκαυμένον κτλ. 'fire (Aeolian); burnt completely, etc.'

•ETYM If Delph. ►κηνα is correctly compared (which is quite uncertain; s.v.), κηλέος has to stand for \*κηφαλέος (Shipp 1967: 54 suggests that κηφαλέον πῦρ was originally verse-final, like αἰθόμενον πῦρ, etc.); Aeol. \*καφαλέος would then have a different ablaut grade (perhaps \*keh<sub>2</sub>u- beside \*kh<sub>2</sub>u-). The form κηλείω may have replaced the suffix -εος with -ειος. The forms περί-κηλος and καυαλές were reshaped as well, after the adjectives in -λο- and -ής. See further ►καίω and ►κηώδης.

**κηλέω** [v.] 'to charm, bewitch' (IA). <IE? \*keh<sub>2</sub>l- 'enchant, deceive'>

•VAR Aor. κηλήσαι.

•COMP Also with κατα-, ὑπερ-, ἐκ-.

•DER Verbal nouns: κηληθμός 'enchantment' (λ 334 = ν 2), κήλησις 'id.' (Pl.), κήλημα 'charm' (Ibyc., E.), κήληθρον 'id.' (Phryn., H.); Κηληδόνες [f.pl.] name of mythical singers who resembled the Sirenes (Pi.), κηλήτωρ 'enchanter' (Orph.), -ήτειρα [f.] (Hes. *Op.* 464 εὐκηλήτειρα; = ἡσυχάστρια 'she who soothes' H.), κηλητήριος 'enchanting' (S., E.), -ητικός (Ath., Ael.).

•ETYM Bugge *Curtius Studien* 4 (1871): 331f. compared a Germanic deverbative with deviant meaning: Go. (*af*)holon 'to slander, συκοφαντεῖν', OE *hōlian* 'id.', OHG *huolen* 'to deceive' < \*keh<sub>2</sub>l-, from which we may also mechanically derive the Greek verb. Lat. *calvor*, -ī 'to deceive', *calumnia* 'trickery, false accusation, malicious prosecution' is formally different, but semantically it matches the Germanic words well. Schrijver 1991: 95, 113 reconstructs \*kh<sub>2</sub>l-u- for Latin, while LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*kelh<sub>1</sub>- 'verlocken, betören, betrügen' assumes a Narten present \*kēlh<sub>1</sub>- / \*kelh<sub>1</sub>-, presumably because they want to connect it with \*kēlh<sub>1</sub>- 'to call', which is unwarranted.

**κήλη** [f.] 'tumor; rupture, hernia' (Hp., AP), 'hump' (Eup., Arist.). <IE \*keh<sub>2</sub>u-l- 'tumor, stalk'>

•DIAL Att. κάλη (Arist., gramm.).

•COMP As a first member in κηλο-τομία 'operation for hernia'; as a second member in έντερο-, σαρκο-κήλη (medic.).

•DER κηλήτης [m.] 'hernia patient' (Str., Gal., Phryn.), Att. καλήτης; (έντερο-)κηλικός (Dsc., Gal.); κάλαμα· ὄγκος 'distension' (H.), see Chantraine 1933: 186f.; denominative verb καλάζει· ὀγκοῦται. Ἀχαιοί 'is distended (Achaean)' (H.). On κηλᾶς bird s.v.

•ETYM The difference between Ion. κήλη and Att. κάλη (where the α is long, acc. to gramm.) is unexplained. 'Rückverwandlung' of PAtt. η > ā cannot be accounted for, and it is unattractive to assume different ablaut forms \*kāf-ελ-ā > κήλη, \*kāf-ελ-ā >

κάλη as late as Proto-Ionic-Attic. Björck 1950: 70 therefore suggested that κάλη was taken by Attic from another dialect, but there is no proof for this.

A remarkable correspondence is found in the Germanic term for 'groin rupture', ON *haull* [m.], OE *hēala* [m.], OHG *hōla* [f.] < PGm. \*haula(n)-, -ō(n), and in Balto-Slavic: CS *kyla*, Ru. (dial.) *kilá* (which also means 'knag on a tree'), Lith. *kūlas* 'navel rupture', *kūla* 'thickening, swelling, knag'. All forms mentioned must go back to an ablauting l-stem \*keh<sub>2</sub>u-l-, \*k(e)h<sub>2</sub>u-el-, *kh<sub>2</sub>u-l-* (cf. on ►ἥλιος). The precise derivation of the Greek forms, however, remains unclear.

**κηλῖς, -ῖδος** [f.] 'stain (of blood), spot, defilement' (trag., Antipho, X., Arist.). <IE? \*keh<sub>2</sub>l- 'white spot'>

•DER κηλιδόω (καλ- Ecphant. *apud* Stob. 4, 7, 64) 'stain, soil' (E., Arist., Ph.), κηλιδωτός (Suid., gloss.). Further κηλάς, -άδος [f.] epithet of storm clouds (Thphr.), acc. to H. also χειμερινή ἡμέρα 'stormy day' and αἶξ, ἥτις κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον σημεῖον ἔχει τυλοειδές 'goat having a knob-like sign on its forehead'; also κηλήνη· μέλαινα 'black; (also) name of a disease' (H.).

•ETYM Formation like κληῖς, κνημῖς, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 347), derived from a noun. In Italic, we find an adjective with comparable meaning: Lat. *calidus* 'with a bless on the head' = U (*buf*) *kaleřuf* 'boves calidos', where it is unknown whether the Lat. *a* is long or short. To the same semantic sphere also belongs Lith. *kalybas*, -ývas 'white-necked (of dogs)' and OIr. *caile* 'stain' < IE \*kh<sub>2</sub>l-io-. Nussbaum 1999: 381f. suggested that the Latin word was borrowed from a Greek pre-form \*kālād-.

\***κήλον** 'arrow, projectile'. ⇒ κῆλα.

**κήλων, -ωνος** [m.] 'stallion, male ass' (Archil., Cratin., Ph., H.) often metaph. 'swing-beam (for drawing water), swipe' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>, pap.). <?>

•DIAL Dor. κάλων.

•COMP As a first member in κηλωνο-στάσιον 'support or base for the swing-beam' (PBerl. *Leihg.* 13, 14).

•DER κηλωνεῖον (Ion. -ήϊον) 'machine for drawing (water)' (Hdt., Ar., Arist.), κηλωνεύω [v.] 'to turn the swing-beam' (Hero, Ath. Mech.).

•ETYM A secondary formation in -ων (Chantraine 1933: 161f.). Vendryes *REGr.* 25 (1912): 461 proposed to start from κῆλον in the unattested sense of 'penis', but this cannot be further substantiated.

**κημός** [m.] 'muzzle, plaited lid of the balloting urn, fyke for fishing, cover for nose and mouth, etc.' (A., S., Ar., X.); on the mg. Schenkl *WuS* 5 (1926): 172ff. <PG(V)>

•DIAL Dor. κᾰμός.

•COMP As a second member in εὐκαμία· ἡσυχία, ἦτοι εὐφημία 'quiet, silence' (EM, H.), as if from \*εὐκᾰμος.

•DER κημόω [v.] 'to muzzle' (X., 1 *Ep. Cor.* 9, 9, sch.), κήμωσις· φήμωσις 'silencing' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Connection with Arm. *k'amem* 'to press (out)' (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*kem-) is formally possible, but is incompatible with the probable basic meaning of the Greek word, 'wicker'; the same holds for the Balto-Slavic and Germanic group

meaning 'to press, etc.', e.g. Lith. *kāmanos* pl. 'harness with bit', Ru. *kom* 'clump', MHG *hemmen*, *hamen* 'to restrain, bind, hamper'. Fur.: 220 connects the adjectives χαβός and χαμός (both H.); the connection with ►χάβος 'muzzle' is self-evident, and the interchange μ/β points to Pre-Greek origin (see Fur.: 203-227). It seems evident to connect κημός as well, and all variants derive from a pre-form *\*kām-*. Lat. *cāmus* 'muzzle' was borrowed from Dor. καμός; Osman., Arab. *ḡem* 'bit, mouth-piece of the harness, bridle' (which later gave rise to MoGr. τὸ γέμι 'bridle') are from κημός. See ►κῶμος, ►κώμυς.

**κήμος** [f.] a plant, λεοντοπόδιον or Evax (Dsc., Orph.). <?>

•ETYM No etymology. See André 1956 s.v. *cēmus*.

**κήξ** ⇒ καύαξ.

**κήπος 1** [m.] 'garden, orchard, plantation' (Il.), 'uncultivated piece of land' (Cypr.). <IE? *\*keh<sub>2</sub>p-* 'enclosure', EUR?>

•VAR Dor. κᾶπος.

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. κηπουρός 'gardener' (Att., Hell.) < *\*κηπο-φορός*, also κηπι-ωρός (Archipp.), probably after θυρωρός (see ►θύρα); κηπο-λάχανον 'garden of vegetables' (pap.) of the type ἵππο-πόταμος, see ►ἵππος and Strömberg 1944: 7, also κηπο-λαχαν-ία 'id.' (pap.); κηπι-εργός 'gardener' (Corycus), for -ουργός (Poll.) after ἔργον. Also as a second member, e.g. περί-κητος [m.] 'garden around the house' (Ptol. pap., D. S.), probably after περί-χωρος; ἀγρό-κητος (Att. inscr., Rom. Emp.), ἀγο-κήτιον (Str.) 'field worked as garden'.

•DER Diminutives κηπίον (Halic. V<sup>a</sup>, Th.), -πίδιον (Plu., D. L.), -πάδιον (pap.); κηπαῖος 'of the garden' (Arist.), κηπεύς 'gardener' (Philyll. Com. 14, AP), Dor. καπεύς; κηπίδες Νύμφαι 'garden Nymphs' (Aristainet.). Denominative κηπεύω [v.] 'to work in the garden, cultivate' (E., Eub., Arist.), whence κηπεῖαι [f.pl.] 'gardens' (Pl. Lg. 845d), plur. κηπεύματα 'products or fruits of the garden' (Ar. Av. 1100), κηπευτής = κηπεύς (gloss.), κηπεύσιμος 'grown up in a garden' (Alex. Trall.), after φυτεύσιμος, see Arbenz 1933: 86.

•ETYM Except for the ending, PGr. *\*kāpo-* could be identical with a WGM. word of comparable meaning, OHG *huoba*, OS *hōba*, MoHG *Hufe*, *Hube* [f.] 'piece of land of a certain size', MoDu. *hoeve* 'farm', from IE *\*keh<sub>2</sub>p-h<sub>2</sub>-*. Alb. *kopshtë* 'garden' (with suffix *-shtë-*) also belongs here. Further connections are either uncertain or wrong (►κάπετος, Lat. *capitō*, OHG *habaro* 'oats'). Could the word be from a European substrate language?

**κήπος 2** 'ape'. ⇒ κήβος.

**κήρ, κηρός** [f.] 'death, doom, goddess or demon of death' (Il.), plur. 'types of death, accidents'. <PG>

•COMP κηρεσι-φόρητος 'driven (into death) by the Keres' (Q 527), κηρι-τρεφεῖς 'brought up for death' (ἄνθρωποι, Hes. Op. 418), κηρο-τρόφος 'deadly' (ὄφις, Nic. Th. 192); ἐπί-κηρος 'fallen to death' (Hp., Arist., Hell.); also ἀκήρατος, with ἀκηράσιος and ἀκήριος 'unharmful', see ►ἀκήρατος 1 and Sommer 1948: 152.

•DER κηρέσιον· ὀλέθριον, νοσηρόν 'deadly, diseased' (H.), after θεσπέσιος; κηραίνω [v.] 'to damage, destroy' (A. Supp. 999, Ph.), after πιμαίνω; κηρόομαι [v.] 'to be injured' (EM).

•ETYM The main question is whether the long α in Alc. (κᾶρι B 6 A 7) and Alcm. (κᾶρα Fr. 56; κάραν was handed down) points to PGr. *\*kār-*. We may compare the glosses κάρ· θάνατος 'death' (H.), καριῶσαι· ἀποκτεῖναι 'to kill', and ἐκαριῶσας· ἀπέκτεινας (H.), where α was probably long. Further evidence is provided by the Attic proverb θύραζε Κᾶρες, οὐκ ἔτ' Ἀνθεστήρια. It has been suggested that Κᾶρες meant 'Carians', i.e. 'slaves', but this is clearly an aetiological story made up in order to explain the α. See also Brunel RPh. 41 (1967): 81-104. On the other hand, κῆρες and κήρ occur both in Pi. Fr. 277 and in the choral songs of tragedy. In order to explain this, an ablauting paradigm κήρ, *\*κᾶρός* has been suggested, from which a secondary nom. *\*κᾶρ* was formed, but this cannot be maintained. The most likely conclusion is that the long α is original, and that the IA development η spread over a large area. Since there was no IE root *\*kār-*, the most likely conclusion is that the word is Pre-Greek. See Beekes MSS 63 (2003): 7-10.

**κήρ** 'heart'. ⇒ καρδία.

**κηραφίς** ⇒ κάραβος.

**κηρός** [m.] 'wax' (Od.). <PG?>

•COMP Frequent as a first member, e.g. κηρό-δετος 'fixed together with wax' (Theoc.), κηρο-πλάστης 'wax sculptor' (Pl.), κηρο-τακίς [f.] 'hot plate' (to keep wax paints hot) (PHolm. 6, 33; cf. Lagercrantz 1913: ad loc.).

As a second member e.g. in πισσό-κηρος [m.] 'propolis, a mix of resin and wax by which bees stop up their hives, bee-bread' (Arist., Plin.); also κηρό-πισσος 'ointment from wax and resin' (Hp.), cf. Risch IF 59 (1949): 58, μελί-κηρος 'bee-wax' (pap.); μελι-κήριον 'honeycomb' (Sm.), μελι-κηρίς 'id.', metaph. 'cyst or wen' resembling a honeycomb (Hp., pap.), the same metaph. in μελί-κηρά [f.] 'spawn of the murex' (Arist.).

•DER 1. κηρίον 'wax-cake, honeycomb' (IA, h. Merc. 559), κηρίδιον (Aët.), κηριώδης 'like a honeycomb' (Thphr.), κηρίωμα 'tearing eyes' (S. Fr. 715), κηριάζω [v.] 'to spawn', of the murex, as its spawn resembles a honeycomb (Arist.). 2. κήρινος 'of wax' (Alcm., Att.), κηρίνη (sc. ἔμπλαστρος) name of a plaster (medic.); 3. κήρινθος [m.] 'bee-bread' (Arist., Plin., H.); 4. κηρίων, -ωνος 'wax-candle, -torch' (Plu., Gal.); 5. κηρών, -ωνος 'bee-hive' (sch.); 6. κηρίς fish name, perhaps = κηρίς (Diph. Siph., Alex. Trall.; see ►κηρός), probably after its yellow color; cf. Strömberg 1943: 20f., Thompson 1947 s.v. 7. κηρίτις (λίθος) 'wax-like stone' (*cerae similis*, Plin. HN 37, 153); 8. *\*κηροῦσσα* in Lat. *cērussa* 'white lead' (Plaut.).

Denominative verbs: 1. κηρόομαι [v.] 'to be covered with wax', -όω 'to cover with wax' (Hp., Herod., AP), whence κήρωσις 'bee-wax' (Arist.); κήρωμα 'wax-ointment, -plaster' (Hp.), cf. Lat. *cērōma*, with -ματικός, -ματίτης, -ματιστής; κηρωτή 'id.' (Hp., Ar., Dsc.), κηρωτάριον 'id.' (medic.); 2. κηρίζω [v.] 'to look like wax' (Zos. Alch.).

•ETYM Baltic has a similar word for 'honeycomb': Lith. *korýs*, Latv. *kāre(s)*; however, these point to a pre-form *\*kāri-*, and comparison with κηρός is doubtful because all

Greek evidence points to PGr. \**kēro-*. As there is no evidence for Indo-European apiculture, we have to reckon with foreign origin for κηρός, cf. Chantraine 1933: 371. From κηρός, Latin may have borrowed *cēra* (details in WH s.v.); from Lat. *cēreolus*, Greek took κηρίολος 'wax candle' (Ephesus II<sup>p</sup>). The word κήρινθος 'bee-bread' seems Pre-Greek.

**κηρύλος** [m.] name of a bird, identified with or compared to the kingfisher ἀλκυών (Alcm., Archil., Ar., Arist.); see Thompson 1895 s.v. <PG?(S)>

•VAR In Ar. Av. 299f. it is written κειρύλος, as a nickname referring to κείρειν.

•DER κηρύλος ἄρσιν ὄρνις συνουσιαστικός 'sociable male bird' (H.).

•ETYM No etymology. With the root κηρ- (or perhaps κηλ- with dissimilation), it has been compared with Skt. *śārā-* 'motley', *śāri-* a kind of bird, but such comparisons amount to nothing. The suffix -υλο- occurs in Pre-Greek words.

**κήρυνος** [m.] a throw of the dice (Eub. 57, 2). <PG?>

•VAR Also κάρυννος (Phot.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Probably Pre-Greek.

**κήρυξ** [m.] 'herald, messenger', also 'trumpet-shell' (Il.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Accented κήρυξ in Hdn. (cf. Schwyzer 391); Dor. Aeol. κάρυξ, -ύκος.

•DIAL Myc. *ka-ru-ke* /*kārūkes*/.

•COMP As a second member e.g. in δρομιο-κήρυξ 'courier' (Aeschin.).

•DER 1. Feminine: κηρύκαινα 'heraldess' (Ar. Ec. 713), cf. Chantraine 1933: 108; 2. Patronymic Κηρυκίδαι [m.] 'descendants of the Athenian family of the Κήρυκες' (Poll.). 3. Adjectives: κηρύκειος 'belonging to the herald' (S.), mostly ntr. κηρύκ(ε)ιον, Dor. κᾶρ-; Ion. κηρυκήϊον 'herald's wand' (IA Dor.); borrowed into Lat. *cādūceum*, -eus, cf. WH s.v., also as a constellation (Scherer 1953: 200); 'auctioneer's fee, tax on auction sales' (Hell. inscr. and pap.); Καρυκήϊος Boeotian name of Apollo (Tanagra, Thebes, VI<sup>a</sup>); κηρυκικός 'regarding the herald' (Pl.), -ινος 'belonging to the herald' (pap., Suid.), -ώδης 'like the trumpet-shell' (Arist.).

Denominative verbs: 1. κηρύσσω 'to be herald, broadcast, announce' (Il.), Att. -ύττω, Dor., etc. κᾶρ-; κήρυγμα 'herald's cry, announcement' (IA), κηρυγμός (sch.), κήρυξις (D. C.) 'id.'; 2. κηρυκεύω [v.] 'to act as a herald, announce' (Att.), whence κηρυκεία, -ητή 'herald's service' (IA), κηρύκευμα 'announcement' (A. Th. 651), -ευσίς 'id.' (Suid.).

•ETYM Traditionally compared with Skt. *kārú-* 'singer, poet'. However, Beekes 2003: 109-116 showed that Greek does not have an 'enlargement' -κ- (the examples in Schwyzer: 496 are few and doubtful); furthermore, in this manner, the long ū could not be explained. Words in -ύκ- all have very different meanings and are probably non-IE. Therefore, the word is most probably Pre-Greek. In this way, the gloss κορύγης κήρυξ. Δωριείς (H.), hitherto unexplained, can also be understood: Pre-Greek \**a* interchanging with \**o* before a following \**u*. The \**a* that we must assume for the gloss was short, so this is another variant of the same word.

**κῆτος, -εος** [n.] 'big sea-animal, sea-monster' (Il.), 'whale' (Arist.); also name of a constellation (Arat.; Scherer 1953: 187). <PG?>

•COMP κητό-δορπος (συμφορά) 'giving the κῆτεα their evening meal' (Lyc.); μεγα-κῆτης 'with big κῆτεα' (Hom.), epithet of πόντος, also of δελφίς = '(being) a big κῆτος', thence also of ναῦς (cf. Sommer 1948: 184f.), βαθυ-κῆτης (πόντος) 'having κῆτεα in the deep' (Thgn. 175), πολυ-κῆτης 'with many κῆτεα' (Theoc. 17, 98).

•DER κῆτειος 'belonging to the κῆτος' (Mosch., Nonn.), κητώδης 'belonging to the whale' (Arist.); κητεία [f.] 'catching of κῆτεα (tunnies)' (Str., Ath., Ael.), after ἀλιεία; κήτημα 'salted tunnies' (Diph. Siph. *apud* Ath. 3, 121b; uncertain), κητήνη πλοῖον μέγα ὡς κῆτος 'large ship, like a sea-monster' (H.) (cf. ἀπήνη 'wagon', and the ship name Πετήνη); κητόμαι [v.] 'to become a κῆτος' (Ael.). See ► κητώεσσαν.

•ETYM Unexplained. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

**κητώεσσαν** [adj.] epithet of κοίλην Λακεδαίμονα (B 581, δ 1; verse-final), generally taken as 'full of crevices, abysses', later said of the wooden horse (Q. S. 12, 314) and, by confusion with κῆτειος, κῆτος, said of πῶεα, φάλαγξ (Nonn.). <PG>

•ETYM Not well explained. Zenodotus (sch. on δ 1) read καιετάεσσαν in its place, and understood it as 'καλαμινθώδη', derived from καιέτα· καλαμίνθη. Βοιωτοί (H.) or καιετας (unaccented, Apoll. *Lex.* s.v. κητώεσσαν) = καλαμίνθη, a sweet-smelling plant. Call. (*fr.* 639 Pf.) calls the river Eurotas καιεταίς. Other informants (see Str. 8, 5, 7 and Eust. 1478, 41) connected it with the gloss καιετοί· οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν σεισμῶν ῥωχοί 'clefts due to earthquakes' and καιέτας = ► καιάδας. This may be a learned guess, but it is difficult to explain κητ- from it. Bechtel 1914 s.v. assumed a word κῆτος 'crevice, abyss'. For κητώεσσαν, a metrical lengthening of \*κητόεσσαν was assumed, but this is unnecessary if we follow Ruijgh *Lingua* 28 (1971), who posits a pre-form \*κητοσ-φεντ-, with Achaeon ω as a result of the first compensatory lengthening.

It seems evident to connect καιέτας, καιάδας 'crevice in Sparta'. Fur.: 180<sup>6</sup> points to the gloss ἄμυσσος κῆτος. Λάκωνες (see ► βύθος), which shows that a crevice could be called κῆτος.

**κηνα** [?] in θυνεν ... τρικτευαν κηναν (Delph., IG 2<sup>2</sup>, 1126: 34 [IV<sup>a</sup>]), meaning unclear. <GR?>

•ETYM τρικτευαν could belong to τριττο(ι)α, τρικτύα 'sacrifice of three animals'. Then κηναν may be an adjective belonging to καίω 'to burn', perhaps from \*κηφ-ιαν 'destined for burning' (cf. κηώδης and κήϊα, κεία καθάρματα H.). The opposite analysis (κηνα as a substantive) may also be considered; cf. Schwyzer: 459<sup>7</sup>, 349 (assuming \*κήφ-ā). Unclear.

**κηῦξ** name of a sea-bird. = καῦαξ.

**κηφήν, -ήνος** [m.] 'drone', often metaph. 'lazy vagabond' (Hes.), also used for Asiatic peoples by the Anatolian Greeks, e.g. for the Persians (Hdt. 7, 61), like in Slavic languages, *Némec* 'German' originally means "someone dumb". <PG(S)>

•VAR Also καφάν (H.).

•DER Diminutive κηφήνιον (Arist.); κηφηνώδης 'drone-like' (Pl.). Further Κηφεύς (Hdt.) and several short names like Κῆφικς, Κᾶφικς, Κάφων, Καφώ; differently Bechtel 1914 s.v. ► κεκαφηώς.

•ETYM Perhaps a substantivization in -ήν, -άν of an adjective \*kāphós, whence κωφός 'dumb, deaf' with ablaut. Mechanically, one could reconstruct a root \*ke/oh<sub>2</sub>b<sup>h</sup>- or g<sup>h</sup>e/oh<sub>2</sub>b<sup>h</sup>-. However, it is impossible to connect Lat. *hebes* 'dumb', not only because of its *e*-vocalism (as opposed to *ā*, *ō* in καφάν, κωφός), but also because of the vowel quantity (\*g<sup>h</sup>Hb<sup>h</sup>- would vocalize as *hab-* in Latin). DELG notes that ablaut \*ā/ō is rare in Greek; note that a suffix -āv is rare, too. The insect name may well be original; the chances are high that the word is Pre-Greek. Cf. on ►κεκαφηότα.

κῆχος [?] only in the question ποῖ κῆχος, which acc. to some grammarians stands for ποῖ γῆς, acc. to others for ποῖ δῆ (Ar. *Fr.* 656, Pherecr. 165). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also κῆγχος, κηγχός

•ETYM The prenasalization clearly shows the Pre-Greek character of the words.

κηώδης [adj.] 'full of perfume, sweet-smelling' (Z 483, after it D. P. 941). <IE? \*keh<sub>2</sub>u- 'burn'>

•VAR By shortening of the vowel κεώδης· καθαρός 'clear, pure'; κεῶεν ὄζει· εὐώδει (H.).

•DER κηώεις (Hom., AP, Nonn.).

•ETYM For earlier \*κηφώδης and \*κηφείος (with metrical lengthening), the words have been derived from a neuter \*κῆφος 'fire, incense', from the root of ►καίω. However, provided that this etymology is correct, the lengthened grade \*kēu- assumed by Frisk and DELG is wrong; the word is based on \*kāwV- > \*keh<sub>2</sub>uV-. Beside the *s*-stem \*kāwos-, Greek also had \*kāwion in κῆια and in κεία· καθάρματα 'purifications' (H.), cf. τεῖχος : τειχίον, and further, a form with -l- in ►κηλέος 'burning'. For the interchange of suffixes, cf. ►ἔτος / ►ἔταλον, ►ἄγκος / ►ἀγκάλι.

κιάθω = κίω.

κίβδηλος [adj.] 'false, fake, tampered' (of gold, coins, etc.), 'deceitful' (Thgn., Pi. *fr.* 70b 3, IA). <PG?>

•VAR Fur. 316 quotes κίβαλος· ὁ ληστής 'pirate' (Su.) (but = διάκονος 'servant' H.); the connection is unclear (not mentioned by DELG).

•COMP Negated ἀ-κίβδηλος 'untampered' (Hdt., Pl. *Lg.*).

•DER κίβδηλία, -ίη 'falsification, deceit' (Hp., Ar.); denominatives: 1. κίβδηλεύω [v.] 'to falsify' (E., Ar., Arist.), whence κίβδηλευμα, -λεία 'falsification' (Pl. *Lg.*); 2. κίβδηλιάω [v.] 'to look like forged gold; to have jaundice' (Arist.), after the verbs of illness in -ιάω. Besides κίβδης· κακοῦργος, <κά>πιλος, χειροτέχνης 'malefactor, huckster, artisan' (H.), κίβδωνες = μεταλλεῖς 'miners' (Poll., Moer.), κίβδῶνες (Phot.). The basis is κίβδος 'dross of metal' (Poll.); in the same mg. also κίβδηλις (H.), see κίβδηλιώντας; on the suffix -ηλο- see Chantraine 1933: 242.

•ETYM It remains uncertain whether κίβαλος belongs here. In spite of Frisk, there appears no basis to connect ►κίβον· ἐνεόν. Πάφιοι 'dumb (Paph.)' (H.). Of course, the word is Pre-Greek (Fur.: 316); on the suffix -ηλο-, see Fur.: 115<sup>6</sup>. In the root κίβδ-, -βδ- was most probably one phoneme, for which we propose (the voiced representative of) PG \*p'. A final -δος is also found in λύγδος 'white marble' and

►μόλυβδος 'lead'. Von Blumenthal finds a related verb in κίψει· κακοποιεῖ 'does wrong' (H.).

κίβις [f.] 'sack, pack' (Hes. *Sc.* 224, Pherecyd., Call.). Acc. to H. Cypr. for πήρα 'leather pouch'. <PG>

•VAR Also κίβησις (Suid., Orion), κύβεις, κυβησία (H., see Fur. 365); besides, probably as a popular hypocoristic form with gemination, κίββα· πήρα, Αἰτωλοί (H., see Fur. 305); further κίρβα· πήρα (cod. πείρα), διφθέρα. Αἰτωλοί 'leather pouch (Aetolian)' (H.), MoGr. κερβέλλα 'small sack'; see Kretschmer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 247.

•ETYM Given the variants, most probably of Pre-Greek origin. See ►κίβωτός.

κίβωριον [n.] 'seed-vessel of the Egyptian water lily (κολοκασία)'; metaph. 'cup; tomb' (Hell.). <LW Eg>

•ETYM Probably a loan from Egyptian (thus H.), but not attested there; see Meyer 1896: 140, Nencioni *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 16 (1939): 11. Lat. *ciborium* was borrowed from the Greek; cf. E-M s.v.

κίβωτός [f.] 'wooden chest, box, cupboard' (Hecat., Simon., Att.), also of Noah's ark and of the alliance (LXX). <PG>

•VAR On the gender see Schwyzer 1950: 34<sup>2</sup>.

•DER Diminutives κιβώτιον (Ar., Arist.), -ίδιον (Delos IV\*), -άριον (Hero).

•ETYM Perhaps cognate with ►κίβις 'sack', thus probably Pre-Greek. A shorter form κίβος (κίβος?) is found in Suid. Semitic hypotheses in Lewy 1895: 99f. From κίβωτός, Syr. *qēbūthā* and MoP *kēbūt* 'box' were borrowed (cf. Bailey *TPS* 1933: 50). Lat. *cibus* perhaps also belongs here; see WH s.v.

κίγκασος [?]· κυβευτικός τις βόλος 'a cast of dice', also κίκκασος· ...καὶ βόλου ὄνομα 'name of a cast of dice' (H.). <PG(S)>

•ETYM Fur.: 281 assumes that the interchanges are due to "spätgriechische Geminatenauflösung", referring to Schwyzer *KZ* 61 (1934): 230. Still, the word must be Pre-Greek because of its suffix.

κιγκλῖς, -ίδος [f.] 'latticed gate', especially those through which knights or counsellors entered the court of justice or the meeting hall (Ar., Luc., Plu.), also θυρο-κιγκλίδες (Attica). <PG>

•VAR Mostly plur. -ίδες.

•ETYM Technical word without a certain etymology. Strömberg 1944: 15 assumed a back-formation from κιγκλίζειν 'to wag the tail, change continuously' (Thgn. 303); see on ►κίγκλος. It seems to be a reduplicated form with prenasalization κι-γ-κλιδ-. Probably Pre-Greek.

κίγκλος [m.] 'dabchick', acc. to H. ὄρνειον πυκνῶς τὴν οὐρὰν κινεῖν 'a bird often wagging its tail' (com., Arist.); details in Thompson 1895 s.v. <PG(V)>

•VAR Also as a fish name κίγκαλος (Numen. *apud* Ath. 7, 326a), perhaps after the color, cf. Strömberg 1943: 116.

•COMP As a first member in κιγκλο-βάτας 'going like a dabchick' (ῥυθμός, Ar. *Fr.* 140).



•DER κιγκλίζω [v.] 'to change constantly' (Thgn. 303), perhaps originally "to move like a dabchick", with regard to the tail (cf. H. on κίγκλος: κιγκλίζειν, ὃ ἐστι διασειεσθαι 'which means: to be shaken'), also trans. with δια- (Hp., Ar.) and ποτι- (Theoc. 5, 117); thence κίγκλισις (Hp.), -ισμός (Hp., Men.). Cf. on κιγκλίσ.

•ETYM The variation κί(γ)χλος, κίγκαλος, κέγκλος, etc. in the tradition shows that the word is Pre-Greek. Not from \*κέγκλος, related to Skt. *cañcala-* 'movable, uncertain', which rather derives from \**cal-cal-a-* (with dissimilation), and belongs to *cālati* = *cāratī* 'to move' (see ►πέλομαι).

κίδαλον [?] · κρόμμινον 'onion' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Cf. σχιστά· τὰ γράμματα. καὶ τὰ κρόμμινα 'letters, also onions' (H.); the words are probably Pre-Greek.

κίδαρις [f.] name of a turban-like headgear, worn by the Persian kings only (Ctes., Ph., Plu.), also of the turban of the Jewish high priest (LXX); name of an Arcadian dance (Ath. 14, 631d). <LW Orient.>

•VAR Also κίτ(τ)αρις; gen. -εως.

•ETYM Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 16 supposes Hittite or Oriental origin; Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 63 mentions Hebr. *ktr mlkwt* and Aram. *kitrā*.

κίδαφος [?] = ἀλώπηξ 'fox' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Fem. κίδαφη; also κινδάφη, κι(ν)δάφιος; further σκίνδαφος [f.] (Ael.), σκίδαφη (Arc.).

•DER Adjectival: κίδαφος = δόλιος 'cunning', κι(ν)δάφιος = πανούργος 'knave' (H.). Denominative κίδαφεύειν· πανουργεῖν 'play the knave' (H.).

•ETYM Animal name in -φο- (see Chantraine 1933: 263); the adjectival function is clearly secondary. Wood *Class. Phil.* 3 (1908): 76 compares it to Lith. *skiedžiu*, *skiesti* 'separate', etc. as "the cunning one". Another variant is ►κίραφος; all these variations show the Pre-Greek character of the word.

κίδναμαι 'to be spread out'. ⇒σκεδάννυμι.

κιδνόν [adv.] · ἐνθάδε. Πάφιοι '(to) here, (to) there (Paphian)' (H.). <IE? \**ko*, *ke* 'this'>

•ETYM From the deictic particle PIE \**ki* in Lat. *ci-s*, Gr. ►έκεῖ, etc., but unclear in detail. Bechtel 1921, 1: 349 assumes a derivative in -no- from a neuter \**kid*, by comparison with Go. *und hit-a* 'ἔως ἄρτι'. Pisani *AnFilCl* 6 (1953-54): 213ff. identifies \**kid* with Go. *hita* as well, but -von would be from *vūn* 'now' (cf. Hitt. *kinun* 'now') with Cyprian development of *v* to *o*. Blanca Prósper *KZ* 108 (1995): 75-83 explains the word as from \**ki-dinom* 'at this day here'.

κίδραι ⇒ χιῖδρον.

κίελλη [f.] · φέγγος, αὐγή, φῶς· πάχνη· ὀμίχλη 'light, sunlight; hoarfrost, frozen rain; mist' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

κithára [f.] 'lyre' (IA). <PG>

•VAR Ion. -ρη; also κίθαρις, -ιος [f.] (Il.).

•COMP κιθαρο-αοιδός (com.), usually contracted κιθαρωδός (IA) 'lyre-singer', whence κιθαρωδέω [v.], etc.; ἄ-κίθαρις 'without lyre' (A.).

•DER κίθαρος [m.] 1. 'thorax' (Hp. *Loc. Hom.*; after its shape); 2. name of a flatfish (com., Arist.; after the shape); κيثάριον (Ptol. *Euerget.*); also κιθαρωδός name of a fish in the Red Sea (Ael.; after the patterning of the colors; Thompson 1947 s.v., Strömberg 1943: 38).

Denominative κιθαρίζω [v.] 'to play the lyre', also of string instruments in general and of the accompanying songs (Il.; on the mg. Diehl *RhM* N.F. 89 (1940): 96f.), with several derivatives: κιθαριστός [f.] (Il.), κitháris (Pl.), -ισμός (Call.) 'playing the lyre, the art of the lyre'; attempt at semantic differentiation in Benveniste 1948: 69, see also Porzig 1942: 181; κithárisma 'piece of music for the lyre' (Pl.); κιθαριστής 'lyrist, etc.' (h. *Hom.* 25, 3, Hes.), -ίστρια (Arist.), also -ιστρίς (Nic. Dam.), -ιστικός (Pl.), -ιστήριος (Hell.) 'belonging to lyre-playing'.

•ETYM Pre-Greek. Earlier explanations from IE and Semitic in Bq. are incorrect.

κίθρα [f.] a vase for preserving grapes (Herod. *Med.*). <GR>

•ETYM See *Rh. Mus.* 57: 100 and 110. On κύθρα, see ►χέω.

κίκάμα [acc.pl.n.] name of a plant, acc. to H. (cod. *κικαμία*) similar to the *καυκαλίσ* (Nic. *Th.* 841). <PG>

•ETYM Formation like βάλαμιον, σήσαμιον, etc.; further unknown. No doubt Pre-Greek.

κίκι [n.] 'castor oil' (Hdt. 2, 94, Pl. *Ti.* 60a, pap.), which is oil from a tree, the 'wonder-tree, *Ricinus communis*' (Str., Dsc.). <LW Eg.>

•VAR Gen. -ιος, -εως; indeclinable in Mayser 1906-1938, I: 2: 24; also κίκι (Hdn. Gr. 1, 354; 2, 766). In the last mg. also κικέα (Aët., Paul. *Aeg.*); after συκέα, etc.

•COMP As a first member in e.g. κικιο-φόρος 'producing ricinus oil', of γῆ (pap.).

•DER κίκινος 'originating from the ricinus', of ἔλαιον (Dsc., Gal.); κίκιον 'the root of the ricinus tree' (Gal.).

•ETYM An Egyptian word, acc. to Hdt. 2, 94; cf. Hehn-Schrader 1911: 207 and Mayser 1906-1938, I: 1: 37. Perhaps the Egyptian word was *tēqī*; cf. Hdt. τῆκι (Loret in Legrand [ed. Hdt.] ad loc.). See also Nencioni *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 16 (1939): 9.

κικίβαλος [m.] a kind of shell-fish (Epich. 42); reading uncertain. <PG(V)>

•VAR κικοβαυλιτιδες· κογγυλίου τι γένος μέλαν· καὶ τὰ ἐκ στέατος σκωλήκια 'species of dark mollusk; little worm-shaped cakes of flour or spelt' (H.).

•ETYM Pre-Greek. The variants point to *kikVbal*<sup>m</sup>-it-.

κίκιννος [m.] 'curly hair, lock of hair' (com., Theoc., AP). <PG(V)>

•DER PN Κικιννᾶς, L. Robert 1963: 268.

•ETYM See Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 420, who assume a foreign cultural word (Aegean or Anatolian). From Greek came Lat. *cincinnus* (cf. WH s.v.). Fur.: 278 is probably right in assuming a prenasalized form \**κικιννος* as a source for the Latin word. Pre-Greek origin must be assumed.

**κίκιρος** [m.] · ἀλεκτρύων ‘cock’; κίκκα· ἀλεκτορίς ‘hen’; κικκός· ἀλεκτρύων ‘cock’ (H.). <ONOM>

•DER PN *Cicirrus*, see WH s.v.

•ETYM Onomatopoeic words; cf. MoHG *kikeriki*, imitating the natural sound of the cock, etc. Osc. *Cicirrus*, cognomen of Messius (Hor. *Sat.* 1, 5, 52), probably originally meant ‘game-cock’, referring to the cock-masks used in lower Italy (WH s.v.).

**κικκαβαῦ** [exclam.] natural sound of the screech-owl (Ar. *Av.* 261). <PG(V)>

•DER κικκάβη ‘screech-owl’ (sch.) and κικκαβάζω [v.] ‘to cry like an owl’ (Ar. *Lys.* 761, conj. Dobree for κακκαβάζω, -βίζω). Further κικκάβη (gloss.), κίκυμος, -υβος (H.), κικυμῶς (Call. *fr.* 318), -ωνίς acc. to Latte ‘id.’; cf. Heubeck *Würzb. Jb.* 4:2 (1949-1950): 208ff. Note κικυμνεῖν· δυσβλεπεῖν ‘to see badly’ (H.). Further κίκυμος· λαμπτήρ ‘lantern’· ἡ γλαυκός· ὁμοίως καὶ κίκυβος ‘little owl, *Athene noctua*’ (H.).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic words; on the suffix -β-, see Chantraine 1933: 261. Cf. ►κακκάβη and ►κίκιρος; see also ►κίκκαβος and ►κύμινδης; also, WH s.v. *cucubiō*, the sound of the screech-owl. The words κικυβ/μιος show the Pre-Greek interchange β/μ (note, however, the doubts in Fur.: 221). There is also Lat. *cicuma* ‘screech-owl’. There is no explanation for the interchange α/υ in, e.g., κικκ-αβ- / κικ-υμ-.

**κίκκαβος** [m.] comic name of a small coin in the Underworld, an eighth of a ψωθία = three obols (Pherecr. 1, 167 *apud* Poll. 9, 83); also ‘niggard’ (Phot. s.v. κίμβικας). <?>

•DER κικκάβι(ο)ν· ἐλάχιστον, οὐδέν ‘very small, nothing’ (H.).

•ETYM Ending like in ►κόλλυβος with related meaning; as per Pisani *Paideia* 6 (1951): 291ff., it is perhaps derived from the screech-owl, κικκαβαῦ or κικκάβη, after the owl which was depicted on the back of the Athenian coin. The word \*κίκκος ‘shell of the pomegranate’ is based on a conjecture for unclear κικαῖος in H.; see Pisani l.c.

**κίκκασος** [m.] · ὀβόλου ὄνομα ‘name for an obol’ (Phot.). <PG>

•VAR Cf. κίκκασος· ὁ ἐκ τῶν παραμηρίων ἰδρῶς ῥέων, καὶ βόλου ὄνομα ‘sweat flowing from the inside of the thighs; name for a cast of the dice’ (H.).

•ETYM DELG doubts the first gloss, and for the second, compares ►κίγκασος (for which Fur.: 281 refers to ‘spätgriechische Geminatenauflösung’; Schwyzer *KZ* 61 (1934): 230).

**κίκκη** [f.] · συνουσία, ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰδοίων συνουσία ‘sexual intercourse, emitting the same smell(?) from the private parts’ (H.). <PG>

•ETYM See ►κίκκασος.

**κικλήσκω** ‘to call, name’. ⇒ καλέω.

**κίκους** [?] · ὁ νέος τέττις ‘the young cicala’; κίξιος· τέττις ‘cicala’ (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Acc. to Gil Fernández 1959: 126f., it is onomatopoeic, reminiscent of Lat. *cicāda*. The variation κ/ξ rather points to Pre-Greek origin.

**κικριβιντίς** ἀνδράχνη ‘purslane’ (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Cf. Lat. *cicirbita*, a plant. The prenasalization points to Pre-Greek origin. See Fur.: 273.

**κικυμῶς** ⇒ κικκαβαῦ.

**κίκυς, -υος** [f.] ‘strength, power’ (λ 393). <PG?>

•COMP ἄ-κίκυς, -υος ‘without strength, weak’ (Od., Hp.).

•DER κικύω = ἰσχύω (Hdn. *Gr.* 2, 533).

•ETYM Meier-Brügger (*apud* DELG *Supp.*) assumes a reduplicated form of \**kueh*-, ‘to be strong’ in κυέω, κύμα. This is accepted by de Lamberterie in DELG, but the long *i* cannot be explained in this way.

\*κίκω •VAR in ἐκίξα. ⇒ κιχάνω.

**Κίλικες** [pl.] 1. ‘Cilicians, inhabitants of the province in the south-east of Anatolia; 2. a people in the valley of Thebes, Θήβη, the town of Eetion, the father of Andromache, south of Troy (Il.). <LW Assy.??>

•VAR Sg.msc. Κίλιξ, fem. Κίλισσα (A.).

•DER κιλικίεσθαι· κακοηθίεσθαι (H.), ἐγκιλικίεσθαι· κακοητεύεται, κακοποιεῖ· διεβέβληντο γὰρ ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ οἱ Κίλικες (H.); κιλίκιον ‘a coarse cloth of goat’s hair’ (Procop.). Κίλιξ mythical name; Κιλικᾶς PN (Cyprus, see O. Masson *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί* 32 (1968): 9ff. Κιλικία ‘Cilicia’ (Hdt.). κιλικισμός ‘Cilician behaviour, i.e. drunken butchery’ (Theopomp. *Hist.*).

•ETYM The country Cilicia (in Hittite times *Kizzuwatna*) was called *Hilakku* by the Assyrians since 858 (but the name may be local); later there were local kingdoms where hieroglyphic Luwian was used. The Greeks arrived in the 8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. On the Greek kingdom of *Mopsos* = *Musa/us* and its king *Hiyawa*, see now Oettinger 2008b.

**κίλλιβας, -αντος** [m.] ‘three-legged stand, frame’ (Ar. *Ach.* 1121, Poll.). <PG>

•VAR Usually plur. -αντες; also κελλίβας (pap.).

•ETYM Perhaps from κίλλος ‘ass’, with a suffix as in the synonymous ὀκρίβας (cf. Schwyzer: 448). For the development of meaning cf., e.g., ὄνος, ὀνίσκος ‘winch’, MoFr. *chevalet* ‘support’, MoHG *Esel, Bock* ‘id.’, etc. The suffix may be Pre-Greek; connection with βαίνω is probably folk-etymological.

**κίλλιξ 1** [?] · στάμνος ‘jar’ (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 132 connects it with κύλιξ ‘id.’; the interchange λ/λλ points to Pre-Greek origin.

**κίλλιξ 2** [adj.] · βοῦς τὸ ἐν κέρας ἔχων διεστραμμένον ‘cow with one twisted horn’ (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 356 connects it with κελλόν· στρεβλόν· πλάγιον ‘twisted, athwart’ (H.).

**κίλλος** [adj.] ‘grey’ (Eub. 103, Phot., H., Eust.). <?>

•COMP As a first member, e.g. κίλλ-ακτήρ· ὄνηλάτης, κυνηγός ‘donkey-driver’ (Poll., H.; Dor.), Κίλλ-άκτωρ PN (*AP* 5, 28; 44). As a second member perhaps in Macedonian Ἐπό-κίλλος (with ἔπο- = Gr. ἔππο-).

•DER With shift of accent κίλλος [m.] 'ass' (*Sammelb.* 5224, Poll. 7, 56, H.), metaph. 'cicada' (H.), after its color, cf. Strömberg 1944: 11, Strömberg 1943: 100, Gil Fernández 1959: 100. Derivative κίλλιος 'ass-colored, ὀνάγρινος' (Poll.), probably also κίλλ<λ>ίας· στρουθὸς ἄρσην 'male sparrow' (H.). See ► κίλλ(ο)υρος.

•ETYM For the root vocalism, we may compare πλνός 'grey' beside πελῖος 'id.'. Formally, κίλλος is reminiscent of ► κελαινός, if this is from \*kel-n-io- (but see s.v.), and if the geminate λλ derives from \*-ln- (though its most straightforward explanation would be from \*-lj-). In sum, there is no convincing etymology.

**κίλλ<ο>υρος** [?] · σείσοπυγίς 'wagtail' (H.). <PG?(S)>

•ETYM Schrader *BB* 15 (1889): 127f. connected it with a Baltic word for 'wagtail', Lith. *kīlė*, Latv. *ciēlava*, OPr. *kylo*, which would be derived from a verb 'to move' (seen in ► κινέω, ► κίω); Lith. *kīlė* could then be identical with Gr. \*κίλλα < \*κίλ-ια, if this was the first compound member. Another possibility is that the wagtail was named for its grey color (see on ► κίλλος). In both cases, the second member would be οὐρά 'tail', but note that the ο is only a conjecture. Moreover, -ουρος is also a frequent suffix in Pre-Greek words. DELG connects κίγκλος, analyzing \*κελ-κλος, but this is completely uncertain. On unclear Lat. *mōtacilla* 'white wagtail', see WH s.v.

**κιμβάζει** · στραγγεύεται 'loiters' (H.). ⇒ σκιμβάζω.

**κιμβίξ, -ικος** [m.] 'niggard, skinflint' (Xenoph., Arist., Plu.). <PG(V)>

•DER κιμβικία· πανουργία, ἐνδοιασμός (corrected to ἐνεασμός) 'villainy, perplexity' (H.); also κιμβ(ε)ία 'stinginess' (Artist., H.).

•ETYM Reminds one of the gloss σκιπός· σκνιφός, ὁ μικρολόγος 'dim-sighted, penurious' (H.), and of σκιφία (H.) as an explanation of κιμβεία. These variants, as well as those found s.v. ► κνίψ in the meaning 'niggard', point to a Pre-Greek word (prenasalization, interchange of stops, etc.).

**κινάβρα** [f.] 'smell of a (male) goat' (Luc., Poll.). <PG>

•DER κινάβρᾱ [v.] 'to smell like a goat' (Ar. *Pl.* 294).

•ETYM Unexplained. Doubts about the usual connection with κενέβρειος in Schwyzer: 350. No doubt a Pre-Greek word.

**κινάβεύματα** [n.pl.] · πανουργεύματα (H., see also Phot. κάννα). <PG(V)>

•VAR κινάφεύειν· πανουργεύεσθαι 'to fabricate by ruse' (H.).

•DER κινάβεύεσθαι (-βρ- codd.)· τὸ σκευωρεῖσθαι 'fabrication, fraud' (Phot.).

•ETYM The variants show that it is a Pre-Greek word; see Kuiper 1956: 245 and Fur.: 169f., who assumes a Pre-Greek word \*kinapo- 'deceiver, fraud'.

**κίναδος, -εος** [n.] Sicilian word for 'fox' (Call. Com. 1 D., sch. Theoc. 5, 25), 'beast, monster' (Democr. 259), of people 'cunning, rogue' (Att.); acc. to H. = θηρίον, ὄφις 'wild animal, serpent'. <PG?>

•DER Diminutive κινάδιον (Harp.). PN Κινάδης, Κινάδων (Bechtel 1917b: 582). κινάδρα· ἀλώπηξ 'fox' (H.).

•ETYM Not related to ► κνώδαλον. Reminiscent of ► κίδαφος 'fox'.

**κινάθισμα** [n.] 'noise, rustling', of flying birds (A. *Prom.* 124 [anap.]). <PG?>

•DER κινاثισμός 'id.' (Phot.); from κινاثίζειν· ιδιάζειν, ἀποθησαυρίζειν κατὰ μικρὸν συλλέγοντα. ἔνιοι μινυρίζειν καὶ κινεῖν 'to devote oneself to, to hoard up for a small collection; to complain in a low voice; to move' (H.). κίναθος· θησαυρισμός 'accumulation' (Phot.), κινاثίας· κρυπτός 'hidden' (H.).

•ETYM For the initial syllable, cf. ► κινυρός. Probably Pre-Greek.

**κίναϊδος** [m.] 'lewd man, catamite' (Pl., Herod.), also name of a sea fish (Plin.), a bird (= κιναΐδιον, Gal.). <PG?>

•COMP In compounds, e.g. κιναιδο-λογέω (Str.).

•DER κιναιΐδιον (-ιος) name of the ὕγξ (H., Phot.), the wagtail (sch.), etc.; κιναιΐδας [m.] a stone found in the fish κίναϊδος (Plin.), -ία 'lewdness' (Aeschin.), -ώδης 'like a κ.' (sch.); κιναιΐζω [v.] 'to be a κ.' (Antioch. Astr.), κιναιΐσμα (Eust.); also -δεύομαι (sch.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Acc. to Archigenes *apud* Gal. 12, 800, it is a Syrian word. Probably Pre-Greek.

**κινάρα** [f.] 'artichoke' (Hell.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR Also κύναρα (S. *fr.* 348; also other plants); κύναρος 'white rose' (S. *fr.* 718).

•COMP κιναρη-φάγος (Juba).

•DER κιναρῶν (pap.) 'bed of artichokes'.

•ETYM Unexplained. Does the variation ι/υ point to Pre-Greek origin?

**κίνδαξ** [adj.] · εὐκίνητος 'easily moved' (H.). <PG>

•VAR κίνδακας· εὐκινήτους (H.).

•COMP ὄνο-κίνδιος (Eur.), -δας (H.) 'ass-driver'.

•DER κινδαύει (κινδάνει, see Taillardat *REA* 58 (1956): 189ff.)· κινεῖται, κερατίζει 'move, butt with horns' (H.). Κίνδων name of an ὀψοφάγος (Ath. 8, 345c).

•ETYM Explanations from Indo-European, assuming a form with nasal infix \*ki-n-d-, should be discarded. Fur.: 291 compares σκίναξ, implying that the word is Pre-Greek. This nicely illustrates that some forms of substrate words may closely resemble inherited material. For the variation νδ/ν, cf. Kuiper 1956: 216, e.g. ἀθήρ / ἀνθήριξ, κίδαφος / κινδάφη. See ► κίνδυνος.

**κίνδυνος** [m.] 'danger, risk' (Thgn., Pi., IA; on the mg. Mette *Herm.* 80 (1952): 409ff.). On κίνδυνος = ἡ ἐν πρῶρα σελίς 'bench in the prow of a ship' (H.), whence MoGr. (Naxos) 'bed', see Andriotis *Glotta* 25 (1936): 19f. <PG>

•VAR Dat. -υνι (Alc. Z 92); also gen. -υνος (Sapph. 184)?

•COMP As a second member e.g. in ἐπι-κίνδυνος 'connected with danger' (IA).

•DER κινδυνώδης 'dangerous' (Hp., Plb.), κινδυνεύω [v.] 'to wage, take a risk' (IA), whence κινδύνευμα 'risk' (S., E., Pl.), -ετής 'dare-devil' (Th., D. C.), -ευτικός 'dangerous, adventurous' (Arist.).

•ETYM The connection with κίνδαξ, ὄνο-κίνδιος (which do not belong to ► κινέω; s.v.) is formally attractive. For the semantics, Prellwitz 1892 and Vendryes *REGr.* 25 (1912): 461f., compare Lat. *solli-citus* 'to be in danger' < \*'to be wholly stirred'. See also Taillardat *REA* 58 (1956): 189-194.

Attempts at an IE etymology should be given up (thus still, e.g., Knobloch *Glotta* 53 (1975): 78-81), and the old etymology *\*kun-du-no-*, κύων being an unlucky cast of the dice (older litt. in Frisk), should be discarded. The Pre-Greek character is clear in view of the ending -ὐν- in κινδύν (Alc., Sapph.), with its long ū, as seen by Kuiper 1956: 217. Debrunner in Ebert 1924-1932: 526 and Kretschmer *KZ* 55 (1928): 90f., too, are in favor of foreign (Pre-Greek or Anatolian) origin. Cf. Chantraine 1933: 208.

**κινέω** [v.] 'to set in movement, drive away, shake' (Il.). <IE *\*keih₂-* 'set in motion'>

•VAR Aor. κινήσαι.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, δια-, μετα-, παρα-, συν-.

•DER κίνημα, κινήσις 'movement, agitation' (IA), παρα-κινηματικός (Ph.), κινητικός 'moving, movable' (IA), see Chantraine 1956a: 101; κινηθμός 'movement' (Pi.), on the mg. Benveniste 1935: 201; κινώ = κινήσις (Emp. 123, 2; Doric acc. to H.); κινητήρ 'mover, agitator' (h. Hom., Pi.), of Poseidon; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 108; 153; Benveniste 1948: 39 and 42; thence κινητήριος (A.); κινητής 'id.' (Ar., Plb.); κίνηθρον (Poll.), -ιτρον (Eust.) ('stirring') spoon; κινητήριον 'brothel' (Eup.; from κινεῖν in an obscene sense). A back-formation from ἀπο-κινεῖν is ἀπόκινος [m.] name of a comic dance (com.). Further κινύμαι [v.] 'to move (oneself), κινέομαι' (Il.), only present stem, incidentally with ἐν-, ἐπι-, ὑπο- (Q. S.); an intensive enlargement in κινύσσομαι [v.] 'to be heavily moved, be excited' (A. Ch. 196; Schwyzer: 716), whence κινύγμα 'movable or light object, ball, toy' (A. Pr. 158 [anáp.]).

•ETYM Because of the athematic middle κινύμαι, a pre-form *\*κινέψ-ω* << *\*κι-νευ-μι* has been assumed for the active κινέω. The present κινύμαι is a poetic *medium tantum* and means 'to move to and fro, to shake (intr.)' in Hom. (see García Ramón 1993b: 125-139), while the active κινέω occurs only in Attic (see Kölligan 2007: 35). The non-presentic forms κινήσαι, etc. are analogical formations. LIV² s.v. *\*keih₂-* 'sich in Bewegung setzen' follows Harðarson 1993b: 192 in assuming root final *\*h₂* on account of the gloss κίατο· ἐκινεῖτο 'moved' (H.) and Hom. μετ-εκίαθον 'followed'. See ►κίω, as well as ►σεύω.

**κιννάβαρι, -εως** [n.] 'cinnabar, vermilion' (Arist., Thphr.). <LW Orient.?<>

•VAR Also -ις [m.] (Anaxandr. 14, Ps.-Dsc. 3, 143) 'serpent's blood' (painter's color); as a plant name = ἐρυθρόδανον (Ps.-Dsc.).

•DER κινναβάριον name of an eye ointment (Gal.), -άρινος 'cinnabar, vermilion' (Arist.), -αρίζω [v.] 'to be vermilion' (Dsc.).

•ETYM Foreign word from an unknown (but probably Oriental) source; cf. Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 701f. From Greek, Latin borrowed *cinnabaris*, whence MHG *zinober*, etc. A remarkable by-form is τιγγάβαρι (Diocl. Com. 9, 10, Theognost. Can. 120, H.) with τιγγαβάρινος (Dam. *Isid.* 203), perhaps with *ki-* > *ki-* > *tsi-*?

**κιννάμωμον** [n.] usually taken as 'cinnamon' (Hdt., Thphr.), but acc. to Hennig *Klio* 32 (1939): 325ff. some other kind of sweet-smelling substance. <LW Phoen.>

•VAR Rarely -v-, also κινναμιν (Plin.), -v- (Nic. Th. 947).

•COMP As a first member in κινναμωμο-φόρος (Str.), of γῆ; κινναμο-λόγος [m.] 'cinnamon-gatherer', name of a mythical bird (Plin.), also called κιννάμωμον (Arist.); see Thompson 1895 s.v.

•DER κινναμωμίσ [f.] a lesser kind of cinnamon (Gal.), κινναμώμιος 'prepared with cinnamon' (Antiph.), -μίζω [v.] 'to be similar to cinnamon' (Dsc. 5, 121).

•ETYM From Phoenician (Hdt. 3, 111); cf. Hebr. *qinnāmōn* 'id.'. The ending was modelled on that of the spice-plant ἄμωμον, or due to folk etymology, on that of ἄμωμος 'blameless'. See Lewy 1895: 37 and Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 695f.

**κίνυμαι** 'to move (intr.)'. ⇒ κινέω and κίω, as well as σεύω.

**κινύρα** [f.] name of a stringed instrument (LXX, J.). <LW Hebr.>

•ETYM Borrowed from Hebr. *kinṣār* 'cither' and adapted to κινυρός. See Lewy 1895: 164; also, Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 19 and E. Masson 1967: 69².

**κινυρός** [adj.] mg. uncertain; epithet of βοῦς (P 5), of γόος (A. R. 4, 605), of πέτιλα (Nonn. D. 38, 95). <?>

•DER κιν[υ]ρίδες· τὰ μικρὰ ὀρνιθάρια (H.), apparently 'wailing, lamenting'; κινυρίζω [v.] 'to wail, lament' (I 612, acc. to Zenodotus), κινύρομαι [v.] 'to gnash, lament' (A. Th. 123 [lyr.], *Dict.* 804, Ar. *Eq.* 11, A. R., Call.). PN Κινύρης (Λ 20), -ρας (Tyrt.).

•ETYM The meaning was already unclear in antiquity; cf. H. on P 5: κινυρή· ἀπαλή, νέα, λεχώ, οἰκτρά, θρηνητική 'weak, young, woman in childbed, pitiable woman, inclined to lament' and (on A. R. 4, 605) κινυρόν· λεπτόν, καπυρόν, ὀξύ, οἰκτρόν 'small, crackly (of sound), i.e., sharp, pitiable'. The parallelism between κινυρός, κινυρίζω, κινύρομαι and μινυρός, ►μινυρίζω, μινύρομαι 'to twitter, complain' is clear. Other mixed forms are κιναθίζειν, -ισμός, ►κινάθισμα and κιναρύζεσθαι· θρηνεῖν μετὰ τοῦ γογγύζειν 'to lament together with grumbling' (H.), perhaps after κελαρύζειν (see Leumann 1950: 241³⁷). Given the age of the attested forms, Leumann (l.c.) considers only κινυρός and μινυρίζω to be old; the other forms would have arisen by contamination, as did μύρομαι.

**κινύσσομαι** ⇒ κινέω.

**κινώπετον** [n.] 'venomous animal, especially a snake' (Call. *Jov.* 25, Nic. *Th.* 27 and 195). <PG(V)>

•COMP κινωπηστής, -οῦ [m.] 'id.' (Nic. *Th.* 141), see below.

•ETYM Endings like in ἐρπετόν, δακετόν, and ἐρπηστής. Probably related to ►κνώψ 'venomous animal' (thus Persson 1891: 177). The vocalism points to Pre-Greek origin; cf. on ►πινυτός.

**κιθάλλης, -ου** [m.] 'highway robber, pirate, thief' (Democr. 260, *SIG* 38, 19 [Teos V²], H.); Jo. Gramm. (in Hoffmann 1898: 208) has κιττάλλης = κλέπτης (on the phonetics see Schwyzer: 318). <PG(V)>

•VAR Cf. κίξας· τοὺς ἐν ὁδῷ ληστας 'thieves on the road' (Phot.).

•DER κιθαλλεύω [v.] 'to commit robbery' (*SIG* l.c.), κιθαλλία· πᾶσα κακοτεχνία 'any malpractice' (H.).

•ETYM The formation is reminiscent of καβάλλης, δαμάλης, etc. Acc. to Hoffmann 1898: 612, the word was Anatolian (Carian/ Lycian), but it is a clear example of a Pre-Greek word (alternations λλ/ λ, ττ/ ξ). We could reconstruct PG *\*kikʷalʷ-*. See Fur.: 286.

**κίρα** [ʔ] · ἀλώπηξ. Λάκωνες 'fox (Lacon.)' (H.). <PG>

•VAR κίραφος· ἀλώπηξ (H.).

•ETYM Frisk *IF* 49 (1931): 98f. connected it with ► κερρός = πυρρός, ἐρυθρός, ξανθός 'red, yellow', suggesting that it was adapted from κίδαφος. The form κίραφος is from κίρα, extended by the animal suffix -φος.

**κίρβα** [f.]? · πήρα 'leather pouch' (H.). <PG>

•VAR MoGr. κερβέλλα 'small sack'.

•ETYM Probably Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 305.

**κίρκαία** [f.] scil. ῥίζα, 'black swallowwort, Vincetoxicum nigrum' (Dsc., Apollod.). <PG>

•VAR = ► διρκαία.

•ETYM Probably Pre-Greek; see ► διρκαία.

**κίρκιος** [m.] = Θρασκίας, the north-northwest wind (Agathem.), = Lat. *circius*. <PG?>

•DIAL κερκίας (conjecture Arist.), also κέρκιος (v.l. Arist. *Mu.* 394b 31), Lat. *cercius* (Cato).

•ETYM Unknown. Pre-Greek because of the variation? See Fur.: 356.

**κίρκος 1** [m.] a hawk or falcon (Hom., A., A. R.); see Thompson 1895 s.v. <?>

•ETYM Unknown; cf. on ► κρέξ.

**κίρκος 2** 'circle, ring'. ⇒ κρίκος.

**κίρνημι** ⇒ κεράννυμι.

**κίρρις** ⇒ ἀκίρις.

**κιρρός** [adj.] 'red-yellow, yellow-brown', said of οἶνος, νέκταρ (Hp., Nic.), fem. κερράς (Nic.). <?>

•COMP ὑπό-κιρρος (Hp., Dsc., Gal.), ἔγ-κιρρος (Dsc.), κερρο-ειδής (Apollod. Myth.).

•DER κερρώδης (Hippiatr.); κερρίς [f.] a sea fish (Opp.); cf. κηρίς s.v. ► κηρός (κερρά [for κίρρα?] H.); also = εἶδος ἱέρακος 'kind of hawk or falcon' (*EM* 515, 15); cf. κείρις· ὄρνειον, ἱέραξ, οἱ δὲ ἀλκυόνα 'bird, hawk or falcon, kingfisher' (H.), whence Lat. *cīris* 'sea-bird', see WH s.v.; also κίρις· ... ὄρνειον (H.).

•ETYM The geminate -ρρ- also occurs in ► πυρρός. Unexplained. The comparison with Lith. *šiřmas, šiřvas* 'grey' is problematic, since Lith. -iř- is from a zero grade. The group of CS *sěřb* 'grey' (see Derksen 2008 for a reconstruction), MlR. *čiar* 'dark', etc. cannot be connected either for phonetic reasons.

**κίρσός** [m.] 'varicocele' (Hp., Philostr.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also κρισσός (Hippiatr., H.), κριξός (Poll.).

•COMP As a first member in κίρσο-κῆλη 'varicocele', κίρσο-τομέω [v.] 'to operate a varicocele', whence -ία.

•DER κισώδης 'varicose', κισόομαι [v.] 'to become varicose', act. -όω (causative mg.), whence κίρσωσις (med.).

•ETYM The variation σ(σ)/ξ shows that the word is Pre-Greek.

**κίρτος** [adj.]? mg. unknown; corrected to σκίρτος (Simon. 624 P.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**κίρων** [adj.] · ἀδύνατος πρὸς συνουσίαν· καὶ αἰδοίου βλάβη· καὶ ἀπεσκολυμμένος· καὶ κυρίως μὲν ὁ σάτυρος, καὶ ἐντεταμένος, ὁ γυναικίας, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος χρῆσθαι 'unable to have intercourse; injury of the penis; stripped off; mainly used of a lewd man, one who has a penile erection, a weakling, one who is unable to use it' (H.). <?>

•DER DELG cites the PNs Κίρος, Κίρων, Κιρωνίδης (cf. Bechtel 1917b: 497).

•ETYM Unknown.

**-κίς** multiplicative suffix, in πολλά-κι(ς) 'often' (Il.), τετρά-κι(ς) 'four times' (ε 306), πεντά-κι(ς) 'five times' (Pi.), etc. <IE \*k<sup>w</sup>i- 'something'>

•DIAL Epic, Iyr., Dor. also -κί; Lacon. -κιν; Tarent. ἀμάτις 'once'.

•ETYM The word πολλά-κι(ς) agrees in meaning with Ved. *purū-cid* 'often'. The forms can be combined if we assume that the plural πολλά 'often' replaces older \*πολύ (which is unlikely), after which \*k<sup>w</sup> was delabialized in Greek. This hypothesis is confirmed by Tarent. ἀμά-τις 'once' = Cret. ἀμά-κίς (H.).

From πολλάκι(ς), the forms in -κί- spread to the numeral adverbs τετράκι(ς), etc.; cf. also οὐκί. The final consonant of -κίς, Skt. *cid* reminds one of the correspondence ἕως 'until': Skt. *yāvat* (see on ► ἕως 2); Greek added adverbial \*-s (cf. δίς, τρίς). Etymologically, -κί/ -τι = Skt. *cid* are identical with the indefinite pronoun τι 'something'; see ► τίς.

**κῖς, κῖός** [m.] 'weevil' (Pi. *Fr.* 222, Thphr., gramm.). <PG?>

•VAR Acc. κῖν; also nom. κῖς (Hdn. Gr. 2, 925). On the accent see Schwyzler: 378 and Berger *MSS* 3 (1953): 8; on the quantity of the ι in κῖός, etc. Schwyzler: 571.

•COMP ἀκίωτατοι 'least damaged by weevils' (Hes.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Skt. *kīṭā-* [m.] 'worm, insect' is unrelated; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. Probably Pre-Greek.

**κίστρις** [f.] 'pumice stone' (Ar., Arist., Thphr.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also κίστρις (pap., Luc.); gen. -εως, -ιδος.

•DER κισήριον (*EM*), κιστρο-ειδής and κισηρώδης 'like κ.' (Diog. Apoll., Hell.); κισηρόομαι [v.] 'to be changed into κ.' (Thphr.), -ρίζω [v.] 'to smoothen with κ.' (Nic. Dam.).

•ETYM On the matter, cf. Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 146. Fur.: 117 compares Car. γίσσα and Caucasian (and Basque) forms. Without a doubt Pre-Greek, in view of the variation ρ/λ.

**κίσθος** [m.] 'cistus', family of low shrubs, of which the separate types often produce the resin-like substance λήδανον (Dsc.). <PG>

•VAR Also κισθός (Eup., Mnesim.) and κίστος (Hp., Gal.), κίσθαρος [m.] (Dsc.).

•DER ὑποκισθίς (-τίς) f. 'Cytinus hypocisthis', hypocist (Dsc., Gal.).

•ETYM The suffix of κίσθαρος may be compared with κόμαρος, κίσσαρος, and other plant names (Chantraine 1933: 227). The Cistus is a typical plant of the mediterranean world. Fur.: 190, 257<sup>36</sup> compares Ligurian *kísti*, MlLat. *custrus*.

**κίσρινις** [?] · ὄρνις ποιός 'kind of bird' (H.). <PG>

•VAR Cf. κίσσιρις· εἶδος ὀρνέου 'kind of bird' (H.); also κίσινδις (Su.).

•ETYM Unknown. Pre-Greek has additional words with a nasal added after ρ; see Fur.: 48<sup>126</sup>, 215<sup>62</sup>, and 387.

**κίσπρα** [?] · πικρὰ τὸ ἦθος, παλίγκοτος. Κῶοι 'bitter disposition, spiteful' (Cos) (H.). <?>

•ETYM Bechtel 1921, 2: 599 compares (with due reservation) Osc. *kaispatar*, of which the meaning is unknown. Pre-Greek?

**κίσσα 1** [f.] 'jay, Garrulus glandarius', also 'magpie, Pica caudata' (Ar.); see Thompson 1895 s.v.; also = ἰχθύς ποιός 'kind of fish' (H.); on the motivation of the name Strömberg 1943: 115. <ONOM>

•VAR Att. κίττα.

•DER κισσαβίζω (-ττ-) [v.] 'to cry like a jay' (Poll.), cf. τιττυβίζω, etc.; also κισσάω, see ► κίσσα 2.

•ETYM By comparison with νήσσα 'duck' and other animal names (Chantraine 1933: 98), one scholar reconstructed PGr. \**kikīa*, derived from an onomatopoeic root. For this sound-imitation, bird names like Skt. *kiki-* (lex.), *kikidivī-* [m.] (RV 10, 97, 13, TS) 'blue jay', and Gm. names like OE *higora* 'magpie' can be compared; the latter were apparently not restored after Grimm's Law.

**κίσσα 2** [f.] morbid longing of pregnant women, craving for strange food (Dsc., S. E., Sor., Gal.). <GR>

•VAR Att. κίττα.

•DER κισσάω, κιττάω [v.] 'to suffer from κ.' (Ar., Arist.), 'to become pregnant' (LXX), whence κίσσησις (Gal.). κισσώδης 'full of κίσσα' (Dsc.).

•ETYM The age and frequency of the attestations suggest that κίσσα 2 is a back-formation from κισσάω. The form κισσάω itself is a denominative of ► κίσσα 1 'jay, magpie', and refers to the well-known gluttony of the bird (ὄρνειον ἀδηφάγον καὶ παμφάγον, sch. Ar. *Pax* 496); thus, κισσάω originally means 'to behave like a magpie'. The connection with Skt. *kéta-* 'will, desire' must therefore be given up. The gloss κοῖται· γυναικῶν ἐπιθυμία 'longing off/for women' is only an incidental use of κοίτη 'marital bed, sexual intercourse'.

**κισσός** [m.] 'ivy, Hedera helix' (IA). <PG(V)>

•VAR Att. κιττός.

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. κισσο-φόρος 'having ivy' (Pi., Ar.); also as a second member, e.g. κατά-κισσος 'crowned with ivy' (Anacreont.).

•DER Diminutive κισσίον = ἀσκληπιός (Ps.-Dsc.); κισσίνος 'of ivy' (Pi., E.), κισσῆεις 'id.' (Nic., Nonn.), on the formation Schwyzer: 527; κισσώδης 'enveloped with ivy' (Nonn.); κισσεύς epithet of Apollo (A. *Fr.* 341); κισσών 'forest with ivy' (Hdn. Gr.), κισσαρος = κισσός (gloss.). Denominative κισσάω (Att. -ττ-) [v.] 'to crown with ivy' (E., Alciph., whence κίττωσις (Attica).

•ETYM Pre-Greek. See Fur.: 256, who compares κιθάρα in the sense of 'ivy' (Ps.-Dsc.); and ibid. 257<sup>36</sup> on the suffix -αρος in Pre-Greek words. We may reconstruct a form PG \**kitʰ-*.

**κισσύβιον** [n.] name of a wooden drinking-cup (Od., Theoc., Call.), on the matter see Brommer *Herm.* 77 (1942): 358 and 365f. <PG(V)>

•VAR Also κισσύφιον (IG 2<sup>2</sup>, 1424a: 265), acc. to Frisk after the diminutives in -ύφιον, but see below.

•ETYM The ancients connected it with κισσός, either after the material (Eumolp. *apud* Ath. 11, 477a) or after the ornamentation (Poll. 6, 97). The word is Pre-Greek because of the variation β/ φ, as seen by Schwyzer: 316 and 470; see also Debrunner in Ebert 1924-1932 4:2, §46 and Fur.: 170.

**κίστη** [f.] 'basket, chest' (ζ 76, Ar.). <EUR>

•COMP As a first member in κιστα-φόρος 'basket bearer', -έω [v.] (Thrace, Macedon.), κιστο-ειδής 'like a chest' (H. s.v. ὀγκίον).

•DER Diminutive κιστίς [f.] (Hp., Ar.), κιστίδιον (Artem.).

•ETYM Mlr. *cess* [f.] 'basket, causeway of wickerwork, bee-hive', OW *cest* [f.] gl. *fiscina* point to a pre-form QIE \**kisteh<sub>2</sub>*-. If these are connected with Gr. κίστη, the most likely scenario is a European loanword. From κίστη was borrowed Lat. *cista*, whence most European forms, e.g. Ir. *ciste* [m.], OHG *kista*, etc.

**κίτριον** [n.] 'citron tree (Citrus medica), citron' (Juba, J., Epidauros II<sup>2</sup>, Dsc.). <LW Lat.>

•VAR Also κίτρον 'citron' (Pamphil. *apud* Ath. 3, 85c).

•COMP κιτριο-ειδής (Gal.), κιτρό-μηλον 'id.' (Dsc., Gp.).

•DER κίτρινος 'belonging to the citron tree' (D. C.), also κίτρεος (pap. VI<sup>2</sup>); κιτρέα [f.] 'citron tree' (Gp.), after μηλέα, etc.; κιτράτον 'citron drink' (Alex. Trall.).

•ETYM From Lat. *citrium*, *citrum*, *citreus*, *citratus*, which all go back to *citrus* 'citron tree', which itself is somehow connected with Gr. ► κέδρος and perhaps came from Greek via Etruscan. See WH s.v. *citrus* with litt.

**κίφος** [n.] Messenian for στέφανος (Paus. 3, 26, 9). <PG(V)>

•COMP σκιφα-τόμιος 'who cuts σκίφα' (IG 5(1), 212: 63 [Sparta I<sup>a</sup>]), perhaps palms, for ψίλινοι στέφανοι.

•DER σκιφίνιον· πλέγμα ἐκ φοίνικος 'plaiting of palm' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained; perhaps Pre-Greek because of the varying anlaut.

**κιχᾶνω** [v.] 'to reach, attain, hit, meet with' (Il.). <IE \**ǵʰeh<sub>2</sub>-* 'leave, abandon'>

•VAR Att. κιχᾶνω; several aorists: a) athem. (ἐκίχην), -χεις, (ἐ)κίχημιεν, subj. κιχείω, opt. -χείην, inf. κιχήμεναι, -χῆναι, ptc. κιχείς, -χήμενος; b) them. 3sg. ἐκίχεν, 3pl. ἐκίχον, subj. κίχω, κίχησι, inf. κιχείν, ptc. κιχών; c) sigmatic κιχῆσατο, act. ptc. κιχῆσας (B. 5, 148); d) Dor. ἐκίξε = ἤνεγκε (Simm. 26, 7), ἀπέκισαν (Ar. *Ach.* 869; Boeot.), κίξαντες· ἐλθόντες, πορευθέντες 'having come, been driven or carried', κίξατο· εὔρεν, ἔλαβεν, ἤνεγκεν 'found, took, brought' (H.); fut. κιχῆσομαι.

•DER κίχησις· ἡ λῆψις 'taking hold' (H.).

•ETYM From a reduplicated root present \*κίχημι (like τίθημι), found in κίχημεν, κίχητην, etc. (ἐκίχεις after ἐτίθεις), which were taken as aorists when the new present κίχάνω arose. Innovations are the them. aor. ἔκικεν, etc. and sigmatic κίχησατο, whence fut. κίχησομαι (Il.). Doric created a different *s*-aorist in ἔκικε. The form κίχάνω arose at a recent date after the analogy of φθάνω to ἔφθην, φθήσομαι; the nasal infix in κίγχανω was modelled on λαμβάνω, etc., on which see Schwyzler: 688<sup>s</sup>, 698, as well as Chantraine 1942: 300, 392, 415, 446.

Except for the reduplication vocalism, \*κίχημι < PIE \**ǵʰi-ǵʰeh<sub>1</sub>-* corresponds nicely to Skt. *jáhāti* 'to leave (behind), abandon', Av. *zazāiti* 'to let go'; Skt. also has an old root aorist *ahās*. It is unclear whether the Gm. verb for 'go' belongs here: OHG, OE *gān*, ON *gá* (the same development of meaning is found in Skt. med.3sg. *jíhite*, 3pl. *jíhate* 'to go on, go away'). Remote cognates from the same root are supposed in ▶χάζομαι, ▶χατέω, ▶χήρα, ▶χώρος, Ruijgh and Van Krimpen *Mnem.* 22 (1969): 113-136 read the older meaning 'to abandon' in Myc. *ke-ke-me-na* /k<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>h</sup>emenā/ 'deserted (land)'. They suggest that the transition in meaning occurred in sporting contests, where a runner reaches and leaves, i.e. passes, another runner. LIV<sup>2</sup> considers κίχάνω together with Arm. *gam* 'I come', OE *gān* 'to go', and the other Gm. words under \**ǵʰeh<sub>1</sub>-* 'kommen, erreichen' (with plain velar because of Armenian). This seems less attractive than the connection with Indo-Iranian, which is formally and semantically impeccable.

**κίχλη** [f.] 'thrush' (χ 468); also name of a fish, a kind of wrasse (Epich., Arist.), because it changes its color with the seasons, like the thrush; see Strömberg 1943: 116. <PG(V)>

•VAR Younger κίχλᾱ (Alex. Trall., Gp.), see Solmsen 1909: 260; Dor. κίχλα (Epich. 157, Ar. Nu. 339). Cf. ἰχλα· κίχλα (H.). and ἰσκλαί = κίχλαι (H.).

•DER κίχλιζω [v.] 'to giggle, laugh' (Ar., Theoc., Herod.), κίχλισμός; κίχλιδ-ιάω [v.] 'to have a desire to giggle' (Com. Aesp. 1038; not quite certain).

•ETYM Hardly belongs to ▶χελιδών. A by-form is ἰχλα (H.); the initial variation points to a Pre-Greek word. See Thompson 1895 s.v. (also on the different names of the bird), as well as Fur.: 130 on κίχλη.

**κίχορα** [n.pl.] 'chicory, Cichorium intybus' (Nic. Al. 429, where i verse-initially). <? PG?>

•VAR κίχόρη [f.] (Thphr.), κίχόριον [n.] (Thphr., Dsc., Plin.), -ια [pl.] (Ar. Fr. 293), perhaps for -εια = Lat. *cichorēa* [pl.]?

•ETYM No etymology. See DNP s.v. *cichorie*, stating that the plant grows in the Mediterranean area. Is the word Pre-Greek? However, one type of chicory comes from Egypt.

**κίχρημι** [v.] 'to lend', med. 'to borrow from' (D., Plu.). <?>

•VAR Impv.3sg. κίχρέτω, etc. (Delph. IV<sup>a</sup>), ἔσκιχρέμεν [inf.] (Thess. III<sup>a</sup>); also κίνχρητι 'gives an oracle' (Cret. II<sup>a</sup>), med. κίχραμαι (Thphr., Plu., AP), aor. χρήσαι, χρήσασθαι and fut. χρήσω, -ομαι (IA), perf. κέχρηκα (Hell.), -ημαι (D.).

•COMP Rarely with prefix δια-, ἐπι-, ἐσ-.

•DER κίχρησις (Tz.).

•ETYM Like δίδημι next to δῆσαι, δῆσω (see ▶δέω 1), the presents κίχρημι, κίχραμαι arose as innovations of the aorist χρήσαι and other sigmatic forms. We must start from a middle aorist χρήσασθαι with original mg. 'to use', from which a factitive active χρήσαι 'to give in use' = 'borrow' was created; later, χρήσασθαι also came to mean 'to borrow from'. See ▶χρη.

**κίω** [v.] 'to set in movement', intr. 'to start to move, move away' (Hom., A.). <IE \**keih<sub>2</sub>-* 'set in movement'>

•VAR Present 2sg. κίεις (A. Ch. 680), further only preterite and non-indicative forms: ἔκιε (κίε), κίόμεν, κίον, ipv. κίε, subj. κίης, opt. κίοι, ptc. κίων. With enlargement -θ-: μετ-εκίαθε, -ον 'followed after, visited' (Il.), with i by metrical lengthening; for the vocalism cf. κίατο· ἐκινεῖτο 'moved (intr.)' (H.).

•ETYM Except for two occurrences in Aeschylus, the verb is only epic. Originally a thematic root aorist, interpreted as an imperfect, κίε received incidental present forms (see Chantraine 1942: 392f.), and it came to serve as a metrical variant for the imperfect of εἶμι (Kölligan 2007: 162f.). The nasal present ▶κίνομαι, ▶κινέω was felt to be closely connected with ▶σεύω. On κια- < \**kih<sub>2</sub>-e-*, see on ▶κινέω. Cf. Strunk 1967: 88, 100, 114. Outside Greek, the root is only found in Latin, which has a *to*-derivative *citus* 'quick', originally 'set in motion' (for which cf. *con-citus*, *solli-citus*, etc.), while the present *ciere* (next to (*ac*)*ciere*) probably developed from a causative; see De Vaan 2008 s.v.

**κίων, -ονος** [m., f.] 'column, pillar', also metaph. (Od.); as a medical term 'cartilage, wart' (Hp.). <IE \*(s)*kiHu-* 'shin, post'>

•VAR On the gender see Schwyzler: 486, Schwyzler 1950: 37.

•COMP As a first member in κιονό-κρᾶνον 'capital of a column' (v.l. in Str. 4, 4, 6; D. S.) beside earlier and more usual κιοό-κρᾶνον (Pl. Com., X., Delos III<sup>a</sup>, etc.), by haplology. Further ἀκρο-, τετρα-, μετα-, προ-κίων-ιον (Ph.).

•DER Diminutives κιονίον (Ph. Bel.), -ίσκος (Hero, J.), -ίς 'uvula' (medic.).

•ETYM Identical with Arm. *siwn* 'column' < \**kiwōn-*, which like Greek reflects an *n*-stem. One of the traditional exclusive correspondences between Greek and Armenian, but the word has now also been recognized in other branches (see Lubotsky JAOS 112 (2002)): Skt. *aṣṭhivánt-* [m.] 'shank, shin'; YAv. *asciua-* [m.] 'shank, shin' < \**asciua-* reflect a compound PIIr. \**ast-(s)ciHua-* < QIE \**h<sub>3</sub>est-(s)kiHu-* 'shin-bone'; further, OE *scīa* [m.] 'shin, leg', *scinu* [f.] 'shin' and MHG *schīe* [f.] 'post', OHG *skena*, *skina* [f.] 'id.' can be traced back to a PGm. paradigm \**skīō*, \**skinaz* (Kroonen 2009); finally, Balto-Slavic forms like Lith. *šeivà* [f.] 'spool, forearm, shin' and Scr. *cĭjev* 'tube, spool, shin-bone' point to PIE \**koiH-u-*, with depalatalization of the initial \**k-* due to the *s*-mobile. Note that WGm. \**skinō* is reminiscent of the *n*-stem in Gr. and Arm.; still, the semantic shift to 'pillar' may point to a common development.

**κλαγγή** [f.] '(shrill) sound, cry of an animal, etc.' (Il.). <EUR?, ONOM?>

•VAR Also κλαγγόν 'id.' (Babr.); dat. also κλαγγ-ί (Ibyc. 56; see below).

•DER κλαγγηδόν 'accompanied by crying' (B 463), κλαγγώδης 'full of sound, shrill' (Hp., Gal.). Further κλάζω [v.] 'sound, resound, cry' (Il.), also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-,



ἐκ-; aor. κλάγξαι, also κλαγεῖν (B. 16, 127, *h. Hom.* 19, 14, E., et al.), fut. κλάγξω (A.), perf. κεκλήγοντες (Aeolizing) and κεκληγώς, -ῶτες (Hom.), see Chantraine 1942: 430f.; κέκλαγα (Alcm. 7), κέκλαγα (Ar., X.), perfect future κεκλάγξομαι (Ar.). Isolated presents: κλαγαίνω (A. *Eu.* 131), -άνω (S.), -έω (Theoc. *Ep.* 6, 5), -άζω (Poll., Porph.). To κλαγεῖν: κλαγερός 'crying' (AP).

•ETYM As a *yod*-present, κλάζω may derive from \*κλάγγ-ιω, from a root noun κλάγγ- seen in the dat. κλαγγ-ί (or is this an innovation?). However, perhaps we are dealing with a primary nasal present, which took -ζω from other sound-verbs (ὀλολύζω, οἰμώζω, etc.; cf. Schwyzler: 716). The non-presentic forms κλάγξαι, κλάγξω, κέκλαγα are innovations in any case. κλαγγή functions as a verbal noun. It is possible that κλαγεῖν and κέκληγα are original primary forms without a nasal infix, but analogical innovation with loss of the nasal is possible too.

Material for comparison is provided by Lat. *clangō* 'to cry' (almost only present), which has a counterpart in ON *hlakka* 'to cry' (*kk* < \**nk*). Note that a pre-form \**klag-* is impossible (PIE did not have \**a*, and \**klh<sub>2</sub>g-* would have resulted in Greek \*κλᾱγ-). Schwyzler: 692 assumes expressive nasalization, but this does not help, as \*κλᾱγ- cannot be explained in this way. Cf. Fur. 274.

Wrong analysis in Pok. 599 and LIV<sup>2</sup>; the alternations cannot be accounted for in an Indo-European framework. The root must have been adopted from a non-IE language. See ► κλώζω.

**κλαδαρός** [adj.] 'invalid, infirm', of δοράτια (Plb. 6, 25, 5; beside λεπτά), of κάμακες (AP 9, 322 beside ἄκλαστοι; v.l. κλαμαραί), of γραμμὴ ζωηφόρος (in palmistry, *Cat. Cod. Astr.* 7, 241). <PG(V)>

•COMP As a first member in κλαδαρόρυγχος 'kind of peewit' (Ael., H.), κλαδαρόμματοι· εὐσειστοι τὰ ὄμματα 'liable to shaking in the eyes (?)' (H.).

•DER Further κλαδάσαι· σείσαι, κλαδάει· σείει, κινεῖ 'shakes, moves' (H.); κλαδάσσομαι [v.] 'to rustle, bubble, vel sim.', of sweet blood (τέρειν αἷμα) through the members (Emp. 100, 22); but Lobeck 1843: 89<sup>o</sup> corrects into κλυδάσσομαι; Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 224 assumes influence of τάρασσω.

•ETYM For the suffix, compare other expressions for 'invalid, weak', like πλαδαρός, ψαφαρός, χαλαρός, λαπαρός (Chantraine 1933: 227); κλαδαρός to κλαδάω is like πλαδαρός to πλαδάω, χαλαρός to χαλάω, etc. Ultimately, it might be related to ► κλάδος, as well as to ► κραδάω. The gloss κράδαλοι· κλάδοι 'branches' (H.) then suggests that these words are Pre-Greek, with interchange ρ/λ.

**κλάδος** [m.] 'branch, twig, sprout' (IA, Arist., Thphr.). <PG?, IE? \**kldo-* '(piece of) wood'>

•VAR Also a few cases of monosyllabic κλαδ- in κλαδ-ί, κλάδ-α, -ας, and of an *s*-stem in κλάδεσι, -έεσσι, -έων (perhaps after δένδρεσι).

•COMP ὀλιγό-κλαδος (Thphr.), κλαδο-τομέω (pap.).

•DER Diminutives κλάδιον (Lib., pap.) and κλαδίσκος (Gal.); κλαδεών (Orph.), κλαδών (H.) = κλάδος; κλαδῶδης 'full of branches' (sch., Eust.), κλάδινος = *rameus* (gloss.). Denominative κλαδεύω [v.] 'to cut off branches, clip' (Artem., -έω Arr.), whence κλάδεις (Aq., Sm., Gp.), κλαδεία (Gp.) 'cutting off branches, clipping',

κλαδευτήρια [pl.] 'pruned leaves' (gloss.), κλαδευτής 'pruner' (gloss.), κλαδευτήριον, -ια 'pruning knife, pruning festival' (H.).

•ETYM Connection with \**kelh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to hit, cut off' (see ► κλάω) cannot explain the Greek form, which presupposes a root \**kld-*. Connection with the Germanic word for 'wood', ON OE *holt* [n.], etc., to which also belongs the Slav. group of CS *klada*, Ru. *kolóda* 'log, block of wood', suggests itself. However, it may be accidental that all forms can be derived from \**kldo-*, since κλάδος can also be connected within Greek with ► κραδάω, which points to an interchange ρ/λ and therefore to substrate origin. Kuiper 1956: 121f connected κλάδος with ► κλών, κλώναξ, with nasalization (replacement of a stop by the nasal of that series) of the δ; cf. κλώναξ· κλάδος (H.). Lat. *clādēs* 'destruction, etc.' requires \**klh<sub>2</sub>-d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* and is therefore unrelated.

Independent of κλάδος is the δ-formation of ► κλαδαρός 'invalid'; further, καλαδία· εὐκάνη 'plane' (H.; LSJ and Frisk s.v. give ῥυκάνη 'plane-tree', but this lemma does not exist), with different ablaut grade.

**κλάζω** 'to sound'. = κλαγγή.

**κλαίω** [v.] 'to lament, bewail, weep over' (Il.). <IE?, PG? \**klau-* 'weep'>

•VAR Att. also κλάω, aor. κλαῦσαι (Il.), pass. κλαυ(σ)θῆναι (Lyc., J.), fut. κλαύσομαι (Il.), κλαύσω (Theoc.), κλα(ι)ήσω (Att.; cf. Chantraine *BSL* 28 (1927-1928): 15), perhaps also κλαυσοῦμεθα (Ar. *Pax* 1081; cf. Schwyzler: 786), perf. κέκλαυμαι (A., S.), -σμαι (Lyl., Plu.), fut. κεκλαύσομαι (Ar.).

•COMP Rarely with prefixes, e.g. μετα-, συν-.

•DER 1. κλαυθμός 'weeping' (Il.), with several derivatives: κλαυθμῶδης 'broken as if by weeping' (Hp.), κλαυθυρός 'weeping' (sch.), κλαυθμών 'place for weeping' (LXX); κλαυθυρίζομαι, -ίζω [v.] 'to moan' (Hp., [Pl.] Ax.), a cross of κλαυθμός and μύρομαι, with suffixation after the verbs in -ίζομαι (cf. Schwyzler: 644), to which κλαυθυρισμός (Is., Plu.). 2. κλαύματα [n.pl.] 'moaning, lamenting' (Att.), κλαύσματα (Porph.). 3. κλαυμοναί [f.pl.] 'id.' (Pl. *Lg.* 792a; acc. to Stob. κλαυθμιοναί), cf. πημιοναί. 4. κλαῦσις 'weeping' (Hell.), whence κλαυσιάω [v.] 'to long to weep' (Ar. *Pl.* 1099), κλαυσί-γελως [m.] 'weeping combined with laughing' (X.). 5. κλαυστήρ 'crier' (Man.) and κλαυστικός (Apoll. *Lex.*); κλαυ(σ)τός (A., S.). Highly uncertain is the present κλαύθονται (*PTeb.* 3, 7; epigram), perhaps an ad-hoc poetic formation, cf. Schwyzler 703.

•ETYM The present derives from \*κλάφ-ιω, as is obvious from κλαύ-σομαι, κλαυθμός, etc. Alb. *klan*, *qan* 'to weep' from \**klau-n-īō*, with a combination of nasal and *yod*-suffix, is the only comparison that suggests itself; cf. Mann *Lang.* 26 (1950): 381. If the word is IE, we may mechanically reconstruct \**kleh<sub>2</sub>u-*. However, since there is no further connection with any IE language, the word could be Pre-Greek.

**κλαμαράν** [acc.sg.f.]? · πλαδαράν, ἀσθενή 'weak, feeble' (H.). <PG?>

•VAR Also κλαμαραί as a v.l. for κλαδαραί (AP 9, 322).

•ETYM Belonging to the same semantic group as ► κλαδαρός, κλαμαρός has the appearance of an expressive innovation. The comparison with Skt. *klāmyati* 'to get tired' and other words mentioned in Pok. 602f. is not very attractive.

**κλαμβός** [adj.] 'cocked, cropped' (of ὄτα, Hippiatr.). <PG>

•ETYM Formation like κολοβός 'id.', σκαμβός 'crooked', etc. (Chantraine 1933: 261). The similarity with Lith. *klumbas* 'limping, stumbling' (to *klūbti* 'to stumble'), OE *lempi-healt* 'limping', which Specht 1944: 130f. connected with κλαμβός, is probably accidental. The word is typically Pre-Greek; cf. on ► σκαμβός.

**κλαμυστήσαι** [v.] · βοῆσαι, καλέσαι 'to cry aloud, call' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM The formation in -υσ-τέω could be denominative from -υστός, ppp. to \*κλαμύζω, which would be formed like κελαρύζω, γογγύζω, etc. This form was connected with Lat. *clāmāre* 'to call loudly, cry', OHG *hlamōn* 'to rustle', but this is not possible since the Greek α is short. The word looks rather Pre-Greek.

**κλάνιον** [n.] 'bracelet' (pap. imperial period). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also κλάνιον, κλάλιον (after ψέλιον? rejected by Fur. 131<sup>60</sup>); κλάνια· ψέλια βραχιόνων 'bracelets for the arms', also κλαρ<ί>α· ψέλια 'armlets or anklets' (H.), probably by dissimilation. Cf. χλανία· περιβολαί 'garment' (Fur. 131 objects that this word belongs rather to χλανίς) and χλανίτιδες· οἱ ὄρμοι παρθένων 'maidens' necklaces' (H.).

•ETYM Connection with ► κλάω seems improbable, in spite of κλαστός 'frizzly head', ἐγκλαστρίδια 'earring'. The forms with χ- have been explained away by assuming association with χλανίς 'upper garment', but see Fur. 131, who argues that χλανίτιδες cannot be explained in any such way. The variation between voiceless and aspirate shows the Pre-Greek origin of the word. Fur. 388 further compares πλανίς· τὸ τῆς νύμφης χρυσοῦν διάδημα 'golden headband of the bride' (H.).

**κλάπαι** [f.pl.] 'wooden shoes' (D. C. 77, 4, Suid.); also euphemistically 'stick', as a means of punishment (sch., Tz.). <?>

•VAR Also -αι [m.pl.].

•ETYM No etymology. Perhaps sound-symbolic, after the clattering?

**κλάω** [v.] 'to break (off)' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR ἐνι-κλᾶν, κατ-έκλων (Il.), aor. κλάσ(σ)αι, pass. κλασθῆναι (Il.), athem. ptc. ἀπο-κλᾶς (Anacr. 17), fut. κλάσω, perf. pass. κέκλασμαι (IA).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, περι-, συν-.

•DER κλάσις 'breaking' (IA), κλάσμα 'broken piece' (Att.) with κλασμάτιον (Delos III<sup>a</sup>), ἀνα-κλασμός 'bending back' (Heliod.), κλάστης· ἀμπελουργός 'vine-dresser' (H.), also ὄστο-κλάστης (Cyrano), etc., κλαστήριον 'knife for clipping the vine' (Delos II<sup>a</sup>); secondarily κλαστάζω [v.] 'to clip the vine', metaph. 'to chastize' (Ar. *Eq.* 166). On ► κλών, κλωνός [m.] 'sprout' (Att.), see s.v.; on κλώμαξ, ἀπόκλωμα see below. With different ablaut grade: ► κλήμα 'twig, tendril of the vine', ► κλήρος (κλᾶρος) 'lot', ► κλώμαξ 'heap of stones', ἀπόκλωμα· ἀπολογία ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον 'defense on behalf of an inferior' (H.). Very doubtful is the appurtenance of Κλαζομεναί TN (Anatolia), which acc. to Fraenkel KZ 42 (1909): 256; Fraenkel KZ 43 (1910): 216 would be a "place where the waves break" (just fantasy).

•ETYM The verbal system is based on \*kla(s)- and may be the result of analogical developments. There is an IE root \*kelh<sub>2</sub>- 'to hit, strike' (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.), to which belong

Lith. *kalti*, 1sg. *kalù* 'to beat', Latv. *kalīt* 'id.', OCS *klati*, 1sg. *koljō* 'to kill', Ru. *kolót* 'to prick, stab', which point to Proto-BSl. \*kolH-, as well as Lat. -*cellō* 'to hit' < \*k(e)l-n-h<sub>2</sub>- (De Vaan 2008 s.v.). LIV<sup>2</sup> states that ἀποκλᾶς may have been built on the generalized stem \*klā- and replaced older athematic \*kalant- < \*klh<sub>2</sub>-ent- (cf. τάλαντ-), but there are no indications for this within Greek, so it should be rejected. It is unclear how we can derive any of the above forms from a root \*kelh<sub>2</sub>-. Chantraine 1942: 354 considers the present κλάω to be secondary as opposed to the aorist κλάσαι. The passive aorist κλασθῆναι seems to suggest a root \*klad- (Schwyzer: 761), but analogical extension of the aorist stem κλασ- is more likely (Chantraine 1942: 404f.). Since there is no good etymology, the verb may well be Pre-Greek. See ► κλαδαρός, ► κλάδος, ► κόλος.

**κλεινός** 'famous'. ⇒ κλέος.

**κλείς** [f.] 'bar, bolt' (secondarily 'rowing bench', Leumann 1950: 209), 'hook, key, collar bone' (Att.). <IE \*kleh<sub>2</sub>u- 'lock'>

•VAR Gen. κλειδός, acc. κλεῖν (late κλειδα), older κλής, κληδός, κληδα (on the notation Schwyzer: 201f.), epic Ion. κληῖς, -ίδος, -ίδα, Dor. κλαῖς, -ίδος beside -ίδος (Simon., Pi.; perhaps Aeol., cf. Schwyzer: 465); also κλάξ (Theoc.), gen. κλαϊκος, acc. -κα (Epid., Mess.).

•DIAL Myc. *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* /klāwi-p<sup>h</sup>oros/.

•COMP κλειδ-οὔχος (or κληδ-) [m., f.] 'key-holder' (inscr.), κατα-κλείς, -κληῖς 'lock, case, quiver' (Att.), from κατα-κλείω.

•DER Diminutives κλειδίον (Ar., Arist.); κλειδᾶς [m.] 'locksmith' (pap., inscr., imperial period); late denominative κλειδώ (Smyrna, pap.), whence κλειδωσις (sch.), -ωμα (Suid.).

Old denominative κλείω [v.] 'to shut, block' (often with prefix, especially ἀπο-, κατα-, συν-), OAtt. κλήω, Ion. κληῖω (Hdt.), late κλήζω (*Hymn. Is., AP*), Theoc. κλάζω, aor. epic Ion. κληῖσαι, κληῖσσαι (Od.), OAtt. κληῖσαι, Att. κλείσαι, pass. κληῖσθῆναι (Ion.), κλησθῆναι, κλεισθῆναι (Att.), κλασθῆναι (Theoc.), fut. κλήσω (Th.), κλείσω, perf. κέκληκα (Ar.), κέκλεικα (Hell.), med. κέκλημαι (-ήμμαι), κέκλειμαι, Dor. κέκλανται (Epich.); after this Dor. aor. κλαῖξαι, κλαῖξαι, pass. κλαίχθεις, fut. κλαξῶ (Theoc., Rhod.), backformed present ποτι-κλάγω (Heracl.). Thence κληῖθρον, κληθρον, κλειθρον, κλαθρον 'lock, block' (IA, *h. Merc.* 146, Dor.), κλειθρίον (Hero), κλειθρία 'keyhole' (Luc.), κλάιστρον (Pi.), κλείστρον (Luc.) 'lock', κληῖσις, κλείσις (Th., Aen. *Tact.*), κλείσμα, κλεισμός (Hell.); also ἀπόκλησις, etc. from ἀπο-κλείω, etc.; verbal adj. κληῖστός, κληστός, κλειστός (epic IA), κλαϊκτός (κλακτός) 'what can be locked' (Argiv., Mess.). On κλαῖσιον see ► κλίνω.

•ETYM IA κλη(φ)ῖ-δ- and Dor. κλα(φ)ῖ-κ- are enlargements of an ī-stem that is still found in denominative κληῖω. Att. κλεῖν can be explained as analogical to κλείς < κλής (after ναῦς: ναῦν, etc.). A corresponding formation is found in Lat. *clāvus* 'nail, pin', next to *clāvis* 'key, block', with the same meaning as the derivation κληῖς. The Latin forms presuppose an old root noun \*kleh<sub>2</sub>u-, while Greek made an ī-stem \*kleh<sub>2</sub>u-iH-, just as κνημί-δ- is based on κνήμη, and χειρῖ-δ- on χεῖρ (cf. Chantraine 1933: 346f.). Further, there is a Celtic group, perhaps borrowed from Latin, or simply

inherited (which is equally possible): OIr. *cló*, plur. *clói* 'nail', MW *clo* [m.] 'lock, bolt'. Slavic has a number of words pointing to *\*kleu-*, which has to replace *\*klaHu-*: OCS *ključь* 'key', SCr. *ključka* 'hook, key, clamp', etc. The original meaning of the word was probably 'nail, pin, hook', instruments that were traditionally used for locking doors.

**κλεισίον** 'hut, shed'. = κλίνω.

**κλειτορίς, -ιδος** [f.] 'clitoris' (Ruf., H., Suid.). <IE *\*klei-* 'lean'>

•DER κλειτοριάζω [v.] 'to touch the clitoris' (id.).

•ETYM A medical term, formed like ἀλεκτορίς from ἀλέκτωρ, ἀκεστορίς from ἀκέστωρ, etc. We may assume an original meaning 'small hill', from *\*κλείτωρ* 'hill' (known as the name of an Arcadian town), a verbal noun from ►κλίνω 'to lean, incline'. For the semantics, cf. κλειτύς 'slope, hill', Lat. *clivus* 'hill'. See Grošelj Živa Ant. 3 (1953): 201; also, Schwyzer: 531<sup>2</sup> and Benveniste 1948: 34.

**κλειτός** 'famous'. = κλύω.

**κλείω 1** 'to celebrate'. = κλέος.

**κλείω 2** 'to lock'. = κλείς.

**κλεμμός, -ύος** [f.] 'turtle' (Ant. Lib. 32, 2, H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM The formation is similar to that of synonymous χέλυς, ἑμύς. Probably a foreign word; speculations in Frisk about folk-etymological adaptation to κλέμμα, κλέπτω 'to conceal', because turtles can hide their body under their shell. Acc. to Güntert 1914: 144, it is a cross of ἑμύς and unattested *\*κλωμός*, which would correspond to Skt. *kūrmá-* 'turtle', with -μμ- from κλέμμα. This is too far-fetched. Fur.: 131 compares κρέμυς 'a fish with a hard head' and χρέμυς: ὁ ὀνίσκος ἰχθύς 'kind of gadus or cod' (H.); these variants confirm that the word is Pre-Greek. On geminates in substrate words, see Fur.: 387, where this word can be added.

**κλέος** [n.] 'rumour, fame, renown, reputation' (Il.). <IE *\*kleu-s-* 'word, fame'>

•VAR Phoc. κλέφος.

•COMP Especially in PNs, e.g. Κλεο-μένης (shortname Κλέομ(μ)ις), with transition to the o-stems, beside Κλει-σθένης (from *\*Κλεφεσ-* or *\*Κλεφι-σθένης*), Τιμο-κλέφης (Cypri.), etc.; see Fick & Bechtel 1894: 162ff., Bechtel 1917b: 238ff.; on -κλέας for -κλέης in Thess., etc. see Kretschmer *Glotta* 26 (1938): 37.

•DER Adjective κλεινός, Aeol. κλέεννος (< *\*κλεφεσ-νός*) 'famous' (Sol., Pi.), with PN Κλεινίας, etc. Enlargement after the nouns in -(η)δών (cf. Schwyzer: 529f., Chantraine 1933: 361): κληδών, -όνος [f.] (Od.), κληηδών (δ 312; metrical lengthening), κληδών (Hdt., trag.) 'fame, (divine) pronouncement', by contraction or adaptation to κληίζω, κικλήσκω; thence κληδόνιος (sch., Eust.), κληδονίζομαι, -ίζω [v.] (LXX), -ισμα, -ισμός.

Denominative verbs: 1. κλείω (Il.), κλέω (B., trag. [lyr.]) [v.] 'to celebrate, praise, proclaim', Hell. also 'to call' (after κληίζω, see below), κλέομαι 'to enjoy fame, be celebrated' (Ω 202), Hell. also 'to be called'; mostly derived from *\*κλεφεσ-ιω* > *\*κλε(φ)έω*, whence κλείω, κλέω by hyphaeresis; but see Frisk *GHÄ* 56 : 3 (1950): 3ff.,

discussing the possibility that κλέω (whence, only in epic poetry, κλείω by metrical lengthening) is a back-formation of κλέος after ψεύδω : ψεύδος. Alternatively, κλέω, κλέομαι would be an old primary formation *\*kleu-e/o-*, see Chantraine 1942: 346<sup>3</sup> and DELG. From κλείω, κλέω as an agent noun: Κλειώ, Κλεώ, -οῦς [f.] 'she who gives fame', name of one of the Muses (Hdt., Pi.). 2. κλεῖζω [v.] (Pi.) 'to celebrate, praise, proclaim', also 'to call' (after κικλήσκω, καλέω; thence the notation κλη-), also εὐκλεῖζω from εὐκλείης (Sapph., Tyr.); forms: κληίζω (Hp., Hell.), κληίζω (Ar.), aor. κλεῖξαι or κληῖσαι, κληῖσαι, κλεῖσαι, fut. κλεῖξω, κληῖσω, κληῖσω, etc.; probably from a basis *\*κλεφεσ-ίζω* with hyphaeresis.

•ETYM Old s-stem of the root *\*kleu-* 'hear', found in several languages: Skt. *śrávas-* [n.] 'fame' (κλέος ἀφθιτον: *ákṣiti śrávaḥ*), Av. *srauuah-* [n.] 'word', OCS *slovo* [n.] 'word'; also, OIr. *clú* and ToA (*ñom*)-*klyu*, ToB (*ñem*)-*kälywe* 'fame', Illyr. PN *Ves-cleves* (= Skt. *vásu-śrávas-* 'having good fame'; cf. Eὐ-κλής). The denominative κλε(ί)ω, if from *\*κλεφεσ-ιω*, corresponds to Skt. *śravyatyáti* 'to praise', and may therefore be old. Further forms s.v. ►κλύω.

**κλέπας** [adj.] · νοτερόν, πηλώδες, ἢ δασύ, ἢ ὑγρόν 'moist, muddy or clayey, bushy, wet' (H.). <?>

•VAR κλέπος: ὑψηλόν, νοτερόν, δασύ 'high, moist, bushy' (H.).

•ETYM The meaning νοτερόν suggests connection with OIr. *cluain* 'meadow' and the Baltic group of Lith. *šlāpti* 'to become wet'. Acc. to Matasović 2008, PIE *\*klopni-* would have regularly given PCl. *\*klowni-*. Still, the formation of the Greek gloss does not match that of the proposed cognates, which makes the etymology uncertain.

**κλέπτω** [v.] 'to steal, conceal, do secretly, cheat, deceive' (Il.). <IE *\*klep-* 'steal'>

•VAR Aor. κλέψαι (Il.), pass. κλεφθήναι (Hdt., E.), κλαπήναι (Th., Pl.), ptc. κλεπείς (pap. IP), fut. κλέψω (*h. Merc.*), perf. κέκλοφα (Att.), ptc. κεκλεβώς (Andania I<sup>a</sup>, but cf. Schwyzer: 722), med. κέκλεμμαι (S.), κέκλαμμαι (Ar.).

•COMP Also with prefixes like ἀπο-, ἐκ-, δια-, ὑπο-. As a second member in βοῦ-κλεψ (S. fr. 318), as a first member in governing compounds, e.g. κλεψί-φρων 'guileful' (of Hermes, *h. Merc.*); from κλέψαι, cf. Knecht 1946: 38, Zumbach 1955: 21; on ►κλεψύδρα s.v.

•DER A. With ε-vocalism: κλέπος [n.] 'theft' (Sol. *apud* Poll. 8, 34). 2. κλέμμα 'theft, deceit, ruse of war' (Att.), κλεμμάδιος 'stolen' (Pl.), after ἀμφάδιος, κρυπτάδιος, see Chantraine 1933: 39. 3. κλεπία· κλοπή 'theft' (Phot.). 4. κλέπτης [m.] 'thief' (Il.), superl. κλεπτίστατος (Ar.), see Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 10ff. Diminutive κλεπτίσκος (Eur.), -τάριον (Charis.), jocular patronymic κλεπτίδης (Pherecr.); fem. κλέπτis (Alciphrr.), κλέπτρια (Sotad. Com.), formally from κλεπτήρ, see Fraenkel 1910: 75; κλεπτικός [adj.] 'thievish' (Pl., Luc.); κλεπτο-σύνη 'thievishness' (τ 396, Man.). 5. κλεπτήρ 'thief' (Man.). 6. κλέπιμος 'smuggled' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>), hardly to the rare word κλέπος, as per Arbenz 1933: 100, but rather from κλόπιμος with ε from κλέπτω; 7. κλεψιμαῖος 'acquired by theft' (LXX), a juridical term.

B. With o-vocalism: 1. κλοπή 'theft, secret act' (trag., Att.), κλοπαῖος 'acquired by theft' (Att.), κλόπιμος 'id., thievish' (Ps.-Phoc.), -ιμαῖος = κλεψιμαῖος (Luc., Ant. Lib.), see above; κλοσυκός 'thievish' (of Hermes, Pl. *Cra.* 407e; cf. Chantraine 1956a:

142); ἐπί-κλοπος 'deceitful' (Il.), ἐπικλοπή (Nonn.); Ἐπικλόπειος epithet of Zeus (H.); on ὑπό-κλοπος see below. 2. κλοπός 'thief' (h. Merc. 276, Opp.), κλόπιος 'deceitful, thievish' (v 295, AP, APl.). 3. κλοπεύς 'thief, secret author' (S.), κλοπεύω [v.] 'to plunder' (App.), κλοπεία (Str.; v.l. -ω-), -εῖον 'stolen good' (Max.). 4. iterative present ὑπο-κλοπέοιτο 'to hide' (χ 382), cf. ὑπο-κλέπτειν (Pi.), ὑπό-κλοπος 'deceitful, false' (B.) and Schwyzer 1950: 524.

C. With ω-vocalism 1. κλώψ 'thief' (Hdt., E., X.), whence κλωπικός 'secretly' (E. Rh. 205 and 512), see Chantraine 1956a: 119, κλωπήϊος 'id.' (A. R., Max.), κλωπεύω [v.] (X., Luc.), -εῖα (Att.); 2. iterative present κλωπάομαι = κλέπτομαι (H.).

•ETYM Not related to ►καλύπτω. The s-aorist κλέψαι is paralleled by Lat. *clepsi*, but κλέπτω is probably recent for an older thematic root present found in Lat. *clepō*, Go. *hlifan* 'to steal', although a pre-form \**klép-ie/o-* is also presupposed by the ToB subj. *kālyp-* 'to steal' (acc. to Adams 1999 s.v.). Isolated nominal derivatives may have been preserved in Mlr. *cluain* 'deceit, flattery' < \**klop-ni-* and Slavic, e.g. CS *po-klopъ* 'cover', *za-klepъ* 'closure'. With a different anlaut, there is Lith. *slēpti* 'to conceal', 1sg. *slėpiū*, perhaps from \**skl-*, or alternatively influenced by other words with *sl-*; the root was preserved in Baltic, as shown by OPr. *au-klipts* 'concealed'. It is possible that \**klep-* 'to steal' is a special development in the Western languages of a root \**klep-* that is probably found in ToB *klep-* 'to grab, touch with the hand' and *kālp-* 'to get, obtain'; see Adams KZ 102 (1989): 242-3.

κλεψύδρα [f.] 'water clock', constructed like a sandglass (IA). <GR>

•VAR Ion. -ρη.

•ETYM A governing compound from κλέψαι (κλεψι-) and ὕδωρ, with zero grade of the second member (as in ἄνυδρος, etc.) and derivation in -α (on which see Schwyzer: 452).

κλέω 'to celebrate, call'. ⇒ κλέος.

κληδών 'fame, call'. ⇒ κλέος.

κλήθρα [f.] 'alder, Alnus glutinosa' (Od., Thphr.). <?>

•VAR Ion. -ρη.

•DER κλήθρινος 'of alder' (Ath. Mech.).

•ETYM It has been connected with MoHG (dial.) *lutter, ludere, ludern* 'Alpine alder, Betula nana', as if from QIE \**klād<sup>h</sup>ra-*. Cf. Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 259, who comments on other IE names of the alder. Unclear.

κληῖζω 1 'to lock'. •VAR κληῖζω. ⇒ κλείς.

κληῖζω 2 'to celebrate, call'. •VAR κληῖζω. ⇒ κλέος.

κλήμα [n.] 'twig, sprout, tendril (of the vine)' (IA); also as a plant name 'Polygonum aviculare' (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1937: 184). <PG?>

•VAR Aeol. κλάμμα (Alc.), with geminate μ, see Hamm 1957: §73c). Inscr. κλαμα [n.] 'fragment, κλάσμα' (Aigina V\*), rather κλάμμα than κλάμα.

•DER κληματίς, -ίδος [f.] 'twig of the vine, faggot' (IA), also name of several plants, like 'Clematis vitalba' (Dsc.); κληματίτις [f.] plant name (Dsc.); κλημάτινος

'consisting of (vine-)twigs' (Thgn.), κληματόεις 'id.' (Nic.), κληματώδης 'full of twigs, like vine-branches' (Dsc., Gal.), κληματικός 'belonging to a vine-branch' (gloss.). Denominative verbs: κληματόομαι [v.] 'sprouting' (S., Thphr.), κληματίζω [v.] 'to clip vines' (LXX).

•ETYM Connected with ►κλάω, but the meaning 'break' does not fit a sprout. For κλάω, we do not find evidence for a long α, and must conclude that this verb is rather of Pre-Greek origin. The form κλάσμα may rather belong to κλάω. Cf. on ►κλήρος.

κλήρος [m.] 'lot, allotment, inheritance, piece of ground' (Il.), '(Christian) clergy' (Just.). <PG?>

•VAR Dor. κᾶρος.

•COMP κληρο-νόμος 'heir' (IA; Dor. also κᾶρο-), whence -νομέω, -νομία, -νομικός, etc.; ἄ-κληρος 'without lot, without inheritance, poor' (λ 490); but ναύ-κληρος, -κᾶρος arose by dissimilation from ναύκᾶρος (s.v. ►ναύκληρος). One also derived ὁλό-κληρος 'complete' (IA) from \*ὁλό-κᾶρος (Debrunner Phil. 95 (1943): 174ff.), but it was rather derived from the present entry, see den Boer Mnem. 3:13: 143f.

•DER Diminutives κληρίον (AP, pap.), Dor. κᾶρίον 'notes for debt' (Plu. Agis 13); κληρικός [adj.] 'belonging to the κλήρος' (Vett. Val.); denominative verb κληρώω, κᾶρώω [v.] 'to cast lots, choose by lot', med. 'to draw lots, obtain by lot' (IA, Dor.), whence κλήρωσις 'election by lot', κληρωτήριον 'urn for casting lots, room for voting', κληρωτός 'who is elected by lot' (IA).

•ETYM Originally a shard of stone or a piece of wood that was used as a lot. Formally identical with a Celtic word for 'plank, etc.': OIr. *clár*, OW *claur*; also, as an expression of the cartwright Bret. *kleur* 'pitch-fork of a wagon'. However, the relationship is doubtful for semantic reasons. The word is usually connected with ►κλάω 'to break off', with the same ablaut grade as in ►κλήμα, but see doubts s.v.

κλήσις 'call'. •VAR κλητήρ, κλήτωρ 'herald, witness', etc. ⇒ καλέω.

κλίβανος [m.] 'baker's oven', properly an earthenware or iron pot, less wide on top and provided with air holes, in which bread was baked; metaph. of comparable objects, e.g. 'pot for drawing water, rock hole, etc.' (Hdt., Epich., LXX, pap., NT). <PG?(V)>

•VAR Also κρίβανος [m.] (com.), κρίβανον [n.] (Str., Ael.), probably with λ > ρ, see Schwyzer: 259.

•DER Mostly from κλιβ-: κλιβάνιος, -ικός 'of the baker's oven' (pap.), -ιον 'oven for baking' (pap.), -ίτης (ἄρτος) 'bread baked in a κ.' (com.), κριβανωτός 'bread baked in an oven' (Alcm. 20, Ar.), κριβάνας, πλακοῦντάς τινας 'flat cakes' (H.); κλιβανεύς 'baker', -εῖον 'bakery' (pap.). Hypostasis ἐπικλιβάνιος (θεά) 'ruling over the oven' (Carneades). κλιβανάριος (IV<sup>p</sup>) is from Lat. *clibanarius* (thus Frisk; short *i* acc. to DELG) 'armored knight', and may derive from the soldiers' language, or perhaps it is after Aram. *tanūr* 'oven, armor', cf. Schwyzer: 39. Acc. to Rundgren *Orientalia Suecana* 6 (1957): 49f., the Latin word has nothing to do with the Greek group, but derives from MP *gribān* 'coat of arms' (comparing *grīva-pāna-* 'neck-protector').

•ETYM A technical loan in -ανος (see Chantraine 1933: 200 and Schwyzler: 489f.), of unknown origin. Unconvincing proposals: Walde 1910 s.v. *libum* suggested connection with the Germanic word for 'loaf of bread', Go. *hlaifs*, etc., as a loan from the north; Lewy 1895: 105f. proposed Semitic origin. It is unknown whether ρ or λ is original; Fur.: 387 lists the words among examples of the interchange of ρ and λ in Pre-Greek words. Substrate origin is probable.

κλίνω [v.] 'to bend, incline, lean on, sink' (Il.). <IE \*klei- 'lean'>

•VAR Aor. κλίνει (Il.), pass. κλιθῆναι (Od.), κλινθῆναι (Il.); see Chantraine 1942: 404<sup>2</sup>, Schwyzler: 761; also κλινῆναι (Att.), probably for \*κλι-ῆναι, see Schwyzler 760; fut. κλινῶ (Att.), perf. med. κέκλιμαι (Il.), to which act. κέκλικα (Plb.).

•DIAL Myc. *ki-ri-ta-de*, [klitās-de/ [acc.pl.], *ki-ri-ta-i* [klitā'i/ [dat.-loc.pl.], see Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 68 (1990): 167.

•COMP Very frequent with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, παρα-, ἐν-, ἀπο-.

•DER 1. From the root with suffix -δ-: ►δικλίδες [f.] 'two-winged [doors]', ἐγκλίδς ἡ καγκελλωτή θύρα 'railed door' (EM); παρα-, ἐγ-κλιδόν 'turning aside, inclining' (Od.). 2. From a prefixed present, with ending after the s-stems (Schwyzler: 513): κατα-, ἐπι-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, συγ-κλινής, etc. 'bending downwards, slanting, etc.' (Hp., A.), to which ἐπικλιν-εῖα (Heliol. Med.), συγκλιν-εῖαι [pl.] (Plu.). 3. Compounds with suffix -τη-: παρα-, συγ-κλί-της 'who lies beside or together [at the table]' (X., Plu.), ἐπι-κλιν-της 'moving to the side' (Arist.). 4. κλειτύς (also κλιτύς after κλίνω), -ύος [f.] 'slope, hill' (Il.), on the notation see Schwyzler: 506<sup>7</sup>. 5. κλειτός [n.] (A. R. 1, 599), κλίτος [n.] (Lyc., LXX, AP) 'slope, side'. 6. κλίσις, mostly in prefixed compounds, e.g. ἀνά-, κατά-, ἀπό-κλίσις 'leaning back, etc.' (IA). 7. κλίμα [n.] 'inclination, slope, quarter, land' (with Hell. ἰ for εἰ, see Schwyzler: 523), also ἔγκλι-μα, etc. (Arist.); thence κλιματίας 'inclining' (Heraclit., Amm. Marc.), κλιματικός 'belonging to a given compass point' (Vett. Val.). 8. κλίμαξ, -ακος [f.] 'staircase, ladder, climax, etc.' (Od.), whence κλιμάκιον (IA), -ίς (Att. inscr., Hell.), κλιμακίσκοι: πάλαισμα ποιόν 'a kind of grip in wrestling' (H.); κλιμακίζω [v.] 'to use the grip called κλίμαξ in fighting', metaph. 'to bring down' (Att.); κλιμακωτός (Plb.), -ώδης (Str.) 'like a stairway'; also κλιμακ-τήρ 'rung of a ladder' (IA), 'critical point of a man's life' (Varro), to which κλιμακτηρικός, -τηρίζω (Gell., Vett. Val.); on the formation of κλίμαξ (with ἰ from κλίνω analogical for \*κλει-μα) Rodriguez Adrados *Emerita* 16 (1948): 133ff.; on κλιμακτήρ Chantraine 1933: 327f. 9. κλισμός 'armchair' (Il., Ion. poet.), whence κλισμίων, -άκιον (inscr., Call.), 'inclination, slope' (Arist.). 10. ἀνά-κλιθρον 'back of a chair' (Ptol.). 11. κλίτα-στοαί 'roofed colonnade, storehouse', κλίταν (καὶ τάν cod.)-στοάν (H.), originally 'leaning'; thence κλισία, Ion. -ή 'pile dwelling, barracks, chapel; armchair, resting place, tomb' (Il.), κλίσιον 'annex, stoa' (ω 208, Delos III<sup>a</sup>), 'annex, shed, chapel' (Lys., Paus.); often written κλεισίον (inscr.), also κλεισία [f.] 'tavern' (epic), perhaps by adaptation to κλείω 'to lock'; thence κλεισιάδες (θύραι) 'doors of the κλ(ε)σία, of the κλ(ε)σίον' (Hdt., Ph., D. H., Plu.); details on κλισίη in Frisk *Eranos* 41 (1943): 59ff., Scheller 1951: 61. 12. (ἐγ-, ἐκ-)κλιτικός 'inflecting, etc.' (gramm.); to (ἐγ-, ἐκ-)κλίσις. From the present: 13. κλίνη 'layer, bed, litter' (IA), cf. Chantraine 1933: 192, whence κλινίς, -ίδιον, -ίον, -άριον (com.), κλίνειος 'belonging to a κλίνη' (D.), -ήρης 'censorius' (Ph., J.); as a

second member in σύγ-κλινος 'bedfellow' (Men.). 14. κλιντήρ, -ήρος [m.] 'id.' (Od.), whence κλιντήριον, -ίδιον, -ίσκος (Ar.), ἀνακλιν-τήρ 'neighbour at table' (Ps.-Callisth.); παρακλιν-τωρ 'id.' (AP); ἀνά-, ἐπί-κλιν-τρον 'back of a chair, etc.' (Erot. in Poll., Ar., inscr., etc.).

•ETYM The yod-present κλίνω < \*klin-je/o- (a Greek innovation) goes back to an older nasal present, which is found in various forms: Lat. *clīnāre* 'to bend', Gm., e.g. OS *hlinōn*, OHG *hlinēn* > MoHG *lehnen* 'to lean', Balt., e.g. Latv. *sliet*, 1sg. *slienu*, Eastern Lith. *šlīnti*, 1sg. *šlinū* 'to lean', Av. *srinu-*, ptc. *srita-* 'to lean' (Arm. *linim* 'to become, be', given by Frisk, is now derived from \*k<sup>w</sup>el(h)- 'to turn').

On the question of what the original form of the nasal present was (\**kli-n-eH-*, \**kl-n-i-*, vel sim.), see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. Indo-Iranian and Baltic have a thematic root present, Skt. *śrayati* = OLith. (also dialectal) *šlejū* 'to lean'. The nasal, which was originally only presentic, conquered the entire inflexion in Latin and Germanic, but did not reach the perfect in Greek (κέκλιται; cf. Skt. *śisriyē*). The Greek nominal derivations are innovations except for the following: the to-ptc. (ᾱ)-κλιτος = Skt. *śritā-*, Av. *srita-* 'leaning', κλίσις which is formally equal to Lith. *šlitis* 'shove-shed', κλίτον, which matches OHG *lit* 'cover' and MoE *eye-lid*. The full grade of κλει-τύς is found, e.g., in ON *hlíð* [f.] 'slope'.

κλοιός [m.] 'collar for dogs, iron collar for prisoners' (com., E. Cyc., X., Babr.). <PG?>

•VAR Also κλωός (Ar. V. 897, E. Cyc. 235).

•DER κλοιώτης: ὁ δεσμώτης 'prisoner'; κλοιωτά: δεσμοῖς διειλημμένα 'arrested in chains' (H.).

•ETYM Probably from a preform \**klōwjó-*, but without a good connection. Often connected to κλεῖς 'key'. Alternatively, the word could be Pre-Greek.

κλόνις, -ιος [f.] 'haunch' (Antim. 65). <IE? \**klouni-* 'buttocks, hip'>

•DER κλόνιον: ἰσχίον, ῥάχις, ὀσφύς 'hip-joint, chine, loins' and κλονιστήρ: παραμήριος μάχαιρα, παρίσχιον 'dagger worn at the hips' (H.), cf. Lat. *clūnāc(u)lum* 'cultrum sanguinarium ..., quia ad clunes dependet' (Paul Fest. 50).

•ETYM The word resembles an old IE word for 'buttock, hip', found in Skt. *śróṇi-*, Lat. *clūnis*, MW *clun*, ON *hlaun*, Lith. *šlaunis*, all from IE \**klouni-*. Phonetically, κλόνις cannot be combined with these forms, but the word may have been folk-etymologically adapted to κλόνος (sch. A. Pr. 499: ἀφ' οὗ καὶ κλόνις ὀνομάζεται διὰ τὸ ἀεκίνητον, scil. ὀσφύς has been compared). Cf. Schulze 1892: 105<sup>1</sup> and Schwyzler: 38<sup>2</sup>; doubts in Pok. 608. Different hypotheses in Petersson *IF* 35 (1915): 269ff. and Holthausen *IF* 62 (1956): 157.

κλόνος [m.] 'excitement, throng, turmoil (of battle)' (Il.), on the mg. see Trümpy 1950: 157f. <PG?>

•COMP Rarely in compounds, e.g. ἄ-κλονος 'without excitement, quiet' (Gal.), of the pulse.

•DER Denominative κλονέω [v.] 'to excite, urge', pass. 'be pressed, get in excitement' (Il.), mostly present, also with prefixes like ὑπο-, συν-, ἐπι-; thence κλόνησις 'excitement' (Hp.).

•ETYM Mostly derived from κέλομαι, with a formation κλ-όνος that is also assumed in ►θρόνος. This explanation is doubtful: words in -όνος are rare, and the analysis of θρόνος is also uncertain. Rather a Pre-Greek word.

κλοπή ‘theft’, etc. = κλέπτω.

κλοτοπεύω [v.] only T 149 together with διατρίβειν; the mg. was uncertain already in antiquity, cf. κλοτοπεύειν· παραλογίζεσθαι, ἀπατᾶν, κλεψιγαμεῖν, στραγγεύεσθαι ‘to misreckon, deceive, seek illicit love, loiter’ (H.), who further cites κλοτοπευτής· ἐξαλλάκτης, ἀλαζών ‘vagrant, charlatan’. ◀PG(S)▶

•ETYM Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 287ff. thought that the word was Pre-Greek, and compared ἡπερ-οπ-εὔω for the suffix \*-op-. The suggestion in DELG, that it is a cross of κλέπτω, κλοπή and τόπος, τοπάζω, is useless.

κλύβατις [f.] plant name = ἐλξίνη, ‘bindweed, *Convolvulus arvensis* and *Smilax aspera*’ (Nic., Dsc.). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR By-form κολουβάτεια [f.] (Nic.), perhaps for \*κολυβατεια? See Fur.: 181. Cf. also κολύμβατος [f.] a plant (Gp.) and κολυμβάς, -άδος = στοιβή (Gal. 14, 18).

•ETYM Fur.: 207 further compares κλύμενον (Dsc. 4, 14) with dissimilation β-v > μ-v. The inserted -o- may derive from PG \*a, i.e. a pre-form \*k(a)lu(m)p-at-.

κλύζω [v.] ‘to wash (away), clean’, pass. (intr.) ‘to wash, surge, drench’ (Il.). ◀IE \*kluH-, \*kleHu- ‘wash, purify’▶

•VAR Iter. ipf. κλύζεσκον (Ψ 61), aor. pass. κλυσθῆναι (Il.), fut. κλύσ(σ)ω (h. Ap. 75, Pi.), aor. act. κλύσαι (IA), perf. κέκλυκα, κέκλυμαι (Att.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-, περι-, προσ-.

•DER κλύσις ‘washing’ (Hp.), mostly to the prefixed verbs: ἐπικλυσίς, etc. (IA); κλύσμα (also κατάκλυσμα, etc.) ‘liquid by which something is rinsed, clyster’, also ‘surge, shore’ (IA); κλυσμάτιον, -ματικός (Hp.); (ἐπι-, κατα-, etc.) κλυσμός ‘inundation, etc.’ (IA); κλυστήρ, -ῆρος [m.] ‘clyster-pipe’ (Hdt.), whence -τήριον, -τηρίδιον. Further σύγ-κλυς, -δος ‘washed together, thrown together’ (Th., Pl.), κλύδ-α [acc.sg.] ‘beating of the waves’ (Nic. Al. 170; perhaps an archaizing innovation), κλύδ-ων, -ωνος [m.] ‘undulation, surf, turmoil’ (μ 421), κλυδώνιον (A., E.), κλυδων-ίζομαι [v.] ‘to be thrown around by the waves’ (LXX, J.), κλυδωνισμός (Hdn.), -ισμα (Suid.). Expressive enlargement (ἐγ-, συγ-) κλυδάζομαι ‘to splash, etc.’ (Hp.), -άττομαι (D. L.), to which κλυδασμός, (ἐγ)κλύδαξις, ἐγκλυδαστικός (Hp.). Further κλυδάω ‘to be soaked, soft, moldable’ (Arist.), of σταίς, πηλός, probably after φλυδάω.

•ETYM The present κλύζω is either derived from nominal forms with -δ- (κλύδα, κλύδων), i.e. denominative \*klud-je/o-, or arose as an independent enlargement in -ζω, in which case κλύδων, etc. should be analyzed as back-formations (which is the preferable explanation). Germanic also had an IE enlargement in \*-d-, e.g. Go. *hlutrs*, MoHG *lauter* < \*klūd-ro-, but we find forms without -d- in Celtic, Latin, and Baltic: W *clir* ‘clear, pure’ < \*klū-ro-, and OLat. *cluere* ‘to purify’ (hapax Plin. 15, 119), *cloāre* ‘id.’ (glossed in Servius, hapax), the reconstruction of which is debated (see the discussion in De Vaan 2008 on the derivation of *clo(u)āca* ‘subterranean drain,

sewer’). For Lith. *šliuoti*, 1sg. *šliuoju* ‘to weep, wipe’, one would like to reconstruct PIE \*kloHu-. In Greek, there is no evidence for long ū, which also makes a reconstruction \*kleHu-, \*klHu- preferable. Greek would have generalized the zero grade \*klHu- (which under certain conditions, apparently, did not undergo metathesis to \*kluH-).

κλύω [v.] ‘to hear, understand, obey’ (Il.), also (with εὔ, κακῶς) ‘to have a (good or bad) reputation’ (trag.). ◀IE \*kleu- ‘hear’▶

•VAR Pres. since Hes. *Op.* 726; aor. ἔκλυον (Il.); athem. forms ipv. κλύθι, -τε (Hom., Pi., trag.), κέκλυθι, -τε (Hom.), also κέκλυκε (Epich. 190), ptc. κλύμενος ‘famous’ (Antim., Theoc.), PNs Κλύμενος, Κλυμένη (Hom.).

•COMP Rarely with prefixes ἐπι-, ὑπο-.

•DER κλυτός [m.] (also [f.], see Schwyzer 1950: 32<sup>s</sup>) ‘famous’ (Il.), often as a first member, e.g. κλυτό-τοξος ‘with famous bow’ (of Apollo), κλυτό-πῳλος ‘with famous foals’ (of Hades); also Κλυται-μήστρα, -ρη (Il.), with second member derived from μήστρω, and the first member reshaped after Κραται-, Παλαι-, etc. (see Schwyzer: 448, Sommer 1948: 147). With different ablaut κλειτός ‘famous’ (Hom., Pi.) from \*κλεφετός (see below).

•ETYM The present κλύω is an innovation of the thematic root aorist ἔκλυον, which corresponds to Skt. *śrūvam* [aor.]. Both languages innovated this thematic aorist from an older athematic aorist, which is still seen in Hom. ipv. κλύθι, -τε and ptc. κλύμενος. An exact counterpart of κλύθι (which is always verse-initial and has metrical lengthening for \*κλύθι) is Skt. *śrudhi*. In Greek, κλύτε was innovated after κλύθι, perhaps for older \*κλεῦτε = Skt. *śróta*. Reduplicated κέκλυθι, -τε may be innovations after τέτλαθι, etc.

The to-ptc. κλυτός seems to be an old formation, preserved in several languages, e.g. Skt. *śrutá-* ‘heard’, Lat. *in-clutus* ‘famous’, Arm. *lu* ‘known’, OIr. *cloth* [n.] ‘fame’, PIE \*klu-tó- (Gm. words like OHG *hlūt* ‘loud’ and ON *hljóð* ‘hearing, etc.’ continue a full grade formation \*kleu-tó-). The forms \*κλεφετός > κλειτός (cf. Schwyzer: 502) and the old verbal noun ►κλέος continue an ablauting full grade \*kleu-eto-. The other languages have various present formations, e.g. a nasal present in Skt. *śṛṇóti*, Av. *surunaoiti*, ToB *kalnem* ‘to resound’; note the stative in Lat. *cluere* ‘to be called’. Further, Greek has a denominative κλέω ‘to celebrate, praise’; see on ►κλέος.

κλωβός [m.] ‘bird-cage’ (AP, Babr.). ◀LW Sem.▶

•VAR Also κλουβός (POxy. 1923, 14 [V-VI<sup>s</sup>], where mg. uncertain, Tz., gloss.).

•DER Diminutive κλωβίον (-ου-) ‘small cage, twined basket’ (Hdn. *Epim.*, pap.).

•ETYM A Semitic loan; cf. Hebr., Syr. *k’lūb* ‘bird-cage’. See Lewy 1895: 129, Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 19, and E. Masson 1967: 108<sup>4</sup>.

κλώδις [m.] · κλέπτῃς ‘thief’ (H.). ◀?▶

•ETYM Unknown. Latte thinks it could be a mistake for ►κνώψ.

κλώζω [v.] ‘to cackle, clack’ (D., Alciph., Poll.). ◀ONOM▶

•VAR Only present stem; also κλώσσω (Suid. s.v. φωλάς, uncertain, perhaps a back-formation from κλωγμός, see Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 248).

•DER κλωγμός (Cratin., X.), also κλωσμός (Ph. 2, 599 beside -γ-, Harp.) ‘cackling’.

•ETYM For κλώζω, cf. κλάζω (►κλαγγή) and, on the other hand, ►κρώζω. Like these, κλώζω is onomatopoeic.

**κλώθω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to spin' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Aor. κλώσαι, -ώσασθαι (Ω 525 and Od.), pass. κλωσθῆναι (Pl.), κέκλωσμαι (com., LXX); κλώσκω (H.), cf. Schwyzer: 708.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐπι-.

•DER κλώθες [f.pl.] 'spinsters' (η 197), Κλωθώ [f.] 'the spinster', one of the Moirai (Hes.); κλωστήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'yarn, clew, spindle' (Att., Theoc., A. R.), κλωστήριον 'band, yarn' (Ostr. 1525 [?], Suid.); κλωστής [m.] 'spinner' (Sparta); κλώσμα 'thread, clew' (LXX, Nic.), κλώσις 'id.' (Lyc.), 'spinning' (Corn., M. Ant.).

•ETYM The supposed connection with ►κάλαθος 'basket' cannot be supported in any way. Connection with Lat. *colus* 'distaff' has also been considered (see WH s.v. and *colum*). The word is probably Pre-Greek.

**κλωκιδά** [adv.] · τό καθῆσθαι ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις ποσίν 'to be placed or seated on both feet' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM DELG reminds us of ὀκλάζω, but the word can hardly be cognate with this. It could be Pre-Greek.

**κλώμαξ, -ἄκος** [m.] 'heap of stones, rock' (Lyc. 653). <PG(S,V)>

•DER κλωμακόεσσα 'stony, rocky' (B 729), of Ἰθώμη.

•ETYM Formation like λίθαξ, βῶλαξ, etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 379). It is usually connected with κλάω (κλήμα, κλάρος) 'to break', by assumption of a verbal noun \*κλώμιος 'crack, split' and comparison with περιεκκλασμένος 'lying on uneven, rocky ground', said of τόποι, πόλεις, οἰκίαι (Plb.). This is unlikely, especially given the by-forms κρώμαξ 'id.', κρωμακόεις κρημνώδης 'precipitous' (H.), κρωμακωτός (Eust. 330, 40; Paphlagonian). Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 210 connected it to Lat. *grūmus* 'heap of earth, hill' as a word from the Aegean substrate (i.e. Pre-Greek). The form with ρ could show Pre-Greek variation ρ/λ as well.

**κλών, -ωνός** [m.] 'sprout' (Att.). <PG(V)>

•DER Diminutives κλωνίον, -ίδιον, -ῆριον, -ίσκος (Thphr., Hell. inscr., Gp.), further κλωνίτης 'with sprouts' (Hdn.), κλώναξ = κλάδος (H.), κλωνίζω [v.] 'to clip' (Suid.).

•ETYM Not from \*κλα-ών (Schwyzer: 521), as a sprout can hardly be called 'broken'. Kuiper 1956: 221f. connected the word with ►κλάδος 'branch'. See further ►κλάω.

**κλώσσω** = κλώζω.

**κμέλεθρα** [n.pl.] 'beam' (Pamphil. *apud* EM 521, 34, H.). <PG?>

•ETYM The resemblance to ►μέλαθρον can hardly be accidental and strongly suggests substrate origin. Cf. on ►καμάρα.

**κναδάλλεται** = -κναίω.

**-κναίω** [v.] 'to scrape, scratch' (Hp., trag. [lyr.], Att.). <IE? \**kneh<sub>2</sub>*- 'scratch, plane', PG?>

•VAR Only with prefixes δια-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, κατα-κναίω; Att. inf. κνήν, κνήσθαι (also exists as a simplex), 1 and 3sg. pres. κνώ, κνή, ipf. ἐπὶ ... κνή (Λ 639), also κνᾶν (Hdt.), κνᾶσθαι, κνᾶ (Hell.); further κνήθω (Arist., Hell.), also with κατα-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, etc. Non-presentic forms: -κναΐσαι, -κναισθῆναι, -κναΐσω, -κεκναισμένος (Ar., E. [lyr.], Pl., Theoc.); more usual (both as a simplex and in compounded verbs) is κνήσαι, Dor. κνάσαιο [opt.med.] (Theoc.), κνησθῆναι, κνήσω, κέκνησμαι (IA).

•DER Action nouns: 1. κνήσις 'scratching, tickling' (Pl.), whence κνησιάω [v.] 'to wish to tickle' (Ar., Pl.), also κνησιτιάω 'id.' (Gal., Jul.), after other verbs in -τιάω; κνηθιάω 'id.' (Hdn., EM), after κνήθω (cf. Schwyzer: 732). 2. κνήσμα 'id.' (Hp., X.), rarely κνήμα; 3. κνησμονή 'id.' (medic.), cf. πήμα: πημονή, etc.; 4. κνησμός 'id.' (Hp., Arist.), κνησώδης 'affected with itching' (Hp., Arist., Str.). 5. κνηθμός 'itching' (Nic.). Agent nouns and instruments: 6. κνήστις [f.] 'knife for scratching, cheese-grater' (Λ 640, Nic., Opp.), also 'spine' (κ 161; cf. ►ἄκνηστις s.v.), perhaps from \*κνήστις [m.]; 7. κνηστήρ 'scratching knife' (Nic.). 8. κνηστίς -ίδος [f.] 'hollow hairpin' (Plu.). 9. κνήστρον 'stinging plant, Daphne oleoides, θυμελαία' (Hp., Dsc.); κνηστρίον 'scraper', (Edict. Diocl.). 10. κνήστικός [adj.] 'scratching, itching' (sch.).

•ETYM Of the presents, κνήθειν may be an innovation from κνήσαι, etc. after πλῆσαι: πλῆθω, λῆσαι: λήθω, etc.; the pair κνήν: κναΐν matches the formation of the semantically close ψήν: ψαΐν 'to rub, etc.'; -κναίω is probably secondary. The form κνήν, which originally was probably athematic (see Schwyzer: 675f. and Chantraine 1942: 297 and 307), is usually connected with Baltic, Celtic and Germanic: e.g. Lith. *knóti* 'to peel, tear' < athematic \**kneh<sub>2</sub>*-, OHG *nuoen* 'to make smooth by scratching, to make fit together' and OIr. -*cná* 'to bite, gnaw' < *yod*-present \**kneh<sub>2</sub>-je/o-*.

It has not been proposed that the words could be Pre-Greek. We may compare κναδάλλεται: κνήθεται (H.), to which belong, as variants, γνάφαλλον, γνόφαλον; these are clearly Pre-Greek (see ►κνάπτω). Is κναδ- a variant of κνηθ-? For κναδ-, no PIE pre-form can be reconstructed (cf. on ►γνάθος). The formation of κνήσων 'scratcher' (inscr. Delos II<sup>a</sup>, see DELG) is reflected in the Latin loan *cnāsonas* [acc.pl.] 'scratching nails' (Paul. Fest. 52), which must have been borrowed from Hell. \*κνάσων (cf. the gloss κνάσαι: ὀλέσαι, λυπῆσαι 'to perish, grieve' (H.), and see Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 207). Verbs with a formation in -αίω are further unknown in Greek. See further ►κνέωρος, ►κνήφη, ►κνώδαλον.

**κνάπτω** [v.] 'to card, comb, full (cloth)' as a technical term, also metaph. 'to mangle, tear to pieces' (IA). <PG(V)>

•VAR Rarely κνάμπτω, cf. ►γνάμπτω and Güntert 1914: 115f., ►γνάπτω (late Att., Hell., Ion.).

•DIAL Myc. *ka-na-pe-u* /knap<sup>heus</sup>/.

•COMP Sometimes prefixed with ἀνα-, ἐπι-.

•DER Late Att. has γν- for κν- in most derivatives: κνάφος [m.] 'fullers' teasel', also 'tangle; carding comb (an instrument of torture)' (Hdt., Hp., com.), κναφεύς 'fuller' (IA), also as a fish name (Dorio; on the motive see Strömberg 1943: 93); κναφεῖον, -ήιον 'fuller's shop' (IA), κναφευτική (τέχνη) 'art of fulling' (Pl.), κναφεύω [v.] 'to full' (Ar.) and, as a late feminine formation, κνάφισσα 'female fuller' (pap.), see Chantraine 1933: 110; κναφικός 'belonging to fulling' (Dsc., pap.). γνάψις 'fulling'



(Pl.), γνάπτω = κναφεύς (Man.). γνάφαλλον 'cushion of wool' (pap. and ostr.), with γναφα(λ)ώδης 'like a γ.', γναφάλλιον, -αλλίς plant name 'Diotis maritima' (Dsc., Plin.), see Strömberg 1940: 105; also κνέφαλλον 'cushion' (com., E.; v.ll. κναφ-, γναφ-) and γνόφαλλον (Alc. Z 14, 8), beside μόλθακον. Verbal adjectives: ἄ-γναπτος (Pl. Com., Plu.) and ἄ-γναφος (NT, pap.) 'unfulled, new', ἐπί-γναφος 'fulled again', of clothes (Poll.), to ἐπι-γνάπτω.

•ETYM The initial sequence has been compared with ►-κναίω, κνήν, ►κνίζω, ►κνύω; the ending with ῥάπτω, which also denotes a technical operation of the clothing industry (κνάφος is reminiscent of ῥαφή, etc.). The forms with γν- cannot be explained in an inherited word (even if they are mostly younger), so they point to Pre-Greek origin. Note that Schwyzler: 414 unconvincingly took κνάπτω as assimilated from γνάπτω, and also the typical o for α in γνόφαλλον (Alc.) and the ε in κνέφαλλον, which can hardly be due to old ablaut (cf. Schwyzler: 343).

Outside Greek, a Celtic word for 'fleece' has been cited as cognate, e.g. MW *cnaif* [m.], OIr. *cnaí* [f.] < PCl. \**knawī* (cf. Matasović 2008, who considers a relationship with PCl. \**knā-je/o-* 'to chew, bite' probable); forms in Germanic and Baltic are semantically farther away, e.g. ON \**hnafa*, pret. *hnof* 'to cut off', Lith. *knabėnti* 'to pick (with the beak)'. However, the variation κ/ γ, α/ ο rather points to Pre-Greek origin (not in Fur.). See ►κνήφι, ►κνώψ.

κνάψ [?] = δάλος 'piece of half-burned wood' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 404). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

κνέφας [n.] 'evening twilight, dusk, morning twilight' (Il., X.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Gen. -ας, -ους, etc. (on the inflection Schwyzler: 514f.); secondary nom.acc. κνέφος (H., Suid., Phot.), perhaps from κνέφους, -ει.

•DER κνεφαῖος 'of the dusk, dark' (trag., com., Hippon.); κνεφάζω [v.] 'to become dark' (A. Ag. 131 [lyr.]).

•ETYM Often connected with the Indo-Iranian word for 'night', Skt. *kṣāp-*, Av. *xšap-*, which belong with Hitt. *išpant-* 'id.'; nevertheless, it is unknown how this comparison would work. The word ►ψέφας is a rhyming formation; cf. also ►δνόφος. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek, but the variation is not known from other examples.

κνέωρος [m.] name of a stinging plant, 'Daphne, Thymelaea' (Thphr., Dsc., Plin., H.).

<GR>

•VAR Also -ον [n.]; cf. perhaps κ<ν>εωρεῖν πασχητιᾶν 'to feel (unnatural) lust' (H.), as per Fraenkel *Glotta* 4 (1913): 42.

•ETYM Connected with κνήν, like synonymous κνήστρον. Perhaps from a pre-form \**knā-ōro-* (i.e. \*κνή-ουρος, containing the plant suffix -ουρος), with quantitative metathesis. See ►-κναίω.

κνήθω ⇒ -κναίω.

κνήκος [f.] 'safflower, Carthamus tinctorius' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.). <?, IE? \**knh₂kó-* 'yellow (like honey, gold)'>

•DIAL Myc. *ka-na-ko* /knāko-/.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in κνηκο-φόρος 'carrying safflower' (pap.).

•DER Adjective κνηκός, Dor. κνάκός 'yellow, safflower-colored', usually of a goat (Thespis, S. *Ichn.* 358, Theoc., AP), but also of the wolf (Babr.). κνήκιον 'clover, σάμψουχον' (Dsc., Ps.-Dsc.); κνάκων, -ωνος [m.] 'he-goat' (Theoc.), κνάκίας [m.] 'wolf' (Babr.); κνήκινος 'from safflower' (pap., Dsc.), κνηκώδης 'safflower-like' (Thphr.); κνηκίτης (λίθος) name of a yellowish stone (Hermes Trism.); κνηκίς, -ίδος [f.] 'bleak spot', especially in heaven (Call., Plu.), cf. κηλίς and Chantraine 1933: 347; also name of a kind of antelope (H.).

•ETYM Skt. *kāñcana-* [n.] 'gold', OPr. *cucan* 'brown', and the Germanic word for honey, OHG *honag*, etc. resemble words for 'yellow, etc.' or yellowish material; but the varying vocalism is unclear. The Greek word was probably originally an adjective; the plant was probably (Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 270) introduced from Egypt. The appurtenance of the Skt. word is doubted by Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. ("nicht überzeugend erklärt"), and a PIE paradigm cannot be reconstructed.

κνήμη [f.] 'part between knee and ankle, leg, shank' (Il.), 'tibia' (Gal., Ruf.), metaph. 'stem between two joints' (Thphr.), see Strömberg 1937: 48, 'spoke of a wheel' (Hom., etc. in compounds, Poll., Eust.). <IE \**konh₂-m*, \**knh₂-m*- 'bone, tibia, shank'>

•VAR Dor. κνάμᾱ.

•COMP As a second member e.g. in ὀκτά-κνημιος 'with eight spokes' (Il.), παχύ-κνημιος 'with thick shanks' (Ar.). Substantivized hypostasis: ἀντικνήμι-ιον [n.] 'what is over against the shank', i.e. 'tibia' (IA).

•DER κνημῖς, -ίδος [f.] 'greave' (Il.), Aeol. κνάμῖς, κνάμῖδες [pl.] (Alc.); also κνημῖδια [pl.] (Att. inscr.; mg. uncertain); see Trümper 1950: 19f.; κνημία [f.] 'spoke' (Lys.), plur. = τὰ τῆς ἀμάξης περιθέματα 'what is put around the wheel' (H.), etc.; κνημ-(ι)αῖος 'belonging to the shank' (Hp., Gal.).

•ETYM κνάμᾱ corresponds with OIr. *cnáim* 'leg, bone' (i-stem), both of which derive from \**knām-* < IE \**knh₂-m-*. A different ablaut grade is found in a Germanic word for 'shank, back of the knee': OHG *hamma*, OE *hamm*, ON *hqm*, which may have assimilated from *hanma-*. We may therefore assume an ablauting paradigm nom. \**konh₂-m(-)*, gen. \**knh₂-m-os*, which was thematicized in different ways. On ►κνημός, see s.v.

κνημός [m.] geographical term (Hom., *h. Ap.* 283, Orph. A. 465), e.g. Ἴδης ἐν κνημοῖσι (Il.), mg. uncertain, probably 'projecting part, shoulder of a mountain'; δημόσιος κνημός 'public grove' (TAM 2: 1, 64, Telmessos; not quite certain); also = ὀρίγανος (Arg., Eust. 265, 40). <IE? \**knh₂-m*-, \**konh₂-m*- 'mountain-forest'>

•DER Denominative κνημῶσαι· περιχῶσαι, φράξαι, φθεῖραι, κλεῖσαι, ἐλθεῖν 'to be exceedingly angry, fence in, destroy, enclose, come'; κνημοῦμαι· φθείρομαι 'perish', κνημωθῆναι· φθαρῆναι 'id.', διεκνημώσατο· διέφθειρε 'ruined completely' (H.). In the sense 'encircle, etc.' cf. κνημός 'grove'; in the sense of φθεῖραι it remains unclear (cf. κνημῖαι· φθοραί 'destruction' H.).

•ETYM The meaning of κνημός recalls MoLG *hamm* 'mountain forest' (cf. Fick KZ 21 (1873): 368), but this word rather belongs with MLG *ham* 'fenced in piece of land', MoLG *hamme* 'fenced in field', and therefore can be explained differently.

Connection with κνήμη as “shank of a mountain” (Eust. 1498, 42 explains it as ‘what is above the foot’) remains uncertain.

**κνήν, κνήστις** ⇒ -κναίω.

**κνήφη** [f.] ‘itch’ (LXX *De.* 28, 27, H. s.v. ξύσμα, Suid. s.v. Ἀφροδίτη). <PG?>

•DER κνηφάω = *prurio* (gloss.).

•ETYM Connected with κνήν ‘to scratch, itch’ with a suffix -φ-, for which one compared ▶ ἀκαλήφι. Direct connection with κνάφος, ▶ κνάπτω is improbable. Note κνίφω· κνίδας (H.), with an -ι- that is explainable by analogy with κνίδη, ▶ κνίζω. The word σκνήφαι (probably for ἀκαλήφαι) as an explanation for κνίδαι (H.) is doubtful; if it is correct, we may compare σκνίψ beside κνίψ for the variation.

**κνίδη** [f.] ‘nettle, sea-nettle’ (Hp., Arist., Theoc.). <PG?>

•DER κνίδειος ‘of a κνίδη’ (Theognost.); κνιδάται (κνηδ- cod.)· δάκνεται, ἴσως ἀπὸ τῆς πόας ‘be stung, perhaps by a grass’ and κνιδῶντες (-δοντες cod.)· κνίδη μαστιγοῦντες ‘whipped by a nettle’ (H.); κνιδώσεις [pl.] ‘itching, caused by a nettle’ (Hp.), as if from \*κνιδόω; cf. the numerous formations in -(ω)σις in medical and technical terms. See Chantraine 1933: 284ff.

•ETYM Taken with ▶ κνίζω ‘to scratch, sting’; yet the ι of κνίδη is long, which may point to Pre-Greek origin. See ▶ κνίσα.

**κνίζω** [v.] ‘to scratch, pound, chop up, provoke’ (Pi., IA). <IE? \*knid- ‘scratch’>

•VAR Aor. κνίσαι, pass. κνισθῆναι, fut. κνίσω, perf. pass. κέκνισμαι.

•DIAL Dor. aor. κνίξαι (Pi.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, κατα-, ὑπο-.

•DER κνισμός, κνίσμα ‘scratching, provocation, etc.’ (Ar.), ἀπόκνισμα ‘piece’ (Ar.), ἀπό-, ἐπί-κνισις ‘scratching’ (Thphr.). As a back-formation \*κνίς, acc. κνίδα (Opp.), plur. κνίδες (LXX) ‘nettle’, κνίξα ‘id.’ (gloss.). Compound with a verbal (aoristic) second member φιλό-κνίσος ‘desirous’ (AP), also κνισότερος (Ath. 12, 549a).

•ETYM The basis is κνιδ- or κνιτ-, aor. κνισ-, which points to a root that seems to be found in Baltic and Germanic verbs, e.g. Latv. *knidēt* ‘to itch, geminate, creep’, ON *hníta*, pret. *hneit* ‘to push against’, both from root final \*-d- (also in Mlr. *cned* ‘wound’ < \**knidā*). A root-final -t- (which may also be continued by the Greek forms) is found as well, e.g. in Lith. *knisti*, 1sg. *knintù*, pret. *knitaũ*, ‘to scratch, itch, tickle’; a root-final -s- occurs in Lith. 1sg. *knisù* ‘to grub up’. The forms ▶ κνίδη, ▶ κνίσα, with a long vowel, are probably not cognate.

**κνίσα** [f.] ‘steam and odor of fat, smell and savor of burnt sacrifice, fat caul’ (Il., Arist., Hell.). <IE? \*kniHd-s- ‘fumes’>

•VAR Epic κνίσῃ; also κνίσος [n.] (Com. *Adesp.* 608, sch.), after λίπος, etc.

•COMP πολύ-κνισος ‘with rich smell of the sacrifice’ (A. R.).

•DER κνισήεις (κ 10, Pi.), κνισωτός (A. *Ch.* 485), κνισηρός (Achae. 7) ‘smelling of fat’, κνισώδης ‘id., fat’ (Arist., Gal.), κνισαλέος (H.), κνισός (Ath. 3, 115e), = κνισήεις. Denominative verbs: κνισάω ‘to fill with the smell of fat’ (E., Ar.), κνισόομαι ‘to be changed into the smell of fat’, -όω ‘to give the smell of fat’ (Arist., Ph.).

•ETYM Often compared with Lat. *nīdor* [m.] ‘smell of roasted meat, vapor, smoke’, which may continue \**knīdōs*. This points to a neuter s-stem \**knīd-s-h₂* [n.pl.] for κνίσῃ, whence secondarily κνίσα (Solmsen 1909: 238), so it is ultimately from IE \**knīdos-* [n.] (cf. on ▶ ἔρση). Close to this form is ON *hniss* [n.] ‘strong smell, bad taste in eating’, from IE \**knīd-to-*. This word belongs to *hnītan* ‘to push against’ (cf. Go. *stiggan* ‘to push’ = OHG *stincan* ‘to stink’), and one assumes a comparable origin for *nīdor* and κνίσα, i.e. connection with ▶ κνίζω. However, for κνίδη, κνίσα, and *nīdor* we have to start from a form with long vowel, which is quite problematic for IE.

**κνίψ, κνίπός** [m.] name of unknown insects (small ants acc. to Arist. *Sens.* 444b 12), that infest several trees and plants (Ar., Arist., Thphr., LXX). <PG?>

•VAR Also σκνίψ, σκνίπός, plur. also σκνίφες.

•COMP As a first member in κνιπο-λόγος [m.] name of a woodpecker, σκνιπο-φάγος ‘eating σκνίπες’ (Arist.).

•DER κνίπειος ‘belonging to a κνίψ’ (Zos. Alch.). Several expressive words have been put in connection to κνίψ, σκνίψ, rarely found in literature, that indicate especially avarice or different eye diseases: κνιπός (AP), σκνιπός (Anon. in *EN*, H.), σκνιφός (Phryn.) ‘niggard’; κνιπεύω [v.] ‘to be stingy’ and κνιπεία (Doroth. Astrol.); further in the mg. ‘feeble-mindedness, etc.’: κνιπός (Semon.), σκνιφός (H.), ὑπό-σκνιπος, -σκνιφος, -σχνιφος ‘slightly short-sighted’ (pap.), κνιπά· πτίλιη ‘[female] suffering from a disease of the eyelids’ (H.); with κνιπότης ‘eye-inflammation’ (Hp. *Loc. Hom.* 13, Erot.), κνιπόομαι [v.] ‘to be inflamed, of the eyes’ (H. in *κεκνιπωμένοι*), also ‘to be infested with mildew’, of fruits’ (H. ib.). Beside the names for eye diseases, etc., there are expressions for ‘dark’: σκνιφαῖος (v.l. -παῖος) adjunct of ὁδίτης ‘who walks in the darkness’ (Theoc. 16, 93), perhaps after κνεφαῖος; σκνίφος· τὸ σκοτός ‘darkness’ (H.). Further two denominatives: κνιπεῖν· σείειν, ξύειν μέλαθρα καὶ δοκοὺς ‘to shake, scratch or scrape barks and beams’ (H.), perhaps originally of the κνίπες; σκνίπτειν· νύσσειν ‘to pierce’ (H.).

•ETYM Formations rhyming with κνίψ, σκνίψ are ▶ θρίψ and ▶ ἴψ. Both (σ)κνίψ and the words for ‘niggard’ could go back to the idea of pinching and stinging (cf. ▶ σκνίπτω). Perhaps the terms for diminished sight come from closing the eyes, or perhaps from plant diseases caused by κνίπες (see ▶ κνιπόομαι). It has been compared with words for ‘pinching, etc.’ in Baltic and Germanic, e.g. Latv. *kniēbt*, *knīpēt*, MLDu. *nipen*, but these are rather European substrate words. The whole picture is that of a Pre-Greek word: very small animals, the long ι, the variation π/φ, prothetic σ-.

**κνόςος, κνοῦς** [m.] ‘the grinding sound of the wheel against the axle’, also (A. *Fr.* 237) ‘the sound of feet when marching’; also (by confusion with χνώνη) ‘axle-box, nave’ (H., Phot.). <?>

•ETYM Not well attested and therefore hard to judge. It is most often considered to be a full grade noun from ▶ κνύω ‘to scratch’.

**κνύζα 1** a plant. ⇒ κόνυζα.

**κνύζα 2** 'scratch'. ⇒ κνύω.

**κνυζέομαι** [v.] 'to whine, whimper', of dogs and children (S., Ar., Theoc., Opp., Nonn.). <ONOM?>

•VAR Also -ζάομαι, -ζομαι; also act. -έω.

•COMP Rarely with προσ-, ὑπο-.

•DER κνυζημός 'whining', also of wild animals (π 163, A. R., Opp., Ath.); κνύζημα 'whimpering of children' (Hdt., Him.).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic; coincidental similarity with Lith. *kniāũkti* 'to miaow'. See ► κνυζόω.

**κνυζόω** [v.] <IE? \**kneu-g-*, -*k-* 'become somber'>

•VAR Only κνυζώσω (v 401), κνύζωσεν (v 433), of the eyes of Odysseus, that, while earlier περικαλλέα έόντα, were made dim and dark by Athena.

•ETYM The basic form seems to have been preserved in κνυζοί· οί τὰ ὄμματα πνοῦντες 'who have trouble with the eyes', κνυζόν· ἀέρα ἐπινέφελον καὶ πνευματώδη 'cloudy and windy air' (H., unclear Anacr. 87); cf. Büchner *Herm.* 75 (1940): 156'. Connection with κνύζα 'scratch', ► κνύω is quite probable; the correspondence with κνυζάομαι is therefore probably accidental. A remarkable parallel gives Lith. *kniāũktis* 'to get cloudy, cover oneself (of heaven), take a gloomy aspect' beside *kniāũkti* 'to miaow'; *niaūras* 'cloudy, somber, troubled' is comparable, as well as 'grumbling, nasalizing', *niauróti* [v.] 'to growl, of bears'. The word can be of independent (onomatopoeic or other) origin or show semantic analogy; this can hardly be decided.

**κνύω** [v.] 'to scratch' (Ar. *Th.* 481, Men. 1021). <IE? \**knu-* 'scratch'?>

•VAR περι-κνύω 'to scratch round about' (Phot.).

•DER κνῦμα [n.] 'scratching' (Ar. *Ec.* 36, Gal. 19, 112) and 'scratch'; κνύος [n.] (Hes. *fr.* 29, 1), κνύσα [f.] (Herod. 7, 95 as a term of abuse; cf. δεῖσα, μύξα, etc.), κνύζα (Philox. *Gramm. apud EM* 523, 2, Eust.), cf. ἄζα, σκύζα, κνίζα, etc. Note the glosses in H. κνύθος· ἄκανθα μικρά 'small thorn', κνυθόν· σμικρόν 'small' (cf. τυτθός, -όν and plant names in -θος, Chantraine 1933: 367f.); back-formation κνῦ· τὸ ἐλάχιστον 'smallest', like γρῦ, βρῖ. On ► κνύος, κνούς, see s.v.

•ETYM Like in the case of ► -κναίω, κνήν, ► κνάπτω, ► κνίζω, words formally comparable to κνύω can be found in Germanic and Baltic: OHG *hniuwān* 'to squash', ON *hnjóða* 'to push, hit, etc.' < \**kneu-*, Latv. *knūdu*, and *knūstu* 'to itch'.

**κνώδαλον** [n.] 'wild or harmful animal' (p 317). <PG>

•DER κνωδάλωδης (Tz.). κνώδαξ, -ἄκος [m.] 'pin, pivot', also 'sockets for an axe' (Hero, Ph. *Bel.*), κνωδάκιον, κνωδακίζω [v.] 'to hang on pivots' (Hero). κνώδων, -οντος [m.], plur. 'teeth of a sword or a javelin', sing. 'sword' (S., X.).

•ETYM The pair κνώδαλον : κνώδων recalls pairs like ἀγκάλη : ἀγκών, ὀμφαλός : Lat. *umbō* (Chantraine 1933: 246). Given the meaning 'teeth', κνωδον-τ- may well be secondary for \*κνωδον- after ὀδοντ- (cf. Schwyzler: 526). Frisk assumed that κνώδαλον and κνώδων, κνώδαξ go back to a verbal noun \*κνωδ(ο-) meaning 'tooth, biter, gnawer', belonging to κνήν, etc. (see ► κναίω). The glosses κνάδοι· σιαγόνες,

γνάθοι 'jaws', κναδάλλεται· κνήθεται 'gnaws' (H.) belong here too. The words do not belong to Lith. *kāndu* 'to bite', as this is formally impossible (see on ► γνάθος); they are no doubt Pre-Greek, since κναδ- cannot continue an IE pre-form. I am not sure that κνώδαξ belongs with the other words. See also ► κνώψ.

**κνώσσω** [v.] 'to sleep, slumber' (δ 809). <?>

•VAR Only present stem.

•COMP Also with ἐνι-, κατα-.

•ETYM Like ► εὔδω, without etymology. Formally, cf. the opposite ἐγρήσσω (Λ 551), related to ► ἐγείρω.

**κνώψ, κνωπός** [m.] a wild animal, of snakes, etc. (Nic. *Th.*). <PG(V)>

•DER κνωπεύς· ἄρκτος. ἔνιοι κνουπεύς 'bear' (H.); also κνουῦπες· ἄρκτος (for -οι?). Μακεδόνες 'bear (Maced.)' (H.). Further also κινώπετον 'poisonous animal, snake' (Call., Nic.), with anaptyctic vowel.

•ETYM Not a cross of κνώδαλον and another word (e.g. κλώψ, κνίψ, σήψ), as suggested by Frisk. The variant forms point to a Pre-Greek word. On secondary vowels in Pre-Greek, see Fur.: 383f.

**κοακτήρ** [m.] name of a servant in the Spartan mysteries. ⇒ κοῖον.

**κοᾶλεμος** [m.] 'blockhead' (Ar., Plu.), also name of a demon of stupidity (Ar. *Eq.* 221).

<PG(V)>

•VAR Cf. καναλός· μωρολόγος 'speaking like an idiot' and κόαλοι· βάρβαροι 'foreigners' (H.).

•ETYM Ending like in ► ἰάλεμος; on the phonetics, see Schwyzler: 302. Björck 1950: 46 and 258 refers to onomatopoeic κο-. The word is clearly Pre-Greek because of the variants. See ► κόβαλος.

**κοᾶξ** interjection imitating the croaking of frogs (Ar. *Ra.*). <ONOM>

•ETYM A sound imitation, like MoHG *qua(c)k*, *quaken*. Lat. *coaxāre* [v.] 'to croak' (Suet.) is probably a literary imitation of κοᾶξ (cf. WH s.v. *coaxō*). See ► κοῖ, ► κοῖζω.

**κόαλοι** [m.pl.] · βάρβαροι 'barbarians' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM Perhaps related to ► καναλός or ► κόβαλος. See ► κοᾶλεμος.

**κόβαθος** [m.] a vessel (*PLond.*). <PG>

•ETYM Fur.: 346 compares κύβεθρον 'beehive' (H.) and κύαθος 'vessel, scoop'. If correct, the word is Pre-Greek.

**κόβακτρα** [n.pl.] · κολακεύματα, πανουργήματα 'pieces of flattery, knavery' (H.).

<PG>

•VAR κάβαξ· πανούργος 'crafty, knavish' (H.).

•ETYM The element κα/οβ-ακ- is clearly Pre-Greek.

**κόβᾱλος** [m.] 'rogue, mischievous knave', also (parodic) of mischievous genies (Ar., Arist., D. C.). <PG>

•VAR As an adjective κόβαλον, -α [n.] 'knavish tricks' (Pherecr., Ar.).

•DER κοβαλεία (Din.), κοβάλευμα (*Et. Gen.*) 'roguey'; (ἐκ)κοβαλικεύομαι [v.] 'to swindle, deceive' (Ar. *Eq.* 270), κοβαλικεύματα [pl.] (Ar. *Eq.* 332), derived from \*κοβαλικός (κοβαλικοῖσι is a conj. in Timocr. *fr.* 1, 7 Diehl). Also κοβαλεύω [v.] 'to transport' (pap., *EM*), MoGr. κουβαλῶ 'id.', κοβαλισμός 'transport' (pap.).

•ETYM Words from the vulgar language of comedy. Björck 1950: 46f. and 258f. assumed an original meaning 'porter, transport worker', whence contemptible 'rogue'. This original meaning would have been introduced into koine as a non-IA element. Against connection with Lat. *caballus* (Grégoire *Byzantion* 13 (1938): 287ff.; cf. on καβάλλης), see Björck l.c. The word is probably Pre-Greek.

**κόβειρος** [adj.] · γελοιαστής, σκωπτής, λοιδοριστής 'jester, scoffer' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR κόβειρα· γελοῖα 'jests' [n.pl.] (H.).

•ETYM Hemberg 1950: 326 refers to the grotesque pictures of the Kabeiroi in Thebes. Since α may vary with ο in Pre-Greek words (Fur. 341-5), our word must be identical in origin with ►Κάβειρος.

**κόγχη** [f.] 'mussel, cockle', also as measure and metaph. of several shell-like objects, e.g. 'hollow of the ear, knee-cap, brain-pan, case round a seal, knob of a shield, etc.' (Emp., Epich., Sophr., IA). <PG?, LW?>

•VAR Also κόγχος [m., f.].

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. κογχο-θήρᾱς [m.] 'mussel-fisher' (Epich.).

•DER 1. Diminutives κογχίον (Antiph., Str.), κογχάριον (Str., Aret.). 2. κογχωτός 'provided with a knob' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>). 3. κογχίτης (λίθος) 'shelly marble' (Paus.). 4. κογκαλίζειν· πεποιήται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἥχου τῶν κόγχων [a form] created after the sound of the mussel-shell' (H.), possibly after κροταλίζειν: κρότ-αλα: κρότος (Frisk); 5. As a back-formation κόγξ interjection, used for the sound of the sherd falling in the voting urn, etc. (H.). 6. κογχίζω [v.] 'to paint purple', whence κογχιστής 'painter' and κογχιστική 'trade of purple-dyeing' (*PGrenf.* 2, 87), for \*κογχυλίζω, etc. (see below). 7. κογχύλιον [n.] 'mussel', the animal and the shell, also 'murex, purpura' (Epich., Sophr., Hdt., Hp., Arist.), from κογχύλη (which only occurs as a v.l. in Ph. 1, 536 and *AP* 9, 214); from κογχύλιον: κογχυλίας (Ar.) and κογχυλιάτης (X., Philostr.) = κογχίτης (λίθος), see Redard 1949: 56); κογχυλιώδης 'like a κ.' (Str.), κογχύλιος 'purple-colored' (pap.), κογχυλιατός, -ιωτός 'painted with purple' (pap., gloss.); also κογχυλεύς 'purple-worker' (Korykos), either for \*κογχυλιεύς or from κογχύλη, to which κογχυλευτής 'murex fisher' and κογχυλευτική 'trade of murex fishing' (Just.).

•ETYM The word κόγχος is compared with the similar Skt. *śaṅkhā-* [m.] 'mussel', but a common pre-form cannot be reconstructed. Latin borrowed *concha*, *conchylium*, *conchīta* from κόγχη, κογχύλιον, κογχίτης. The word is clearly cognate with κόχλος, which suggests that the forms are Pre-Greek (prenasalization); this is confirmed by the variants κοκάλια, v.ll. -κκ- and κωκάλια (Arist. *HA*, see Fur.: 131). Alternatively, if the comparison with Sanskrit is correct, the word may be a common loanword (Fur.: 278). See ►κόχλος.

**κόδαλα** [?] · ιχθύς, κεστρεύς 'fish, mullet' (H.). <PG?>

•VAR κοδαλεύεσθαι· ἔνδον διατρίβειν 'to waste away inside', κοδαλαύομαι· ἔνδομυῶ 'to lie hidden', κοδαλευομένη· ἀρεσκευομένη, ἀπραγοῦσα 'obsequious, subservient; remaining quiet' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. Perhaps Pre-Greek.

**κοδομεύς** [m.] 'one who roasts barley' (Poll., H.). <PG?>

•VAR Special feminine forms κοδομή and -μεύτρια (also Phot. and Suid.). Remarks on the relation between these words in Boßhardt 1942: 84.

•DER κοδομεύω [v.] 'to roast barley', κοδομεία and κοδομεῖον 'pot for barley' (Poll., H.).

•ETYM Comparison with the Slavic word for 'smoke', e.g. OCS *kaditi*, cannot be upheld. A similar meaning is found in κίδναι· αἱ ἐγγῶριοι πεφυρμέναι κριθαί 'barley roasted on the countryside' (H.), but this has a different vowel. Probably Pre-Greek.

**κοδύμαλον** = κυδώνια.

**κοδώνεα** · σῦκα χειμερινά 'winter fruits' (H.). = κυδώνια.

**κοέω** [v.] 'to remark, learn, hear' (Anacr. 4, 14, Hellad. *apud* Phot.). <IE \*(s)keuh<sub>1</sub>- 'note, see, hear'>

•VAR Probably also in H. [cod. κοθεῖ].

•DER Also κοάω, in κοᾶ· ἀκούει, πύθεται 'hears, takes notice'; ἐκοᾶμες· ἠκούσαμεν, ἐπυθόμεθα; ἐκοᾶθη· ἐπενοήθη, ἐφωράθη 'was contrived, discovered'; κοᾶσαι· αἰσθέσθαι 'perceive' (H.); ἐκόησεν (Call. *Fr.* 53). A primary verb seems to be found in ἔκομεν· εἶδομεν, ἑσθόμεθα 'saw, watched, perceived' (H.), see below. Verbal adjective in ►ἀνακῶς. Λαο-κῶων, εὐρυ-κῶωσα 'who learns from afar' (Euph. 112, H.), etc. (cf. Bechtel 1917a: 37f.).

•ETYM On κοίης, etc., see ►κοῖον. The form κο(φ)έω is identical in origin with Lat. *caveō* 'beware', which derives from \**covēre* < PIE \**kouh<sub>1</sub>-éie-* by Thurneysen-Havet's unrounding of *ou* in pretonic position; see now Vine KZ 119 (2006) on Thurneysen-Havet. A zero-grade primary formation is seen in Skt. *ā-kúvate* 'to have in view'; further forms in LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*(s)keuh<sub>1</sub>- 'wahrnehmen, schauen'. The gloss ἀκεύει· τηρεῖ (H.) rather belongs to ►ἀκούω; ἔκομεν is unclear, on which see Schwyzler: 721<sup>o</sup> and 740. Additionally, there was (s)keuh<sub>1</sub>- with s-mobile; see ►θυοσκόος.

**κόθορνος** [m.] 'high boot, footwear with high base for actors, tragic cothurn' (Hdt., Ar.). <PG?>

•ETYM Lydian, acc. to Jonkees *JHS* 60 (1940): 80, but more probably Pre-Greek.

**κόθουρος** [adj.] epithet of κηφήν or the drone, 'without sting' (Hes. *Op.* 304). <?>

•VAR κόθουριν (cod. -οῦ-)· ἀλώπεκα 'fox' (H.).

•ETYM The formation recalls κόλουρος, fem. -ρις 'with cut (short) tail', said of the fox, etc., which is a compound of κόλος and οὐρά. Frisk connects κόθουρος 'ohne Zweifel' with κοθῶ· βλάβη 'damage' (H.), which is further unclear. In H., we also find κορθῶ· βλάβη, which led to the assumption that κόθουρος stands for \*κορθουρος, and that κοθῶ was back-formed from κόθουρος. Comparison of this κορθῶ with Skt. *kṛdhú-* 'shortened, mutilated, invalid' is formally impossible (\**krdh<sup>h</sup>-u-*

would have given \*\*κραθ-υ- in Greek). Fur.: 198 connects κοντός, κονδός with a similar meaning (s.v. ► κεντέω).

**κοῖ** interjection, imitating the sound of young pigs (Ar. *Ach.*, Hdn. Gr.). <ONOM>

•DER κοῖζειν [v.] 'to squeak' (Ar. *Ach.*).

•ETYM Like MoE *squeak*, Ru. *kvičát* 'id.', and other sound-imitations in various languages. Cf. ► κοάξ and ► γρύ, γρύζω.

**κοιακτήρ** mystery servant in Sparta. ⇒ κοῖον.

**κοικύλλω** [v.] 'to gape about' (Ar. *Th.* 852). <?>

•DER Κοικυλίων PN (Ael.).

•ETYM Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 96 suggested relation to ► κύλα 'bags under the eyes, eye socket'. Cf. the synonyms δενδύλλω, δανδαίνω, παπταίνω, etc., which are of similar formation. Tichy 1983: 298 corrects the meaning to 'im Selbstgespräch die Lippen bewegen, munkeln'. This would mean that the connection with κύλα is folk-etymological.

**κοῖλος** [adj.] 'hollow, hollowed out, spacious, deep' (Il.). <IE? \**keuH-* 'hollow'>

•VAR κῶλος, see below.

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. κοιλο-γαστήρ 'with an empty stomach, greedy' (A.); on the formation see Sommer 1948: 150.

•DER A. Substantives: 1. κοιλία [f.] 'abdomen, belly, body cavity in general' (IA), κοιλιώδης 'like a belly' (Arist.), κοιλιακός 'belonging to the belly, suffering from diseases of the belly' (Plu., medic.), κοιλιτική (νόσος) 'disease of the belly' (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*); diminutive κοιλίδιον (Str.). 2. κοιλάς [f.] 'hollow, ravine' (Hell.), adjectival 'hollow' (Tryph. Ep.). 3. κοιλότης 'hollow' (Arist.). 4. κοιλίσκος [m.] 'hollow, scoop-shaped knife' (medic.), cf. γραφίσκος and other names of instruments in Chantraine 1933: 408. 5. κοίλωμα (Arist., Hell.), κοίλωσις (Hp.) 'hollowing, deepening', cf. κοιλόομαι below.

B. Adjectives (to τὸ κοῖλον 'hollow, cavity'): 1. κοιλώδης 'rich in cavities' (Babr.). 2. κοιλαῖος = κοῖλος (Gal.).

C. Verbs: 1. κοιλαίνω 'to hollow out, excavate' (IA), aor. κοιλᾶναι (-ῆναι), perf. κεκοίλασμαι, whence κοιλανσις (Alex. Aphr.), κοίλασμα (LXX, Hero), κοιλασία (Hero) 'excavation, etc.'. 2. κοιλόομαι, only in κεκοιλωμένος 'hollowed' (D. S., Dsc.); also κοίλωμα, κοίλωσις (if not directly from κοῖλος, see above).

•ETYM κῶλος can be or must be trisyllabic at all Homeric attestations, except verse-initially at χ 385. The basic form \**κόφιλος* is probably a derivative in -λο- from the root found in κῶσι- τὰ χάσματα τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὰ κοιλώματα 'the depths of the earth, cavities' (H.) and Lat. *cavus* 'hollow' < \**kouHo-*, Mlr. *cúa* 'hollow', and other Celtic forms. Other cognate derivatives in -l- are Arm. *soyl* 'cavity' < IE \**keu-lo-* (vel sim.), PGm. \**hula-* < \**kuH-ló-* (with pretonic shortening), found in ON *holr*, OE, OFri., OS, OHG *hol* 'hollow' (G. Kroonen p.c.). The root is reconstructed with a laryngeal, because this is required by the cognate formation ► κύαρ 'eye of a needle, orifice in the ear' < \**kuH-r*. Alb. *thellë* 'deep' may, like Greek, derive from a pre-form \**kowilo-*

(thus first Pedersen KZ 36 (1900): 332), but could be a loan from Greek. The word ► κύλα is probably not connected. See ► κῶος.

**κοῖλυ** [n.sg.] · τὸ καλόν 'sth. good or beautiful' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Connected with a word for 'whole, unhurt, healthy' with representatives in Germanic and Balto-Slavic, e.g. Go. *hails*, OCS *celъ* 'whole', Opr. *kailüstikan* [acc.sg.] 'health' < PIE \**keh<sub>2</sub>i-lo-* or European substrate \**kailo-*. Frisk and DELG rightfully doubt the appurtenance of the Greek gloss, since the definition is open to many interpretations (does it stand for κοῖλον, with Latte?).

**κοιμάω** 'to lay to rest'. •VAR κοιμίζω. ⇒ κείμαι.

**κοινά** · χόρτος 'pasture, fodder' (H.). <IE? \**koino-* 'grass, hay'>

•ETYM The gloss corresponds nicely to a Balto-Slavic word for 'hay': Lith. *šiėnas*, OCS *sěno* 'χόρτος'. However, Latte supposes that χόρτος should be taken in the sense of 'common ground'; in that case, it is simply a form of ► κοινός.

**κοινός** [adj.] 'common, public, usual, impartial', τὸ κοινόν 'the community, common good, public, leading authority, league' (IA, Hes.); Hom. has ξυνός. <IE \**kom* 'with'>

•COMP Numerous compounds.

•DER 1. \*κοινᾶων (see Chantraine 1933: 163) > Dor. Arc. κοινάν, -ᾶνος [m.] (Pi., Locris, Tegea), Att. κοινεών, -ῶνος [m.] (E. *HF* 149, 340), κοινών, -ῶνος [m.] (X. Cyr.) 'fellow traveler, companion', after κοινωνέω, etc.; thence Dor. κοινανέω (Dor. treaty *apud* Th. 5, 79, 1; Argos, Delphi), Att. κοινωνέω [v.] 'to be a participant, participate' (for \*κοινεωνέω), κοινανία (Pi.), Att. κοινωνία 'community, share', κοινωνός 'companion, etc.' (probably a back-formation, see Leumann 1950: 224); thence κοινανικός (Archyt.), κοινωνικός (Att.) 'common, social'; κοινωνιμαῖος 'regarding the community' (pap.; Chantraine 1933: 49); from κοινωνέω also κοινώνημα (Pl., Arist.). Further nominal derivations: 2. κοινότης [f.] 'community, affability' (Att., Hell.); 3. κοινεῖον 'public hall, community, etc.' (inscr.); 4. κοινάριον diminutive of κοινόν (written *cynarium* CIL 13, 10021, 199). Denominative verb κοινώω, -όομαι 'to make communal, share', also 'to make profane', med. 'to act as member of a community, participate, ask for advice' (IA), aor. κοινᾶσαι (Pi.), κοίνωμα, -μάτιον 'joint, band' (Ph. *Bel.*), κοίνωσις 'intercourse' (Plu.).

•ETYM The word κοινός may be related to the preposition and prefix found in Lat. *cum*, *com-* (*con-*), Gaul. *com-* 'with, together with', Gm. *ga-*, from IE \**kom* 'together, with'. We have to assume that an adjective \**kom-ió-* > \**konjío-* was formed (see Rix 1976: 67).

**κόϊξ, -ῖκος** [m.] a kind of palm, 'Hyphaene thebaica', and a basket made from its leaves (com., Thphr.). <PG?, LW Eg.??>

•VAR κόϊς (Epich., BGU 972, 5).

•DER κοῖκινος 'made of κ.' (Str.).

•ETYM Fraenkel *Phil.* 97 (1948): 170 thought that σκούκιον 'vessel, receptacle' (Cyrene, Hell. pap.) was derived from this word, but it is improbable that the σ- was taken from σκεῦος or σφυρίς. This interchange σ/zero rather points to Pre-Greek origin. A

by-form is ►κούκι [n.] (pap., Plin.), which may point to Egyptian origin, see Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 214.

**κοῖον** [?] κώϊον· ἐνέχυρον 'pledge' (H.). <LW?, PG?>

•VAR Also κοῦα, κῶα· ἐνέχυρα (H.).

•DER κοιάζει· ἐνεχυράζει 'takes a pledge from', κουάσαι· ἐνεχυρίασαι, κωάζειν· ἐνεχυράζειν, κωαθείς· ἐνεχυριασθείς (H.). As an agent noun κο(ι)ακτήρ, name of a mystery servant in Sparta (*IG* 5(1), 210ff.), meaning ἐνεχυρασ-τής (Fraenkel 1910: 158 after Meister)? Alternative explanations in Bourguet 1927: 112f.

•ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 41 analyzed it as \*κόφ-ιον, related to κοέω 'to remark, pay attention', with the same semantic development as in Lat. *caveō*, from 'to regard, take care of' to 'to serve as a surety'. He also connects κοίης, κόης· ἱερεὺς Καβείρων, ὁ καθαίρων φονέα 'priest of the Kabeiroi, who purifies a murderer' (H.) with κοιόλης· ὁ ἱερεὺς (H., Suid.), κοιάται· ἱερᾶται, κοιώσατο· ἀφιερώσατο, καθιερώσατο (H.). However, cf. also Lyd. *kaveś* (Masson *Jb. f. kleinas. Forsch.* 1 (1950-51): 182ff.). DELG tentatively adds κωταρχής 'priest' (Didyma). Even more uncertain is κοῖος = ἀριθμός (Ath. 10, 455e) which is supposed to be Macedonian. The group could well be Anatolian or Pre-Greek. The hypothesis connecting Hebr. *kōhēn* 'priest', etc. (Lewy 1895: 258) is now abandoned.

**κοίρανος** [m.] 'ruler, commander, lord' (Il.). <IE \*kor(i)o- 'war, army'>

•COMP Rarely as a second member, e.g. πολυ-κοίρανος 'ruling many' (A. fr. 238, lyr.) with πολυκοιρανίη 'lordship over many' (Rhian. 1, 10) but B 204 = 'the presence of many rulers' with the first member as a subject, and the second member as a verbal noun to κοιρανέω.

•DER κοιρανίδαι [pl.] 'sons of rulers, members of the ruling house' (S. *Ant.* 940); κοιρανῆος and κοιρανικός 'belonging to the ruling house' (late poets); κοιρανίη 'dynasty' (D. P., *APL*); κοιρανέω [v.] 'to rule' (Il.).

•ETYM Derived from a word for 'army, host of warriors' found in Go. *harjis* 'army', Lith. *kārias* 'id.', Mlr. *cuire* [m.] 'crowd, group', Gaul. ENs *Tri-*, *Petru-corii* "consisting of three/ four tribes", from IE \*korio-. The Greek word seems to have a close counterpart in ON *herjann*, epithet of Odin, and in the Old British EN *Coriono-tōtae* (see Peters 1980a: 170ff., with an attempt to clarify the derivational history of these words). It is debated whether the suffix \*-no- is old in the type Lat. *dominus* from *domus*, Go. *biudans* 'king' from *biuda* 'people', etc. In Greek, the base form \*korio- still existed in proper names like Κοιρό-μαχος, Κοιρατάδας. Beside IE \*kor-io-, there was \*kor(o)- in Lith. *kāras* 'war', OP *kāra-* 'army, people'. In Greek, the old word κοίρανος was replaced by the substrate words ►ἀναξ and ►βασιλεύς.

**κοκ(κ)άλια** [n.pl.] 'small crustaceans' (Arist. *HA* 528a 9). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also κωκ-.

•ETYM On the meaning, see Thompson 1947 s.v., who points to similar Italian names like *cocciole*, *cozzule*. The word should be connected as Pre-Greek together with its variant ►κόγχιη.

**κόκκος** [m.] 1. 'kernel of fruits, especially of the pomegranate' (h. *Cer.*, IA), cf. Strömberg 1937: 185; 2. 'berry (gall) of the kermes oak, scarlet, kermes oak' (Thphr., Gal., Dsc.), see Michell *Class. Rev.* 69 (1955): 246; 3. metaph. 'pill' (medic.). <PG?>

•COMP κοκκο-βαφής 'painted with scarlet' (Thphr.), καλλί-κοκκος 'with beautiful kernels' (Thphr.); κοκκό-δαφνον, δαφνό-κοκκον (medic.) = κόκκος δάφνης, δαφνίς (Strömberg 1944: 7).

•DER Diminutives κοκκίον, κοκκάριον (medic.); κόκκων, -ωνος [m.] 'kernel of the pomegranate' (Sol., Hp.), 'mistletoe berry' (H.), κόκκαλος [m.] 'kernel of the stone-pine' (Hp., Gal.), see Chantraine 1933: 247; κοκκίδες [pl.] 'scarlet slippers' (Herod.), -ίδα· αἰγειρον 'black poplar' (H.); κόκκινος 'scarlet' (Herod., pap., Arr.), whence κοκκινίζω [v.] 'to be scarlet-colored' (sch.), κοκκηρός 'made of scarlet' (*Edict. Diocl.*), cf. οἰνηρός, ἐλαιηρός; κοκκίζω [v.] 'to take out the kernel' (A., Ar.).

•ETYM Etymology unknown. Alessio *Studi etruschi* 18 (1945): 126 adduces Span. *cuesco* 'nut' and considers a Mediterranean loan \*kosko-, from which κόκκος would also derive; this is rejected by Fur.: 293<sup>4</sup>. Probably Pre-Greek.

**κοκρύδων** = κορδύς.

**κόκκῦ** [interj.] cry of the cuckoo; also a cry in general (Ar.). <PG?, ONOM>

•COMP As a first member in κοκκυ-βόας ὄρνις name of the cock (S. fr. 791; codd. Eust. κοκκο-).

•DER κοκκύζω of the cry of the cuckoo and of the cock (Hes.), κοκκυσμός 'shrill cry' (Nicom. Math.), κοκκυστής 'crier' (Timo); κόκκυξ, -ῦγος [m.] 'cuckoo' (Hes.), -υγος [nom.] (Alc.), also metaph., e.g. as a fish name (Hp., Arist.), a fig (Nic.); see Strömberg 1943: 116, Strömberg 1940: 73. From κόκκυξ: Κοκκύγιον name of a mountain (Paus.); κοκκυγία· ἀνεμώνη. Κροτωνιάται 'poppy anemone (Krotoniate)' (H.), "cuckoo-flower" acc. to Strömberg l.c.; κοκκυγέα 'Rhus cotinus', a tree (Plin.; conj. in Thphr. *HP* 3, 16, 6). With labial suffix the PN Κόκκυψ, Κοκκουβίας (Boeot.), cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 262f. Here perhaps also κόκκυς· λόφος (H.), if to be interpreted as 'cock's comb'.

•ETYM Cf. ►κοκκύμηλον. Onomatopoeic, like Skt. *kokilá-* 'cuckoo', *kukkuṭá-* 'cock', Lat. *cucūlus*, MoE *cuckoo*, etc. On κόκκυξ, see Thompson 1895 s.v. The word could well be Pre-Greek.

**κοκκύμηλον** [n.] 'plum' (Archil.). <PG?>

•DER κοκκυμηλέα [f.] 'plum tree' (Arar. Com., Thphr.), -μηλών [m.] 'plum garden' (gloss.).

•ETYM Connection with κόκκος as 'stone fruit' seems probable (see Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 182); the -v- would have to be folk-etymological after κόκκυξ, but no motivation for the replacement is indicated (cf. Strömberg 1940: 73). Note κοδύμαλον (s.v. ►κυδώνια). The word could be Pre-Greek.

**κοκύαι** [pl.m., f.] 'forefathers' (AP, Call., H.). <?>

•VAR V.l. κοκκ-. Cf. κουκά· πάππων 'of ancestors' (H.).

•ETYM Grošelj *Razprave* 2: 12 and Schmidt ad loc. compared ►γυγαί· πάπποι (H.). Cf. also Pfeiffer 1949-1953 ad *Call. fr.* 340.

**κόγχος** [ʔ] = Lat. *coculum* 'a vessel for cooking' (PHamb. 12, 36). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM From the Latin word, which is derived from *coquō* 'to cook' (DELG).

**κόλαβρος** [m.] name of a song which accompanied the dance *κολαβρισμός* (Ath.), = χοιρίδιον 'little pig' (H. [cod. κοιλίδιον], Suid.). <PG(V)>

•VAR *καλαβρισμός* (v.l. codd. Ath. 14, 629d). Cf. *κολόβριον* 'little pig' (Ar. Byz. *apud* Eust. 1817, 19), Fur.: 343.

•DER *κολαβρίζειν* *σκιρτᾶν* 'to leap, bound' (H.), pass. 'to be derided' (LXX), *κολαβρισμός* (Ath., Poll.); *κολαβρευομένη* *κώλοις* *ἀλλομένη* 'twitching with the limbs' (H.). See Lawler and Kober *Class. Phil.* 40 (1945): 98ff. with hypotheses on the etymology.

•ETYM Poll. 4, 100 calls the dance Thracian or Carian, so the word is probably foreign. Cf. Suid. *κολαβρισθείη* *χλειασθείη* *ἐκτιναχθείη* *ἀπμασθείη* *κόλαβρος* γὰρ ὁ μικρὸς χοῖρος 'was mocked, kicked out, dishonored; for a κ. is a small pig'. Fur.: 343 compares *κολόβριον* 'little pig' (Ar. Byz. *apud* Eust. 1817, 19), which means that the word is Pre-Greek. For the dance, he compares *καλλαβίς* 'a passionate dance'; note the v.l. *καλαβρισμός* (codd. Ath.).

**κολάζω** 'to chastize, punish'. ⇒ *κόλος*.

**κόλαξ, -ᾱκος** [m.] 'flatterer, fawner' (Att., Hell.). <PG(S)>

•COMP Often as a second member (com.), e.g. *κνισο-κόλαξ*; see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 277.

•DER *κολακεία* (Democr., Pl.), *κολακίς* [f.] (Cearch., Plu.), *κολακικός* 'flattering' (Pl.) and *κολακεύω* 'to flatter' (Att. Hell.); *κολάκευμα* (X.) 'flattering', *κολακευτικός* 'id.' (Pl.), *κολακευτής* = *κόλαξ* (gloss.).

•ETYM A word from Attic everyday language without established etymology. As the suffix -ακ- originates from Pre-Greek, the same probably holds for this word.

**κολάπτω** [v.] 'to peck (of birds), strike, carve, engrave' (IA, Aeol.). <PG>

•VAR Aor. *κολάψαι*.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐν-, ἐκ-.

•DER ἐγ-κόλαψις 'inscription', ἐκ- 'obliteration' (inscr., Arist.), ἐγ-κόλαμμα 'inscription' (LXX, Priene), (ἐγ-)κολαπτός 'carved out' (inscr., LXX); *κολαπτήρ* [m.] 'chisel' with δια-κολαπτηρίζω 'to engrave with a chisel' (Lebadeia); also δρυ(ο)-κολάπτ-[-τ]ης 'woodpecker' (Ar., Arist.; see further ►δρύς), a compound of δόρυ and κολάπτειν with suffixal -της, similar κρᾶνο-κολάπτης name of a venomous spider (Philum.).

•ETYM Frisk and DELG assume that κολάπτω derives from an IE root \*kelh<sub>2</sub>-, and that it replaces a primary verb by adding -άπτω after verbs with similar meaning, like σκάπτω, δαρδάπτω, κόπτω; the resultant form perhaps replaced a primary verb preserved in Lith. *kálti*, 1sg. *kalù* 'to forge, hammer', OCS *klati*, *koljo* 'σφάττειν', Ru. *kolót* 'sting, split, chop'. Several other Greek words have been connected with this root; see discussion on ►κόλος, ►κελέος, ►κλάω. Cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*kelh<sub>2</sub>-. However, as long as the origin of the labial enlargement is not further clarified, it is best to assume that κολάπτω is derived from ►κόλαφος and, therefore, of Pre-Greek origin.

**κόλαφος** [m.] 'punch, buffet' (Epich. 1 as a name of a παιδοτρίβης, H., EM). <PG>

•VAR *κόλαφος* *κόνδυλος* 'knuckle' (H.).

•DER *κολαφίζω* 'to punch, to box on the ear' (NT, *Sammelb.* 6263, 23); *Κολαφίδιον* Att. woman's name, see Fraenkel 1912: 86<sup>3</sup>).

•ETYM A lowly word without clear etymology. For the formation, it has been compared to ►κρόταφος (Chantraine 1933: 264). Frisk and DELG argued that *κόλαφος* derives from ►κολάπτω as a back-formation, if the two are cognate, but it remains unclear why they do not consider *κόλαφος* as basic. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek, with κολάπτω as the accompanying denominative. Latin borrowed the word as *colap(h)us* (Plaut.); see Ernout *RPh.* 77 (1951): 155f. It received a wide distribution in Vulgar Latin and in the Romance languages (VLat. *colpus*, Ital. *colpo*, MoFr. *coup*, etc.); it perhaps also appears in Go. *kaupatjan* 'κολαφίζειν'.

**κολέα** [f.] · ποιά τις ὄρχησις 'kind of dance' (H.). <PG?(S)>

•VAR *κολία* ὀρχήσεως εἶδος 'id.' (H.).

•DER *κολιάσαι* ὀρχήσασθαι 'to dance' (H.), ipf. ἐκολίαζε (*IG* 12 Supp. 244; cf. Latte *Glotta* 32 (1953): 39f.).

•ETYM The variant in -έα suggests Pre-Greek origin.

**κολεκάνοι** [m.pl.] · τοῦτο ἐπὶ μήκους σὺν λεπτότητι ἐτάσσετο 'used in the case of length combined with thinness' (H., citing Strat. 64). <PG?>

•VAR *κολοκάνοι* εὐμηκεῖς καὶ λεπτοί 'tall and thin, narrow' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown; probably Pre-Greek.

**κολεόν** [n.] 'sheath of a sword' (Il.), see Trümper 1950: 62. <PG?>

•VAR Also -ός [m.], lengthened *κοῦλ-*.

•COMP Also in compounds, e.g. *κολεό-πτερος* 'sheath-winged (of beetles)' (Arist.), *σιδηρο-κόλεος* 'with iron sheath' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>).

•DER Denominative *κολεάζοντες* ὠθοῦντες εἰς κολεόν, περαίνοντες 'thrusting into the sheath, penetrating' (H.) (likewise *Ath. Mitt.* 59, 66; Syrus V<sup>a</sup>), *κολεασμός* τὸ περαίνεισθαι 'penetration' (H.). It is unlikely that *κόλυθροι* [pl.] 'testicles' (Arist.) belongs here too; *κόλυθρον*, -τρον also means 'with ripe figs' (Ath. 3, 76f.); cf. on ►σκόλυθρον.

•ETYM The suffix recalls ►εἰλεός 'hole, den, etc.'. Acc. to Meillet *BSL* 30 (1930): 115', *κολεόν* comes from a Mediterranean language, like Lat. *culleus* 'leather sack'; cf. WH s.v. Therefore, it is probably Pre-Greek. Connection with ►καλύπτω, ►κέλυφος as an inherited word (\*κολεφόν) is formally impossible; these too are substrate words.

**κολετράω** [v.] 'to trample on' (Ar. *Nu.* 552). <PG?>

•ETYM Acc. to H., a term from oil preparation: ἀπὸ τῶν τὰς ἐλαίας πατούντων, ὃ δὴ λέγουσι *κολετράν* 'after those treading olives, which is called κ.'. This presupposes a substantive \*κόλετρον or \*κολέτρα, which could be an instrument noun or nomen loci, but the meaning of which remains unknown. Connection with *κόλος*, *κολάπτω*, etc. does not help much. Probably a technical Pre-Greek term.

**κολίας** [m.] name of a mackerel-like fish, 'Scomber colias' (Epich., Ar., Arist.). <?>



•DER Diminutive κολίδιον (medic.).

•ETYM Formation like ἀκανθίας, ξιφίας, and other fish and animal names (Chantraine 1933: 94); further unexplained. Cf. Thompson 1947 s.v.

**κόλλα** [f.] 'glue' (Emp., Hdt., Hp., E.). <PG?, IE? \*kol- 'glue'>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in κολλ-εψός 'glue-boiler' (Att. inscr., Poll.); as a second member in ταυρό-, ἰχθυό-κόλλα 'bull-, fish-glue' (Plb., Dsc.); but ποτί-, σύγ-κολλος, etc. (Pi., A.) are back-formations to ποτι-, συγ-κολλάω, etc.

•DER κολλήεντα [n.pl.] (O 389 ξυστά, Hes. Sc. 309 ἄρματα) 'well-fixed', cf. κολλητός below; κολλώδης 'gluey, sticky' (Pl., Arist.). Denominative verb κολλάω 'to glue, stick together, make one, unite' (Pi., Emp., IA), often with prefixes like συν-, προσ-, ἐν-, κατα-; κόλλημα 'what is glued together, etc.', plur. 'papyrus leaves that form a scroll, κόλλησις 'glueing together, soldering' (IA) with (συγ-)κολλησίμος, -ον 'glued together' (pap.); (συγ-)κολλητής 'who glues together' (Ar., pap.); κολλητήριον 'glue' (Ph. Bel.); κόλλητρα [pl.] 'cost of soldering' (pap.); κολλητός 'glued together, well-fixed' (Il.), Ammann 1956: 16, κολλητικός (Dor. -ἄτ-) 'gluey, glueing together' (Arist., Epid., pap.), κολλητικά ἔργα 'plumber's work' (pap.). As a second member in the back-formation πρωτό-κόλλον [n.] 'the first fixed (glued) leaf of a papyrus scroll' (Just.). Rarely ἐπι-κολλαίνω 'to stick to' (Thphr.), κολλίζω (Gr.), κολλιστής (gloss.).

•ETYM κόλλα may be a derivation in -ia from a root \*kol-, but further details are obscure. The similarity with a Slavic word for 'glue' (e.g. CS *klějn*, *klejn*, Ru. *klej* < PSl. \**klějn*; \**klějn*) is only apparent (there is no evidence for \**kolějn*, \**kolějn* with reduced vowel). The Germanic verb MDu. and MLG *helen* 'stick' < PGm. \**haljan* is limited to a small area, and is hard to connect with κόλλα. Because of the geminate -λλ-, the Greek word could be Pre-Greek in origin, i.e. \**kol'a*. It was taken over by Romance, e.g. Ital. *colla*, MoFr. *colle*, etc. See ► γλοιός.

**κόλλαβος** [m.] a kind of bread or cake (Ar., Philyll.); also = κόλλοψ (Luc., Iamb., H.). <PG>

•DER κολλαβίζω "to play κόλλαβος", i.e. one holds his eyes, while the other strikes him, and asks him to guess by which hand he has been struck (Poll. 9, 129); the naming motive is obscure.

•ETYM Popular word in -βος (Schwyzer: 496, Chantraine 1933: 261f.) and, like so many words of the same formation, without etymology. Could the word originally mean 'buffet'? See ► κόλλοψ. Cf. further ► κόλλιξ and ► κολλύρα. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek; cf. also Guilleux *RPh*. 75 (2001) s.v.

**κόλλιξ, -ίκος** [m.] 'round, coarse bread' (Hippon., com.), 'tablet' (medic.). <PG>

•COMP κολλικο-φάγος (Ar.).

•DER κολλίκιος ἄρτος (Ath.), κολλίκιον (Greg. Cor.).

•ETYM The word is no doubt Pre-Greek, because of the suffix -ίκ-.

**κολλόροβον** ⇒ καλαῦροψ.

**κόλλουρος** [m.] name of an unknown fish (Marc. Sid. 22). <PG(S)>

•DER κολλουρίς 'marshmallow' (gloss.).

•ETYM Strömberg 1943: 48 proposes that the word replaced \*κόλ-ουρος 'with stump tail', with expressive gemination; as a marsh-plant, the mallow would have been called after the fish (ibid. 25). André *RPh*. 45 (1971): 216f. separates κολλουρίς from the fish and connects it with κολλ(ο)ύρα 'small, round flat bread', given the similarity of the fruit of the mallow with a cake. Probably Pre-Greek, given the geminate -λλ- (which is not a sign of expressiveness) and the suffix -ουρος.

**κόλλοψ, -οπος** [m.] 'peg or screw by which the strings of the lyre were tightened' (φ 407, Ar., Pl., Luc.); 'thick skin on the upper part of the neck of oxen or pigs' (Ar. fr. 646 and 506, 3); 'bar by which a windlass was turned' (Arist. *Mech.* 852b 12); metaph. 'ἀνδρόγυνος, *cinaedus*' (Hell. com., AP). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Also κόλλαβος (in the first mg.).

•COMP κολλοπο-διώκτης (sch. Ar. *Nu.* 347, Eust., Suid.).

•DER κολλοπεύω 'to be a κόλλοψ' (Pl. Com.); other denominatives: κολλοπίζειν· καθέλκειν 'to draw or carry down' and κολλοπῶσαι· κατακολληῖσαι 'to glue upon' (H.), with folk-etymological connection with ► κόλλα.

•ETYM A technical term, which was analyzed by H. as διὰ τὸ εἰς κόλλαν εὐθετεῖν (referring to the thick part of the neck of animals). Others have proposed relation to Lat. *callum* 'thick skin, callosity'; Bq suggested to connect it with ► σκόλοψ 'pole'. The word is clearly Pre-Greek because of its suffix; this is further confirmed if κόλλαβος is a variant (-οπ-/ -απ-/ -αβ- is a Pre-Greek suffix variation).

**κόλλυβος 1** [m.] 'small change' (Ar., Eup., Call.), 'small gold weight' (Thphr.); 'rate of exchange' (Hell., inscr., pap., Cic.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Also -ον [n.] (Poll. 9, 72).

•DER κολλυβιστής 'money changer' (Men., NT, pap.), from \*κολλυβίζω; κολλυβιστικός and κολλυβιστήριον 'exchange office' (pap. and ostr.).

•ETYM Explained as Semitic by Lewy 1895: 119f., who compared Hebr. *ḥālap* 'exchange'. However, the element -υβ- (which cannot be explained from the Hebr. word) rather points to a Pre-Greek word.

**κολλύρα** mg. uncertain, probably 'cake, tablet' (Ar., Thphr., LXX, pap.), cf. κόλλιξ and κόλλαβος. <PG(S)>

•VAR Also κολλούρα.

•DER Diminutives κολλυρίς and κολλύριον (-ού-) (LXX, pap.); κολλύριον (-ού-) usually 'eyesalve, salve in general', in the form of a tablet (*Apoc.*, Arr., medic., inscr. and pap.); κολλυρικός 'made from κολλύραι' (Plaut. *Pers.* 95), κολλυρίζω 'to bake κ.' (LXX), κολλυριόμαι in κεκολλυριωμένον (cod. -ρόμενον)· λευκῷ κεχρισμένον 'anointed with white' (H.); κολλυρίων [m.] name of a bird, probably 'thrush' (Arist.); also κορυλλίων (H.), naming motive unknown (cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.).

•ETYM Like other words in -ύρα (ἄγκύρα, γέφυρα, λέπυρον), probably Pre-Greek (see *Pre-Greek*: suffixes). If the variation υ/ ου is old, this also points to Pre-Greek origin.

**κολοβάφινος** •VAR χολοβάφινος. ⇒ χολή.

**κολοβός** [adj.] 'curtailed, maimed, short' (Pl., X., Arist., Hell.). <PG(S)>

- COMP As a first member e.g. in κολοβό-κερκος 'with docked tail' (LXX).
- DER κολόβιον [n.] 'jacket without sleeves' (pap.), also κολόβαξ (gloss.); κολοβώδης 'stunted, stumpy' (Polem. *Phgn.* [v.l.]), κολοβότης 'stuntedness' (Plu.). Denominative verbs: 1. κολοβώω 'to stunt, shorten', κολοβώσις 'mutilation', κολοβώμα 'maimed, amputated member' (Arist.); 2. κολοβίζω 'id.' (Thera I<sup>a</sup>-IP).
- ETYM An enlargement of κόλος 'id.'; see also on ► κλαμβός. Since the suffix -(ο)βο- cannot be explained in IE terms, the word is probably Pre-Greek.

**κολοιός** [m.] 'jackdaw, *Corvus monedula*' (Il., Pi., Ar., Arist.). <PG(V)>

- DER κολοιώδης (Plu.), κολοιάω (Poll. 5, 89), -φάω (B 212) 'to cry (like a jackdaw)', κολφάω 'id.' (Antim. 37); back-formation κολφός 'screeching' (A 575, A. R. 1, 1284), κολοιή· φωνή 'voice' (H.).
- ETYM Onomatopoeic origin cannot be further substantiated; neither does the word belong to καλέω. It would be highly unsatisfactory to separate κολφάω, -φός from κολοιάω, -οιός, but an explanation of the notation with -φ- (in ἐκολφά B 212) has not been found (cf. the hypotheses in Frisk and DELG). Cf. also κολουᾶν· θορυβεῖν 'to make noise' (H.). These variants may be of Pre-Greek origin. See ► κολοίφρυξ.

**κολοιτία** [f.] tree that grew on the Liparian islands '*Cytisus aeolicus*', also 'sallow, *Salix cinerea*' (Thphr.). <PG(V)>

- VAR Also κολυτέα, κολυτέα [f.] '*Colutea arborescens*' (Thphr.), whence Lat. *colūtea* [n.pl.] 'its fruits'; in H. also κολοιτέα, κολωτέα, κοιλωτέα· δένδρον τι 'a tree'.
- ETYM Clearly a Pre-Greek word, given the variation. Cf. on ► κολοκύνθη.

**κολοίφρυξ** [?]· Ταναγραῖος ἀλεκτρυών· καὶ ὄρος Βοιωτίας 'Tanagrian cock; mountain in Boeotia' (H.). <PG?>

- ETYM The second element is not in any way related to φάρυξ. Probably Pre-Greek.

**κολόκυμα** [n.] 'large heavy wall' before it breaks, said of the threats of Cleon, only (Ar. *Eq.* 692). <?>

- ETYM Explained in various ways since antiquity: κόλον κῦμα 'blunt wave' (sch. ad loc.); τυφλὸν or μακρὸν κῦμα 'blind or high wave' (H.); κωφὸν κῦμα καὶ μὴ ἐπικαχλάζον 'silent wave, not gurgling' (Suid.). See the suggestion by Taillardat 1962: §343 in DELG s.v.

**κολοκύνθη** [f.] 'round gourd, *Lagenaria vulgaris*' (Hp., com., Arist., pap.). <PG(S)>

- VAR Att. -τη, later -υνθά, -υντᾶ (Solmsen 1909: 263), late also -υνθος (-υντος, -ιντος) [m.].
- COMP κολοκυνθαρύταινα [f.] 'spoon from κ.' (pap.).
- DER Diminutives κολοκύντιον (Phryn. Com.), -υνθίς 'κολοκύνθα ἀγρία' (Dsc., Gal.), -ύνθινος (-ύντινος, -ίνθινος) 'made with κ.' (pap., Luc.), -υνθιάς [f.] 'id.' (AP), -ών 'plantation of κ.' (pap.); ἀποκολοκύντωσις 'transformation into a pumpkin' (Seneca, D. C. 60, 35). Κολοκυνθῶ [f.] PN; see Schulze 1933a: 309f.
- ETYM The suffix -υνθος, -ινθος, frequent in plant names, points to Pre-Greek origin. Cf. also κύκυον· τὸν σικυόν, κυκύϊζα· γλυκεῖα κολόκυντα 'sweet gourd' (H.). An informant in Ath. 2, 58f. says that it was introduced from India, but the comparison

with Skt. *kālinda*- [n.] 'watermelon' and Kurd. *kalak* 'melon' is not very informative. On the names of the gourd and cucumber, see Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 652ff.

**κόλον** [n.] 'large intestine, ileum' (Ar. *Eq.* 455, Arist., Nic., Poll.); name of food preserved in a pot (*PSI* 5, 535, 39; 46, III<sup>a</sup>), acc. to Ath. 6, 262a = ἡ τροφή 'food'. <?>

- ETYM No convincing explanation. Bq hesitantly pointed to κυλλός 'curbed', κελλόν· στρεβλόν 'twisted' (H.); others have connected it with ► καλίδια· ἔντερα. Κύπριοι 'entrails (Cypr.)' (H.). Late Greek had the form κῶλον, influenced by κῶλον 'member'. Fur.: 131 connects χόας 'intestines', and further χόλικες, γόλα· ἔντερα. Μακεδόνες (γόδα codd.), γάλλια· ἔντερα, γάλλος = χόλιξ; none of these is really convincing.

**κόλος** [adj.] 'hornless, with stunted horns', of cows and goats (Hdt., Theoc., Nic., H.), of a spear 'without point' (Π 117), of battle 'broken off' (sch.), as a name of book Θ. <PG?>

- COMP As a first member in κόλουρος 'with short tail' (Plu.), as a mathematical and astronomical term 'blunt' (Hipparch. Astr., Hero, Nicom.); κολουραῖος 'broken off, steep' (of πέτρα, Call.), κολουρά 'hill, etc.' (Hermione, Epid.), κολουρία· τῇ ἀποτομία 'in a piece?', κολουρίτις· γῆ. Σικελοί 'earth (Sicilian)' (H.), κολουρώσις = κολόβωσις (Iamb.); Lat. LW *clūra* '(kind of) monkey' (WH s.v., Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 206<sup>8</sup>).

- DER κόλ-ερος 'with short-sheared fleece' (Arist.), opposed to εὔ-, ἔπ-ερος, perhaps after κόλουρος; see on ► εἶρος; further κολόχειρ· χείραργος (H.). Derived from κόλος or closely related are two verbs: 1. κολάζω 'to wring in, chastise, punish, cut' (IA), aor. κολάσαι, rarely with συν-, ἀντι-, προ-; thence probably denominative κόλασις 'chastisement' (IA), -ασμα (Ar., X.), -ασμός (Plu.) 'id.'; κολαστής 'punisher' (trag., Pl., Lys.), also κολαστήρ 'id.' (Arr.), fem. κολάστρια (Ezek.), κολάστειρα (AP); κολαστήριον 'punishment', -ος [adj.] 'punishing' (X., Ph.), κολαστικός 'punishing' (Pl.). 2. κολουώ 'to mutilate, limit' (Il.), aor. κολουσαι, sometimes with περι-, κατα-, ἀπο-; formation unclear (cf. Schwyzler: 683, Chantraine 1942: 374 and see on ► κωλύω). From it κολουσις 'docking, cutting short' (Arist.), κολουσμάτα· κλάσματα 'fragments' (H.).

- ETYM The archaic word κόλος was replaced by κολοβός, and also by κόλουρος. It is usually taken as a verbal noun from a Balto-Slavic primary verb: Lith. *kálti*, 1sg. *kalù* 'to beat, forge', OCS *klati*, 1sg. *koljŕ* 'to butcher'. In Greek, the root may have left some traces in ► κλάω, but see s.v. In any case, connection with ► κελεός and ► κολάπτω is improbable. The barytone accent may be connected with the passive meaning (Schwyzler: 459); perhaps κόλος was originally a substantive. The fact that κολάπτω and ► κολουώ are of unclear formation might point to a Pre-Greek complex.

**κολοσσός** [m.] 'gigantic statue, colossus' (Hdt. [only about Egypt], Hell.), also 'statue' in general (A., Hell.), 'figure, puppet representing someone absent' (Cyrene, SEG IX, 72, 117 and 122), cf. Buck 1955: 112. <PG>

- VAR -ττ- (D. S.), -σ- [f.] (Cyrene).
- COMP As a first member e.g. in κολοσσο-ποιός (Hero).

•DER κολοσσιαίος (D. S. [-ττ-], Ph., pap.), -ικός (D. S. [-ττ-], Str., Plu.) 'having the size of a κ., colossal'.

•ETYM Ample discussion of the word by Benveniste *RPh.* 58 (1929): 118ff. The element -σσ- typically points to Pre-Greek origin: it could represent PG \**p* or \**k*, like in ►θάλασσα. Bq compared ►κολεκάνοι (also -οκ-) 'tall, meager man' (Stratt., H.), which is possible if we start from \**kolok*'- / \**kolok*'-n-, with depalatalization before the nasal.

**κολοσυρτός** [m.] 'noisy rabble, tumult, uproar' (Il., Hes., Ar.). <PG?>

•DER κολοσυρτεῖ·θορυβεῖ, ταρασσει 'makes troubles, agitates' (H.).

•ETYM Frequently analyzed as κολο-συρ-τός (cf. κονιορτός, άμαξιτός, βουλυτός for this use of the suffix -τός-), of which the second member would be from ►σύρω 'to draw, sweep' (Suid. s.v.), and the first member remain unexplained.

**κολούλια** [n.pl.] 'gastropod mollusks' (Xenocr. *apud* Orob. 2, 58, 79). <PG?>

•VAR Also in Lat. *coluthia* (Plin. *NH* 32, 84, 147).

•ETYM Unknown.

**κολούω** ⇒κόλος.

**κολοφών, -ώνος** [m.] 'summit, top, pinnacle', only metaph. (Pl., com. Adesp., Str.), acc. to H. also = κολιός 'green woodpecker' (i.e. ►κελεός; s.v.) and ιχθύς θαλάσσιος 'sea fish'. <PG>

•DER κολοφωνέω [v.] 'to crown a work' (Steph. in Hp.). Also a TN, town in Ionia; Κολοφώνιος 'from K., inhabitant of K.'.

•ETYM A connection with κολωνός 'hill' via an analysis \*κολαφών < IE \**kolh*-b<sup>h</sup>o- is highly doubtful; the Anatolian toponym rather points to substrate origin. See Chantraine 1933: 162.

**κόλπος** [m.] 'bosom, lap, gulf, bay, vale, womb' (Il.), also 'fistulous ulcer under the skin', = κολπάριον 'id.' (medic.). <IE \**k<sup>w</sup>elp*- 'curve, vault', ► \**k<sup>w</sup>olp-o*->

•COMP As a second member e.g. in βαθύ-κόλπος 'with folds of the garment falling down deep' (Il.).

•DER κολπώδης 'bosom-like, full of bays' (E., Plb.); κολπίας 'puffing up' (πέπλος, A. *Pers.* 1060), 'wind blowing from the bay', έγκολπίας 'id.' (Arist.); Κολπίτης [m.] old name of Phoenicia (Steph. Byz.), plur. "inhabitants of the coast", name of an uncivilized people living by the Red Sea (Philostr.), cf. below on διακολπτεύω; κολπόομαι, -όω 'to puff up' (B., Hp.), κόλπωσις, -ωμα 'puff', -ωτός. Several prefixed forms in various functions, of which most are Hell.: έγ-, έπα-, ύπο-κόλπος, άνα-, έγ-, έπι-κολπώω, έγ-, κατα-, περι-κολπίζω, etc. However, note (δια-)κολπτεύω 'to smuggle' (*PTeb.* 709, 9; 14 [II<sup>a</sup>]), which hardly belongs to κόλπος 'bosom, etc.', but rather with the ethnonym Κολπίται "inhabitants of the coast" (see above); likewise έλαιον κολπτικόν (*PTeb.* 38, 12 and 125 [II<sup>a</sup>]) 'smuggled oil'.

•ETYM If we connect κόλπος with MoHG *wölben* as a verbal noun to the primary verb preserved in ON *holfinn* 'vaulted', causative ON *hvelfa*, OHG (*h*)*welben* 'to vault', we have to assume dissimilation \**k<sup>w</sup>* ... *p* > κ ... π for Greek (see Schwyzler: 302, Lejeune 1972: §72<sup>3</sup>). Germanic also has a verbal noun ON *hvalf*, OE *hwealf* [f.]

'vault', which would be identical with κόλπος. The comparison of OE *heofon-hwealf* 'vault of heaven' with αιθέρος κόλποι (Pi. O. 13, 88) is not compelling, as the Greek expression could be based on the image of a bosom and the Germanic on that of a vault. Vulgar Latin borrowed κόλπος as *colphus* > Ital. *golfo*, MoFr. *golfe*, etc.

**κόλασθαι**·ίκετεῦσαι 'to supplicate' (H.). ⇒κῶλον.

**κολύβδαινα** [f.] 'kind of crab' (Epich. 57). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Cf. κολύμβαίνα 'id.', see on ►κόλυμβος. A typically Pre-Greek word, with interchange βδ/ β and prenasalization. There is no reason to assume influence of μολύβδαινα 'bull of lead'.

**κόλυβος** ⇒καλύπτω.

**κόλυθροι** 'testicles'. ⇒κολεόν and σκόλυθρον.

**κόλυμβος** [m.] 'little grebe, Podiceps minor' (Ar.), see Thompson 1895: 158, also a back-formation of ►κολυμβάω. <PG(V)>

•VAR Note κολυμφάω (*EM* 526, 2). In the same mg. κολυμβίς [f.] (Ar., Arist.), -άς [f.] 'id.' (Ath.), but more commonly of olives pickled in brine (Diph. Siph., pap.); κολύμβαίνα = κολύβδαινα (Archig. *apud* Gal.), κολύμβατος name of a plant (Gr.), naming motive unknown, cf. Strömberg 1940: 113, and κολυμβάς name of a shrub (στοιβή) in Gal.

•DER Denominative verb κολυμβάω 'to dive, submerge, jump into the water, swim' (Att., Hell.), often with prefix, e.g. έκ-, κατα-, άνα-, δια-, κολυμβήθρα 'bathing place, pool, cistern' (Pl.), κολύμβησις 'diving' = 'pearl fishery' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*), back-formation κόλυμβος = κολύμβησις (Str., Paus., Plu.) and -ήθρα (Hero); κολυμβητήρ (A.) and -ητής (Th., Pl.) 'diver' (cf. Fraenkel 1912: 14 and 17f.), κολυμβητική (τέχνη) 'art of diving' (Pl.); also κολυμβιστής (sch.); κολυμβιτεύω (= -ητεύω?) 'to throw into the water' (pap.).

•ETYM Lat. *columba* 'dove' is similar, but a common pre-form would make no sense. Apart from the suffix -υμβ-, the variant κολυμφάω proves that the word is Pre-Greek. The variation μβ / βδ is most easily explained from \**p*, the palatal feature of which was lost after prenasalization, giving μβ (cf. Fur.: 307<sup>m</sup>, although ►μόλυβδος / *plumbum* must now be given up).

**κόλυμφατος** [?]·φλοιός, λεπίδιον 'bark, capsule' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Referring to a part of a plant, the gloss must be identical with κολύμβατος (see ►κόλυμβος), with well-known Pre-Greek variation.

**κολυτέα** plant name. ⇒κολοιτέα.

**κολχικόν** [n.] name of a venomous type of saffron, 'Colchicum speciosum' (Dsc.).

<GR>

•ETYM Named after its homeland, Κολχίς; see Strömberg 1940: 122.

**κολώνη** [f.] 'hill, height, heap of stones, mound, etc.' (Il., Pi., S.), also as a TN (town in Troas, Att. deme). <IE \**kolH*-n- 'rise, height'>

•VAR κολωνός [m.] (*h. Cér.*, Hdt., X., A. R.).

•COMP As a second member in Καλλι-κολώνη hill near Troy (Il.), ὑψι-κόλωνος 'towering high' (Opp.).

•DER κολωνία· τάφος. Ἡλείοι 'funeral rite, tomb (Elean)' (H.), alphabetically misplaced, so perhaps for -ώνα (Schmidt); Κολωνέται [pl.] EN derived from the deme-name (Hyperid.).

•ETYM The forms κολών-η beside κολων-ός point to an old *n*-stem. This is also seen in Lith. *kálnas* 'mountain', Lat. *collis* 'hill' < \**kolnis*, OE *hyll*, MoE *hill* < PGm. \**huln-i*. The *n*-stem \**kolH-n*-, \**klH-n*- belongs to a primary verb 'rise up', from which Lat. *-cellō* < \**-kel-nH-* forms a nasal present (see De Vaan 2008), and for which Lith. *kėlti*, 1sg. *keliū* 'to lift' proves a root-final laryngeal. On the suffix -ώνη, -ωνός, see Chantraine 1933: 207f. and Schmeja IF 68 (1963): 36ff.; they probably arose by extending the vocalism of the nominative to the other cases.

κολφός 'screeching'. ⇒ κολοιός.

κομάκτωρ, -ορος [m.] mg. uncertain (Rhinh. 9, *Inscr. Magn.* 217 [I<sup>a</sup>]). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM Probably from Lat. *coactor* 'exactior pecuniae' (Fraenkel 1912: 70f.). Not from Osc. \**comahtor*, as per von Blumenthal *Glotta* 18 (1930): 149.

κομαρίδες [acc.pl.f.] 'a fish' (Epich. 47). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

κόμαρος 1 [f., m.] 'strawberry tree, Arbutus unedo' (com., Thphr., Theoc.). <PG>

•VAR Also κύμαρος (H.).

•DER κόμ(μ)αρι [n.] 'red paint from the root of the plant Comarum palustre' (PHolm., Alchim., etc.), also -ρις [f.], -ρον [n.]; cf. Lagercrantz 1913: 197f.; the *i*-stem reminds of κιννάβαρι(ς), etc.

•ETYM Strömberg 1940: 58 derives it from κόμη 'crown of a tree', with an added suffix -αρο-, for which he compares κίσθαρος το κισθός. However, the variant with κύμ- shows that it is a Pre-Greek word (Fur.: 362).

κομ(μ)άροι = καμ(μ)άρος.

κόμβα [f.] · κορώνη. Πολυρρήνιοι 'shearwater, crow (Polyrrhenian)' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Bechtel 1921, 2: 788 connects it with κόμβησαν· ποιόν ἤχον ἀπετέλεσαν 'produced a certain sound' and κομβακεῖται· κόμπους λέγει 'brags, boasts' (H.). It has been compared with ►κόμπος 'loud noise, bragging' and ►βόμβος, which are sound-imitating words, but at the same time Pre-Greek variants. If the bird name ►κύμβη 3 is related, it is yet another variant.

κόμβος [m.] 'band, belt' (Anon. *apud* Suid.). <PG>

•COMP As a first member in κομβολύτης· βαλαντιοτόμιος 'cutpurse, footpad' (H.), κομποθηλαία [f.] 'buckle' (sch.), from κόμβος θήλυς (or θήλεια); also κομπο-θηλαία 'band, belt' (sch.) and κομπο-θήλυκα [pl.] (Hippiatr.), v.l. for πόρπακας, which were thought to be influenced by κόμπος 'boast', but see below.

•DER κομβίον = περόνη 'buckle' (Eust., Sch.), κομβώσασθαι· στολίσασθαι 'to equip, dress', κόμβωμα· στόλισμα 'garment' (H.), κομβώματα = καλλωπίσματα, etc. (Suid., H.). Better attested is the hypostasis ἐγκομβόμαι [v.] 'to bind on, put on' (Epich.,

Hell. Com., 1 *Ep. Pet.* 5, 5), whence ἐγκομβώμα 'protecting upper garment worn by slaves' (Longus, Thd.); further ἀνακομβόμαι [v.] 'to gird on (intr.)' (Grp.).

•ETYM The old comparisons with Balto-Slavic words for 'hang', e.g. Lith. *kabinti* 'to hang, hook on', *kibti* 'to hang oneself, hook on', CS *skoba* 'fibula', Ru. *skobá* 'iron hook, clamp', and, within Greek, with σκαμβός 'crooked (legs)', are quite dubious. As Frisk remarks, "Das Resultat dieser Vergleiche ist offenbar eine sowohl lautlich wie begrifflich wenig befriedigende Approximation". MoNw. *hempe* 'string, strap, handle' can hardly be separated from *hamp* 'hemp'.

The forms κομποθηλαία, κομποθηλαία, κομποθήλυκα clearly show that there was a variant with -π-, which points to Pre-Greek origin (confusion with κόμπος 'noise, bragging' is improbable). Also, note the variation in the suffix: -εια, -αία, -υκα, which are found more often in Pre-Greek (Pre-Greek: suffixes -αι/-ε(ι)).

κομέω [v.] 'to care for, ply' (Il.). <IE \**kemh₂-* 'get tired'>

•VAR Only present-stem, with iterative ipf. κομέεσκον; prefixed with ἀμφι- (AP); further κομίζω [v.] 'to care for, attend, look after, loot, save, fetch, bring, transport' (Il.), aor. κομίσ(σ)αι, -ασθαι, Dor. (Pi.) κομίζαι, pass. κομισθῆναι, fut. κομιώ, -οῦμαι (since 0 546), see Schwyzler: 785, Chantraine 1942: 451; Hell. κομίσω, -ίσομαι.

•COMP Very frequent with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀπο-, εἰς-, ἐκ-, κατα-, παρα-, συν-.

•DER (ἀνα-, ἀπο-, etc.)κομιδή 'attendance, care, support, loot, rescue, supply, escape' (Il.); dat. κομιδῇ [adv.] 'exactly, definitely, certainly' (IA); κομιστήρ, -τής 'who takes care, provider' (E.), fem. κομίστρια (AB, Orph.); κόμιστρα [n.pl.] 'reward for saving or transportation' (trag., inscr.); κομιστικός 'fit for care, for transporting' (IA); ἐκ-κομισμός 'export, burial' (Str., Phld.), μετα-κόμισις, εἰς-κόμισμα, etc. (sch., gloss.). As a second member in several compounds -κόμος, e.g. εἰρο-κόμος 'processing wool, spinner' (Γ 387, AP), ἵπποκόμος 'who takes care of horses, groom' (IA). On the semantic development of κομίζω and derivatives see Wackernagel 1916: 219f., Hoekstra *Mnem.* 4:3 (1950): 103f.

•ETYM Iterative deverbative κομέω from primary ►κάμνω (type φορέω; see Schwyzler: 719), which was enlarged to κομίζω, whence as a back-formation κομιδῇ (Schwyzler: 421<sup>3</sup>). See further s.v. ►κάμνω.

κόμη [f.] 'hair' of the head, also of the manes of a horse (Il.), metaph. 'foliage', also of growth in general (Od.), 'tail of a comet' (Arist.). <?>

•COMP Bahunrihi ἵππο-κόμιος 'covered with horsehair', of a helmet (Il.), opposed to governing ἵππο-κόμιος, see ►κομέω; κομια-τροφέω [v.] 'to grow one's hair' (Amorgos, Str.), also with compositional -ο-.

•DER Diminutives κομίσκᾱ (Alcm.) and κόμιον (Arr.). Further κομήτης [m.] 'with (long) hair' (IA), 'comet' (Arist.). see Scherer 1953: 105 and 107f., also a plant-name 'τιθύμαλλος, Euphorbia' (Dsc.); κομήεις 'with leaves' (Orph.). Denominative κομάω [v.] 'to have long hair, show off' (Il.), Ion. -έω; late with ἀνα-, κατα-, etc.

•ETYM Not explained with certainty. The word κόμη may be taken as "well-tended hair", in opposition to ►θρίξ, and connected with ►κομέω 'to take care of'. Thus, it would originally mean 'care'. Schwyzler: 725<sup>10</sup> considers a back-formation from κομάω, which could be a by-form of κομέω. However, since κομάω is always

connected with hair and is never used in a different sense of 'to care', the assumption is not very probable. Borrowed as Lat. *coma*; see WH s.v.

**κόμμι** [n.] 'gum' (Hdt., Hp., Arist., Thphr.). <LW Eg.>

•VAR Indeclinable, but also declined -εως, -ει (-ιδι).

•DER κομμίδιον (Hippiatr., sch.), κομμι(δ)ώδης 'rubber-like' (Arist., Thphr.), κομμίζω [v.] 'to be like κ.' (Dsc.).

•ETYM From Eg. *kemai*, *kema*, *kmjt*, Copt. *kommi* (see Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 417). From κόμμι, Latin borrowed *cummi(s)*, younger *gummi*. The other European forms came from Latin. Independent loans from Egyptian (as assumed by Fohalle 1925: 171; cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 16 (1928): 166) would hardly have resulted in the same form in both languages.

**κομμόμαι** [v.] 'to embellish, adorn oneself' (Eup., Arist., Them.). <PG?>

•COMP With ἐπι- (Them.).

•DER κόμμωμα 'ornament' (Luc.), -ωσις 'ornamentation' (Ath., H.); back-formation κομμός· περίεργος κόσμησις 'elaborate adornment' (Suid.); -ωτής 'dresser' (Arr., Luc., Plu.), κομμωτίζω· ἐπιμελοῦμαι 'to take care of' (Suid.), -ώτρια [f.] 'servant-girl' (Ar., Pl.), -ώτριον 'cleaning product' (Ar.), -ωτικός 'belonging to cleaning, polishing', -ωτική (τέχνη) 'art of cleaning' (Pl., Hell.); κομμώ· ἡ κοσμοῦσα τὸ ἔδος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια 'priestess arranging the (seated) statue of Athena' (AB).

•ETYM As a typical culture word, κομμώ is suspected to have been a fashionable innovation or a loan. The similarity with κόσμος and κομψός led to unconvincing attempts to connect these two words. Solmsen *RhM* 56 (1901): 501f. assumes that κομμώ is the oldest form, derived from \*κομώ (to κομεῖν) with hypocoristic gemination. For lack of a clear solution, it seems best to assume that we are dealing with a substrate word.

**κόμπος** [m.] 'echoing noise, clattering when something is struck, any loud noise, bragging' (Il.). <ONOM>

•COMP ὑπέρ-κομπος 'extremely noisy, bragging' (A., Men.).

•DER κομπώδης 'ostentatious' (Th., Plu.), κομπός [m.] 'resplendent, vaunting' (E.), on the accent see Schwyzer: 459), κομπηρός 'ringing loudly' (comm. Arist., sch.). Denominatives: 1. κομπέω [v.] 'to clash, ring' (M 151), 'to rattle, strike' (D. L.), usually 'to flaunt, boast' (Pi.), on the formation see Schwyzer: 726<sup>3</sup>. 2. κομπάζω [v.] 'to flaunt, boast' (B. and A.), 'to strike (a pot) to try its quality' (pap.), whence κομπάσματα [pl.] 'boasting' (A.), rarely sg., κομπασμός 'bragging' (Plu.), κομπασία 'rattling, striking' (pap.), κομπαστής 'parader' (Ph., Plu.), κομπαστικός (Poll.), κόμπασος (Hdn.), Κομπασεύς 'belonging to the district of Κόμπος' (Ar.). 3. κομπόομαι [v.] 'to show off' (D. C.).

•ETYM Probably onomatopoeic; cf. on ►βόμβος, ►κόναβος and ►κόμβα. Fur.: 380 compares κόναβος with interchange α/ zero, but there appears to be no basis for this.

**κομψός** [adj.] 'fine, elegant, to the point, cunning' (Att.). On κομψός as a stylistic notion see Wersdörfer 1940: 105f., 127f. <PG?>

•COMP περί-κομψος 'very fine' (Ar.).

•DER κομψότης 'elegance' (Pl.), κομψεύομαι [v.] 'to be cunning or clever' (Pl.), also -εῦω, with κομψεία (Pl., Luc.), κόμψευμα (Arist., Luc., Gal.) 'sth. to the point, clever remark'.

•ETYM The old connection with Lith. *švānkus* 'decent, reasonable, etc.', as if from \**kuonk*<sup>w</sup>-so-, is meaningless, since etyma in this kind of meaning are never old (thus Fraenkel 1955 s.v.), and since there is no suffix \*-so-. The latter objection also excludes connection with ►κομέω 'to take care', ►κομμόομαι 'to adorn' (as per Chantraine *REGr.* 58 (1945): 90ff., DELG s.v.). The word can hardly be IE, so Pre-Greek origin is probable.

**κοναβέω** [v.] 'to din, ring, clash, resound' (AP). <PG?>

•VAR Aor. κонаβῆσαι (Hom., Hes.), κонаβίζω (Il., Orph.), only ipf. On the metrically conditioned use of the different forms see Schwyzer: 105 and 736, Chantraine 1942: 340 and 350.

•DER Probably as a back-formation κόναβος [m.] 'clang, clash' (κ 122, A. *Th.* 160 [lyr.]); κонаβιγδόν 'with clattering' (AP).

•ETYM The ending recalls other sound-words like ἀραβέω (to ἄραβος), ὀτοβέω (ὀτοβος), θορυβέω (θόρυβος), etc. (Chantraine 1933: 260, Schwyzer: 496). Fur.: 343 assumes a Pre-Greek sound-word, comparing καναχή 'clattering, rattling, etc.' with the interchanges α/ ο and χ/ β.

**κοναρόν** [adj.] · εὐτραφή, πίονα, δραστήριον 'well-fed, fat, active' (H.). <?>

•DER κонаρότερον· δραστικώτερον 'most active, efficacious'; κонаρίχον· γλαφυρόν 'hollow' (H.).

•ETYM In the sense of δραστήριος, probably related to ►ἐγ-κονέω. It is unknown whether the glosses εὐτραφή, πίονα refer to a different word κонаρόν; they could be different suggestions for an obscure passage. On the Thessalian PN Κόναρος, see O. Masson 2000: 145.

**κόνδαξ, -ᾱκος** [m.] name of a gambling game, played with a blunt dart (AP 5, 60 [sens. obsc.], Cod. Just. 3, 43, 1, 4). <PG(S)>

•ETYM A different name for the game is κονδο·μιονόβολον (Cod. Just., ibd.). Cf. κόνδοι· κεραῖαι 'horns' (H.), κονδοκέρατος 'with short horns'. The word κόνδαξ must be Pre-Greek, in view of the suffix -ᾱκ-; the structure (prenasalized consonant) fits this supposition well. On κόνδοι· ἀστράγαλοι 'vertebrae', see ►κόνδυλος.

**κόνδου, -υος** [n.] 'name of a drinking-vessel (Hell.); acc. to H. = ποτήριον βαρβαρικόν, κυμβίον 'foreign drinking-cup, small cup'. <LW Sem.??>

•DER Diminutive κονδύλιον (Hell.).

•ETYM Like many words in -υ, it is a loan (cf. Chantraine 1933: 119). Fur.: 181 compares κοτύλη 'beaker'; cf. κονδύλιον. Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 674 refers to late Babylonian *kandu* 'vessel'.

**κόνδυλος** [m.] 'knuckle, joint, bony knob, clenched fist, swelling of the gum, etc.' (IA). <PG(S,V)>

•COMP As a second member e.g. in μονο-, δι-κόνδυλος (Arist.).

•DER κονδυλώδης 'like a knuckle', κονδύλωμα, -σις 'hard swelling, tumor' (Hp.), κονδυλωτός 'with κ.' (Att. inscr. [IV<sup>a</sup>]), κονδυλόμαι [v.] 'to swell' (Aspasia *apud* Aët., H.), κονδυλίζω [v.] 'to hit the face with the fist, buffet, maltreat' (Hyp., LXX), κονδυλισμός (LXX).

•ETYM Other body parts in -υλος are δάκτυλος and σφόνδυλος (cf. Güntert 1914: 116ff.); the bare stem is seen in κόνδοι· ἀστράγαλοι 'vertebrae' (H.). Most connections outside Greek, like Skt. *kanda-* [m.] 'tuber', *kandúka-* [m.] 'playball', *kanduka-* [n.] 'cushion' can be rejected straightaway (cf. Mayrhofer KEWA: s.vv., who considers Dravidian origin). Lith. *kánduolas* 'kernel' belongs to *kąsti* 'to bite'; see Fraenkel 1955 s.v. The word is probably Pre-Greek because of its structure, κονδυλ- < \*ka<sup>n</sup>t-ul-. Moreover, the gloss κανθύλας· τὰς ἀνοιδήσεις. Αἰσχύλος Σαλαμινίαις (Fr. 220) 'swellings' (H.), may show variation α/o and δ/θ (Van Beek p.c.).

**κονίλη** [f.] a kind of aromatic plant, 'Origanum, marjoram' (Nic., medic., Dsc.). <PG(S)>

•ETYM Formation like ζωμίλη, μαρίλη, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 249, Schwyzler: 483); further unclear. Borrowed into Latin as *cunila*, for which Fur.: 361 assumes a Greek variant \*κυνίλη, given that *o* remains before *n* in Latin. He further compares (1972: 120) γονώνη· ὀρίγανος (H.), and perhaps γονής, κώνητες· θύρσοι (H.) (op. cit. 121), with variation γ/κ. On -ίλ- as a Pre-Greek suffix, see *Pre-Greek*: suffixes.

**κόνις** [f.] 'dust, ashes' (Il.). <IE \*konis- 'ashes'>

•VAR Gen. -ιος, -εως (-εος); dat. -ι, -ει.

•COMP As a first member in κوني-ορτός [m.] 'cloud of dust' (IA), from ὄρ-νυμι with suffixal -το-, MoGr. κορνιαχτός (Hatzidakis *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 70ff.); κονί-σαλος [m.] (= κονίς-σαλος, cf. below) 'cloud of dust' (Il.), 'dust mixed with oil and sweat of a wrestler' (Gal.), also name of a priapic demon (com., inscr.) and a lascivious dance (H.); κονί-ποδες [m.pl.] 'kind of shoe' (Ar. *Ec.* 848, Poll.), name of the slaves in Epid. (Plu.); French parallels in Niedermann KZ 45 (1913): 182.

•DER Denominative verb κονίω (-ίομαι) 'to cover with dust, cover oneself with sand' (Il.; on the formation below), also with ἐν-, δια-, etc.; fut. κονίσω, Hell. κονιοῦμαι, aor. κονίσαι (κονίσσαι), perf. med. κεκόνι(σ)μαι. Further κόνιμα (Delphi III<sup>a</sup>), -ισμα (Cythera) 'dust of the wrestling arena', κόνις 'production of dust, training at the wrestling arena' (Arist.), ἐνκονιστάς [m.] mg. unclear (inscr. Thebes), κόνιστρα (Arist.), κονιστήριον (Pergam. II<sup>a</sup>) 'wrestling arena', κονιστικός 'fond of rolling in the dust' (Arist.). Enlarged form κονίεσθαι· κυλίεσθαι, φθείρεσθαι, κονιορτοῦσθαι 'to roll, be destroyed, be covered with dust' (H.). Further derivatives: κόνιος 'dusty' (Pi.), 'creating dust' (Paus.), epithet of Zeus, κονιώδης 'like ashes' (Hp.). κονία 'dust, ashes, sand' (Hom., Hes. Sc., A., E.), 'alkaline fluid' (Ar., Pl., Thphr., medic.), 'chalk, whitewash, plaster' (LXX, Hell.); epic Ion. -ίη, metrically lengthened -ῖη, cf. κόννα· σποδός 'ashes' (H.), which might be Aeolic. Thence κονιάω [v.] 'to plaster, whitewash' (D., Arist.), κονίαμα 'chalk, plaster' (Hp., D., Hell.), κονίασις 'whitewash' (Hell. inscr.), κονιατήρ 'whitewasher' (Epid. IV<sup>a</sup>), κονιατής 'id.' (inscr., pap.); κονιατός 'whitewashed' (X., Thphr., pap.), κονιατικά (ἔργα) 'stuccowork' (pap., inscr.). Also κονιάζομαι [v.] 'to be covered with ashes' (Gp.).

•ETYM The form κόνις differs from Lat. *cinis*, -eris [m., f.] < \*kenis- by its *o*-vocalism. The *s*-stem seen in *ciner-is* and *cinis-culus* can also be assumed for κονίς-σαλος, κεκόνις-μαι, κονίω < \*konis-je/o-, κονί-α < \*konis-h<sub>2</sub>. The word may be an original neuter *is*-stem, of which ToB *kentse* 'dust' < \*koniso- is a thematisation. The basis is unknown, but ►-κναίω is unrelated.

**κόνις** [f.] 'eggs of lice, fleas, bugs' (Arist., Antyll. *apud* Orib., Hdn.). <IE \*knid- 'eggs of lice'>

•VAR Mostly plur. κονίδες.

•DER κονιδισμός 'disease of the eyelids' (Cyran.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 142ff.).

•ETYM The closest cognate is Alb. *thëni* 'louse', which also goes back to IE \*knid-; the Gm. group of OE *knitu*, OHG (*h*)*niz* 'nit' goes back to \*knid-. Cf. further the BSL group of Ru. *gnida*, Latv. *gnida*, which may have *gn-* from *kn-* by regular development, thus \*knid- (the Slavic forms with Winter's Law). Lith. *glinda* 'id.' has -l-, perhaps by dissimilation from \*gninda. Other forms: Lat. *lëns*, *lendis* 'id.', Mlr. *sned* [f.] 'id.' < \*snidā, Arm. *anic* 'louse' < \*Hnid-s-, ON *gnit* 'louse'. Because of folk-etymological, euphemistic or taboo changes, no uniform proto-form can be reconstructed for PIE. Connection with κναίω, ►κνίζω poses a problem for Alb. *thëni*, which has an initial palatal.

**κόνναρος** [m.] name of a thorny evergreen shrub, 'παλίουρος, Zizyphus Spina Christi' (Theopomp. Hist.). <PG?>

•VAR κόνναρον· καρπὸς δένδρου ὁμοῖος (ὁμοίου?) παλιούρω 'fruit of a tree like the π.' (H.).

•ETYM Formation like ►κόμαρος, etc.; otherwise obscure. Probably Pre-Greek.

**κοννέω** [v.] 'to know, understand'. <PG?>

•VAR Only in κοννεῖς, κοννῶ (A. *Supp.* 130 and 164) and κοννεῖν· συνιέναι, ἐπίστασθαι 'understand, know'; κοννοῦσι· γινώσκουσιν 'know' (H.).

•ETYM Similarity with κόν· εἶδος 'appearance' and ἔκομεν· εἶδομεν, ἐωρῶμεν, ἤσθόμεθα 'know, see, perceive' (H.), as well as with ►κοέω 'to remark, learn', has been noticed, but the details of any of these comparisons remain unclear. With its geminate, the verb looks non-IE, and might well be Pre-Greek.

**κόννος** [m.] 'beard' (Luc. *Lex.* 5), acc. to H. = ὁ πώγων, ἡ ὑπήνη, ἡ χάρις 'beard, moustache, grace', similar in mg. to σκόλλυς, μαλλός. <?>

•DER Further plur., beside ψέλλια, as the name of an ornament for girls (κόννοι Plb. 10, 18, 6, -vv- Suid.). PN Κόννος, Κόννιον, Κοννᾶς, see L. Robert 1964: 168.

•ETYM Unexplained.

**κοντός** 'pole'. = κεντέω.

**κόνυζα** [f.] name of a plant with a strong scent, 'fleabane, Inula (viscosa, graveolens, britannica)' (Hecat., Arist., Thphr., Dsc.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Also σκόνυζα (Pherecr.) and κνύζα (Theoc.), giving MoGr. (Calabr.) *kliza* (Rohlf's Byz 37 (1937): 53, Rohlf's 1930 s.v.).

- DER κονυζήεις 'like the κ.' (Nic.), κονυζίτης (οἶνος) 'seasoned with κ.' (Dsc., Gr.).
- ETYM Formation like other plant names, such as μώλυζα, μάνυζα, ὄρυζα, κόρυζα, etc. The assumption that it was formed from ►κονίς with this suffix -υζα, with dialectal κνύζα remodelled after κνύω, is unwarranted. The form κνύζα has also been analyzed as \**knug-ja*, and compared with ON *hnykr* 'stench' < PGm. \**hnuki-* < IE \**knugi-*. The variation rather points to a Pre-Greek word; note the prothetic σ-. See Fur.: 183, 381.

κόπης 'prater, liar'. ⇒ κόπτω.

κόππα [n.] 'name of the character *q*, which originally stood between π and ρ in the alphabet' (Parmeno 1); also a sign for '90' (pap.). <LW Sem.>

- DER κοππατίας [m.] 'horse with a κόππα burned into it' (Ar.), with allusion to κόπτω, cf. στιγματίας; also κοππα-φόρος (Luc.).
- ETYM From Phoenician; cf. Hebr. *qōph*.

κόπρος [f.] 'excrement, ordure, dung, filth' (Il.). <IE \**kōk<sup>w</sup>-r* 'dung'>

•COMP κοπρο-λόγος 'dung-gatherer' (Ar.), κοπρο-φορά 'loaf of dung' (Amorgos IV<sup>a</sup>).

•DER A. Substantives: κόπριον = κόπρος (Heraclit., Hp., inscr., pap.) with κοπριώδης 'dung-like, full of dung' (Hp., Thphr., pap.), κοπριακός 'belonging to dung' (pap.); κόπρανα [pl.] 'excrements' (Hp., Aret.); κοπρία 'dung-heap' (Semon., Stratt., Arist.); κοπρών (Ar.), -εών (Tz.), -ιών (Gortyn) 'privy'; κοπροσύνη 'manuring' (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>); Κοπρεύς herald of Eurystheus (O 639); Κοπρεαῖος jocular PN (Ar.); κοπρίαί [pl.] 'buffoons' (D. C.), whence Lat. *copreae*.

B. Adjectives: Κόπρειος 'belonging to the demos Κόπρος' (inscr.), also referring to κόπρος (Ar.), Κόπριος 'id.' (Is.); κόπρινος 'living in κ.' (Hp.); κοπρώδης 'dung-like, dirty' (Hp., Pl., Arist.).

C. Verbs: κοπρέω 'to manure', only fut. ptc. κοπρήσοντες (ρ 299; v.l. κοπρίσοντες); (ἐκ-, ἐπι-)κοπρίζω 'id.' (ρ 299 v.l., Hp., Thphr.), whence κόπρισις, -ισμός 'manuring' (Thphr., pap.); κοπρώω 'to defile with dung' (Arr.) with κόπρωσις 'manuring' (Thphr.), ἐκκοπρώω and -ωσις (Hp.); κοπρεύω = κοπρίζω (Chios V-IV<sup>a</sup>), κοπρεύσαι φυτεύσαι 'to plant, bring forth' (H.).

•ETYM A thematization of an old *r/n*-stem PIE \**kōk<sup>w</sup>-r*, preserved in Skt. *śākṛ-t*, *śakn-āḥ* 'dung'. A primary verb is assumed in Lith. *sikti*, 1sg. *šikù* 'to shit' from a root \**kek<sup>w</sup>-*. See also on ►σκῶρ, which is an old collective \**sk-ōr* with a similar formation.

κόπτω [v.] 'to strike, smite, hew, hammer, disable, tire out' (Il.). <IE? \**kop-* 'strike, smite, hew'>

•VAR Aor. κόψαι (Il.), pass. κοπῆναι (Att.), perf. κέκοφα (Att.), epic ptc. κεκοπώς (N 60 with v.l. -φώς and -πών, which may be Aeolic, Schwyzler: 772, but see Chantraine 1942: 397), med. κέκομαι (A.), fut. κόψω (Alc., Hippon.).

•COMP Very frequent with prefix, in various shades of mg., e.g. ἀπο-, ἐκ-, προ-, περι-, συν-.

•DER 1. κόπος \*'stroke' (thus perhaps E. *Tr.* 794 for mss. κτύπος; cf. also A. *Ch.* 23), 'pain, trouble, labor' (IA); κοπώδης 'tiring' (Hp., Arist., Hell.), κοπηρός 'id.' (Hdn.);

κοπόμαι, -όω 'to get tired, tire' (J., Plu., etc.), κόπωσις (LXX), κοπάζω [v.] 'to get tired, leave off' (Ion. Hell.), whence κόπασμα (Tz.), κοπιάω (ἐγ-, συγ-, προ-) [v.] 'to get tired' (IA), κοπαρός 'tiring' (Arist., Thphr.), κοπιάτης 'excavation worker, digger' (Cod. Theod., Just.), κοπιώδης = κοπώδης (Hp., Arist.), κοπίαί-ήσυχιαί 'quietness' (H.). 2. (ἀπο-, ἐκ-, παρα-, προ-, etc.)κοπή 'hewing, etc.' (IA), κόπαιον (Alciphhr.), κοπάδιον (gloss.) 'piece', κοπάριον 'kind of probe' (medic.), (ἐγ-, ἐκ-)κοπεύς 'oil stamper, chisel' (Hell.). 3. κόμμα (also with διά-, ἀπό-, περί-) 'stamp, coinage; piece' (IA), κομμάτιον 'small part' (Eur.), κομματίας 'who speaks in short sentences' (Philostr.), -ατικός 'consisting of short sentences' (Luc.); 4. κομμός 'beating the breast in lamentation, dirge' (A., Arist.). 5. κόπης, -ιδος [m.] 'prater' (Heraclit. 81 [?], E. *Hec.* 132 [lyr.], Lyc.), cf. ὠτοκοπεῖ κεφαλαλγεί, ἐνοχλεῖ λαλῶν 'suffers from (or causes) a headache, troubles by talking' (H.), and the expression κόπτειν τὴν ἀκρόασιν, δημο-κόπος = δημηγόρος (H.), 'hitting the ears of the public', etc.; hence (or perhaps from κόπος) κοπίζειν· ψεύδεσθαι 'to be deceived' (H.); 6. κοπίς, -ίδος [f.] 'butchering knife, curved sabre' (Att.), also name of the meal on the first day of the Hyacinthia in Sparta (com.), whence κοπίζω 'to celebrate the K.' (Ath.); 7. κοπάς, -άδος [f.] 'pruned, lopped' (Thphr.), 'bush' (Hell. pap.), ἐπι-κοπάς 'land cleared of wood' (pap.). 8. κοπετός = κομμός (Eur., LXX, Act. Ap.). 9. πρό-, ἀπό-, πρόσ-κομης, etc. from προ-κόπτειν, etc. (Sapph., Hp., Arist.). 10. κόπανον 'butchering knife, axe' (A. *Ch.* 890), 'pestle' (Eust.), whence κοπανίζω 'to pound' (LXX, Alex. Trall.), κοπανισμός, κοπανιστήριον (H.); ἐπικόπανον 'chopping block' (Hell.). 11. κοπτός 'pounded' (Cratin., Antiph.); κοπτή (σησαμῖς) 'cake from pounded sesame' (Hell. epic), 'squill, θαλάσσιον πράσον' (Ath.), which Fur.: 318<sup>s</sup> considers to be Pre-Greek, also 'pastille' (Dsc.); 12. ἐπι-κόπτης 'satirist' (Timo), περι- 'stonecutter' (pap.), Προκόπτας = Προκρούστης (B. 18, 28); 13. (ἀπο-, παρα-, προσ-, etc.)κοπτικός (medic.). 14. κόπτρα [pl.] 'wages of a hewer' (pap.); 15. κοπτήριον 'threshing place' (Hell. pap.). 16. Two plant-names: κοπίσκος = λίβανος σμυλιωτός 'a kind of frankincense-tree' (Dsc. 1, 68, 1), κόπηθρον· φυτὸν λαχανώδες ἄγριον 'wild plant of the vegetable kind' (H.). Further verbal nouns like ἀπό-, ἐπί-, παρά-, ὑπέρ-κοπος and compounds like δημο-κόπος (cf. on 5. above).

•ETYM The present κόπτω may correspond to Lith. *kàpti*, 1sg. *kapiù* 'to hew, fell', intr. nasal present *kampù*, pret. *kapaù* 'to be cut down, get tired', and umlauted Alb. *kep* 'hew' < \**kop-eie-*. Lith. and Greek point to an IE *yod*-present. Further, there is a secondary formation in Lith. *kapóti* 'chop, hew', Latv. *kapāt* 'id.', and the Slav. group of Ru. *kopát*, 1sg. *kopájo* 'to hew, dig'. Alternatively, if related to ►σκάπτω, ►σκέπαρνος, etc. the word might be from the Pre-Greek or European substrate, with interchange *a/ o*.

κοράλλιον [n.] 'coral' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*, Dsc.). <PG?(V), LW Sem.??>

•VAR κοράλιον (S. E.), κουράλιον (Thphr.), κωράλ(λ)ιον (Att., acc. to Hdn. Gr. 2, 537).

•DER κοραλλικός 'coral-like' (Ps.-Democr.), -ίζω 'to be like κ.' (Dsc.).

•ETYM Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 628 considered univerbation from κόρη (κούρη) ἄλός 'daughter of the sea', which would be a calque of a similar Indian expression. The varying notations κορ-, κουρ-, κωρ- are ascribed to association with κόρη, etc. Semitic etymology in Lewy 1895: 18f. (Hebr. *gōrāl* 'small stone'); criticized by E.



Masson 1967: 110, although it looks convincing. See L. Robert 1963: 277-283. From Greek, Latin borrowed *corallium*, *cūralium*; cf. WH s.v.

**κόραξ, -ακος** [m.] 'raven' (Thgn., Pi.), also Κόρακος πέτρη 'raven rock' (v 408), often metaph. 'hook (of a door), grappling-iron, etc.' (Hell.); also as a fish name (Diph. Siph.) and the name of a constellation (Eudox.), see Scherer 1953: 191. <IE \*kor- 'raven'>

- COMP κορακο-ειδής 'raven-like' (Arist.), ὄξυ-κόρακος 'with a sharp hook' (Paul. Aeg.).
- DER Some fish and plant names, acc. to Strömberg 1943: 114f., Strömberg 1940: 119 after their color or voice, or after the place where they grow: diminutives κοράκιον 'small hook' (pap.), the plant ἱεράκιον (Arist.), κορακίσκος (gloss.), κορακίνος [m.] 'young raven' (Ar.), but usually a fish name 'Sciaena nigra' (Epich., Ar., Arist.), fem. κορακινίς (Gp.), diminutive -ινίδιον (com., pap.); Lat. LW *coracīnus* > Ital. *coracino*, etc.; κορακίας [m.] 'chough, Pyrrhocorax alpinus' (Arist., H.), Κορακιά [pl.] TN on Delos (inscr. III<sup>a</sup>), with oppositive accent; κορακεύς· εἶδος ἰχθύος 'kind of fish' (H.); κοράκεως [m.] = κορώνεως 'fig-tree with raven-black fruits' (Hermipp. 51), cf. on ἐρινεώς s.v. ἐρινεός; κορακησία plant name (Pythag. *apud* Plin.), Κορακήσιον TN (Pamphylia), -ήσιος, -ησιωτικός (pap. III<sup>a</sup>); on -ήσιος Chantraine 1933: 42, Schwyzler: 466; κορακώδης 'raven-like' (Arist.), κοραξός 'raven-black' (Str.), κόραξος fish name (Xenocr.), with a suffix -σο- (Schwyzler: 516, Chantraine 1933: 434); (κατα-)κορακώω 'to lock (with a door hook)' (*Mon. Ant.*), κοράξαι· ἄγαν προσλιπαρῆσαι. πεποίηται παρὰ τοὺς κόρακας 'to persevere excessively, built on κόραξ' (H.), probably with original mg. 'to hook oneself onto'; back-formation κόρακος [m.] 'plaster' (Paul. Aeg.)? σκορακίζω originally 'to wish to go to the raven (ἐς κόρακας)', 'chase away, revile' (Att., Hell.) with σκορακισμός 'revilement, curse' (LXX, Plu.), cf. Schwyzler 413. Extensively on κόραξ, κορακίας, κορακίνος Thompson 1895 and Thompson 1947 s.vv.

- ETYM Cognate with the different formations in Lat. *corvus* 'raven', Gr. κορώνη, Lat. *cornix* 'crow', Gr. κόραφος bird name (H.). Greek -αξ is a productive suffix, so there is no need to derive it from \*-ḡ-k- and connect it with the nasal in Lat. *cornīx*, Gr. κορώνη. T. Pronk (p.c.) suggests that the same formation is found in Balto-Slavic, e.g., Ru. *soróka* 'magpie', both branches continuing \**korh<sub>2</sub>k-*. The alternation between suffixes (containing) \*-n- (κορώνη, *cornīx*) and \*-u- (*corvus*) is often found in animal names. See ► κορώνη.

**κόρδαξ, -ἄκος** [m.] name of a dance in old comedy (Ar., Thphr.), also in the cult of Apollo (Amorgos) and Artemis (Sipylos, Elis; Paus. 6, 22, 1). <PG>

- DER Κορδάκα [f.] epithet of Artemis in Elis (Paus. l.c.), κορδακικός 'like κ.' (Arist.), κορδακίζω [v.] 'to dance the κ.' (Hyp.), whence -ισμός (D.), -ισμα (H.), -ιστής (Amorgos, pap.).

- ETYM A Doric word (Björck 1950: 61) of uncertain origin. It is reminiscent of ► κραδάω 'to swing' and derivatives. Note that the ending -ᾶξ is typical of Pre-Greek.

**κορδύλη** [f.] 'tumor, swelling' (Semon. 35, EM); name of a hairdo = Att. κρωβύλος (Creon *apud* sch. Ar. Nu. 10, EM); 'club, κορύνη, ρόπαλον' (H.). Frisk notes that the mg. is the same as that of τύλη. <PG(V)>

- VAR Also σκορδύλη (Arist.) and κορδύλις (Numen. *apud* Ath.).

- COMP As a first member (with haplology) in κορδυ-βαλλῶδες (πέδον, Luc. Trag. 222) 'pavimentum'; 'young tunny' (Str.), cf. in Lat. *cordyla* (Plin., Mart.), *cordula* (Apic.), on the mg. see Thompson 1947 s.v.

- DER Denominative ptc. ἐγκεκορδυλημένος 'έντετυλιγμένος, wrapped up' (Ar. Nu. 10).

- ETYM Formation like κανθύλη, σχενδύλη (see Chantraine 1933: 251). The mg. 'younger tunny' may go back to 'club'; see Strömberg 1943: 36. Proposals like those by Güntert 1914: 117f., who assumes a cross of ► κόνδυλος 'swelling' with κόρυς, κορυφή, κόρη, or κορύνη, are mostly incorrect. The prothetic σ-, the suffix -ύλ-, and the anaptyctic υ (Fur.: 384) point to Pre-Greek origin. The form κορδ- might be from \**kard-* with o < \*a before \*u.

**κόρδυλος**· θαλάσσιος ἰχθύς. ἔνιοι κορδύλη 'a sea fish' (H.). <PG>

- ETYM The suffix -ύλ- and the meaning make Pre-Greek origin plausible.

**κορδύλος** [m.] probably 'water-newt, Triton palustris' (Arist.). <PG(V)>

- VAR Also κουρύλος (Numen. *apud* Ath.).

- ETYM Perhaps related to κορδύλη 'swelling', after the crest on the back. Probably Pre-Greek.

**κορδύς** [m.]· πανούργος 'crafty' (H.). <IE? \*kerd- 'cunning'>

- ETYM Fur.: 362 proposed connection with κοκρύδων· ληστῶν, κλεπτῶν 'robbing, stealing', but this should be forgotten since Schmitt *Glotta* 51 (1973): 24f. argues that κορδύς is the Aeolic positive of κέρδιον (which also means 'more cunning'), κορδ-, coming from \**krd-*. This is accepted by Minon *RPh*. 74 (2000): 271. See ► κέρδος.

**κορέννυμι** [v.] 'to satiate, fill, be satiated' (epic Ion.). <IE \*kerh<sub>3</sub>- 'feed, grow'>

- VAR The present (also -μαι) only Them., Orph.; other presents κορέω, κορέσκω (Nic.), κορίσκομαι (Hp.); aor. κορέσ(σ)αι, -ασθαι (Il.), pass. κορεσθῆναι (Od.), perf.ptc.act. (intr.) κεκορηώς (Od.), perf. med. κεκόρημαι (Il.), κεκόρεσμαι (X.), fut. κορέω (Il.), κορέσω (Hdt.).

- COMP Sometimes prefixed with ὑπερ- (Thgn., Poll.), ἀπο- (gloss.). As a second member in ἄ-κορος 'insatiable, untiring' (Pi.), ἀκορία 'unsatiated condition, moderation' (Hp.), 'insatiability' (Aret.). διά-, κατά-, πρόσ-, ὑπέρ-κορος 'satiated, etc.' (IA); also as an s-stem ἄ-, δια-, προσ-κορής, whence the verb προσ-κορίζομαι 'to vex, annoy' (sch.). As a privative also ἀ-κόρητος (Il.), ἀ-κόρε(σ)τος (trag.). Uncertain the appurtenance of Αἰγι-κορεῖς [m.pl.], Αἰγικορεῖς [f.] name of one of the old Ionic phylai (E., inscr.), cf. Hdt. 5, 66.

- DER With lengthened grade: κῶρα· ὕβρις 'excess, insolence' (H.). κόρος [m.] 'satiety, surfeit, insolence' (Il.). On κόρος (epic κοῦρος, Dor., etc. κῶρος) 'youth' see ► κόρη 'young girl'.

- ETYM The starting point of the whole paradigm was the aorist κορέσαι: thence pass. κορεσθῆναι (Chantraine 1942: 406), perf. κεκόρημαι, -εσμαι (Schwyzler: 773), fut. κορέω, -έσω, and finally also the presents κορίσκομαι, κορέω, -έσκω, -έννυμι, which are sparsely attested and late. The formation of κορε- (with o-vocalism) is also found

in στορέσαι, θορεῖν, μολεῖν, πορεῖν, and is mostly explained from root-final \*-h<sub>3</sub>. This gave rise to the aorist \*kero-s-, which apparently underwent a metathesis of some sort to yield κορέ-σ-.

In other branches, we find Lith. *šerti* 'to feed', the acute accent confirming the laryngeal, and Arm. *ser* 'origin, gender, offspring' < \**kér-o-*, *serem* 'to produce'. It is uncertain whether Lat. *creō* 'to procreate, etc.', *crēscō* 'to grow', and *Cerēs* 'goddess of the growth of plants' should be connected (see De Vaan 2008 s.vv., in which *Cerēs* is connected and the two verbs are separated).

**κορέω** [v.] 'to sweep out, purify' (v 149, com.). <PG>

•VAR Also \*κορίζω, in κεκορισμένος 'purified' (BGU 1120, 40 [I<sup>a</sup>]); aor. κορήσαι.

•COMP Mostly with ἐκ-, rarely with ἀνα-, παρα-, ἀπο-. As a second member in σηκο-κόρος 'groom' (p 224, Poll.), νεω-κόρος (Att.), Dor. να(ο)-κόρος 'warden of a temple' (inscr.), whence derivations in -κορέω, -ία, -ίη, -εῖον, -ιον (Att., Hell.).

•DER κόρημα 'dirt, broom' (com.), κόρηθρον 'broom' (Luc.), as a back-formation also κόρος 'broom' (Bion, H.). On ►ζακόρος, see s.v.

•ETYM An iterative deverbative verb, lacking a good etymology.

**κόρη** [f.] 'young girl, daughter' (since *h. Cer.* 439), metaph. 'pupil', in architecture 'female figure', also name of the daughter of Persephone (IA, Arc.). <IE \**kérh<sub>3</sub>-* 'grow'>

•VAR Epic Ion. κούρη (Il.), Dor. κώρα, κόρα, Arc. Cor. κόρφα.

•DIAL Myc. *ko-wo* /korwos/, *ko-wa* /korwā/.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. κορο-πλάθος [m.] 'sculptor of female figures' (Att.).

•DER Several diminutives: κόριον, Dor. (Megar.) κώριον (Ar., Theoc.), κορίδιον (Delphi, Naupaktos); κορίσκη (Pl. Com.), -ίσκιον (Poll.); also Κορίσκος [m.] name of an arbitrary man (Arist.), also as a PN (D. L.); κοράσιον (Hell.), whence -ασίδιον (Arr.), -ασίς (Steph. Med.), -ασιώδης (Com. *Adesp.*, Plu.); κόριλλα, Κόριννα (Boeot.), see Chantraine 1933: 252 and 205; κορύδιον (Naupaktos).

Adjectives: κουρίδιος (Il., Ion. poet.), original mg. 'of a young lady, untouched', thence 'matrimonial, lawful' (ἄλοχος, πόσις, λέχος, etc.; on the mg. see Bechtel 1914 s.v., on the formation Schwyzler: 467, Chantraine 1933: 40; κουρήϊος 'of a young lady' (*h. Cer.* 108); Κόρειος 'of Κόρη', Κόρειον 'temple of Κόρη', -α [pl.] 'festival of K.' (Attica, Plu.); κοραῖος 'of a girl' (Epic. in *Arch. Pap.* 7, 8), κορικός 'id.' (Hell.). \*Κορίτης (-τις) 'servant of Κόρη' in Κορειτῆται [pl.], which may stand for \*Κοριτεῖαι 'service of Κόρη?' (Lycosoura).

Verbs: κορεύομαι [v.] 'to pass one's maidenhood' (E.), 'to lose one's maidenhood' (Pherecyd.), κόρευμα 'maidenhood' (E.), κορεία 'id.' (D. Chr., AP); κορίζομαι 'to caress' (Ar.), originally "treat like a child", ὑπο- 'to call by endearing names, address' (Pi., Att.).

Beside κόρη, or perhaps derived from it (see below): κόρος (trag., Pl. *Lg.*, Plu.; also Dor.), epic κοῦρος, Theoc. κῶρος [m.] 'youth, boy, son' (Il.). Compounds, e.g. ἄ-κουρος 'without son' (η 64), κουρο-τρόφος 'educating youths' (Od.); on ►Διόσκουροι s.v. Derivatives: κούρητες [m.pl.] 'young warriors' (Il.), Κουρήτες, Dor. Κωρ- (Hes., Crete, etc.) 'Kuretes', name of divine beings who dance in armor

around an infant Zeus (Hes. *Fr.* 198, Crete, etc.), whence Κουρητικός, -ῆτις, κουρητεύω, κουρητισμός (Hell.); on the formation of κούρητες see Schwyzler: 499, Chantraine 1933: 267. From κοῦρος also κουρώδης 'boy-like', probably also κούριος 'youthful' (Orph. A., Orac. *apud* Paus. 9, 14, 3), κουροσύνη, Dor. -α 'youth' (Theoc., AP), -συνος 'youthful' (AP). κορίζω 'to be a young man or maiden' (χ 185), 'to educate a youth' (Hes.), κουριζόμενος· ὕμναιούμενος 'singing the wedding-song' (H.).

•ETYM The more limited attestation of msc. κοῦρος, κόρος, compared with general κούρη, κόρη, seems to indicate that the msc. was an innovation from fem. PGr. \**korwā*. However, the Mycenaean evidence shows that the masculine is old as well. In the meaning 'boy', Greek also had παῖς and νεανίας.

It is generally accepted that κόρφα and \*κόρφος derive from the root of κορέννυμι, but the exact semantic development is difficult to reconstruct. Perhaps an abstract formation "growth, flourishing"? The rare meaning 'sprout, branch' is hardly old for κόρος (Lysipp. 9, Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 113), and may have developed from 'son' or the like; alternatively, it may derive from κείρω, for which see ►κοῦρος. Note κόρυξ· νεανίσκος 'boy' (H.) (beside κόριψ 'id.' and Κόρυψ Boeot. PN; see Bechtel 1917a: 29f.), which could continue the *u*-stem from which Myc. *ko-wa*, *ko-wo* were derived. See ►κορέννυμι.

**κορθίλαι** [pl.] in κορθίλας ποιεῖν (*IG* 2<sup>2</sup>, 2493: 16 [IV<sup>a</sup>]), of garden work, but exact mg. unknown. <PG>

•VAR Cf. κορθίλας καὶ κόρθιν· τοὺς σωρούς. καὶ τὴν συστροφὴν 'heaps, mass' and κορθέλαι· συστροφαί, σωροί 'masses, heaps' (H.).

•ETYM Connection with (the root of) ►χόρτος is most certainly wrong. Probably a Pre-Greek formation; cf. ►κόρθυς.

**κορθίλος** [m.]· ὄρνις, ὃν τινας βασιλίσκον 'a bird,' (H.). <PG>

•VAR κόρθ- (cod.).

•ETYM Formation like τροχίλος, σποργίλος, and other bird names (Chantraine 1933: 249). Related to κόρθις, κορθίλαι? Fur.: 195 derives it from κόρυς 'helmet'. The form looks Pre-Greek.

**κόρθις** ⇒ κορθίλαι.

**κόρθυς, -υος** [f.] 'heap (of grain?), sheaf(?)' (Theoc. 10, 46: κόρθυος ἅ τομά); cf. κόρθυας· τὰ κατ' ὀλίγον δράγματα 'handfuls little by little' (H.); 'heap, σωρός' (*EM* 530, 3), of sand, ἄμμου κόρθυς (Anon. *apud* Suid. s.v. κορθύεται). <IE? \**kérd<sup>h</sup>-*, *skerd<sup>h</sup>-* 'herd'>

•DER κορθύομαι (κύμα I 7, ὕδωρ A. R. 2, 322) 'to form a heap or sheaf(?), rise up'; κορθύνω 'to raise high', aor. κορθῦσαι, in: Ζεὺς κόρθυνεν ἔδον μένος (Hes. *Th.* 853); εὐτέ με θυμὸς κορθύσῃ (*Hymn. Is.* 150).

•ETYM Frisk assumes that κόρθυς and ►κορθίλαι are related. Related to Skt. *śárdha*- [m.], *śárdhas*- [n.] 'band, troop, host', and Gm. words like Go. *hairda* 'herd'. Connection of MW *cordd* [f.] 'troop, band, family' is less probable, as this may also derive from PCelt. \**koryo*- 'troop, tribe' (Matasović 2008 s.v.).

**κορίαννον** [n.] 'coriander, *Coriandrum sativum*' (Anacr., com., Thphr.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also κορίανδρον (gloss.), dissimilated κολιανδρον (Gp., sch.); κορίαμβλον (H.); shortened κόριον (Hp., Nic., pap.).

•DIAL Myc. *ko-ri-ja-do-no*, *ko-ri-a<sub>2</sub>-da-na* /kori<sup>h</sup>adnon, -na/.

•ETYM It is doubtful that the forms in -ανδρον and -αμβλον are folk-etymological, as Frisk supposes. Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 674 points to the comparison with Akk. *huri'ānu* 'id.', but this does not explain the Myc. -d-. The cluster -dn- rather points to a Pre-Greek word. It is possible that PG \**koria*"dro- dissimilated to \**koria*"dno-, with subsequent (post-Mycenaean) assimilation -ndn- > -nn- in the classical form.

**κορίαξος** [m.] 'a kind of fish?' (Alex. Trall.); acc. to Strömberg 1943: 115 rather 'spiced meat'. <PG?>

•ETYM If 'spiced meat' is the correct translation, does it belong to κόριον, ►κορίαννον? However, the formation remains unclear in any case. Probably Pre-Greek.

**κόρις, -ιος** [m., f.] 'bug, *Cimex lectularius*' (Ar., Sor., Phryn.); also a fish (Dorio, Boeot. inscr.), see Lacroix 1938: 52; called after its flat shape acc. to Strömberg 1943: 124. As a plant name 'Hypericum empetrifolium' (Dsc., Aët.), after the shape of the leaves acc. to Strömberg 1937: 50. <IE \*(s)ker- 'cut'>

•VAR Gen. also -ιδος, -εως.

•DER Denominative κορίζω [v.] 'to be full of bugs' (gloss.).

•ETYM The *i*-stem also occurs in τρόπις, τρόφις, τρόχις, etc. (Schwyzer: 462). Identical with Ru. *kor* [f.] 'moth', and traditionally analyzed as an old verbal noun from \*(s)ker- 'shave, split, cut' seen in ►κείρω, etc. (s.v). However, an old isogloss is highly improbable for a word of such a specialized meaning. Literature: Jouanna *RPh*. 50 (1976): 32-40; Gil Fernández 1959: 109.

**κορκόρας** [?] · ὄρνις. Περγαῖοι 'bird (Pergaean)' (H.). <LW Anat.?>

•ETYM Neumann 1961: 42 connects it with Hitt. *kallikalli*- 'falcon', with *a* borrowed as *o* and interchange of *l* and *r*.

**κορκορυγή** [f.] 'dumb sound, battle cry' (A., Ar.). <ONOM, PG?>

•DER (δια-)κορκορυγέω [v.] 'to fill with noise, storm, rumble' (τὴν γαστέρα, Ar. *Nu*. 387 with sch.); κορκορυγμός 'rumbling in the belly' (Ps.-Luc. *Philopat.* 3).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic word with reduplication; the ending like in βορβορυγή, -γμός, ὀλολυγή, -γμός (see Chantraine 1933: 401). See Tichy 1983: 275f.

**κορμός** 'piece cut off, clump, trunk'. ⇒ κείρω.

**κόρνοψ, -οπος** [m.] 'locust'. ⇒ πάρνοψ.

**κόρος 1** 'satiety, surfeit, insolence'. ⇒ κορέννυμι.

**κόρος 2** [m.] 'youth, boy, son'. •VAR Ion. κοῦρος. ⇒ κόρη.

**κόρος 3** [m.] name of a measure of capacity for grain, flour, etc.; acc. to J. *AJ* 15, 9, 2 it equals 10 Att. medimnes (LXX, J., *Ev. Luc.*, pap.). <LW Sem.>

•ETYM A loan from Semitic; cf. Hebr. *kōr*, originally a round vessel (Lewy 1895: 116).

**κόρη** [f.] 'temple, hair on the temple', metaph. 'parapets, etc.' (Il.); mainly poetic, except in Att. expressions like πατάσσειν, τύπτειν, ραπίζειν ἐπὶ κόρῃ; prose usually has κρόταφος 'temple'. <IE \*(s)ker- 'cut'>

•VAR Att. κόρη, Aeol. κόρσα, Dor. κόρρα.

•COMP πυρσόκορσος "with red temples (hair)", i.e. 'with red manes' (λέων; A. *Fr.* 110), ψιλο-κόρης [m.] 'bald-headed' (Call., Hdn.); κορσο-ειδής (λίθος) "with the color of the temples", i.e. 'gray' (Plin.); cf. MiGr. κορσίτης, see Redard 1949: 56; Κορρί-μαχος (Thess.), see Kretschmer *Glotta* 2 (1910): 350.

•DER κορσεῖα, κόρσεα [pl.] 'temples' (Nic.); κορσήεις = κορσοειδής (Orph. *L.* 498 [?]).

•ETYM Probably from \**kors-ó*- 'that which is shaven' (H. has κορσός· κορμός 'cut-off piece' and κορσοῦν· κείρειν 'to shave'; cf. the -s- in ἀ-κερσε-κόμη, s.v. ►κουρά). This interpretation goes back to antiquity, e.g. Poll. 2, 32: καὶ κόρσας τινὲς ἐκάλεσαν τὰς τρίχας διὰ τὸ κείρεσθαι 'some called hair κόρσας because it was shaven'. However, 'hair' is not the original meaning; we have to start from 'haircut (at the temples)'. For parallels, see Frisk 1951: 14ff. Cf. Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 191-205.

**κορσός, -όω, κορσωτήρ**, etc. ⇒ κουρά.

**Κορύβαντες** [m.pl.] 'Corybantes', priests of the Phrygian Cybele (E., Ar., Str.), sg. Κορύβας· Πέας ἱερεὺς (H.); also Κύρβαντες, sg. -ας (Pherecyd., S.). <PG(V)>

•DER κορυβάντειος 'Corybantian' (AP), -αντικός 'id.' (Plu.), -αντίς [f.] 'id.' (Nonn.), -αντώδης 'C.-like' (Luc.), -αντεῖον [n.] 'C.-temple' (Str.); κορυβαντιάω [v.] 'to be filled with frenzy like the C.' (Pl., Longin.) with -ιασμός (D. H., Longin.); κορυβαντίζω [v.] 'to consecrate in the C. rites' (Ar. *V.* 119, Iamb.) with -ισμός· κάθαρσις μανίας (H.).

•ETYM Formation like Ἄβαντες, ἀλῖβαντες etc. (Schwyzer: 526, Chantraine 1933: 269). Given their origin, a Phrygian word would be the first guess. However, the variation shows that the word was originally Pre-Greek, so Kretschmer's IE etymology connecting ON *hverba* 'to turn (intr.)' must be abandoned. For Kretschmer, the Phrygians were the only IE people in Anatolia; he liked to find Indo-European Phrygian etymologies, forgetting that the Phrygians borrowed much from earlier peoples in Anatolia.

It is very difficult to establish which of the two forms was original; Kretschmer thought it was Κύρβαντες (whence Κορύβ- would have arisen by adaptation to κόρυς, which seems improbable to me). Fur. 359 holds that a sequence *v* - *v* became *o* - *u* in Pre-Greek. Therefore, he also thinks that Κύρβ- was original (giving \*Κυρυβ- > Κορυβ-). Rejecting the traditional etymology from κοῦρος, he assumes a form Κορυβ- as the stem of κόρυψ· νεανίσκος and thus explains Κορύβαντες. However, in this way he seems to forget that he took Κύρβαντες as the original form.

**κόρυδος** [m., f.] '(crested) lark, *Alauda cristata*' (Ar., Pl., Arist.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Also -δός; enlarged forms with suffixes -v- and -λ(λ)- (see Chantraine 1933: 360f. and 246f.). With different vocalism κάρυδοι· καρύδαλοι (H.). Cf. forms with

-θ- (like in κόρυθ- 'helmet'): κόρυθος· εἷς τις τῶν τροχίλων 'one of the Egyptian plovers' and κορύθων· ἀλεκτρύων 'cock' (H.).

•DER κορυδῶνες [pl.] (Arist. *HA* 609a 7), κορύδαλ(λ)ος (Arist.; v.l. -αλλός), -αλλός (Theoc., Babr.), -αλλά (Epich., inscr. Sicily), -αλλίς (Simon., Theoc.). PN Κόρυδος, -ύδων, -υδαλλός, -υδεύς (see Boßhardt 1942: 132).

•ETYM The connection with κόρυς 'helmet' may be correct, but only as a variant of the same Pre-Greek word. A suffix -δο- did not exist in Greek, and therefore the comparison with the Gm. word for 'deer' (OS *hirot*, OHG *hiruz* < QIE \**kerud-* vel sim.) does not work. On κόρυδος, etc., see Thompson 1895 s.v. κορύδαλος. The form κάρυδος is the older one: PGr. \*a often gives o before a following υ (so there is no need to correct the form; Fur.: 345 had not seen the rule); therefore, derivation from κόρυς is impossible. Note that -αλ(λ)- is the Pre-Greek suffix \*-alʰ-; see Beekes 2008. See ►κόρυς.

**κόρυζα** [f.] 'mucous discharge from the nostrils, rheum' (Hp., Gal., Luc.), metaph. 'stupidity' (Luc., Lib.). <PG?>

•DER κορυζώδης 'with a cold' (Hp.), κορυζᾶς 'id.' (Men. *Fr.* 1003; cf. Körte ad loc.), -ζάω 'to have a chill, be stupid' (Pl., Arist., Plb.), κορυζιᾶ· *pipitat* (gloss.). With intensifying βου-: βου-κόρυζα = ἡ μεγάλη κόρυζα (Men. *Fr.* 1003 from Suid.), βουκόρυζος· ἀναίσθητος, ἀσύνετος 'without sense, witless' (H.). Further κορύναι and κροῦμαι· μύξαι 'mucus' (H.).

•ETYM Ending like in ►κόνυζα, but without certain connection. It has traditionally been compared to a Gm. word for 'mucus', e.g. OE *hrot*, OHG (*h*)*roz* 'mucus', which is a verbal noun of OE *hrutan*, OHG *hrüzzan* 'to grumble, snore' (see Pok. 571, 573). If Pre-Greek, it is from \**karuʷa*.

**κόρυμβος** [m.] 'uppermost point of a ship' (I 241), 'top of a mountain' (Hdt., A.), 'cluster of the ivy fruit' (Mosch., Corn., Plu.), 'hair knot; = κρωβύλος' (Heraclid. Pont.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Plur. -α (next to -οι). Also κόρυμνα· κόσμιος τις γυναικεῖος περιτραχήλιος 'women's ornament worn round the neck' (H.).

•COMP κορυμβο-φόρος 'bearing fruit' (Longos), δι-κόρυμβος 'with two tops' (Hell. poetry).

•DER κορύμβη [f.] 'hair knot' (Asios), 'hairband' (Antim.). κορύμβιον 'grape' (Dsc.); κορυμβίας (Thphr.), κορύμβηλος (Nic.), κορυμβήθρα (Ps.-Dsc.) 'ivy, Hedera helix'; cf. Strömberg 1937: 91, Strömberg 1940: 53; κορυμβίτης (κισσός) 'id.' (medic., Plin., see Redard 1949: 73); κορυμβώδης 'grape-like' (v.l. Dsc. 3, 24); κορυμβόομαι [v.] 'to be tied together in a hair knot' (Nic. Dam.).

•ETYM Related to ►κορυφή, with a by-form of the suffix.

**κορύνη** [f.] 'club, mace, knobby bud or shoot, penis' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR The quantity of the υ varies.

•COMP κορυνη-φόρος 'club-bearer' (Hdt.).

•DER κορυνήτης [m.] 'who uses a club' (Il., Paus.); κορυνώδης 'knobby' (Thphr.), κορυνιόεις 'id.' (v.l. Hes. *Sc.* 289); κορυνάω [v.] 'to put forth knobby buds' with κορύνησις (Thphr.).

•ETYM Perhaps related to ►κόρυς, referring to the thick end of the instrument in question? For the formation, cf. instrument names like τορύνη, βελόνη (Chantraine 1933: 207f.). The frequently suggested connection with κορυφή, κόρυμβος is undoubtedly wrong; the word is probably Pre-Greek.

**κορύπτω** 'butt with the head (the horns)'. = κορυφή.

**κόρυς, -υθος** [f.] 'helmet' (Il.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Acc. -υθα, -υν.

•DIAL Myc. *ko-ru-to* /korutʰos/ [gen.sg.]; *ko-ru-pi* /korutʰpi/ [ins.pl.]. Also Lac. κόρυρ· θριγκός 'topmost stone' (H.).

•COMP κορυθ-αῖξ 'shaking the helmet' (X 132), from ►αῖσσω; -αἰόλος 'id.', mostly of Hector (Il., A. R.); accent after Hdn., Eust., codd. Ven.), κορυθήκη [f.] 'helmet case' (Delos II<sup>a</sup>; haplological for κορυθο-θήκη); τρί-κορυς 'with triple plume' (E. *Ba.* 123 [lyr.]), also τρι-κόρυθος 'id.' (E. *Or.* 1480); χαλκο-, ἵππο-κορυστής 'with bronze/red-haired helmet' (Il.).

•DER 1. Diminutive κορύθιον (gloss.). 2. κορυστής [m.] 'helm-bearer' (Il.). 3. κόρυθος· εἷς τις τῶν τροχίλων, περικεφαλαία 'one of the Egyptian plovers, helmet' (H.); to Κόρυ(ν)θος as an epithet of Apollo see below. 4. κορύθων· ἀλεκτρύων 'cock' (H.). 5. κορυθάλη, -αλῖς = εἰρεσιώνη 'maypole' (EM), Κορυθαλία epithet of Artemis near Sparta (Polem. *Hist.*, H.), also = κορυθάλη (H., gloss.); κορυθαλίστρια· αἱ χορεύουσαι τῇ Κορυθαλίᾳ θεᾷ 'women dancing for the goddess K.' (H.), after the fem. in -(i)στρία, cf. Chantraine 1933: 106. 6. Denominative verb κορύσσω, -ομαι 'to raise high, rise', also in general 'to arm oneself' (Il.), originally 'to take a helmet'; aor. κορύσασθαι (Il.), κορύξασθαι (Ath. 3, 127a; also Hp. *Ep.* 17?), ptc. perf. κεκορυθμένος (Il.), verbal adj. κορυστός 'heaped up', of a full measure (Attica); κορυ<σ>τόν· ἐπιμεστον 'filled up' (H.). Κόρυ(ν)θος epithet of Apollo in Messenia (inscr., Paus. 4, 34, 7), appurtenance uncertain; κορυνθεύς· κόφινος, κάλαθος· ἀλεκτρύων 'basket (narrow at the base), cock' (H.), cf. κορύθων above. On κόρυς and derivatives see Trümper 1950: 40ff., Gray *Class. Quart.* 41 (1947): 114ff.

•ETYM Most often connected with κέρας 'horn', but the differences of meaning and the morphological problems render this improbable. Chantraine 1932: 165ff. therefore considered Mediterranean origin for κόρυς; we now know that this must be correct, since the alternating suffixes in ►κορυφή, ►κόρυμβος, ►κόρυδος, ►κορύνη, κορυδ-ών, -αλ(λ)ος all point to a Pre-Greek word (cf. Fur.: 195).

**κορυφή** [f.] 'top, skull', also metaph. (Il.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Dor. -φά.

•COMP E.g. κορυφᾶ-γενής 'born from the head', properly of Athena, metaph. (Pythag. in Plu. 2, 381f.), δι-κόρυφος 'with two summits' (E., Arist.).

•DER κορυφαῖος [m.] 'the main figure, leader of the chorus' (IA), secondary 'at the head' [adj.] (Plu., Hdn.), κορυφαιότης 'leadership' (Corp. *Herm.*); κορυφαῖον 'the upper part of a hunting-net', -φαία 'head-stall of a bridle' (X., Poll.). κορυφώδης 'with summits' (Hp.). κορυφάς [f.] 'edge of the navel' (Hp. *apud* Gal.); -φίς, -φών = κορυφή (gloss.), κόρυφος [m.] = κορυφή (Epid.), = κόρυμβος γυναικεῖος 'hair knot of a woman' (H.); κορύφαινα [f.] name of a fish, ἵππουρις (Dorio *apud* Ath.); on the

naming motive Strömberg 1943: 59, on the suffix ibd. 137; κορύφια [pl.] kind of mollusks (Xenocr. *apud* Orib.). κορυφιστήρ = κορυφαῖον (Poll.), also 'headband' (sch.), cf. βραχιονιστήρ (Chantraine 1933: 328); -ιστής 'id.' (H.).

Denominative verbs: 1. κορυφόμαι 'to rise up high' (Il.), 'to count together, sum up' (Hell.), -όω 'to bring to the top' (medic.), κορύφωμα 'summit' (Ath. Mech.), -ωσις 'top of a pyramid' (Nicom.). 2. κορύπτω 'to butt with the head' (Theoc.), κορυπτίλος 'butting' (Theoc.), after τροχίλος, σποργίλος (Chantraine 1933: 249), probably hypocoristic; also κορύπτης, -τόλης 'id.' (EM, H.); ἐκορυπτίας, ἐγαυρίας (H.).

•ETYM Long recognized as Pre-Greek, due to the alternation of κορυφ- with prenasalized κορυμβ-. See ►κόρυμβος.

**κόρχορος** [m.] plant name, 'blue pimpernel, ἀναγαλλίς ἢ κυανῇ, Anagallis caerulea'; on the mg. Thiselton-Dyer *Journ. of Phil.* 33 (1914): 201. <PG(V)>

•VAR κόρκορος (Ar. V. 239, Nic. Th. 626). Msc. in Thphr. and Ps.-Dsc.

•ETYM A reduplicated Pre-Greek formation (see Strömberg 1940: 21).

**κορχυρέα** [f.] 'subterranean drain' (IG 9(1), 692: 8 [Corcyra II<sup>a</sup>]: περι ταν κορχυρε[αν]). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Dittenberger ad loc. IG 9(1), 692: 8 refers to ►γοργυρα, γέργυρα, γοργύριον 'id.' (Hdt. 3, 145, H.; cf. s.v.) and κορκόδρυα (κορκορρόα Lobeck): ὑδρόρυα 'drain' (H.); the variation points to a Pre-Greek word.

**κορώνη** [f.] 'crow', also 'shearwater', 'Corvus corone, cornix, frugilegus, Puffinus yelkuan' (Od.). Often metaph. of all kinds of curved or hook-formed objects (cf. below): 'tip of a bow' (Il.), 'grip of a door' (Od., Poll.), 'tip of the plough pole' (A. R.), 'back of a ship' (Arat.), 'pathological tumor of the elbow, etc.' (Hp.), 'kind of crown' (Sophr. 163, H.). <IE \*kor-u/n- 'crow, raven'>

•COMP Rarely in compounds, e.g. κορωνο-βόλος 'shooting crows', τρι-κόρωνος 'have three times the age of a crow' (AP).

•DER κορωνιδεύς [m.] 'young crow' (Cratin. 179); κορώνεως [f.] 'tree with raven-black figs' (Ar. Pax 628), cf. on ἐρινεός s.v. ►ἐρινεός. κορωνίς [f.] 'curved, with tail', of ships (Hom.), of cattle (Theoc.), as a noun 'crown' (Stesich.), 'curved line, ornament' at the end of a book, etc., as an orthographic sign 'end' (Hell.); also κορωνός [m.] 'curved, etc.' (Archil., Hp., EM), also PN Κόρωνος (B 746), κορωνόν [n.] 'knob of bone(s)', τὰ κόρωνα 'elbow' (medic.); κορώνιος: μηνοειδῆ ἔχων κέρατα βοῦς 'bull having crescent-shaped horns' (H.), also a month name (Knossos), κορώνιον [n.] plant name (Ps.-Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 42; κορωνίης [m.] 'who proudly bends the neck' (of ἵππος; Semon.), whence κορωνιάω [v.] 'to bend the neck proudly, be proud' (Hell.), also 'to curve oneself' (κορωνιόωντα πέτηλα Hes. Sc. 289; metrically conditioned). Denominative verb κορωνίζω 'to end, finish' (of κορωνίς; Pontos); also of κορώνη as a basis of κορωνισταί [pl.] 'crow-singer', κορωνίσματα [pl.] 'crow-songs', i.e. 'singing beggar', 'begging songs' (Ath.). On κορώνη see Thompson 1895 s.v.

•ETYM The Italic words for 'crow' (Lat. *cornīx*, U *curnaco* 'cornicem') suggest that κορώνη also continues an old *n*-stem \*kor-ōn, \*kor-n-os. The root is also found in ►κόραξ and ►κόραφος. A *u*-stem alternating with this *n*-stem is seen in Lat. *corvus*

(Mlr. *crú* 'raven' is perhaps a ghost word; see De Vaan 2008). As a name for curved objects, κορώνη, κορωνίς, κορωνός are sometimes separated from κορώνη 'crow' and connected with ►κυρτός 'curved, hunchbacked', but the unique formation of the Greek word speaks against such a separation. Moreover, the metaphorical use of κορώνη 'crow' is nothing remarkable given the use of its cognates (κόραξ, Lat. *cornīx*, MoFr. *corbeau*, MoE *crow*, etc.): the metaphors may have originated from the shape of the beak or the claws of the bird. From Greek comes Lat. *corōna*, *corōnis*, whence Western European loans like MoE *crown*.

**κόσκινον** [n.] 'sieve' (Semon., Democr., Att.). <PG?>

•COMP A few compounds, e.g. κοσκίνο-ποιός 'sieve-maker' (com.), τυρο-κόσκινον kind of cheesecake (Chrysipp. Tyan. *apud* Ath. 14, 647f).

•DER Diminutive κοσκίνιον (Chrysipp. Tyan.); κοσκίνωμα 'fencing' (Sm., Thd.); κοσκινηδόν [adv.] 'like a sieve' (Luc.). Denominative verbs: 1. κοσκινεύω 'to sieve' (Democr., pap.), whence κοσκινευ-τής 'siever', -τικόν 'fee for sifting', -τήριον 'place for sifting' (pap.); 2. κοσκινίζω 'id.' (medic., Aq., Sm.), whence -ίνεσις 'sieving' (pap.).

•ETYM No etymology; perhaps Pre-Greek (Chantraine 1933: 203).

**κοσκυλάτια** [n.pl.] 'cuttings of leather', metaph. of the flattering words of the tanner Cleon to Demos (Ar. Eq. 49). <GR?>

•ETYM Uncertain. A reduplicated formation \*(σ)κο-σκυλ-μάτ-ια (Schwyzer: 423) has been assumed, related to ►σκύλλω 'to dishevel, maltreat'. The similarity with Lat. *quisquiliae* [pl.] 'waste, dirt' may be accidental (Walde assumed a loan from Greek).

**κόσμος** [m.] 'order, propriety, good behavior; ornament' (Il.), 'world-order, world' (Pythag. or Parm.; Kranz *Phil.* 93 (1938): 430ff.), 'government' (IA); name of the highest officials in Crete (back-formation from κοσμέω acc. to Leumann 1950: 285f.; against this Ruijgh 1957: 109). <IE \*keNs- 'order'>

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. κοσμο-ποιία 'creation of the world' (Arist.), κοσμό-πολις [m.] name of an official of the town (Hell.), properly a governing compound = ὁ κοσμών πόλιν; independent is κοσμο-πολίτης 'citizen of the world' (Hell.); εὖ-κόσμος 'in good order' (Sol.).

•DER 1. Diminutives κοσμ-άριον, -ίδιον, -αρίδιον 'small ornament' (late); 2. κόσμος 'well-ordered, decent, quiet' (IA), 'regarding the world' (Plu., Arr.), whence κοσμιότης 'culture, civilization' (Att.); 3. κοσμικός 'worldly, earthly, of the world' (Hell.); 4. κοσμητός 'changed in a world' (Hell.); 5. Κοσμά [f.] name of a priestess (Lycurg.); PNs Κοσμίας, Κοσμάς, etc. 6. Denominative verb κοσμέω 'to order, govern, adorn' (Il.), with several derivatives: κοσμητός 'well-ordered' (η 127); κόσμησις 'order, ornamentation' and κόσμημα 'id.' (Att.); κοσμήτωρ 'who orders, commander' (Il.) and κοσμητήρ 'id.' Epigr. *apud* Aeschin. 3, 185), fem. κοσμήτειρα (Ephesus, Orph.; -ήτρια H.); κοσμητής 'orderer, commander, who orders, adorns', also name of an official (Att.), whence κοσμητεύω (-τέω) 'to be κοσμητής' (inscr., pap.), -τεία (pap.); κοσμητήριον 'place with toilets' (Paus.), κόσμητρον 'broom' (sch.); κοσμητικός 'belonging to adorning' (Pl., Arist.).

•ETYM The most probable reconstruction is *\*koNs-mo-*. This implies that the word is related to Lat. *cēnsēō* 'to estimate', *cēnsiō* 'assessment, rating', etc., OCS *setō* 'said he', and the Indo-Iranian group of Skt. *śams-* 'to praise', OP *θah-* 'to declare, announce'. Acc. to Schumacher *apud* LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*keNs-*, MW *dan-gos-* 'to show, point out' is related as well. It is probable that the element *-κάς* in ► *ἐκάς*, *ἀνδρακάς*, Skt. *sahasra-śás* [adv.] 'a thousand times' (RV+) is also related. The original meaning was probably 'to put in order (by speaking)'. The meaning 'to adorn' is probably secondary within Greek. On the semantics of this root, see García Ramón 1993a: 109-15; he also connects (ibid.: 120) Myc. PNs like *ka-e-sa-me-no* /ka<sup>h</sup>esamenos/.

**κόσσυφος** [m.] 'blackbird, *Turdus merula*' (Arist., Matro, AP), metaph. as a name of the cock (Paus. 9, 22, 4; Tanagra); also a wrasse (Numen. *apud* Ath. 7, 305c, medic., Ael.), because it changes colors with the seasons, like the blackbird; or perhaps named after their sounds (Strömberg 1943: 116).

•VAR Att. -ττ-, gloss. -υκος. Also *κόπυλος* (-ικος, -υκος) [m.] (com. since Ar., Suid., Moer.).

•DER κοσσυφίζω 'to sing like a κ.' (Hero). Fem. Κοσσύφα, Doric name of a hetaira (Schulze 1933a: 707<sup>9</sup>).

•ETYM Previous scholars connected ► *κόπυλος* with the Slav. name of the blackbird, CS *kosъ*, etc., from *\*kopso-*. Meillet MSL 18 (1914): 171ff. explained κόσσυφος by assuming a dissimilation from *\*κοψυφος*. However, this does not explain the phoneme expressed by σσ/ττ, so the explanation must be given up. Knobloch Glotta 55 (1979): 76f. connects the verb κόπτω, which beside 'to blow, strike' also means 'to dig', like in OCS *kopati*, which would fit the bird. However, there is no element *\*-so-* that would create agent nouns, as he states, so the formation remains obscure. Given the variants, the word is clearly Pre-Greek. Not in Fur.

**κόσται** [f.] 'a fish' (Diphn. Siphn. *apud* Ath. 357a), occurring in a list of fish. <?>

•VAR κοστίας κοιτίας κόμορος (= κάμπαρος?) (H.).

•ETYM No etymology.

**κόστος** [m.] name of a plant and of its root, which was used as a spice, 'Saussurea lappa' (Thphr., D. S.). <LW Skt.>

•VAR Also -ov [n.].

•DER κοστόινος 'made of κ.' (pap.), cf. Kalbfleisch RhM 94 (1951): 345.

•ETYM From Skt. *kúṣṭha-* [m.] 'id.'. Lat. *costum*, -us was borrowed from κόστος (-ov). See Mayrhofer EWAia s.v.

**κοσυβ[άτ]ας** [m.] 'sacrificer' (Gortyn V-IV<sup>a</sup>, SEG 1, 414, 10).

•VAR κοσ<υ>βατοι (-βάται?). οἱ ἐπὶ θυσιῶν τεταγμένοι 'appointed for sacrifices' (H.) (υ added, because it stands after κοστίας). ⇒ κοσύμβη.

**κοσύμβη** [f.] name of a cloak which acc. to D. Chr. 72, 1 was used by herders and countrymen; by EM 311, 5, H. and others it was explained with ἐγκόμβωμα 'kind of apron' (see κόμβος), by EM 349, 15 called an ἀναβολή 'mantle'; the mg. 'κρωβύλος' in Poll. 2, 30 (different readings) must be a hybrid with ► κόρυμβος. <PG(V)>

•VAR Also κότθυβος, a piece of military equipment, perhaps περίζωμα? (Rev. Arch. 1935 : 2, 31); cf. also κοσυβάτας, which confirms the form without nasal (Fur. 283). Further Lat. *gossypion*, (Plin. N.H. 19, 14), -inum (ibid. 1, 12, 21, etc.), which point to \*γοσσυπιον. Also κόσυμβος [m.], which acc. to H. (with -σσ-) = κοσ(σ)ύμβη; also 'hair-net' (LXX Is. 3, 18); thence κοσυμβωτός (Ex. 28, 35, χιτών; v.l. κόσυμβος), acc. to H. = κροσσωτός, i.e. 'with fringes'.

•ETYM Lewy KZ 58 (1931): 26ff compares Assyr. *guzippu*, *kuzippu* 'a cloak', Arab. *korsuf* 'cotton'. Pre-Greek origin is likely, given the prenasalization and the variants with -σ-, -σσ/ττ-, etc. This does not exclude that the word is found in Semitic too, since it may be an old culture word (Fur.: 283).

**κότθυβος** ⇒ κοσύμβη.

**κοτίλιον** [n.] mg. not certain, probably name of a vessel to preserve things (inscr. Delos 1429 B II 25 [II<sup>a</sup>]). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Unexplained. The formal similarity with vulgar κότιλον, κοτίλλιν (Latte gives κοτίλλιον): ἀνδρὸς αἰδοῖον 'male private parts' (and κόθημα: ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰδοίου, also κότιλον H.) cannot be denied. The variation in κοτιλ(λ)- points to a Pre-Greek word.

**κότινος** [m., f.] 'wild olive, ἀγριελαία' (Ar., Thphr.), on the name Strömberg 1937: 166'. <PG?>

•COMP As a first member in κοτινη-φόρος 'carrying wild olives' (Mosch.), etc.

•DER κοτινάς [f.] 'the fruit of the wild olive' (Hp.), '(olive) grafted upon a wild olive' (Poll.); on the formation see Chantraine 1933: 353.

•ETYM Probably a loan, perhaps from Pre-Greek. Cf. Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 131. From Greek was borrowed Lat. *cotinus* 'Rhus cotinus' (Plin.).

**κότος** [m.] 'grudge, hatred' (Il.). <?>

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. bahuvrīhi ἔγ-κοτος 'grudging' (A.), whence denominative ἐγκοτέω [v.] 'to be full of grudge' (A.); thence ἐγκόστημα, -ησις (LXX) and, as a back-formation, ἔγκοτος (Hdt.) 'grudge'; also ἐγκότιος [adj.] (Salamis on Cyprus).

•DER κοτήεις 'grudging' (E 191); -ήεις analogical for κοτόεις (A. D., EM); further (probably a denominative, see below) κοτέω, -έομαι 'to grudge' (Il.), aor. κοτέσασθαι, -έσαι, fut. κοτέσσομαι, perf.ptc.dat. κεκοτηότι; also κοταίνω 'id.' (A. Th. 485), after θυμαίνω, etc., see Fraenkel 1906: 18 and on ► θυμός.

•ETYM It has been compared with a Celto-Germanic word for 'struggle, fight', e.g. W *catu-* in *Catu-rīges*, OHG *hadu-* in *Hadu-brand*, ON *hōd* [f.] 'battle, contest' and, with a different suffix, MHG *hader* 'quarrel, fight', as well as perhaps Slav., e.g. CS *kotora* 'fight'. Further, perhaps, with palatal anlaut, Skt. *śātru-* 'enemy'. Machek 1958: 49f. additionally compares Cz. *katiti se* 'to be annoyed'. If κότος were an old *s*-stem (Fraenkel KZ 43 (1910): 193ff.), it would fit the *u*- and *r*-stems in *catu-*, *hader* better. All in all, not very clear.

**κότταβος** [m.] name of a game (Anacr., Pi., trag., com., Hell.) from Sicily, in which the player throws the rest of the wine from a cup against a target, either against a slice

that is in balance on top of a stick, which falls (soc. κότταβος κατακτός), or against an empty saucer, which floats in a basin with water, and sinks when hit (κ. ἐν λεκάνῃ or δι' ὀξυβάφων). However, κότταβος indicated not only the game itself, but also several objects and movements used in it. <PG(V)>

•VAR Ion. -σσ-.

•COMP As a second member in μεθυσσο-κότταβος [adj.] 'drunken while playing κ.' (Ar. *Ach.* 525).

•DER κοτταβίς [f.] 'cup with two handles for throwing' (Hell.); κοτταβεῖον (-βιον) 'kottabos-basin, -stander' (Dikaiarch., Hell.), also 'winner's prize at κ.' (com.); κοτταβική ράβδος 'κ.-bar' (Hell.). Denominative verb κοτταβίζω 'to play κ.' (Ar., Antiph.), euphemistic for 'vomit' (Poll., *EM*), also with ἀπο-, κατα-, συν- (X., com.); thence κοττάβις, (ἀπο-)κοτταβισμός (late).

•ETYM As the original meaning of κότταβος is unknown, all etymologies are necessarily uncertain. Formally, it has been compared with ►κοττίς 'head, back of the head', κόττειν-τύπτειν 'to hit, stamp' (H.), κόττος 'κύβος, etc.'. For various hypotheses, see Frisk. Lat. *cottabus* 'slapping blow' (Plaut.) was borrowed from Greek; cf. Friedmann 1937: 46ff. The variation ττ/σσ points to a Pre-Greek word. See ►κοτύλη.

**κόττανα** [n.pl.] kind of small figs (Ath., H.). <LW Sem.>

•ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *qāṭān*, *qēṭannīm* 'small' (Lewy 1895: 22). Also to be connected is κοτάννα [f.], acc. to H. = παρθένος παρὰ Κρησί 'maiden (Cret.)'; cf. Hebr. *qāṭōn*, fem. *qēṭannā* 'small, young', also 'immature boy, girl' (Lewy 1895: 65). Lat. LW *cottana* [pl.] 'kind of small Syrian figs' (Plin.).

**κοττάνη** [f.] 'name of a fishing device (Ael. *NA* 12, 43). <GR>

•ETYM From κόττος, name of a river fish; see on ►κοττίς.

**κοττίς, -ίδος** [f.] 'hairdress with long hair on the forehead', Doric for κεφαλή (Poll., H., Phot.). <PG?>

•VAR Also κοτίς (Hp.), = ἰνίον, παρεγκεφαλίς 'occipital bone, cerebellum' (Gal.), τῆς κεφαλῆς ἢ κορυφῆς 'top of the head' (Erot.).

•COMP As a second member in προκοττίς· ἢ χαίτη 'loose, flowing hair' (H.) and προκόττα [f.] (Dor.).

•DER κόττικοι· αἱ περικεφαλαῖαι 'head coverings'; κοττάρια· τὰ ἄκρα τῆς κέγχρου 'ears of millet' (H.). Further κόττος = κύβος (*Cod. Just.*), κοττός (κόττος)· ὄρνις. καὶ οἱ ἀλεκτρυόνες κοττοὶ διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ λόφον 'bird; cocks, because of the crests or tufts on their heads' (cf. MoGr. κόττα 'chicken'); κοττοβολεῖν· τὸ παρατηρεῖν τινα ὄρνιν 'observing a certain bird' (H.). On κόττος as a name of a river fish (Arist. *HA* 534a 1) see Strömberg 1943: 119 (named after the cock). PN Κοττίς, Κότταλος, -άλη (Herod.).

•ETYM Connection with κοτύλη 'bowl, dish' is a mere guess. Fur.: 362 connects κοτ(τ)ίς, (προ)κόττα with σκύτη· κεφαλή 'head' (H.); the geminate is not expressive, but rather points to Pre-Greek origin.

**κοτύλη** [f.] 'bowl, dish, small cup' (Il.), on the mg. Brommer *Herm.* 77 (1942): 358 and 366, also as a measure for liquids and dry materials, = 6 κύαθοι or = 0,5 ξέστης (IA), metaph. 'socket, especially of the hip-joint' (Il., Hp.), 'cymbals' [pl.] (A.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Also κότυλος [m.] 'id.' (Hom. *Epigr.*, com.).

•COMP κοτυλ-ήρυτος 'to be scooped with cups' (Ψ 34), ἡμι-κοτύλη 'half a κ.' (pap.), δι-κότυλος 'measuring two κ.' (Hp., pap.).

•DER Diminutives κοτυλίσ 'socket' (Hp.), κοτυλίσκος, -ίσκη, -ίσκιον 'small cup' (com.), κοτυλίδιον (Eust.). κοτυληδών, -όνος [f.] name of different cup-like holes (on the formation Chantraine 1933: 361), e.g. 'sucker, suction cup' (ε 433, etc.), also as a plant name, probably 'Cotyledon umbilicus' (Hp., Nic., Dsc.), after its leaves like suckers, Strömberg 1940: 44f., whence κοτυληδονώδης 'nipple-like' (Gal.). κοτυλαῖος, -ιεῖος 'measuring a κ.' (Hell.), Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 95; κοτυλῶδης 'cup-like' (Ath.); κοτύλων, -ωνος [m.] 'drunkard' (Plu.). Denominative verb κοτυλίζω 'to sell per κ., i.e. in small quantities' (IA), whence κοτυλισμός, -ιστής, -ιστί (Hell.).

•ETYM A close relation is Lat. *catinus* 'flat dish'; the deviation in vowel and formation suggests that they are independent loans from a third party. A loan is probable in the case of a vessel. Fur.: 101, 181 adduces κόνδυ 'a cup', as well as κονδύλιον; he notes (op. cit. 205<sup>14</sup>) that -υλη is a well-known suffix in Pre-Greek.

**κουβαρίς, -ίδος** [f.] 'wood-louse' (Dsc. 2, 35 tit.). <?>

•DER Diminutive of κόβαρος· ὄνος 'id.' (cod. ἄνθρωπος, i.e. ἄνδρς) (H.). Another diminutive formation is MoGr. κουβάρι 'clew' (Kukules Λεξ. Ἀρχ. 5: 34), with the denominative κουβαρίζω (v.l. -ιάζω) = μηρύομαι 'to wind (together)' (sch. Theoc. 1, 29, also MoGr.).

•ETYM Acc. to Kukules (see also Strömberg 1944: 12), the animal was called this way because it can roll itself together. The group itself remains unexplained.

**κοῦκι** [n.] name of a palm-like tree, 'Hyphaena thebaica', also used for its fiber (*PBaden* 35, 23 [I<sup>p</sup>], Plin.). <LW Eg.>

•COMP κουκιοφόρον δένδρον (Thphr.).

•DER κούκεον 'fruit of the kouki-tree' (Ostr.); κούκινος 'of the kouki-tree; made from its fiber' (pap.).

•ETYM Foreign word, perhaps of Egyptian origin (but see on ►κόϊξ). Cf. Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 244.

**κουκούφας, -ατος** [m.] Egyptian name of the ἔποψ (Horap. 1. 55, *PMag. Berol.* 2, 18). <LW Eg.>

•VAR Also κοκκ-.

•DER Diminutive κοκκοφάδιον (*PMag. Lond.* 121, 411), cf. Dölger *ByzZ* 38 (1938): 213.

•ETYM Onomatopoeic word. Comparable with Skt. *kukkubha*- 'Phasianus gallus', Lat. *cucubid*, -ire from the cry of the screech-owl. Cf. on ►κικκαβαῖ.

**κουρά** [f.] action noun 'cropping', of hair, beard or wool; 'lopping, cutting' of trees and grass; also 'lock of hair, virgin wool, fur' (IA); 'cut-off end, slips of wood' (Ph.). <IE \*kers- 'shave'>



•VAR Ion. -ρή.

•DER Nouns: 1. κουρεύς [m.] 'shaver, barber' (Att.); also name of a bird (H.), after its sound; thence κουρείον 'barber-shop' (Att.), κουρεακός 'talkative' (Plb.), on the formation Schwyzer: 497; also κουρευτής 'id.' (gloss.), fem. κουρεύτρια (Plu.), κουρευτικός 'used for shaving' (sch., Olymp.). 2. κούρειον (-εον) [n.] 'sacrifice of hair, etc. on the Apaturia (S., Is., inscr.), Κούρειος epithet of Apollo (Teos), κουρεῶτις, -ιδος (ἡμέρα, ἑορτή) [f.] 'the third day of the Apaturia, on which the hair of the young boys and girls was sacrificed' (Pl., inscr.); Κουρεῶν (-ῆών), -ῶνος [m.] month name in Magnesia on the Maeander (inscr.). Perhaps also in αἶμα-κουρία [pl.] 'sacrifice of blood to the dead' (Pi.), with faded second member. 3. κούριμος 'belonging to cropping; shaved' (trag., Plu.), also κουρεύσιμος (sch.) as if from \*κούρευσις (κουρεύομαι); see Arbenz 1933: 79f. 4. κουρικός 'used for cropping' (pap.). 5. κουρίς, -ιδος [f.] 'id.', of μάχαιρα (Cratin.), also 'cleaning girl' (com., Plb.). 6. κουρίας [m.] 'who has his hair shaved' (Luc., D. L.). 7. κουράς· ἡ ἐν τοῖς ὀροφώμασι γραφή, ὀροφικός πίναξ 'writing on the roofs, plank for a roof' (H.); also ἐγκουράς (A. Fr. 142, H.). 8. κουρίτις [f.] plant name, 'περιστερεῶν ὕπτιος, Verbena officinalis' (Ps.-Dsc., Ps.-Apul.); naming motive unknown.

Denominative verbs: 1. κουριάω 'to need cropping, to have long hair' (Pherecr., Plu., Luc.), after the verbs of disease in -ιάω, see Schwyzer: 732; 2. κουρίζω 'to shave, cut' (Thphr., H.), aor. -ίζαι; 3. κουρεύομαι 'to take the tonsure, have the hair cut' (Just., sch.). On ►κούρος and ►κουρίζ, see s.vv.

•ETYM As a primary verbal noun, κουρά continues \*korsā; the verb is seen in Hitt. *karš-zi* 'to cut off', Lyd. *fa-karsed* 'cuts off', and in ToAB *kārsā*- 'to know, understand', as well as ToA *kārštā*-, ToB *kārštā*- 'to cut off, destroy'. Traces of the same verb (but with a different development of -rs-, ultimately depending on the accent) are found in Gr. ἄ-κερσε-κόμης 'with uncut hair' (Y 39), Κόρσις nickname of a smooth-shaved man (Chrysipp.), κορσός· κορμός 'cut-off piece' (H.), κορσοῦν· κείρειν 'to shave' (H.), with κορσᾶς [m.] (pap.), κορσω-τήρ (Call., Poll.) 'barber', -τεύς 'id.' (Ath. 12, 520e), -τήριον 'barber-shop' (ibd.). Further details under ►κόρση and ►κείρω.

κούρητες •VAR κουρίδιος. ⇒ κόρη.

κουρίζ [adv.] in ἔρυσάν τέ μιν εἶσω κ. 'draw him inside κ.' (χ 188), κ. ἐλκομένη 'being drawn κ.' (A. R. 4, 18), κ. αἰνυμένους 'taking κ.' (H.); meaning uncertain. <GR>

•ETYM From κουρά, after the adverbs in -(i)ξ (Schwyzer: 620, Chantraine 1942: 250). Acc. to Aristarchus, it means τῆς κόμης ἐπιλαβόμενοι, 'taking by the head of hair', which would make perfect sense, though κουρά in the sense of 'head of hair' raises some doubts. Others have assumed an original mg. 'holding the hair like when shaving', which fits the usual meaning of κουρά better.

κούρος [m.] probably collective 'loppings, twigs lopped from a tree' (IG 2<sup>2</sup>, 1362: 6 [end IV<sup>a</sup>]): ξύλα ... κούρον ... φρύγανα ... φυλλόβολα. <GR>

•ETYM Verbal abstract from \*korsó-, like ►κουρά from \*κορσά; cf. Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 238. The form κόρος 'twig, sprout' does not show a trace of \*-s- and therefore rather belongs to ►κόρη, etc.

κούφος [adj.] 'light, easily movable, nimble, vain, empty' (N 158 and θ 201: κούφα and κουφότερον as adverbs); on the mg. Treu 1955: 76, etc. <?>

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. κουφό-νοος 'with a nimble mind' (trag.), ὑπό-κούφος 'rather light' (Dsc., Plu.).

•DER κουφοτής [f.] 'lightness' (Hp., Pl.), accent after βαρυτής, Wackernagel *Gött. Nachr.* 1909: 59, Schwyzer: 382; κουφεῖαι [pl.] probably 'vase shards, debris'? (PTeb. 5, 199 [II<sup>a</sup>]), κούφον κεράμιον also 'empty vessel'; MoGr. (ἀγριο-)κουφίτης [m.] plant name 'Fumaria' (Redard 1949: 68 and 73). Denominative κουφίζω [v.] 'to lighten, mitigate, cancel, nullify' (Hp., Att.), rarely intr. 'to be light' (Hes. Op. 463, Hp., trag.), whence κούφισις (Th.), -ισμα (E.), -ισμός (Hell.) 'mitigation'; κουφιστήρ 'ring-pad' (to lighten the pressure; medic.); κουφιστικός 'mitigating' (Arist.).

•ETYM Unknown. The full grade of the stem and the barytonesis are remarkable in the case of an adjective (Schwyzer: 459), which suggests that it could originally have been a noun. The form κούφος replaced or pushed back the old forms ἐλαχύς, ἐλαφρός, which in the process assumed a different meaning.

κόφινος [m.] 'big basket' (Att., Hell.), on the mg. Schulze *Berl.Ak.Sb.* 1905: 727f., also as a measure of capacity = 9 Att. χοίνικες (Boeot. inscr.). <PG(S,V)>

•DER Diminutive κοφίνιον (pap.); κοφινώδης 'basket-like' (sch.), -ηδόν 'per basket' (EM); κοφινόμαι [v.] 'to have a basket put over one's head' (Nic. Dam.).

•ETYM Borrowed as Lat. *cophinus*, whence MoE *coffin*, MHG *koffer*, etc. Fur. compares κόφος, probably 'basket-load', as well as κοψία· χύτρα 'earthen pot' and κόψα· ὕδρια 'water bucket, urn'; on the suffix, see Fur.: 129<sup>54</sup>.

κόχλος [m., f.] shell-fish with a spiral-shaped shell, 'sea-snail, land-snail', also 'purple-snail, kohl' (E., Arist., Theoc.). <PG(V)>

•DER Several diminutive formations: κοχλῖς [f.] (Luc., Man.); also name of an Arabic stone (Plin.); κοχλία = ξιφύδρια 'shell' (H.); κοχλίδιον (pap., Epict.), -άδιον (sch.). Further κοχλίας [m.] 'snail with spiral shell', often metaph. 'waterscrew, spiral stair, etc.' (com., Arist., Hell.); borrowed as Lat. *coc(h)lea*, cf. Ernout 1954: 54f.; κοχλιός 'id.' (Paul. Aeg., Aët., gloss.); κόχλαξ [m.] = κάχληξ (LXX, Dsc.); Lat. LW *coclāca* (Orib. lat.), cf. Ernout l.c. Unclear κοχλιάξων (-άζων), -οντος [m.] kind of machine-screw (Orib.), perhaps after ἄξων? From Lat. *coc(h)lear*, -āris [n.] (derived from *coc(h)lea*), Greek borrowed κοχλιάριον 'spoon', also as a measure (Dsc., medic.); originally name of a spoon, of which the sharp end was used to draw the snail from its shell; cf. WH s.v. *coc(h)lear*.

•ETYM Connection with ►κόγχος, ►κόγχη is evident; it has (Pre-Greek) prenasalization. Note also the vocalic variation in κόχλαξ/κά-.

κοχυδέω [v.] 'to stream forth copiously' (Pherecr. 130, 4). <GR?>

•VAR Ip. κοχύδεσκεν (Theoc. 2, 107; v.l. κοχύεσκεν), pres. also κοχύζει (Stratt. 61; cod. κοκκύζει).

•ETYM Explained by Frisk as an intensive reduplicated formation from χύδην (on the dissimilated vowel, see Schwyzer: 647), with back-formations κοχύ· πολύ, πλήρες 'much, full' (H.), κόχος 'mighty stream' (sch. Theoc. ad loc.). Are the latter words

learned contractions to explain the unclear forms? Reduplication from an adverb seems very strange in Greek.

**κοχώνη** [f.] 'buttocks' (Hp., com., Herod.). <IE? \**ǵʰengʰ-* 'step'>

•ETYM The almost complete identity with Skt. *jaghāna-* [m., n.] 'buttocks' can hardly be a coincidence, but the further analysis remains hypothetical. Since Schmidt KZ 25 (1881): 112 and 116, as well as Schmidt KZ 32 (1893): 373f., κοχώνη has been explained as assimilated from \*καχώνα, with \*καχ- equivalent to Skt. *jagh-* as the zero grade of *jānighā* [f.] 'lower thigh-bone' (to Go. *gaggan* 'to go', IE \**ǵʰengʰ-*). Objections by Specht KZ 66 (1939): 197ff., who separates κοχώνη from *jaghāna-*, etc. because of προχώναι 'buttocks' (Archipp. 41), and compares χάσκω and cognates. However, προχώναι could be a comic distortion of κοχώνη after πρωκτός (acc. to Güntert 1914: 122). Notice, too, that the Skt. word shows no trace of Brugmann's Law. Mayrhofer EWAia 1: 563 finds no solution either.

**κόψιχος** [m.] 'blackbird'. ⇒ κόσσυφος.

**κρααίνω** = κραιαίνω.

**κράββατος** [m.] 'couch, mattress' (Rhinh., Criton Com., Arr.). <LW Macedonian?>

•VAR κράβατος, κράβατος, also -ακτος, -ον (so-called 'reverse writing'? See Schwyzler 317').

•COMP κραβατο-πόδιον = έρμής 'leg of a bed' (sch.).

•DER Diminutives: κραβάτιον (Arr.), -άκτιον (pap. V-VI<sup>p</sup>), κρεβαττάριον (Ed. Diocl.), MoGr. κρεββάτι. κραβακτήριος [adj.] (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>). Unclear κραβάτριος, perhaps 'chamberlain' (IPE 2, 297).

•ETYM Cf. Lat. *grabātus* (-attus). Acc. to Kretschmer 1921: 91ff., it is a loan from a Macedonia-Illyrian word for 'oak', \*γράβος, which is seen in ►γράβιον. Fur.: 126<sup>41</sup> calls this semantically arbitrary. On anlauting κ- for γ-, see Schwyzler ZII 6 (1926): 242. See further Kramer AfP 45 (1999): 205-216; the word would have been adopted independently by Greeks and Romans (likewise Fur.: ibid.). Hardly related to ►γάβαθον.

**κράβυζος** [m.] name of a shell-fish (Epich. 42). <PG?>

•ETYM Probably a substrate word; for -υζος, see Schwyzler 472<sup>3</sup> and s.v. ►κόνυζα. Acc. to Strömberg 1943: 121, it stands for \*κραβό-βυζος, from κράβος: ό λάρος 'mew' (H.) and βύζα 'eagle-owl' (Nic.); highly unlikely. Fur.: 238, 283 connects it with κράμβος 'dry', for which there seems no reason.

**κραγγών, -όνος** [f.] name of a small crustacean, probably 'Squilla mantis' (Arist. HA). <PG?>

•VAR κραγών, κράγγη (v.ll.).

•ETYM On the formation in -ών, see Chantraine 1933: 159. The meaning suggests a loan. The connection with Skt. *śṛṅga-* 'horn' (which belongs to ►κέρας, etc.) is rightly rejected by Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 508. Instead of κραγγών- κίσσα 'jay', von Blumenthal 1930: 41f. proposes to read κραγών, i.e. "crying bird" (to

►κράζω), and to change κραγών- ένυδρον ζών 'water animal' to κραγγών, which would fit the alphabetical order.

**κραδάω** [v.] 'to swing, brandish', med. 'to tremble, be agitated' (post-Hom.). <?>

•VAR In Hom. only ptc. κραδάων and κραδαίνω (Il.). Also κραδεύειν (H.) as an explanation of κραδαίνειν.

•COMP Rarely with prefix: έπι-κραδάω (A. R., Opp.); έπι-, δια-, συγ-κραδαίνω (Tim. Pers., Arist.); άνακραδεύει- σείει, σαλεύει 'shakes, causes to rock' (H.).

•DER κράδη [f.] 'spray at the end of branches, twig, especially of figs' (IA, Hes. Op. 681), άπο-κράδιος 'plucked from a fig tree' (AP), άπο-κραδίζω [v.] 'to pluck from a fig tree' (Nic.); also 'diseased formation of small shoots in trees', whence κραδάω [v.] 'to have κράδη' (Thphr.); also name of a contrivance that shows actors hovering in the air (Poll. 4, 128, H.). Also κράδος 'blight in fig-trees' (Thphr. HP 4, 14, 4), after Thphr. l.c. also a name of the twig. Further κραδησίτης· φαρμακός 'scapegoat', ό ταίς κράδαις βαλλόμενος 'who is being hit with a branch' (H.); κραδής [m.] 'prepared with fig twigs, provided with fig twigs' (H., Hippon.); κραδιαίος 'made of fig-shoots' (Orph.); κράδαλοι· κλάδοι 'branches' (H.); κραδαλός 'trembling' (Eust.). On κραδευταί see ►κρατευταί.

•ETYM It seems certain that κράδη and κράδος belong with κραδάω, of which κραδαίνω is an enlargement. It is probable that κραδάω is a denominative, so an original meaning 'swinging' may be assumed for κράδη. This fits well with the meanings 'crown (of a tree)' and 'suspension-machine' (cf. Fraenkel 1906: 19f.). Alternatively, κραδάω could be a zero grade iterative, derived from a lost primary verb, with κράδη, -ος as back-formations. Acc. to Schwyzler: 682 and Chantraine 1942: 356, κραδάω is an old (originally athematic) root present, but this can hardly be correct. The word ►κόρδαξ, name of a dance, is unrelated. The connection with Lat. *cardō* remains hypothetical. Schulze KZ 57 (1930): 75 supposed that the IE word for 'heart' (Gr. ►κήρ, ►καρδία) is a very old root noun from κραδάω, but this must remain uncertain.

**κράζω** [v.] 'to croak, cry' (individual attestations since Ar.). <ONOM>

•VAR Perf. κέκράγα (trag., Ar.), to which pret. έκέκραγον (LXX), fut. κεκράξομαι (com., LXX), κεκραγήσει· κραυγάσει 'will cry aloud' (H.), aor. κεκράξαι (LXX); aor. κρᾶγείν (ξ 467, Pi., Antiphon, Ar.), later κρᾶξαι (Thphr., LXX) with fut. κράξω (AP, Ev. Luc.).

•COMP Also prefixed, especially with άνα-.

•DER κεκράκτης [m.] 'cryer' (Hp., Ar., Luc.), κέκραγμα (Ar.), κεκραγμός (E., Plu.) 'crying'; κεκραξι-δάμας [m.] 'control by crying', comic epithet of Cleon (Ar. V. 596), after Άλκι-δάμας (see Sommer 1948: 174); κράγέτας [m.] 'crier' (Pi.), κράγός 'crying' (Ar. Eq. 487 κραγόν κεκράζεται), κράκτης 'id.' (Adam., Tz.), κράκτρια (H. s.v. λακέρυζα), κρακτικός 'crying, making noise' (Luc.).

•ETYM The original system had a thematic root aorist κρᾶγείν beside an intensive perfect κέκρᾶγα with present mg. (Schwyzler 1950: 263f.). The central position of the perfect is testified by the derived verbal and nominal forms κεκράξομαι, κεκράκτης, etc. Later formations are the rare present κράζω and the aorist κρᾶξαι, etc.; a further

innovation was ἐκ-, ἐγ-κραγγάνω (Men., H.). As an original onomatopoeia, κέκραγα and κραγεῖν show similarity with ► κρώζω 'to croak'. The form ► κάραγος · ὁ τραχὺς ψόφος, οἶον πριών 'raw sound, like a saw' (H.) is not a regular disyllabic form beside κραγ-. See ► κόραξ, ► κραυγή.

**κραιαίνω** [v.] 'to complete' (Il.), intr. 'to end' (medic.), 'to rule' (θ 391, S., E.). <IE \**krh<sub>2</sub>-s-n-* 'head'>

•VAR κῤααίνω (v.l.), aor. κρηῖναι (Il.), κῤαῖναι (H.), pass. κῤαανθῆναι (Theoc.), perf.3sg. κεκῤαῖνται (Od.), verbal adj. ἀ-κῤααντος (Hom.); κραινώ (Od., medic.), fut. κῤανέω, -ῶ (Emp., A., E.); ἐπι-κῤανεῖ (A. Ag. 1340), intr. κῤανέεσθαι (I 626), aor. κρηῖναι (O 599), κῤαναι (A., S.), pass. κῤανθῆναι (Pi., trag.), perf.3sg. κέκῤανται (trag.), ἄ-κῤαν-τος (Pi., trag.).

•COMP Also with ἐπι-.

•DER From κραινώ: κράντωρ, -ορος 'ruler' (E. [lyr.], AP), 'who fulfills' (epigr. *apud* Paus. 8, 52, 6), with dissimilation κάντορες· οἱ κρατοῦντες 'who are ruling' (H.); κραντήρ, -ῆρος 'ruler' (Orph.), plur. 'wisdom teeth', originally "completer" of the tooth row (Arist.), sing. 'tusk' (Nic., Lyc.); fem. κράντειρα 'governess' (Apl., Orph.); on κράντωρ, -τήρ see Benveniste 1948: 46f.; κράντης 'fulfiller' (Lyc.); κραντήριοι· οἱ κραινόντες, καὶ ἐπιτελοῦντες 'who are fulfilling, completing' (H.). Compound αὐτό-κρανος 'completing itself, self-evident' (H., EM; also A. Fr. 295f.); acc. to H. also = κίων μονόλιθος 'stone pillar', but in the last mg. rather to κάρᾱ 'head'; see -κρανον and κρανίον.

•ETYM The variant reading κῤααίνω points to an old denominative \**krāh<sub>2</sub>-je/o-*, from the old *n*-stem found in gen. κῤαατος < \**krāh<sub>2</sub>-os* << PIE \**krh<sub>2</sub>-s-n-ós* (cf. on ► κάρᾱ 'head'), like ὀνομαίνω to ► ὄνομα. The original meaning must have been 'to crown' (cf. καρᾶνοῦν 'to complete' to καρᾶνον 'head'). Beside κῤααίνω, the aorist κρηῖναι shows Ionic phonetics. It was contracted to κῤῆναι, and from this a new present κραινώ was made (cf. φῆναι to ► φαίνω), whence κῤανέω, etc. The form κραιαίνω may owe its root syllable κραι- to influence of the later form κραινώ (Leumann IF 57 (1940): 157).

**κραιπάλη** [f.] 'hangover, headache' (Hp., Ar.). <PG?>

•COMP ἀ-κραιπαλος 'without intoxication, liberating' (Arist., Dsc.), κραιπαλό-κωμιος 'rambling in drunken revelry' (Ar.).

•DER κραιπαλώδης 'prone to drunkenness' (Phld., Plu.), κραιπαλάω [v.] 'to have a hangover' (Ar., Pl., Plb.).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. ἀγκάλη, μασχάλη, σκυτάλη, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 245ff.); further unclear. Connection to κραιπνός with interchange *v*/ *λ* cannot be excluded semantically, but it is not evident. Latin has a LW *crāpula* 'id.' (yielding MoFr. *crapule*) with long *ā*, which might continue the Pre-Greek variation *ai*/ *ā* (for which see Fur.: 336ff.). See also André *Ant. class.* 33 (1964): 92f.

**κραιπνός** [adj.] 'swift, rushing' (Il.); cf. Treu 1955: 6f. <PG?>

•COMP κραιπνό-συτος, -φόρος 'swiftly rushing, leading' (A.).

•ETYM Unknown. Cf. on κραιπάλη. Could it represent a Pre-Greek pre-form \**krap<sup>v</sup>-n-* (cf. on ► ἐξαίφνης, ► ἐξαπίνης)?

**κραῖρα** [f.] · ἡ κεφαλὴ, καὶ ἀκροστόλιον 'the head, terminal ornament'; also κραῖροι· στόλοι νεῶν, μέτωπα, κεφαλαί 'prows, fronts, heads of ships' (H.). <IE \**kerh<sub>2</sub>-* 'head, horn', \**krh<sub>2</sub>-s-r-ih<sub>2</sub>*>

•COMP Further only as a second member: ὀρθό-κραῖρα 'with upright standing horns or beaks' (Hom., verse-final), in βοῶν, νεῶν ὀρθοκραῖρων; εὖ-κραῖρα 'with beautiful horns', e.g. βουσὶν εὖκραῖρησιν (*h. Merc.* 209); ἡμί-κραῖρα 'half the head or face' (com., inscr.); μελάγ-κραῖρα 'with black heads' (Lyc., [Arist.] *Mir.*); δί-κραῖρα 'forked' (A. R.). Thematicized εὖ-κραῖρος [f.] (A., Opp., Tryph.; v.l. in *h. Merc.* 209); ὀρθό-κραῖρος [f.] (AP); τανύ-κραῖρος [m., f.] 'with long horns' (AP, Opp.); δί-κραῖρος [m.] 'two-horned' (AP); βοό-, ἰσό-, ὁμό- κραῖρος (Nonn.). Reshaped after the nouns in -ης, -ητος: εὖκραῖρης (Max. 84).

•ETYM The apparent simplices κραῖρα and κραῖρος have clearly been taken from compounds. The only old form is the feminine second member -κραῖρα. This extremely complicated form was extensively discussed in Nussbaum 1986: 222-247, as well as in Peter's 1980a: 228-286. It has been recognized for a long time that -κραῖρα belongs to ► κέρας (► κάρᾱ). As a basic form, we may posit \**krāh<sub>2</sub>-s-r-ih<sub>2</sub>* > \**krāh-ar-ja*, where the contraction product -*ā*- was regularly shortened before -*rj*-. After the other compounded adjectives, Greek created a thematic form -κραῖρος, indifferent to gender, which eventually survived.

**κράμβη** [f.] 'cabbage' (IA). Up till now, the word was mentioned under ► κράμβος, but it has nothing to do with it. Cf. also *RPh.* 71 (1997): 165, where it is noted that a reading \*γάμβρη is wrong. Fur. did not split the words either (see on ► κράμβος). <?>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in κραιβο-κέφαλος 'cabbage-headed' (pap.).

•DER Diminutive κραιμβίδιον 'id.' (Antiph.), κραιμβίον 'cabbage soup' (Hp.; MoGr. forms, part of which has γρ-, in Georgacas *ByzZ* 41 (1941): 362); κραιμβίς 'cabbage-worm' (Ael.), see Strömberg 1944: 9; κραιμβήεις 'cabbage-like' (Nic.), κραιμβίτας [m.] 'greengrocer' (Thess.).

•ETYM No etymology. Strömberg 1940: 24 connected the word with ► κράμβος, assuming that the plant was called after its shrunken leaves; however, the connection with the Gm. group of OHG (*h*)*rimfan* 'to shrink' must now be forgotten. Borrowed as Lat. *crambē* (Plin.), MoP *karamb* 'cabbage'.

**κράμβος** [adj.] = καπυρός, ξηρός 'loud or clear, dry', of sounds (Ar. *Eq.* 539, H., Suid.). <PG(V)>

•DER κραιμβαλέος 'dry, roasted' (Ath.), after αὐαλέος, etc.; κραιμβαλίζουσιν· καπυρίζουσι 'revel' (H.); κρομβώ [v.] 'to roast, bake' (Diph.). κραιμβότατον στόμα 'loudest voice' (H., Suid.); as a msc. subst. 'blight in grapes, when they shrivel before they are ripe' (Thphr.), see Strömberg 1937: 167. One also connects κράμβαλα· μνημεῖα 'monuments' (H.), supposing it denotes the urn with ashes, but this is uncertain. Further κράμβωτον· ἰκτίνος τὸ ζῶον 'kite, the animal' (H.) (perhaps after its claws, but see Thompson 1895 s.v.).

•ETYM For the structure, cf. σκαμβός, ► κλαμβός. The accent is remarkable and may point to original substantival function.

The word has been compared with OHG (*h*)*rimfan* 'to wrinkle, curb, etc.', as if from IE \**kremb-*, \**kromb-*. However, Fur.: 238 compares ▶κραῦρος 'dry, frail, fragile', assuming it is a form without prenasalization and with *u* for *β* (on which see Fur.: 228-242). This seems convincing; note Frisk's comment s.v. ▶κραῦρος: "ebenfalls mit bemerkenswerter Barytonese." Fur.: 343 further adduces κόμβος· ὁ κόνδυλος· καὶ ὁ καπυρός 'ball, swelling; also dried, parched'; κρομβότατον· καπυρώτατον· κατακεκονδυλωμένον 'very dry, swollen' (H.). Further, ▶κράβυζος may perhaps be added. Therefore, the word is without a doubt Pre-Greek. The further connection of κράμβωτον 'kite' with κράμβος· λάρος 'mew' (H.), Fur.: 283, is uncertain.

**κρανάος** [adj.] 'hard, raw, rocky' (Il.), also of Athens and the Athenians, called Κραναὰ πόλις and Κρανααί (Ar.), or Κραναοί (Hdt.); also Κραναός, a mythical king of Athens. <?>

•COMP κραναή-πεδος 'with rocky soil' said of Delos (*h. Ap.* 72), -ιη- metrically conditioned (Zumbach 1955: 18).

•ETYM Evidenced by comparison of κερα(φ)ός and τανα(φ)ός, it probably derives from \*κραναφός. No convincing etymology. The traditional connection with words for 'hard' (see ▶κράτος) makes no sense, as long as the formation has not been explained.

**κράνιον** [n.] 'skull, brain-pan', also of the head in general (Θ 84, Pi. I. 4, 54, Att.). On the long *ā* in Hom. see Wackernagel 1916: 225, Chantraine 1942: 18, Shipp 1967: 21. <IE \**kerh<sub>2</sub>-* 'head, horn'>

•COMP As a first member in κρανιό-λειος 'bald-headed' (*Com. Adesp.* 1050); quite frequent as a second member, especially in medical expressions, e.g. ὀπισθο-κράνιον 'occiput', ἐγ-κράνιον 'cerebellum' (after ἐγ-κέφαλος), but also βου-κράνιον 'oxhead' (EM), also a plant name (Ps.-Dsc., Gal.), see Strömberg 1940: 47. Adjectival hypostasis περι-κράνιος 'round the skull' (Plu., medic.). Older and more common is -κράνον, e.g. in ἐπί-κρανον 'capital, headband' (Pi., E., inscr.), ποτί-κρανον 'cushion' (Sophr., Theoc.), ὀλέ-κρανον 'point of the elbow' (Hp., Ar., Arist.), κιο(νό)-κρανον (see ▶κίων). Also adjectives like βού-, ἐλαφό-, δί-, τρί-, χαλκεό-, ὀρθό-κρανος. Rarely as a first member: κρανο-κοπέω [v.] 'to cut off the head' (pap.); on κρανο-κολάπτης see ▶κράνον.

•DER Denominative verbs: κρανίξαι· ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἀπορρίψαι 'to throw (down) upon the head', κρηγιῶν· κρηβαρῶν 'being heavy in the head' (H.); hypostasis ἀποκρανίξαι 'to tear from the head' (AP), 'to cut off the head' (Eust.).

•ETYM The secondary formation κράνιον goes back to a nominal basis. It seems best to start from the old oblique stem \**krān-* < \**krh<sub>2</sub>-s-n-* of κάρη, which was later replaced by \**krāh<sub>2</sub>nt-*. In this context, note the gloss κρίνα· κεφαλὴ (H.). See further ▶κάρη and ▶κέρας.

**κράνον** [n.] 'Cornelian cherry' (Thphr., medic.). <IE \**ker-* 'cornel'>

•VAR Also κρίνος [f.] (pap., Gp.).

•COMP As a first member perhaps in κρανο-κολάπτης name of a spider (Philum. *Ven.* 15, 1, sch. Nic. *Th.* 764), see Strömberg 1944: 22.

•DER More common and attested earlier is κρίνεια [f.] 'cornelian cherry' (Hom., E., Thphr., Hell.), also κρίνια (Hp., Dsc.), -έα (Gp.). Hence κρίνειον (-ιον) 'id.' (Thphr., Gal.), κρανείνος 'of cornel wood' (Hdt., X.), also κρανάινος 'id.' (Hp., X., Str.), after ἐλαίινος; κρίνινος 'id.' (Paus.).

•ETYM Lat. *cornum*, -us, with the same fluctuation as to the gender, has been compared to reconstruct IE \**krno-*. Lith. *Kirnis* name of a 'god who protects cherries' is of doubtful appurtenance. Mediterranean origin is also possible, which has to be assumed for ▶κέρασος in any case.

**κράνος** [n.] 'helmet' (IA), see Trümper 1950: 45f. <?>

•COMP As a first member in κρανο-ποιέω 'to forge helmets', whence -ποιῖα, -ποιός (Ar.).

•DER Diminutive κρανίδιον (Att. inscr.).

•ETYM The word κράνος must be connected with the group of words for 'head, horn', but cannot contain a laryngeal. Connection with ▶κάρυον, ▶κρανάος, etc. is less probable.

**κραπαταλλός** [m.] name of a worthless fish (Hdn., H.); also metaph. = μωρός 'dull' (H.), see Strömberg 1943: 95<sup>2</sup>, and as a name of a coin (= δραχμή) in Hades (Pherecr. *apud* Poll. 9, 83). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also -αλλός (Hdn. 1, 158).

•DER κραπαταλίας· ἀνεμώδης καὶ ἀσθενής· καὶ ἀνίσχυρα λέγων, ἄμεινον δὲ ληρώδης 'vain or idle and weak; speaking without foundation, or better: frivolously' (H.) (Pherecr. 99).

•ETYM A formation in -αλ(λ)ός with variation λ/λλ (not noticed by Chantraine 1933: 245ff.). Therefore, clearly a Pre-Greek word in -al' (see Beekes 2008).

**κράσπεδον** [n.] 'edge, border of a cloth', metaph. of a country, a mountain, also of an army = 'wing of the army' (S., E., Ar., X., Theoc., NT). <?>

•DER κρασπεδίτης 'hindmost person in a chorus' (Plu.), opposed to the κορυφαῖος; κρασπεδόμαι [v.] 'to be bordered' (E.).

•ETYM Analyzed as an old compound of κάρᾱ 'head' (in the form κᾱσ-) with a faded second member πέδον 'plain, ground', for which Skt. *dru-padā*- [n.] 'wooden post' is compared. The first member would point to an original meaning 'upper border', acc. to Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 14. However, Nussbaum 1986: 71 is very sceptical; there is no indication whatsoever that it would contain the word for 'head'.

**κράστις** 'green fodder'. ⇒ γράω.

**κράταιγος** [m.] 'hawthorn, Crataegus oxyacantha' (Thphr.). <?>

•VAR Also -αιγών, -όνος.

•ETYM Connection with κρατύς 'hard' and αἰγ- in ▶αἰγίλῳ explains nothing. The etymology therefore remains unknown.

**κρατευταί** [m.pl.] 'stone or metal blocks on both sides of the altar, on which the spits rested' (I 214, Eup., Att. inscr.), see Chapouthier *REA* 43 (1941): 12ff.; also 'supporting stone of the pavement' (Lebadea). <PG(V)>

- VAR κραδευταί (Att. inscr.), Solmsen KZ 42 (1909): 221ff.
- DER κρατευτήρια [pl.] 'id.' (Poll. 6, 89), after the instrument nouns in -τήριον.
- ETYM The formation in -ευτᾱ- is remarkable, but it does not help to assume a verb κρατεύω = κρατύνω 'to strengthen, prop'. The rare by-form κραδευταί (Att. inscr.) can hardly be explained as a folk-etymological transformation after ►κραδάω, nor does the form in -τ- point to folk etymology after κρατύς. Fur.: 181 is right in concluding to a Pre-Greek loan with δ/τ; cf. on ►βασκευταί for the formation.

**κράτος** [n.] 'strength, power, authority' (Il.), on the mg. Trümpy 1950: 202ff. <IE \*kret-s- 'strength', \*krt-u-, \*krt-ero-►

- VAR Epic Ion. (Dor.) also κάρτος, Aeol. κρέτος.
- COMP Often as a first member, e.g. ἄ-κρατής 'without strength, powerless', opposed to ἐγ-κρατής 'having power over, controlling (oneself)', whence ἐγκράτεια, -έω, etc.; αὐτο-κρατής 'having power over oneself, independent'; more usual αὐτο-κράτωρ 'with unlimited power' (Ar., Th.); also -κρέτης in Aeol. and Arc.-Cypr. PNs, e.g. Σω-κρέτης.
- DER Beside the noun κράτος, κρέτος, several adjectives exist:
  1. κρατύς 'strong, powerful' (Hom.); only verse-final κρατύς Ἀργεῖφόντης; κρατύνω 'to strengthen, consolidate, rule' (Il.), epic also καρτ-; thence κρατυσμός 'strengthening', κρατυντήριος 'id.', -τικός 'id.' (medic.), κρατύντωρ 'controller' (PMag. Leid.).
  2. κρατερός (Il., A. Pr. 168 [anap.]), καρτερός (Il.) 'id.' (IA); also as a first member, e.g. κρατερό-φρων (Il.). Thence καρτερέω [v.] 'to be steadfast, hold out, overcome oneself' (IA), also with prefix, e.g. δια-; thence καρτερία (Pl., X.), -ρησις (Pl.) 'holding on, firmness', -ρικός (Att.); καρτερώ [v.] 'to strengthen' (Aq., Herm.).
  3. κραταιός 'id.' (Il.), also as a plant name (Ps.-Dsc.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 82; rarely as a first member, e.g. κραταιό-φρων (PMag.). Thence κραταιότης = κράτος (LXX), κραταιώω 'to strengthen' (LXX, NT), κραταίωμα, -ωσις (LXX). Fem. κραταίς (Od.), see Schwyzler: 385.
  4. Grades of comparison: comp. κρείττων (Att.), κρείσσω (epic) with secondary -ει- for κρέσσω (Ion., Pi.); Dor. κάρρων < \*krt-iōn, Cret. κάρτων; denominative κρειπτόμαι [v.] 'to have excrescences', of wine, whence κρείττωσις (Thphr.). Superl. κράτιστος (Il.), epic κάρτ-, whence κρατιστεύω [v.] 'to be the best, surpass' (Pi., Att.); also -(ε)ία 'highness' (pap.), as a title.
  5. Adverb κάρτα 'in a high degree, very' (Ion., trag.).
  6. As a first member often κραται- (καρται-), e.g. κραται-γύαλος 'with strong breast-pieces' (T 361). Further Κρατι-, Καρτι- in PNs, e.g. Κρατί-δημος, Καρτί-νικος; also Κρατ(ο)-, Κρατε-, etc. (Bechtel 1917b: 256). Short hypocoristic names Κρατίνοσ, Κρατύλος, Κράτυλλος, Κρατιεύς. On Κρεσφόντης see below.
  7. Verb: κρατέω 'to control, possess, rule, conquer' (Il.), Aeol. κρετέω, aor. κρατήσαι (post-Hom.), κρέτησαι (Sapph.), often with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-, περι-; thence (ἐπι-, etc.) κράτησις 'power, rule' (Th., LXX), (δια-, ἐπι-) κρατητικός 'controlling' (late), (δια-)κράτημα 'support, grip' (medic.); κρατητής 'possessor' (Procl.); κρατήρας: τοὺς κρατοῦντας 'who are in power' (H.), for κρατητήρας (Lewy KZ 59 (1932): 182). But ἐγκρατέω from ἐγ-κρατής, ναυ-κρατέω, -τία from ναυ-κρατής, etc.; see above. Also καρταίνειν: κρατεῖν 'to rule' (H.).

- ETYM The full grade in Aeol. κρέτος interchanges regularly with the zero grade in κρατύς, κάρτα (the distribution of ap and pa in this root is not well understood; discussed in Schwyzler: 342). Both κράτος, κάρτος and the compounds Dor. κάρρων < \*κάρσ(σ)ων < \*κάρτιων, κάρτων arose analogically beside the old full grade κρέσσω < \*κρέτιων (details in Seiler 1950: 53ff.). A zero grade of the s-stem κρέτος is supposed in Κρεσ-φόντης < \*Κρετ'-σ- (see Kretschmer *Glotta* 24 (1936): 237 and Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 5 (1954): 26).

The derivational history of the forms is unclear in some cases. The adjective κρατερός, καρτερός was supposed to contain an r-stem alternating with the s-stem (Benveniste 1935: 17), but it may also be a Greek formation in -ero- (cf. e.g. θαλερός, γλυκερός). For κάρτα, cf. e.g. τάχα, ἄμα, and see Ruijgh 1980: 189-198. The first member κραται- may have been modelled after παλαι-; thence perhaps κραταιός, like παλαιός. Acc. to Risch 1937: 126, however, κραταιός is a back-formation from κραταιή for \*κράταια, the old fem. of κρατύς (comparing Πλαταιαί to πλατύς).

An exact correspondence to the group of κράτος is not found in other IE languages. The closest are Skt. *krātu-* [m.] 'magical' power, mind, will', Av. *xratu-* [m.] 'id.' (for the semantics, cf. OE *cræft* 'force, physical strength, power', but also 'insight, craft, etc.'). The Germanic word for 'hard', Go. *hardus*, etc., which is usually adduced, has Schwebeablaut (\**kortú-* as opposed to \**krtú-*, \**kret-*); the connection is rejected by Strunk MSS 34 (1976): 169f.

**κραυγή** [f.] 'cry, loud crying' (Att.). <IE \*krau-g- 'cry'►

- DER κραυγίας: ἵππος, ὁ ὑπὸ κραυγῆς καὶ ψόφου ταρασσόμενος 'horse that is stirred by a shout and noise' (H.) and κραυγός: δρυκολάπτου εἶδος 'kind of woodpecker' (H.). Denominative κραυγάζω [v.] 'to cry, crack' (unknown poet *apud* Pl. *Resp.* 607b, D., Hell.), κραυγασμός 'crying' (Diph.), -αστής 'cryer' (AB), -άστρια [f.] (H.), -αστικός 'crying' (Procl., sch.). Also κραύγασος 'crier' (gloss.), see Schwyzler: 516, Chantraine 1933: 435; Κραυγασίδης (Batr.), κραύγαζος (Ptol.). A different formation κραυγανόμαι in κραυγανώμενον (Hdt. 1, 111), v.l. -γόμενον, cf. Schwyzler: 770; uncertain sch. Call. *Aet. Fr.* 1, 20. Further the PNs Κραῦγης, Κραυξίδας, Κραυγαλίδαι (Bechtel 1917b: 496).

•ETYM The form κραυγή could be an action noun pointing to a primary verb, corresponding to several forms in Germanic and Balto-Slavic. Thus, ON *hraukr* 'searaven' could be directly equated with κραυγός; further, with ablauting, ū Go. *hruk* [acc.sg.] 'crowing' and *hrukjan* 'to crow'. A voiceless root-final stop is found in Lith. *kraukti*, 1sg. *kraukiu* 'to screech', and Slav. words like Ru. *kruk* 'raven' (\**krauk-o-*). Note further, with palatal final, Skt. *krósati* = Av. *xraosaiti* 'to scream, cry'. Like the comparable sound imitations ►κράζω, ►κρώζω, κραυγή is probably an old onomatopoeia.

**κραῦρος** [adj.] 'dry, brittle, fragile' (Pl., Arist., Thphr.). <PG(V)►

- DER κραυρότης 'frailty' (Thphr., Gal.), κραυρόμαι [v.] 'to become dry' (Ph., D. C.). Further κραῦρος [m.] (Arist.) = κραῦρα [f.] (Suid., Phot., perhaps Gortyn, see Collitz 5001) 'feverish disease of swine and cattle', whence κραυράω [v.] 'to suffer from κ.' (Arist.).

•ETYM A Pre-Greek variant of ►κράμβος, with interchange ɸ/β and prenasalization.

**κρέας** [n.] 'meat, piece of meat' (Il.). <IE \**kreh₂-* 'flesh'>

•VAR Gen. κρέως (secondary κρέατος; Att. inscr. 338<sup>a</sup>); plur. nom. κρέᾱ (Il.), which must be an innovation; very uncertain κρέατα (Od.); gen. κρεῶν (IA), also κρειῶν (Hom.), probably for κρεῶν, κρεάων (*h. Merc.* 130), dat. κρέασι (Il.), also κρέεσσι (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 1, 47), κρεάεσσι (late Ep.).

•DIAL Dor. κῆς.

•COMP As a first member usually κρεο- (after the o-stems), e.g. κρεο-κοπέω [v.] 'to cut meat' (A., E.), also κρεω- (after γεω-, λεω-, etc.) as a v.l. and e.g. in κρεω-δαίτης 'meat distributor' (Phld.), κρε-άγρα 'meat pincer' (Ar.), with elision from κρεο-; κρεᾱ-νόμος 'distributing meat', whence -έω, -ία (E., Is., Hell.), after ἀγορᾱ-νόμος; thence κρεᾱ-δοτέω, -σία; κρη-φαγέω [v.] 'to eat meat' (Hp.), analogical beside κρεο-φαγέω. Details on the inflexion in Schwyzler: 516, Chantraine 1942: 209f.; on the shape of the first member Solmsen 1901: 23<sup>1</sup>. Rarely as a second member: πάγ-κρεας 'sweetbread, pancreas' (Arist., medic.), γλυκύ-κρεος 'with sweet meat' (Sophr.), etc.

•DER Diminutive κρεᾱδίων (IA), κρεῖσκος (Alex. 189), κρεῦλλιον (Theognost.); κρεῶδης 'meaty' (Arist., Thphr.), κρεῖον 'butcher's stall' (I 206), κρήϊον (H.), after ἀγγεῖον, etc.; quite uncertain κρηστήριον (Attica IV<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Except for the accent, κρέας is identical with Skt. *kravīṣ-* [n.] 'raw flesh', from a base form \**kreh₂-s-* [n.]. An s-stem is probably also continued in Lat. *cruor*, -*ōris* 'blood from a wound', as well as in OIr. *crú* [n.] 'gore, blood' and OCS *kry* 'blood', which derive from zero grade \**kruH-s*. Further forms: Skt. *krūr-ā-* 'raw, bloody' < \**kruh₂-ro-*, Skt. *kravyā-* [n.] 'raw flesh' = OPr. *krawian* [n.], Lith. *kraūjas* [m.] 'blood', all from \**kreh₂-i-*. See ►κρύος.

**κρείττων** ⇒ κράτος.

**κρείων, -οντος** [m.] 'ruler, prince' (Il.). <IE \**kreiH-* 'splendour'>

•DIAL κρέων (Pi., A. [lyr.]), -οντος.

•DER Fem. κρείουσα (X 48), κρέουσα (B.) 'ruler, princess'; PNs Κρέων, -ουσα (post-Hom.), patronymic Κρειοντιάδης (T 240).

•ETYM An inherited word from Indo-European poetic language. For example, Gonda KZ 73 (1956): 153f. compared εὐρὺ κρείων with Skt. *prthu-śrī-* 'with broad *śrī-*'. The Greek *nt*-stem (after ἄρχων, μέδων, etc.) probably replaced an older *n*-stem. In Indo-Iranian, we find a noun Skt. *śrī-* [f.] 'magnificence, riches, splendor, fame' < \**kriH-*. Narten KZ 100 (1987): 270-96 points out that the oldest Greek forms must be those in PNs in -κρέων, e.g. Φίλο-κρέων (Cyprus). Therefore, the old connection of epic κρείων with the Indo-Iranian comparative Av. *sraiiāh-* 'more beautiful', Skt. *śréyāms-* (with secondary *e* for *a*) 'more shining, superior' is untenable. Instead, Greek has a plain *n*-stem \**kreiH-ōn*, and the epic form κρείων may have metrical lengthening for κρέων. Cf. also Peters 1993b: 106-8.

**κρέκω** [v.] 'to weave, strike a stringed instrument with a plectrum', metaph. 'to produce a sound, raise (a song)' (Sapph., Pi., Ar. [lyr.], AP). <IE? \**kreḱ-* 'strike'>

•VAR Aor. κρέξαι (late).

•COMP Rarely with ὑπο-, δια-, συν-.

•DER κροκ- [f.] in κρόκ-α [acc.sg.] (Hes. *Op.* 538), κρόκ-ες [nom.pl.] (AP 6, 335), κρόξ [nom.sg.] only H., Theognost.; further κρόκη (IA) 'thread which is passed between the threads of the warp, woof, (woollen) cloth'. From κρόκη: κρόκιον 'woollen band' (Anticl. 13), κροκίς [f.] 'sundew, fly-strap, Drosera' (Apollod. *apud* Plin. *HN* 24, 167), κροκύς [f.] 'flock of wool' (IA), κροκύδιον (Gal.), κροκυδίω [v.] 'to pluck off flocks of wool' (com., Gal.), -ισμός (Gal.); κροκόω [v.] 'to weave, envelop in wool' (Dionys. *apud* St. Byz., Phot.); κροκισμός 'cloth' (sch.); as if from \*κροκίζω. κρεγμός [m.] 'sound of stringed instruments' (Epich., A. R., Poll.).

•ETYM Originally a term of weaving, κρέκω was also transferred to the playing of stringed instruments. The present κρέκω is isolated, though Germanic has several nouns pointing to a primary verb: ON *hræll* [m.] 'staff to fasten the cloth' < PGm. \**hráhila-*, OE *hrēol* 'reel' < PGm. \**hréhula-*. A trace of Verner's Law exists in OE *hrægl* [n.] 'cloth, garment', OHG *hregil* [n.] 'indument, spoliūm'. Several Balto-Slavic words have also been compared: Lith. *krėklės* 'rags, tatters', Latv. *krēkls* 'shirt', "Stuhl, der Teil des Spinnrockens, in dem die Beine ruhen", as well as words for 'loom', e.g. Ru. *krósno*. Further Slavic expressions for 'strike fire, etc.': Ru. *kresit'*, 1sg. *krešú*, SCr. *krēsati*, 1sg. *krěšēm* (thus LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**kreḱ-*), which seems the most promising comparison.

**κρεμάννυμι** [v.] 'to hang', intr. 'to be suspended' (Att.). <IE \**kremh₂-* 'hang'>

•VAR Other presents κρίμνημι and κρήμνημι, -άω (Pi., Hp., trag., com.), also κρεμαννύω and κρεμάω (Arist.), κρεμάζω (LXX), κρεμνάω (Demetr. *Eloc.*); intr.med. κρέμαμαι (Il.); aor. κρεμάσαι (Il.), pass. κρεμασθῆναι (Hdt., Att.); fut. κρεμῶ (H 83), κρεμῶ (Att.), κρεμάσω (com., LXX), pass. κρεμήσομαι (Ar., Hell. pap.); perf. κεκρέμακα, -αμαι (late).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐκ-.

•DER κρεμάθρα [f.] 'hammock' (Ar.), 'rope hung from a hook' (Arist.; v.l. -άστρα, see below); κρεμάς [f.] 'beetling, precipitous' (A. *Supp.* 795 [lyr.]); κρέμασις, -ασμός (Hp.), -ασμα (sch., Eust.), -ασία (gloss.) 'hanging'; κρεμαστήρ name of certain muscles (medic.), 'stalk by which a grape cluster hangs' (Gr.), -άστρα 'stalk by which a flower hangs' (Thphr.), Strömberg 1937: 116; ἐκ-, ἀπο-, περι-κρεμής 'hanging down, hanging all around', from ἐκ-κρεμάννυμι, etc.

•ETYM The original situation in Greek seems to be that of an active aorist κρεμάσαι 'to hang' (trans.) beside a medial athematic present κρεμασθῆναι 'to be suspended' (perhaps reshaped after the aorist?). Several secondary active presents arose subsequently: κρίμνημι, κρήμνημι (perhaps after κρημνός), κρεμάννυμι, as well as κρεμάω, -άζω, κρεμνάω. However, ►κρημνός is unrelated.

Sanskrit has a root *śrami-* 'to become weary, tire' with a root aor. Ved. *śramat* 'will tire me' and a ptc. *śrānta-* 'tired'. The oldest meaning could be 'be flaccid, weak'. Go. *hramjan* 'to crucify' is better left out (it belongs to OE *hremman* 'lock in, hinder', ON *hremma* 'grasp, clench'; Pok. 623f.). See LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *kremh₂-*.

**κρέμβαλα** [n.pl.] 'clapper, castanets' (Ath. 14, 636c, *Carm. Pop.* 3); on the realia Weber *RhM* 82 (1933): 194f. <PG?>

•DER κρεμβαλιάζω [v.] 'to play the κ., clapper' (Hermipp. 31), Schwyzer: 735; thence κρεμβαλιαστύς (*h. Ap.* 162), see Zumbach 1955: 8, Porzig 1942: 181, and cf. on ►βαμβαίνω.

•ETYM The suffix -αλο- is also found in κρόταλα, ρόπαλον and other loans; cf. Chantraine 1933: 245f. Connection with the group of sound-words with anlauting \*(s)kr- (Pok. 569f.), e.g. Lat. *crepō* 'to creak', Lith. *skrebėti*, 1sg. *skrebiu* 'to rustle', Ru. *kropotát* 'to growl', is impossible, as Gr. β cannot be due to the preceding nasal (as per Schwyzer: 333). This nasal rather points to a non-IE word, quite possibly Pre-Greek (prenasalization?). A word of this meaning is likely to be a loan.

κρέμυς = κλεμύς.

κρέξ, κρεκός [f.] name of a long-legged bird, perhaps 'ruff, Machetes pugnax', or 'corn-crake, Rallus crex' (Hdt., Ar., Arist.); also metaph. of a noisy braggart (Eup.).

◀IE? \*kerk- 'bird'►

•ETYM As the identification of the bird is uncertain (see Thompson 1895 s.v.), all etymologies remain hypothetical. Onomatopoeic origin is quite possible. It has been compared with other bird names, like Skt. *kṛkara*- a kind of partridge, Mlr. *cercc* 'hen', OPr. *kerko* 'diver', Ru. *kréčet* 'gerfalcon' (Pok. 568). Cf. also κερκάς· κρέξ τὸ ὄρνειον, κερκιθαλὶς· ἐρφιδιός 'stork' (cf. αἰγίθαλος), κέρκος· ἀλεκτρυών 'cock' (H.); also, κέρκνος· ἰέραξ ἢ ἀλεκτρύων 'hawk or cock' and κέρκαξ· ἰέραξ (H.). About the possibility of confusion with ►κέρκος 'tail of an animal', nothing can be said.

κρήγγος [adj.] 'appropriate, right, useful' (epic poet.) and, by misunderstanding in *A* 106, also 'true' (cf. Leumann 1950: 33f.). ◀?►

•VAR Dor. κράγγος.

•DER Adv. κρηγύως (Call.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Schwyzer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 18ff. thought it was a compound from κάρᾱ, κρη- 'head' (see ►κρήδεμνον) and γυῖα 'members', as well as 'hand' (sg.), in which case it would mean 'having head and hand'; highly doubtful. Fur. 105 considers the word to be Pre-Greek. See ►κάρᾱ.

κρήδεμνον [n.] 'women's head-dress, veil', metaph. 'battlements, cover, lid (of a jar)' (Il.), cf. Leumann 1950: 296<sup>60</sup>, Haakh *Gymnasium* 66 (1959): 374ff. ◀IE \*kerh<sub>2</sub>- 'head, horn'►

•VAR Often plur.

•DIAL Dor. κῤᾱ-

•ETYM A compound from κάρᾱ 'head' and the root of δέω 'to bind', but unclear in detail. The first member could stand for κρηνο- by dissimilation, i.e. thematic enlargement of the zero grade of ►κάρᾱ (see ►κῤᾱνίον), but acc. to Frisk it may also have arisen from κρησ- with loss of σ before δ (this seems unlikely, and is rejected by DELG). The word ►κράσπεδον is probably unrelated. The second member -δεμνον, -α contains a derivation \*dh<sub>1</sub>-mn- of ►δέω 'to bind', for which we may compare βέλεμνα for the suffixation (see ►βάλλω) and ►δέμνια.

κρήθεν in κατὰ (ἀπὸ) κρήθεν 'down from the head' (Hom.), probably false for κατ' ἄκρηθεν. ►κάρᾱ.

κρήθμον [n.] 'samphire, Crithmum maritimum' (Hp., Call., Nic., Dsc.). ◀PG?►

•VAR Also -ος [m.], κρηθ- and κρίταμον.

•ETYM Unexplained. Probably a foreign word; cf. Chantraine 1933: 133. Acc. to Amigues *RPh.* 75 (2001): 272, the plant obtained its name because it has its grains like barley (thus already Dsc. II 129).

κρηματίς, -ίδος [f.] name of an instrument, probably a cup (*IG* 7, 3498: 15; 20 [Oropos; temple inventory]). ◀?►

•COMP In κρημο-φόροι (beside οἶνο-χόαι *IG* 2<sup>2</sup>, 1425: 358), the first member could stand for \*κρηματιδο-φόροι, if it is not from κρήμα.

•ETYM A diminutive of κρήμα (Att. κῤᾱμα) 'mixing, mixed drink'; cf. πτωματίς 'cup that falls down (without foot)'.

κρημνός [m.] 'steep incline' (Il.). ◀?►

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. ἀπό-κρημνος 'inclined, steep' (IA), βαθύ-κρημνος 'with steep inclination' (Pi.); rarely as a first member, e.g. κρημνο-φοβέομαι [v.] 'to be afraid of chasms' (Hp.).

•DER κρημνώδης 'slanting' (Th.); (κατα-, etc.) κρημνίζω [v.] 'to have a steep slope' (Att., etc.), -ισμός, -ισις (late).

•ETYM Traditionally considered an old verbal noun from ►κρεμάννυμι, with ablaut κρημ-: κρεμα-; however, this is impossible if the root was \*kremh<sub>2</sub>- (a zero grade \*krmh<sub>2</sub>- would give \*κραμα-). DELG notes that the ē is proven by Pindar, which makes the case even worse: a h<sub>2</sub> can never result in PGr. \*ē. The present κρήμνημι is rather influenced by κρημνός than the other way around. The present entry therefore remains unexplained.

κρήνη [f.] 'source, fountain' (Il.); on the mg. as against πηγή see Wycherley *Class. Rev.* 51 (1937): 2f. ◀IE? \*krs- 'spring, flood'►

•VAR Dor. Arc. κράνα, Aeol. κῤᾱννα.

•COMP Compounds like καλλί-κρανος 'with beautiful springs' (Pi.).

•DER Diminutives: κρηνίς, -ίδος [f.] (E., Call., D. H.; Chantraine 1933: 347), also as a TN (Str.); κρηνίον (Delos III<sup>4</sup>, Str.), -ίδιον (Arist.). κρηναῖος 'of the/a source' (since p 240), κρηνήϊος 'id.' (Orac. *apud* Dam. *Pr.* 344); νύμφαι Κρηνιάδες (A. *fr.* 168 [hexam.], after ὄρεστιάδες, cf. Chantraine 354f.; κρηνίτις [f.] 'of the/a source' (Hp.). TN Κῤᾱννοῦν (Thess.).

•ETYM The different dialectal forms (see above) point to PGr. \*krasnā-. Att. -ρη- for -ῤᾱ- has been explained variously (Proto-Ionic-Attic dissimilation, an Ionism or a hyperatticism; see Schwyzer: 189f.). Since Whitney Tucker *TAPA* 93 (1962), it has generally been accepted (as by Peters 1980a) that the dissimilation assumed for κρήνη was regular.

One hypothesis connects κρήνη with ►κρουνός 'spring', κροῦναι· κρήναι τέλειαι (H.). The IE base forms would then be \*krosno- and krsneh<sub>2</sub>-, respectively; but note that all dialects have the vocalization \*-ra-, so the etymon probably did not have vocalic \*r. Therefore, the explanation remains uncertain. The words κρουνός, κροῦναι may correspond to a Germanic word for 'wave, flood', except for the accent: ON *hrōnn* [f.], OE *hræn*, *hærn* [f.], from PGm. \*hraznō, IE \*krosn-éh<sub>2</sub>-.



**κρηπίς, -ῖδος** [f.] 'man's high boot, half-boot' (X., Theoc., Plu., Poll.), also 'groundwork, foundation, quay' (IA, Pi.). <PG?, IE? \**krh<sub>2</sub>p-ih<sub>2</sub>*>

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ὀπισθο-κρηπίς name of a shoe (Att. inscr., Poll., H.).

•DER κρηπίδια [pl.] 'bordering stones' (Didyma II<sup>a</sup>), κρηπιδαῖον (Lys.), -εῖον (Ostia) 'foundation of a house', κρηπιδιαῖος 'of the foundation' (Att. inscr.), on the formation see Chantraine 1933: 49. Denominative κρηπιδόω [v.] 'to give a basis, found, support' (D. C., Plu.), -ωμα 'foundation' (inscr., D. S., Aq.).

•ETYM Derived from a nominal base form (like κνημῖς and χειρίς), or perhaps κρηπίς just took over their ending. The technical meaning suggests a loan (Chantraine 1933: 347, Schwyzer: 465). The connection with words for 'shoe', e.g. Lith. *kūrpė* < \**krHp-ih<sub>2</sub>*, is formally impeccable (see ▶καρβάτινος) but is rejected by Fraenkel 1955 s.v. Borrowed as Lat. *crepida* 'half-boot', *crepidō* 'stone basis, etc.'. Note that the suffix -ῖδ- occurs in Pre-Greek.

**κρησέρα** [f.] 'fine sieve' (Ar. Ec. 991, medic., Poll.). <?, IE? \**kreh<sub>1</sub>(i)-* 'sieve'>

•VAR Ion. -ρη.

•DIAL κραῖρα· κόσκινον ἢ ὄρυγμα 'sieve; ditch' (H.), Elis.

•DER Diminutive κρησέριον (Poll.), -ρίτης ἄρτος 'bread from fine-sieved meal' (Diph. 26).

•ETYM Isolated words in -έρα (like ▶διφθέρα, ▶ἀσκέρα, ▶χολέρα, ▶κυσέρι) are likely to be loans. Theoretically, derivation from a old noun \**krēh<sub>1</sub>is* 'sieving' < \**kreh<sub>1</sub>-ti-* is possible, which would belong to ▶κρίνω < \**krh<sub>1</sub>i-n-*, and have the same ablaut grade as Lat. *excrementum* and *crēvi*.

**κρησφύγετον** [n.] 'place of retreat, refuge' (Hdt., D. H., Luc.). <?>

•ETYM Wackernagel KZ 33 (1895): 56f. posits \**κρησφύγετον*, with contraction and Grassmann's Law. It would be a compound with suffix -ετο- (DELG), from φυγεῖν and χρεῖος 'debt', so originally "fleeing from debt". Chantraine calls this proposal more ingenious than convincing. The connection with ▶κάρα 'head' (Kretschmer KZ 31 (1892): 410, Solmsen *RhM* 53 (1898): 155f.) is semantically hardly convincing. To be rejected, Kapsomenos *Glotta* 40 (1962): 43-50.

**κρίβανος** ⇒ κλίβανος.

**κρίζω** [v.] 'to scream, creak' (Men. 879). <IE \**krik-* 'cry'>

•VAR Perf. ptc. κεκρίγότες (Ar. Av. 1521), them. aor. ὑπο-κρίγειν (S. *Ichn.* 171 [lyr.]), sigm. aor. (ὑπο-)κρίξει or -ίξει (Ael. NA 5, 50, H.); also them. aor. κρίκε (H 470), of ζυγόν. Cf. κριδόμεν = γελᾶν (Stratt. 47, 7; Boeot.).

•DER Verbal nouns κριγή (Hippon. 54), κριγμός (Zonar.) 'screaming, creaking'; κριγή· ἡ γλαυῖς 'the shrieking little owl' (H.).

•ETYM The system κέκριγα: κρίγειν: κρίζω: κρίξαι corresponds nicely with κέκρηγα: κρᾶγειν: ▶κράζω: κρᾶξαι. The word κρίζω has a direct cognate in the root present ON *hríka* 'to creak' < IE \**krig-*. Lith. *krykti* (*krykšti*), 1sg. *krykiù* 'to cry, creak', and the Slav. group of Ru. *kričát* 'to cry', *krik* 'cry' show root-final -k. An old isolated nominal formation is the Germanic name of the heron, e.g. OHG (*h*)*reigaro*, *heigaro* (with dissimilation), MoDu. *reiger*.

**κριθή** [f.] 'barley-corns', usually plur. 'barley' (Il.); also metaph. = 'swelling on the eyelid' (medic.), see Strömberg 1937: 192, Strömberg 1944: 63. On the mg. of κριθή, πυρός, σῖτος see Moritz *Class. Quart.* 49 (1955): 129ff. <?>

•VAR Short form κῖ [n.], see below.

•COMP κριθό-πυρον [n.] 'mix of barley and wheat' (pap.; cf. on ▶διόσπυρον), εὐκριθος 'rich in barley' (Theoc., AP).

•DER Diminutives: κριθιον (Luc., Longos), κριθιδιον, also 'decoction of barley' (Hp., Posidon.), κριθάριον (pap.). Further substantives: κριθαία 'barley soup' (Hom. *Epigr.* 15,7), after ἀλμαία, etc., Chantraine 1933: 86; κριθανίας [m.] name of a kind of wheat (Theophr. *HP* 8, 2, 3, beside στανίας), perhaps after νεανίας (Strömberg 1937: 91), see also Chantraine 1933: 94. Adjectives: κριθινός 'of barley' (Ion., Hell.), κριθάμινος 'id.' (Polyaen.), after σισάμινος; κριθικός 'consisting of barley' (pap.), κριθώδης 'like barley, full of barley-corns' (Hp.).

Denominative verbs: κριθάω 'to feed oneself with barley' (A., S.), also κριθιάω (Arist.), after the verbs of disease in -ιάω, Schwyzer 732; thence κριθιάσις 'surfeit caused by overfeeding with barley' (X.); κριθίζω 'to feed with barley' (Aesop., Babr.). TN Κριθώτη (-ωτή) name of a spit of land in Acarnania (Krahe *IF* 48 (1930): 223ff.). Epithet Κρίθων (H.) from κριθή = πόσθη (Ar. *Pax* 965); see Schulze *KZ* 29 (1888): 263.

•ETYM The epic by-form κῖ [n.], occurring only in the nom. and acc., points to an original root noun \**krīt<sup>h</sup>*, from which κριθ-ή is an enlarged form. Attempts to connect κῖ with Western European words for 'barley', Lat. *hordeum*, OHG *gersta*, have failed thus far. The word κῖ corresponds better with Alb. *drithë*, 'barley, wheat', of which the -ri- may come from IE \**-r-*. Further, Arm. *gari*, gen. *garwoy* 'wheat' < IE \**ǵʰr̥iō-* also recalls κῖ, and a similar word appears in Georgian *qeri* 'barley'; cf. Deeters *IF* 56 (1938): 140f. We may be dealing with a Wanderwort. Egyptian origin has been considered too (Schwyzer: 61, Debrunner in Ebert 1924-1932: 4, 525).

**κρίκος** [m.] 'ring' at the end of a carriage-pole, on a sail; 'curtain-ring, arm-ring, finger-ring, etc.' (Ω 272, Hdt. 2, 36, Arist., Thphr., Hell. inscr.). <?>

•VAR Acc. κρίκα· κρίκον (H.). Also κίκκος (Hell.), cf. κικκώ below.

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. in κρικ-ηλασία 'trundling of hoops' (Antyll. *apud* Orib. 6, 26. 1).

•DER κικκίον 'small ring' (Delos II<sup>a</sup>), κικέλ(λ)ιον 'id.' (Alex. Trall., sch.), like ψέλ(λ)ιον, and cf. Lat. *circellus*; κρικωτός 'consisting of rings' (Hell.); cf. κρικόομαι 'to be fastened with a ring' (Str.), κίκκωσις (Heliod. *apud* Orib.), -ωμα (Eust.); κικκώ 'to fetter with a ring' (A. *Pr.* 74). Several glosses in H.: κρικάδεια· τὸ ἐναλλάξαι τοὺς δακτύλους ὥσπερ [τ] κρυβούς; ἐγκρικάδεια· συναφή χειρῶν εἰς τοῦπίσω; ἐγκρίκια· ξύλα κεκκαμμένα. See also on ▶κισός (and κρισός, κριξός).

•ETYM The form κίκκος would have an impossible root structure in PIE, and, on chronological grounds, κρίκος must be original as well. Further analysis remains hypothetical. Lat. *circus* 'circle' is probably a loan from κίκκος (thus De Vaan 2008); from the former, and from *circulus*, derive all Western European words for 'circle'.

**κρίμνον** [n.] 'coarse barley-meal, coarse bread', plur. also 'crumbs' (Hp., Herod., Eup., Arist., pap., Lyc.). <?>

•VAR Or -ι-? The length of the ι is unclear.

•DER κριμνώδης (Hp., Ar.); κριμνίτης ἄρτος 'coarse bread' (Iatrocl. *apud* Ath. 14, 646a); κριμνήστις πλακοῦντος εἶδος 'kind of flat cake' (H.), cf. on κυλλήστις.

•ETYM Unexplained. The connection with κρί, κριθή is formally unwarranted, and an analysis as κρι-μν-ον (to κρίνω) does not seem preferable. Fur.: 245 compares κρίνον 'kind of bread' (Ath. 3, 114f., not in LSJ), assuming \**kriwno*-.

**κριμνός** [m.] 'purple color?' (PHolm. 8, 43 [written κριμμον, acc.], Ps.-Democr. Alch. p. 42B. [cod. κριμνός]). <LW Orient.?>

•VAR κριμνούς λευκάς τινὰς βοτάνας 'light pastures or plants' (H.).

•ETYM From Arab. *qermez* 'scarlet'; see Amigues *RPh.* 74 (2000): 272 (with complicated details).

**κρίνον** [n.] 'white lily' (IA), also name of a dance (Apollroph.), see Lawler *AmJPh.* 65 (1944): 75ff. <?>

•VAR Plur. κρίνεα, -εσιν.

•COMP Some compounds like κριν-άνθεμον 'houseleek, ἡμεροκαλλές' (Hp., Ps.-Dsc.), καλαμό-κρινον 'kind of κάλαμος that is reminiscent of κρίνον' (Aët.), see Strömberg 1944: 13.

•DER κρίνινος 'of lilies' (pap., Gal.), κρινωτός 'ornamented with lilies' (Aristeas); κρινωνιά 'bed of lilies' (Suid.), 'lily' (Thphr.); see Scheller 1951: 71, and also ἰωνιά (s.v. ▶ ἶον).

•ETYM Foreign word; cf. Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 11 and Hehn-Schrader 1911: 245.

**κρίνω** [v.] 'to separate, choose, select, decide, judge, condemn, accuse, apply' (Il.); ὑπο-κρίνομαι 'to answer' (Il.), 'to answer on stage (of the choir), to be an actor' (Att.); ἀπο- 'to answer' (Att.). <IE \**kre(h<sub>1</sub>)-i-* 'separate, distinguish, sieve'>

•VAR Aor. κρίναι, pass. κριθῆναι (epic also κρινθήμεναι for metrical reasons, Chantraine 1942: 404), perf. med. κέκριμαι, act. κέκρικα (Pl. *Lg.*), fut. κρινῶ, epic Ion. κρινέω, Dor. -ίω.

•DIAL Thess. κρεννέμεν, Lesb. aor. κρίνναι.

•COMP Very frequently prefixed, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, δια-, ἐκ-, συν-, etc.

•DER 1. (ἀπό-, διά-, etc.) κρίσις 'decision, judgement, tribunal, etc.' (Pi., IA), κρίσιμος 'decisive, critical' (Hp., Arist.), ἀποκρισιάριος 'secretary' (pap. VP). 2. (ἀπό-, ἐπί-, σύν-, πρό-) κρίμα 'decision, etc.' (Hell.), κρίμα = κρεῖμα (A. *Supp.* 397); σύγκριμα 'body formed by combination' (Hell.) with συγκριμάτιον 'small body' (M. Ant.), -ματικός (Gal.). 3. (ἀν-)κριτήρ 'judge, examiner' (Dor.), κριντήρ 'id.' (Gortyn), κριτής 'judge, arbiter' (IA), often from prefixed compounds, e.g. ὑποκριτής 'actor, etc.' (Att.); κριτήριο 'distinguishing mark, tribunal' (Att., Arg.), ἐπι- 'court of justice' (Crete); ἐγκριτήριος 'for admission' (Corinth II<sup>p</sup>); further details on κριτήρ, -τής, -τήριο in Fraenkel 1910-1912 (index). 4. κριτός 'selected, excellent' (Il.), PNs Κρίτων, Κρίτυλλα; also ἐκ-, σύγ-κριτος, etc. (IA); (δια-, ἐπι-, συν-)κριτικός 'of κρίσις (judgement), etc.' (Pl., Arist.). 5. -κριδόν, e.g. διακριδόν 'separated' (Il.), διακριδά 'id.' (Opp.). 6. On ▶ κρίμνον, see s.v.

•ETYM The present κρίνω derives from PGr. \**krin-je/o-*, unless it was innovated from the aorist κρίναι. It has a nasal suffix which originally belonged only to the present, but was later extended to the other aspectual stems (this also happened e.g. in ▶ κλίνω). Italic and Celtic have corresponding nasal presents in Lat. *cernō* 'to select, discern' < \**kri-n-oH*, MW *go-grynu* 'to sieve' < IE \**upo-kri-n-oH*. The verbal adj. κριτός matches Lat. *certus* 'decided, certain' < \**kr(H)i-tó-*, but in other respects the two languages behaved differently: the lengthened grade in (*dē*)*crēvī*, *excrēmentum* 'separation' < \**-kreh<sub>1</sub>-* (which is an argument for reconstructing the root as \**kreh<sub>1</sub>-i-* rather than \**krei-*) perhaps lives on in isolated ▶ κρησέρα 'fine sieve', but was otherwise lost in Greek.

The Greek paradigm results from large-scale levelling; only Att. κρίμα could continue an older full grade κρεῖμα comparable to Lat. *dis-cri-men*. Other languages have numerous nominal formations, especially Latin, Celtic, and Germanic: e.g. Lat. *cribrum* 'sieve', Gm., e.g. Go. *hrains* 'pure', originally 'sieved'. The root must have been used specifically for sieving in PIE, given the many derivations pointing in this direction.

**κρίος** [m.] 'ram' (Od.); on the mg. as opposed to ἀρνείος see Benveniste *BSL* 45 (1949): 103, often metaphorical, especially in the sense of 'battering ram' (X., Plb., Hell. inscr.); also name of a plant, a kind of chick-pea (Thphr., Hell. pap., Dsc.), and a sea-monster (Ael., Opp.), see Strömberg 1943: 102. <?>

•COMP κριο-πρόσωπος 'with a ram's face' (Hdt.), ἀντί-κριος 'enemy battering ram' (Aen. *Tact.*).

•DER κριώδης 'ram-like' (Ph.); κριώμα 'kind of ship' (Aq.), also 'battering ram' (Apollod. *Poliore?*); on the formation Chantraine 1933: 187.

•ETYM The word points to something like \**kriH-uo-*. Connection with κέρας 'horn' < \**kerh<sub>2</sub>-s-* is formally impossible. Another attempt connected it with the Germanic name of the reindeer, ON *hreinn*, OE *hrān* < \**kroi-no-*, but this too is formally awkward. Closer are some Balto-Slavic words for 'curved', e.g. CS *krivъ* 'σκολιός', Lith. *kreivas*, *kraivas* (Eastern dial.) 'oblique, curved, bent' (cf. on ▶ κροίος). In case these words are related, the ram would have been named after its curved horns. Forssman *IF* 101 (1996): 304 recently suggested connection with Go. *hrisjan* 'to shake, dally', from \**kris-io-*. Formally, this is quite possible (there is in fact no trace of a *wau*). As the name of a kind of chickpea, κρίος has nothing to do with Lat. *cicer* (Pok. 598), as the plant was named after its curved shells; see Strömberg 1937: 50.

**κροαίνω** 'to push, stamp'. => κρούω.

**κροίος** [adj.] acc. to H. = νοσώδης, ἀσθενής 'sickly, feeble'; acc. to Theognost. *Can.* 21 = κολοβός 'curtailed'; also in Att. inscr. (*IG* 2<sup>2</sup>, 244: 63 [IV<sup>a</sup>], cf. *Αρχ.Έφ.* 1923: 39), of building stones (λίθοι). <?>

•ETYM Compared with Lith. *kraivas* 'oblique, bent', etc. by Solmsen *IF* 31 (1912/13): 466f.; cf. on ▶ κριός. It is probably better to posit \**krow-jo-* 'cut off, broken off' and to connect it with ▶ κρούω.

**κρόκη 1** 'thread of the wool'. => κρέκω.

**κρόκη 2** [f.] 'rounded pebble on the seashore' (Arist., Lyc.). <?>

•VAR κροκάλοι [pl.] (E. IA 210 [lyr.], AP, Agath.) is attested earlier; unclear is κροκάλην [acc.sg.] (AP 7, 294), which could be adjectival.

•ETYM No etymology. Connection with Skt. words like *śárkarā* [f.] 'grit, gravel' or *kṛśāna-* [n.] 'pearl' (cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia*: s.vv.) is meaningless. See ► κροκόδιλος, ► σάκχαρ.

**κροκόδιλος** [m.] 'lizard, crocodile' (Hdt., Arist.). <?>

•VAR Also κορκ- (pap.), κροκύδ- (Hippon.), κρεκύδ- (*Et. Gen.*).

•COMP As a first member in κροκοδιλο-τάφιον 'burial place for crocodiles' (pap.).

•DER κροκοδιλίτης [m.] (Chrysipp.), of λόγος = Lat. *crocodilina ambiguitas* (Quint.), "crocodile syllogism", a kind of fallacy; κροκοδίλεον (Dsc., Gal.), -διλιάς (Gal., Alex. Trall.) 'Eryngium maritimum, sea-holly'; -διλέα 'excrements of the κροκ. χερσαῖος', used as an eye-salve (Plin.).

•ETYM Acc. to Hdt. 2, 69, it was originally the Ionic name of a lizard, which was transferred to the crocodile and the alligator. Frisk's etymology as a compound from κρόκη 'gravel' and δριῖλος 'worm' (with dissimilation) should be forgotten. See Diels & Brugmann *IF* 15 (1903-1904): 1ff. and Solmsen *BPhW* 1906: 758f. on variant spellings of the word, especially the itacistic writing with -ει-.

**κρόκος** [m.] 'saffron, *Crocus sativus*' (since Ξ 348). <LW Sem.??>

•COMP E.g. κροκό-πεπλος 'with saffron-colored cloth' (Il.), see Treu 1955: 244 and 258, Capelle *RhM* 101 (1958): 1ff.

•DER Especially adjectives of color: κρόκεος 'saffron-colored' (P. [v.l. -όεις], E. [lyr.]), -ήιος 'id' (*h. Cer.* 178), metrically conditioned, see S. Schmid 1950: 48, Zumbach 1955: 14; -όεις 'id.' (Tyrnt., Sapph., E., Ar.), see Treu 1955: 268; κρόκινος 'of saffron, saffron-colored' (Stratt., Hell.), -ώδης 'id.' (Dsc., medic.), -ηρός 'of saffron' (Gal.), after οἰνηρός, etc., see Chantraine 1933: 233; κροκίας [m.] 'saffron-yellow stone' (Plu.), like καπνίας, etc., Chantraine 1933: 94; κροκωτός [adj.] 'saffron-yellow' (Pi.), [m.] 'saffron cloth' (com., Att. inscr.), whence -ώτιον (Poll.), -ωτίδιον (Ar.), -ώτινος (pap.); κροκῶν [m.] 'saffron-bed' (Hdn.); κροκάτον [n.] 'saffron-yellow parchment' (*Edict. Diocl. Asin.*), from Lat. *crocatūs*, see below. Denominative verbs: κροκίζω 'to be saffron-like' (Dsc., Plu.), κροκόομαι (κισσῶ) 'to be surrounded with saffron-colored ivy' (AP).

•ETYM Identical with the Semitic word for 'saffron', e.g. Akk. *kurkanū*, Arab. *kurkum*, Hebr. *karkōm*, and with Skt. *kuṅkuma-* 'id.' (which is MInd. for \**kurkuma-*); further details on the origin are unknown. Acc. to E. Masson 1967: 50, the Semitic words could be loans themselves. From κρόκος came Lat. *crocus*, as well as *crocōta* [f.] 'saffron-cloth' (from κροκωτός) and *crocōtinum* 'saffron cake' (: κροκῶτινος); there is Lat. innovation in *crocatūs* 'saffron-yellow' (> Gr. κροκάτον, see above). Another word for the same notion is ► κάγκαμον.

**κρομβώ** 'to roast, bake'. ⇒ κράμβος.

**κρόμμυον** [n.] 'onion, *Allium Cepa*' (IA). <EUR??>

•VAR Also κρόμμυον (Λ 630, τ 233, Philem. 122), κρόμβυον (pap.) < -μμ-, cf. Schwyzler: 231.

•COMP κρομμυο-πώλης 'onion handler' (pap.).

•DER Diminutive κρομ(μ)ύδιον (*Gp.*, sch.).

•ETYM A similar word for onion and garlic is attested in Celtic, Germanic and Balto-Slavic, e.g. Mlr. *crim*, MW *craf* 'garlic', OE *hramsan* [pl.], MoE *ramsons* 'wood-garlic', MoHG (Bav.) *rams* 'id.', Lith. *kermušė* 'wild garlic', Ru. *čeremšá* 'Allium ursinum'. The *e*-vowel of Celtic and Balto-Slavic is also found in κρέμμυον (H.) and in the TN Κρεμμυών (also Κρομμ-, near Corinth). Therefore, Schmidt *KZ* 32 (1893): 346 assumed vowel assimilation κρεμ- > κρομ-, but this is hardly acceptable; see Van Beek *fthc.b.* Note that Gm. also has \**hram-* < \**krom-*.

It is difficult to reconstruct a PIE pre-form, given the alternations pointing to \**kremus-*, \**kromus-*, \**kermus-*, and also the Greek geminate -μμ-. Beekes 2000: 29 therefore considers the word to be non-IE. The interpretation of *Cremōna* near Venice (Krahe 1955: 104) as an Illyrian TN is speculative. On the distribution, see Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 710ff.

**κρομπος** [?] a piece of land. <PG??>

•VAR With secondary prop vowel κορομποι dat.sg. (Arcadian Orchomenos, 369<sup>a</sup>), see *Del.*<sup>3</sup> 664, 12; 16.

•ETYM Connection with OHG *hrimfan* 'to wrinkle, curb', OCS *krǫpъ* 'small', Lith. *krumplys* 'finger-knuckle', etc. (Fraenkel 1955 and Pok. 948f. *apud* Frisk) hardly makes sense. Fur.: 381 considers the word to be Pre-Greek, because of the anaptyctic vowel (see also Fur.: 378-385).

**κρόσσαι** [f.pl.] 'stepped copings of parapets' (M 258, 444), 'courses, steps of the pyramids' (Hdt. 2, 125); πρό-κροσσοί 'arranged in rows, ranks' (Ξ 35, Hdt.). <?>

•COMP κροσσοί [m.pl.] 'tassels, fringes' (Gal., Poll., H.); δί-κροσσος 'double-bordered' (Poll., EM), whence δικρόσσια [n.pl.] (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*).

•DER Diminutive κροσσίων (Hdn.); also as a plant name (Ps.-Dsc.); also κροσσωτός 'with fringes' (LXX, Lyc., Plu.), 'with steps' (Lyc. 291?), v.l. κορσ-.

•ETYM Frisk's suggestion that the expression originally derives from weaving (connecting κρόξ, κρόκη 'thread of the woof' [see ► κρέκω]) is not likely. As he notes, it seems that κροσσοί (which is late and rare) was back-formed from κροσσωτός, which is attested much earlier and better. The word κροσσωτός (also δικροσσοί, δικρόσσια) was formed to the original κρόσσαι after θυσανωτός 'provided with tassels, fringes', and was transferred from the sphere of architecture to that of tailor-work. From κροσσωτός, the back-formation κροσσοί was formed (cf. θύσανοι from θυσανωτός).

The word κρόσσαι itself is a technical expression of unknown origin. Derivation from \**krok-iai* and connection with Balto-Slavic words for 'bar, rod, rafters' (e.g. Lith. *krākė* 'rod, staff', which formally matches κρόσσαι, *krėklas* 'rafters', Ru. *krókva* 'bar, club, rafters') seems rather speculative. Fur.: 257 connects ► κόρη 'temple', which is unwarranted.

**κρόταφος** [m.] 'temple', metaph. 'side, profile, steep mountain slope' (Il.). <PG??>

•VAR Usually plur. By-forms with metathesis: κόρταφος (*EM, Et. Gud.*, perhaps also Pl. Com., see Maas KZ 46 (1914):159), κότραφος (*PMag. Osl.* 1, 152).

•COMP πολιο-κρόταφος 'with gray temples' (Θ 518).

•DER κροταφίς [f.] 'pointed hammer' (Att. inscr., Poll., H.), on the mg. see below, κροτάφιος 'of the temples' (Gal.), κροταφίτης 'temple muscle' (medic.), -ίτιδες πληγαί [fem.pl.] (Hp.). Denominative κροταφίζω [v.] 'to hit on the temple, box on the ear' (pap.), κροταφιστής (gloss., H. s.v. κόβαλος).

•ETYM Often derived from κρότος as "beating (of the veins in the temples)". In this case, κρόταφος would refer to the sound that is heard after being hit on the temple. Fur.: 257 connects it with ►κόρση 'temple' (like Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 258ff.) and remarks that it is unsatisfactory, from a semantic viewpoint, to separate κόρση and κρόταφος from κρόσσα.

**κρότος** [m.] 'stamping of the feet, clapping of the hands, of the oars, etc.; clapping, applause' (Att.). <IE? \*kret- 'shake'>

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. μονό-, δί-, τρί-κροτος 'with one, two, three rows of rowers' (E., X., Plb.), see Morrison *Class. Quart.* 41 (1947): 122 ff.; ἵππό-κροτος 'trodden by horses, resounding of the hoofbeat of horses' (Pi., E.), ἀπό-κροτος 'well-pounded' (Th., X.).

•DER κροτέω [v.] 'to rattle, beat, stamp' (O 453, IA), also prefixed, especially with συν-, in various mgs.; thence κρότημα (S., E.), -ησιμός (A. Th. 561), perhaps after ὀρχησιμός, Chantraine 1933: 141; -ησις (Pl. Ax., Ph. Bel.), -ητικός (Dosith.). κρόταλα [n.pl.] 'rattle, castanets' (h. Hom., Pi., Hdt.), [sg.] 'boaster' (Ar., E.), κροτάλια [n.pl.] '(clattering) ear-rings' (pap.), MoGr. κροταλίας, -ίτης 'rattlesnake' (cf. Redard 1949: 83), κροταλίζω 'to rattle' (A 160, Hdt.), -ίστρια, -ιστρίς 'castanet player' (pap.).

•ETYM Cf. ►κρόταφος, -φίς. The earlier and more frequent attestations of κροτέω, as compared with κρότος, point to priority of the verb. The comparison with a Gm. verb, OE *hrindan*, *hrand*, ON *hrinda*, *hratt* 'to push' (Pok. 621) should probably be rejected; note that it has an inner nasal which need not be an infix. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*kret- compares OHG *redan* 'to sieve', Lith. *krėsti*, 1sg. *krečiu* 'to shake' and OCS *krotiti*, 1sg. *kroštŭ* 'to tame'. Although formally impeccable, the semantics are not wholly satisfactory. See LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*kret-.

**κροτών, -ώνος** [m.] 'tick, louse of a sheep, *Pediculus ovis*, *Ixodes*' (Arist., Dsc., Plu.), also 'tree of castor oil, *Ricinus communis*' and its seeds (Hp., Thphr., Hell.); acc. to Dsc. 4, 161 διὰ τὴν ὡς πρὸς τὸ ζῶον τοῦ σπέρματος ἐμφέρειαν 'because of the likeness of the seed to the animal', cf. Strömberg 1937: 50. <?>

•COMP E.g. κροτῶνο-φόρος, of γῆ (Hell. pap.).

•DER κροτώνη [f.] 'knag, pathological excrescence on the stem (of the olive tree), fragments of bronchial cartilage' (Thphr., Hp., Gal.); for the formation cf. Chantraine 1933: 207.

•ETYM Unexplained.

**κρούναι** [f.pl.]? · τὰ ἄφορα δένδρα 'barren trees' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 120 compares γρυνός 'faggot, firebrand' and γρουνός 'dry wood, torch', so the word is clearly Pre-Greek.

**κρουνός** [m.] 'source, fountain, stream, torrent', also as a TN (Il.). <IE? \*kros-n- 'wave, flood'>

•COMP E.g. Ἐννεά-κρουνος name of a source on the Hymettos (Hdt., Th.).

•DER Diminutives κρουνίον (Hdn.), -ίσκος (sch.); further κρουν-εῖον a cup (com.), -ωμα 'flood' (Emp. 6, 3), -ίτιδες (νύμφαι, Orph.), -ηδόν 'like a spring' (LXX, Ph.); κρουνίζω [v.] 'to bring forth a stream', -ομαι 'to catch a stream with the mouth' (com.), -ισμός 'gushing, spray' (Aq., medic.), -ισμα 'stream', -ισμάτιον 'small nozzle or spout' (Hero). κρούναι· κρήναι τέλειαι 'perfect springs' (H.).

•ETYM Probably from \*kros-nó-; to which the group of ON *hrōnn* < PGm. \*hraznō- < \*kros-neh<sub>2</sub>- is compared. Within Greek, it has been connected with ►κρήνη (see s.v. for details).

**κρούπεζαι** [f.pl.] 'wooden shoes to press olives or to indicate the rhythm of a dance' (Paus. Gr., Poll., Phot.). <GR?, PG?>

•VAR Also -ζα [sg.]. By-forms κρούπαλα (S. Fr. 44), for which cf. κρόταλα; κρούπανα (H.), after instrument names in -ανον; κρούπετα (H.), example unknown.

•COMP κρουπέζο-φόροι [pl.] name of the Boeotians (Cratin.).

•DER Diminutives κρουπέζια [pl.] (Poll., H.) and κρουπέζουμενος 'provided with κ.' (H.).

•ETYM A governing compound, analyzed as τὸν πόδα (τῷ ποδί) κρούειν 'to bump the foot, stamp with the foot' (Frisk s.v.), where the second member is modelled after ἀργυρό-πεζα, etc. The variant forms may also point to substrate origin: we have \*krou-pan/l-, -pet-. It is not *a priori* certain that these are due to folk etymology.

**κρούω** [v.] 'to strike, stamp, knock' (Hp., Att.). <IE \*krou(s)- 'push, bump, strike, break'>

•VAR Aor. κρούσαι, pass. -σθῆναι, perf. med. κέκρου(σ)μαι, act. κέκρουκα.

•COMP Very frequent with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, δια-, ἐκ-, παρα-, συν-.

•DER Special mgs. from the prefixed compounds are not especially noted: κρούμα, -σμα 'sound made by striking: tone, melody' (Hp., Att.), κρου(σ)-ματικός (Hell.), κρούσις 'striking (especially of the strings), string music' (Hp., Att.), κρουσμός 'id.' (Hell.); ἀνακρουσία· παιδιὰς εἶδος ἐπὶ σφαίρας 'kind of ball game' (H.); ἐπικρούστιον name of a medical instrument (medic.), -τήριον 'hammer' (gloss.); κρουστικός 'good for striking' (Hp., Ar., Arist.); Προκρούς-της name of a mythical brigand (X.). Instead of κρούω, Homer has the enlargement κροαίνω (Z 507 = O 264 κροαίνων 'stamping, galloping'), imitated in Opp., Philostr.; cf. Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 43. Cf. ►κροῖός.

•ETYM The Greek verbal system, including nominal derivations, is based on a root κρουσ-. The present may derive from \*krous-je/o- or be analogical after the aorist. Cf. on ►ἀκούω. Acc. to Frisk, it is unnecessary to assume a root variant without -s-, as he explains κροαίνω in the same way as ἀκοή < PGr. \*akowsā (however, note that Homer still has ἀκούη without shortening in hiatus). The form ►κροῖός may go back to \*krou-jo-, if it was derived after the present had already developed to \*krowwo-.

The form κρούω is from IE \*krous-, and corresponds to a Balto-Slavic verb built on \*krous-eie/o- (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*kreus-): OCS *sz-krušiti* 'συντρίβειν, θραύειν, κρούειν', Ru.

*krušīt*; Latv. *krāusēt* 'to stamp (off)', Lith. *kraušyti* 'id.'. Zero grade *\*krus-* is found in nominal derivations, e.g. CS *krěxa*, Ru. *kroxá* 'morsel, crumb', Lith. *krūšti*, 1sg. *krušū* 'to stamp, push (apart)'; an *e*-grade also appears in Lith. *kriaūšti* 'to sting'.

**κρυερός** •VAR κρυμός. = κρύος.

**κρύος** [n.] 'icy cold, frost' (Hes. *Op.* 494, A. [lyr.], Arist., Jul.). <IE? *\*kreus-* 'shiver', *\*kruh<sub>2</sub>-* 'bloody'>

•DER κρυόεις 'horrible, sinister' (Il., Hes., Pi.), 'icy-cold' (A. R., AP, Orph.), with analogical -ο-; see also on ►οκρυόεις; κρυώδης 'id.' (Plu., Poll.); further κρυερός 'horrible, sinister' (Hom., Hes., Ar. [lyr.]), 'icy-cold' (Simon., Ar. [lyr.]); cf. below. Independent formation from κρύος: κρῦμός [m.] 'frosty cold, frost, horror' (Ion., trag., Hell.), κρυμώδης 'icy-cold' (Hp., Ph., AP), κρυμαλέος 'id.' (S. E.), see Chantraine 1933: 254; κρυμαίνω [v.] 'to make cold' (Hdn.), -ώσσω 'to be stiff out of cold' (Theognost.). On ►κρύσταλλος, which is Pre-Greek, see s.v.

•ETYM The etymology is difficult to assess, as there are two alternatives. The most obvious connection for κρύος is that with ON *hrjósa* 'to shiver', OHG *hroso* 'ice, crust' from *\*kreus-*. This means that κρύος may represent *\*krus-*, derived from the root *\*kreus-* 'to stamp, strike'. Lat. *crusta* has often been compared with κρύος; acc. to De Vaan 2008 s.v. *crusta*, the Latin word can be explained from a basic meaning 'hardened part' (by beating or pounding). Semantically, connection with ToB *krošce*, etc. 'cold' (Adams 1999 s.v.) is perfect for the Greek group, but the ToB -ο- is difficult (did it arise by umlaut < *\*kreus-tōn*, as Adams suggests?).

Alternatively, the group of Av. *xrūma-* 'horrible', which must be reconstructed as *\*kruh<sub>2</sub>-mo-* and connected with the group of *\*kruh<sub>2</sub>-s-*, could agree with κρῦμός (κρύος going back on *\*kruh<sub>2</sub>-s-*). This group is represented by e.g. Skt. *krūrā-*, Av. *xrūra-* 'wounded, raw, bloody, horrible' < *\*kruh-ro-* (Lat. *crūdus* 'raw' is probably from not *\*crūrus*, see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). The form κρυερός is probably a recent formation after the adjectives in -ερός.

**κρύπτω** [v.] 'to conceal, hide' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Fut. κρύψω, aor. κρύψαι, pass. κρυφθῆναι (Il.), -φῆναι (S.), -βῆναι (LXX), fut. -βήσομαι (E., LXX), perf. med. κέκρυμμαι (Od.), act. κέκρυφα (D. H.), iter. ipf. κρύπτασκε (Θ 272), see Risch 240, -εσκε (*h. Cer.* 239), late pres. κρύβω, ipf. ἔκρυβον, -φον.

•COMP Often prefixed, e.g. with ἀπο-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, κατα-.

•DER 1. κρυπτός 'hidden, secret' (E 168), κρυπτάδιος 'id.' (Il., A.), after ἀμφάδιος; κρυπτικός 'concealing' (Arist., Alex. Aphr.), κρυπτίνδα παίζειν 'to play hide-and-seek' (Theognost.); κρυπτεύω [v.] 'to hide' (E., X.), κρυπτεία 'secret service at Sparta' (Pl., Arist.). 2. (ἐγ-, ἀπό-, ἐπί-)κρύψις 'hiding' (E., Arist., Plb.). 3. κρυπτήρ 'hider', name of an instrument (Delos II<sup>a</sup>, sch.), -τήριος 'serving as a hiding place' (Orac. *apud* Paus. 8, 42, 6), κρύπτης 'member of the κρυπτεία' (E. fr. 1126[?]). 4. κρυφῆ Dor. -φᾶ (Pi., S., X.), κρύφᾳ (Th.) [adv.] 'secretly'; thence κρυφάδαν (Corinn.), -άδις (Hdn.), -ηδόν (Od., Q. S.), -ανδόν (H.) 'id.' (Schwyzer 550, 626, 631); κρυφαῖος 'secret' (Pi., trag., LXX), κρύφασος name of a throw of the dice (Poll.), see Chantraine 1933: 435. 5. κατα-, ἀπο-κρυφή 'hiding place' (S., LXX); κρύφιος 'secretly'

(Hes., Pi., trag., Th.), on κρύφιος to κρύπτω see Schulze 1933a: 362; κρυφία [f.] 'hiding place' (PFlor. 284, 8 [VI<sup>p</sup>]), κρύφιμος = κρύφιος (Man.), -μαῖος 'id.' (Ephesus [IV<sup>p</sup>]), -ιώδης 'id.' (Eust.); ἀπό-, ἐπί-, ἐγ-, ὑπό-κρυφος 'concealed' (Pi., Hdt., E.), from ἀποκρύπτω, etc.; κρυφός (κρύφος) 'hiding' (Emp. 27, 3, LXX), 'secret' (conj. Pi. O. 2, 97), see Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 164f.; ἐγκρυφίας ἄρτος 'bread hidden under the ashes, i.e. baked' (Hp.), ἐγκρυφιάζω [v.] 'to hide' (Ar.); κρυφιαστής 'interpreter of dreams' (Aq.). 6. κρύβδᾶ = κρύφα (Σ 168, A., Pi.), κρύβδην, Dor. -δᾶν (Od.). 7. (ἀπο-)κρυβή 'concealment' (LXX, Vett. Val.), κρυβῆ = -φῆ (LXX); κρυβηλός: κρυπτός [πύργος] 'hidden [tower]', κρύβες: νεκροί 'the dead' κρυβήτας: τετελευτηκότας 'the dead', κρυβήσια: νεκύσια 'festivals of the dead', κρυβάζει: ἀποκρύπτει 'hides (from)' (H.).

•ETYM The word κρύπτω is formally and semantically reminiscent of ►καλύπτω; the verbs may have influenced each other. The variation π/ φ/ β may be partly analogical; cf. Schwyzer: 333, 705<sup>2</sup>, 737. Although there is no formal match with κρύπτω, it does recall the Balto-Slavic group of OCS *kryti* 'κρύπτω, ἀποκρύπτω', Lith. *kráuti*, 1sg. *kráuju* 'to pile up' (on the meaning, see Schulze KZ 50 (1922): 275). However, since there is no good IE etymology, the word could be Pre-Greek. This seems confirmed by the frequent variations in the root-final labial stop.

**κρύσταλλος** [m.] 'ice' (Il.), also 'rock-crystal' [f.] (Str., D. S.), with gender after λίθος. <PG(V)>

•VAR κρόσταλλος: εἶδος ὕελου 'kind of crystalline stone' (H.), where Latte notes "h.e. κρύσταλλος (κρούστ- S.)".

•DER κρυστάλλιον 'id.' (PHolm.), also plant name = ψύλλιον (Dsc.), because of the cooling effect, see Strömberg 1940: 83; κρυστάλλινος 'icy-cold' (Hp.), 'of rock-crystal' (D. C.), -ώδης 'icy, crystal-clear' (Ptol., PHolm.); κρυσταλλόομαι 'to freeze' (Ph.), -ίζω 'to glow like crystal' (Apoc.); further κρυσταίνομαι 'to freeze' (Nic. Al. 314), probably a free analogical formation to κρύσταλλος, after other cases of the interchange ν/ λ (differently, Schwyzer: 706).

•ETYM The word has been connected with Lat. *crusta* 'bark, crust', but this is wrong, as the Latin word has a quite different meaning: 'the hard surface of a body, the rind, shell, crust, bark, which protects it' (Lewis and Short). The collocation with *flumen*, indicating a covering or crust of ice, is just an incidental use. The etymology with κρύος must therefore be given up. As Kuiper 1956: 215<sup>16</sup> remarked, the word is Pre-Greek because of the suffix -αλλο-. All Greek words in -αλλο- are of Pre-Greek origin; there are no Greek words of IE origin with this suffix. The suffix is not -αλ- with expressive gemination (as Chantraine often states), but goes back to *\*-alʷ-*. This is confirmed by the variant κρόστ-. The word means 'ice' and was also used for rock-crystal, because it is transparent, and in this respect looks like a piece of ice. Pliny (37, 23) still thinks it is ice. We now know that rock-crystal is a mineral; it is quartz, a silicate (SiO<sub>2</sub>). The semi-precious amethyst and agate are varieties of it. See Beekes 2008 and also on ►κρύος.

**κρωβύλος** [m.] 'roll or knot of hair on the crown of the head' (Th., X., Antiph.), on the mg. see Hauser *Jahresh. d. Österr. arch. Inst.* 11 Beibl.: 87ff. <PG?>

- VAR The accent after Hdn. Gr. 1, 163.
- DER κρωβυλώδης 'κ.-like' (Luc. *Lex.* 13); κρωβύλη [f.] 'hair-net' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 323, Serv. ad *Aen.* 4, 138).
- ETYM Semitic explanation in Lewy 1895: 89; cf. Knauer *Glotta* 33 (1954): 116'. Rabin *Orientalia* 32 (1963): 123f. points to Late Bab. *karballatu* and Hitt. *kariulli*. Fur.: 205 points to -ύλη as a common Pre-Greek suffix.

**κρώζω** [v.] 'to croak, creak' (Hes. *Op.* 747, Ar.). <IE? \**kroh<sub>2</sub>k*>

- VAR Aor. κρῶξαι, fut. κρῶξω.
- COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-, ὑπο-.
- DER κρωγμός 'croaking' (AP, Jul.), κρώγμα 'id.' (Hdn. *Epim.*).
- ETYM Originally an onomatopoeic word, which differs only in the auslauting stop from Lat. *crōcīre*, CS *krakati*, 1sg. *kraču*. Cf. also Lith. *kr(i)ōkti*, 1sg. *kr(i)okiū* 'to ruckle, grumble' and (with -g-) *kriogióti*, 1sg. *kriogióju* 'to speak or cry with hoarse voice'. IE \*-g- is also found in the Gm. group of ON *hrókr* 'crow'. Cf. ▶κράζω, ▶κραυγή, ▶κόραξ.

**κρωμακίσκος** [m.] 'young pig' (Antiph. 215, dubious). <?>

- ETYM Unknown.

**κρῶμαξ** ⇒ κλῶμαξ.

**κρόπιον** [n.] 'sickle, scythe' (Pherecyd. 154 J.). <PG(V)>

- VAR Better -ίον; in H. also κρόβιον (cod. also κρόπ- and κρόβ-).
- ETYM Probably derived from a noun (\*κρόψ vel sim.), in view of forms like λυχνίον, χαλκίον, ἀκόντιον, and other instrument names in -ιον (Chantraine 1933: 58). The Greek word recalls the verbal root in Lith. *kiĩpti*, 1sg. *kerpù* 'to cut, shave', Lat. *carpō* 'to pluck off'; see on ▶καρπός 1, as well as on ▶σκορπίος and ▶σκέπαρνος. Further compared with Skt. *kṛpāṇa* 'sword', Mlr. *corrán* 'sickle'. However, this is not even a root etymology, in view of the Schwebeablaut \**kerp-* / \**krōp-* involved. Given the variation, the word must be Pre-Greek. Fur.: 148 refers to Hurrit. *hurubbi* 'sword'.

**κρωσσός** [m.] 'water pail, pitcher, salve bottle, cinerary urn' (trag., Theoc.). <PG>

- VAR Also [f.] after λήκυθος, etc.
- DER Diminutive κρωσσίον (AP).
- ETYM The element -σσ-, as well as the technical meaning, points to a Pre-Greek word. Previously, Celtic and Germanic words for 'jar, pot' were compared, e.g. Mlr. *crocán*, OE *crocca*, OHG *kruog*; see Pok. 389 and Vendryes *REGr.* 32 (1932): 495ff. Fur.: 369 compares Hurr.-Hitt. *aḫrushī* 'incense-pot'.

**κτάομαι** [v.] 'to acquire, win', perf. 'to possess' (Il.). <IE? \**tkeh<sub>2</sub>-* 'rule, gain, acquire'>

- VAR Ion. ipf. ἐκτέετο (v.l. Hdt. 8, 112), aor. κτήσασθαι (Il.), pass. κτηθῆναι (Th., E.), fut. κτήσομαι (post-Hom.), perf. ἐκτημαι, κέκτημαι (Hes., Att.).
- COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, προσ-.
- DER (prefixed compounds are not indicated separately): 1. dat.pl. κτεάτεσσι (Hom., Pi., E.), sg. κτέαρ (Hell.) ('acquired') goods, possessions, property', whence κτεατίζω

[v.] 'to acquire' (Il.), κτεατισμός (Man.), cod. κτεαν-. 2. κτέανα [n.pl.] 'id.' (Hes., also Hp.), secondary and rare -ον [sg.], φιλο-κτεανώτατε [voc.] (A 122), see Sommer 1948: 69; πολυ-κτέανος (Pi.). 3. κτήματα [n.pl.] (Il.) 'goods, landed property', also 'domestic animals' (also [sg.], ο 19), κτημάτιον (Alciphrr., pap.), -ίδιον (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>), -ικός 'rich' (Hell.), -ίτης 'id.' (Lycurg.); as a second member, e.g. in πολυ-κτημάτων 'rich in possessions' (Il.), whence -μοσύνη (Poll.). 4. κτήνεα, -νῆ [n.pl.] 'domestic animals' (especially Ion., Hell.), rarely -νος [sg.], probably directly from κτάομαι with a suffix -nos- (Chantraine 1933: 420); thence κτηνηδόν 'like beasts' (Hdt.), κτηνύδριον (pap.); often as a first member, e.g. κτηνο-τρόφος 'cattle-keeper' (Hell.). 5. κτήσις 'acquisition, possession' (Il.), κτήσιος 'regarding possessions', Ζεὺς Κτήσιος as a protector of possessions (IA); diminutive κτησ(ε)ίδιον (Arr.). 6. κτεάτειρα [f.] 'who possesses' (A. Ag. 356), archaizing for -κτητήρια, -τρια, which are found in προ-κτητήρια 'former possessor' (pap.), after κτεάτεσσι, etc.; κτήτωρ [m.] 'possessor' (D. S., pap., Act. Ap.), κτητορικός (pap.); details in Fraenkel 1912: 29f., 1, 183; Schwyzler: 474<sup>3</sup>. 7. Φιλο-κτη-τής PN (Il.), compound from φίλος and κτάομαι with suffix -τιη-; Att. Φιλοσκήτης (cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 4 (1913): 351). 8. Verbal adjectives: κτητός 'acquired' (I 408); usually ἐπικτήτος 'newly acquired' (IA); κτητικός 'of acquisitions' (Att.). 9. Unclear is ἀκτηνες, πένητες, ἡργηκότες 'poor, unemployed' (EM 55, 11), for which Solmsen 1909: 143 proposed \*ἀ-κτη-ῆνες.

•ETYM All forms have κτη-, except for the present κτάομαι, but this is relatively rare and late; ἐγκτασις is a hyperdorism after ἐμπάσις; see ▶πέπάμαι. Tichy *Glotta* 56 (1978): 237-245 has shown that the forms Hdt. ἐκτέατο, ἐκτέετο are due to palaeographical difficulties. An old heteroclitic stem PGr. \**ktē-war*, -w(a)n- must be assumed for κτεάτεσσι, κτέαρ, and κτέανα, whence secondarily κτέανον.

The old comparison with the Indo-Iranian present Skt. *kṣáyati*, Av. *xšaiieiti*, -te 'to rule, order, have power' is semantically attractive. We have to assume that Skt. *kṣáyati* continues \**tkH-ei-*, and that Skt. *kṣa-trá-* [n.] = Av. *xša-θram* 'dominion, rule' was formed after a root \**kṣa-* had been extracted from the present \**kṣa-ya-*. If this is true, the root-final laryngeal must be \**h<sub>2</sub>*, which is confirmed by the fact that the Greek forms almost exclusively show -η-. Since the equation of the formations of κτάομαι and Skt. *kṣáyati* is less evident, LIV<sup>2</sup> (s.v. 1. \**tek-*) gives up the etymology, and suggests that κτάομαι is denominative from a noun \**tk-eh<sub>2</sub>-* 'possessions'. See also Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 56 (1978): 224-236.

**κτείνω** [v.] 'to kill, put to death' (Il.). <IE \**tken-* 'injure'>

- VAR Att. pres. also κτείνωμι, -ύω, Aeol. κτέννω (Hdn.), fut. κτενῶ, epic also -έω, κτανέω, aor. κτείνειν, Aeol. κτένναι (Alc.), and κτανεῖν, epic also κτάμεν(αι) and med.pass. κτάσθαι, pass. 3pl. ἐκταθεν (epic), Hell. κταν(θ)ῆναι, perf. ἀπ-, κατ-έκτονα (Hdt., Att.), Hell. also ἀπ-εκτόνηκα, -έκτα(γ)κα, pass. -εκτάνθαι.
- COMP Att. prose mostly with ἀπο-, poet. also with κατα-. As a second member -κτόνος, e.g. πατρο-κτόνος 'who kills his father' (trag.), whence -κτονέω, -ία; rarely in passive sense: νεό-κτονος 'recently killed' (Pi.); the simplex κτόνος (Zonar.) probably from the compounds; also -κτασία, e.g. ἀνδρο-κτασία [f.] 'murder of men' (Il.), usually -ίαι [pl.], as if from \*ἀνδρό-κτατος.

•ETYM The present κτείνωμι (incorrectly, -εινν- and -ινν-) has a secondary full grade after ἔκτεινα (cf. δείκνυμι to ἔδειξα, etc.). It replaces a zero grade \*κτάννυμι, corresponding to Skt. *kṣanóti* 'to injure' (the sense 'to kill' of κτείνω is euphemistic). The Greek system seems to be based on an athematic root aorist sg. \*kten- (cf. Gortyn subj. κατασκένε, with σκ for κτ; Schwyzler: 326), pl. and med. \*κτῆ-, which is directly continued by ἔκτατο (Il.). The present \*kten-je/o- > κτείνω, the thematic aorist ἔκτανον, and sigmatic ἔκτεινα go back to this formation. The ptc. \*-κτα-τος (assumed for ἀνδρο-κτασίαι) corresponds to Skt. *ákṣata*-, OP. *axṣata*- 'uninjured'. Without a doubt, ▶καίνω is related too, but it is unclear under which circumstances the initial \*t- was lost.

Literature: Harðarson 1993a: 186. Opposed to connection with Skt. *akṣata* is Strunk 1967: 99<sup>265</sup>.

κτείς [m.] 'comb, comb in the loom', often metaph., e.g. 'rake, rib, finger' (Att. inscr.).

◀IE \*pekt-en- 'comb'▶

•VAR κτήν (Jo. Gramm. [VI<sup>p</sup>]), κτενός (IA).

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. κτενο-πώλης 'comb-handler' (Poll.), πεντέ-κτενος 'with five teeth' (com.).

•DER κτένιον 'id.' (Epich., pap.), κτενωτός 'with teeth' (Att. inscr.), κτενᾶς [m.] 'comb-maker, wool-carder' (Corycus), κτενωδῶς 'comb-like' (gloss.); κτενίζω [v.] 'to comb, card' (IA), -ισμός 'combing' (E.), -ιστής 'comber, hairdresser' (pap., Gal.), -ιστικός 'belonging to combing' (pap.).

•ETYM Because of Lat. *pecten* 'comb', the Greek word is explained as from \*pék-en- with zero grade root and loss of the initial \*p-. Several Modern Iranian forms, e.g. Pashto *žmanj*, MoP *šāna*, point to \*pék-en- (Morgenstierne 1927: 106; see Charpentier *Acta Orbis* 7 (1929): 197 with a remark by Morgenstierne ibd. 199). It may be that the root was originally \*pek-; see on ▶πέκω.

κτέρας [n.] 'gift' (K 216, Ω 235, A. R. 4, 1550). ◀?▶

•VAR Sing. only nom.; usually plur. κτέρεα, -έων 'gifts for the dead, sacrifice' (Il.); see Chantraine 1942: 210.

•COMP As a second member in ἀ-κτερής 'unburied' (Orac. Sibyll., H.).

•DER κτερεῖζω 'to bring gifts for the dead, bury ceremoniously' (Il.), fut. -ίξω, aor. -ίξαι (see Ruijgh 1957: 83), also with ἐν-, ἐπι-, συν-; also κτερίζω (Il.) 'id.', fut. -ιω, aor. -ίσαι; thence κτερίσματα [pl.] = κτέρεα (S., E.), -ισταί (H.) = ταφῆς, ἀ-κτερίστος (S., Lyc.), -ἔιστος (AP). κτέρες νεκροί 'the dead' (H.) is probably a constructed back-formation (Solmsen *IF* 3 (1894): 98 in spite of Fraenkel 1910: 68); further probably Πολύ-κτωρ (Hom.), after which Γανύ-κτωρ (Plu., Paus.), where the second member may originally mean 'giving presents' (Fraenkel and Solmsen l.c.). Uncertain ▶διάκτορος.

•ETYM No etymology. See Arena *RILomb.* 98 (1964): 3-32.

κτιηδών, -όνος [m.] 'line of fissure, grain of wood, layers' in the body, wood, stone, etc. (medic., Theophr.). ◀IE? \*pekt-en- 'comb'▶

•VAR Mostly plur. -όνες.

•COMP εὐ-κτιήδων, -όνος 'with strong fibres' (Thphr.); not here εὐ-κτέανος 'id.' (Theophr., Plu.).

•ETYM It has been compared with the glosses εὐθυ-κτέανον· ἰθὺ πεφυκυῖαν, εἰς ὀρθόν 'grown straight', ἰθὺ-κτέανον· τὸ ἰθὺ πεφυκὸς καὶ ὀρθὸν δένδρον 'upright tree' (H.). Amigues 1989: 151f. derives it from \*[π]κτ-ηδών 'in the way of a comb', metaphorically of the fissures of wood, etc.

κτίδεος 'of marten'. →ἵκτις.

κτίζω [v.] 'to found, establish, build, create' (Emp.). ◀IE \*tk-ei- 'settle, found'▶

•VAR Aor. κτίσ(σ)αι (Il.), pass. κτισθῆναι (IA), fut. κτίσω (A.), perf. med. ἔκτισμαι (Hdt.), act. ἔκτικα (Hell.); on the reduplication see Schwyzler: 649.

•DIAL Myc. 3pl. root present *ki-ti-je-si* /ktijensi/ 'they cultivate', *ki-ti-me-no* /ktimenos/ 'cultivated', *ko-to-(i-)na* /ktoina/ 'part of land', *a-ki-ti-to* /a-ktitos/ mg. unclear. Also (*me-ta-*)*ki-ti-ta* /meta-ktitai/, perhaps '(transported) settlers'?

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. συν-, ἐπι-, ἀνα-.

•DER κτίσις [f.] 'foundation, creation' (Pi., IA), κτιστός [f.] 'foundation' (Hdt. 9, 97), κτίσμα 'foundation, colony, building' (Hell.), κτισμός 'foundation' (Asia Minor [imperial period]); κτίστωρ 'founder' (Pi., E.), κτιστήρ 'id.' (Corinth [IV<sup>a</sup>]), fem. κτίστρια (Asia Minor [imperial period]), κτίστης 'founder, builder' (Arist.), κτίστιον (-εῖον) 'temple of a founder' (pap. [IV<sup>p</sup>]), older συγκτίστης 'co-founder' (Hdt. 5, 46); κτιστός 'laid out, founded' (h. Ap. 299, pap.), see Zumbach 1955: 26; subst. κτιστόν [n.] 'building' (pap.).

Several formations have the intransitive mg. 'to live, abide': εὖ κείμενος 'where one can live well' (Hom.); περι-κτί-ονες [pl.] 'those living around, neighbours' (Il.), ἀμφι-κτί-ονες 'id.' (Pi.), also as a PN (Att. inscr. V<sup>a</sup>), also -κτύονες (Hdt., inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>) with unclear υ (cf. Hoffmann 1898: 290); περικτίται [pl.] 'id.' (λ 288), after which the simplex κτίται 'id.' (E. Or. 1621), κτίτης = κτίστης (Delph. II<sup>a</sup>); εὖ-κτιτος = εὖ κείμενος (B 592), ὀρεῖ-κτιτος 'living in the mountains' (Pi.); but e.g. θεό-κτιτος 'founded by the gods' (Sol.).

Rhod. κτοίνα (also πτοίνα with unexplained πτ-) designates an administrative region in Rhodos and is also found as a cadastral term in Myc. *ko-to-(i-)na*. Thence κτοινᾶται, -έται (see Lejeune *REGr.* 78 (1965): 13ff.).

•ETYM The Mycenaean athematic root present *ki-ti-je-si* corresponds with Skt. 3sg. *kṣéti*, 3pl. *kṣiyánti*, Av. *šaēiti*, *šīeinti* 'to live', which is only used intransitively. Probably, the root \*tkei- should be analyzed as continuing an older *i*-present \*tk-éi-ti, \*tk-i-énti of the root \*tek- 'to procreate'. The transitive meaning 'to cultivate, found' (a Greek innovation) first arose in the aorist κτίσ(σ)αι, which developed beside an intransitive root aorist still preserved in athematic κείμενος (cf. ἔστησα to ἔστην; see ▶ἵστημι). The form κτίζω, whence most derivations developed, was built on κτίσ(σ)αι. The formation of περικτίται and Myc. *pe-ri-ki-ti-ta* recalls Skt. *pari-kṣi-t-* 'living round about', and the *to*-ptc. -κτιτος is mirrored by Av. (*ana*)-*šīta*- 'uninhabited'. The form κτίσις has a parallel in Skt. *kṣi-tí-*, Av. *ši-ti-* 'dwelling, residence', but the deviant meaning suggests an independent formation from κτίζω.



Finally, κτοίνα can be compared with Arm. *šen*, gen. *šini* 'inhabited (place)', if the latter continues \**kṭi-n-*. See ► κτίλος.

**κτίλος** [adj.] 'obedient, tame', also msc. 'ram' (Il.), acc. to H. = ὁ προηγούμενος τῆς ποιμένης κριός 'the ram taking the lead of the flock'; cf. Thompson *Class. Rev.* 46 (1932): 53f. <IE \**kṭi-lo-* 'of the dwelling place'.>

•DER κτιλίσ· τιθασός, πῤῃος, ἡγεμών 'tame, leader' (H.) and the denominatives ἐκτιλώσαντο 'they tamed' (Hdt. 4, 113), ἐκτιλωμένος 'tamed' (Paus. Gr.), κτιλεύονται 'they are being tamed' (Pi. Fr. 238).

•ETYM Connected to ► κτίζω as 'belonging to the dwelling place'. The suffix is found in χωλός, φαῦλος and various expressions for defects (Chantraine 1933: 238).

**κτύπος** [m.] 'strong noise, cracking, stamping' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•COMP Very frequent as a second member, e.g. βαρύ-κτυπος 'with loud noise' (h. Cer.).

•DER κτυπέω (Il.) 'to crack, rumble', trans. 'to make rumble', probably intensive; aor. κτυπήσαι (S., E.), also them. aor. κτυπεῖν (Il.), cf. Porzig 1942: 25, often prefixed (late), e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-, ὑπο-. Thence κτύπημα = κτύπος (Critias, E.), -ητής 'one who makes noise' (Suid.), κτυπία· ὁ ἐπιθαλάμιος κτύπος 'the nuptial din' (H.).

•ETYM Reminiscent of ► δοῦπος, δουπέω, but further details are unknown. No doubt of Pre-Greek origin, with variation between voiced and unvoiced stop; see Fur.: 120. A prefix κ-, as assumed by Meillet *BSL* 28 (1927-1928): 117, followed by Ruijgh 1957: 148, is unknown.

**κύαθος** [m.] 'ladle for drawing wine' (IA). <PG(V)>

•DER Diminutive κυάθιον (Pherecr.), -ίς (Sophr.), -ίσκος (medic.); κυαθ-ώδης 'like κ.' (Eratosth.), -ιαῖος 'measuring a κ.' (comm. Arist.), -ότης 'the idea κύαθος' (Pl.), -ίζω 'to scoop with a κ.' (com., Plb.).

•ETYM The ending appears also in ► λήκυθος, ► γυργαθός, etc. Lat. LW *cyathus* (Plaut.). Often connected with ► κύαρ (opposed to this, Chantraine 1933: 367; yet it is accepted in DELG s.v.); cf. on ► κύαμος. Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971) compares Ugar. *qb't*, Hebr. *qubba'at* 'cup'. However, the word is clearly Pre-Greek: Fur.: 237 compares the variants κόβαθος 'a vessel' and κύβεθρον 'beehive'. The sequence -υα- is also typical of 'foreign' (i.e. Pre-Greek) words.

**κύαμος** [m.] 'bean' (Il.), 'lot', in which those who drew white beans won (Att.), metaph. 'swelling of the paps' (Ruf., Poll.), 'woodlouse' (Gal.), name of a coin (Taurom. I<sup>a</sup>). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also πύανος (H.); κύμηχα· κύαμιον (H.) also πύανος (H, Poll., Phot.).

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. κυαμιο-τρώξ 'bean-eater' (Ar.), ὕος-κύαμος 'henbane' (Hp., X.), see Strömberg 1940: 31 and 155.

•DER Diminutives κυάμιον (Nubien, Eust.), -ίδες *fabacia* (gloss.); κυάμι-νος 'of beans' (com., Gal.), -ιαῖος 'as large as a bean' (Dsc., Luc.); κυαμ-ίας [m.] 'stone like a bean' (Plin.), like καπνίας, etc., see Chantraine 1933: 94), -ίτης [m.] 'god of beans = chairman of the bean market' (Paus.), -ίτις (ἀγορά) 'bean market' (Plu.), cf. Redard

1949: 193 and 108; κυαμίων, -ῶνος [m.] 'field with beans' (Thphr.), -ωνίτης 'laborer of the bean-fields' (pap.), see Redard 1949: 37).

Denominative verbs: κυαμεύω 'to draw a lot with beans' (Att.), -ίζω 'to be ripe for marriage' (Ar.). Beside κύαμος also πύανος (H., Poll., Phot.), acc. to Heliod. Hist. 3 = ὀλόπυρος, whence compound Πυαν-έψια, -όψια [n.pl.] name of a Ion.-Att. festival, whence the month name Πυανεψίων, -οψίων; also Κυαν-εψίων, -ο- (Ceos, Asia Minor) and Παν-όψια (non-Att. acc. to Lycurg. fr. 84).

•ETYM Since no IE suffix -am- is known, κύαμος cannot be derived from κνέω (root \**knh-*). The word κύαμος has often been considered foreign (Chantraine 1933: 133, Schwyzler: 494, Kuiper 1956: 215<sup>19</sup>). The variation in κυάμιος: πύανος, as well as the forms suffixed with -εψ-, -οψ-, point to Pre-Greek origin. Fur., following Kuiper l.c., remarks that the variation between κυαμ- and κυμ-ηχ/κ- proves the Pre-Greek character of the word. On the variation π-/κ-, see Fur.: 388.

**κύανος** [m.] name of a dark blue substance, 'enamel, lapis lazuli, blue copper carbonate' (Il.); also a bird name (Arist., Ael.), see Thompson 1895 s.v.) and a plant name 'blue cornflower' (Plin.). <?>

•DIAL Myc. *ku-wa-no* 'smalt', also *ku-wa-no-wo-ko* /kuano-worgos/ 'smalt-worker'.

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. κυανό-πρωρος 'with a dark blue prow' (Hom., B.), -πρώρειος with metrical lengthening at verse end; -χαίτης 'with dark hair' (Hom.), -πεπλος 'with dark cloth' (h. Cer., Hes.), cf. Treu 1955: 244.

•DER κυάνεος (ῥ metrically lengthened) 'made of κ.', usually 'dark blue' (Il.); on the mg. Capelle *RhM* 101 (1958): 10 and 35.

•ETYM Perhaps a loan from Hitt. *kuwanna(n)-* '(blue as) copper, ornamental stone' (Friedrich 1952 s.v.). Danko & Witczak *JIES* 25 (1997): 361ff. derive it from \**kwnHo-*, which seems unlikely.

**κύαρ** [n.] 'eye of a needle, orifice of the ear' (Hp., Poll.). <IE \**kuH-r/n-* 'swelling, hole'>

•ETYM An old *r/n*-stem, which is found thematicized in Av. *sūra-* [m.] 'hole, lacuna' < IE \**kuH-r-o-*, as well as in Arm. *sor* 'hole' if from IE \**kou-er-o-*; a thematic *n*-stem occurs in Skt. *śūna-* 'swelled up, grown up', *śūna-* [n.] 'emptiness, lack', *śūnyá-* 'empty, hollow'. An *l*-stem is supposed in ► κύλα· τὰ ὑποκάτω τῶν βλεφάρων κοιλώματα 'holes under the eyelids' (H.), but see s.v. and under ► κοῖλος 'hollow' < \**kouHi-lo-*. The words are generally connected with the group of ► κνέω 'to be pregnant' < 'to swell', assuming a basic mg. 'curvation', whence both 'hole' and 'vaulting'.

**κυβάβδα**· αἷμα, Ἀμαθούσιοι 'blood (Amathousian)' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**κυβερνάω** [v.] 'to steer, head for', metaph. 'to govern, rule' (γ 283). <PG>

•VAR Aor. κυβερνήσαι, Cyp. inf. κυμερῆναι; Aeol. κυμερνήτης.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. δια-.

•DER κυβερνητήρ, Dor. -ατήρ [m.] 'steersman, coxswain' (θ 557, Pi.), fem. -ήτειρα (AP, Nonn.) and -ητήριος (Orac. *apud* Plu.); κυβερνήτης (Aeol. κυμερνήτης [-άτας]

acc. to EM 543, 3) 'id.' (Il.) with fem. -ῆτις (pap.) and -ῆσια [n.pl.] festival of the steersmen in Athens, in memory of Theseus (Plu.); κυβέρνησις, -ᾶσις 'steering, government' (Pi., Pl.); κυβερνητικός 'belonging to steering' (Pl.); κυβερνισμός = κυβέρνησις (Aq.).

•ETYM From κυβερνάω, Lat. *gubernō* was borrowed; see WH s.v. Given Cypr. κυβερῆναι, the form κυβερνάω has been thought to be due to dissimilation μ-ν > β-ν (Lejeune 1972: 152). See also Neumann KZ 100 (1987): 64-69, Neumann KZ 105 (1992): 188, and Neumann *Kadmos* 13 (1974): 146-155, who reconstructs a denominative from \**kurb-na-* from the root \**k<sup>w</sup>erb-* 'to turn' in κύρβις. This is highly doubtful.

As Frisk remarks, the word has no cognates. The comparison with Skt. *kūbara-*, -rī 'pole (?)' and with Lith. *kumbras* 'grip on the steering oar', *kumbryti* 'to steer' must be given up; see Mayrhofer *EWAla* s.v. and Fraenkel 1955 s.v. *kumbrys*. Foreign origin is probable; see references in Frisk s.v. The group -ρν- is typical for non-IE material.

**Κυβέλη** [f.] Anatolian goddess (Pi. fr. 8 Snell, Ar.). <LW Anat.>

•VAR Κυβήβη (Hippon. fr. 127 M, Charon of Lamps. *F.Gr.H.* 262 fr. 9, Hdt. 5, 102).

•ETYM In Old Phrygian, she is called *Matar Kubileya* or *Kubeleya*. The exact meaning of the adjective is unknown; does it refer to a mountain? The goddess originated in Karkhemish, around 1200, where she was called *Kubaba*. See Laroche 1949: 113-128. Her Lydian name was *Kuvava*. From Locri Epizephyrii we have her name as *Qubalas* (end 7<sup>th</sup> c.). See now Rein 1996: 223-237.

**κύβηλις, -εως** [f.] acc. to H. μάχαιρα, ἄμεινον δὲ πέλεκυς, ᾧ τὰς βοῦς καταβάλλουσι· τινὲς τὴν τυρόκνηστίν φασιν 'large knife, properly an axe, with which cattle were slain; cheese-grater' (com., Lyc.). <PG?>

•DER κυβηλικός 'regarding a κ.' (com.), κυβηλίσαι· πελεκίσαι 'cut off with an axe, behead' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. On ἀγερσι-κύβηλις, see Chantraine, *REGr.* 75 (1962): 390. Probably Pre-Greek.

**κυβιστάω** [v.] 'to tumble head-first' (Il., Pl., X.). <PG>

•VAR Also -έω (Opp. K. 4, 263).

•COMP Also with prefix, ἐκ-, κατα-, περι-.

•DER κυβιστητήρ 'who tumbles head-first' (Hom., E., Tryph.), also with haplology κυβιστήρ (H.) and κυβιστής (Delos; uncertain; cf. Fraenkel *Glotta* 2 (1910): 31 n. 2 and below); κυβίστησις (Plu., Luc.), -ημα (Luc.) 'cartwheel, somersault'.

•ETYM One may consider a pre-form \*κυβίζομαι for κυβιστής, if this is old; thence perhaps κυβιστάω. Further, a few words in EM are compared: κύβη = κεφαλή (κυβιστάω = εἰς κεφαλὴν πιδῶ 'to jump on the head'), κύβητος = ὁ κατακύψας 'bent down, stooped', κυβηβάν = κυρίως τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ῥίπτειν properly 'to throw on the head' (acc. to H. = θεοφορεῖσθαι, κορυβαντιᾶν 'to be inspired by a god, be enthusiastic'); further, κυβητίζω· ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ῥίψω, κυβησίνδα· ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν, ἢ τὸ φορεῖν ἐπὶ νώτου, ἢ κατὰ νώτου 'on the head; bearing on one's back; in rear' (H.).

Frisk considers connection with κύβος 'dice' and κυφός, ▶κύπτω 'to stoop', assuming that the words with -β- are from a northern source (Thracian or Macedonian), with β instead of φ. However, they may rather be Pre-Greek variants, like κύμβη 'head' (EM 545, 27) and κύμβαχος 'head first', ἀνακυβαλιάζω 'to tumble' (see Kuiper 1956: 213f.), which are prenasalized forms clearly containing the same word. Then there is a variant with κυμ- in κυμίνδαλα· καταστροφή. Ταραντῖνοι 'rotation (Tarant.)' (H.). The variants are clearly of Pre-Greek origin.

**κύβιτον** [n.] 'elbow' (Hp. *Loc. Hom.* 6), Sicilian acc. to Ruf. *Onom.* 72 and Poll. 2, 141. <LW Lat.>

•DER κυβιτίζω 'to push with the elbow' (Epich. 213). Also κύβωλον 'id.' (Poll. l.c.), which would be a cross with ὠλένη acc. to Bq, not an independent derivation from κύβος (Solmsen 1909: 7).

•ETYM From Lat. *cubitus* (pace Bechtel 1921, 2: 284).

**κύβος** [m.] 'dice' (IA), also of the eyes of the dice (E., Pl.) and the gaming table (Hermipp. 27, pl.); metaph. of dice-like objects, 'cubus' (Ti. *Locr.*), 'cubic number' (Pl., Arist.), 'dice-like block of stone or wood' (Hell. pap. and inscr.), 'cake, piece of salted fish' (com.); also 'vertebra' (Rhian. 57; after ἀστράγαλος) and 'hollow above the hips of cattle' (Ath. 9, 399b). <PG?>

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. φιλό-κύβος 'who loves the dice' (Ar., Arist.).

•DER 1. κύβιον 'fish salted in κύβοι' (com., pap.), κυβιάριον name of a pot related to κύβιον (pap.) 2. κυβίας 'kind of tunny' (Opp.) 3. κυβιστόν [n.] name of a fraction (Dioph.), after εικοστόν, etc. 4. κυβέων [m.] 'gambling house' (Tz.). 5. κυβικός 'quadrangular' (Pl., Arist.). Denominative verbs: 1. κυβεύω [v.] 'to dice, gamble' (Att.), also 'to deceive' (Arr.), whence κυβεία 'dice', κυβευτής 'gambler', -τικός, -τήριον (Att.). 2. κυβίζω [v.] 'to raise to the cube' (Hero), whence κυβισμός (*Theol.* Ar.). 3. κυβᾶ (H.) as an explanation of πεττεύει 'to play π.'.

•ETYM Words for dice are often loans (Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 423). Acc. to Hdt. 1, 94, the Lydians claimed to have invented the game of κύβος. Lat. *cubus* is from Greek. In view of the incidental meaning 'hollow above the hips of cattle', κύβος was wrongly connected with the Germanic group of Go. *hups* 'hip'. Lat. *cubitus* 'elbow' is probably derived from *-cumbāre*; see De Vaan 2008 s.v. Οἱ κύβος = τρύβλιον 'cup, bowl' (Paph., H.), cf. the words s.v. ▶κύπελλον.

**κυδάζομαι** [v.] 'to revile, jeer at' (A. Fr. 94, S. A. j. 722, A. R. 1, 1337). <PG?>

•VAR Act. -ω (Epich. 6; 35, 6); aor. κυδάσασθαι.

•DER Further κύδος [m.] 'scorn' (sch.), probably a back-formation. On ▶κυδοιμός 'din of battle', which is formally unclear, see s.v. Glosses κυδάγχα· μάχας, λοιδορίας 'battles, slanderings'; κυδαγχόμενα· λοιδορούμενα 'jeers'; κυδάττειν· ἐπιφωνεῖν 'call by name, exclaim'.

•ETYM Words for 'blame, revile' are found in Slav., e.g. OCS *kuditi* 'μέμψεσθαι, to blame', Gm., e.g. MHG *gehiuze* 'noise, crying, derision, insult', and in Skt. *kutsáyati* 'blame, revile' (rejected by Mayrhofer *EWAla* 1: 365), MoP *ni-kūhidan* 'blame, revile' [Pok. 595]). In view of the glosses with structure κυδ-αγχ-, the Greek words are

probably Pre-Greek. Moreover, *κυδ-αγχ-* could be the prenasalized form of *\*κυδ-αχ-* seen in *κυδαττειν*. See on ► *κυδομός*, ► *κύδος*.

**κύδαρος** [m.] name of a smallship (Antiph. 321). ◀?▶

•VAR Also -ον [n.] (pap., AB, EM).

•ETYM Origin unknown.

**κυδίας** [?] · τὰ ἄνθη 'flowering' (= ἐξανθήματα 'eruption') τῶν ὀδόντων 'of the teeth' (H.). ◀?▶

•ETYM Hypotheses in Pok. 956, who translates 'Zahnkeim', a tooth which has not yet erupted.

**κυδοιδοπάω** 'to make noise, bring about confusion'. ⇒ *κυδομός*.

**κυδομός** [m.] 'din of battle' (Il.), see Schwyzler: 492 and Trümpy 1950: 158f. ◀PG▶

•DER *κυδομέω* [v.] 'to rage, confuse' (Il.). Unclear *κυδοιδοπάω* 'to make noise, bring about confusion' (Ar.), cf. on ἐχθοδοπέω.

•ETYM Unknown, but given the unusual formation, the words are without a doubt Pre-Greek. Frisk and Chantraine discuss it under ► *κυδάζομαι* 'to insult', but there appears to be no semantic relation.

**κύδος**, -εος [n.] 'fame, honor, glory, renown' (Il.), see Trümpy 1950: 196ff., Greindl *RhM* 89 (1940): 220, Benveniste 1969:2: 57ff. ◀IE *\*keud-s-* 'miraculous power'▶

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. ἐπι-κυδής 'famous' (Il.); very often in PNs, e.g. Φερε-κύδης, Κυδό-νικος (Bechtel 1917b: 269f.).

•DER Caland-forms: 1. *κυδι-άνειρα* [f.] conventional epithet, interpreted as 'in which renowned men partake' (Il.), of μάχη, thence of ἀγορά; see Schwyzler: 447, 474; Sommer 1948: 181; with -ι- further *κύδιμος* 'famous' (Hes., *h. Merc.*, Pi.). *κυδιάω* [v.] 'to boast, be proud' (Il., Hes. Sc., *h. Cer.*, *h. Hom.* 30, 13, A. R., Q. S.), many forms with diectasis, cf. Chantraine 1942: 359.

2. *κυδρός* 'famous' (Il.), to which *κυδρότερος* (Xenoph., B.) beside primary *κύδιστος* (Il.), see Seiler 1950: 76, and *κύδιον* (E.); also *κυδέστερος* (Plb.) and *κυδίστατος* (Nic. Th. 3), -τε [voc.] for *κύδιστε* (Il.). Late denominative *κυδρόομαι* [v.] 'to boast' (Ael., Polyæn.).

3. *κυδαίνω* 'to honor, glorify' (Il.), aor. *κυδῆναι*; also pres. *κυδάνω* 'to glorify, boast' (Il.), see Chantraine 1942: 315; *κυδνός* = *κυδρός* (v.l. in Hes., *IG* 14, 2117). Here also *κυδάλιμος* = *κυδρός* (Il.), for which Arbenz 1933: 27 suggests a cross of *\*κυδαλέος* and *κύδιμος*; *κυδήεις* (AP, Man.), Dor. -ᾱεσσα (Epid.) are late analogical formations; ὑπερ-κύδᾱς [ptc.] 'boasting' (Il.), only -αντα(ς); probably analogical, see Risch 1937: 23<sup>189</sup>. Perhaps here the deme name *Κυδαντίδαι* (Wackernagel *Glotta* 14 (1925): 54)?

•ETYM The word *κύδος* is connected with a Slavic word for 'wonder, miracle', e.g. OCS *čudo*, gen. -ese, SCr. *čūdo* (acute). Ablaut *\*keuHd-os-* next to *\*kuHd-es-* has been assumed, which would give Gr. *\*kūd-es-* (cf. Porzig 1954a: 170). However, assuming a root *\*keuHd-* seems superfluous, especially given that the Slavic acute accentuation can be due to Winter's Law. Meier-Brügger 1992a: 269 assumed that Greek replaced the old ablaut pattern *\*eu / u* with *\*ū / u*, like in the nasal presents. Thus, *κῦδ-* is a morphological full grade replacing older *\*keud-*. As far as the

meaning is concerned, the Slavic group has the connotation of sorcery (e.g. ORu. *kudesz* [m.] 'magic, sorcery'; Ru. (dial.) *kudesá* [nom.pl.] 'miracles performed through an evil force'). The Greek words denote the "force rayonnante des dieux ou celle qu'ils confèrent" (DELG, following Benveniste l.c.). Any further connection with the verb 'to learn, understand, hear' found in OCS *čujr*, *čuti*, Gr. ► *κοέω* is gratuitous, as this has no root-final *\*-d*.

**κυδώνια** (μάλα) [n.pl.] 'quinces' (Stesich., Alc., com.). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR Also *κυδώνια* μηλίδες (Ibyc.).

•DER *κυδωνέα* (-ία) [f.] 'quince tree, Pirus Cydonia' (Hell. pap., Dsc.), -ίτης (οἶνος) 'wine from the quince' (Dsc., Colum.), -ᾱτον 'drink of quince' (Aet., Paul.Aeg.), -ιάω [v.] 'to swell like quinces' (APL). *κυδωνό-μελι* [n.] 'mead from quince' (Dsc., Orib.), cf. Strömberg 1944: 30).

•ETYM From an older Anatolian word still retained in *κοδύ-μαλον* (Alcm. 90); Greek connected the word with the famous city of *Κυδωνία* (on the north coast of Crete) by folk etymology. Cf. also the town *Κυτώνιον* on the Lydian border. The interpretation by H. in *κοδώνεα*· σῦκα χειμερινά· καὶ καρῶν εἶδος Περσικῶν 'winter-figs; kind of Persian nut' is based on confusion with ► *κόττανον*. Lat. *cydōneum* 'quince-juice, -wine' (Ulp.) is from Greek; Lat. *cotōneum* 'quince' (Cato) also belongs here, but probably as an independent loan. The Western and Eastern European forms derive from *cotōneum* and *cydōneum*, e.g. Ital. *cotogno*, MoFr. *coing* (> MoE *quince*), OHG *chutina*, MHG *quiten*, ORu. *gdunja*. See Hehn-Schrader 1911: 241, Trump *Herm.* 88 (1960): 14-22, and Berger *MSS* 9 (1956): 8ff.

**κυέω** [v.] 'to be or become pregnant' (Il.), with τινά or τί 'with a young'. ◀IE *\*keuh-* 'swell'▶

•VAR *κυῆσω* (Hdt.), *κυῆσαι* (IA), *κεκύηκα* (Hell.), *κυηθῆναι*, -θήσεσθαι (late); older aorist *κύσασθαι* (Il.), causative active *κύσαι* (A.); younger present *κῶ* (since Arist., LXX); also *κυίσκομαι*, -ω (IA).

•COMP Sometimes with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, ἀπο-, συγ-*κυέομαι*, -*κυίσκομαι* (-ίσκω), ὑπο-*κυσαμένη* (Il.). Compounds, e.g. *κυο-φορέω* [v.] 'to be pregnant, be with young', whence -φορία, -ησις (LXX, med., etc.), -φόρος (pap., EM); *ἐγ-κυος* 'pregnant' (Ion., Arist.); *κύ-ουρα* [f.] name of a plant that was used to procure abortion (Stob.), see Strömberg 1940: 95.

•DER Verbal nouns: *κύημα* 'foetus, embryo' (IA), -ησις 'conception, pregnancy, embryo' (Pl., Arist., Thphr.), *κύος* [n.] = *κύημα* (Ar. Fr. 609, inscr. Ceos), *κυόεις* (Cos [III<sup>a</sup>]); *ἀποκυητικός* 'capable of giving birth' (Astrol.), *κυητήριος* 'promoting pregnancy' (Hp.), *κυήτωρ* 'begetter' (Cyr.,) of a bird; *κυηρόν*· *ἐγκυον*, *ἀπαλόν*, *βλαστόν* 'pregnant, tender, offspring' (H.). See on ► *κύμα*, ► *κύριος*.

•ETYM The present *κυέω* can be equated with Skt. *śváyati* 'to be or become strong, increase' < IE *\*kuh,-éie-*. As LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*kueh-* remarks, the Ved. aorist *ásvat* may be an innovation based on the pair *hváyati* : *áhvat*. More forms s.v. ► *κύριος*. The words ► *κύαμος*, ► *πᾶς*, ► *πέπᾱμαι* are not related. On the supposed connection to words for 'hollow, empty', see ► *κύαρ*.

**κυθόν** [adj.] · τὸ ἄκυον φάρμακον. καὶ πολὺκυθνα πολὺσπερμα. κυθὸν γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα 'seed' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM Because of ἀκυητήριον· φάρμακον πρὸς τὸ μὴ κυεῖν γυναικεῖον 'philter for contraception' (H.), a correction to <ᾗ>κυθον (LSJ) was assumed necessary. Frisk does not consider it necessary, and instead assumes a euphemistic ellipsis of the negation. DELG supports the correction, and refers to ἄκυθος (Call. *H. Ap.* 52), connecting ►κεύθω (unclear).

**κύκᾱω** [v.] 'to stir, mix, bring in confusion' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Aor. κυκήσαι, -ηθήναι.

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, δια-, συν-, etc.

•DER κυκεών, -ώνος [m.] 'mixed drink' (post-Hom.), poet. also -ε(ι)ῶ [acc.] (Λ 624, 641), which may be after the comparatives in -ω, but acc. to Risch 1937: 147 and Chantraine 1942: 212 it is an old *s*-stem); Dor. κυκᾱν, -ᾱνος (Epid.); instrument noun κύκηθρον 'stirring spoon', metaph. 'turbulent person' (Ar.); action noun κύκησις (Pl., Epicur.), -ησιμός (S.), -ηθμός (Max. Tyr.) 'mixing'; also κύκημα· τάραχος 'disorder', κυκήθραν· ταραχήν 'disorder' (H.).

•ETYM Intensive formation in -άω (cf. Schwyzler: 719) without etymology. Pok. 597 connects it with Lith. *šaukštas* 'spoon', which seems unlikely. Fur.: 305 compares ►κυρκανάω (with further examples of insertion of a liquid) and concludes to a Pre-Greek form.

**κύκλος** [m.pl.] 'circle, ring, wheel', also metaph. of circular objects, e.g. 'circular square, wall around the city' (Il.). <IE \*k<sup>w</sup>e-k<sup>w</sup>l-o- 'wheel, circle'>

•VAR Also τὰ κύκλα, originally a collective.

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. κυκλο-τερής 'made round, round' (Il.), cf. on ►τείρω, εὖ-κύκλος 'forming a beautiful circle' (Il.); also in hypostases, e.g. ἐγ-κύκλιος 'going around in a circle, circular; general' (Att. Hell.), on the mg. Koller *Glotta* 34 (1955): 174ff.; on ►Κύκλωψ s.v.

•DER A. Substantives: 1. diminutives κυκλ-ίσκος (medic., Ptol.), -ίσκιον (Dsc.). 2. -ίστρια [f.] 'cyclic danceress' (Att. inscr.), after κιθαρίστρια, etc. 3. κυκλά-μνος [f., m.] plant name, 'Cyclamen graecum, Lonicera periclymenum' (Thphr., Dsc.), also -αμής (Orph.), after the circular radical tuber (Strömberg 1940: 36; formation after σιγάμνος, etc.). 4. Κυκλειών, -ώνος [m.] month name (Ceos [IV<sup>a</sup>]), after the festival τὰ Κύκλ(ε)ια. 5. Κυκλεύς PN (Ael.), Boßhardt 1942: 130.

B. Adjectives: 1. κυκλᾱς [f.] 'forming a circle', also Κυκλάδες [pl.] TN "circle-islands", the Cyclades (IA), Lat. LW *cyclas* name of a circular cloth; κυκλιάς [f.] epithet of τυρός 'cheese' (AP). 2. κύκλ-ιος 'circular' (Att.). 3. -τικός 'circular, belonging to a circle' (Arist.), 4. -όεις (S. [lyr.], AP). 5. -ώδης (Hp.) 'id.'. 6. κυκλ-ιαῖος 'turning in a circle' (Att. inscr.). 7. -ιακός, in τὰ κυκλιακά, title of a treatise on the circle (late); 8. κυκλατός 'shod', of horses (pap. VP).

C. Verbs: 1. κυκλέω 'to turn in a circle, surround' (H 332), whence κύκλησις 'revolution' (Pl.). 2. κυκλώω 'to make circular; surround' (IA), whence -ωμα 'rounding, round object, wheel, etc.' (E.), -ωσις 'surrounding' (Th., X.). 3. κυκλεύω 'to surround, go in a circle', e.g. of a water-wheel, 'to irrigate' (Hp., Str., pap.),

whence κύκλ-ευμα 'water-wheel', -ευτήριον 'id.', -ευτής 'watcher of a water-wheel' (pap.). 4. κυκλίζω 'to turn around' (Agatharch.), -ισμός (comm. Arist.). 5. κυκλάζει· κύκλω περιέρχεται 'goes around in a circle'. 6. κυκλαίνει· στρογγυλοί 'is round' (H.).

•ETYM Old name of the wheel, preserved in several languages: Skt. *cakrá-* [m., n.], Av. *caxra-* [m.], Gm., e.g. OE *hwēol* [n.] (also *hweowol*, *hweogol*) > MoE *wheel*, from reduplicated IE \*k<sup>w</sup>e-k<sup>w</sup>l-o-. With *u*-coloring of the reduplication vowel, due to the surrounding labiovelars, Gr. κύκλος and ToA *kukäl* (B *kokale*) 'wagon'. Related, but unclear in detail, is Phr. κίκλην· τὴν ἄρκτον τὸ ἄστρον (H.), originally 'wagon' (cf. Porzig 1954a: 183). An archaic formation with full grade and without reduplication is found in ON *hvel* (beside *hjól* = OE *hwēol*) and OPr. *kelan*, from IE \*k<sup>w</sup>élo- [n.]; o-vocalism, in OCS *kolo*, gen. -ese 'wheel, wagon'. The word is derived from the root \*k<sup>w</sup>el(H)- 'turn'; see ►πέλομαι. Given that the meaning 'wheel' (> 'wagon') is represented almost everywhere, one may wonder if the meaning 'circle' is secondary. An original meaning 'turning, turner' is suspected for the Baltic word for 'neck', e.g. Lith. *kāklas* < IE \*k<sup>w</sup>o-k<sup>w</sup>l-o- (?).

**κύκνος** [m.] 'swan' (Il.), also name of a ship, after the front part (Nicostr. Com.), and of an eye-salve, after its color (Gal.), whence κυκνάριον 'id.' (Aët., Gal.); also as a PN (Pi.). <IE? \**(s)keuk-* 'lighten, be white'>

•DER κύκνειος 'of the swan' (Pi., S., Hell.), fem. -ίτις (S.); κυκνίας [m.] name of a white eagle (Paus.), cf. κορακίας, etc., Chantraine 1933: 94.

•ETYM Abundant discussion on κύκνος in Thompson 1895 s.v. Connected with Skt. *śócati* 'to lighten, glow', *śukrá-* 'light, clear, white'; the root is now reconstructed as \**(s)keuk-* by Lubotsky *Inc. ling.* 24 (2001) (formerly \**keuk-*).

**κυκύζα** · γλυκεῖα κολόκυντα 'sweet κολόκυντα' and κύκυον· τὸν σικυόν 'cucumber' (H.). → σίκυος.

**κύλα** [n.pl.] 'the parts under the eyes' (Hp., Sor.), cf. κύλα· τὰ ὑποκάτω τῶν βλεφάρων κοιλώματα. τὰ ὑπὸ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μῆλα. τὰ ὑπώπια 'the cavities under the eyelids; the swellings under the eyes; the parts of the face under the eyes' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Var. lectio κοιλ- (cf. LSJ s.v.). Also κύλλια· ὑπώπια μέλανα 'black eyes' (H.), κύλλαβοι· ὑπώπια 'parts of the face under the eyes' (H.).

•COMP As a first member in κυλ-οιδιάω 'to have a swelling under the eyes' (Ar., Theoc.), compound of κύλα and οἰδέω (οἶδος) after the verbs of disease in -ιάω; κυλοιάειν· τὸ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπικλίνειν χλευάζοντα 'scornful shutting of the eyes' (Theognost. *Can.* 21).

•DER Diminutive κυλίδες, -άδες (Poll., Eust.); ἐπι-κυλίδες 'the upper eyelids' (Poll.), probably a hypostasis. PN Κύλων (Argos), Κύλασος (Larisa), Κύλαχος (Argos), see Solmsen 1909: 88f.; on Κυλωῖδας, -ιάδας (Delph.) see Bechtel 1917a: 31ff.

•ETYM Not related to ►κύαρ, for we would expect long *ū* from \**kuh<sub>1</sub>-l-*. The connection with Lat. *super-cilium* 'eyebrow' is probably wrong; cf. De Vaan 2008 s.v. *cilium*, connected with the root \**kel-* 'to hide'. The variants with κυλλ- rather show that the word is from Pre-Greek \**ku<sup>h</sup>*-.

**κυληβίς** · κολοβή 'curtailed'. → κύλληβις.

**κυλίνδω** [v.] 'to roll, turn over' (Il.). <PG>

•VAR Also intr. med. -ομαι; -έω, -έομαι (Att.), fut. κυλίσω (Att.), κυλινδήσω (late), aor. κυλίσαι (Pi., IA), pass. -ισθῆναι (Il.), -ινδηθῆναι (Str.), perf. med. κεκύλισμαι (Luc., Nonn.); secondary present κυλίω (Ar.) to κυλίσαι < -ίνδ-σαι.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. προ-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἀμφι-.

•DER 1. κύλινδρος [m.] 'rolling stone, tumbler, cylinder, etc.' (Democr. 155, Hell.), whence κυλίνδρον, -ίσκος, -ικός, -ώ (Hell.). 2. κύλις 'rolling, turning over' (Arist.), -ισμός 'id.' (Thd.), -ισμα 'roll, etc.' (Sm.), -ίστρα 'place for horses to roll in' (X., Poll.), -ιστός [m.] 'roll of papyrus, packet' (pap.); τρι-κύλιστος (Epicur. fr. 125) with unclear mg., see De Witt *Class. Phil.* 35 (1940): 183. 3. κυλίνδρσις 'rolling' (Pl., Plu.).

•ETYM The same element -νδ- is found in the synonyms ▶ αλίνδω, -έω, ▶ καλινδέομαι; further unclear. Most often connected with ▶ κυλλός 'curved, lame' "zu einer allumfassenden Wurzel (s)kel- 'bent, curved' (s. κῶλον, σκέλος)". The word is hardly IE.

**κύλιξ, -ικος** [f., m.] '(drinking) cup' (post-Hom.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Note κυλίσκη, -ίχνη.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. κυλικ-ήρυτος 'scooped with a cup' (Call.), εὐ-κύλικος 'with beautiful cups' (AP).

•DER Diminutives: κυλίκιον (Thphr.), κυλίσκη (D. H., Poll.), hardly from -ικ-ίσκη (Schwyzer: 542), -ίσκιον (Poll.); -ίχνη (Alc., Ar.), Chantraine 1933: 195; Lat. LW *culigna*; -ίχνιον (Ar., Hell.), -ίχνις (Achae.); further κυλικ-εῖον 'cup-stander' (com., pap.), -εῖος 'belonging to a cup' (Poll.), -ώδης 'like a κ.' (sch.).

•ETYM The word looks similar to Lat. *calix* 'deep bowl, cup', but a variation \*a/u is unknown in Indo-European words. For the same reason, ▶ κάλυξ 'seed-vessel, husk' is not identical with our word. One might assume a pre-form \*k<sup>w</sup>lH-ik- in order to explain both Greek and Latin, but this is an improbable formation for PIE.

With anlauting sk-, U *skalse-to* 'ex patera' has been connected (by comparison with ▶ σκαλλίον), but it does not belong here for the same reason. As with so many names of cups, etc., we must reckon with loans. See Fur. 110, 132<sup>65</sup>, who points to κυλί-σκ-η and κυλίχνη-ιον, etc., with aspiration before the nasal. As this feature is non-IE, the word may be Pre-Greek; note that -ικ is a typical Pre-Greek suffix (*Pre-Greek*: suffixes), and that κυλ-ικ- is a typical Pre-Greek structure.

**κύλλα** · σκύλαξ. Ἡλείοι 'puppy (Elis)' (H.). ⇒ σκύλαξ.

**κύλληβις** · κολοβόν[τα] . οἱ δὲ τὰ κέρατα κολόβια παρ' Ἰππώνακτι 'short horns' (fr. 122). <PG>

•VAR κυληβίς· κολοβή 'curtailed' (H.). Cf. Theognost. 21, 19.

•ETYM Unknown. The glosses are unclear, but a variation typical for Pre-Greek may be recognized in κυλ(λ)ηβίς· κολοβ- (note λ/λλ).

**κυλλός** [adj.] 'deformed, crippled, crooked', of hands, feet, etc. (IA). <IE? \**(s)kel-* 'bend, crook'>

•COMP As a first member in κυλλο-ποδίων (-ον [voc.]) epithet of Hephaistos, 'with crippled feet, limping' (Il.), from κυλλό-πους 'id.' (Hell.) after the nouns in -ίων (Schwyzer: 487).

•DER κυλλόομαι, -όω [v.] 'to be crippled' (Hp., Gal.), -ωσις, -ωμα; κυλλαίνω (intr.) 'id.' (S., Ph.). Also κύλλαιος· βόστρυχος 'lock of hair' (H.).

•ETYM Probably connected with κελλόν· στρεβλόν, πλάγιον 'twisted, athwart' (H.); see ▶ κελλάς. The word ▶ κυλίνδω does not belong here, nor do Skt. *kunī-* 'lame (of the arm)', *kunḍā-* [n.] 'jar'; see Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v. The form was recently explained differently by Meier-Brügger *KZ* 103 (1990): 20-23, who derives the word from \*k<sup>w</sup>el- 'turn' as \*k<sup>w</sup>l-no- 'turned outward or inward'. Vine 1999b: 566 accepted the etymology of the root, but assumed \*k<sup>w</sup>ol(H)-iō-, according to a variant of Cowgill's Law (\*o > u before \*-lī-). In view of its semantics and problematic IE etymology, the word may as well be Pre-Greek (cf. Fur.: 354<sup>55</sup>).

**κύμα, -ατος** [n.] 1. 'wave, breakers', also metaph. (Il.); 2. = κύημα 'foetus, embryo' (A., E., AP), 'young sprout' (Thphr., Gal.), see Strömberg 1937: 79. <IE \**k<sup>u</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-* 'swell'>

•COMP κυματώγη < \*κυματο-φαγή 'breaking of the waves, beach' (Hdt.); ἀ-κύμων 'without waves' (Pi., trag.), also 'without foetus' (E.), opposed to ἐγ-κύμων (Att.); also ἄ-κυμος (E., Arist.), ἀκύματος (*Trag. Aesp.*) 'without waves'.

•DER Diminutive κυμάτιον 'the volute on the Ionic capital' (inscr.); κυματ-ίης, -ίας [m.] 'causing waves, stormy' (Ion. poet.), -ώδης (Arist.), -όεις (Arist., Opp.), -ηρός (gloss.) 'full of waves'.

Denominative verbs: 1. κυμαίνω 'to rise in waves, swell' (Il.), 'to become pregnant' (γαστέρα; late Epic), also with ἐκ-, etc.; thence κύμανσις (Arist.); 2. κυματόομαι, -όω 'to rise in waves, cover with waves' (Th., Luc., Plu.), whence -ωσις (Str.); 3. κυματίζομαι 'to roll with the waves' (Arist.).

Here also belongs Κυμώ [f.], name of a Nereid (Hes.); also Κύμη (Kretschmer *Glotta* 24 (1936): 277ff.)?

•ETYM In the meaning 'foetus', κύμα is clearly a verbal noun of ▶ κυέω. The meaning 'wave', which is more common and older, may also derive from 'swelling' (cf. οἶδμα).

**κύμβαχος** [adj., subst.] 1. adjectival, 'falling head-first' (E 586; imitated by Call., Lyc.); 2. substantival, probably 'crest of a helmet' (O 536). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Acc. to Leumann 1950: 231ff., the divergent meanings should be explained from an original substantival, technical sense. The formation favors this as well; cf. especially οὐρίαχος 'end of a spear', στόμαχος originally 'end of the mouth', i.e. 'throat'. The form κύμβη 'drinking cup' has been taken as the basis, but this is unconvincing. Others, e.g. Kuiper 1956: 213f., have started from a nasalized form of ▶ κύβη 'head', ▶ κυβιστάω: these forms in κυβ- without prenasalization show that the word is Pre-Greek.

**κύμβη 1** [f.] 'cup, bowl' (Nic., Ath.), 'boat' (S. fr. 127). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also κόμβος = τὸ ἐκπωμα 'drinking-cup' (H.), but does it really belong here?

•DER κύμβος [m., n.] 'hollow vessel' (Nic., H.); κυμβίον (-εῖ-) [n.] 'small cup' (Att., Hell.), 'small boat' (H., Suid.). Also κύμβαλον [n.], usually -α [pl.] 'cymbal' (Pi., A., X.), cf. κρόταλον, whence the diminutive κυμβάλιον (Hero) and denominative

κυμβαλίζω 'to play the cymbals' (Hell.), -ισμός, -ιστής, -ίστρια (late). Probably ἀνεκυμβαλίζον 'they clashed together like κύμβαλα', of δίφροι (II 379), also belongs here.

•ETYM Previously connected with Skt. *kumbhá-*, Av. *xumba-* [m.] 'pot', and Celtic vessel names like Mlr. *comm*, *cummal*. More forms in Pok. 592, WH s.v. *cubō*. Because of the sequence *\*kumb<sup>(h)</sup>-* (either with *\*b*, which did not exist in PIE, or with both voiceless and aspirated stops *\*k - b<sup>h</sup>*, which is an impossible root structure in native Indo-European words), the word cannot be inherited. It is rather a 'Wanderwort', which fits a vessel term very well. From κύμβη, Lat. borrowed *cymba*, *cumba* 'ship' (acc. to Plin. *HN* 7, 208 it is Phoenician). Fur.: 284 compares κύπη 'ship, etc.' (H.) and considers the word to be Pre-Greek; likewise, DELG. See ► κύπη.

**κύμβη 2** [f.] = κύβη 'κεφαλή' (only *EM* 545, 27). <PG(V)>

•DER κυμβητιάω 'to fall head first' (ibd.); cf. κυβητίζω, etc. s.v. ► κυβιστάω.

•ETYM Perhaps identical with ► κύμβη 1 'cup' (cf. Lat. *testa* > Fr. *tête*, etc.). The prenasalization in the pair κύμβη / κύβη proves Pre-Greek origin. Of course, κύμβαχος 'head first' belongs here too.

**κύμβη 3** [f.] name of an unknown bird, in πτεροβαμοσι κύμβαις (*Emp.* 20, 7). <PG?>

•VAR Cf. κόμβη· κορώνη. Πολυρρήνιοι 'crow, shearwater (Polyrrhenian)' (H.); κύμβας· ὄρνιθας 'birds' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. See Thompson 1895 s.v. If κόμβη is a variant, the word is Pre-Greek.

**κύμινδης, -ιος, -ιδος** [f., m.] name of an unknown bird (Ξ 291, Ar. *Av.* 1181, Arist.). <PG(V)>

•VAR κύβινδης (v.l.); this form was borrowed into Latin (Plin. *N.H.* 10, 24), see André 1967 s.v. *cybindis*, also as *cibinnus* (Pol. *Silv.*). In Greek also κυβήναις [read κύβινδης?]- γλαῦξ[αις] 'little owl' (H.) (thus Fur.: 216<sup>67</sup>); v.l. κόμινδης (Procl.).

•ETYM The sch. on Ar. *Av.* 291 identified the bird with κικυμῶις (Call, cf. κίκυμος, -υβος H.); therefore, it was understood as 'owl'. Clearly a loanword, because of the suffix -νδς; perhaps of Anatolian origin, or Pre-Greek, which may amount to the same.

**κύμινον** [n.] 'cumin' (Hp., Sophr., com.). <PG?>

•DIAL Myc. *ku-mi-no* /kuminon/.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in κυμνο-πρίστης 'cumin-splitter', i.e. 'skinflint' (Arist., com.).

•DER κυμινώδης 'like κ.' (Thphr.), -ινος 'of κ.', -ᾶς 'κ.-seller' (inscr. Jaffa), -εῦω 'to besprinkle with κ.' (Orac. *apud* Luc.).

•ETYM Thought to be a loan from Semitic; cf. Hebr. *kammōn*, Akk. *kamūnu*, etc. (Lewy 1895: 38), although Kretschmer *KZ* 29 (1888): 440 rather saw these reflected in the plant names κάμων (Nic.) and σκαμ(μ)ωνία, -ώνιον (com., Nic.) 'kind of bindweed'. Frisk suggests that the word may have been borrowed from Semitic twice. See also Masson 1967: 51.

However, Ruijgh *Lingua* 58 (1982): 209 suggested that the word, with its typical Pre-Greek suffix -iv-, was in the first place a loan from Anatolia (or the Aegaeon); Semitic could have taken it from the same source; cf. Fur.: 187<sup>18</sup> on βράθυ. Borrowed as the Lat. *LW cuminum*, whence the modern European forms (Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 655).

**κυνάμια** [f.] 'dog-fly' (Il.), usually as a term of abuse. <GR>

•VAR Later κυνό-μια (LXX, AP), with analogical -o-.

•ETYM Frisk assumes older *\*κνά-μια* from IE *\*kuṃṃ-* > Skt. *śuva-*, with -v- from κυνός, etc. This seems improbable, but no other solution is apparent. For the meaning, cf. Lith. *šun-musė* 'id.'; further, Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 59.

**κύνδαλος** [m.] 'wooden nail' (Poll., H.). <PG>

•VAR Plur. both -οι and -α.

•COMP κυνδαλο-παίκτης (Poll.), -παίστης (H.) 'κ.-player'.

•DER κυνδαλισμός 'the game of κ.' (Poll.), also called κυνδάλη (H.).

•ETYM The formation recalls that of the synonymous πάσσαλος. The word has a typical Pre-Greek appearance: prenasalization(?) and the structure *\*CuNC-aR*.

**κυνέω** [v.] 'to prostrate (oneself at), to kiss the ground, to honor by prostrating' (Hom.), also 'to throw kiss-hands' (cf. Marti *Lang.* 12, 272ff.). Mostly poetic (prose uses φιλέω). <IE *\*ku(e)s-* 'kiss'>

•VAR Aor. κύσ(σ)αι (Hom.), fut. κυνήσομαι (E.), κύσσω (Babr.).

•COMP The compound προσ-κυνέω occurs in prose: aor. προσ-κυνῆσαι (IA), -κύσαι (S., Ar.), fut. -κυνήσω (Hippon., Pl.), -κεκύνηκα (LXX). Thence προσκύνη-σις (Pl., Arist.), -μα (Hell.) 'prostration, reverence', -τής 'adorer' (oriental inscr., NT), -τήρ 'footstool for prayer' (*Mon.Ant.*).

•DER From the simplex only κυνη-τίνδα (παίζειν, Crates Com.).

•ETYM Interesting for the interpretation of the Greek is the Hittite verb *kuṃašš-zi* 'to kiss'. As remarked by Kloekhorst 2008 s.v., it is consistently spelled with a geminate -šš-, which acc. to him points to an IE pre-form *\*Kuens-*. The Greek nasal present κυνέω, which seems to go back to *\*ku-ne-s-*, may somehow reflect the same archaic formation, though admittedly the Schwebeablaut is difficult. This means that the root may be reconstructed as *\*kues-*, not *\*kuas-* (Eichner in *LIV*<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*kuas-*). As has been remarked by Puhvel *HED* s.v., the word may be onomatopoeic in origin. This may explain the deviating initial in the Germanic word for 'kiss', e.g. OHG *kus*, *kussen*, which escaped Grimm's Law (it may also be unrelated). A formally identical root *\*kues-* (perhaps even *\*kuns-*; cf. Kloekhorst *ibid.*) is found in Skt. *śvas-* 'to hiss'.

**κυπάρισσος** [f.] 'cypress' (ε 64). <PG(V)>

•VAR Att. -ιττος.

•DIAL Myc. *ku-pa-ri-se-ja* [n.pl.] 'made of cypress-wood', probably the ethnic name *ku-pa-ri-si-jo*.

•DER Diminutive -ίττιον (Alciphhr.); further -ίσινος, -ίττινος 'of cypress-wood' (ρ 340), -ισσίας 'Euphorbia aleppica' (Dsc.; Strömberg 1940: 35), -ισών, -ώνος [m.] 'cypress forest' (Str.). Town name Κυπάρισσος (in Phocis, B 519), also -ισσοῦς,

-ισσία, -ισσιαί, -ισσῆις (of Elis, B 593), κυφαρίσσινος (inscr. Aegina); also Κυπαρίσσιος epithet of Apollo (Cos), Κυφαρίσσία of Artemis (Lacon., IG 5(1), 977), Κυφαρίσσιτας of Pan (Crete).

•ETYM Clearly a Pre-Greek word, because of the 'foreign phoneme' -σσ-/-ττ-, and notably the variant Κυφ- in the toponym and the epithets. Latin has *cupressus* (note the -e-). Perhaps Hebr. *gōfer* is from the same source. See Fur.: 159f., index. On other names of the cypress, see Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 671.

**κύπασσις, -εως** [m.] name of a (short) frock, also worn by women (Alc. Z 34, 7, cf. Hamm 1957: 53, Hecat., Ion Trag., AP). <LW Anat.>

•VAR Plur. -ιδες (Alc.).

•DER Diminutive -ίσκος (Hippon. 18).

•ETYM An Anatolian loanword, connected with Lydians and Persians in our sources (cf. Gow *Class. Rev.* 69 (1955): 238f.). A striking agreement is shown by Hitt. *kupaḫi-* (von Blumenthal 1930: 27ff.), which however seems to indicate a headgear; see Friedrich 1952.

**κύπειρον** [n.] name of a meadow-plant with an aromatic root, 'galingale, *Cyperus longus, rotundus*' (Φ 351, δ 603, Thphr.), cf. Strömberg 1937: 79f. <PG(V)>

•VAR Also -ος [m.] (*h. Merc.* 107, com., Thphr., Theoc.); κύπερος [m.] (Ion., Dsc., Plu.), κύπαιρος (Alcm. 16), κύπερα- τὰ σχοινία ἐκ κυτέρου πεπλεγμένα 'the cords plaited from the galingale' (H.).

•DIAL Myc. *ku-pa-ro* /kupa(i)ros/.

•DER Diminutive κυπαρίσκος (Alcm. 38), κυπερίζω 'to be like the galingale' (Dsc.).

•ETYM A foreign Pre-Greek word; on the varying form, cf. Schwyzer 471f. Cf. on ► κύπρος 1. The word probably reflects \**kupar*-, which explains the variants κυπα(ι)ρο- and κυπε(ι)ρο-; the \*a was phonetically colored to ε before a palatal consonant, which also explains the lack or presence of ι. Cf. on ► Κάβειροι. See Mayer *RILomb.* 94 (1960): 316 and E. Masson 1967: 111f.

**κύπελλον** [n.] 'bulbous drinking vessel, beaker, goblet' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Note κύφελλα 'hollows of the ears' (Lyc.).

•DIAL Myc. [*ku*]-*pe-ra* (uncertain, cf. Palmer 1963: 364).

•COMP Some compounds, notably ἀμφι-κύπελλον [n.], epithet of δέπας (Hom.), literally "with cups at both sides", i.e. 'double beaker'; acc. to Aristarchus (*EM* 90, 43; cf. Ath. 11, 783b) 'double-handled'; cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 20 (1932): 248, Brommer *Herm.* 77 (1942): 358f., 366.

•ETYM Acc. to a witness in Ath. 11, 483, a κύπελλον was known to both Cyprians and Cretans; cf. Bowra *JHS* 54 (1934): 73. In the traditional interpretation, -ελλο- is a combination of suffixes -λ- and -ιο- (cf. Chantraine 1933: 253 and Schwyzer: 483). One may then connect κύπη- τρώγλη 'hole' (H.), with corresponding forms in Lat. *cūpa* 'vat', Skt. *kūpa-* [m.] 'pit, hole', etc.; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *kūpa-*. However, Furnée compares not only κύπη (H.) in various meanings (Fur.: 121), but also κύβος ... τρύβλιον (H.) and κύμβη 'cup', κύμβος 'id.' (op. cit. 176 and 284). The word was a widespread 'Wanderwort', but given the variants it was probably Pre-Greek. Moreover, -ελλο- rather continues the Pre-Greek suffix -aḷ-.

**κυπρίνος** [m.] 'carp' (Arist., Opp.). <PG(S)>

•ETYM Formation like ἀτταγίνος and other fish names (see on ► ἀτταγᾶς and Strömberg 1943: 41), derived from ► κύπρος 'henna' after the color (cf. Strömberg 1943: 20ff.). Other names for the carp are not connected (e.g. Skt. *śaphara-* [m.] = Lith. *šāpalas*, or OHG *karp(f)o*, etc.). The suffix -ίν- is well-known in Pre-Greek.

**κύπρος 1** [f.] 'henna, *Lawsonia inermis*', also a salve made of it (Thphr., LXX, Dsc.). <LW Sem.>

•DER κύπρινον (of μύρον, ἔλαιον, Dsc. Aret.); κύπριον- τὸ ἀρνόγλωσσον 'plantain' (H.). Denominative verb κυπρίζω 'to bloom', whence κυπρισιμός 'blooming' (of olive or vine, LXX, Eust.). On ► κυπρίνος, see s.v.

•ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *kōfer* (Lewy 1895: 40f.). The word ► κύπειρον, -ος does not belong here. See also E. Masson 1967: 52.

**κύπρος 2** [m.] a corn measure (Alc., inscr.); ἡμί-κυπρον (Hippon.), acc. to H. = ἡμισυ μεδίμνου 'half a medimnus'. <?>

•ETYM Persson 1912(1): 104<sup>4</sup> compares κύπελλον, κύπη; rather a loan. Lewy 1895: 263<sup>1</sup> recalls Hebr. *k'pōr* 'beaker'.

**Κύπρος 3** [f.] the island Cyprus (Il.). <?>

•DIAL Myc. *ku-pi-ri-jo* /Kuprios/.

•DER Κύπρις, -ιδος, -ίδα, -ιν [f.] name of Aphrodite (Il.); Κύπριος 'Cyprian' (IA), Κυπριακός 'id.' (D. S.).

•ETYM The similarity with Sumer. *zabar* 'copper' ("gleaming stone"), whence Assy. *šiparru* > Elam. *šupar* 'id.', is accidental, see Ipsen *IF* 39 (1917-1921): 232ff.

Neu 1987: 181f. (see also Neu 1988: 37, Neu *Glotta* 73 (1995): 1-7) points to Hurr. *kab/pali-* from a root *kab/p-* 'copper' as the possible origin of the name. It is remarkable, though, that this word has no -u-. The word might come from a substrate language. The word is found in a Middle-Hittite text from 1400 BC, where *kup-* may stand for *kab/p*.

Cyprus was famous for its copper in antiquity. In the Bronze Age, the island (or a part of it) was called *Alaś(h)iia*; the name lives on in the epithet Ἀλασιώτης of Apollo.

It was borrowed as Lat. *cuprum*, older (*aes*) *cyprium* 'copper'. From Latin originate MoFr. *cuivre*, MoE *copper*, MoHG *Kupfer*.

**κύπτω** [v.] 'to bend forward, stoop, to run with the head down' (IA). <PG(V)>

•VAR Aor. κύψαι (Il.), fut. κύψομαι, -ω (Att., Hell.), perf. κέκυφα (IA).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐπι-, παρα-, ὑπο-, ὑπερ-.

•DER ἐπί-, κατά-, παρά-, πρό-κυψις 'stooping' (medic., Hell.); συγκύπτει [pl.] 'rafters, sloping beams' (Ath. Mech.), παρακυπτικός 'looking inside, inspecting inquisitively' (*Cod. Iust.*). Adverb κύβδα 'bent forward' (Archil., com.). Enlarged present κυπτάζω 'to keep stooping, go poking about' (com.). Besides κύφός 'bent forwards, hunchbacked' (β 16), with several derivatives: κύφων, -ωνος [m.] 'bent yoke of the plough; pillory; one who has had his neck in a pillory; curved beam, etc.' (Thgn., Archil., com., etc.); κυφώνιον a kind of salve (Alex. Trall.), -ισμός 'punishment by



the κ. (sch.); κυφότης 'being bent' (Hld.), κύφος [n.] 'hump, hunch' (Hdn.). Denominative κυφόμαι 'to be bent, hump-backed', κύφωσις 'being hump-backed', -ωμα 'hump' (medic.); κύφω, in κύφοντα ὀφθαλμοῖς 'with downcast eyes' (LXX), perhaps a back-formation (to κυφός or κέκυφα?). With factitive mg. κυπώ 'to overthrow', only in (ἀνα-)κυπώσας (Lyc., Nic.); perhaps after τύπτω: τυπώω?

•ETYM The formation of κύφος is isolated within Greek, and therefore it may contain the original root shape. The word κυφός has been compared with Skt. *kubhrá-* [m.] 'humpbacked bull', *kubjá-* 'humpbacked, crooked', but for these Munda origin has also been claimed. A direct comparison of κύφος [n.] with Av. *kaōfa-* [m.] 'mountain, camel-hump' (Brandenstein 1956: 53) is deceptive, as κύφος is late and was derived from κυφός within Greek. Other branches of IE show words with root-final \*-p-: Lith. *kuprà* 'hump', OHG *hovar* 'id.', etc. Glosses like κύφερον ἢ κυφὴν-κεφαλὴν. Κρητες 'head (Cretan)' (H.) probably do not belong here; see ►κύμβη 2. It has also been compared with words for 'pot, jar', like Skt. *kumbhá-*, Av. *xumba-* [m.] (cf. Sturtevant *Lang.* 17 (1941): 10). The variation κυφ-/κυπ- (in κυπώω) points to a Pre-Greek word. Cf. on ►κύπελλον, ►κύμβη 1, ►κύβος, ►κυψέλη.

**κυρβασία** [f.] name of a Persian hat with a pointed crown (Hdt., Hp., Ar.), acc. to H. = ὀρθή τιάρα 'upright tiara'. <LW Pers.>

•ETYM Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 4 (1954): 172 compares Hitt. (Hurrit.) *kurpiši-* 'part of a helmet, helmet' (precise meaning uncertain).

**κύρβεις** [pl.f., m.] name of rotating pillars or columns, in the form of a three-sided pyramid, on which the laws of Solon were inscribed in Athens; also used of other inscribed tables (Att., Arist.). <PG?>

•VAR Also -τες, gen. -ων; rarely κύρβις [sg.].

•ETYM As a technical expression, suspected of being a loan (perhaps Pre-Greek?). Of course, the older connection with ►καρπός 'hand-root' is unacceptable. Fick *BB* 29 (1905): 239 and Kretschmer *Sprache* 2 (1950-1952): 68 also adduced the ►Κύρβαντες, which would have been named after their whirling dances. Discussion in Jeffery 1961: 53f.

**κυρήβια, -ίων** [n.pl.] 'husks, bran' (Crat., Hp., Ar.). <?>

•DER κυρηβιο-πώλης [m.] 'seller of clay' (Hp., Ar., Epicur.). Κυρηβίων, -ίωτος [m.] epithet (D., Ath.).

•ETYM Formation and origin both unknown. Fur.: 271 connects it with Hitt. *kurimpa-* 'residue, dregs', but there seems little reason for this. On κυρηβάζω, etc., see ►κυρίτω.

**κύριος** [m.] 'lord, ruler, possessor', also as an adjective 'ruling, decisive, valid, decided' (post-Hom.). <IE \**keuh-* 'swell, be strong'>

•VAR κυρία [f.] '(lady) who rules' (Hell.).

•DER κυρία (from κυρι-ία) [f.] 'control, possession' (Arist., Hell.), κυριότης [f.] 'lordship, rule' (Christian literature); κυριακός 'belonging to the lord (= Christ), to the emperor' (imperial period); κυριεύω [v.] 'to be or become lord, to possess, obtain power' (X., Arist.), whence κυριεία, κυρεία (Schwyzer: 194) 'possession, proprietary

rights' (Hell.), κυριευτικός, -κώς 'regarding the proprietary rights' (pap.). κυρώ 'to become or make lawful' (IA), aor. pass. κυρωθῆναι, act. κυρώσαι, whence κύρωσις 'ratification' (Th., Pl.), κυρωτής 'who ratifies' (Att. inscr.); back-formation κύρος [n.] 'authority, confirmation' (IA). ἄκυρος 'without authority, invalid' (Att.), whence ἀκυρώ [v.] 'to render invalid' (Din., Hell.), whence ἀκύρωσις, -ωτος, -ωσία (late).

•ETYM ἄ-κῦρ-ος 'without authority' presupposes an *r*-stem also found in κύριος (another example is ἄν-υδρ-ος 'without water', based on ὕδωρ). A trace of this *r*-stem is probably found in ἔγ-κυαρ 'pregnant' (Miletus [VI<sup>1</sup>]), from \*κύαρ 'foetus' < \**kuh<sub>1</sub>-r* (Kretschmer *Glotta* 8 (1917): 250). Beside κύριος, there may have been a simple thematic derivative \*κύρος, which would correspond to Skt. *śūra-*, Av. *sūra-* 'hero': cf. the Skt. words for 'sun', *śūr-ya-* and *śūr-a-*, derived from the ntr. *súvar-* (an old *l*-stem; see on ►ἥλιος). From this \*κύρος [m.], κυρωθῆναι and κυρώω may derive as well; however, κυρωθῆναι can also be derived directly from the *r*-stem (cf. ἀνδρωθῆναι to ἀνήρ). Other derivations: Skt. *śávīra-* 'strong, powerful' (\**keuh<sub>1</sub>-ro-*), Celtic, e.g. Gaul. *Caṽaros*, W *cawr* 'giant'; the appurtenance of Κυάριη ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ (H.) is uncertain. Further details s.v. ►κυέω.

**κυρίτω** [v.] 'to butt with the horns' (A., Pl., Arist.). <PG?>

•VAR Fut. κυρίξω.

•COMP With prefix: ἀγκυρίττει· μεταμέλεται. Κρητες 'repents (Cretan)' (H.); cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 777.

•DER κύριξις (Ael.), κυρίτιλος· κορύπτης, πλήκτης 'one that butts with the head, striker' (H.). Also κυρίζω (EM); cf. κυρίζεσθε· τρίβεσθε 'are rubbed (down), worn out' (H.). An unclear by-form is κυρηβάζω (Ar., Cratin.), aor. med. -άσασθαι, whence κυρήβασις, -σία (sch.); metaphorically, it also means λοιδορεῖσθαι 'to slander': κυρηβάτης καὶ κύρηβος· ὁ ἀσελγὴς ἐν τῷ λοιδορεῖν 'sbd. brutal in slandering' (H.).

•ETYM The old connection with ►κορύπτω, ►κέρας does not explain the formation. Frisk follows Curtius and Prellwitz, who connected ►κύρω 'to hit, meet with, obtain', but this seems improbable (thus also DELG). Cf. Fur.: 363, who gives no solution; the suffix -ηβ- in κυρηβάζω is hardly inherited.

**κυρκανάω** [v.] 'to stir, mix, contrive' (Hp., Ar., Epin., EM). <PG?>

•COMP Also with συν-.

•DER Backformation κυρκάνη = ταραχή (EM, Hdn. Gr.); also κυρκαίη (Suid. s.v. Ὀμηρος) for κυρβαίη, epithet of μάξα (Hom. *Epigr.* 15, 6).

•ETYM Expressive enlargement of κυκάω (cf. Schwyzer: 700) with infix *ρ*; cf. τύρβη or φύρω. The inserted *ρ* may be a Pre-Greek element; cf. Fur. 305.

**κύρνοι** [m.] · οἱ νόθοι 'bastards' (H.), acc. to Phot. Macedonian; also as a PN (cf. Solmsen 1909: 104). <PG?>

•ETYM Unexplained. Fur.: 363 compares κοριναῖος 'id.' (Marsyas Phil., 24 J.), which is also called Macedonian. Perhaps the two forms can be explained from Pre-Greek \**kur<sup>2</sup>n-*?

**κύρος** 'authority'. ⇒ κύριος.

κυρσάνιος 'young man'.

•ETYM Laconian for ►σκυρθάλιος.

κυρτός [adj.] 'vaulted, rounded, bulging, hunchbacked' (Il., Hell.). <?>

•DER κυρτότης 'vaulting, rounding, lumpiness' (Arist., Str., Plu.). Denominative verbs: κυρτόομαι, -όω 'to form a vault, belly out' (λ 244, X.), κύρτωμα (Hp.), -ωσις (medic., Vett. Val.) 'vaulting, bellying out', κυρτωτός 'hunchbacked' (Vett. Val.); κυρταίνω 'to form a vault, rounding' (PMag., Suid.).

•ETYM The word remains without direct agreement. The comparison with Lat. *curvus* 'vaulted, bellied, crooked' presupposes that κυρτός continues a reduced grade \*k<sup>(w)</sup>r-to- with *u*-coloring. As a *u*-colored reduced grade is difficult, it is doubtful whether this comparison (and others) is valid at all. Schrijver 1997: 297 assumes an IE root \*kur-, but such a root structure is foreign to IE. The comparison with ►κορώνη (Frisk, DELG) is also unfounded, as this does not continue \*kor-ou-n-.

κύρτος [m.] 'weel, lobster pot' (Sapph., Pl., Arist., pap.), also 'bird-cage' (AP). <PG(V)>

•COMP κυρτο-βόλος 'fisherman' (Smyrna).

•DER κύρτη [f.] 'bird-cage' (Archil.), 'bow-net' (Hdt., D. S.), 'strainer' (Nic.). Diminutives κυρτίς 'strainer' (Nic., Dsc., Opp.), -ίδιον 'strainer' (Dsc.); also κυρτίον name of an unknown part of a chariot (Poll. 1, 143). Further κυρτία 'wicker shield' (D. S.), κυρτεύς 'fisherman' (Herod., Opp.), κυρτευτής 'id.' (AP) and κυρτεία 'fishing with the bow-net' (Ael.), from \*κυρτεύω or analogically after ἀλι-ευτής, -εία. Here further κυρσερίδες τὰ τῶν μελισσῶν ἀγγεῖα, κυψελίδες 'honeycomb, beehives' (H.), pointing to \*κυρσέρα, but this was rather not formed after κρησέρα 'fine sieve' (as per Grošelj Živa Ant. 3 (1953): 202).

•ETYM There is no convincing etymology. ►κάρταλλος, which was connected by Frisk and DELG, is clearly Pre-Greek. Müller-Graupa *Glotta* 31 (1951): 132 implausibly suggested that κύρτος properly means 'wicker-work', and is a substantivized form of κυρτός 'curved'. IE \*k<sup>rt</sup>-o- (Schwyzer: 351) was traditionally assumed, based on comparison with Skt. *kāṭa-* [m.] 'wicker-work, mat' (phonetically impossible) and a European term for 'wicker-work, hurdle': OHG *hurt*, plur. *hurdi* and Lat. *crātis*; however, this comparison formally points to a disyllabic root \*krH-ti-. The Greek word is excluded from such a reconstruction, and there is no further evidence for a root \*krH- in this meaning in Indo-European (\*kert- 'to plait', in the Skt. nasal present *kṛnātti* 'to spin', is formally deviant from the Latin word). In Baltic, we find OPr. *corto* 'hedge', which is unclear. If κυρσ-ερ- belongs here, the word could be Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 258, who also tentatively compares Hitt. *kurtal(i)*- 'container of wood or wicker-work'.

κῦρω [v.] 'to hit (upon), meet with, attain, obtain' (Il.), cf. Trümper 1950: 118. <?>

•VAR Aor. κύρσαι (Il.), fut. κύρσω (Democr., S.); later pres. κυρέω (A., S.), κυρήσαι (Hes.), κυρήσω (Hdt., A.), κεκύρηκα (D. S.). On the inflection see Chantraine *BSL* 28 (1927-1928): 26f. and 38.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, ἐπι-, προσ-, συν-.

•DER Few derivatives: κύρμα 'catch, booty' (Hom.); συγ-, προσ-, ἐγ-κύρησις, συγ-κύρημα 'meeting, concurrence, etc.' (Hell.), συγ-κυρία 'coincidence' (Hp., Ev. Luc.).

•ETYM No etymology. Not related to ►καιρός or ►κυρίτω.

κύσθος 1 [m.] 'pudenda muliebra' (Eup., Ar.). <PG(V)>

•VAR κυσός ή πυγή. ή γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον 'buttocks; pudenda muliebra' (H.), also in the sense of ►κύστις (Herod., Call.), with long *υ* acc. to Pfeiffer 1949-1953 ad *Call.* 191, 98.

•COMP κυσθο-κορώνη = νύμφη, 'clitoris' (Com. *Adesp.*); κυσολαμπίς, ή περιλαμπομένη ταῖς νυξὶ κανθαρίς 'beetle lighting up at night' (H.); cf. Strömberg 1944: 13f.; κυσο-βακκαρίς: ὁ τὸν κυσὸν μυρίζων 'who is rubbing the κ. with ointment' (Com. *Adesp.* 1062); κυσο-λάκων = παισεραστής 'pederast' (Com. *Adesp.* 1066); κυσο-νίπτης: πόρνος 'catamite' (H.); κυσο-χῆνη (H.); κυσο-δακνῖα: ψωριᾶ 'has the itch, scab or mange' (from δάκνω, with -ιά after other verbs of disease); also κύσσαρος 'anus' (Hp., Gal., Erot.); on the formation Chantraine 1933: 226; cf. also ►κύτταρος.

•DER κυσιᾶ: πασχητιᾶ 'feels lust'; κυσανίζει (H.).

•ETYM The previous explanation, as a derivation \*kud<sup>h</sup>-d<sup>h</sup>-o- from ►κεύθω 'to hide', is doubtful, as it does not explain ►κυσός. The alternation of κύσθο- with κυσό- suggests a Pre-Greek word. Perhaps κύτταρος is a further variant. Cf. the variation in μασθός, μαζός, μαστός 'breast'.

κύσθος 2 [n.] of unclear mg. (PHolm. 22, 42 ; 23, 2), see Lagercrantz 1913: ad loc.

<PG?(V)>

•VAR Also χύστος.

•ETYM Unknown. If κύσθος = χύστος, the word is probably Pre-Greek, with variation -σθ- / -στ-.

κύστις, -εως [f.] 'bladder, pouch, small bag' (Il.). <IE? \*k<sup>u</sup>es- 'hiss, sigh'; PG?>

•VAR Gen. also -ιος, -ιδος; also κύστιγξ (Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 116), perhaps after φῦσιγξ (Chantraine 1933: 400, Schwyzer: 498).

•DER κύστη ἄρτος σπογγίτης 'sponge-like bread' (H.) and κύστιον: τὸ ἀλικάκκαβον (H.), a plant name, after the shape of the fruit.

•ETYM Wackernagel 1916: 227 analyzed it as a suffix -τι-, added to the zero grade of a root 'to blow, hiss', found in Skt. *śvas-iti*, ptc. *śus-ántam* [acc.] < PIE \*k<sup>u</sup>es-. The further comparison of this Skt. root with Lat. *queror* is far from evident (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). The connection is possible, but not evident; as an alternative, the suffix -ιγξ could point to a Pre-Greek word. Not to be connected are ►κύσθος, κυσός, etc.

κύτινος [m.] a flower, properly the calyx of the pomegranate (Thphr., Dsc., Gal.) also 'Cytinus hypocisthis' (Dsc. 1, 97), because of the similarity with the flower of the granate. <PG(V)>

•DER κυτινώδης (Thphr.).

•ETYM Because of the mg. 'calyx', the word has been connected with κύτος 'hollow, vessel' (like ἄνθινος with ἄνθος). However, Fur.: 182 compares κύταρον: ζωμήρυσσις 'spoon', κύδαρος, ον 'small ship', ►κύτταρος 'cell of a honeycomb', as well as 'calyx

of the Egyptian bean' (Thphr.), 'calyx of an acorn' (Thphr.), κυττοί 'receptacles', κύστεροι = ἀγγεῖα τῶν μελισσῶν 'honey-comb' (H.). This points to a Pre-Greek word (variation τ/ δ/ ττ, etc.).

**κύτις** [m., f.] 'cytisus, Medicago arborea' (IA). <PG>

•DIAL Myc. *ku-te-so* /kutesos/.

•ETYM A foreign word, like ►κέρασος. The variation *e/i* shows that it is Pre-Greek.

**κυτμῖς, -ίδος** [f.] a soothing salve prepared from the fat of goats (Luc. *Alex.* 22, 53). <PG?>

•ETYM Diminutive formation. Origin unknown; probably Pre-Greek.

**κύτος** [n.] 'rounding, vault of a shield, of a cuirass or a vessel, etc.', 'vessel, trunk, body' (trag., com., Pl. *Ti.* and *Lg.*, Arist., Plb.). <IE? \**(s)kHu-t-* 'cover, skin, etc.'>

•DER ►ἐγκυτί 'to the skin'. Uncertain is κυτίς 'cupboard, box' (sch. Ar. *Pax* 665), which may stand for κοιτίς.

•ETYM Best connected with the group of σκῦτος 'leather, skin', Lat. *cutis* 'skin', the Gm. group of OHG *hūt* 'hide', as well as OPr. *keuto* 'skin', Lith. *kiáutas* 'shell, rind' < \**keHu-to-*, ToA *kāc* probably 'skin' < \**kwāc* < \**(s)kuHt-i-/es-*. The variation of long and short *u* in σκῦτος next to κύτος is problematic, but may be explained by assuming a root \**(s)kHu-* and pretonic shortening of the resulting long vowel in Latin (see Schrijver 1991: 239f.). In Greek, the sequence would undergo metathesis only in accented position, thus \**sk(ē)Hu-t-* > σκῦτος, while \**kHu-t-ēs-* [obl.] and \**-kHu-tí-* would yield κύτος and ἐγκυτί.

The word is sometimes split in two: 1. 'skin', 2. 'sth. hollow', with connection of the second group to the group of ►κνέω (see Frisk), but this has to meet the difficulty that it would have to show long *ū* < IE \**kūh-*, which it does not. There seems no reason to connect ►κνέω.

**κύτταρος** [m.] 'cell of a honeycomb, pit in the receptacle of the searose (*Nelumbium speciosum*), the calyx in which the acorn is located, the male flower of the pine' (Ar., Arist., Thphr.). <PG?(v)>

•VAR Also κύσσαρος 'anus'.

•DER Diminutive κυττάριον 'bee-cell' (Arist.).

•ETYM Uncertain, but probably Pre-Greek. κύσσαρος may be the Ionic form of κύτταρος, but in any case the most likely option is that both are variants of ►κύτινος, κυσός, and ►κυσθος.

**κύφελλα** [n.pl.] 'hollows of the ears' (Lyc.), 'clouds of mist' (Lyc., Call.). <PG>

•ETYM An Alexandrian word. Probably the same Pre-Greek word as ►κύπελλον (variation π/ φ). The meaning 'clouds' is explained by reference to Lat. *cava nubes*, *umbra* (Persson 1912(1): 195).

**κυφός** ⇒ κύπτω.

**κύχραμος** [m.] name of an unknown migratory bird, which accompanies the quail (Arist.); see Thompson 1895 s.v. <PG(v)>

•VAR Also κέ-, κί- (v.ll.); κιγκράμας ὄρνειον 'bird' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Clearly a Pre-Greek word, because of the variants.

**κυνέλη** [f.] 'chest, box, beehive' (Hdt., Ar., Plu.), 'earwax' (com.), 'hollow of the ear' (Poll., H.). <PG(v)>

•VAR Also -άλη (pap.), cf. Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 22.

•DER κυνέλιον 'beehive', -ελίς 'bird-nest' (Arist.), 'earwax' (Ruf., Aret.), with κυνελίτης ῥύπος (*EM*), see Redard 1949: 112; back-formation κύπελος [m.] name of a bird like the swallow (Arist., H.), cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.

•ETYM Not related to κύπη, etc. (s.v. ►κύπελλον), nor derived from κύπτω 'to bend (forward), stoop'. Fur.: 327 compares κυνέλον· κύβετον μελισσῶν '... of bees' (H.), etc. Clearly a Pre-Greek word, given the variants; cf. also κυβέλη 'hollow'.

**κῶων** [m., f.] 'dog, bitch' (Il.). <IE \**kūon-* 'dog'>

•VAR Gen. κυνός, acc. κύνα.

•DIAL Myc. *ku-na-ke-ta* /kun<sup>(h)</sup>āgetās/.

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. κυν-ηγέτης, Dor. -ἄγέτας, -ἄγός 'leader of dogs', 'hunter' (I 120); see Chantraine 1956a: 83ff.; ἀπό-κυνον plant name 'Marsdenia erecta' (Dsc., Gal.); see Strömberg 1940: 65 and 143; on ►κυνάμυια s.v.

•DER Diminutives κυν-ίσκος (Hdt.), -ίσκη (Ar.), -ίδιον, -άριον (Att.); κυνώ [f.] 'female dog', also as a PN (Hdt.); κυνέη 'dog's skin' (Anaxandr.), 'cap, helmet', originally made of dog's skin, later from other materials (cf. αἰγείη, χαλκείη, etc.; Schwyzler: 37, Trümper 1950: 40ff.); κυνάς [f.] 'belonging to a dog, dog hair, etc.' (Theoc.); κύνειος, -εος 'belonging to a dog' (Ar.), 'shameless, impudent' (Il.), κυνικός 'dog-like, cynical' (X., Men.), κυνώδης 'dog-like' (Arist.); comp. and superl. κύντερος, -ον, -τατος 'more shameless, impertinent'; κυνηδόν [adv.] 'like a dog' (S., Ar.); κυνίζω 'to play the dog', i.e. 'to live as a cynic', κυνισμός (Apollod. *Stoic.*).

•ETYM The name of the 'dog' is preserved in most IE languages: e.g. nom. κῶων, Skt. *śvā*, Lith. *šuo*, gen. κυνός, Skt. *śūnas*, Lith. *šūñs*, etc. (the Gr. accentuation is oldest), from IE \**kūō(n)*, gen. \**kūn-ós*, etc. For Lat. *canis*, Schrijver 1991: 461 assumes that a development \**wo* > \**wa* in open syllable yielded an acc.sg. Plt. \**kwanem*. The word is also found in Anatolian: Hitt. <sup>10</sup>*kuuan-* [c.] 'dog-man', gen.sg. *kūnaš*, HLuw. *swan(i)-* [c.] 'dog'. The paradigm is strange because of the lack of an old *e*-grade in the ablaut pattern.

**κῶα**·ἐνέχυρα 'pledges' (H.).

•VAR Also κῶϊον· ἐνέχυρον (H.).

•ETYM See on ►κοῖον.

**κῶας** [n.] 'soft, hairy skin; fleece' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR κῶς (Nicoch. 12); plur. κῶα, -εσι.

•DIAL Myc. *ko-wo* /kōwos/.

•DER Diminutives κῶδιον (Att.), -άριον (com.); κωδᾶς, -ᾶτος [m.] 'dealer in fleece' (pap.).

•ETYM Without etymology. If the group of ►κύτος < IE \**(s)kHu-t-* is connected, it is unnecessary to assume a lengthened grade, since \**koHu-es-* or \**keh<sub>3</sub>u-es-* would do for the oblique forms. However, this does not explain the nom. in -ας. The inflection

is unusual: the -ε- would fit the Myc. nom. *ko-wo*, but -ας can hardly be explained by analogy. Perhaps these inflectional irregularities can be understood if we assume that the inflection of a Pre-Greek word was adapted to Greek.

**κῶβαξ** [m.] · ὁ μέγας τέττιξ ‘the large cicada’ (H.). <PG>

•ETYM Acc. to Gil *Emerita* 25 (1957): 321f., it belongs to ►καύαξ, etc. with β for ϕ. In any case, it is a Pre-Greek word.

**κῶβιός (-ίος)** [m.] name of a fish like the goby or gudgeon (IA). <LW Akk.?, PG?>

•DER Diminutive -ίδιον (com., Arist.); also as a plant name ‘τιθύμαλλος, Euphorbia’ (Dsc., Plin.); κῶβιτις ‘kind of ἀφύη’ (Arist.), see Redard 1949: 83; κῶβιώδης (Plu.).

•ETYM Probably a loan from a Mediterranean language, perhaps from Pre-Greek. Lat. *gōbius* (c-), *gōbiō* (c-) is borrowed from Greek. Fur.: 328<sup>21</sup> compares Akk. *kuppū*, *gubbu* name of a fish.

**κῶδεια** [f.] ‘poppyhead, capsule of the grape hyacinth, etc.’ (Ξ 499, Nic.), also other plants and comparable objects. <PG(V)>

•VAR Variants κῶδεα, -υια, -ύᾱ, -ία (Delos, Att. inscr., Arist., Thphr.).

•DER κῶδουον ‘head of purse tassels’ (Thphr.), like κάρυον to καρύη.

•ETYM No cognates. Kalén 1918: 24 has shown that κῶδυια is the oldest form, but this does not necessarily imply that the variants are secondary analogical creations. Fur.: 195, 198 showed that the variants point to Pre-Greek origin; he compares words for ‘cup’, e.g. ►κῶδων ‘bell’, κοτύλη ‘cup’, κόνδυ, ►κῶθων, but also Etr. *qutum*. Cf. Beekes 1998: 25f. and *Pre-Greek*: Suffixes sub -αι/-ε(ι)-.

**κῶδων, -ωνος** [m., f.] ‘bell, (sound of a) trumpet’ (IA). <PG(V)>

•COMP κῶδωνο-φορέω ‘to carry the bell round (of inspection of the guards), etc.’ (Ar.).

•DER Diminutive κῶδώνιον (J.); κῶδωνίζω [v.] ‘to test a coin by its sound’ (Ar.). Cf. Κῶδαλος PN (Hippon.), Nehring *Sprache* 1 (1949): 166.

•ETYM Previously taken as a formation like ἄμβων, κῶθων from κῶδεια, -υια, analogous to αἶθων: αἶθυια (Kalén 1918: 26). As Kretschmer *Glotta* 10 (1920): 232 remarks, there is no corresponding verb, which makes the construction doubtful. The word has been shown to be Pre-Greek by Fur.: 198f.; see on ►κῶδεια.

**κῶθων, -ωνος** [n.] name of Laconian drinking utensils (Archil., Ar., X., inscr.), ‘drinking-bout, feast’ (LXX, Thasos), = κῶβιός (Sicilian; Nic., Apollod. *apud* Ath. 7, 309c); also name of the inner harbor of Carthage (Str., App.). <PG?>

•COMP κῶθωνο-πλύται [pl.] ‘washers of the fish κῶθων (?)’ (Sophr.).

•DER Diminutive κῶθώνιον (inscr. V<sup>a</sup>, etc.); κῶθωνία ‘deep potation’ (Aret.), Scheller 1951: 41; κῶθωνίζομαι ‘to drink hard, carouse’ (Arist., Hell.), κῶθων-ισμός, -ιστής, -ιστήριον (Arist.). Also κῶθα-ποτήρια ‘drinking-cups’ (H.).

•ETYM Fur.: 199 compares ►κῶδων. He further compares Mingrel. *koto* ‘cup’ and Georg. *kotoxi* ‘id.’. The word is probably Pre-Greek.

**κῶκαλον** [adj.] · παλαιὸν καὶ εἶδος ἀλεκτρυόνος ‘old; kind of cock’ (H.). <?>

•DER PNs like Κῶκαλος, Κῶκος, Κῶκας, etc. (L. Robert 1963: 312ff.).

•ETYM Unknown.

**κωκύω** [v.] ‘to lament, wail’ (Il., late prose). <PG?>

•VAR Aor. κωκῦσαι.

•COMP With prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐπι-.

•DER κωκῦτός [m.] (Il.), κώκυμα (trag.) ‘lamenting, wailing’; Κώκυτος name of a river in the underworld (κ 514, etc.).

•ETYM It has been assumed that the verb has intensive reduplication, by comparison with Skt. *kāuti*, *kokūyate* ‘to wail’ (intens.), but these are only attested in grammarians; as argued by Tichy 1983: 266, the word is non-Indo-European.

**κωλακρέται** [m.pl.] name of financial officers in early Athens, chairmen of the main treasury (inscr., Ar., Arist.). <GR>

•DER κωλακρετέω [v.] ‘to be a κ.’ (inscr.).

•ETYM From earlier \*κωλ-αγρέται with assimilation, thus originally “collector of the κῶλα”, i.e. the sacrificial pieces, and an old sacral expression; for the second member, see on ►ἀγείρω. See further ►κῶλον.

**κῶλον** [n.] ‘member (of animal or human being), body part, especially the leg’ (IA), also metaphorical, e.g. of part of a period (Rhet.), often plur., e.g. in the mg. ‘corpse’ (LXX, NT). <PG?>

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. ἰσό-κῶλος ‘with equal members’ (Arist.), ἀκρο-κῶλια ‘extremities’, ὑπο-κῶλια ‘high of an animal’.

•DER Diminutives κωλάριον (Ael.), κωλύφιον (Phryn., Plaut.), cf. Lat. *cōlyphium*; κωλέα, -ῆ (Att.), κωλήν, -ῆνος [f.] (IA), κωλεός [f.] (Epich., Hp.) ‘bones of the hip together with its flesh, ham’ (Solmsen 1909: 124); κώληψ, -ητος [f.] ‘hollow of the knee’ (Ψ 726, Nic.); with a different suffix κώληξ ‘id.’ (sch.), which shows that the second member probably does not contain the root of ►ἄπτω, as assumed by Bechtel 1914 s.v.; κωλώτης [m.] ‘lizard’ (Hp., Arist., Babr.), cf. Lat. *lacerta* ‘lizard’ to *lacertus* ‘upper arm’ (see WH s.v.). Denominative κωλίζομαι ‘to be arranged in κῶλα’ (late).

•ETYM No obvious cognates. The Balto-Slavic group of OCS *kolěno* ‘knee’, Ru. *koléno* ‘knee, stem, lineage’, Ru. *člen* ‘member, body-part’, Lith. *kelys* ‘knee’ (root \**k<sup>w</sup>el(H)*- ‘to turn’ or \**kelH-* ‘to raise’) can hardly be related because of the Greek vocalism. Specht *KZ* 55 (1928): 19 presumed that an o-grade aorist was found in κόλσασθαι· ἱκετεῦσαι ‘to supplicate’ (H.), but is this form cognate at all? The word ►σκέλος is unrelated. It should be noted that Pre-Greek has a suffix -ῆξ (as in νάρθηξ, κύμηξ).

**κωλύω** [v.] ‘to hinder, prevent’ (Sapph., Pi., IA). <?>

•VAR Aor. κωλῦσαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. δια-, κατα-, ἀπο-.

•DER κώλυμα ‘obstacle’ (IA), κωλυμάτιον ‘catch, clutch in a machine’ (Hero); κωλύμη (Th.), κωλύσις ‘hindering’ (Pl., Arist.); κωλυτήρ (Archyt.), -τής (IA) ‘who hinders’, κωλυτήριος (D. H.); κωλυτικός (X., Arist., Hell.) ‘hindering’.

•ETYM One hypothesis (which goes back to Meillet) starts from from \*κῶλος in the sense of ‘wooden pin’: the word would originally mean “to fasten with a pin”, to hinder the freedom of movement of animals; the ending would have been reshaped

after λύω (hardly credible). Others (Meillet *MSL* 16 (1910-1911): 244, Fraenkel 1937: 357) connected it with ► κολουώ 'to mutilate'. There is no etymology.

**κῶμα** [n.] 'deep, sound sleep' (Il.), 'lethargy, coma' (medic.). ◀?▶

•DER κωματώδης 'lethargic'; κωμαίνω, κωματίζομαι [v.] 'to lie in a coma', κωμόομαι 'to fall into a coma' (medic.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Brugmann's proposal (Brugmann-Thumb 1913: 317) to connect it with ► κείμαι as \**kōi-mh* is unacceptable because of the lengthened grade. Cf. Porzig 1942: 281.

**κῶμη** [f.] 'village', as opposed to a strengthened πόλις, also 'district, part of a city' (Hes.). ◀?▶

•COMP E.g. κωμό-πολις 'town with the position of a κῶμη, market town' (Str., NT), cf. Schulze 1933a: 523<sup>2</sup>.

•DER Diminutives κῶμιον (Str.), κωμάριον (H.), -ύδριον (Porph.); further κωμήτης (IA), κωμέτας (Mycenae II<sup>a</sup>) 'inhabitant of a village or district', κωμητικός 'belonging to a κῶμη (or a κωμήτης)' (pap.); κωμαῖος 'regarding a κ.' (St. Byz.); κωμηδόν 'per village' (Str., D. S., D. H.).

•ETYM The reconstruction of a lengthened grade form \**kōi-m-h*, connected with the Germanic group of Go. *haims* 'village' and the Baltic group of Lith. *káima(s)* 'farmers') village', *kiēmas* 'farmstead' has now been abandoned, because such lengthened grade formations cannot be accounted for in PIE terms. Thus, the word remains unexplained.

**κῶμος** [m.] 'revel, carousal, merry-making of youths, Dionysiac festive procession and festive songs, festival' (post-Hom.). ◀IE? \**kōmso*- 'praise', PG?▶

•COMP κωμ-φῶδός 'singer of a κῶμος' (Att.), 'comic player' (Hell.) with -έω, -ία, etc., σύγ-κωμος 'comrade of a κ.' (Att.; rather back-formation from συγ-κωμάζω).

•DER κωμικός = κωμωδικός 'belonging to a comedy' (Aeschin., Arist., Hell.); κωμάζω 'participate in a κῶμος, drink' (post-Hom.) with κωμασία 'festive procession', κωμαστής 'drinker, member of a festive procession' (Att., pap.), κωμαστήριον 'place where κωμασταί assemble' (pap.), κωμαστικός 'belonging to a κωμαστής or a κῶμος' (D. H., Ph.).

•ETYM As the precise development of the meaning of κῶμος is uncertain, etymological suggestions remain highly hypothetical. Recently, connection with Skt. *śāṃsa*- 'praise, judgement' has been assumed; see e.g. Schlerath *RPh.* 74 (2000): 273 (discussion in Hackstein 2002: 190). I suggest that this is a Pre-Greek word.

**κῶμυς, -ῦθος** [f.] 'bundle, truss of hay' (Cratin., Theoc.), also = δάφνη, ἥν ιστώσι <πρὸ> τῶν πυλῶν 'laurel, which is put in front of the gate' (H.), 'place where the reed is closely grown with the roots' (Thphr.). ◀PG(S)▶

•ETYM The formation with the suffix -ῦθ- clearly points to Pre-Greek origin.

**κῶνειον** [n.] 'hemlock, Conium maculatum, hemlock drink, poisonous drink' (IA). ◀PG(V)▶

•DER κωνειάζομαι 'to be dosed with hemlock' (Men., Str.).

•ETYM The word can hardly be separated from ► κῶνος. The plant may owe its name to its narrow leaves with pointed teeth. On the European names, see Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 294f.; on the many Greek epithets of the plant, see Strömberg 1940: 64. Fur.: 121 connects not only ► κῶνος, but also κονή and ► ἀκόνιτον, so it is a Pre-Greek word.

**κῶνος** [m.] 'fruit of the pine cone, cone' also 'pine' [f.], 'top' (Democr., Arist., Thphr., Theoc.). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR κώνητες· θύρσοι 'thyrsos' (H.), κώνης 'the stave of Bacchus and the Bacchantes, ending in a pine cone'. Further cf. γονής· νάρκισσος τὸ φυτόν 'narcissus' (H.); κῶνα = πίσσα 'pitch'; κῶνα· βέμβιξ 'whipping-top' (H.).

•COMP E.g. κωνο-φόρος [f.] 'conifer' (Thphr.), κωνο-κόλουρος 'truncated cone', beside κολουρό-κωνός 'id.' (Hero), cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 284, Strömberg 1944: 8.

•DER Diminutive κωνίον, -ιον (Posidon., AP), κωνίς· ὑδρίσκη 'little water vessel' (H.); κωνίτις πίσσα 'pine resin' (Rhian.), κωνίας (οἶνος) 'resinated wine' (Hp. *apud* Gal.; Chantraine 1933: 94 f.); κωνάω 'resinate, pitch', also 'spin' (Ar., H.), with κώνησις 'resinating, pitching' (Arist.), -ητικός 'suitable for pitching' (pap.); περι-κωνέω 'smear with pitch' (Ar.).

•ETYM Often identified with Skt. *śāṇa*- [m.] 'whetstone, touchstone' (assuming MInd. *ṇ* for *n*), derived from a verb 'to whet, sharpen' in Skt. *śísāti* < \**ki-keh*<sub>3</sub>-. To this root also belongs Lat. *cōs*, gen. *cōtis* 'whetstone' and *catus* 'sharp, clever', OIr. *cath* 'wise, able', etc. Schwyzler: 458, however, considered foreign origin; this is confirmed by the variants adduced in Fur.: 121 (most notably ► ἀκόνιτον).

**κῶνωψ, -ωπος** [m.] 'gnat, mosquito' (A., Hdt. 2, 95. Arist.). ◀PG(S)▶

•COMP κωνωπο-θήρας· ὄρνις ὁ κῶνωπας θηρεύων 'bird hunting gnats or mosquitoes' (H.).

•DER Diminutive κωνώπιον (Gal.), usually 'couch with mosquito curtains' (LXX); also -εών, -ῶνος [m.] 'id.' (AP 9, 764 tit.).

•ETYM As Frisk already remarked, the connection with κῶνος and ὥψ (ὄψ) is far from evident semantically, and formally it is also improbable. Spiegelberg *KZ* 41 (1907): 131 derives it from Eg. *ḥams* 'gnat', with adaptation to κῶνος. The form κωνώπιον would have been remodelled by folk etymology from earlier \*κανώπιον, the Egyptian town *Canōpus*; see WH s.v. *cōnōpium*. Since there is no good etymology, and since the suffix -ωπ- is frequent in Pre-Greek words, substrate origin is the only plausible option.

**κῶος** [m.] 'cavern, prison' (Str., St. Byz.). ◀?▶

•VAR Usually plur. κῶοι.

•ETYM A variant with long vowel of κόοι· τὰ χάσματα τῆς γῆς 'clefts of the earth' (H.); see on ► κοῖλος.

**κώπη** [f.] 'grip (of a sword, an oar), oar, stalk' (Il.). ◀IE \**k(e)h<sub>2</sub>p-* 'take, hold'▶

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. κωπ-ήρης 'provided with oars' (trag., Th.).

•DER Diminutive κωπίον (Ar.); κωπήεις 'with a good grip' (Il.), see Trümper 1950: 62; κωπέϊς [m.pl.] 'wood fit for making oars, spars' (IA), κωπεών, -ῶνος [m.] 'id.'

(Thphr.); κωπητήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'leather thong for the oar' (cf. Bergson *Eranos* 55 (1957): 120ff.); κωπεύω [v.] 'to row' (AP), κωπάω (-έω) in perf. med. κεκώπηται 'is provided with oars' (Att. inscr., H.). On ► κωπώ, see s.v.

•ETYM Old verbal noun from ► κάπτω, so IE *\*koh<sub>2</sub>p-h<sub>2</sub>-* (without a lengthened grade, cf. Hamp MSS 43 (1984): 51f.). For the meaning, cf. Lat. *capulus* 'grip'.

**κωπώ, -οῦς** [f.] 'wreathed staff used in the Daphnephoria' (Boeot.; Procl.). ◀GR▶

•DER Also as a PN.

•ETYM Personification in -ώ (Schwyzer: 478) of κώπη. Not related to κήπος 'garden', as per Schönberger *Glotta* 29 (1942): 87ff. and Pisani *RILomb.* 77 (1943-44): 558ff.

**κώρυκος** [m.] 'leather sack' (Od.). ◀PG▶

•DER κωρυκίς (com., Thphr.), κωρύκιον, -ίδιον (Poll., Suid., H.) and κωρυκώδης 'sack-like' (Thphr.). Cf. the TN ► Κώρυκος, a promontory in Cilicia.

•ETYM The resemblance with Lat. *corium*, etc. (Pok. 939) is deceptive. Fur.: 328<sup>21</sup> compares Hitt. *kurk-* 'to retain'. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek, with the suffix -υκ-.

**Κώρυκος** [m.] a promontory in Cilicia (*h. Ap.*). ◀PG▶

•DER Also -αῖος; also Κωρύκιον ἄντρον a cave on the Parnassos, with Κωρύκιαι νύμφαι, etc. (Hdt., trag.).

•ETYM The structure of the word looks like Pre-Greek. It could represent *\*kāruk-*, for which see κήρυξ, but I see no way to connect 'messenger'; neither does it belong to the 'leather sack'.

**κωτίλος** [adj.] 'chattering, babbling' (Thgn., Arist.). ◀?▶

•VAR Also -άς [f.] Boeot. name of the swallow (Stratt.).

•DER κωτίλλω [v.] 'to chatter' (Hes., D. H.); κωτιλίζω 'id.' (Call.); κωτιλία 'chattering' (gloss.).

•ETYM Formation like ποικίλος, etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 248), but without etymology.

**κωφός** [adj.] 'blunt, dumb, mute' (Il.), post-Hom. also 'deaf' (*h. Merc.*). ◀IE?, PG?▶

•COMP E.g. ὑπό-κωφος 'hard of hearing' (IA).

•DER κωφότης 'deafness' (IA), κωφεύς 'deaf man' (Call.), κωφίας [m.] kind of snake = τυφλίας (Ael., H.); κωφεύω [v.] 'to be silent' (LXX), κωφάομαι (-άω) 'to become (make) blunt, etc.' (Clearch., Oppr.), κωφῆσαι· κολοῦσαι 'to cut short', κώφησις· κόλουσις 'cutting short' (H.); κωφόμαι 'to become silent or deaf, -όω 'to silence', whence κώφωμα, -ωσις (Hp.).

•ETYM To be connected with ► κηφήν, ► κεκαφητότα; the vocalism could be reconstructed as ablauting *\*k/gʰ(e/o)h<sub>2</sub>bʰ-*, but there is no IE comparandum. If κηφήν is Pre-Greek, the same probably holds for this word.

**κώψι** 'owl'. ⇒ σκώψι.

## Λ

**λα-** prefix with intensifying function. ◀?▶

•COMP Only in isolated and rare words: λᾶ-καταπύγων (Ar. *Ach.* 664, λᾶ- rhythmical lengthening?), λα-κατάρατος (Phot.; λακκ- cod.), λαπτυήρ· σφοδρῶς πτύων, λάφωνοι (Latte: λάφονοι?), λίαν ἄφωνοι (H.); λαισ- in λαίσπαις· βούπαις· Λευκάδιοι (H.), also λάσπαις (Latte, codd. λαοπαις); λι- in λιπόνηρος· λίαν πονηρός (H.); cf. on ► λίαν· λαι- in PNs, e.g. Λαι-κλῆς, Λαι-σποδίας (Bechtel 1917b: 273, Bechtel *Herm.* 50 (1915): 317).

•ETYM Unknown. Does λαισ- represent Pre-Greek *\*lasʰ-*?

**λᾶας** [m.] 'stone' (Il.). ◀PG?(V)▶

•VAR Case forms: gen. λᾶος, -ι, -αν (-α Call. 11, 4), plur. λᾶ-ες, etc.; also as an o-stem λᾶος, -ου, etc. (Hes. *Fr.* 115[?], S., Cyrene, Gortyn), details in Schwyzer: 578. Late also fem.

•DIAL Myc. *ra-e-ja* /lāhejā/ and Cypr. *la-o-se* show that the word did not have a *\*-w-*.

•COMP Compounds like λᾶ-τόμος (beside uncontracted or restored λαο-) 'stone cutter', with λᾶτομ-ιαί 'quarry' (Arg., Syracuse, Hell., see Ruijgh 1957: 125f.), = Lat. *lātomiae* beside *lautumiae* < *\*λαο-* (see WH s.v.); λα(ο)-ξό(ο)ς with λαξεύω, etc. (Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 165f.), λατύπος; as a second member in κραταί-λεως (< *\*-ληρος* or *\*-λᾶος*, see below) 'with hard rock' (A., E.), probably also in ὑπο-λαῖς, -ίδος (H. also -ληῖς) [f.] name of an unknown bird (Arist.); cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.; see also ► λαιός 2.

•DER As a TN (Laconia) Λᾶς and Λᾶ (Th., Paus., St. Byz., et al.), with Λᾶᾶν [acc.] (B 585). Further λαῖγγες [f.pl.] 'small stones' (Od., A. R.); λαῖνος, -ῖνος 'made of stone' (Il.); uncertain λαιαί [f.pl.] (Arist.), λείαι (Gal.), λεία [sg.] (Hero) 'stones used as weights to keep the threads of the warp straight in the upright loom'; unclear are λαίετα· καταλεύεται 'is lapidated' (H.) and λαυστήρ· μοχθηρός 'troublesome' ... ἢ οἴκου λαύρα 'alley [or privy] of a house', λαύστρανον· τινὲς λύκον (in the sense of 'hook', see LSJ), τινὲς φρέατος ἄρπαγα 'the hooks of a well (for drawing up buckets)' (H.).

•ETYM The unique stem formation of λᾶας is unexplained. An old neuter has been supposed, with secondary transition to msc. (later fem.) gender after λίθος, πέτρος. An IA form seems to be reflected in κραταί-λεως, but it may be an epicism.

Since the Mycenaean and Cypr. forms show that the word had no *-w-*, all earlier hypotheses starting from a pre-form with *\*-f-* can now be forgotten (unless the *f* was lost between like vowels at a very early stage). The relation to ► λεύω, ► λαύρα

has therewith become unclear; all we can do is assume a stem \**lāh-*. See Heubeck *IF* 66 (1961): 29-34. Fur.: 239 compares λέπας 'rock'; he considers λαίνθη- λάρναξ λιθίνη (Cyr.) to be proof of Pre-Greek origin.

Non-Greek correspondences to λᾶας are all doubtful, e.g. Alb. *lerë*, -a 'stone, heap of stones, stony plain, rockslope' from PAlb. *leurā* (Demiraj 1997), OIr. *līe*, gen. *līac* < PCl. \**līwank-* (taken up by Matasović 2008 s.v. \**līwank-*).

**λαβά** [f.] · σταγών 'drop' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. Macedonian for λουβά, acc. to von Blumenthal 1930: 18f.

**λαβάβηρ** [?] · λακανίσκη 'small dish' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. Lewy KZ 59 (1932): 187f. considers it a loan of Lat. *lavābrum* 'bathing-tub' by Palestinian Jews (otherwise unknown).

**λάβδα** [n.] the eleventh letter of the Greek alphabet (Att.); later (with secondary nasal) λάμβδα (Ar., Arist. as a v.l.). <LW Sem.>

•VAR Indeclinable.

•DER λαβδακισμός [m.] 'special use or pronunciation of the λ' (Quint.); cf. s.v. ► ἰῶτα on ἰωτακισμός.

•ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *lāmedh*. Gr. λαβδ- corresponds to Sem. *lamb-*; see Schwyzler: 140<sup>2</sup>, 826 and Schulze 1933a: 283f. Doubts in Kretschmer *Glotta* 6 (1915): 307.

**λάβρος** [adj.] 'furious, boisterous, violent, fierce; gluttonous' (Ion. poet., late prose). <PG?(v)>

•COMP λαβρ-αγόρης 'fierce boaster' (Ψ 479), κατά-λάβρος 'very furious' (Eup. 293), after κατα-λαβεῖν?

•DER Fish-names: λάβραξ, -ᾱκος [m.] 'bass, Labrax lupus' (Alc., com.), see Chantraine 1933: 381, Björck 1950: 262, Strömberg 1943: 34f.; Thompson 1947 s.v.; thence λαβράκιον (com.); λάβριχος (Boeot. [II<sup>a</sup>]); see Lacroix 1938: 51.

Abstracts: λαβροσύνη 'furiousness, fierce conversation' (AP, Opp.), λαβρότης 'id.' (Ath.) with λαβροσιάν· χορτασμοῦ ἀκόσμου 'disorderly feeding' (H.). Denominative verbs: 1. λαβρεύομαι [v.] 'to discuss furiously' (Ψ 474 and 478), probably after ἀγορεύω (Risch 1937: 333) or μωμεύω, ἐπι-λωβεύω (Debrunner *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 199); 2. λαβρόομαι [v.] 'to rush violently' (Lyc.); 3. λαβράζω = λαβρεύομαι and λαβρόομαι (Nic., Lyc.), whence λαβράκτης = λαβραγόρης (Pratin. Lyr. 5); 4. λαβρύσσει· λαβρεύει, δειλαίνει 'is a coward' (H.); cf. λαφύσσω, etc. (Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 244).

•ETYM The traditional connection with λαβεῖν, λάζομαι is improbable. Fur.: 208 compares λαμυρός 'gluttonous', and further λαφύσσω 'to swallow' (op.cit. 177) and λαῦρος (as an orthographic variant of λάβρος, op.cit. 242). This is uncertain, because these alternations do not conform to a known pattern. If λάβραξ beside λάβριχος is typical, the word seems to be Pre-Greek.

**λάβρυς** ⇒ λαβύρινθος.

**λαβρώνιον** [n.] 'a large, wide cup' (Men., Diph., H.). <?>

•VAR Also λαβρώνιος [m.], -ία [f.] (Eust.).

•ETYM Acc. to Ath. 11, 484c, ἐκπώματος Περσικοῦ εἶδος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ πίνειν λαβρότητος ὀνομασμένον 'a kind of Persian cup, thus called after the greediness during drinking'. Folk-etymological explanation?

**λάβυζος** [f.] an unknown spice plant, used by the Persian king (Dinon Hist. [IV<sup>a</sup>] *apud* Ath. 12, 514a, H. s.v. κίδαρις). <LW Ind.>

•ETYM The hypothesis by Petersson KZ 46 (1916): 146f. (a Persian word, related to Skt. *libujā* 'liane, climber') is untenable. Acc. to Charpentier *MondOrbis* 13 (1919): 32ff., it is rather an Indic LW, related to the Pāli plant-name *labuja-*. See Brust 2005: 378ff.

**λαβύρινθος** [m.] 'labyrinth', a great building with many corridors and turns, in Egypt (Hdt., Str.), Crete (Call., D. S.), Anatolia (inscr. Miletus), etc.; metaph. of complicated thoughts (Pl.). <PG(S,v)>

•DIAL Myc. *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo* /dap<sup>h</sup>urint<sup>h</sup>oio/.

•COMP λαβυρινθώδης 'labyrinth-like, complicated' (Arist.).

•ETYM A Pre-Greek word in -ινθος. The traditional connection with λάβρυς (acc. to Plu. 2,302a Lydian for πέλεκυς), and interpretation as "House of the Double Axe" (a sign of royalty), is speculative. Perhaps the Carian god Δαβραυνδος also belongs here. Connection with λαύρα as a substrate word is possible, but that with λᾶας is difficult, as it has no -w-. Cf. Fur.: 397f.

**λαγαίω** [v.] 'to release' (Crete). <EUR?>

•VAR Aor. λαγάσαι; λαγάσσαι· ἀφεῖναι 'let go' (H.).

•COMP Also with ἀπο-.

•DER ἀπολάγαξις 'release' (Crete).

Several nouns, not directly depending on the verb: 1. λαγάρος 'slack, emaciated, thin' (IA), whence λαγαρότης 'slackness, etc.', λαγαρόομαι [v.] 'to get slack' (AP) with λαγάρωσις (Eust.), of στίχοι λαγαροί; also λαγαρίζομαι mg. unclear (com.). 2. λάγανον 'thin cake' (Hell.) with λαγάνιον (late) and λαγανίζω (?; Hp. *Morb. Sacr.* 13).

A nasal suffix is also found in semantically deviant 3. λάγνος, -νης 'lascivious, voluptuous' (on the barytone accent see Schwyzler: 489), with λαγνεύω [v.] 'to be lascivious, be lecherous', λαγνεῖα 'the act of coition, etc.' (IA). 4. \*λαγος (\*λάξ) 'slack, thin' in λαγόνες [f.pl.] (also msc.), rarely -ών [sg.] 'the hollows on the side, flanks' (IA), and also in ►λαγός 'hare'.

•ETYM Disyllabic λαγάσαι (: λαγαρός) has a model in the synonym χαλάσαι (: χαλαρός); λαγαίω is an innovation like κεραίω, ἀγαίομαι (see ►κεράννυμι and ►ἀγα-). A different ablaut grade is usually recognized in ►λήγω, ►λωγάνιον.

A direct correspondence to \*λαγος, if from \**slago-* (see on ►λήγω), yields a Germanic adjective for 'slack': ON *slakr*, OS *slac*, OE *slæc*, etc., with initial *l-* MLG *lak* 'id.'. In Celtic, we find OIr. *lac* 'id.'. The formal identity of λαγών and MoNw. *lake* 'flap' on the one hand, and of λάγανον and OS *lakan*, OHG *lahhan* 'cloth' on the other, rests on parallel innovations in the separate languages.



Further, λαγρός is compared with ToA *slākkār* 'sad'. Beside it exists Lat. *laxus* 'slack, weak, etc.' with an *s*-suffix; perhaps also Skt. *ślakṣhā-* 'slippery, meagre, thin' (if assimilated from *\*slakṣ-*).

However, as *\*slh<sub>2</sub>g-* would have given *\*slāg-*, and since Indo-European had no phonemes *\*a, ā*, the above correspondences have not been explained. Perhaps it is necessary to assume a secondary zero grade for the Greek forms. Alternatively, we may be dealing with a European substrate word.

**λαγγάζω** [v.] 'to slacken' (Antiph., Phot., AB [= ἐν- δίδωμι]); λαγγάζει· ὀκνεῖ 'is slow', οἱ δὲ λαγγεῖ (H.); λαγγάσαι· περιφυγεῖν 'to flee' (H.). <PG(V), EUR?>

•DER Other formations in H.: λαγγεύει· φεύγει, λαγγανώμενος· περιϊστάμενος, στραγγευόμενος 'avoiding, hesitating', λαγγαρεῖ· ἀποδιδράσκει 'runs away'. λαγγών (for λάγων?)- ὁ εὐθὺς λανθάνων τοῦ ἀγώνος καὶ τοῦ φόβου (EM 554, 15, cf. Chantraine 1933: 160). With -o-: ▶ λογγάζω, λογγάσαι.

•ETYM Expressive and popular words, which correspond formally and semantically to Lat. *langueō*, *-ēre* 'to be faint, slack' (with secondary -u-) and, like the latter, can be understood as nasalized present formations from λαγάσαι (▶ λαγαίω). The same problem as with ▶ λαγαίω holds here: the pervasive *a*-vocalism. Do the forms with -o- point to substrate origin? It is quite possible that the variation λαγ-/λαγγ- is due to Pre-Greek pre-nasalization.

We must separate several Baltic words in the meaning 'to rock, sling, vacillate', like Lith. *langóti*, *lingiúoti*; see Fraenkel 1955: 331 (s.v. *láigyti*). The same holds for Gm. words like OHG *slinc* 'left', MoSw. *linka*, *lanka*, *lunka* 'to limp, go slowly, etc.'

**λάβιον** [n.] 'kind of cup or vessel' (Delos II<sup>a</sup>). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained. Fur.: 121 compares λήκυθος, but this is uncertain. Kronasser 1956: 225 compares Hitt. *lahan(n)i*, Akk. *lahannu*, etc. See ▶ λάγυνος.

**λαγκρῦζεσθαι** [v.]· λαιδορεῖσθαι 'to be slandered' (Phot.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM A prenasalized form beside λακερῦζεσθαι 'id.'; see λακέρυζα s.v. ▶ λάσκω. Therefore, clearly a Pre-Greek word.

**λάβματα** ⇒ λαίγματα.

**λάβνος** ⇒ λαγαίω.

**λάβυνος** [m., f.] 'flask with a small neck', also as measure (Arist. *Fr.* 499, Hell.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also -ῦ-.

•COMP τρι-λάβυνος 'containing three λ.' (Stesich. 7, pap.), λαγυνο-φόρια [n.pl.] name of an Alexandrian festival (Eratosth.).

•DER Diminutive λαγύνιον, -υνίς (Hell.); λαγυνάριος 'manufacturer, handler of flasks' (Corycos), Λαγυνίων [m.] name of a parasite (Ath.).

•ETYM Many names for vessels are loans. This one is probably Pre-Greek, because of the interchange ῦ/ῡ. Puhvel HED 5: 6f. compares Hitt. *lahan(n)i*, Akk. *lahannu*, etc. From λάγυνος was borrowed Lat. *lagūna*, *-ōna*; also, *lagēna*, from which was taken λάγηνος (Gal.). Cf. ▶ λάγιον.

**λαγχάνω** [v.] 'to obtain by lot' (an office, the right of a lawsuit), 'to obtain one's share' (Od.). <IE? *\*leng<sup>h</sup>-* 'obtain (by lot)'>

•VAR Aor. λαχεῖν (Il.), caus. λελαχεῖν (Il.), perf. λέλογχα (λ 304), λέλαχα (Emp.), εἵληχα (A., Att.), fut. λάξομαι (Hdt.), λήξομαι (Pl.), perf. pass. εἵληγμαι, aor. ληχθῆναι (Att.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, ἀντι-, συν-.

•DER 1. With old *o*-grade: λόγχη [f.] 'share' (Ion.), with εὔ-λογχος = εὔ-μοιρος (Democr.) and εὐλογ<χ>εῖν· εὐμοιρεῖν (H.). 2. With zero grade: λάξις 'portion, share (of land)' (Hdt., Miletus), Ἀπόλαξις (Eretria); Λάχεσις [f.] name of one of the Moirai, also as an appellative 'share, lot' (Hes., Pi.), perhaps after γένεσις, Νέμεσις; younger formations are λάχος [n.] 'lot, share' (Thgn., Pi., A.; also Arc.) and λάχη (λαχή?) [f.] 'id.' (A. *Th.* 914, H.); cf. on λαχαίνω; PN Λάχης, -ητος [m.] (Th.); λαχμός = λάχος 'id.' (sch., Eust.). 3. With a secondary full grade (see below): λήξις (σύν-, διά-, ἀντί-) 'allotment, written complaint' (Att.).

•ETYM Old forms are the *o*-grade perf. λέλογχα, λόγχη and the zero grade aor. λαχεῖν, λάξις. Later, εἵληχα, λήξομαι, λήξις, etc. arose as innovations by analogy with εἵληφα, λήψομαι, λήψις (after λαγχάνω : λαμβάνω, λαχεῖν : λαβεῖν). No known cognates exist. A noteworthy agreement with Λάχεσις is Messap. *Logetibas* [dat.pl.], to which belongs Λάγεσις· θεός. Σικελιοί (H.); if correct, it must be an old loan; cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 278ff.

**λαγών** 'the flanks'. •VAR Plur. -όνες. ⇒ λαγαίω.

**λαγώς** [m.] 'hare', also metaph. of a bird (Thompson 1895 s.v.; cf. λαγωῖς below), of several sea-animals (Thompson 1947 s.v., Strömberg 1943: 111), of a constellation (Scherer 1953: 189, 192), and of a bandage (medic.). <GR>

•VAR Att. also λαγώς (on the gender see Schwyzer 1950: 31<sup>4</sup>); gen. λαγώ (-ῶ), acc. λαγών, analogical -ῶ (-ῶ), etc.

•DIAL λαγῶς (epic, Arist.), λαγός (Ion., Dor., poet.).

•COMP As a first member in λαγο-δαίτης [m.] 'hare-devourer' (A.), λαγω(ο)-βόλον [n.] 'stick for flinging at hares' (Theoc., AP), etc.

•DER Diminutives: λαγῶδιον (Ar., pap.), λαγωδάριον (Ph.); λάγιον (X.), λαγίδιον (M. Ant., Poll.), λαγιδεύς (Str.). Adjectives: λαγῶς 'ptng. to a hare', τὰ λαγῶα 'hare-meat, delicacy' (Hr., com.), λαγῶειος 'id.' (Opp.), λαγώνεια· λαγοῦ κρέα 'hare's meat' (H.), cf. ταών(ε)ιος from ταώς, -ῶς; λάγειος (of κρέας, Hr.), λάγιος 'ptng. to a hare' (A.). Bird-names: λαγωῖς [f.] (Hor. *Sat.* 2, 2, 22; *leporini coloris* Porph.; cf. WH s.v.). λαγωῖνης· ὄρνις ποιός (H.), cf. κεγχρίνης, ελαφίνης, etc.; λαγωδίας = ὥτος a kind of owl (Alex. Mynd. *apud* Ath. 9, 390f); cf. καχρυ-δ-ίας, Chantraine 1933: 203.

•ETYM Traditionally analyzed as *\*λαγ(ο)-ω[υσ]-ός* 'with flabby ears', an adjectival bahuvrihi of *\*λαγο-* (see on ▶ λαγαίω) and οὖς. Cf. Oss. *tærqus* 'hare', properly "long-ear", MoP *xargōš* 'id.', properly "donkey-ear", Berber *bu tmezgin* "the animal with the long ears" (litt. in Frisk). Probably a taboo word from the language of hunters (e.g. Schwyzer: 38, Havers 1946: 51f.). By contraction and analogy arose λαγώς, λαγός (Schwyzer: 557').

Szemerényi *SMEA* 3 (1967): 85ff. shows that the compound formation \*λαγωγης 'having flabby ears' (which is more probable than an *o*-stem) can actually be restored in Homer, and that it accounts for the Attic forms as well. DELG calls this plausible.

**λάδας** [?] · ἔλαφος νεβρίας 'a deer dappled like a fawn' (H.). <PG?(V)>

•DER Also PN (Paus. 3, 21, 1).

•ETYM Fur.: 195 connects it with λῆθον· βαλιόν 'dappled' (H.).

**λαῖδρέω** [v.] 'to run, flee', of the μυκτῆρες, nostrils (Sophr. 135). <?>

•ETYM Uncertain. Fur.: 199 compares λατραβός, λαιδρός, λαθροῦν, λαιθαρύζειν.

**Λαέρτης** [m.] name of the father of Odysseus. <GR?>

•ETYM Connected with the root of ἔρετο· ὠρμήθη 'was incited' (H.). DELG adds: "C'est l'homme qui met en mouvement le peuple." For the meaning, one compares the Myc. PN *e-ti-ra-wo*, which is interpreted as Ἐρτι-λαφος (Palmer 1963: 78). Acc. to Ael. NA, it is the name of an insect (a bee or an ant), which we cannot explain; see Gil Fernández 1959: 193.

**λάζομαι** [v.] 'to seize, grasp, take hold of' (Il.). <IE \*sleh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>w</sup>- 'seize, grasp'>

•VAR Also λάζυμαι (*h. Merc.* 316), also Megar., Thess. λαδδουσθη, ουπο-λαδδουνθη, only present stem.

•COMP Also with ἀντι-, ἀνα-, προσ-.

•ETYM The more recent formation λάζυμαι was probably created after αἰνυμαι (Schwyzer: 698, Fraenkel *IF* 60 (1952): 132). As a *yod*-present, λάζομαι may continue a pre-form \*lag-*ie/o-* or \*lang-*ie/o-*; given λαβεῖν, ἔ-λλαβε (see ►λαμβάνω), from which λάζομαι can hardly be separated, a labiovelar must be reconstructed: IE \*(s)leh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>w</sup>-*ie/o-*. Connection with the isolated OE *læcc(e)an* 'to seize, grasp', MoE *latch*, seems possible.

**λάθαργοι** [m.pl.] 'bit of leather' (Nic. *Th.* 423), acc. to H., τὰ ξυόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς βύρσης ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρβήλων 'what is carved from the hide with a cobbler-knife'; also = σκώληκες 'worms' (H.). <PG?(V)>

•ETYM Technical term without a clear origin. Fur.: 374 connects it with λαίθαργος, and λήθαργος with λάθαργος (Phryn. *PS* 87 B.), but these have a quite different meaning. See ►λαίθαργος.

**λαθικηδής, λάθρα** = λανθάνω.

**λάθυρος** [m.] 'a kind of pulse, chickling, Lathyrus sativus' (Hell.). <PG?(S)>

•VAR Plural also -α.

•DER λαθυρίς [f.] name of a purging plant, 'Euphorbia Lathyris' (Dsc., Gal.); hence Lat. (gloss.) *latridus* [f.] (see André *Ét. class.* 24 (1956): 41f.).

•ETYM No etymology. Only a remote resemblance with the word for 'lentil' (Lat. *lens*, OCS *lęšta*, Ru. *ljača*). The structure (suffix -υρ-) could point to a Pre-Greek word (not in Fur.).

**λαιαί** 'stones of the weaver'. = λᾶας.

**λαίγματα** [n.pl.] · πέμματα, οἱ δὲ σπέρματα, ἱερὰ ἀπάργματα 'cakes, others: seeds, holy firstlings' (H.); λαῖγμα· τὸ ἱερόν (Theognost. *Can.* 9). <PG(V)>

•DER Cf. λάγματα (Cyr., Phot.), λαῖτμα· θῦμα 'sacrifice' (H.), cod. λαιτμάθημα; also as a v.l. (cod. Ven.) in Ar. *Av.* 1563 beside λαῖμα, in an uncertain mg.; thus also Suid. with many interpretations (αῖμα, λαιμός, etc.).

•ETYM The variation λα-/λαι- points to a Pre-Greek word.

**λαιδρός** [adj.] 'bold, impudent, shameless' (Hell. poet.: Call., Nic., Max.). <PG?>

•ETYM Stem vowel and suffix as in φαιδρός, αἰσχρός. Fur.: 199 connects it with λατραβός, λαθροῦν, λαιθαρύζω, λαιθυράζω, λαδρέω; uncertain. Origin unknown, but possibly Pre-Greek. Note the rather late attestation of the word.

Traditional etymologies do not have much to recommend themselves: Krahe 1955: 129ff. connects Messapian / Illyrian PNs like *Ledrus*, *Laidius*, Σκερδι-λαῖδας, as well as the semantically unclear *laidehiabas* (adj. of *Logetibas*; see ►λαγχάνω), *Po-laidehias*. Another suggestion is Lith. *pa-láidas* 'loose, free', *pa-láida* 'looseness', assuming that λαιδρός properly meant 'loose, elated'. A different root grade is found in Lith. *léisti* 'release'. On the Baltic group, see Fraenkel 1955 s.v.

**λαιετόν** 'townhall' (Su.).

•ETYM See λήϊτον s.v. ►λαός.

**λαίθαργος** [adj.] 'guileful, treacherous', of dogs which bite unexpectedly (S. *Fr.* 885, Orac. *apud* Ar. *Eq.* 1068); also λαιθάργω ποδί (*Trag. Adesp.* 227), explained by H. as λαθραίω. <PG(V)>

•VAR λαθαργοι· κύνες κρυφίως δάκνοντες 'dogs that bite unexpectedly' (H.).

•ETYM Frisk and others consider it to be identical with ►λήθαργος 'forgetful, lethargic' and take it as a reshaping based on popular words in λαι- (λαιδρός, λαίμαργος, etc.). However, the variation αι/η rather points to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 338, 374). Acc. to DELG, the gloss λάθαργοι 'dogs which bite unexpectedly' in H. arose from confusion with λαίθαργοι, but it may also be a different variant. See also ►λάθαργοι.

**λαιθαρύζειν** · λαμυρῶσαι, διαπράξασθαι 'to be wanton, get something done (by seduction?)' (H.). => λατραβός.

**λαικάζω** [v.] 'to wench' (com.). <PG(V)>

•VAR fut. λαικάσομαι.

•DER λαικάστρια [f.] 'strumpet' (com.), also λαικαστής [m.] (Ar. *Ach.* 79); back-formation λαικάς [f.] (Aristaenet. 2, 16; not quite certain); also λαικαλέος (Luc. *Lex.* 12).

•ETYM Resembles ►ληκάω, of which λαικάζω is probably only a variant (cf. ►λαιθαργος). The variation αι/η is typical for Pre-Greek; cf. *Pre-Greek*: section B 6.

**λαῖλαν, -απος** [f.] 'furious storm, hurricane' (Il., Hell.). <PG?(S)>

•VAR On λαῖλαψ see Fur.: 287 Anm. 4.

•DER λαίλαπώδης 'stormy' (Hp.), λαίλαπετός = λαίλαψ (sch. A. on Λ 495), after ὑετός, etc. Denominative λαίλαπιζω [v.] 'to quake by storms' (Aq.). λαίλαφέτης [m.] 'sender of storms' (PMag. Leid. W. 8, 21), haplological for λαίλαπ-αφέτης.

•ETYM Probably Pre-Greek, with intensive reduplication. Fur.: 225 refers to λάλαμις· λαίλαψ (H.); the corrections by Latte are unnecessary.

λαῖμα ⇒ λαίγματα.

λαιμός [m.] 'throat, gullet' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•COMP As a first member in λαιμο-τόμος 'cutting the throat' (E.); on λαίμαργος see below.

•DER Denominatives: 1. λαϊμάσσω, -ττω [v.] 'to be voracious' (Ar., Herod.) with λαίμαστρον 'voracious animal', as a term of abuse (Herod.), cf. on ζύγαστρον; 2. λαιμώσσω [v.] 'id'. (Nic. Al. 352 as a v.l.); 3. λαϊμάω [v.] 'id'. (Hippon.); 4. λαϊμάζουσιν· ἐσθίουσιν ἀμέτρως 'eat without a limit' (H.); λαϊμίζω [v.] 'to cut the throat, slaughter' (Lyc.).

Nouns: λαϊμά [n.pl.] = λαμυρά 'voracious, greedy' (H.; Men. 106, codd. λαῖμα, λῆμα), probably a back-formation to λαϊμάω, -άζω, -άσσω; λαϊμώρη· ἡ λαμυρίς (Theognost. Can. 9, Suid.); cf. especially πληθώρη (on the accent Wackernagel and Debrunner Phil. 95 (1942): 181f.).

A compound that became unclear as such is λαίμαργος 'voracious, carouser' (Arist. Thphr.), from \*λαιμό-μαργος (cf. especially γαστρί-μαργος); see Georgacas Glotta 6 (1958): 165.

•ETYM There seems no basis for the comparison with ▶λαῖτμα. Fur.: 225 compares λαιμός 'gefrässig' with λαιφός and λαιφάσσω, which proves Pre-Greek origin. Does λαῖπος belong here, too?

λαινόχειρ· σκληρόχειρ 'with a hard hand' (H.). <GR?>

•ETYM The first member is probably λαῖνος 'of stone'; see ▶λᾶας. There is no context, so further analysis is uncertain.

λαῖον [acc.sg.] name of a part of the plough, probably 'ploughshare' (A. R. 3, 1335).

<?>

•ETYM No etymology. The -αι- remains unexplained by the comparison with a Gm. word for 'sickle', ON lé, MLG lē, lehe [m.], from PGm. \*leuan-, IE \*leuon-. Further, Skt. laví- [m.] (Uṇ. 4, 138), laví-tra- [n.] (Pāṇ. 3, 2, 184) 'sickle', from a pres. lunāti 'to cut' (see ▶λύω).

λαῖός 1 [adj.] 'left' (poet. since Tyrt., A.; late prose). <IE \*leh<sub>2</sub>iuo- 'left'>

•VAR ἡ λαῖά 'the left hand'.

•DER Diminutive λαίδιον· ἀριστερόν, εὐώνυμον 'left' (H.).

•ETYM Old word for 'left', identical with Lat. laevus, OCS lěvъ, Ru. lěvyj, from IE \*leh<sub>2</sub>i-uo- (or \*lh<sub>2</sub>ei-uo-?). Comparison of λαίβα· ἀσπίς, πέλις 'shield' (H.) as \*λαῖβα "carried in the left hand" is unlikely. On spread and use of λαιός, σκαῖός, ἀριστερός, see Chantraine 1956b: 61ff.

The attempt by Fur.: 339 to compare λαφός· ὁ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ χρώμενος 'who uses the left hand' (H.) and establish a substrate etymon should be neglected: λαιός cannot be separated from Lat. laevus, etc.

λαιός 2 [m.] a kind of thrush, 'Petrocichla (cyanus, saxatilis)'. <GR?>

•ETYM Perhaps from λᾶας 'stone'; cf. MoGr. πετρο-κόσσυφος 'thrush'. See Thompson 1895 s.v.

λαισήϊα [n.pl.] a kind of shield, made of raw skins (E 453 = M 426 λαισήϊα τε πτερόεντα, Hdt. 7, 91 ὠμοβοέης πεποιημένα), used by the Cilicians. <PG(V)>

•ETYM For the ending, compare the instrument names in -ήϊον, -εῖον; it recalls λάσιος 'rough', but is further unclear. See Trümpy 1950: 38f.

Fur.: 182 compares λαῖτα· πέλις 'shield' H., λαῖδας· ἡ ἀσπίς ἀπὸ βύρσης 'shield made of a hide' (Theognost. Can. 9, Zonar.), as well as λᾶδος, etc. 'light, cheap cloth', although the latter is not very convincing. The gloss λαισάς· ἡ παχεῖα ἐξωμῖς 'thick, one-sleeved tunic' (H.) should probably be excluded as well. If the comparison with λαῖτα and λαῖδας is correct, the word must be Pre-Greek.

λαῖτμα [n.] 'depth, gulf of the sea' (Il.). <?>

•ETYM Connected with ▶λαιμός 'throat', assuming suffixes -τ-μα (like in ἄε-τ-μ-α, Chantraine 1933: 180). If this connection is correct at all (the semantics are not compelling), it rather points to Pre-Greek origin, from a pre-form \*la<sup>h</sup>m- (Fur.: 322<sup>69</sup> rather connects it with the obscure word λαῖμα [n.] [Ar. Av. 1563]).

λαῖφα [?]· ἀσπίς (H.); cf. λαῖβα· ἀσπίς, πέλις (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Given the variant, the gloss is clearly Pre-Greek. Note also λαῖας· ἀσπίδας (H.); cf. Fur.: 238. Fur.: 170 compares λαῖφος, λαῖφι 'old garment, sail', but he gives no further explanation. One may imagine that the sails were made of skins, like the shield.

λαιφάσσω [v.] 'to swallow, gulp down' (Nic. Th. 477); λαιφάσσοντες· ψηλαφοῦντες 'groping' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM A cross between λαϊμάσσω and λαφύσσω has been proposed, but such crosses are posited too easily, and can hardly be demonstrated. If correct, the gloss λαιφάσσοντες is after ἀφάσσοντες. On the other hand, the variation φ/μ is well-known in Pre-Greek words. The meaning of λαιφαί· ἀναιδεῖς, θρασεῖς, στυγναί, τολμηραί 'shameless, bold, hated, daring' (H.), where Schmidt reads λαιδραί, deviates too much. The word λαιφύς· δάπανος ἢ βορός 'extravagant, gluttonous' (H.), which too is uncertain, looks like a back-formation (acc. to Maas ByzZ 37 (1937): 380, it is an error for λάφυξ).

λαῖφος [n.] 'ragged cloth, old garment' (Od., h. Hom.); 'cloth, sail' (poet. Alc. Z 2, 7; h. Ap. 406). <?>

•VAR λαῖφι [f.] 'id'. (Call.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Fur.: 170 unconvincingly compares ▶λαῖφα· ἀσπίς.

λαιψηρός [adj.] 'swift, quick, nimble' (Il.). <?>

•DER λαιψηρά [adv.] (E.; perhaps also X 24, see Leumann 1950: 165f.).

•ETYM The analysis as an expressive transformation of αἰψηρός after e.g. λάβρος 'violent, boisterous' may be possible, but it is not evident. Frisk compares Ζέφυρος ... λάβρος B 148 beside ἀνέμων λαιψηρά κέλευθα 'the quick paths of the winds', Ξ 17. Another possibility is a compound of ►λα- and ►αἰψηρός.

**λακάζω** •VAR λακεῖν, λακέρυζα, etc. ⇒λάσκω.

**λακάρα, -η** [f.] tree-name, probably 'bird cherry, *Prunus avium*' (Thphr.). <PG?>

•VAR v.l. λευκάρα, λακάθη. Cf. the gloss λακάρτη <ῥ> λακάρη δένδρον τι (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained.

**Λακεδαίμων, -ονος** [f.] town and country on the river Eurotas (Il.). <PG?>

•DIAL Myc. *ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo* /Lakedaimnios/ and [*ra-ke-da-mo-ni-jo*] /Lakedaimonios/, cf. Lejeune *RPh.* 68 (1994): 165-168.

•DER Λακεδαίμωνιος [m.] 'inhabitant of L.' (Hdt.), also as adj. (fem. almost only Λάκαινα, see ►Λάκων); λακεδαμονίζω = λακωνίζω (Ar. *Fr.* 95).

•ETYM The meaning of the appellative is unknown, so the name remains without etymology. Several proposals: a) to λακεδάμια ὕδωρ ἀμιυρόν ἀλσι πεποιημένον [ἄλικι ἐπιεχυμένον Latte], ὃ πίνουσιν οἱ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀγροῖκοι 'bitter water [poured over groats] which the M. countrymen drink' (H.); b) the second member is δαίμων in the sense 'part' (Bechtel 1921, 2: 370); c) dissimilated from \*Λακεν-αίμων, to ►Λάκων and another ethnonym Αἴμων (Szemerényi *Glotta* 38 (1960): 14ff. with ample discussion).

Acc. to Fick 1905: 90, however, it is rather a Hellenisation of a Pre-Greek word. Frisk thinks that Λάκων is a shortened form of Λακε-δαίμωνιος; the element Λακε- is found in Λάκε-θεν, a deme of Eretria.

**λακέρυζα** 'sbd. who cries'. ⇒λαγκρύζεσθαι.

**λακίς, -ίδος** [f.] 'rent, rag, tatters of clothes' (Alc., A.). <IE? \**lh₂k-*>

•VAR Often λακίδες [pl.].

•DER Denominative λακίζω (also with περι-) [v.] 'to tear' (Lyc., AP) with λακίσματα 'shreds' (E.), λακιστός 'torn to shreds' (Antiph.); also λακιδ-όμαι [v.] 'to be torn (to shreds)' (Dsc.). Besides λάκη, ράκη. Κρήτες 'rags' (H.), λάκημα 'rent, fragment' (pap.), cf. on ►λάσκω.

•ETYM The plural λάκη may belong to the *s*-stem \**lacus*, supposed in Lat. *lacerāre* 'to tear' (cf. *vulnerāre* : *vulnus*), unless it is a recent innovation from ράκη. The adjective *lacer*, -era, -erum 'torn', which is attested later, would then be a back-formation. For λακίς, one could assume both a nominal (\**λάκος*?) and a verbal basis (Chantraine 1933: 338, Schwyzer: 465), and likewise for λάκημα (cf. Chantraine 1933: 178). The only trace of an old primary verb (which was replaced by λακίζω) is ἀπέληκα· ἀπέρρωγα. Κύπριοι (H.). Latin, too, has given up this verb in favor of denominative *lacerāre*. The Latin *n*-stem *lacin-ia* [f.] 'edge of a garment' belongs here too. An *n*-stem is surmised in MoP *raxna* 'rent, cleft' (Benveniste 1935: 15; doubted by WH s.v. *lacer*).

It is difficult to posit an IE root for λακ- and related forms: perhaps \**lh₂k-*?

**λάκκος 1** [m.] 'pond, cistern, pit, reservoir' (IA). <IE? \**loku-* 'lake, pond'.>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in λακκό-πλουτος [m.] 'who hides his wealth in a cistern', epithet of Callias, etc. (Plu.); as a second member in the hypostasis προ-λάκκ-ιον (Arist.), προσ-λάκκ-ιον (Gal.) 'pre-, side-cistern'; cf. προ-άστ-ιον.

•DER λακκ-αῖος 'sprung from a λ.' (Hell.), -ώδης 'full of λ.' (Gp.), -άριος 'guard of a λ.' (gloss.), -ίζω [v.] 'to dig a λ.' (Suid.). Λακκίον name of the small harbour in Syracuse (D. S.).

•ETYM Perhaps from IE \**loku-*; see Schrijver 1991: 422ff, 475. Greek would have to go back to a zero grade \**l̥kuo-*.

Beside the *o*-stem λάκκος, there are several western and northern languages with an *u*-stem: Lat. *lacus* 'lake, pond, pit, etc.', OIr. *loch* 'lake, pond', OS *lagu* 'lake, water', OCS *loky* 'λάκκος'. It has been assumed that λάκκος stands for \**λάκκ-ος*, but the development of \**-kμ-* > -κκ- is unexpected.

**λάκκος 2** [m.] 'kind of dye, lac' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.* 6). <LW Ind.>

•DER λακκώ [v.] 'to dye with lac' (*PLond.* 2, 191, 10 [IIP]: σκούτλια ξύλινα λελακκωμένα).

•ETYM From Prākr. *lakkha* < Skt. *lākṣā* 'lac'.

**λακπατέω, λακτίζω** ⇒λάξ.

**λακχά** [f.] a plant-name, = ἄγχουσα (Ps.-Democr.). <LW Ind.>

•DER λακχάϊνος (*Edict. Diocl.*).

•ETYM A foreign word, probably from Prākr. *lakkha* 'lac' (see ►λάκκος 2); cf. the explanation of the borrowing into Lat. *lacca(r)* in Plin. Val. 2, 17: *herba quaedam unde vermiculatae pelles tinguntur*, 'certain herbs by which vermiculated skins are painted'.

**Λάκων, -ωνος** [m.] 'Laconian, Lacedaemonian', name of an inhabitant of Laconia (Lacedaemon), also as an adjective (fem. also Λακωνίς) 'Laconian, Lacedaemonian' (Thgn., Pi.). <PG?>

•VAR Λάκαινα [f.].

•COMP Few compounds like λακωνο-μανέω 'imitate Lacedaemonian manners', μισο-λάκων 'enemy of Sparta' (Ar.).

•DER Λακωνικός 'Laconian' (IA), Λακώνιον name of a female cloth (pap.); λακωνίζω 'behave, be minded or speak like a Laconian' (Att.) with Λακων-ισταί [m.pl.] 'supporters of the L.', -ισμός 'Laconian-friendly behaviour' (X.).

•ETYM Acc. to Dittenberger *Herm.* 41 (1906): 196, hypocoristic for official Λακεδαίμωνιος, which is why the fem. Λάκαινα (for Λακεδαμονία) is found almost everywhere. Krahe *IF* 57 (1940): 119 supposes the name to be Illyrian and connects *Lacinium*, a promontory in southern Italy, *Iuno Lacinia*.

Fur.: 171<sup>17</sup> thinks that the suffix -αίνα is Pre-Greek.

**λαλέω** [v.] 'to talk, chat, prattle' (Att.), 'to speak' (Arist., Hell.), MoGr. also 'to drive' (of cattle, etc.), properly 'to talk into going'. <IE? \**lal-* ONOM>

•VAR Aor. λαλήσαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. δια-, κατα-, περι-, συν-, ἐκ-.

•DER Backformations: 1. λάλος 'chattering' (Att.) with λαλίσ-τερος, -τατος, also κατάλαλος from κατα-λαλέω; poetical transformations λαλιός, λαλόεις 'id.' (AP); 2. λάλη [f.] 'chatter' (Com. Adesp., Luc.).

Other derivations: 1. λαλιά 'chat, talk' (Att., Hell.), also with κατα-, συν- from κατα-λαλέω. 2. λάλημα, λάλησις 'id.' (Att.). 3. λαλητός 'able to speak' (LXX), περιλάλητος 'much discussed' (Agath.); λαλητικός 'chattering' (Ar.). 4. λαλητρίς [f.] 'gossip' (AP), λάληθρος 'twaddler' (Lyc., AP), cf. στωμύληθρος, Chantraine 1933: 372f. 5. With extension -γ- (cf. σμαραγέω, οϊμώζω, the suffix -ωγή, etc., Chantraine 1933: 401): λαλαγέω [v.] 'to babble, chirrup, chirp', of unarticulated sounds (Pi., Theoc., AP), also λαλάζω, -άξει [v.] 'id.' (Anacr., H.); also λαλαγ-ή, -ημα, -ητής (Opp., AP, H.); λάλαγες χλωροί βάτραχοι ... οἱ δὲ ὀρνέου εἰδός φασι 'pale green frogs, ... others: a kind of bird' (H.). With geminate: λάλλαι [f.pl.] 'pebbles' (Theoc., H., EM).

•ETYM The ending is like in σμαραγέω, κελαδέω, βομβέω and other sound-verbs (cf. Schwyzer: 726<sup>5</sup>). An onomatopoeic elementary formation, like e.g. Lat. *lallāre*, Lith. *lalioti*, MoHG *lallen*.

**λαμβάνω** [v.] 'to take, grasp' (post-Hom.). <IE \**sleh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>w</sup>*- 'take, grasp'>

•VAR Aor. λαβεῖν (Il.), reduplicated med. λελαβέσθαι (δ 388), pass. λαφθῆναι (Ion.), ληφθῆναι (Att.), λημφθῆναι (Hell.); fut. λάψομαι (Ion.), λά[μ]ψεται (Alc.), see Hamm 1957: 145, 2sg. λαψῆ (Dor.), λήψομαι (Att.), λήμψομαι (Hell.); perf. εἴληφα (Att.), εἴλαφα (Dor.), λελάβηκα (Ion. Dor. Arc., also Att.), med. εἴλημμαι (Att.), λέλημμαι (trag.), λέλαμμαι, λελάφθαι (Ion.).

•COMP Very often with prefixes in various mgs.: ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐπι-, παρα-, περι-, συν-, ὑπο-.

•DER Many derivatives are technical words with specific mgs.:

A. From λαβεῖν: 1. λαβή 'grip, point of application, etc.' (Alc. [λάβαι], IA), compounds like συλλαβή 'grip, syllable, etc.' (A., Att.); λαβίς [f.] 'grip, clamp, tweezers' (Hell.) with λαβίδιον (Dsc., Gal.), ἀντι-, κατα-, περι-λαβεύς 'handle of a shield, peg, etc.' (H., medic.), λάβιον 'grip' (Str.), ἀπολάβειον 'clamp' (Ph. Bel.). 2. -λάβος in compounds like ἐργο-λάβ-ος [m.] 'contractor', whence -έω, -ία (Att., Hell.). 3. -λαβής, e.g. εὐ-λαβ-ής (to εὖ λαβεῖν) 'careful', with -έομαι, -εἶα (IA). 4. ΛηαβΕτος PN (Att. epigr.).

B. From full-grade forms (λήψομαι, ληφθῆναι): 1. λῆμμα (ἀνά-, etc.) 'acceptance, assumption, etc.' (Att.). 2. λῆψις (ἀνά-, etc.), Hell. λῆμψις 'capture, apprehension, attack of a disease' (Hp., Att.), ἀπό-, διά-λαμψις = ἀπό-, διά-ληψις (Mytil. and Cyme, etc.). 3. -λη(μ)πτωρ, e.g. συλ-λήπ-τωρ with συλλήπτρ-ια 'participant, assistant' (Att.). 4. ἀνα-, κατα-ληπ-τήρ 'scoop', 'clamp', resp. (Hell.), ἀνα-ληπτρ-ίς [f.] 'connection' (Gal.). 5. παρα-λή(μ)π-της 'tax collector' (Hell.), προσωπο-λήπ-της 'who looks after the person' (NT). 6. ληπτικός 'receptive' (Arist.), further in compounds like ἐπιληπτικός 'epileptic' (to ἐπίληψις, Hp.). 7. συλ-λήβ-δην [adv.] 'taken together' (Thgn., A.).

On ►λάβρος, see s.v.; on ἀμφι-λαφής see ►λάφυρον.

•ETYM From Aegin. Ληαβών, Att. ΛηαβΕτος and εἴληφα (as well as Hom. ἔλλαβον), we have to infer IE \**sl-*. The Hom. present λάζομαι (λαμβάνω was an innovation)

points to IE \**-g<sup>w</sup>*-, so the root must have been IE \**sleh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>w</sup>*-. The aspiration in εἴληφα may be secondary (cf. Schwyzer: 772); however, perhaps another verb for 'grasp' (see ►λάφωρα) was involved; some other forms may have been influenced by this verb as well.

The zero grade λαβ- must be secondary anyway, for \**slh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>w</sup>*- would have yielded a form with long ā. LIV<sup>2</sup> connects OE *læcc(e)an* 'to seize', but this presupposes two secondary developments: loss of *s*-mobile and creation of *a*-vocalism in the present. See LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**sleh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>w</sup>*-. See ►λάζομαι.

**λάμβδα** ⇒ λάβδα.

**λάμια** ⇒ λαμυρός.

**λάμπη** [f.] 'foam', e.g. on the surface of wine, 'phlegm, mucus'; metaph. 'filth, decay', of the underworld (A. Eu. 387, Dsc., Plu.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also λάπη (Hp., Diph.). Fur. 316 adduces λαπτής, λαπτὴν ἔλεγον τὸν παχὺν ἀφρόν 'thick foam' (H.), etc.

•DER λα(μ)πώδης (also -ππ-) 'covered with foam' (Hp., Erot., Gal.), λαμπηρός 'id.' (Hp. *apud* Gal.).

•ETYM The connection with ►λάμπω (see Frisk) does not explain the forms without nasal. These point to a Pre-Greek word. Grošelj Živa Ant. 2 (1952): 212 connects it with ►λέπω. See ►λέμφορ.

**λαμπήνη** [f.] 'a covered wagon' (S. Fr. 441, Hell., com., LXX; acc. to Polem. Hist. a Tegeatan word, acc. to others Thessalian). Also ἔδρα, θρόνος (Porphyr. in Ptol. 49). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Also λαπίνη, ἡ ἄμαξα 'wagon' (Su., Lex. Ambr. ined. 137), probably itacistic for \*λαπήνη (Fur.: 285).

•DER λαμπηναὶ ἄμαξαι (LXX).

•ETYM Ending like in ἀπήνη, κατάνᾱ. The word is evidently Pre-Greek, because of the prenasalization and the suffix -ήνη.

**λάμπω** [v.] 'to lighten, glow', act. also 'to illuminate' (Il.). <IE? \**leh<sub>2</sub>p-* 'glow, light'>

•VAR Aor. λάμψαι, fut. λάμψω (IA), perf. 3sg. λέλαμπε with present mg. (E.), aor. pass. λαμφθῆναι (J.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-.

•DER 1. λαμπάς, -άδος [f.] 'torch, torch-race' (IA), also poet. adj. 'lit by torch' (S.); λαμπάδιον 'small torch' (Att.); λαμπαδ-ίας [m.] name of a comet and of the constellation Aldebaran (Chrysipp.), see Scherer 1953: 121f., -ίτης 'torch-runner' (Pergamon III<sup>a</sup>); λαμπάδ-ιος 'ptng. to a torch' (pap.), -ιεῖος 'id.' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>), see Chantraine 1933: 93; -ικός 'id.' (sch.); λαμπαδεῖον 'torch-holder' (Eleusis IV<sup>a</sup>), cf. λυχνεῖον. Denominatives: a. λαμπαδίζω [v.] 'to participate in a torch-run or a torch-procession' with λαμπαδισταί [pl.] 'participants in a torch-run' (Delphi II<sup>a</sup>); b. λαμπαδεύομαι, -εύω [v.] 'id., to treat as a λαμπάς' (D. S., Ph.) with λαμπαδεῖα 'torch-procession' (Priene III-II<sup>a</sup>), 2. λαμπτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'lighter, torch, lantern' (Od.), with λαμπτήρια [n.pl.] name of a festival (pap.). 3. λάμψις [f.] 'lighting' (LXX, Ph.), especially in compounds like διάλαμψις (Arist.), etc. On ►λαμψάνη 'cabbage,

Brassica arvensis', see s.v. 4. λαμπηδών, -όνος [f.] 'lustre, glow' (Epicur., D. S.). 5. λαμπυρίς [f.] 'glow-worm' (Arist.), with λαμπυρίζω [v.] 'to shine like a glowworm', also 'to illuminate' (Thphr., pap.), perhaps dissimilated from \*λαμπ-υλός? 6. λαμπρός 'shining, gleaming' with λαμπρότης, λαμπρύνω 'to illuminate', med. 'to show' (IA), with λαμπρυν-τής (late); as a first member with dissimilation in Λάμπουρος name of a dog (Theoc.), -ουρίς [f.] 'fox' (A. Fr. 433, Lyc.). 7. ὑπο-, περι-λαμπ-ής 'shining below, around' (Hes. Sc., Ph., Plu.). 8. Lengthened verbal forms: λαμπετάων (-όνων) [ptc.] 'shining' (A 104); explanation uncertain, see Schwyzler: 705, Leumann 1950: 181f., Chantraine 1942: 358; λαμπάζω = λάμπω (Man.). 9. Several PNs: Λάμπος, Λαμπετίδης, Λαμπετίη, Λάμπιτος, -τώ, Λαμπαδ-ίων, -ίσκος, Λαμπ(τ)ρεύς; see Bechtel 1917b: 621, Fraenkel 1910: 236, Schwyzler: 337.

•ETYM Both the verbal and the nominal forms derive from the nasal present λάμπω. Without a nasal, we find Hitt. *lāpp-zi* / *lapp-* 'to glow, flash'; with a long vowel (from IE \**leh<sub>2</sub>p-* or \**loh<sub>2</sub>p-*), some Baltic words for 'torch, flame': Lith. *lōpė*, Latv. *lāpa*, OPr. *lopis*; with short *a*-vowel, but deviating in auslaut, we find OIr. *lassaim* 'flame', W *llachar* 'glow', which can go back to \**laps-*. LIV<sup>2</sup> reconstructs \**leh<sub>2</sub>p-* 'aufleuchten', but it is doubtful whether this material proves IE origin. Cf. ►λαμψάνη and ►λοφνός. Is it possible to explain λαμπηδών, λαμπυρίς as Greek formations? The nasal present is difficult, for what would be the outcome of \**lh<sub>2</sub>mp-*?

**λαμυρός** [adj.] 'voracious, avaricious, eager, coquettish' (X., com., Hell.). <PG(S,V)>

•DER λαμυρία 'voluptuousness, coquetry' (Plu.), λαμυρίς [f.] 'dewlap' (sch. Luc. *Lex.* 3), λαμυρώσαι H. s.v. λαιθαρύζειν. Further λάμια [f.] name of a man-eating monster (Ar.), of a shark (Arist.); in this mg. also λάμινά or -νη (Opp.); (τὰ) λάμια = χάσματα 'chasms' (EM, H.); cf. λαμυρά θάλασσα (EM 555, 57). Name of a hero Λάμιος (κ 81). Lycian TN Λάμυρα (Λίμυρα), HN Λάμυρος; suggestion in Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 1 (1949): 281.

•ETYM For the formation of λαμυρός, cf. γλαφυρός, βδελυρός, etc. λάμι-ιᾶ has retained -ιᾶ, like πότνια (see Chantraine 1933: 98). There seems no basis for the comparison of λαμυρός with Lat. *lemurēs* 'roaming ghosts of those who died at a wrong time, or who died a violent death'.

From λάμια was borrowed Lat. *lamia* [f.] 'vampire'; perhaps also *lamium* [n.] 'dead nettle', from \*λάμιον? The form λαμιός 'cleft' (sch. Hor. *Ep.* 1, 13, 10; λάμιος LSJ) does not exist.

The word (note the suffix -υρ-) is probably Pre-Greek, and related to λαφύσσω 'to swallow' with interchange μ/φ; see Fur.: 225. Perhaps ►λαμιός is also related. Fur.: further connects λάβρος, which is possible but uncertain.

**λαμψάνη** [f.] 'kind of cabbage, Brassica arvensis' (Dsc., Gal.; pap.), acc. to Strömberg 1940: 24 because of the gleaming color. <PG(V)>

•VAR Also λαψ-, λεψ-. Further λαψάνη τῶν ἀγρίων λαχάνων ἐσθιομένη 'edible wild vegetable' (H.). and λάψα γογγυλός, Περγαῖοι 'turnip' (H.).

•ETYM The variants prove Pre-Greek origin (note the different vocalism in λεψ-), while connection with ►λάμπω remains doubtful.

**λανθάνω** [v.] 'to escape notice, be unknown or unnoted; to make sbd. forget sth.', med. 'to forget' (Il.+). <IE \**leh<sub>2</sub>-* 'remain unnoticed or hidden'>

•VAR Also λήθω (Ληθάνω η 221), aor. λαθεῖν, λελαθεῖν, -έσθαι (ἐπι-λήσαι υ 85), fut. λήσω (Il.), perf. λέληθα (IA), med. λέλασμαι (Hom.), λέλησμαι (Att.), late aor. λήσασθαι, λησθῆναι, Dor. Aeol. λάθω, λάσω, λάσαι, λέλαθα.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐπι-.

•DER A. from λαθεῖν, -έσθαι: 1. λάθρη, -ᾶ [adv.] 'secretly' (Il.), λάθρα (*h. Cer.* 240) with λαθραῖος 'secret' (IA); λάθριος (S. *Ichn.* 66 [Iyr.], Hell.), -ίδιος, -ιμαῖος (late) 'id.'; λαθράδαν [adv.] (Corinn.), like κρυφάδαν; λαθρη-δόν, -δά, -δός (late); as a first member λαθρο- in compounds like λαθρό-νυμφος 'secretly married' (Lyc.), instead of the older variant λάθι- in forms like λαθι-κηδής (X 83), properly 'hiding sorrow', but also 'making forget sorrows'; cf. λάθι- sub C. 2. λαθητικός 'which escapes notice' (Arist.), λάθησις (sch. Gen. A 36); 3. λάθος [n.] 'forgetfulness' (MoGr. for \*λήθος, λάθος sub B.).

B. From λήθειν: 1. λήθη, Dor. λάθα 'forgetfulness' (B 33) with ληθαῖος 'forgetful' (Call., Lyc.), also ληθήμων, ληθώδης, λήθιος (H.). 2. λάθος [n.] = λήθη (Theoc.); λαθοσύνα [f.] 'id.' (E. *IT* 1279, uncertain). 3. ληθεδών, -όνος [f.] 'id.' (AP, APL) with ληθεδανός = ληθαῖος (Luc.). 4. ἔκ-λη-σις (ω 485), ἐπί-λᾶ-σις (Pi. P. 1, 46) 'forgetfulness', from ἐκ-, ἐπι-λήθειν; from the simplex further λήσ-τις 'id.' (S., E.), which is typologically older. 5. λήσ-μων 'forgetting, forgetful' (Them.) with λησμοσύνη (Hes. *Th.* 55, S. *Ant.* 151), after μνημοσύνη; ἐπιλήσ-μων 'id.' (Att.) with ἐπιλησμον-ή, -μοσύνη (Crat., LXX), ἐπιλησμον-έω (late), λησμον-έω (MiGr. and MoGr.); details in Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 167f. (not always correct).

C. As a first member in verbal governing compounds: 1. λησι-μβροτος 'taking men by surprise, deceiver' (*h. Merc.*); 2. λάθι-πονος 'forgetting (or: making forget) sorrows' (S.), cross with λάθι-; 3. λάθ-άνεμιος 'escaping the wind' (Simon.).

Cf. also ►ἀληθής and ►ἄλαστος; unrelated is ►Λητώ.

•ETYM At the base of the Greek system stands the present λήθω, λάθω. Beside this are found, from the earliest sources on, the thematic zero grade aorists λάθειν and λελάθειν, -έσθαι together with the perf. med. λέλασμαι and some isolated nominal derivatives, especially the couple λάθρα : λαθι- (Beckwith *KZ* 112 (1999): 78-85 argues that the reduplicated thematic aorist of the type λέλαθον is a Greek creation).

The nasal present λανθάνω (beside λήθω, which is better attested in Hom.) is perhaps an innovation after μαθεῖν : μανθάνω. Though parallels (πύθω : πύος, βρίθω : βριαρός) are not very strong, the -θ- must be a presentic element in λήθω. A form without dental enlargement indeed seems to be found in λήτο· ἐπελάθετο, beside λήιτο· ἐπε<λά>θετο (H.) (on the -ι- see below). Lat. *lateō* 'to be hidden' is probable a denominative from \**lato-* 'hidden'.

The combination with ToB *lāt-* 'to go out, emerge' is wrong, both formally and semantically (see Adams 1999 s.v.), while the comparison with OCS *lajati* 'ἐνεδρεύειν, to ambush, lie in wait for' and OCz. *lákati* 'id.' is now once again defended, e.g. by LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 3. \**leh<sub>2</sub>-* (see also \**leh<sub>2</sub>d<sup>h</sup>-*) and Derksen 2008. The words ►λαίθαργος and ►λήθαργος are Pre-Greek.

**λάξ** [adv.] 'with the heel or foot' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Also (very rare) subst. (secondary back-formation) = λάκτισμα (H.), 'sole of the foot' (sch. A. R. 2, 106), see Thierfelder *Sächs. Abh.* 43:2: 42<sup>3</sup>.

•COMP As a first member in λακ-πατέω 'to tread (with the foot), trample underfoot' (Pherecr. 136, S. *Ant.* 1275 v.l.; cf. λεω-πάτητος s.v. λείος).

•DER λάγ-δην = λάξ (S. *Fr.* 683, 3). Denominative verbs: 1. λακτίζω [v.] 'to kick with the foot or the hoof' (Od.), also with prefix, e.g. ἀντι-, ἐκ-; rather after the verbs in -τίζω than from \*λακτι, as per Schwyzer: 620; thence λάκτισμα (A., S.), λάκτιμα (pap., H.); (ἐκ-)λακτισμός (H.) 'treading, pushing'; -ιστής 'who kicks with the foot' (X.), -ιστική, scil. τέχνη (in boxing; late). 2. λάξας = λακτίσας (Lyc. 137), λάζειν-ἐξυβρίζειν 'to break out, go crazy' (H.) with λαχμός = λακτισμός (Antim.); λάκτις [f.] 'pounder' (Call., Nic.), back-formation from λακτίζω (see Schwyzer: 270)?

•ETYM Formed like πύξ, γνύξ, ὀδάξ, etc., but without a certain explanation. The connection with Lat. *calx* 'heel' is semantically adequate, but even assuming dissimilation from \*κλάξ, formal problems remain. Within Greek, the gloss ληκάν-τὸ πρὸς ᾧ δὴν ὀρχεῖσθαι 'dance on a song' (H.) could be compared; further, ληκῆσαι, λακῆσαι-πατάξαι 'strike, beat, knock, etc.' (H.) and several expressions for 'limbs', like Lat. *lacertus* 'upper arm'. Semantically, none is very convincing. Since a good IE etymology is lacking, we may ask whether the word is Pre-Greek. See on ► ὀδάξ.

**λαός** [m.] '(the common) folk, crowd, the military, tribe' (Il., Dor., Hell.), in the NT especially 'the Jewish people', plur. 'the military, servants, subjects, serfs', also 'laity' (LXX); sing. 'follower' (Hecat. 23 J.); elaborate discussion of use and spread by Björck 1950: 318ff. ◀IE? \**leh₂-uo-* 'band of people', PG?►

•VAR Ion. ληός (rare), IA λεώς (archaic and rare).

•DIAL Myc. *ra-wa-ke-ta* /lāw-āgetās/, cf. Chantraine 1956a: 88<sup>1</sup>.

•COMP Many old compounds: Λαφο-πτόλεμος, Φιό-λαφος (Cor.), λαγέτας [m.] 'leader of the people' (Pi.) from λᾱφ-ᾱγετᾱς (see Myc. above), Λαέρτης, λαο-σσός 'urging the men' (Hom.), from ►σεύω, λαο-, λεω-φόρος 'carrying the people, public', of streets, as a subst. 'road' (Il.), Μενέλαος (Il.), -λεως Att. (cf. Björck 1950: 104ff.), etc.

•DER Few derivatives (in part due to the synonym δῆμος, in part to homonymous forms of λᾱας 'stone'): 1. λαϊκός 'of the people, common' (Hell.). 2. λαώδης 'popular' (Ph., Plu.). 3. Λήϊτος PN (Il.), λήϊτον [n.] (on the very rare suffix -ιτο- Schwyzer: 504), 'town hall' among the Achaeans (Hdt., Plu.) with the IA form for λάϊτον- τὸ ἀρχεῖον 'town hall', λαϊτών- τῶν δημοσίων τόπων 'place of public affairs' (H.); other glosses: λῆϊτον (cod. λητόν)- δημοσίον, λῆϊτη, οἱ δὲ λῆτη (cod. λητή)- ἰέρεια; cf. λαιετόν 'townhall' (Su.). λειτόν- βλάσφημον (H.). Fur.: 238<sup>45</sup> objects that -ιτο- is a Pre-Greek suffix (cf. *ibid.* 163, 187). Derivation λητῖαι- ἡγεμονίαι, στρατῖαι 'leaders' (H.).

As an adjectival first member in λητουργέω (λειτ-) [v.] 'to fulfill a public office on private means, provide a (public or ecclesiastical) service', with λητουργ-ία (λειτ-) 'service, liturgy' (Att.), -ός, -ημα, etc. (Hell.), compounded \*ληίτο-φεργ-έω to \*ληίτα ἔργα, cf. ►►δημιουργός; also λήϊτ-αρχος [m.] 'public priest' (Lyc. 991). Cf. also ►λείτωρ.

•ETYM Like the Gm. word for 'people' (OHG *liut*, OE *lēod*), λᾱ(φ)ός was originally a collective; from this form, the plural λᾱ(φ)οί arose (just like *liuti*, *lēode*), from which the sing. λῆός 'follower' was built, like *liut* 'man'.

Most often connected with Hitt. *lāḫḫ-* 'campaign' and OIr. *lāech* 'warrior'. On λήιτον, etc., see Gschnitzer *Glotta* 55 (1977): 190-207. Gschnitzer assumes that the writings η and ει instead of α show that the form came from the IA area. For the etymology, he follows Heubeck and assumes that λῆ-ι-το- is a compound 'von den Leuten betreten', i.e. 'publicus'. This interpretation is not convincing, as the PN Λήϊτος (Il.) cannot be explained in this way. The form λαός is rather Pre-Greek, and has a Pre-Greek suffix -ιτ(ο)-, which was recognized as such by Fur.: 163, 238, 303f., etc. This suffix is also found in e.g. βάρβριτος, βόλ(β)ιτον, πόφιτον.

The word λεία 'booty' is not related.

**λάπαθον** 1 [n.] 'monk's rhubarb, Rumex acetosa' (Epich., Thphr.). ◀PG(S)►

•VAR Also -ος [m., f.]; -η [f.].

•COMP Also in compounds, e.g. ὄξυ-, ἵππο-, βου-λάπαθον (Dsc.).

•ETYM Because of the formation (cf. ἄνηθον), foreign origin is suspected. The gloss as βοτάνη κενωτική 'purgative plant' (sch. Theoc.), with λάπαθα [pl.] 'faeces' (sch. Gen. E 166), recalls λαπάσσω.

**λάπαθος** 2 [m.] 'pitfall for wild animals' (Democr. 122, plur.). ◀PG(S)►

•VAR Also -ον [n.] (H., Phot., Suid.).

•ETYM Words in -θος are often Pre-Greek; cf. ►λάπαθον 1.

**λαπαρός** [adj.] 'weak, slack, hollow' (Hp., Arist.). ◀PG?►

•DER λαπαρότης 'weakness' (Hp.); λαπάρη [f.] 'the weak flanks', plur. 'the flank(s)' (Il.).

Further λαπάσσω, -ττω (-ζω Ath., H.) [v.] 'to weaken, hollow out, empty' (Hp.), also 'destroy' (A.), aor. λαπάξαι, fut. λαπάξω; thence λάπαξις 'evacuation' (Arist., medic.), λαπαγμών- ἐκκενώσεων 'emptying' (H.), λαπακτικός 'evacuating' (medic.). On ►λάπαθον 'pitfall', see s.v.

•ETYM For the formation of λαπαρός, cf. λαγαρός, χαλαρός, πλα-δαρός, etc., all with similar meaning (Chantraine 1933: 227). A basic primary verb may have been retained in ἔλαψα-διέφθαιρα. Κύπριοι 'weakened, destroyed (Cypr.)' (H.).

It is usually assumed that λαπάσσω, -ττω is an extension of this, perhaps after μαλάττω (cf. λαπάττων-μαλάττων, λαγαρόν ποιῶν H.). The meaning 'to hollow out' arose in the medical language from 'to weaken', referring to the stomach and the intestines.

In the sense 'to destroy', λαπάξαι, -ξαι agrees with ἀλαπάζω, the relation of which to λαπάσσω, -ζω has not been explained before, but the α- could well be the Pre-Greek prothetic vowel (see on ►ἀλαπάζω). Cf. Fur.: 350 and 371, who also combines forms with λεπα-.

**λάπη** 'foam'. ⇒λάμπη.

**λαπίζω** [v.] 'to boast, swagger' (S. *Fr.* 1062, Cic. *Att.* 9, 13, 4, AB, Phot., H.). ◀PG?(O)►



•DER λάπισμα 'boasting' (Cic. l.c.), λαπιστής 'swaggerer' (LXX, H.), -ίστρια, -ικτής (Phot., H.).

•ETYM Compared with Skt. *lāpati* 'to chatter' and the Slavic group of Ru. *lepetát* 'to stammer', etc. (Pok. 677f.). However, a root of the shape λαπ- is rather Pre-Greek than cognate with Sanskrit.

**λάπτω** [v.] 'to lap with the tongue, drink greedily, gulp down', especially of dogs, etc. (Arist.). <PG?, ONOM>

•VAR Fut. λάψω (II 161, Ar.), -ομαι (Ar.), aor. λάψαι, -ασθαι (Ar., Pherecr., LXX), perf. λέλαφα (Ar. Fr. 598).

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, περι-.

•DER λάπτας· τοὺς ῥοφούντας 'gulping down' (H.); also supposed in λατταμνία· Πολυρ<ρ>ήνιοι (H.) by Latte *Glotta* 34 (1955): 197, who reads λάττα<ς> (Cret. for λάπτας)· μνία 'fly'; further λάψις 'gulping down' (Arist.).

•ETYM An onomatopoeic word. In other IE languages, we find Alb. *lap* 'id.', of dogs, cats, Ru. *lōpat* 'to devour', Lith. *lapènti* 'to absorb greedily' (of swines), OE *lapiān*, MHG *leffen* 'to gulp down', MoHG *lappen*, MoFr. *laper* 'id.'. Since λάπτω, λέλαφα may be secondary to λάψω, λάψαι, Schulze KZ 52 (1924): 105 (= Kl. Schr. 372) refers to BSl. synonyms with *k*, like Lith. *lākti*, Ru. *lokát* 'λάπτειν', to which λάψω, λάψαι (if with IE \**k*<sup>w</sup>) may correspond. However, as PIE had no \**a*, the word is rather Pre-Greek. See ►λαφύσω.

**λάρδος** [m.] 'salted meat' (pap. IV<sup>p</sup>). <LW Lat.>

•COMP λαρδηγός 'supplier of λ.' (Abydos V-VI<sup>p</sup>).

•ETYM From Lat. *lardum* 'id.'; gender after τάριχος [m., n.]? See ►λάρινός.

**λάρινός** [adj.] 'fattened, fat' (Xenoph., Ar., Eratosth.). <?>

•DER λαρινεύομαι 'be fattened' (Sophr.).

•ETYM Unclear. Although it is remarkable that λάρινός has final stress and a long *i*, it recalls Lat. *lāridum* > *lardum* (see on ►λάρδος) 'bacon, salted meat'.

**λαρινός** [m.] name of an unknown sea-fish (Opp. H. 3, 399, H.). <?>

•DER λαρινευτής· ἄλιεύς 'fisher', λαριναῖον κύρτον 'fishing net'· οἱ ἄλιεῖς τὸν ἐκ λε<υ>κέας, ἢ μέγαν (H.).

•ETYM Both the long *ā* and the meaning refute the connection with λάρος 'sea-gull' (as per Strömberg 1943: 120).

**λάρκος** [m.] 'charcoal-basket' (Ar.). <?>

•COMP λαρκ-αγωγός (E. Fr. 283), λαρκο-φορέω (D. C.).

•DER λαρκίον (Poll.) and -ίδιον (Ar.).

•ETYM Because of ναρκίον· ἄσκον 'bag, wineskin' (H.), it has been derived from \*νάρκος by influence of ►λάρναξ. Doubtful. On ναρκίον, cf. ►νάρκη. Fur.: 305<sup>46</sup> compares νάκος 'fleece', which is semantically far-fetched.

**λάρναξ, -ᾱκος** [f.] 'chest, box, coffer, coffin' (Il.). <PG(S)>

•COMP λαρνακοφθόρος 'killing in a λ.' (Lyc.).

•DER λαρνάκιον (Sm.).

•ETYM The suffix is seen in other instrument names, like πίναξ, κάμαξ, κλῖμαξ, δίφραξ. Note the gloss νάρναξ· κιβωτός 'id.' (H.) with dissimilation. There is no etymology and the suffix is typically Pre-Greek. This means that the word itself is probably Pre-Greek. Nehring *Glotta* 14 (1925): 185 points to Λάρνασσος, which is an old name of the Πάρνασσος acc. to EM 655, 5 et al.

**λάρος** [m.] name of a rapacious sea-bird, perhaps 'sea-gull' (Thompson 1895 s.v.), often metaph. of demagogues (ε 51, Ar., Arist.). < ONOM?>

•DER Cf. λαρῖς [f.] 'id.' (AP); perhaps also in σισίλαρος· πέρδιξ. Περγαῖοι 'partridge' (H.).

•ETYM Often considered to be onomatopoeic, e.g. by Pok. 650. Cf. Arm. *lor* 'quail', with a different vocalism. Perhaps the same word as ►λᾶρός. See ►λῆρος.

**λᾶρός** [adj.] 'delicious, sweet, fine' (Il.). <?>

•ETYM Blanc *Glotta* 76 (1998): 162-167, connects this word and ►λαρινός with ►ἀπολαύω 'to enjoy, have the benefit of'. Λᾶρός means 'invigorating, reinforcing'. The superlative λαρῶτατος shows that the word was contracted from \*λαφαρος or \*λαφερος (the first syllable can be replaced by two short syllables everywhere; Chantraine 1942: 33). The form λᾶρινός may simply be derived from λᾶρός.

The root is given by Pok. 665 as \**lāu-*, but cognates are unclear: Slavic *lonъ* 'dexterous' is hardly cognate on account of the meaning, while W *llawen* 'merry' points to \**lau-*, which itself points to a non-IE word rather than to \**lh<sub>2</sub>eu-*.

**λάρυγξ, -υγος** [m.] 'upper part of the windpipe' (Hp., com., Arist., Gal.). <PG(S,V)>

•DER Diminutive λαρύγγιον (Gal.), -ικός 'rapacious' (Pherecr.) and a few denominatives: 1. λαρυγγ-ίζω [v.] 'to cry loudly' (Ar., D.); 2. -ιάω 'id.' (AP); 3. λαρύξει· βοᾷ· ἀπὸ τοῦ λάρυγγος 'cries; after the λ.' (H.); also 4. λαρύνει, of the dove (*Stud. itfilcl.* 1, 95; 3, 496). Backformation λαρυγγός· ματαιολόγος 'talking idle' (H.).

•ETYM The suggestion of a cross between φάρυγξ and λαϊμός, which have earlier attestations, is found in Strömberg 1944: 59ff., who discusses the meaning. Nevertheless, such crosses should not be posited at random.

Formerly connected with Lat. *lurco(r)* 'to devour, carouse', MHG *slurc* 'throat' (Pok. 965f.). Frisk concludes, in accordance with Güntert 1914: 119: "If this analysis is correct, then λάρυγξ must have been reshaped after φάρυγξ in any case." However, in addition to the suffix -υγ-, the by-form λάρυγος [gen.] (EM 788, 37) confirms Pre-Greek origin (secondary origin is far from convincing; cf. DELG).

**λάσανα** [n.pl.] 'tripod or stand of a pot', usually 'nightstool' (Hp., com.). <PG?>

•VAR Rarely sing. -ον.

•COMP λασανο-φόρος [m.] name of a slave (Plu.).

•DER λασανίτης· δίφρος (pap.), mg. unclear; λάσανα· ἐπίστατον 'support, stand' (H.).

•ETYM Instrument name in -ανον (Chantraine 1933: 199), but otherwise obscure. Borrowed as Lat. *lasanum*. On λάσα· τράπεζα πληρεστάτη 'overfull table' (H.), see ►λάσιος. Perhaps Pre-Greek.

**λάσαρον** [n.] 'ὀπὸς σιλφίου, asafoetida' (Aët., Alex. Trall., H.). <PG?>

•VAR Also -αρ.

•DER -άριον (Aët.).

•ETYM Unexplained foreign word. Cf. André 1961: 208f. Probably Pre-Greek.

**λάσθη** [f.] 'insult, mockery' (Hdt. 6, 67, AP 7, 345, H.). <PG?>

•DER Cf. the glosses, all from H.: λάσθω and λασάσθω· χλευάζετω 'scoff'; λάσθαι· παίζειν 'to joke', ὀλιγωρεῖν 'neglect', λοιδορεῖν 'revile'; λάσθων· κακολογῶν 'speaking badly'; λάσθον· αἰσχρόν 'shameful'; λάσθας· συμφοράς 'misfortunes'. λασθαίνειν· κακολογεῖν (H.).

•ETYM Connection as λάσ-θη with a root \*las- as in Lat. *las-civus* 'wanton, luxuriant, lascivious', Skt. *lā-las-a-* 'greedy' is semantically inadequate. Perhaps Pre-Greek?

**λάσιος** [adj.] 'shaggy, woolly, overgrown with' (Il.). <?>

•COMP Compounds like λασι-αύχην 'with a hairy neck' (h. Merc.).

•DER λασιών, -ῶνος [m.] 'thicket' (Nic.), also as a TN; λασιώτις, epithet of ὕλη (Epic. Alex. Adesp.), cf. δεινῶτις (E.), etc.

•ETYM If it is from \*ῥλατ-ιος, λάσιος can be connected with words for hairy things, as in OIr. *folt* 'hair' < IE \*uolto-, OPr. *wolti* 'ear (of corn)', Lith. *váltis* 'bunch of oats', Ru. *vólot* 'fiber, ear; panicle', SCr. *vlât* 'ear' < IE \*uolti-; acc. to Solmsen KZ 42 (1909): 214<sup>4</sup>, the Gm. group of MoHG *Wald* 'forest' < IE \*uóltu- belongs here as well. If from \*ῥltio- < IE \*ult-io-, λάσιος would differ from the words mentioned in root ablaut. Speculations by Blanc RPh. 73 (1999). See ►λάχνη.

**λάσκω** [v.] 'to ring, crack' (only for λάκεῖν), 'to splash' (-ληκέω), 'to bang' (λάκέω), 'to shout, scream, speak loudly' (A., E., Ar.); for the mg. see Björck 1950: 280ff. <?>

•VAR Lengthened λασκάζει· φλυαρεῖ, θωπεύει 'talks nonsense, flatters' (H.), ἐπι-ληκέω (θ 379), (δια-)λάκέω (Ar. Nu. 410, Theoc., Act. Ap. 1, 18), λάκάω (A.), also λάω in (ὀξὺ) λάων? (cf. s.v. ►λάω), aor. λάκεῖν (Il., trag.), λελάκεσθαι (h. Merc.), λάκησαι (Ar. Pax 382), -λάκησαι (Ar. Nu. 410), fut. λακήσομαι (Ar. Pax 381, 384), perf. λέληκα (X 141), λέλακα (A. [lyr.], E., Ar.).

•DER 1. From λακεῖν: λάκος· ἦχος, ψόφος 'cry'; λακερόν· ἦχαῖον 'resounding', cod. εἰκαῖον (H.), λακέρυζα 'screaming', of κορώνη (Hes.), also κύων; secondarily -ζος (Schwyzer: 473, 472<sup>3</sup>); thence λακερύζω, -ομαι (EM, H., Phot., Suid.), but see on λαγκύζεσθαι; λακέτας (λακ-?) 'kind of cicada' (Ael.; cf. Gil Emerita 25 (1957): 318); λάκημα 'fragment' (cf. Björck 1950: 282). 2. From ληκέω, λάκέω: Λακητήρ spit of land of Cos (Fraenkel Nom. ag. 1: 162); Ληκήτρια [f.] name of a goddess (Lyc. 1391) belongs here too, acc. to Schwyzer RhM 75 (1926): 448 (codd. Ληκτηρη-); ληκητής 'cryer' and λακεδόνες [f.pl.] 'shouting' (Timo).

•ETYM The system was created starting from the pair λάκεῖν : λέλακα, -ηκα (cf. κρᾶγειν : κέκρᾶγα, etc.). From λάκεῖν: λάσκω < \*λάκ-σκω, λάκάω, λάκησαι, λελάκεσθαι; from λέλακα, -ηκα: λάκέω, ληκέω, λάκησαι, as well as perhaps ►λάω. The form λακήσομαι admits both interpretations, as the quantity is uncertain. No etymology.

**λάσται** [f.]· πόρναι 'whores' (H.). <PG(O)>

•DER Further λάσταυρος 'κίναϊδος, catamite' (Theopomp., AP), ἡμι-λάσταυρος (Men.). Shortened form λάστρις (EM 159, 30).

•ETYM λάσταυρος was hardly formed after κένταυρος (as per Frisk), in spite of the gloss κένταυροι· ... καὶ οἱ παιδερασται (H.). Fur.: 383 connects λασιτός· κίναϊδος and λεισιτός· πόρνη. The element λασ-/λασι-/λεσι- is clearly Pre-Greek, and probably represents \*latʰ- or \*lasʰ-. Therefore, it is unrelated to ►λιλαίομαι.

**λάταξ 1, -αγος** [f.] 'drop of wine, dregs of wine (also in the game of kottabos)' (Alc., com.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Mostly plur. -αγες, sing. also -άγη.

•DER λαταγέω (Luc. Lex. 3), λατάσσω (Dor. vase-inscr.) [v.] 'to throw away the dregs (=λάταγες)', λαταγεῖον 'vase into which the λ.s fall' (Suid.).

•ETYM Borrowed as Lat. *latex*, -icis 'fluidity', and reshaped after other nouns in -ex. The -σσ- in λατάσσω may be analogical and does not necessarily point to a variation γ : κ (Schwyzer 496). Still, the word is probably Pre-Greek, in view of the suffix -αγ- and the semantic field (viticulture).

**λάταξ 2, -αγος** [f.] name of a quadruped that lives in the water, perhaps 'beaver' (Arist. HA). <PG(S)>

•ETYM Unexplained. Perhaps somehow connected with λάταξ 1? Cf. Keller 1909: 186. Like its homonym, this word is probably Pre-Greek.

**λατμενεία** [f.]· δουλεία 'slavery' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Contamination of ἀτμενία and λατρεία has been assumed, e.g. in Fraenkel Glotta 32 (1953): 24. Such proposed cross-forms are doubtful. Fur.: 392 points to other instances of variation λ- / zero; therefore, the word is most probably Pre-Greek.

**λατραβός** [adj.]· λαμυρός 'gluttonous, lascivious' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also λατραβῶν· ἀλαζονευόμενος 'boastful' (H.); ἐλατράβιζον· τὸ βωμολοχεύειν καὶ πανουργεῖν λατραβίζειν ἔλεγον 'to play low and villainous tricks' (H.); λατραβίζειν· ἐσπουδασμένων καὶ ἀσήμως λαλεῖν 'to talk hastily and [therefore] meaningless' (H.); cf. λατραπία· λαμυρία μετὰ ἐρυθρίασεως 'voluptuousness with blushing' (H.). Also λάτραψ· ὑετός 'rain, shower' (H.), cf. λαίλαψ with similar mg.

•ETYM Fur.: 199 proposes to connect the following as well: λατράζειν· βαρβαρίζειν 'to speak incomprehensibly' (H.), λαθοῦν· βλάπτειν 'to hinder, damage' (H.), λαιθαρυζειν· λαμυρῶσαι, διαπράξασθαι 'to be wanton or gluttonous, get something done (by seduction?)' (H.), and λαιθυράζω. These attempts are uncertain. However, the forms with λατραβ/π- are clearly Pre-Greek, because of the interchange they display.

**λάτρον** [n.] 'payment, hire' (A. Supp. 1011), = μισθός (Suid., EM). <PG>

•DER λάτρις, -ιος [m., f.] 'hired servant, handmaid' (Thgn., S., E.); λάτριος 'ptng. to a hired servant or to the payment, etc.' (Pi., Man.); λατρεύω, El. -εῖω [v.] 'to serve (for wages), serve a god (with prayer and sacrifice)' (Sol., Olympia VI<sup>3</sup>, trag., Isoc., X.), with λατρεία (trag., Pl., LXX, Ep. Rom., etc.), λατρεύματα [pl.] (S., E.) 'service, worship', λατρευ-τός (LXX), -τικός (Ptol.) 'ptng. to a servant, obedient'; λατρεύς 'servant' (Lyc.), from λατρεύω or λάτρον; λατρώδης 'obedient' (Vett. Val.).

•ETYM As a North-West Greek word, λάτρον and derivatives were originally unknown in Aeolic and Ionic, and even in Attic (see Bechtel 1921, 1: 207, Kretschmer *Glotta* 17 (1929): 79). There is no convincing IE connection. Usually, λά-τρον is considered to contain a zero grade of words in Gm., BSL, and Ilr., which go back to a full grade IE *\*lē(i)-* ‘provide, gain’ (Pok. 665). However, this is impossible, as a root *\*lē-* = *\*leh-* could never yield Greek λα-. Therefore, we can be quite sure that the word is of Pre-Greek origin.

From Hell. *\*λάτρων* was borrowed Lat. *latrō* ‘hired soldier’.

**λατύσσομαι** [v.] ‘clap, strike with the wings’ (Opp.). <?>

•ETYM Expressive formation in -ύσσω (cf. αἰθύσσω, πτερύσσομαι), but otherwise unclear. The word λατάσσω (see ▶λάταξ 1) is conceptually too far off.

**λαυκανίη** [f.] ‘throat’ (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Later usually λευ-, see below.

•ETYM Formation like ἀρτηρία, etc., from an unattested *\*λαύκ-ανον* (or -ανος, -άνη). An aspirated by-form appears in λαυχάνη· γλώσσα ‘tongue, language’ (H.). Since there are no certain correspondences (Lith. *liaukà* ‘gland’ has been proposed, but does not convince), and as there is a variant with -χ-, Pre-Greek origin is almost certain. The form in λευκ- (v.l. in Hom.) may be folk-etymological after λευκός, but may also be due to substrate origin.

**λαύρα** [f.] ‘narrow street, narrow passage, alley, quarter’ (Il.). <PG>

•VAR Ion. -ρη.

•COMP διάλαυρος· οἰκία μεγάλη πανταχόθεν λαύραις διειλημμένη ‘a large house surrounded by narrow streets on all sides’ (H.).

•DER Perhaps Λαύρειον (-εον, -ιον) [n.], a mount in Attica with famous silvermines (Hdt., Th.), after the mine galleries?; in H. also λαῦρον· μέταλλον ἀργύρου παρὰ Ἀθηναίους ‘a silvermine (Athens)’. Adjective Λαυρε(ι)ωτικός ‘belonging to Λ.’ (Ar.).

•ETYM Used to be connected with λᾶας ‘stone’, and further with Alb. *lerë*, -a ‘rock-slip’, but this comparison must be dropped, as ▶λᾶας did not have a -w-. Doubts already in Schwyzler: 481 and 578<sup>i</sup>. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek (note the name of the mountain).

**λάφυρα** [n.pl.] ‘booty’ (IA). <PG(S)>

•VAR Also -ον [sg.].

•COMP As a first member in e.g. λαφυρο-πώλης [m.] ‘who sells booty’ (X.).

•DER λαφυρεύω (LXX), -έω (Aq.) [v.] ‘to plunder’.

•ETYM The traditional analysis as a suffix -ρ-, added to a *u*-stem from the root of Skt. *lābhate* ‘to take, seize’, is wrong. The word has the suffix -ῦρ-, which is Pre-Greek (Pre-Greek: Suffixes).

**λαφύσσω** [v.] ‘to swallow, gulp down’ (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Aor. λαφύξαι.

•DER λαφυγμός (com., AP), λαφύξις (Ath.), λαφύγματα [pl.] (epigr.) ‘gluttony’; λαφύκτης ‘gourmand’ (Arist.); also λαφύστιος ‘gluttonous, devoured’ (Lyc.), cf. Ζεὺς

Λαφύστιος (Hdt. 7, 197; from Λαφύστιον ὄρος in Boeotia), in whose cult human sacrifices occurred.

•ETYM Formation in -ύσσω related to ▶λάπτω as a Pre-Greek word. Fur.: 225 also connects it with ▶λαῖλαψ ‘storm, hurricane’, ▶λαμυρός ‘voracious, eager’, and the family of λαιφός ‘impudent’.

**λαχαίνω** [v.] ‘to dig’ (A. R., Call., prefixed since ω 242). <PG?(S)>

•VAR Aor. λαχῆναι.

•COMP Also with ἀμφι-, ἐκ-, δια-.

•DER λάχανον [n.], usually -α [pl.], ‘garden-herbs, vegetables’ (IA); often as a first member; e.g. λαχανο-πώλης ‘greengrocer’ (Critias, pap.).

Thence: 1. diminutives λαχάνιον (D. L., pap.), -ίδιον (H.). 2. λαχανική, -όν ‘taxes on vegetables’ (*Inscr. Magn.*, *Sammelb.*), λαχανάριον· *herbarium* (gloss.). 3. λαχαν-ᾶς (Hdn. Gr.), -εύς (Procl.) ‘greengrocer’. 4. λαχαν-ώδης (Arist., Thphr.), -ιρός (Thphr.), -ιος (Jul., Ostr.) ‘ptng. to vegetables’. 5. λαχανεύω [v.] ‘to plant, cultivate, harvest vegetables’ (pap., Str., App.) with λαχανεία ‘cultivation, etc. of vegetables’ (LXX, pap., J.), also λαχαν-ιά ‘gardenbed’ (H., sch., also pap., but cf. Scheller 1951: 68f.); λαχάνευ-μα ‘cultivation of vegetables’ (Procl.), -τής ‘greengrocer’ (pap.). 6. λαχανίζομαι, -ω [v.] ‘to harvest vegetables, graze (of horses)’ (*EM*, *Hippiatr.*), with -ισμός (Th., pap., *Hippiatr.*). Doubtful is λαχή in A. Th. 914 (lyr.): τάφων πατρώων λαχαί ‘the digging of the forefathers’ graves’ (sch.), which should rather be read as λάχαι to ▶λαγχάνω, s.v.

•ETYM The substantive for ‘vegetables’ is probably of Pre-Greek origin, as suggested by the suffix -ανον. The denominative simplex λαχαίνω, which has only late attestations, is probably a back-formation from compounded forms; cf. especially ἀμφι-λαχαίνω (ω 242). See the remarks by Perpillou in *DELG Supp.* and Perpillou *RPh* 73 (1999): 96.

**λάχεια** [adj.] epithet of νῆσος ‘island’ (ι 116), ἀκτὴ ‘cape’ (κ 509), v.l. ἐλάχεια (see ἐλαχύς for the accent; cf. Schwyzler: 474<sup>i</sup>, Chantraine 1942: 191). Mg. uncertain, explained by H. as εὐσκαφος καὶ εὐγειος, παρὰ τὸ λαχαίνεσθαι, ὃ ἐστι σκάπτεσθαι πυκνῶς ‘easy to cultivate, with good soil, after λ., which means to dig in dense rows’. <?>

•ETYM The commentary by H. is folk etymology. The connection with a Gm. adjective for ‘low, flat’ (ON *lágr*, MHG *læge*) must be wrong, as these presuppose IE *\*leh<sup>gh</sup>-*, from which form the Greek -α- cannot be understood. Following this etymology, modern interpreters have understood λάχεια as ‘low, flat’, which does not fit ἀκτὴ at all. In sum, no etymology.

**λάχνη** [f.] ‘woolly hair, down’ (Il.), metaph. of leafage (Nic., Opp.). <IE *\*u(o)l̥k-* ‘hair’>

•VAR Rarely λάχνω [dat.sg.], of the wool of a sheep (ι 445).

•COMP λαχνό-γυιός ‘with hairy members’ (E.).

•DER λαχν-ήεις, -ᾶεις (Il., Pi.), -ώδης (E.), -αῖος (AP) ‘woolly, hairy, shaggy’; λαχνόομαι [v.] ‘to become hairy’ (sol., AP) with λάχνωσις (Hp.).

•ETYM Reconstructed as *\*λακ-σν-ā* and corresponding with an Iranian and Slavic word for ‘hair’ via a pre-form *\*f<sub>3</sub>λακ-σν-ā* < IE *\*ul̥k-sn-eh<sub>2</sub>*; Av. *varāsa-* [m., n.], MoP

*gurs*, OCS *vlasъ*, Ru. *vólos*, all from IE *\*uol̥k-o-*. Less probable, because of the meaning, is the connection with OCS *vlakno*, Ru. *voloknó* 'thread', Skt. *valká-* [m.] 'bark, sap-wood', from IE *\*uolk-*. See ► λάσιος.

**λάω** [v.] mg. unclear, cf. λάε· ἐνόφησεν, οἱ δὲ ἐφθέγγετο 'cried, uttered', λαήμεναι and λαίειν· φθέγγεσθαι, but λάετε· σκοπεῖτε, βλέπετε 'look, see' (H.). <PG?>

•VAR Only ptc. λάων (τ 229 κύων, *h. Merc.* 360 αἰετός), ipf. λάε (τ 230 κύων).

•ETYM The ancient interpreters of τ 229f. hesitated between 'see' (βλέπων) and 'bark' (ὕλαων). In modern times, Lobeck has proposed a meaning 'grasp' and two different verbs: 1. 'seize' (τ 229f., completely isolated), 2. 'see' (*h. Merc.* 360), the last of which was also seen in ► ἀλαός and in Skt. *lasati* (epic class.) 'to glow' (see Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἀλαός).

Leumann 1950: 233ff. takes ὄξυ λάων (*h. Merc.*, 'crying loudly') as an innovation from ὄξυ λεληκώς (κίρκος X 141), which was wrongly analyzed as λε-λη-κώς (but belongs to ► λάσκω), and then interpreted as 'having sharp sight' on the one hand, and connected with a barking dog on the other.

**λεβηρίς 1, -ίδος** [f.] 'skin or slough of serpents' (Hp., J.), acc. to H. also = τὸ λέπος τοῦ κυάμου 'skin of a bean'; proverbially of empty or thin objects (com.), cf. H. τινὲς δὲ ἄνδρα λέβηριν γενέσθαι πτωχόν 'beggar'. <PG(S)>

•ETYM The IE analysis in Frisk seems misplaced. It is rather a Pre-Greek word, because the suffix is also found in ► ἴμβηρις and κύπηρις (s.v. ► κύπαιρος). Note λέβινθοι (cod. -ίνθιοι)· ἐρέβινθοι 'chick-peas' (H.); see also ► λεβίας and ► λέβης.

**λεβηρίς 2** [f.] 'rabbit' (Str. 3, 2, 6); Massaliotic acc. to Polemarch. *apud* Erot. <LW Iberia>

•ETYM Of Iberian origin, like Lat. *lepus* and *laurex*, see WH s.vv. with litt. See also Fur.: 347.

**λέβης, -ητος** [m.] 'kettle, cauldron' (Il.), on the mg. Brommer *Herm.* 77 (1942): 359 and 366f., also a monetary unit (Crete), see Leumann 1950: 282ff., Ruijgh 1957: 107. <PG(S)>

•COMP ἱππολέβης 'kettle' (Luc., Ath.).

•DER Diminutive λεβήτιον, -ίσκος (IV<sup>a</sup>), -άριον (Poll.); λεβητ-ώδης 'kettle-shaped' (Ath.); -ίζω [v.] 'to cook in a kettle' (Lyc.).

•ETYM On the suffix, see Fur.: 172<sup>118</sup>. Pre-Greek origin is most likely; cf. ► κελέβη.

**λεβίας, -ον** [m.] name of an unknown freshwater fish (Hell. com.); acc. to H. also = τὰ λεπιδας ἔχοντα ταρίχη 'dried meat of a fish having scales'. <PG?(O)>

•ETYM Formation like ἀκανθίας, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 94); otherwise unclear. Thompson 1947 s.v. recalls the Eg. fish ἄλ(λ)άβης (Str., Ath.), but see ► ἀλλάβης. Perhaps Pre-Greek.

**λέγνον** [n.] 'colored edging, hem of a cloth' (Poll., H., sch.), also of the side of the womb (Hp.). <PG?>

•VAR Also -νη [f.].

•DER λεγνώτος 'provided with λ.' (Call., Nic.), λεγνώδεις· ποικίλας 'varicolored', λεγνώσαι· ποικίλαι (H.).

•ETYM No etymology. Perhaps Pre-Greek.

**λέγαι** epithet of γυναῖκες (Archil. 179). <PG?>

•ETYM LSJ cite it as λέγος 'lewd'. Fur.: 346 connects it with λάγνος. Is it Pre-Greek? See ► ἐλεγαίνειν.

**λέγω** [v.] 'to collect, gather' (Il.; Att. prose only with prefix), 'to count, recount' (Il.), 'say' (post-Hom.). On use, mg. and inflexion see Fournier 1946: 53ff., 100ff., Chantraine *BSL* 41 (1940-1941): 39ff., Wackernagel 1916: 220ff. Beside it stand the synonymous and suppletive verbs ἀγορεύω, φημί, εἰπεῖν, ἐρῶ, εἴρηκα (see Seiler *Glotta* 32 (1952): 154f.). <IE *\*leg-* 'collect'>

•VAR Aor. λέξαι, -ασθαι (epic ἐλέγμην, λέκτο), pass. λεχθῆναι, fut. λέξω, -ομαι, perf. λέλεγμαι, δι-είλεγμαι, συν-είλοχα (ei analogical).

•COMP Very often with prefixes like δια-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, κατα-, συν-.

•DER 1. λόγος [m.] 'computation, account, esteem, reason; speech, word, statement' (O 393, α 56); see Fournier 1946: 217ff., Boeder *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 4 (1959): 82ff.; also from prefixed compounds, e.g. διά-, κατά-, ἐπί-, σύλ-λογος (to διαλέγομαι, etc.), also in hypostases like ἀνά-, παρά-λογος (to ἀνά, παρά λόγον).

From λόγος: a. diminutives: λογ-ίδιον, -άριον (Att.), -αρίδιον (pap.). b. adjectives: λογάς [m., f.] 'selected', substantivized 'choice soldier, etc.' (IA), semantically rather to λέγω, cf. Chantraine 1933: 351; λόγιος 'notable' (Pi., etc.), τὸ λόγιον 'oracle' (IA); on the development of mg. E. Orth, *Logios* (Leipzig 1926); λόγιμος 'worth mention, notable' (Hdt., pap.), usually ἐλλόγιμος (to ἐν λόγῳ); λογικός 'regarding reason, etc., logical' (Philol., Hell.); λογαῖος 'chosen' (Str. 1, 3, 18; after Ibyc. 22), perhaps to λογή, see 2.; c. λογάδην [adv.] 'by accidental selection' (Th.; cf. λογάς). d. substantives: λογεύς [m.] 'orator, prose writer' (Critias, Plu., sch.) with λογεῖον 'speakers' place, scene' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>); κατα-, ἐκ-, συλ-λογεύς from κατάλογος, ἐκλογή, etc.; e. verbs: λογίζομαι [v.] 'to count, calculate, consider, estimate' (IA), often with prefix, ἀνα-, etc., with λογ-ισμός, -ισμα, -ιστής, -ιστεύω, -ιστικός, etc.; λογεύω [v.] 'to collect taxes', also with ἐπι-, ἐκ-, (pap., inscr.), with λογεῖα, λόγ-ευμα, -ευτής, -ευτήριον.

2. λογή [f.] 'reasoning, way' (= MoGr.; only late pap.; LSJ and DELG translate 'attention, heed'); isolated from compounds with ἐκ-, κατα-, συν-, δια-, etc. (IA, etc.)?

3. λέξις [f.] 'reason, way of speech, diction, style, (specific) word, phrase', also with δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-, (Att., etc.); thence λεξίδιον, -εῖ- (Arr., Gal.), Lat. *lexidium*; see Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 205; λεξικόν (scil. βιβλίον) 'containing λέξεις, lexicon' (AB, Phot.).

4. λέγμα· τὸ εἰπεῖν 'speaking' (H.), ἐπίλεγμα 'excerpt' (pap.), κατά-λεγμα 'tragic song' (Sm., Al.), cf. καταλέγεσθαι· ὁδύρεσθαι τὸν τεθνεῶτα 'to bewail the deceased' (H.).

5. διάλεκτος (to δια-λέγομαι) 'speech, dialect' (IA) with (δια-, ἐκ-)λεκτικός 'capable of speaking, etc.' (Att., etc.: λέξις, λέγω).

•ETYM The thematic root present λέγω, from which all stem forms and nominal derivatives are derived, is identical with Lat. *legō* 'to collect, etc.'. Also related is Alb. *mb-ledh* 'to collect, harvest', which points to a palatal -ǵ-. A synonymous root \*les- is found in Germanic, Baltic, and Hittite, e.g. MoHG *lesen*, Go. *lisan* 'to collect, harvest', Lith. *lėsti*, 1sg. *lesù* 'to pick, eat picking' (beside *lasýti* 'to collect, select'), Hitt. *lešš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *lišš-* 'to pick, gather', (Hitt. *lišāe-<sup>zi</sup>* is unclear; cf. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.), but the relation between \*les- and \*leg- is unclear. See ►λώγη.

λεία [f.] 'booty, spoils', especially of plundered cattle, of war, of hunting, also 'cattle, herd' (Att.); cf. Edgerton *AmJPh.* 46 (1926): 177f. <IE \*leh<sub>2</sub>u- 'capture, seize'>

•VAR Ion. λῆη, Dor. (Pi. O. 10, 44) λάα [f.]; also λῆς (Dor. λαῖς), -ίδος [f.] (Il.).

•COMP Compounds like λε-ηλατέω [v.] 'to drive away prey, especially cattle; to pillage' (Hdt., S., E., X.), after βο-, ἵππ-ηλατέω, etc. from βο-, ἵππ-ηλά-της) with λεηλασ-ία, -ίη (X., A. R.), -άτησις (Aen. Tact.); ἀγε-λείη [f.] epithet of Athena: 'who provides booty' (Il.).

•DER ληϊάς [f.] 'the seized or captured one' (Y 193, A. R.); λῆϊτις [f.] 'ἀγελείη' (K 460), 'ληϊάς' (A. R., Lyc.); λῆϊδιος 'belonging to the booty, captured' (AP, APl.).

Denominative verb ληϊζομαι, λείζομαι 'to seize, plunder' (Il.), whence several nouns:

1. ληϊστός, λείστός 'to be carried off as booty' (I 406, 408); 2. ληϊστός [f.] 'capturing, plundering' (Hdt. 5, 6); 3. \*ληϊσμός in λη(ι)σµαδία· αἰχµάλωτος, λεληισµένη 'captive, prisoner of war' (H.); 4. ληϊστήρ, ληστήρ [m.] 'plunderer, pirate, robber', fem. λῆστειρα (Ael.), ληστήρις (D., Herod.), with ληστροικός 'plundering' (IA), cf. ληστροικός below; ληστήριον, Dor. λασ- 'gang or den of robbers, robbery' (Att., Cret.), λαστήριοι [pl.] 'pirate' (Hell. poetry); 5. λῆϊστωρ, λῆσ- 'id.' (o 427); 6. ληϊστής, λησ-, λασ- 'id.' (IA) with ληστικός (often interchanged with ληστροικός); ληστεύω [v.] 'to rob, plunder', with ληστεία 'robbery' (Att.).

•ETYM The abstract λεία, λῆη (from \*lāf-ία) and the ιδ-derivation λῆς (from \*lāf-ιδ-) that exists alongside it may either go back to a noun \*lāf(-o)- vel sim., or directly to a verbal root, the zero-grade of which is supposed in ►ἀπολαύω. See further ►λᾶρός and ►λήϊον.

λείβω [v.] 'to pour, drip, make a libation' (Il.). <IE? \*leh<sub>1</sub>-i-, \*lei- 'pour out, drip'>

•VAR Aor. λείψαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ἐπι-.

•DER A. λειβήνος· ὁ Διόνυσος (H.), λειβήθρον (λίβ-) [n.] 'wet place, gutter' (Eup. 428), λειβδην 'in drops' (EM).

B. Ablauting: λοιβή [f.] 'libation' (Il.) with λοιβ-εἶον (Plu.), -ίς (Antim., inscr.), -άσιον (Epich.) 'vase for libations', -αῖος 'ptng. to libation' (Ath.); λοιβάται· σπένδει, θύει 'makes a libation, sacrifices' (H.), cf. below.

C. Zero-grade: 1. \*λίψ [f.] 'libation, drop', only in gen. λιβός, acc. λίβα (A., A. R.), with λιβηρός 'wet' (Hp. *apud* Gal.); 2. λίψ, λιβός [m.] 'the dripper', name of the rain-bringing southwest or west wind, also of the point of the compass: 'southwest, west' (Hdt., Arist.), with λιβικός '(south)westerly' (pap.). For λίψ· ... πέτρα, ἀφ' ἧς ὕδωρ στάζει 'rock from which water drips' (H.), cf. ►αἰγίλιψ. 3. From λίψ: λιβάς, -άδος [f.] 'spring, etc.' (trag., etc.), diminutive λιβάδιον (Str., Plu.), also 'χωρίον

βοτανῶδες', i.e. 'wet meadow' (H., EM); λιβάζω, -άζομαι [v.] 'to drip' (AP, Poll.), with ἀπο- metaph. 'to throw away, remove oneself' (com.). 4. λίβος [n.] = λιβάς (A. Ch. 448 [lyr.], Gal.). On ►λιβρός, see s.v.

•ETYM The zero grade primary noun λίψ is unexpected beside the regular full grade thematic λείβω, whence λείψαι. One compares νείφει : νίφα, while evidence of the gloss λίβει· σπένδει, ἐκχύνει 'libates, pours out' (H.) must be considered uncertain. Lat. *libāre* 'pour out, spill' may either be a borrowing from Greek (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 2. \*leiH-), or be unrelated in case it derives from the root \*h<sub>2</sub>libh- 'to anoint' (De Vaan 2008 s.v. *libō*). In the former case, the root is considered that of OCS *liti*, 1sg. *lǫjǫ*, *lějǫ* 'to pour', Lith. *lieti*, 1sg. *lieju*, assuming that the Greek -β- is secondary, e.g. after ►εἶβω 'to drip'. λαβά· σταγών 'drop' (H.) may be a mistkae for λοιβά (DELG).

λείμαξ, -ακος [?] 'slug', only H. s.v. λείμακες (cf. λειμών): ἔστι δὲ καὶ ζῶον ὅμοιον κοχλῖα, ὃ καλοῦσι λείμακα 'there is also an animal similar to the snail, which is called λ.'. <IE? \*lei->

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *līmāx* (Pl.) 'id.' (which is probably a Greek loan), but also with Ru. *slimák* 'snake' and other Slavic words. Thus, it has to be a derivative in -āk- of the m-stem seen in Gm. (ON *slím* 'slime', also OHG, OE; Lat. *līmus* 'id.'). Since IE did not have a suffix \*-eh<sub>2</sub>k-, it is highly improbable that there is a direct connection between the Slavic and Greek forms.

λειμών, -ώνος [m.] 'moist, grassy place, humid meadow' (Il.), metaph. of flowered surfaces and objects (Ach. Tat., Philostr.). <IE? \*lei-mōn, acc. \*li-men-m, gen. \*li-mn-os>

•COMP βαθυλειμών (Pi.), -λειμος (Il.), with transition to the o-stems, 'with grassy meadows'; ἀ-λίμενος 'without harbour or refuge' (Att.).

•DER λειμώνιος 'of the meadow' (A., Arist.), fem. -ιάς (S., A. R.), -ίς (D. P.), -ιον [n.] plant name, 'Statice limonium' (Dsc., Plin.); λειμων-ιάτης λίθος name of a stone green as grass (Plin.). With change of suffix (after πίδαξ, βῶλαξ, etc.): λείμαξ, -ακος [f.] 'meadow' (E. [lyr.]), 'garden' (Pherecr.), with -ακώδης 'meadow-like, grassy' (Hp.), -ακίδες νύμφαι (Orph. A. 646; uncertain; codd. λιμνακίδων).

With different ablaut: λιμὴν, -ένος [m.] 'harbour, protected creek', also metaph. 'refuge' (Il.), 'gathering place, marketplace' (Thess.; acc. to H. also Cypr.; cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 450f.). Diminutive λιμένιον (Str.; MoGr. λιμάνι is from Osman. *liman*; see Maidhof *Glotta* 10 (1920): 14); λιμένιος 'belonging to the harbour' (Paus.), λιμενίτης, fem. -ίτις 'inhabitant of a harbour' (Corycos), of Priapos and Artemis, respectively, as deities of the harbour (AP, see Redard 1949: 23), λιμεν-ητικά χρήματα 'harbour taxes' (Cod. Just.), with analogical -ητικά, if not itacistic for -ιτικά, λιμεν-ίζω [v.] 'to build a harbour' (Polyaen.).

With a zero grade suffix, enlarged after the ā-stems: λίμνη [f.] 'stagnant water, pond, lake, marsh' (Il.), Λίμναι [pl.] place in Athens, in Sparta, etc. (Att.); compounds like εὖ-λιμνος 'with many lakes' (Arist.). Thence many derivatives: 1. diminutive λιμνίον [n.] (Arist.). 2. λιμναῖος 'living in lakes, etc., belonging to the lake' (IA); 3. λιμνάς [f.] 'id.' (Theoc., Paus.). 4. λιμνήτης, -τις (-ίτις) 'id.' (Theoc., Paus., inscr.), λιμνιτικά [n.pl.] name of a tax (pap.). 5. λιμνώδης 'like a lake or marsh' (IA). 6. plantname :

λιμν-ήσιον, -ησία, -ηστις, -ηστρον, -ηστρίς (Dsc., Gal.). 7. Denominative verbs: λιμνάζω 'to build a λ.; to stagnate, put under water' (Arist.), with λιμνασμός 'flood, inundation', -αστής 'surveyor of the inundation', -αστεία 'inundation works' (pap.), -ασία 'marshy ground' (Arist.); λιμνόμαι [v.] 'to build a λ.' (Thphr., Str.).

•ETYM The primary formations λειμών and λιμήν, λίμνη show old ablaut in both stem and suffix. They are isolated in Greek, and have no outer-Greek counterpart. One might start from an old paradigm nom. \*lei-mōn, acc. \*li-men-m, gen. \*li-mn-os. For the etymology, only suppositions are at hand. Starting from the idea 'moistness, standing water, etc.', it has been connected with Lat. *limus* 'mud', to which may belong the words mentioned under λείμαξ with anlauting *sl-*. Also, words mentioned s.v. ▶ λείβω, e.g. Lith. *lieti*, might be considered as well. Pok. 309 defends connection with Lat. *limus* 'oblique', *limen* 'threshold', and without *m*-suffix, e.g. Latv. *leja* 'dale, valley', assuming a basic sense of \*'dip, low place, bay'.

λείος [adj.] 'level, smooth', of the soil, of surfaces, etc. (Il.), also 'rubbed, well-ground' (Delos, pap., Dsc.), cf. λε(ι)αίνω, -όω below. <IE? \*lei- 'smooth'?>

•VAR λείως [adv.] (also λέως after τελέως, ἡδέως, etc., cf. also λε(ι)αίνω below) 'smoothly', also metaph. 'completely, totally' (IA), cf. Lat. *plānē*, MoHG *glatt*.

•COMP Frequent as a first member, like in λειό-φλοιος 'with smooth bark' (Thphr.), also with adverbial value (with -ω- after λε(ι)ως), e.g. λειώλης = πανώλης (Rhodos VI<sup>a</sup>), λεω-κόντος 'turned into fine dust', -κόρητος 'swept clean', i.e. 'utterly destroyed' (Theognost., H., Phot.), λεω-πάτητος 'completely trodden down' (S. Ant. 1275 with v.l. λακ-πάτητος, see ▶ λάξ); cf. further λεωργός = πανούργος, κακούργος (Archil. 88, 3, A. Pr. 5, X.), see Chantraine *Glotta* 33 (1954): 25ff.

•DER λειότης [f.] 'smoothness' (Att.), λείαξ 'beardless boy' (EM, H.); two denominatives: λε(ι)αίνω [v.] 'to smoothen, grind' (Il.), also with ἐκ-, συν-, ἀπο-, etc. Thence λε(ι)αν-σις, -τήρ, -τικός, ἐκλεα-σμός, etc. (Arist.); further λειόω [v.] 'id.' (Arist.), also συν-, ἀπο-, etc.; thence λείω-μα 'powder' (Thphr.); -σις 'grinding' (Gal.).

•ETYM Beside the *o*-stem in \*λείφος, Latin has an *i*-stem *lēvis* 'smooth', which may have replaced an older *u*-stem (cf. *brevis*). Schrijver 1991: 283f. proposed that \*λείφος and *lēvis* go back on a *u*-stem \**leh,i-u-*, with secondary thematicization in Greek. The root is also found in λίτος and cognates (see ▶ λίσ 2), and probably in ▶ λείμαξ.

λείπω [v.] 'to leave (behind)', intr. 'to be wanting, disappear', med. 'to depart' (Il.). <IE \*leik<sup>w</sup>- 'leave behind'>

•VAR λιμπάνω (Sapph., Hp., Th., v.l. Λ 604), fut. λείψω, aor. λιπεῖν, perf. λέλοιπα, med. λέλειμμα (all Il.+), aor. pass. λειφθῆναι (h. Merc., Pi.), aor. λείψαι (Ar.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, κατα-, ὑπο-. As a first member in several governing compounds, partly with privative *mg*, like λιπό-τεκνος 'childless' (Pi.), see Schwyzler: 442. On the formation of the stem see Sommer 1948: 124f. Also with inversion of the members, like in σαρκο-λιπής (AP) for λιπό-σαρκος (Hp.). Also note λειψ(ι)- in λειψ-υδρ-ία 'lack of water' (Thphr.), etc.

•DER Substantives: 1. λείμμα (ὑπό-, κατά-, ἔλ-, etc.) 'rest' (IA, Arist.). 2. λείψις (ἐκ-, ἀπό-, etc.) 'leaving, continuing absence' (IA). 3. λείψανον, mostly plur. -α 'remainder' (E., Ar., Pl.). 4. ἐκλειπ-ία 'lack' (J.).

Adjectives: 5. λοιπός (also ὑπό-, κατά-, etc. from ὑπο-λείπω, etc.) 'remaining' (post-Hom.), with (ὑπο)λοιπ-άς [f.] 'rest' (pap.), ἀπολοιπ-ασία 'id.' (Hero, pap.). 6. ἐκ-, ἐν-, ὑπο-λιπ-ής, etc. (v.l. -λειπής) 'lacking, remaining, etc.' (Att.). 7. ἐκ-, ἐν-, παρα-, ὑπο-λειπτικός 'regarding the ἐκλειψις' (Hell.).

Apart stands λίσσωμεν· ἐάσωμεν 'let us leave/depart' (H.); the explanation is dubious, cf. Schwyzler: 692.

•ETYM The thematic root aorist ἔ-λιπ-ε has exact parallels in Arm. *e-lik'*, Skt. *áricat*, from IE \**h<sub>2</sub>é-lik<sup>w</sup>-e-t* 'he left'. An old perfect \*(*le-*)*loik<sup>w</sup>-h<sub>2</sub>e* is continued in Skt. *riréca*, λέλοιπα, and (without reduplication) in Germanic (e.g. Go. *laih*) and Lat. *liqui*. The nasal present λιμπάνω best resembles Arm. *lk'-an-em* < IE \**lik<sup>w</sup>-n-*; nasal presents of various formation are found elsewhere too, e.g. Skt. *rinákti*, Lat. *linquō*. The thematic root present λείπω corresponds to the Gm. verb in e.g. Go. *leihvan*, OHG *lihan* 'to let, lend', and to Lith. *liekù* 'to let'. The last stands for older athematic *liekmì*. The Gm. present may go back to a nasalized \**lihyu-*, which would correspond to Lat. *linquō*. For the various formations, see now LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**leik<sup>w</sup>-*.

The correspondence of λοιπός with the substantives Skt. *ati-reka-* [m.], Lith. *āt-laikas*, OCS *ot v-lěkō* 'remainder' < IE \**loik<sup>w</sup>-o-* is noteworthy.

λείριον [n.] 'lily, Lilium candidum' (h. Cer. 427, Hp., A. R., Thphr., Dsc.; λείριον ἄνθεμον Pi.), also 'narciss' (Thphr., Dsc.). <PG(O)>

•COMP As a second member in the PN Ποδα-λείριος (Il.).

•DER λείρινος 'prepared from lilies' (Dsc., Gal.), also 'lily-like' (ἄνθος, Thphr. HP 3, 18, 11; not entirely certain), λειρι-ώδης 'lily-like' (Thphr.), -όεις 'ptng. to the lily' (Nic. Al. 406). λειριόεις also of the skin (N 830), of the voice or the singing of cicadas (I 152), of the song of the Muses (Hes. Th. 41, Q. S. 2, 418); λείριος of the voice (A. R., Orph.), also of the eyes (B. 17, 95), λειρός, λειρά [n.pl.] of the song of the cicadas (IG 14, 1934: f6, metr. inscr.).

•ETYM Like Lat. *lilium*, the word comes from an eastern Mediterranean language; a comparable word for 'lily' is found in Coptic: *hrêri*, *hlêli* (Eg. *hrr-t*). We also find several like words for 'flower', Hamit. *ilili*, *alili*, Alb. *lule*, Hitt. *alil-*, *alêl*; see WH s.v. *lilium*, Benveniste BSL 50 (1954): 43, Fur.: 369.

The poetic word λειριόεις and (later attested – probably back-formations) λείριος and λειρός, as epithets of the skin and the voice, can be understood as derivatives of λείριον 'lily-white, soft as lilies'; see Wærn *Eranos* 50 (1952): 19f. Leumann 1950: 27f. doubts that intermediate phases can be reconstructed. Others (see Frisk) connected the gloss λειρός (cod. -ώς) ὁ ἰσχνός καὶ ὠχρός 'thin and pale' (H.), arisen by dissimilation from \*λειλός, which would belong to Lith. *leilas* 'thin, slender'. Improbable.

λειτουργέω (ληϊτ-), -ία, -ός ⇒ λαός.

λείτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'priest' (post-class. Att. inscr.). <PG(V)>

•VAR ὁμο-λείτωρ = συλ-λειτουργός (Att. inscr. II<sup>p</sup>), λείτορες· ἰέρεια (H.); λητήρες· ἱεροὶ στεφανηφόροι. Ἀθαμᾶνες (H.), fem. λήτειραι· ἰέρεια τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν (H. = Call. Fr. 123), λειτειρη· ἰέρεια (Boeot. *apud* H.); uncertain Arc. λειτορο<ς> (IG 5(2), 405).

•DER Denominative λειτορεύω [v.] 'to be λείτωρ' (Thess. since II<sup>a</sup>; perhaps also Eg., see Wilhelm *AfP* 9: 214ff.). Details on the distribution in Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 83f., also Fraenkel 1910: 145, Bechtel 1921, 1: 207f., Benveniste 1948: 47fn. Cf. also ἀλήτωρ· ἱερεύς (H.); further λειτωρ 'priest' (inscr. Arc.).

•ETYM Because of the form λητήρες, which is ascribed to the northwestern Athamanes, and (if correctly explained) because of Arc. λειτορο<ς>, Thess. and Boeot. λει- seem to represent PG. λη-. Att. λείτωρ may then perhaps be a loan from Boeotian. For the same reason, the semantically attractive connection with λήϊ-τος, ληΐτη and λήϊτη 'ἰέρεια', and also with λειτουργός (see ▶λαός), presents difficulties. Moreover, -τωρ, -τηρ (instead of -της) is remarkable as a secondary suffix. Other hypotheses (see Frisk): relations to λάτρον; and to λίσσομαι, λιταί. To my mind, the prothetic vowel seems to point to a Pre-Greek word.

λειχήν, -ήνος 'lichen'. →λείχω.

λείχω [v.] 'lick' (IA). <IE \*leiǵh- 'lick'>

•VAR Aor. λείξαι, fut. λείξω.

•COMP Also with περι-, δια-, ἀνα-, ἐκ-, etc. As a first member in λειχ-ήνωρ and other parodising PNs (Batr.).

•DER λειχήν, -ήνος [m.] 'the lick', 'lichen, moss, rash' (A., Hp., Thphr.), with λειχήν-η plantname = μυρτάκανθος (Dsc.), -ώδης 'lichen-like', -ικός 'ptng. to moss' (medic.), λειχην-ιάω [v.] 'to suffer from λ.' (Thphr.). ἔκλειγ-μα (to ἐκ-λείχω) 'tablet, candy', ἐκλεικ-τόν 'id.' (medic.).

Ablauting: 1. λιχανός (δάκτυλος) [m.] 'forefinger' (Hp., pap.), with oppositive accent (Schwyzer: 380) λίχανος [m.] 'the string struck by the forefinger' (Aristox., Arist.); λιχάς, -άδος [f.] 'the distance between the forefinger and the thumb' (Hero, Poll.), after διχάς, πεντάς, etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 358) for expected \*λιχανάς. 2. λιχμάομαι, -άω [v.] 'to lick' (since Φ 123; on λελιχμότες Hes. *Th.* 826 see Leumann 1950: 218), also with ἀπο-, περι-, etc. Thence λιχμ-ήμων, -ήρης 'licking' (Nic.) and λιχμάς· θρίναξ· καὶ ἀπαλή πόα καὶ χαμαιπετής, ἦν τὰ ἐρπετὰ ἐπιλείχουσι 'trident, also a delicate herb on the ground which snakes (animals) lick' (H.). Lengthened forms: λιχμάζω (Hes. Sc. 235, Nic.), -αινω (Opp.) 'id.' 3. λίχνος 'fond of sweets, greedy, gluttonous, tasty' (Att., Hell.) with λιχνώδης 'id.' (Ael.), λιχνότης 'greediness' (sch.); denominative verb λιχνεύω, -ομαι 'to be greedy, swallow' (D. H., Ph., Plu.), also with ἐπι-, περι-; thence λίχνευμα 'delicacy' (Sophr.), λιχνεία 'dainty, rapacity' (Pl., X.).

•ETYM Beside the thematic root present λείχω, from which all other Greek forms derive, the related languages show several formations: a full grade *yod*-present in Lith. *liežiù*, OCS *ližō*; nasal present in Lat. *lingō*; iterative formations in Go. *bi-laigon*, Lith. *laižyti* < IE \*loiǵh-; several full grade formations in Arm. *liz-um*, -em, -anem; zero grade in OIr. *ligim*, gemination in OHG *lecchōn*, etc.

An athematic present with old ablaut is retained in Skt. *léhmi*, *lihmás* [1pl.] < IE \*leiǵh-mi, \*liǵh-més. Greek too once had zero grade verbal forms, as evidenced by nouns like λιχανός (cf. πιθανός), λίχνος and the denominative λιχμάομαι, which presupposes an μ-stem λιχ-μ- (Schwyzer: 725<sup>9</sup>). See now LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*leiǵh- on the various types of formation.

λεκάνη [f.] 'basin, dish' (Ar., inscr., pap.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR λακάνη (Hell.), -ίσκη (H.).

•DER λεκάν-ιον (Ar.), -ιδιον (Poll., Eust.), -ίς [f.] (Ar., Plu., Luc.), -ίσκη [f.] (com.). Also λέκος [n.] 'id.' (Hippon.) with λεκάριον (Hell.), λεκίς [f.] (Epich.), -ίσκος [m.] (Hp.) 'id.', -ίσκιον as a measure (Hp.).

•ETYM For λεκάνη cf. πατάνη, οὐράνη, and other names of utensils in -άνη, -ανον (Chantraine 1933: 197ff.); also note λέκος beside the vessel name ἄγγος. The pair λέκος : λεκάνη is comparable with στέφος : στεφάνη, ἔρκος : ἐρκάνη (though the latter is late; see on ἔρκος).

Outer-Greek connections that were proposed (see Frisk) are almost certainly wrong; the word is Pre-Greek (thus already E-M s.v. *lanx*). The variants with λακ- are not due to a (late) assimilation, but rather point to substrate origin. See Fur.: 352.

The word λεκάνη was borrowed as Arab. *leken*, Osman. *lejen*, which in turn was borrowed as MoGr. τὸ λεγένι 'bowl, dish' and Ru. *legin* 'kind of vase'.

λέκιθος [m.] 'gruel or pulse of cereals' (Hp., Gal., com.), fem. 'yolk' (Hp., Arist.).

<PG(S)>

•DER λεκίθιον [n.] (*PHolm.* 19, 41), λεκιθ-ώδης 'color of yolk' (Hp., Thphr.), -ίτης ἄρτος 'bread from leguminous plants' (Ath.).

•ETYM Because of the suffixes and the meaning, the word is clearly of Pre-Greek origin. DELG recalls the TN Λεκίθη.

λέκτρον 'bed, couch', etc. →λέχος.

λελιημένος [adj.] 'longing for' (Il., Emp., A. R.). <?>

•VAR Late finite forms λελίη-το (A. R.), -σαι (Theoc., Orph.).

•ETYM An isolated perfect formation, traditionally connected with λιλαίομαι; λελιημένος is then taken to be analogical after τετημημένος; critique of this in Tichy 1983: 230<sup>7</sup>. She suggests connection with λίην, or an epic "Streckform" for \*λελήμενος to λίην 'want'. Uncertain.

λέμβος [m.] 'small fast-sailing galley' (D., Anaxandr., Hell.). <LW Illyr.?>

•DER λεμβῶδες πλοῖον (Arist.).

•ETYM Lat. *lembus* is a loan from Greek. A foreign word without etymology; perhaps Illyrian (see the litt. in WH s.v. *lembus*).

λέμφος [m., n.] 'mucous discharge from the nostrils, κόρυζα, μύξα' (Lib., Moer., H., Tz.); plur. also 'putrescent carcasses' (Phot., Eust.), metonymic 'simple man' (Men.).

<PG(V)>

•DER λεμφώδης 'snivelling' (sch.).



•ETYM Fur.: 160 recognized that it is the same word as ►λάμπη, which shows characteristic Pre-Greek variations.

λέξις ⇒ λέγω.

**λεόπαρδος** [m.] 'leopard' (Gal., Edict. Diocl.). <GR>

•VAR Also λεοπάρδαλις (see Wessely *Glotta* 6 (1915): 29f.).

•ETYM Starting from the Iliad, the normal word for 'leopard' was ►πάρδαλις. Probably, λεόπαρδος was formally influenced by Lat. *pardus*, *leopardus*, or even a borrowing from Latin (DELG). The analysis as a compound of λέων and πάρδος is doubtful, because πάρδος is only attested in Ael. NA 1, 31 (v.l. πάρδαλος), and λεο- instead of λεοντο- is rare, e.g. λεο-δράκων, name of a mythical being (Crete IV<sup>a</sup>).

**λέπαδνον** [n.] 'broad leather strap, fastening the yoke to the neck and the girth' (Il., A., Ar., AP, pap.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Mostly plur. -να; also λέπαμνα (Apollon. *Lex.*), with δν > μν (Schwyzer: 208).

•DER λεπαδν-ιστήρ [m.] 'end of the λ.' (Poll.), like βραχιον-ιστήρ, κορυφ-ιστήρ, etc.

•ETYM Frisk's connection with λεπάς, -άδος 'limpet' (adducing ὀπιδ-νός, παιδ-νός; Chantraine 1933: 194) is semantically strange: the λέπαδνα would cling to the neck like snails (he compares Ar. V. 105 ὥσπερ λεπὰς προσεχόμενος τῷ κίονι 'clinging to the pillar like a snail'). Without a doubt, a Pre-Greek word.

**λέπας** [n.] 'bare rock, mountain' (Simon., A., E., Th.). <LW Medit.??>

•VAR Only nom. and acc. sg.

•DER λεπαῖος 'rocky' (E.); λεπάς, -άδος [f.] 'limpet' (Alc. Z 36, 2 [uncertain], Epich., com., Arist.), as the animal clings to the rock (cf. H. λεπάδες· τὰ πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις κεκολλημένα κογχύλια 'mussels sticking to the rocks'), but alternatively, derived from λέπος, λεπίς 'shell, scale'.

From λέπας: λεπαστή (-άστη) [f.] 'limpet-like drinking cup' (com.) with λεπαστής, -ίδος 'id.' (vase-inscr., H.); on the formation Schwyzer: 503; borrowed as Lat. *lepista*, -esta; λέπαστρον· σκευὸς τι ἀλιευτικόν 'a fisherman's instrument' (H.), cf. δέπαστρον, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 333f.); λεπαδεύομαι [v.] 'to collect λ.s' (H., Phot.).

•ETYM The similarity between λέπας and Lat. *lapis*, -idis [m., f.] 'stone' is hardly accidental; a Mediterranean borrowing is most probable.

**λεπαστή (-άστη)** ⇒ λέπας.

**λέπω** [v.] 'to peel (off)' (Il.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Aor. λέψαι, fut. λέψω (Il.), perf. med. ἀπο-λέλεμμαι (Epich.), aor. pass. ἀπελέπη· ἀπελεπίσθη (H.); ablauting ἐλάμμαι (Att. inscr. around 330<sup>a</sup>), ἐκ-λαπήναι (Ar. Fr. 164).

•DIAL Myc. *re-po-to /leptos/*.

•COMP Sometimes with ἀπο-, ἐκ- (see above), περι-, ἐπι-.

•DER A. With *e*-grade (from the present): 1. λεπτός (cf. στρεπτός) 'peeled' (Y 497), 'thin, lean, weak, fine, delicate' (Il.), often as a first member. Poetic and lengthened λεπτ-αλέος 'weak, fine' (Il.), see Chantraine 1933: 255; λεπτ-ακινός 'id.' (AP), perhaps from \*λέπταξ (Bechtel 1914 s.v. φυζακινός); further λεπτίον 'mug' (pap.) from

λεπτόν (scil. κεράμιον) 'thin earthenware' (pap.), λεπτάγιον a kind of vase? (PHib. 1, 47, 13; III<sup>a</sup>), acc. to the editors perhaps = λεπτόγειον 'barren land'; λεπτάριον name of a medical instrument (Herm. 38, 282); λεπτίτιδες κριθαί kind of barley (Gr.); λεπτότης [f.] 'thinness, leanness, etc.' (IA), λεπτοσύνη 'id.' (AP); λεπτύνω [v.] 'to make thin, etc.' (Hr., X., Arist.), λεπτυσμός, λέπτυνσις (Hr.), -υντικός (Dsc., Gal.). 2. λεπρός 'scaly, leprous, uneven, raw' (Hr., Hippon., Hell.), fem. λεπράς (Theoc., Opp.); λέπρα (Ion. -ρη) 'leprosy' (Ion., Arist., Hell.), both probably first from an *p*-stem (cf. Schwyzer: 481); λεπρώδης 'uneven, leprous' (Ael., Dsc., medic.), λεπρικός 'relating to rash or lepra' (Dsc., pap.); denominative verbs: λεπράω [v.] 'to become scaly or leprous' (Ion.), also λεπρ-ιάω (Dsc.), after the verbs of disease in -ιάω; λεπρόομαι 'id.' (LXX, pap.) with λέπρωσις = λέπρα (Tz.), λεπρύνομαι 'to become scaly, uneven' (Nic.). 3. λέπος [n.] (Alex., Nic., Luc.) with λέπιον (Hr.), usually λεπίς, -ίδος [f.] (Ion. Hell.) 'scale, shell, pod, metal plate' with diminutive λεπίδιον (Hero), also as a plant name 'pepperwort' (Dsc., Gal., Ath.; as a remedy against rash), λεπίδιση 'id.' (Imbros II<sup>a</sup>); further λεπιδ-ωτός 'scaly' (Hdt., Arist.), with λεπιδόομαι 'to become scaly' (Hr.); other denominatives: λεπίζω (to λέπος or λεπίς) [v.] 'to remove the scale, to peel off' (Hell.), with λέπισμα 'scale' (LXX, Dsc., Gal.); ἐλέπουν· οἶον ἐλέπιζον ... (H.); note λέπασμα 'pod, skin' (sch. Nic. Th. 184); rather lengthened from λέπος than from \*λεπάζω. 4. On λεπάς, ►λέπας see s.v. 5. λέπυρον 'shell, pod' (LXX, Batr.) with λεπυρώδης 'like a shell' (Thphr.); λεπύρ-ιον 'id.' (Hr., Arist., Theoc.), -ιώδης 'id.' (Arist., Thphr.), λεπυρίζομαι [v.] 'to be contained in a husk or shell' (sch.), λεπυρίωσαι· ἐξαχυρίωσαι (H.); besides λεπύρος 'contained in a shell' (Nic.). On itself stands λεπύχανον 'skin of an onion, rind of fruit' (Theopomp. Com., Plu., Dsc.).

B. With *o*-grade: 6. λοπός [m.] 'peel, rind' (τ 233, Hr.) with λόπιμος 'easy to peel off' (Nic., Gal.), λόπιμα· κάστανα 'chestnuts' ... (H.); diminutive λοπάς [f.] 'dish', also name of a crustacean and of a botanical disease (com., Thphr., Luc.), with λοπάδ-ιον (com., pap.), -ίσκος (sch.); λοπός 'scale, dish, etc.' (Ar., inscr.) with λοπίδιον (Delos); denominative λοπάω [v.] 'to flake off, let the bark peel off' (Thphr.), λοπίζω 'id.' (Thphr., pap.), λοπιτός [m.] 'time of bark peeling off' (Thphr.). 7. On ►έλλοψι, see s.v.

C. With lengthened grade: 8. λώπη 'pod, coat' (Od., Theoc., A. R.), λώπος [m.] 'id.' (Alc. [?], Hippon., Anacr., Herod.); as a first member in λωπο-δύ-της [m.] 'who dresses in other peoples' clothes', 'thief of clothes' with λωποδυτ-έω, etc. (Att.); without a suffix λώψ· χλαμύς 'mantle, cloak' (H.). Diminutive λώπιον (Arist., inscr.); denominative ἀπο-, περι-λωπίζω 'to undress, put off' (S., Hyp.).

•ETYM The primary thematic present λέπω, from which all verbal forms were derived (λέλαμμαι, -λαπήναι are innovations after ἔστραμμαι, στραφῆναι, etc.), has no direct correspondences outside Greek. There are a few nominal formations resembling the Greek forms: Lith. *lāpas* 'leaf', Alb. *lapë* 'rag, leaf, peritoneum' (~ λοπός), Lith. *lōpas* 'rag, piece' (~ λώπος), together with Ru. *lāpot* 'shoe of bark', *lapotók* 'rag, piece'. The form λέπος was also compared with the *s*-stem Lat. *lepōs* 'grace', and the extension in Ru. *lépest* 'rag, piece, leaf of a flower'.

However, we may safely conclude that the verb is non-IE (and Pre-Greek): there is hardly any exact correspondence, and the semantics are not very convincing. Note the forms λεπάγιον, λεπακινός, λέπασμα, λέπυρον, λεπύχανον, λέπτρα, λώψ, λώπος, etc., with suffixes and/or alternations of Pre-Greek appearance.

**λέσφος** 'smooth'. = λίσπος.

**λέσχη** [f.] 'lounge' (σ 329, Hes.), 'resting-place, grave' (Rhodos), 'public building' (Dor., Att.), 'talk, gossip' (Ion. poet.). <PG(s) / LW Anat.??>

•COMP ἔλ-λεσχος 'subject to gossip' (Hdt. 1, 153), from ἐν λέσχη; πρό-λεσχος 'eager to talk' (A. Supp. 200), cf. πρό-χειρος, etc.; on ▶ ἄδολεσχής see s.v.

•DER λεσχὴν, -ῆνος [m.] 'chatterer' (Timo 46); λεσχηνεῖ· ὁμιλεῖ, μυθολογεῖ (H.). λεσχαῖος· ἐξηγητής, ὁμιλητής (H.); λεσχάροι· οἶον αἱ σχολαί ... (EM 561, 17), see Solmsen 1909: 124f. Two month names of unclear formation: Λεσχανάσιος (Tegea), Λεσχανόριος (Thessal., Gortyn); also Ἀπόλλων Λεσχηνόριος (from the λέσχει which were under his protection?).

•ETYM Most often connected with λέχος 'bed' as PGr. \*lek<sup>h</sup>-skā-. However, Greek had no nominal suffix \*-sk-, so a σκ-present \*λέχ-σκ-εται > \*λέσχεται has been assumed to underlie λέσχη. However, there is no trace of this verb. OHG *lescan* (MoHG *löschen*) 'to disappear' (supposed to derive from 'to lie down') and OIr. *lesc* 'lazy' are uncertain.

As the λέσχη was not necessarily a room for lying down, the whole etymology (even granting that \*λεσχεται really existed) is improbable. Long ago, the agreement with Hebr. *liškāh* was observed. This cannot be ignored. It was assumed that Greek took the word from the East (cf. West 1997: 38), and not the other way round, and as the word is isolated in North West Semitic; Schrader 1911: 469 already assumed that both languages took it from Anatolia, which seems the most probable interpretation. This is accepted by Fur.: 295, 257, who points out that the suffix of λεσχάροι is non-Greek; he also points to the variant Hebr. *niškāh*, which may point to Anatolian interchange /n/, as in Fur.: 388.

**λευγαλέος** [adj.] 'wretched, unhappy, sore, baneful, etc.' (Il.). <IE? \*leug- 'break'>

•DER λυγρός 'id.' (Il.).

•ETYM The pair λευγαλέος : λυγρός has a (late) parallel in ἔρευθαλέος : ἐρυθρός. The word λευγαλέος is isolated and archaic, and may derive from a noun (perhaps \*λεῦγος, like ἔρευθος, and cf. ἀργαλέος : ἄλγος, θαρσαλέος : θάρσος, etc.; Schwyzler: 484). The word λυγρός is isolated, as well (perhaps it derives from a primary verb; see below).

The Greek adjectives have no direct correspondences in other languages, but there are several cognate forms, of which Lat. *lūgeō* 'to be sad' is semantically closest. This can be understood as an iterative-intensive secondary formation, or as a denominative (to \**lūgos* < IE \**lougo-*, beside \**λεῦγος* < IE \**leug-os*-?).

Connection with primary verbs for 'to break' may be envisaged: Skt. *rujāti* 'to break, torment', Lith. *lūžti* 'to break' [intr.] (semantically, compare *širdis lūžta* 'the heart breaks'), OHG *liohhan* 'to tear, draw', Arm. *lucanem* 'to set free'. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**leug-*

reconstructs a plain velar because of forms like YAv. *uruxti-* [f.] 'breaking'. See ▶ ἄλυκτοπέδη.

**λευκανίη** 'throat'. = λαυκανίη.

**λευκός** [adj.] 'clear, white' (Il.). <IE \**leuk-* 'white'>

•COMP Many compounds (some prefixed), like διά-, παρά-, ἐπί-, ὑπό-λευκος (Strömberg 1946: 161).

•DER 1. Substantives with oppositive accent: λεύκη [f.] 'white rash' (IA), 'white poplar' (Att., Hell.), whence λεύκινος 'made of white poplar' (Arist., Hell. inscr.), Λευκαῖος epithet of Zeus (Paus.), λευκαία (-έα) 'white poplar, etc.' (pap.); λεῦκος [m.] name of an unknown fish (Theoc.) with λευκίσκος [m.] 'white mullet' (Hikes. *apud* Ath., Gal.), see Strömberg 1943: 22f., Thompson 1947 s.v. 2. λευκάς [f.] 'the white one' (Nic.), name of rocks and of an island (ω 11), also plant name 'Lamium' (Dsc.). 3. Further substantives: λευκότης [f.] 'whiteness, the color white' (IA), λευκίτας [m.] name of a he-goat (Theoc. 5, 147), λεύκηθρον plant name (Dsc. 3, 96; v.l. λάκηθρον; see Strömberg 1940: 147); Λεύκαρος (< -αλος?), -αρίων PN (Epich., inscr.), see Schulze 1933a: 115<sup>3</sup>, perhaps also Δευκαλίων with a different dissimilation (see Schulze l.c.).

4. Verbs: a. λευκαίνω 'to make or paint white' (μ 172), λεύκανσις (Arist.), λευκασία 'bleaching, whitening' (PHolm., Cyran.); also as a HN in Messenia, Arc. TN Λευκάσιον; λευκαντής, -τικός 'one who makes or paints white' (gloss., sch.). b. λευκόομαι 'to become white', -όω 'to make white' (Pi., Att.), whence λεύκωμα 'whitened tablet' (Att.), 'white speck in the eye' (Arist., pap.), -ωματικός, -ωματώδης, -ωματίζομαι (medic., sch.); λεύκωσις = λευκασία (PHolm. 3, 6), -ωτής (or -ωτός? Att. inscr., mg. unknown). c. λευκαθέω, only in λευκαθεόντων [ptc.gen.pl.] 'gleaming white' (Hes. Sc. 146), metrical reshaping in verse-final position for λευκαθόντων from λευκάθω, acc. to Wackernagel *Glotta* 14 (1925): 44ff.; Λευκαθέα, with secondary o-vowel Λευκοθέα (Od., Pi.) name of a goddess, τὰ Λευκάθεα festival on Teos, -θεών month name (Ion.); lengthened form λευκαθίζω 'to gleam white' (Hdt., LXX), also -ανθίζω (imperial period), after ἄνθος, Wackernagel *Glotta* 14 (1925): 44ff.

•ETYM Originally a verbal noun, identical with Skt. *rocá-* 'bright' from *rócate* 'to shine, radiate, etc.'. Another old verbal noun is seen in Lat. *lūcus* 'wood, forest', properly 'glade', Lith. *laukas* 'field', OHG *lōh* 'overgrown glade', Skt. *loká-* [m.] 'free space, world', IE \**louko-* [m.]. In Greek, ▶ λεύσσω, ▶ λύχνος, ▶ λοῦσσον also belong to this large group of words.

**λευρός** [adj.] 'open (of fields), spacious, even, smooth' (since η 123). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained. Connection with Lat. *lēvis* (as defended by de De Lamberterie 1990b: 420f.) is improbable, as this rather belongs with ▶ λεῖος.

**λεύσσω** [v.] 'to see (clearly), look, examine' (Il.). cf. Ruijgh 1957: 132. <IE \**leuk-* '(become) light'>

•VAR Present stem only, except for the isolated and late aorist forms λεύσσετε, λεύσσει(ν); on mg. and construction Treu 1955: 64.

•DIAL Arc. λεύσω, but see on ▶ λευτόν.

•COMP Rarely with ἐπι-, εἰς-, προσ-, προ-.

•ETYM Beside the full grade *yod*-present λεύσ(σ)ω from \*λευκ-ιω, Sanskrit has a full grade thematic root present *lokate* 'to discern, perceive' (also *locate*, with *locana*- [n.] 'eye'), which differs slightly from *rócate* 'shine' (see ►λευκός). An athematic middle present is preserved in Hitt. *lukk-<sup>ma</sup>* 'to become light, dawn' < \**leuk-to*; Lat. *lūceō* 'make light, dawn' = Skt. *rocáyati* 'to make shine' is from IE \**louk-éie/o-*, iterative-intensive or causative; ToA *lkām* 'I see', ToB *lkāskau* 'id.' are from a *sk*-present, beside a full grade in ToB *lyuketra* 'he is illuminated'. The meaning 'to see' arose from 'to light up'. See ►λύχνος, ►λουῖσσον.

λευτῶν [nom.sg.] 'negligent', 'seeing'? (Arc. IG 5(2), 3). <?>

•ETYM Dubois 1988: 77-78 follows the traditional interpretation that the τ is a special way of writing the (old) affricate of λεύσσων. A different interpretation is suggested by Morpurgo Davies *Minos* 20-22 (1987): 459-468: she reads λευτοντες in IG 5(2), 16: 10, basing herself on the squeeze (though the back side of the squeeze does read λευσοντες, as she remarks op.cit. 468). This would eliminate Arcadian evidence for λεύσ(σ)ω, and she tentatively reconstructs a root \**leut-*, at least for the two Arcadian forms, but perhaps also for λεύσ(σ)ω itself (\**leut-ie/o-* instead of \**leuk-ie/o-*).

λεύω [v.] 'to stone, lapidate' (IA). <?>

•VAR Aor. λεῦσαι, aor. pass. λευσθῆναι, fut. λεύσω.

•COMP Also with κατα-.

•DER λευστήρ [m.] 'lapidator' (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 5, 67, trag.), λευσμός [m.] 'lapidation' (A., E.), (κατα-)λεύσιμος 'connected with lapidation' (after θανάσιμος), λευστά ... λιθοβόλητα 'hit by stones' (H.).

•ETYM Traditionally considered to be a denominative of ►λάας 'stone', but it now appears that λάας had no -f-. Pedersen 1926: 45f. proposes relation to ON *ljósta*, pret. *laust* 'to slay' from IE \**leus-t-*.

λέχεται [v.] · κοιμάται 'lies down in bed' (H.). <IE \**leg<sup>h</sup>-* 'lie'>

•VAR Also perf. ptc. λελο[γ]χυῖα· λεχῶ γενομένη 'lying in childbed' (H., also Antim. in *PMilan*. 17 II 10), καλέχες· κατάκεισο. Πάφιοι 'lie down (Paph.)' (H.), to which belong the epic aorist and future forms λέκτο, λέξο, -λέχθαι, -λέγμενος (< λεχ-το, -σο, -σθαι, -μενος, Chantraine 1942: 296); λέξασθαι, λέξομαι (also with παρα-, κατα-, προσ-) 'to lie, lie down'; act. aor. λέξον, ἔλεξα 'to lay down, put to sleep' (Il.).

•DER 1. λέχος [n.] 'lair, bed', especially 'bridal bed', also 'deathbed' (Il.); as a first member in λεχε-ποιῖς 'having grass as a bed' (Il.), as a second member in e.g. ὀρει-λεχής 'having his lair in the mountains' (Emp.); with λεχαῖος 'belonging to the lair' (A. *Th*. 292 [conj.], A. R.), λεχήρης 'bedridden' (E. [Iyr.]), λεχώ [f.] 'woman who has just given birth' (E., Ar., Cyrene), also λεκχώ (Delphi), with expressive gemination (Schwyzer: 478<sup>3</sup> and Fraenkel *Glotta* 32 (1953): 18), with λεχώϊος; λεχώϊς = λεχώ (A. R., Call.), see Schwyzer: 465.

2. λόχος [m.] 'childbed', but usually 'ambush, band (in ambush)', military 'armed band' (Il.), often as a second member, e.g. ἄ-λοχος [f.] 'spouse' (Il.); as a first member e.g. in λοχ-ἄγος 'leader of a λόχος' (Dor.; S., Th., X.). Several derivatives: λόχιος 'ptng. to birth' (E., Ar.), ἡ Λοχία epithet of Artemis (E., inscr.), τὰ Λόχια

'discharge after childbirth' (Hp., Arist.); λοχεῖος (E. [Iyr.], Plu.), λοχαῖος (Arat., AP) 'id.'; λοχίτης [m.] 'sbd. belonging to the same λόχος, fellow soldier' (A., S., X.); λοχώ (-ώς, -ός) = λεχώ (LXX, Dsc.). Transformation λοχεός 'ambush' (Hes. *Th*. 178), after φωλεός, etc.; λοχή = λόχη (late epigr.).

Denominatives: a. λοχάω, -ομαι [v.] 'to lie in ambush' (epic Ion., Hell.); after κοιμάω, -ομαι; thence λόχησις, -ητικός (late). b. λοχεύω, -ομαι [v.] 'to give birth, deliver', pass. 'to be delivered, be born' (h. *Merc.*, trag., etc.) with λόχευμα 'that which is born' (A., E.), λοχεία 'process of birth' (Pl., E.), λοχεύτρια [f.] 'woman who has just given birth' (sch.). c. λοχίζω 'to lie in ambush, to distribute men among companies' (Hdt., Th.), with λοχισμός 'the setting of traps' (Plu.). 3. λέκτρον, often plur. -α 'couch, bridal bed' (Il.); compounds like κοινό-λεκτρος 'sharing a bed, matrimonial, bedfellow' (A.); λεκτρίτη θρόνῳ· ἀνάκλισιν ἔχοντι 'leaning back against the bed' (H.). 4. λόχη [f.] 'lair of wild beasts, thicket, bush' (τ 439, Arist.), perhaps after κώμη (Porzig 1942: 289; cf. also \*κοίμη in κοιμάω), with λοχμαῖος 'living in the bush' (Ar. [Iyr.]), -ιος 'id.' (AP), -ώδης 'overgrown with bushes, etc.' (Th., Thphr.), λοχμάζω [v.] 'to make up a thicket' (Pisand. Ep.).

The whole group of words was restricted in its use in Ionic-Attic (instead, κεῖμαι or (κατα-)κλίνομαι was used), see Ruijgh 1957: 153f.

•ETYM The thematic present λέχεται is exactly paralleled by ToB *lyasām* 3sg. 'lies down' < \**leg<sup>h</sup>-e-* and by Go. *ligan* 'to lie', which is suspected to be an innovation for the *yod*-present dominant in other Gm. and Slav. languages (e.g. OCS *ležǫ*), like *sitan* 'to sit'. A primary present, originally probably a *yod*-present too, is also found in Celtic: OIr. *laigid* 'lies down'. Italic once had this verb too, as appears from Falisc. *lece* 'iacet'. Hitt. 3sg. *lāki* 'to fell, lay down' < \**log<sup>h</sup>-eie-*.

Nominal formations comparable to Greek verbal nouns: ON *lag* [n.] 'position', plur. *lǫg* 'law', Ru. *log* 'valley, cleft, fallow land', SCr. *lōg* 'lying', Pol. *od-log* 'fallow field', Alb. *lagje* 'band, group', all from IE \**log<sup>h</sup>-o-* and formally identical to λόχος; OCS *lože* 'κλίνη, κοίτη = bed'; OHG *lehtar* 'uterus' = λέκτρον. In Slav., OCS *ložes-no*, plur. -na 'μήτρα, uterus' probably shows the *s*-stem of λέχος. For ἄ-λοχος, cf. Serb. CS *su-loga* 'σύγ-κοιτος, spouse', CS *su-ložb*. Also, ToB *leke*, ToA *lake* 'lair'. See LIV<sup>2</sup> for further forms.

λέχριος [adj.] 'slanting, crosswise' (S., E., X.). <PG(V)>

•DER λέχρις [adv.] 'id.' (Antim., A. R.), after ἄχρις, μέχρις, Schwyzer: 620; also λικριφίς 'crosswise, sideways' (λ. αἶψας Ξ 463, τ 451). Glosses: λικροί· οἱ ὄζοι τῶν ἐλαφείων κεράτων 'the branches of the antlers of deer' (H.), with a variant λεκροί; λι(γ)ξ· πλάγιος 'sideways, athwart, etc.' (H.).

•ETYM As a basis of λέχριος, one formerly posited a ρ(ο)-stem \**leχρ(ο)-* of unknown meaning, for which a pre-form \**λεκ-σ-ρ-* was reconstructed on account of λικροί/λεκροί (without -σ-). The form with -σ- is also seen in λοξός 'slanting' (cf. Schwyzer: 327).

However, the forms λεκροί/λικροί, λικριφίς and the gloss λι(γ)ξ display typical Pre-Greek alternations (interchange ε/ι, κ/χ and prenasalization). It is much more difficult to depart from IE forms with and without -σ- side by side, than to assume Pre-Greek origin. Note that the interchange ε/ι is not the consequence of vowel

assimilation, as Frisk still assumed for λικριφίς, following Schwyzler: 256 et al. See ►λοξός.

**λέων, -οντος** [m.] 'lion' (Il.). <LW Sem.?

•VAR Dat.pl. also λείουσι (Il.), on the supposed metrical lengthening of -ει- (Chantraine 1942: 102) cf. Wyatt 1969: 237<sup>3</sup>.

•DIAL Myc. *re-wo-pi* /lewont-p<sup>hi</sup>/ [instr.], *re-wo-te-jo* /lewonteios/.

•COMP Compounds like λεοντό-πους 'lion-footed' (E., inscr.) with λεοντο-πόδιον plant name (Dsc.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 42; χαμαι-λέων kind of lizard, 'chameleon' (Arist.), see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 256, also as a plant name (Thphr., Dsc.), because of the varying color, Strömberg 1940: 110; on -λέων, -λέωνος in PNs (secondary) see Bechtel 1917b: 277. Cf. on ►λεόπαρδος.

•DER 1. Diminutives: λεόντιον (Theognost. *Can.*, Med.), -άριον (inscr., pap.), also as a fem. PN (Epicur), -ίς 'lion-like ornament' (Lydia), -ιδεύς 'young lion' (Ael.). 2. λεοντή, -τή [f.] 'lion skin' (IA). 3. Adjectives: λεόντιος 'of a lion, lion-like' (A., Theoc., AP); -ώδης 'like a lion' (Pl., Arist.), -ικός 'of a lion' (Porph.), -ιανός 'born under the sign of the lion' (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*). 4. λεοντ-ηδόν [adv.] 'like a lion' (LXX). 5. λεοντ-ιάω [v.], whence -ιασις name of a disease (medic.), cf. ἐλεφαντ-ιάω, -ιασις. 6. PNs Λεοντ-εύς, -ίας, etc. (see Boßhardt 1942: 72, Bechtel 1917b: 276f., Bechtel 1917a: 36). Fem. λέαινα 'lioness' (Hdt., A., Ar.).

•ETYM Judging by λέαινα, λέων was perhaps originally an *n*-stem, like δράκων. However, the fact that Myc. already has an *nt*-stem casts some doubt on this supposition.

λέων is a loan from an unknown source; Semitic origin is probable, but Hebr. *lābī*, Assy. *labbu*, Eg. *labu* are quite different phonetically. Lat. *leō*, -*ōnis* was borrowed from λέων (the *n*-stem is a Lat. innovation). Thence were borrowed, either directly or indirectly, European forms like OIr. *leon* [gen.pl.], OE *lēo*, OHG *lewo* (whence the Slavic group of Ru. *lev*, together with Lith. *lėvas*).

On itself stands λις [m.] 'lion' (also λις), acc. λῖν (Il.), which is often compared with Hebr. *lajiš* 'lion'.

**λεωργός** 'criminal'. •VAR λέως (λείως) 'completely'. ⇒λεῖος.

**λήγω** [v.] 'to cease, stop' (Il.), incidentally trans. 'to make stop, pause' (epic); on the mg. Porzig 1942: 48ff. <IE? \**sleh<sub>1</sub>-g-*, PG?(v)>

•VAR Aor. λῆξαι, fut. λήξω.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially κατα-, ἀπο-.

•DER λήξις (ἀπό-, κατά-, etc.) 'cessation' (A., A. R., Ph.), as a grammatical term 'ending, desinence' (Demetr. *Eloc.*, A. D.); as a first member in governing compounds like ληξι-πύρετος 'allaying fever' (medic.); ἀπόληγμα 'border of a cloth' (Aq.); ἄ-(λ)ληκτος 'incessantly' (epic); ληκτικός 'terminal', κατα- 'coming to a premature end, incomplete', of a verse (grammatical and metrical).

•ETYM In view of ἄ-λληκτος, κατα-λλήξειαν (μ 224) and other forms, an original root \*σλήγ- is probable. The thematic root present \*σλήγ-ω, whence all the above forms are derived, has no direct counterpart in other languages. However, a zero grade nasal present is supposed within Greek in ►λαγγάζω 'to slacken' and Lat. *languēō* 'to

be slack' (for the formal difficulties, see s.v.). Besides, we find the primary zero grade aorist λαγάσαι (with the present ►λαγαίω 'to release') and several nouns, e.g. ►λαγαρός. A full grade form is retained in North Germanic, e.g. ON *slókr*. More forms in Pok. 959ff.

A pre-form IE \**sleh<sub>1</sub>-g-* is possible; see Pok. 959. Joseph *Glotta* 60 (1982): 112-115 reconstructs \**sleh<sub>1</sub>-g-*. However, one could also conceive of a Pre-Greek variation ληγ- / λαγγ- (long vowel alternating with prenasalization), cf. μηχανή / μάγγανον and κηκίς / καγγύλας.

See ►λωγάνιον, ►λογγάζω.

**Λήδα** [f.] mother of the Dioscuri and Helena (A. Ag. 914). <LW Lyd.?

•VAR Λήδη (epic).

•ETYM Perhaps from Lyc. (not Lyd.!) *lada* 'wife, spouse'. See ►Λητώ.

**λήδανον** [n.] name of a resin-like substance, from the shrub called κίσθος (Hdt., medic., pap.). <LW Sem.>

•VAR Also λάδανον.

•DER Backformation λῆδον [n.] = κίσθος (Dsc.).

•ETYM A loan, originally from Semitic; cf. Arab. *lādan* > MoP *lādān*, Assy. *ladunu* (λήδανον, τὸ καλεῖται Ἀράβιοι λάδανον Hdt. 3, 112). Borrowed from Greek into Lat. *lēdanum*, *lādanum* (back-formations *lēda*, *lāda* 'Cistus cyprius'), Ru. *lādan* 'sweet-smelling resin, incense'. See Masson 1967: 55<sup>3</sup>. See ►λωτός.

**ληδεῖν** [v.] · κοπιᾶν, κεκμηκέναι 'to be tired'; ληδήσας· κεκμηκώς, κοπιάσας 'tired' (H.). <IE \**leh<sub>1</sub>-d-* 'let (go)'.>

•ETYM Because of ἀηδῆσαι· κοπιάσαι, καμῖν; ἀηδέομεν· κοπιῶμεν; ἀηδής· κοπιώδης, ὀκνηρός 'reluctant, sluggish', the correctness of ληδεῖν, ληδήσας has long been doubted (cf. Maas *ByzZ* 37 (1937): 380).

If correct, however, the glosses may be compared with Alb. *lodh* 'to make tired', *lodhem* 'to get tired' < IE \**leh<sub>1</sub>-d-*, Lat. *lassus* 'weary, tired' < zero grade IE \**lh<sub>1</sub>-d-to-*, and Gm. forms like Go. *letan* < IE \**leh<sub>1</sub>-d-* 'to let', *lats* 'weary, slow'.

**λήδιον** [n.] a light cloth = τριβώνιον (kind of garment) or ἱμάτιον εὐτελές 'cheap garment' (H.). <PG(v)>

•VAR Also ληδίον (Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>), λήδ-, ληδίον, λήιδ- (Men.). Basic form λῆδος in Dor. *lādos* (Alcm.), *lādos*, λαι- (H.) 'τριβώνιον'.

•DER Diminutive ληδάριον, v.l. ληδ- (Ar. *An.* 715, 915). Adjective ληδιώδεις· τριβωνιώδεις (cod. -ίδες) (H.).

•ETYM The variation between forms with and without ι shows that the word is Pre-Greek.

**λήθαργος** [m., f.] 'lethargy, lethargic fever' (Hp., Arist., Chrysipp. Stoic.), as an adjective also 'forgetful' (Men., AP). <PG(v)>

•VAR Also plur.

•DER ληθαργ-ικός 'affected by lethargy, lethargic' (medic., AP), -ώδης 'id.' (Dsc., Gal.), -ία 'lethargy' (*Com. Adesp.*), -έω [v.] 'to be forgetful' (pap., inscr.). Unclear is ἀλήθαργος *POxy.* 1381, 100 (literary, II<sup>p</sup>).

•ETYM Probably an original adjective (scil. νόσος, πυρετός). Cf. ▶λαίθαργος, which shows that the word is Pre-Greek. The word, or at least its meaning, seems to have been influenced by ληθ-, λαθ- 'to forget', and perhaps also by ἐργ- 'work'.

λήθη •VAR λήθω, etc. ⇒λανθάνω.

ληϊζομαι •VAR Also ληϊη, ληϊς. ⇒λεία.

λήϊον [n.] 'standing crop' (Il., Arist.), 'cornfield' (Theoc.). <?>

•VAR Dor. λάϊον, λᾱϊον (Sophr., Theoc.).

•COMP Compounds like λᾱο-τομέω [v.] 'to reap corn' (Theoc.), πολυ-λήϊος 'rich in crops' (E 613, etc.), cf. Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἀλήϊος.

•ETYM If λάϊον is a real Doric form, λήϊον may belong to ▶ἀπολαύω 'to enjoy', assuming a pre-form \*lāw-io- 'gain, produce'. For the formation, cf. ▶λεία which derives from \*lāw-iā-. The connection with the group of λύω would seem to require PGr. \*lēw-, but it is semantically not convincing.

λήϊτον 'town hall'. ⇒λαός.

ληκάω [v.] 'to have intercourse' (com., H.), acc. to H. also = τὸ πρὸς ᾧ δὴν ὀρχεῖσθαι 'to dance to a song'. <IE? \*lek- 'jump', PG?(v)>

•VAR Aor. ληκῆσαι.

•COMP Also with ὑπο-.

•DER ληκήματα [pl.] (Epicur. Fr. 414); ληκώ- τὸ μόριον 'genital part' (H.); also ληκίνδα παίζειν 'to beat time, drum with the fingers' (Luc., A. D.).

•ETYM Iterative-intensive formation like πιδάω (Schwyzer: 719), and as such identical with Latv. *lēkāt*, 1sg. *lēkāju* 'to fly, jump, hop'. Of course, the meaning 'βινεῖν, to have intercourse' is euphemistic and secondary. The primary verb is seen in Lith. *lēkti*, 1sg. *lekiù* 'to fly, run', Latv. *lēkt* 'id.'. Alternatively, we may consider the fact that Greek also has ▶λαικάζω, which points to Pre-Greek variation αι/η.

λήκυθος [f.] 'casket for oil or perfume' (Od.), also metaph. 'rhetorical bombast' (Cic., Plin.), = Lat. *ampulla*. <PG(v)>

•VAR On the gender see Schwyzer 1950: 34<sup>2</sup>.

•DIAL Epid. λάκυθος (IV<sup>a</sup>).

•COMP αὐτο-λήκυθος 'who carries his own oil-casket' (out of poverty) = 'poor man, beggar' (Att.).

•DER Diminutive ληκύθιον (Att.), ληκυθιάδες· ἐνώτια ποιά 'earrings' (H.), ληκυτίαι [pl.] = λήκυθοι (pap.). Denominative ληκυθίζω [v.] 'to declaim in a hollow voice (as though speaking into a λ.)' (Call., Str., Phryn., Poll.), ληκυθ-ιστής 'who recites with hollow voice, κοιλόφωνος' (S. Fr. 1063, H.), -ισμός 'speaking in a hollow voice' (Plu.); also as a back-formation λήκυθος· τὸ μεταξύ τοῦ λαυκανίου καὶ αὐχένος ἡχώδες 'the resounding part between the throat and the neck' (Clearch.).

•ETYM Also TN Λήκυθος (Macedonia). Evidently a Pre-Greek word. Fur.: 121 connects λάγυνος, λάγιον 'cup, vase', which seems convincing.

λήμη [f.] 'humour in the corner of the eye, rheum', also metaph. (Hp., Ar., Plu.). <PG?(o)>

•VAR A Doric form seems to be found in λάμας· μύξας 'slime' (H., cod. λαμάς· μῦς 'mouse').

•DER Diminutive λημίον (Hp.), λημύδριον (Gal.); λημ-αλέος (Luc.), -ηρός (Heliod.), -ώδης (Alex. Trall.) 'full of λ.'; λημ-ότης (sch.), -ωσις (medic. pap.), cf. ἄλλωσις, κνίδωσις; λημ-άω [v.] 'to have bleary eyes' (Hp., Ar.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Connection with Lat. *lāma* 'puddle, marsh, mud', Lith. *lōmas* 'pit, hollow, lower spot' is semantically unconvincing. Rather Pre-Greek than IE.

λημνίσκος [m.] 'woollen tape, bandage, compress' (Hell.), acc. to Varro (in Plin.) originally made of lime-bark. <?>

•ETYM Utensil name in -ίσκος (cf. Chantraine 1933: 408), Syracusan acc. to H. (τὰς ταινίας 'headbands'. Συρακούσιοι). Connection with the name of the island ▶Λήμνος? Suggestion on Etruscan origin in Müller *Phil.* 78 (1923): 264f.

Λήμνος [f.] a Greek island <PG>

•DIAL Myc. *ra-mi-ni-jo* /lāmnios/ 'man from Lemnos'; *ra-mi-ni-ja* /lāmniai/ 'Lemnian women'. Dor. λᾱμνος.

•DER Λήμνιος, Λημνιακός 'Lemnian'.

•ETYM No doubt a Pre-Greek name, note the suffix -μνο-.

λήν [v.] 'want'. ⇒λῶ.

λήναι [f.pl.] 'Bacchantes' (Heraclit., Str.), Arc. acc. to H. (who has ληναί). <?>

•DER Λήνα [sg.] as a PN (Ambracia, Aitolia); ληνίς 'Bacchante' (Eust., Suid.). Also Λήναια [n.pl.] name of a festival in Athens and elsewhere, with ληναιών, -ῶνος [m.] month name in Ionia (Hes. *Op.* 504, inscr.), Λήναιον [n.] name of a district in Athens dedicated to Dionysus (Ar., Pl.), ληναιικός 'belonging to the Lenaiaans' (Hell.), ληναιῖτης 'id.' (Ar.); ληναιίζω [v.] 'to celebrate the Lenaiaans' (Heraclit.); PN Ληναῖος, Ληναῖς. Ληνεύς (Myconos) and Ληναῖος (D. S.) epithet of Dionysus, ληνεούσι· βακχεύουσιν (H.).

•ETYM If λήναι (in H. and as the title of Theoc. 26) are real dialectal forms, the word cannot belong to ληνός 'winepress', which would otherwise be the most obvious solution. A better explanation has not been found.

ληνός [f.] 'trough (for pressing wine), winepress, sarcophagus, socket into which the mast fitted, etc.' (h. Merc. 104). <?>

•VAR On the gender see Schwyzer 1950: 34<sup>2</sup>. Dor. λανός

•COMP Rare compounds like ληνο-βάτης 'one who treads the wine cask' (late), ἄ-ληνος 'not pressed', of almond oil (Aet.).

•DER Diminutives ληνίς, ληνίδιον (pap.); further λην(ε)ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'place where wine is pressed' (pap., Gp.), ληνᾶς, -ᾶδος [m.] (late inscr.; Anatolia), probably = ληνοβάτης, see Schulze 1933a: 300.

•ETYM Unexplained. Perhaps a technical term from the substrate. For Λήναια, Ληναιών, see on ▶λήναι.

λήνος, -ους [n.] 'wool, fillet, fleece' (A. Eu. 44, A. R. 4, 173, 177). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>ulh<sub>1</sub>-neh<sub>2</sub>- 'wool'.>

•ETYM Except for the ending -ος (which is perhaps an innovation after εἶρος, πέκος, Frisk suggests), λῆρος is the old inherited word for 'wool', which is preserved in several languages: e.g. Lat. *lāna*, Lith. *vilna*, Ru. *vólna*, Go. *wulla*, Av. *varānā*, Skt. *úrṇā-*, all of which may go back on IE *\*(h<sub>2</sub>)ulh<sub>1</sub>-neh<sub>2</sub>-*. An initial laryngeal is reconstructed on the basis of Hitt. *hulana-*, Luw. *\*hulani-* 'wool', but Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. hesitates to reconstruct *\*h<sub>2</sub>ulh<sub>1</sub>-n-* (see also Peters *Sprache* 33 (1987): 115f.). Celtic forms like MW *gwlán*, OIr. *olann* (pointing to a vocalisation PCl. *ulānā-* < IE *\*ulh<sub>1</sub>neh<sub>2</sub>-*) deviate.

The word probably belongs, as a verbal noun in *-nā*, to a verb for 'tear, pluck' retained in Lat. *vellō* 'pull out' (but not related to ▶ἀλίσκομαι); Lat. *vellus* [n.] 'shaved wool' < IE *\*Huél-no-* and Arm. *getmn* 'id.' < IE *\*Huél-mn-* (?) belong to this root as well. If we reconstruct an initial laryngeal, it must have disappeared in Greek at an early date, giving rise to a preform *\*ulh<sub>1</sub>-n-* after revocalization.

**λῆρος 1** [m.] 'trash, nonsense' (Att., Hp.). <ONOM, IE? *\*leh<sub>2</sub>-* 'howl'>

•DER ληρ-ώδης 'silly' (Pl., Arist.) with -ωδία (Hdn.), -ωδέω (Phot.), -ώδημα (Suid.). Besides, probably as a denominative, ληρέω [v.] 'to be foolish, silly; to speak nonsense' (Att., Hp.), aor. -ῆσαι, also with prefix like παρα-, ἀπο-, κατα-; thence (παρα-)λήρ-ημα (Pl.), -ησις (Hp., Plu.); back-formation παρά-ληρος 'delirious' (Hp., Ph.). Also ληραίνω [v.] 'id.' (Ph., H.), after ἀφραίνω, etc. (Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 57), ληρεία = λήρησις (Phld.), as if from *\*ληρεύω*.

•ETYM An analysis as λῆ-ρος offers the possibility to connect a widespread group of words with *\*lā-*, e.g. Lith. *lōti*, 1sg. *lōju*, OCS *lajati*, 1sg. *lajo* 'to bark, revile, abuse', Arm. *lam* 'to cry', Lat. *lāmenta* 'wailing'. Perhaps, the root is onomatopoeic, but we may also reconstruct *\*leh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to howl'.

With short vowel, we encounter ▶λάρος, ▶λάσκω; also, λαίειν, λαίμεναι, φθέγγεσθαι 'to utter' (H.), but these are not necessarily related.

**λῆρος 2** [m.] 'golden ornament on women's clothes' (Delos II<sup>a</sup>, AP, Luc., Poll., H.). <?>

•VAR Or ληρός, Boeot. λειρος (IG 7, 2421).

•ETYM Unknown. A special use of ▶λῆρος 1 'trash' is rather improbable.

**λητοργέω, -ία, -ός** ⇒ λαός.

**Λητώ** [f.] Leto, mother of Apollo and Artemis (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Gen. -όος, -οῦς.

•DIAL Dor. Λατώ. Myc. *ra-to* /Lātō/, *ra-ti-jo* /Lātios/.

•COMP As a first member in Λητο-γενής (Λατο-), fem. -γένεια 'son (daughter) of Leto' (A., E. [lyr.], AP).

•DER Λητοῖδης, Λατοῖδας 'son of Leto' (*h. Merc.* 253); Λητώος (Λατ-) (A., S.), fem. -ῶα, -ῶις, -ῶϊας (Hell. poetry) 'born of Leto'; τὸ Λητώον 'temple of Leto' (Arist.), τὰ Λ-α 'festival of Leto' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Unknown. Traditionally derived from Lyc. (not Lyd.) *lada* 'wife, spouse', together with Λήδα. Kretschmer *Glotta* 32 (1953): 187 and 196f. assumes Pre-Greek

origin, comparing Caucas. (Awar.) *ladi*. Pre-Greek origin also assumed by Bethe 1923: 20f. and Chantraine *Ant. class.* 22 (1953): 68.

Sources from antiquity tell that it was originally a name of the 'night'; hence the Semitic etymology by Lewy 1895: 230ff. as well as the IE one (to Lat. *lateō*) by Osthoff *IF* 5 (1895): 369; both are unconvincing. Borrowed as Lat. *Lātōna*, see WH s.v. See also Fur.: 186.

**λιάζομαι** [v.] 'to collapse, incline, recoil, sink' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aor. λιασθῆναι. Rare and late active forms (cf. Wackernagel 1916: 131) λιάζω (Lyc., H.), λιάσαι (H.), λίασσε v.l. Ψ 879 for λιασθεν; nasal present λίναμαι, τρέπομαι 'turn' (H.), verbal adj. ἀλίστος 'inescapable, inflexible, obstinate, incessant' (Il., Hes.), on the mg. cf. Erbse *Glotta* 32 (1953): 236ff.

•ETYM The meaning is not very explicit, and may have changed through literary influence. This leaves much room for etymological speculations and makes a secure interpretation difficult.

The present λιάζομαι (whence hapax λίασσε) are innovations to λιασθῆναι. The nasal present λίναμαι (taken by Frisk to be an old formation) was supposed to correspond to Skt. *lināti* (gramm.) 'to lean against' and to OIr. *lenaid* 'to follow', but the latter is from *\*h<sub>2</sub>leiH-* 'to stick' and the Skt. attestation is doubtful.

Semantically better is connection with a Germanic group: Go. *af-linnan* 'apochwreiv, to go away, cede', OHG *bi-linnan* 'yield, stop, leave off, with *-nn-* from *-nu-*. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*leih<sub>2</sub>-* chooses for this connection, assuming that *-nH-* yielded the Germanic geminate, but this development is highly controversial; they also connect Ved. *-līyate* 'is (re)solved'.

A third option is Skt. *láyate* 'to hide (intr.)', which also presupposes a root *\*leiH-*. The appurtenance of Hitt. *ulae-zi*, *ulēšš-zi* 'to hide' to this root (defended by Oettinger 1979: 364) is very uncertain, as there is almost no trace of a prefix *u-* in Anatolian (Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *ulae-zi*).

See further ▶λιμός.

**λίαν** [adv.] 'very much, exceedingly' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Epic Ion. λίην (ĩ).

•DER Here λιάζειν [v.] 'to be over-enthusiastic' (A.D., Phot.).

•ETYM Like δῆν, πλήν, etc., λίαν is a petrified accusative with an unknown basic meaning. A form λί is cited from Epich. 223 (Str. 8, 364), and also occurs as a first member in λι-πόνηρος, λίαν πονηρός 'extremely worthless' (H.); see also λήν, λίαν (H.). Connection with the intensifying adverb ▶λα-, λαι- is uncertain. Has also been compared with λίηρος, δεινός (H.).

Etymologically unclear. Chantraine *Glotta* 33 (1954): 28 considers a remote connection with ▶λεῖος 'level, smooth'.

**λιαρός** [adj.] 'tepid, mild' (Il.). <?>

•ETYM Note the similarity with synonymous χλιαρός; cf. Güntert 1914: 147. Other semantically close formations in -αρός are given by Chantraine 1933: 227.

Unexplained. The comparison with λιβρός by Fur.: 240 is useless.

**λίβανος** [f.m.] 'frankincense' (Sapph., Pi., E.), 'frankincense tree' (Hdt., Melanipp., Thphr.). <LW Sem.>

•VAR λιβανωτός [m.] (or [f.]) 'id.' (Sapph., IA).

•COMP Some compounds like λιβανοφόρος (Herakleid. Com.), λιβανωτο-φόρος (Hdt.).

•DER 1. From λίβανος: diminutive λιβανίδιον (Men.); adjectives: λιβαν-ώδης 'like frankincense' (Philostr.), -ινος 'with the color of frankincense, made of frankincense' (pap., gloss.); λιβανᾶς [m.] 'trade of frankincense' (pap.), λιβανίτις [f.] epithet of Aphrodite (Luc.), as she was venerated with incense; verbs: λιβανόομαι 'to be mixed with frankincense' (LXX), λιβανίζω 'to smell like frankincense' (Dsc., Gal.). 2. From λιβανωτός: λιβανωτίς [f.] 'rosemary, Rosmarinus' (Thphr., Nic., Dsc.), after the smell (Strömberg 1940: 62), also 'censer' (Delos, Hell.) like λιβανωτίδιον (Delos II<sup>a</sup>) and λιβανωτρίς (Anatolia, imperial period), after names of utensils in -τρίς (Chantraine 1933: 340f.), λιβαν-ωτικός 'consisting of frankincense' (Hell. inscr. and pap.), -ώτινος 'prepared with frankincense' (medic.); λιβανωτίζω [v.] 'to incense, smell like frankincense' (Str., Dsc.).

•ETYM A loan from Semitic, for which one compares Hebr. *l'ḥōnā* 'frankincense' and Phoen. *l'ḥōnat*, etc. 'id.' (from the root *lāban* 'to be white', probably after the white color of the sap of the tree. The meaning 'tree' is secondary to 'frankincense' itself. It was thought that the name of mount Λίβανος (= *l'ḥōnōn*) had influenced the Greek vocalization (details in Lewy 1895: 44f., Masson 1967: 53). Acc. to Müller *Glotta* 52 (1974): 53-59, however, the word was taken from Southern Arab *libān*. The form in -ωτος comes from the plural *libānōt* 'the grains of the resin'. The word is derived from the adjective *lbn* 'white' (Arab *laban* 'milk'). This is confirmed by the fact that people from southern Arabia came to Delos.

**λιβρός** [adj.] epithet of ὀλός 'turbid liquidity' (AP 15, 25, 1), of νύξ (EM 564, 49), 'dark' or 'humid', of σέλας (Trag. Adesp. 232); explained by Erot. as σκοτεινός καὶ μέλας (on Hp. Aēr. 15, where the codd. have διερω and θολερῶ, said of ἡήρ). <?>

•VAR λιμβρός (EM 564, 52; Suid.).

•ETYM Fur.: 287<sup>68</sup> notes that the prenasalization could be due to late Greek/Byzantine nasalization. The merit of his comparison with λιάρός (ibid. 240, 287) is doubtful. The comparison with λείβω (Frisk, DELG hesitatingly) does not seem to make any sense.

**λίγδην** [adv.] 'touching superficially, grazing' (χ 278), ἐπιλίγδην 'id.' (P 599). <IE? \*sleiǵ- 'slide'>

•DER λίγδος [m.] 'mortar' (Nic., also S. Fr. 35?), 'mould made of earthenware or of clay, funnel' vel sim. (Poll., Ael. Dion., H.), 'lye' (Eust.), λίγδα· ἡ ἀκόνη, καὶ ἡ κόνια 'whetstone, plaster' (H.). Denominative verb λιγδεύει· ἀπηθεῖ 'filters' (H.).

•ETYM For λίγδα, cf. ἄρδᾶ, ἔπιδδᾶ and Solmsen 1909: 269. The suffixal agreement between the adverb λίγδην and the substantives λίγδος, -δα is not accidental (cf. Chantraine 1933: 360), but the adverb was first. As the semantic connection between λίγδος and λίγδην is not immediately clear, note the phonetic similarity of λίγδος with its synonym ► ἴγδις.

As a basis, a verb λίζω (otherwise unattested) was assumed by Eust. 1926, 37, "ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦ λίζειν, λέξεως ὠνοματοποιουμένης", which he probably thought up. A verb with an original meaning 'to smear, glide, etc.' is compared: OIr. (*fo*)*sligim* 'to smear', also 'to beat' (from \*'to brush'), OHG *slihhan* 'to steel, creep' from 'to go gliding'; several nouns, e.g. OIr. *slige* 'comb', ON *slíkr* 'smooth', *slíkisteinn* 'rubbing stone', and from Slavic e.g. Ru. *slízkij* 'slippery, slimy'. This points to a root \**sleiǵ-* 'to slide'. See further ► λισσός.

**λιγνός, -ύος** [f.] 'thick smoke, smoking fire' (A., S., Ar., Arist.). <PG?(V)>

•DER λιγνυώδης (Hp., Gal.), λιγνυόεις (A. R.) 'smoky'.

•ETYM Fur.: 118 compares ἱκνός 'dust, ashes' (λ-/zero), which is conceivable; but his comparison with ἀλισγέω (ibid. 292) is mistaken.

**λιγός** [adj.] 'clear, resounding, shrill' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Fem. λίγεια (on the accent Schwyzer: 474, Chantraine 1942: 191), ntr. λιγύ.

•COMP Frequent as a first member, e.g. λιγύ-φωνος 'with clear voice'; adverbs λίγα, λιγέως (Il.).

•DER With extended suffix λιγυ-ρός (perhaps dissimilated from -υ-λός?) 'id.' (Il.). Denominative verb λιγαίνω 'to cry, resound or sing with a clear voice' (Il.), with λιγάνταρ (= λιγαντήρ)· εἶδος τέττιγος. Λάκωνες 'a kind of cicada' (H.), see Strömberg 1944: 18. An old nasalized formation is the aor. λίγξε 'twanged' (of βίος 'bow' Δ 125); cf. λίγγω· ἤχῳ 'resound' (Theognost. Can. 16).

•ETYM Unexplained.

**λίθος** [m., f.] 'stone, boulder, rock, precious stones' (Il.). <?>

•VAR On the gender see Schwyzer 1950: 37<sup>6</sup>, Shipp 1967: 76.

•COMP Compounds like λιθο-βόλος [m.] 'stone-thrower' (Att.), μονό-λιθος 'consisting of one stone' (Hdt.).

•DER 1. Diminutives: λιθ-ίδιον (Pl., Arist.), -άριον (Thphr., Hell. inscr.), -αρίδιον (Alex. Trall.). 2. collectives: λιθάς, -άδος [f.] 'shower of stones, throw of a stone' (Od., A., Nic.), see Chantraine 1933: 352; λιθία 'rock' (Hell.), cf. Chantraine 1933: 81. 3. λίθαξ [f.] 'stone' (ε 415 [attributive], Hell. poetry), λιθακός 'id.' (Stesich.), Chantraine 1933: 384; λιθίς = λιθιασίς (see below; Hp.). 4. Adjectives: λίθεος (Hom.), λίθιος (Thess.), -ειος (sch.) 'of stone'; λίθινος 'id.' (Pi., IA), λιθικός 'ptng. to a stone' (Hell.). λιθώδης 'stone-like, stony' (IA), λιθωδία (Eust.). 5. Verbs: λιθάζω 'to throw with stones, lapidate' (Arist., Anaxandr.), with λιθασμός, -τής, -τικός (A. D., sch.); λιθόομαι 'to be turned into stone' (Arist.), with λίθωσις (Aristeas, Plu.); λιθιάω (-θάω) 'to suffer from the stone' (Hp.; after other verbs of disease in -ιάω), whence λιθιασίς (Hp., Gal.).

•ETYM Unexplained.

**λικερτίζειν** [v.]· σκιρτάν 'to leap, bound' (H.); Frisk wrongly gives πηδᾶν. <PG?>

•ETYM Connection with ► λάξ, ► λακτίζω is impossible. Pre-Greek origin is likely.

**λικμάω** [v.] 'to separate the grain from the chaff, winnow', metaph. 'to crush, destroy' (E 500, B., X., LXX, pap.). <IE \*neik- 'swing (cereals) for winnowing'>

•VAR Aor. λικμήσαι.



•DER λικμητήρ 'winnowing fan', λικμητρίς 'winnowing fan', also λικμητήρ, -τής; -ητήριον 'winnowing fan, shovel'; -ητός 'winnowing, scattering'; -ητικός 'ptng. to winnowing'. Probably a back-formation is λικμός 'winnowing fan', λικμαία epithet of Demeter, λικμίζει 'threshes, crushes' (H.), λίκνον [n.] 'winnowing fan' (Arist.), also a sacred basket with the first fruits in the cult of Demeter (S., AP); λικνοφόρος also 'cradle' (h. Merc., Call.), λικνίτης epithet of Dionysus (Orph., Plu.), -ίτις, of τροφή (S. Ichn. 269), λικνίζω = λικμάω (pap.).

With a different initial: ν(ε)ίκλον· τὸ λίκνον (H.), ικμᾶν· λικμᾶν, οἶτον καθαίρειν 'to cleanse grain'; ικμῶντο· ἐσειόντο, ἐπνέοντο 'to shake, blow' (H.), ἀνικμῶμενα (Pl. Ti. 53a; v.ll. ἀναλικμῶμενα, ἀναλικμῶμενα), ἀπ-ικμῆσαι, δι-ικμῶνται (Thphr.). Further from H. εὐ<νί>κμητο<ν>· εὐλί<κ>μητον, ἀνικλῶμενον· ἀνακαθαίρομενον (cf. on ἀνικμῶμενα above), and without a suffix νικᾶ· λικμᾶ; νικεῖν (for -κᾶν?)· λικμᾶν, νείκεσεν· ἔκρινεν 'sieved', εὐνικές· εὐκρινές 'well-sieved', νεικητήρ· λικμητήρ. Μεγαρεῖς.

•ETYM λίκνον and νίκλον, and probably also νικμᾶν (in εὐνίκμητον), can be understood as dissimilated from \*νίκνον, \*νικμᾶν. Perhaps, λικμᾶν and, with loss of the anlaut, ικμᾶν, derive from νικμᾶν. Cf. Danielsson *Eranos* 5 (1903-1904): 1ff. on the dark form ἀπολεικται (inscr. Milete).

Starting from \*νίκ-von, it is attractive to connect the full grade verb Lith. *niekóti*, 1sg. *niekóju* 'to winnow (corn)', Latv. *niēkāt* 'to swing groats in a mill'; cf. suffixless Greek glosses like νικᾶ.

λικριφίς ⇒ λέχριος.

λιλαΐομαι [v.] 'to desire, vehemently long for' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Only present; the perf. ►λεληγμένος does not belong here.

•ETYM A reduplicated *yod*-present, which has been connected with Skt. *lašati* 'to radiate, be pleased' (either a thematic root present with secondary *ṣ* for *s*, or from \**la-ls-a-ti* with reduplication and zero grade). However, the nouns λάσται· πόρναι 'whores' (H.) and λάσταιρος (see ►λάσται, as well as λάσθη and λῆναι) point to Pre-Greek origin in view of their suffixes.

From other languages, comparisons have been made with, e.g., Lat. *lascivus* 'luxuriant, wanton' (from \**las-ko-*, cf. Ru. *láska* 'caress, affection'), Skt. *lā-las-a-* 'desirous', etc. Unrelated because of the deviant vocalism is the Gm. group of Go. *lustus* 'lust'.

An IE root \**las-* is hardly possible. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**las-* states that the appurtenance of the Skt. (epic class.) verbs *lašati* and *lasati* to the Greek verb is uncertain.

λίμβος [adj.] 'λίχνος, desirous, fond of sweets' (comm. Arist., H.). <?>

•VAR Also λιμβός.

•DER λιμβεύω [v.] 'λιχνεύω, to be desirous' with λιμβεία = λιχνεία (Hdn. *Epim.*, H.).

•ETYM Unexplained.

λιμήν 'harbour'. ⇒ λειμών.

λίμινθες [?] · ἔλμινθες. Πιάφιοι 'intestinal worms' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM A Variant of ►ἔλμινθες, where the idea is discussed that λιμ- goes back to a Pre-Greek sequence \**l'm-*. Influence of λίμός 'hunger' seems improbable.

λίμός [m., f.] 'hunger, famine' (Il.). <?>

•VAR On the gender see Schwyzler 1950: 37<sup>3</sup>, Solmsen 1909: 109.

•COMP λιμ-αγχ-έομαι 'be weakened by hunger' (Hp.) from \*λιμ-αγχ-ος (to ἄγχω, cf. Schwyzler: 726); on βού-λιμος see on ►βουλιμία; on πούλιμος 'strong hunger' (Boeot.) see Schulze KZ 33 (1895): 243f.

•DER λιμ-ώδης 'hungry' (Hp.), -ηρός 'hungry, ptng. to hunger' (Theoc., AP), -αλέος = ῥυσός, λεπτός (H.), after αὐαλέος, etc. Verbs: λιμαίνω, λιμῆναι 'to suffer from famine' (Hdt.), λιμώττω, -ώσσω 'id.' (Str., J.), with λίμωξις (late).

•ETYM A primary formation compared with λίμός is suspected in ►λοιμός 'plague', where the long *ī* is sometimes explained by Saussure's Law: loss of laryngeal after *o*-grade root. For ►λειρός see ►λείριον.

λιμπάνω ⇒ λείπω.

λιμφός [m.] · συκοφάντης ἢ μηνυτὴς παρανόμων 'a denunciator, or accuser of illegal acts or people' (H.). <?>

•DER λιμφεύειν· ἀπατᾶν 'to deceive' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained.

λίναμαι ⇒ λιάζομαι.

λίνδος [m.] an aromatic plant (Mnesim. Com. 4, 63 *apud* Ath. 9, 403d, Eust. 315, 18). <?>

•ETYM Named after the town Lindos on Rhodes? Cf. the plant name θάψος (after the spit of land and town of the same name) and other cases in Strömberg 1940: 121ff.

λινεύς [m.] fish name = κεστρεύς, 'mullet' (Call. Com. 3 *apud* Ath. 7, 286b, Phot., H.). <GR?>

•ETYM Connected with λίνον 'fishing net', as a back-formation from λινεύω [v.] 'to catch fish with a λ.' by Boßhardt 1942: 50; cf. the description in Thompson 1947: 109 (s.v. κεστρεύς). Hardly related (as an inherited word) to Balto-Slavic names of the 'tench': Lith. *línas*, Ru. *lin*', etc.

λίνον [n.] 'linen, flax, linen cloth, thread, cord, fishing net' (Il.). <EUR?>

•DIAL Myc. *ri-no* /lino-/-.

•COMP Several compounds like λινο-θήρηξ 'with linen cuirass' (Il., AP), λινό-ζωστις [f.] 'mercury, Mercurialis' (Hp., Dsc.), from a compound \*λινο-ζώστις, cf. Strömberg 1940: 148; λευκό-λινον [n.] 'white flax' (Hdt.).

•DER Diminutives: λινάριον 'thread, net' (Delos II<sup>a</sup>, D. Chr.), λινούδιον 'linen cloth' (pap.), probably from τὸ λινούν (ιμάτιον); also λινούτιον (pap.; cf. below).

Adjectives: λίνεος, -οῦς, -ός (IA); λινέα, -αία [f.] 'cord, noose' (Hell.), λίνινος (Tanagra III<sup>a</sup>) 'linen', λιναιός 'id., made of flax' (Hp., pap.), λινική [f.] 'tax on flax' (pap.).

Verbs: λινεύω 'to catch with nets' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*); also late hypostases: δια-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-λινάω 'to slip through the net, escape from the net, inspect the net' (Phryn., Eust., H.), ἐκ-λινίζω 'to escape from the net' (Byz.). On ►λινεύς = κεστρεύς, see s.v.

•ETYM λίνον has been compared with BSl. forms like Lith. *linai* [pl.] 'flax, linen', Ru. *lĕn*, gen. *lĕnā* 'id.', which go back on a short vowel. Opposed to this is Lat. *linum* with long vowel, whence OIr. *lín* 'net' and other Celtic words, and Alb. *li-ri*, *li-ni* 'linen' were borrowed. The Gm. group of Go. *lein*, OHG *līn* (also ON, OE) also agrees with Lat. *linum*, and can therefore be considered loans from it, too.

Original identity is possible, however, since the cultivation of flax in Central Europe is very old. Still, it is more probable that λίνον and *linum* derive from a Mediterranean word. The word is unknown in Indo-Iranian (but the concept is, of course).

Fur.: 375 cites the gloss καὶ λίνος παρὰ Κυπρίοις (H.), a variant with long vowel. See also ►λίτα and ►λίς 2.

**λίος** [m.] name of a song (Σ 570, Hdt. 2, 79, Pi. Fr. 139, 5), also personified as a name of a mythical singer (Hes. Fr. 192, Theoc. 24, 105, Apollod. 1, 3, 2). <?>

•ETYM Foreign word from an unknown oriental source. Cf. ►αἴλιος, which is the source of the PN Λίος, acc. to Güntert 1921: 64. Acc. to Eißfeldt 1939: 161ff., αἴλιον (whence perhaps λίνος as a PN, as opposed to λίνος 'song' = λίνον 'linen') is from Phoenic. 'ij *Alijan*, a lamentation for the god of vegetation Alijan.

**λίπα** [adv.] 'fat, gleaming' (Il.). <IE \*leip- 'stick'>

•VAR In Hom. in elided form only: (ἀλείψασθαι) λίπ' ἐλαίῳ, etc.; unelided λίπα in Hp., Th. (cf. Leumann 1950: 309f.).

•DER λιπαρός 'fat, gleaming (of oil or unguent), fruitful' (Il.), together with λιπαρία 'fatness' (Dsc.) and λιπαίνω 'to make fat, anoint' (IA) with λιπανσις 'anointing' (med.), λιπαντικός 'good for anointing' (sch.), λιπασμός 'anointing' (Dsc.), λίπασμα 'fat substance' (Hp., Hell.). Other verbs: λιπάω 'to be sleek from unguents' (τ 72, Hell.), trans. 'to anoint' (Nic.), λιπάω 'id.' (Nic.). Innovated s-stem: λίπος [n.] 'fat' (A., S., Arist.) with λιπώδης 'fatty, oily' (Thphr.); also λίπας [n.] 'id.' (Aret.), after κρέας?

•ETYM A formal correspondence to λίπ-α, probably a derivative from a root noun, is found in Skt. *rip-* [f.] 'defilement, deceit'; λιπαρός looks like Skt. *rip-rá-* [n.] 'defilement, dirt', and λίπος like Skt. *répas-* [n.] 'stain, dirt', but both could be independent formations. Appurtenance of Alb. *laparós* 'to defile' is doubtful.

The other languages show different formations: nasal present Skt. *li-m-p-āti* [3sg.pres.] 'to smear', with 3pl. aor. med. *alipsata*, Lith. *lipti*, 1sg. *limpù* 'to stick, be sticky'; yod-present in OCS *pri-lbpljō*, inf. *pri-lbpe̋ti* 'to stick'. A deviant meaning is found in the Gm. group of OHG *bi-liban* 'to stay, remain'. Unrelated is ►ἀλείφω 'to anoint', which requires \**h<sub>2</sub>leib<sup>h</sup>*-. The comparison with Hitt. *lip(p)*<sup>zi</sup> 'to lick' should be discarded, because it is an onomatopoeia (Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). See ►λίπτω.

**λιπαρέω** 'to persist'. ►λίπτω.

**λιπερνής, -ητος** [adj.] mg. uncertain, perhaps 'poor, deserted, orphaned' (Archil. 50 [πολίται], BCH 11, 161 [Caria], gloss.). <PG(V)>

•VAR λιπερν-οῦντας (see below).

•DER Also -ήτης (AP 9, 649, EM), -ήτις [f.] (Call. Fr. 66e, Epic. Oxy. 1794, 17, Suid. [= πτωχή]), together with λιπερνοῦντας πενιχρούς 'poor, needy' (Suid.), which has a variant λιπερνοῦντας (J. AJ 2, 5, 5), of στάχυας, parallel to ἀσθενεῖς, opposed to καρηβαροῦντας.

•ETYM The suggestion by Suid. and EM 566, 50: παρὰ τὸ λείπεσθαι ἐρνέων, ὃ ἐστι φυτῶν 'leaving behind the sprouts, i.e. the plants', is clearly folk-etymology. The variant with aspiration points to a Pre-Greek word. For the structure, cf. ►κυβερνάω.

**λίπος** 'fat'. ►λίπα.

**λίπτω** [v.] 'to desire' (A. R., Lyc., Nic.). <?>

•VAR Perf. med. λελιμμένος 'desiring' (A. Th. 355, 380).

•DER Cf. λίψ- ἐπιθυμία 'desire' (H.), further λιπαρέω [v.] 'to persist, ask persistently or repeatedly' (IA), with λιπαρή 'persistence, endurance' (Hdt.) and λιπαρής 'persistent, persisting, earnest' (S., Ar., Pl.).

•ETYM λίπτω is traditionally compared with Lith. *liēpti*, 1sg. *liepiù* 'to command, order, organize', OPr. *pallaips* 'order'. Alternatively, λίπτω and λιπαρέω may belong to λίπα, λιπαρός; but a serious problem is the length of the i. See ►λιψουρία.

**λίρός** [adj.] 'bold, shameless, lewd' (Call. Fr. 229, Alex. Aet. 3, 30). <?>

•COMP Compound λιρ-όφθαλμος 'with lewd eyes' (Suid.), Λιρο-κλῆς PN (Ion. inscr.).

•DER λιραίνει- ἀναιδεύεται 'shows shameless behaviour' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Fur.: 240 is unconvincing.

**λίς 1** 'lion'. •VAR λίς. ►λέων.

**λίς 2** [adj.] epithet of πέτριη 'rock' (μ 64, 79) and of σινδών 'cloth' (SGDI 5702, 19; Samos IV<sup>a</sup>): 'smooth'. <IE? \**lh<sub>2</sub>i-t-* 'smooth'>

•DIAL Myc. *ri-ta pa-we-a* /lita p<sup>h</sup>arwe<sup>h</sup>a/ 'smooth clothes'.

•DER 1. acc.sg. (also taken as pl.) λίτ-α, dat. λιτ-ί 'smooth linen' (Hom.). 2. λίτός 'simple, plain' (since IV<sup>a</sup>), λίτως (Alc. F 7, 2; context unknown) together with λιτότης [f.] 'simplicity' (Democr. 274, Thphr.). 3. λισσός (Crete III<sup>a</sup>, also TN), fem. λισσή (Od.), λισσάς, Boeot. λιττάς (Corinn., A., E., Theoc., A. R.) 'smooth, bare', also metaph. 'naked, insolvent' (Crete); hence λισσόομαι in [λίσ]σωθέντων [ptc.] 'becoming insolvent' (Crete III<sup>a</sup>) and in λίσσωμα 'bald spot on the crown', λίσσωσις 'bald-headedness' (Arist.); cf. λισσούς, δεομένους 'lacking, in need'. καὶ τοὺς ἡσυχῇ φαλακρούς 'slightly bald' (H.). On ►λίσσάνιος, see s.v.

•ETYM The basis of these words was the τ-stem λι-τ-, seen in λί-ς and in the substantives λίτ-α, λιτ-ί. Thematic enlargement gave λιτ-ό-ς; beside this, there was a ια-derivative in fem. \*λίσσα < \*λίτ-ια, with a new nom. λισσή from the originally ablauting gen. λισσῆς, and a new msc. λισσός. For λίς: λίσσα, compare e.g. θῆς: θῆσσα, Κρής: Κρήσσα. The form ►λεῖος 'level, smooth' can hardly be separated

from λίσ; this points to a reconstruction λῖτ- < \*lh<sub>i</sub>t- beside full-grade \*leh<sub>i</sub>-u- (Schrijver 1991: 283f.).

**λίσγαριον** [adj.] 'spade, mattock' (sch. Theoc. 4, 10, Suid. s.v. σκαφείδιον). <PG?>

•DIAL MoGr. λίσγαρι.

•ETYM A diminutive derived from \*λίσγος, which is unexplained itself. Several hypotheses have been advanced: from \*λίγ-σκος to Lat. *ligō* 'mattock'; from \*λίδ-σκος or \*λίδ-γος, related to ▶λίστρον. Fur.: 294 objects to a suffix -σκ-, referring to Schwyzler: 541. So the word is rather Pre-Greek.

**λίσπος** [adj.] probably 'smooth, polished, flat' (Ar. *Ra.* 826, of γλῶσσα); αἱ λίσπαι as a word for the halves of a dice, used by two friends as a tally (Pl. *Smp.* 193a), also οἱ λίσποι (Suid.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Aspirated by-form λίσφος (Attic acc. to Moer. and Tz.), λίσφοι = τὰ ἰσχία 'hip joints' (EM 567, 20). Cf. λίσφος = ἄπυγος; also λέσφος (EM 567, 21).

•COMP Compounds λισπό-πυγος (-πυξ) 'with smooth (flat) buttocks' (Phryn., Poll., sch.), ὑπό-λίσπος (-φος) 'smooth, polished or flat underneath', especially of the buttocks and hips (Ar. *Eq.* 1368, Philostr., Poll.).

•DER Denominative λισφώσασθαι· ἐλαττώσασθαι 'to reduce, diminish' (H.).

•ETYM λίσφος and λέσφος are by-forms typical of a Pre-Greek word.

**λίσσανιος** [adj.] only in ὦ λίσσανιε (Ar. *Lys.* 1171; v.l. λυσσ-), a form of address of unknown mg., explained by H. and Phot. as ἀγαθός (cf. ὦ γαθέ). <?>

•ETYM A Laconian word without etymology. The analysis as a compound pursued by Frisk fails to convince.

**λίσσομαι** [v.] 'to beg, pray, implore' (Il.). <IE? \*leit->

•VAR Aor. λιτέσθαι, λίσασθαι (Il., epic poet.), new pres. λίτομαι (h. *Hom.* 16, 5, Ar. [Iyr.], AP).

•DER 1. λιταί [f.pl.], rare λιτή [sg.] 'prayer' (Il., Hdt.) with λιταῖος epithet of Zeus (Bithynia I<sup>o</sup>), λιτήσιος 'praying' (Nonn.), after ἱκετήσιος (Chantraine 1933: 42); λιτάζομαι [v.] 'to pray, beg'. 2. With a suffix -v-: λιτανός 'begging, suppliant' (A.), λιταίνω [v.] 'to implore, beg' (E.), λιτανεύω 'id.' (Il.); λιτανεία [f.] 'appeal, entreaty' (LXX, pap., D. H.), -ευτικός 'ptng. to prayer' (sch.). 3. λιτήρα θαλλόν· τὸν ἱκέσιον (H.). 4. Verbal adjective -λίστος in compounds: τρί-, πολύ-, ἄ-λλιστος 'implored three times, much prayed for, etc.' (Il.), on -λλ- (also in ἐ-λλίσσετο, etc.) see Chantraine 1942: 176. An adj. \*λιτός 'begging' does not exist, see Chantraine *RPh.* 79: 16ff.

•ETYM Unclear. Connection with Baltic words for 'touch', like Lith. *liēsti*, *lytėti* is semantically unconvincing, that with ἀλίνω formally impossible. LIV<sup>2</sup> (s.v. 2. \*leit-) defends the connection with the Baltic words: "Im Gr. über 'an den Knien berühren' zu 'anflehen' weiterentwickelt, vgl. hom. λισσέσκετο γούνων". Does the borrowing Lat. *litāre* 'to sacrifice under prosperous omnia' from \*litā < Gr. λιτή?

**λίσσος** 'smooth'. ⇒ λίσ 2.

**λίστρον** [n.] 'tool for levelling, spade, shovel, etc.' (χ 455, Lyc., Mosch.). <?>

•VAR Also -ος [m.].

•DER Diminutive λίστριον [n.] (Ar. *Fr.* 809, inscr. Lebadea), λίστρωτός 'flattened, smoothed' (Nic.) with λίστρώ (Eust.), λίστρεύω [v.] 'to dig up' (ω 227), λίστραίνω 'id.' (Suid.).

•ETYM An instrument name in -τρον without explanation. Assuming \*λίτ-τρον, it may belong to λίσ, λιτ-ός 'smooth, even'. Comparisons with Latv. *list*, 1sg. *lidu*, Lith. *lidyti* 'to dig up, unearth, smoothen' and with Lat. *lira* 'furrow' have been given up.

**λίσφος** 'smooth'. ⇒ λίσπος.

**λίτα** 'linen', dat. λιτί. •VAR λιτός 'simple'. ⇒ λίσ 2.

**λιταί** 'prayer(s)'. ⇒ λίσσομαι.

**λίταργίζω** [v.] 'to slip away' (Ar. *Pax* 562, *Nu* 1253, both fut.); λιταργίζειν· τροχάζειν 'to run quickly'; ἀπολιταργίσαι· ταχέως αποδραμεῖν 'to run off quickly' (H.); <?>

•VAR Fut. -ιῶ.

•COMP Also with ἀπο-.

•DER λιταργισμός (sch. Ar. *Nu.* 1255), λίταργος 'running quickly' (An. *Ox.* 2, 236, EM 567, 38), perhaps an invented back-formation.

•ETYM Unexplained. The ending recalls ἀργός 'quick', but the beginning is unclear (λιτός 'simple'?).

**λίτρα** [f.] 'pound', as a weight and coin; as Sicilian silver money = half a mina or 50 drachmes (Epich., Sophr., [Simon.] 141, Hell.). <LW Western Medit.>

•COMP Compounds like δεκά-λίτρος 'worth ten pounds' (Epich., Sophr.), λιτρο-σκόπος 'money-changer' (S. *Fr.* 1065).

•DER λιτραῖος (AP, Gal.), also λιτρ-ιαῖος (Gal.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 49) 'worth or containing a pound'; λιτρίζω [v.] 'to weigh, deliver by weight' with λιτρισμός (pap.); also λιτρασμός 'libratio' (gloss.).

•ETYM A Mediterranean word, originating from Sicily and identical with Lat. *libra* 'balance, pound'. As common basic form, \*lībrā has been postulated; on the phonetics, see Schulze *KZ* 33 (1895): 223f., Schwyzler: 206, and Pariente *Emerita* 20 (1952): 389ff. The shortness of the ι in λίτρα, which would be Doric acc. to Hdn. Gr. 2, 546, 12, is unexplained. Details in WH s.v. *libra*. Fur.: 182 further compares λιδρίον· τρύβλιον 'cup', also a measure (H.).

**λιχανός** •VAR λιχμάομαι, λίχνος. ⇒ λείχω.

**λίψ, λιβός** ⇒ λείβω.

**λιψουρία** [f.] 'desire to urinate' (A. *Ch.* 756). <GR?>

•ETYM Abstract formation in -ία from a supposed \*λιψ-ουρέω or \*λίψ-ουρος, a governing compound from \*λίψαι 'desire', related to ▶λίπτω, and οὔρον. Was this the origin of the gloss λίψ· ἐπιθυμία (H.)?

**λοβός** [m.] 'lobe, lap, slip', a designation of various lap- or slip-like parts of the body or of plants, especially 'lobe' of the ear (Ξ 182), also of the liver (Hp., A., E., Pl.), of the lung (medic.), etc.; 'leaf of the elder' (Thphr.), 'capsula with seeds, pods of

leguminous plants; also these plants themselves; 'pod, seedbox, skin of fruit' (Thphr., Dsc., Gal.). <EUR?>

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. πρό-λοβος [m.] 'crop of birds, Adam's apple' (Arist., LXX), but προ-λόβιον 'the front part of the lobe of the ear' (Poll., H.); ἔλ-λοβος 'in a pod, having a pod' (Thphr.), lengthened ἔλλοβ-ώδης 'id.' (cf. Strömberg 1937: 164), but ἔλ-λόβιον 'earring' (Luc., S. E.); ἀντι-λόβιον, -βίς 'part of the ear-lobe opposite to the προλόβιον' (medic.); ἐπιλοβίς μέρος τοῦ ἥπατος 'part of the liver' (H.); as an adjective in ἡ ἐπιλοβίς γλώσσα 'lobe of the liver', a sign of soothsayers (PAmh. 2, 14, 21; III-IV<sup>p</sup>); as a term of construction καταλοβεύς [m.] 'cornice, crossbeam' (Epid., Hierapytna); ὀξύλοβέω 'τὸ ταχέως ἀκούω = hearing quickly' (Suid.), from \*ὀξύ-λοβος, see Strömberg 1937: 164.

•DER Diminutive λόβιον (Gal, Dsc.).

•ETYM Etymology unknown. The connection with MoHG *Lappen* 'piece, rag' is semantically attractive, as is that with its cognates, e.g. OE *læppa* [m.] 'tip, lap', *ear-læppa* 'ear-lobe'. It sometimes appears without gemination, as in MoNw. *lape* 'to hang down', MLG *ōr-lepel* 'ear-lobe'.

A deviating vocalism is shown by Lat. *labāre* 'to waver', beside which with a long vowel *lābor*, *lābī* 'to glide'; both may derive from a root \*(s)leh<sub>2</sub>b- (in which case they are unrelated). With initial *sl-* we find e.g. MLG *slap* 'slack', OCS *slabъ* 'slack', probably continuing \*slob-. The fact that all these words show IE \*b points to European substrate origin.

**λογάδες** [f.pl.] 'white of the eye, τὰ λευκὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν' (Sophr. 49, Call. Fr. 132, Nic. Th. 292), also = 'eyes' (AP 5, 269). <GR?>

•VAR In Poll. 2, 70 sing.

•ETYM Metaphorical use of λογάδες (λίθοι): 'picked, chosen', i.e. 'unworked stones, pebbles' as opposed to 'cut stones' (Paus. 7, 22, 5); cf. also λογάδην 'by accidental selection', of stones (Th.), λιθο-λόγος (-έω, -ία) 'who works with unworked stones' (as opposed to λιθο-τόμος, -ουργός). Note the alternative explanation of λογάδας as ψήφους λευκάς 'white pebbles' in H. Likewise, Sw. *ögon-sten* 'eye-ball', properly "eye-stone". See also ►λέγω, and on ►λωγάλοι. Fur.: 363, etc. connects λογάδες with λύγδος 'white marble', but this not evident semantically.

**λογγάω** [v.] 'to linger, hesitate, abide' (A. Fr. 112, Ar. Fr. 811). <PG(V)>

•VAR Aor. λογγάσαι.

•DER λογγασία [n.pl.], H. also -σίη [f.sg.], originally "abode", 'stones to fix cables of a ship' (H., Phot. s.v. λογγάζειν).

•ETYM Formation like γυμνάσιον, -σία to γυμνάζομαι, etc. (Schwyzer: 469f.); further λογγῶνες [m.pl.] 'id.', which acc. to EM 569, 42, is Syracusan, a shortened form after the place names in -(ε)ών.

It cannot be separated from the synonym ►λαγγάζω; the variation α/ο points to Pre-Greek origin. Cf. also Fur.: 274 (on Lat. *langueō*).

**λόγος, λόγιος** = λέγω.

**λόγχη** [f.] 'spearhead, javelin, lance' (Pi.). <?>

•COMP Compounds like λογχο-φόρος 'lance-bearer' (E., Ar., X., Plb.), δι-λογχος 'with double lance' (A.).

•DER Diminutives: λογγίον (Hell. inscr.), -άριον (Posidon., Luc.), -ίς (Hell. [?]), -ίδια (H. s.v. ζιβύννια).

Adjectives: λόγχιμος 'belonging to the lance' (A.), cf. μάχιμος; λογχωτός 'provided with a lance' (B., E., Hell. inscr.) with λογχόομαι, see below; λογχήρης 'id.' (E.), λογχαῖος μετὰ τῆς λόγχης (Suid.).

Substantives: λογχίτης [m.] 'lance-bearer' (Hdn.), λογχίτις [f.] plant name (Dsc., Gal.), after the form of the seeds (Strömberg 1940: 55).

Verbs: λογχόομαι 'to provide with a lance' (Arist., Str.), probably a back-formation from λογχωτός (above), rare λογγεύω [v.] 'to pierce with a lance' (AP 9, 300 in tit.), λογγάζει (H.) explaining δοράζει.

•ETYM Unexplained; all previous hypotheses are unconvincing: comparison with λαγχάνω as "the reaching one"; analysis as "the long one", related to Lat. *longus*; more in Frisk.

**λοιγός** [m.] 'ruin, havoc, death' (Il.). <IE \*leig- 'illness'>

•COMP As a second member in βροτο-λοιγός 'destroying men', of Ares (Il.), also in ἀθρηγ-λοιγός "destroyer of chaff", 'winnowing-fan' (Od.).

•DER λοίγιος 'destroying, bringing disaster' (Il.), also λοιγίγεις, -ής 'id.' (Nic.), poetical transformations, cf. Schwyzer: 527 and 513; λοιγίστρια· ὀλοθρεύτρια (H.), to ὀλοθρεύω 'to destroy'.

•ETYM Properly an agent noun "destroyer" (cf. Porzig 1942: 307) of a primary verb preserved in Lith. *liegti* 'to be very ill, be ailing' (IE \*leig-), to which also belongs the zero grade action noun *ligà*, Latv. *liga* 'illness, plague'; further perhaps Alb. *lig* 'bad, meagre' and (with IE \*k) OIr. *liach* 'miserable, unhappy'. Unrelated are ►ὀλίγος 'slight, small' (Saussure Effect is unlikely, especially in initial position), and Arm. *alk'at* 'poor' (see Martirosyan 2010 s.v.).

**λοιδορέω** [v.] 'to slander, abuse, reprove, revile' (Pi., IA). <?>

•VAR Aor. λοιδορήσαι.

•COMP Sometimes with prefixes like ἀπο-, συν-, προσ-.

•DER λοιδορία 'slander' (Att.); also λοιδότης (Pl., LXX), -ισμός (Ar.), -ημα (Arist., Plu.), -ημάτιον (Ar.); -ητικός 'abusive' (Arist.), -ιστής (H.) as an explanation of κόβειρος (after ἀγωνιστής, etc.); as a back-formation λοιδορος 'abusive, slanderer' (E. Cyc. 534, Arist., Hell.).

•ETYM Taken as a formation comparable to πολι-ορκέω, δειρο-τομέω, οἶνο-χοέω, etc., but further details are unclear. It is doubtful to compare the first part with Lat. *lūdus* 'play', λίζει· παίζει 'plays' (H.), as is done by Perpillon 1996: 112ff., who also adduces the gloss λίνδεσθαι· ἀμιλλᾶσθαι 'to contend', and proposes haplology from \*λοιδο-δορέω. Note that several terms with this meaning are Pre-Greek (cf. ►κερτομέω).

**λοιμός** [m.] 'plague' (A 61), metaph. 'pernicious man' (D.), also in adjectival function (LXX, christ. lit.). <?>

•VAR λοίμη (H.), probably for λύμη.

•DER λοιμώδης 'like the plague' (Hp., Th.), λοιμικός 'belonging to the plague' (Hp., Hell.; Chantraine 1956a: 121), λοιμός epithet of Apollo in Lindos (Macr.); λοιμότης 'plague-like situation' (LXX); λοιμεύομαι [v.] 'to be contaminated with the plague' (LXX), λοιμώσσω, -ώττω 'to suffer from the plague' (Gal., Luc.).

•ETYM Most often taken as ablauting with ▶ λιμός. The form λοιγός has also been considered as a root-cognate, and a third suffixal variant was seen in λοιτός· λοιμός (H.). The form λοιτός is taken by Schmidt s.v. as a mistake for λοιγός, and with good reason. A cross of λιμός and λοιγός has also been suggested, but this is a desperate attempt to explain everything.

λοιπός 'remaining'. ⇒λείπω.

λοισθος 1 [adj.] 'the last, utmost' (Ψ 536). <?>

•DER λοισθιος (Pi., trag., Theoc., A. R.), (τὸ) λοισθιον [adv.] 'at last'. λοισθήϊος 'regarding the last', (τὰ) λοισθήϊα 'the last prize' (Ψ 785, 751), like ἀριστήϊον, -ία; λοισθημα· τέλος, πέρας 'end, border' (H.). Unclear are the glosses λοισθωνας· τοὺς ἀκρατεῖς περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια 'the weak ones regarding sex' (H.) and λοισθώνη· ἡ θρασεῖα 'the bold one' (Suid.).

•ETYM No etymology. All suggested explanations are unconvincing (for literature see Frisk): from \*λοιησις-ος 'the weakest in the course', related to θέω and Gm. \*laisiz 'less' in MoE less, etc.; from \*λοιησις-τος; related to Lith. lėidžiu, lėisti 'let', Lat. lūdus 'game', etc.; from \*λοιησις-τος to Go. las-iws 'weak, powerless', etc. (Solmsen IF 13 (1902/03): 140ff.). The problem is that the -θ- causes difficulties. Scheftelowitz KZ 56 (1929): 179 tried to get around this by positing \*sloidh- to- (to OCS po-slědnyj 'ἔσχατος, utmost, last' ~ slědъ 'trace', Lith. slýsti, 1sg. slýdau 'to glide', Gr. ὀλισθάνω, etc., from IE \*(s)leidh- 'slippery, glide'), but it is unlikely that the cluster preserved its aspiration for such a long time.

λοισθος 2 [m.] 'beam' (IG 2<sup>2</sup>, 1673: 17 [IV<sup>a</sup>]), also an epithet of δόρυ, 'deck beam' vel sim. (E. Hel. 1597). <?>

•ETYM MoGr. λoστός 'lever' seems to presuppose a pre-form λοισθός, see Georgacas Glotta 6 (1958): 168. Further unclear.

λοιτή [f.]· τάφος 'tomb' (H.). <IE \*leit- 'go away, pass away'>

•VAR λοιτεύειν· θάπτειν 'to bury' (H.).

•ETYM Derived from an old verbal root \*leit- 'to go away, pass away' found in Germanic, e.g. Go. (af)leīpan, ON líða, OHG līdan > MoHG leiden 'to suffer', with the causative ON leiða 'to carry, conduct, bury', OHG leiten 'to lead, carry, etc.', to which also belong ON leiði [n.] 'burial place', OHG leitī [f.] 'conduct, exequiae'. In Iranian, the verb also remained as a euphemistic expression for 'pass away, die': Av. raēθ-, pres. iriθiieiti. Tocharian preserves the older mg. 'go away', e.g. ToA 3pl.pres. litantär, ToB 3sg.subj. laitam, pret. lita.

λοιτός 1· λοιμός (H.). ⇒λοιμός.

λοιτος 2 [adj.] epithet of νόος, perhaps = ἀγνός (Supp. Epigr. 8, 716, 14 [Balbilla]). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained.

λόκαλος [?] name of an unknown bird, perhaps a stork (Arist. HA 504). <?>

•ETYM Fur.: 345 Anm. 3 compares Georg. laglagi, laqlaqi, lakvi, (East Caucasian) Tsakhur lägläg 'stork', MoP laglag, laqlaq 'id.'.

λόκη [f.]· χλαμύς, ἐφαπτίς (garment names) (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 344 compares λάκκος 'a garment' (Peripl. M. Rubr.). Given the interchange α/ο, the word is probably Pre-Greek; compare Lat. lacerna 'mantle-like overcloth'.

λόλλα [f.]? name of a plant (pap. Byc.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

λολλώ word of child language (Hermipp. 89). <?>

•VAR Cf. λολλοῦν· τὰ παιδιά τὸν πόλτον 'porridge in child language' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown.

λοξός [adj.] 'bent to the side, slanting, oblique', metaph. 'ambiguous' (IA). <?>

•COMP Late compounds like λοξο-κέλευθος 'with oblique paths' (Nonn.), παρά-λοξος 'slanting, oblique' (Sor.), cf. παρα-λοξαίνομαι below.

•DER Λοξίας, Ion. -ίης [m.] epithet of Apollo as a prophesying god (B., Hdt., trag.), also of the ecliptic (astron.), Λοξώ [f.] daughter of Boreas (Call., Nonn., EM 641, 57). λοξικός κύκλος 'the ecliptic' (astr.), λοξότης 'obliquity, ambiguity' (Str., Plu.).

Denominative verbs: λοξόομαι 'to be oblique' (Sophr., Hp., Herod.), also -όω, also with ἐπι-, ὑπο-, whence λόξωσις 'inclination, obliquity (of the ecliptic)' (Epicur., Str.); (δια-)λοξεύω 'to make aslant or ambiguous' (Lib.), with λοξεύματα [pl.] 'obliquities' (Man.); παρα-λοξαίνομαι 'to be placed obliquely' (Hp.).

•ETYM Several adjectives with comparable meaning also have a suffix -σο-: γαυσός, καμπός, φοξός, ρυσός, etc. Connection with λέχριος, and further with λεκροί (see Λοκροί) seems probable, but it seems impossible to make a reconstruction. The o-vowel seems to point to a nominal base form.

Further connections are not very clear; words for 'elbow, arm' and other curved body parts have an initial vowel (e.g. Lith. alkūnė 'elbow', Ru. lókot' 'id.' < PS�. \*ðlkət-, Arm. olók' 'shin-bone') and should therefore be kept separate.

λομβρός [adj.] an indecent dance (Poll, 4, 105). <?>

•ETYM It has been compared with λομβούς· τοὺς ἀπεσκολυμμένους 'stripped off'. Bechtel 1898: 61 gives the PN Λόμβαξ. Etymology unknown.

λοπός 'shell, bark, scale'. •VAR λοπάς, -ίς, etc. ⇒λέπω.

λορδός [adj.] 'bent backwards, so as to be convex in front', also sens. obsc., opposite κυφός (Hp., Arist.). <IE? \*lerd- 'curve'>

•DER Λόρδων, -ωνος [m.] name of a demon (Pl. Com. 174, 17, beside Κύβδασις from κύβδα); λορδόομαι, -όω [v.] 'to bend supinely' (Hp., com.), whence λόρδ-ωσις, -ωμα 'curvature of the spine inward' (Hp., Gal.), opposed to κύφ-ωσις, -ωμα; also λορδαίνω = -όω (Hp.).

•ETYM Isolated in Greek. Cognates in Armenian have been supposed, as well as in Celtic and Germanic. Semantically, a neat comparison exists with Arm. lorč'-k' [pl.]

(*i-st.*) = ὀπισθότονοι (Pl. *Ti.* 84e), i.e. 'spasmodic inward curvature of the upper body' (cf. λόρδωσις, -ωμα above); however, *lorc'-k'* must be derived from IE *\*lor(d)-sk-(i)-*. A corresponding formation may be found in Celtic Gael. *loirc* [f.] 'deformed foot', which also admits of an IE basis *\*lor(d)-sk-eh<sub>2</sub>-*. Further we have, without a suffix *-sk-* and deviating in ablaut, MHG *lerz*, *lurz* 'left, sly' < 'crooked' (cf. *lürzen* 'to deceive' = ME *bi-lurten* 'id.'), from IE *\*lerd-*, *\*lrd-*.

**λούματα** 'chaff'. ⇒ λούω.

**λοῦσσον** [n.] 'white pith of the fir-tree' (Thphr. *HP* 3, 9, 7); details in Strömberg 1937: 126, 128, 166. <?>

•ETYM May continue *\*λουκ-ιον* as a derivative of a root noun, as is seen in Lat. *lūx* 'light', if from IE *\*louk-s*. Further derivatives from this root are OCS *luča* [f.] 'ray, beam' with a suffix *\*ih<sub>2</sub>*. An *o*-derivative IE *\*louk-o-* is seen in Lat. *lūcus* 'forest', etc.; the verbal adj. ► λευκός and the *yod*-present ► λεύσσω belong there, too, as does ► λύχνος. The etymology remains rather improbable, though.

**λούω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to bathe, wash (the body)' (Il.). <IE *\*leuh<sub>3</sub>-* 'wash, bathe'>

•VAR Also λοέω (ipf. λόεον δ 252). λώω (ipf. λό' [κ 361], λόον [h. *Ap.* 120], inf. λόεσθαι [Hes. *Op.* 749]); further λοῦσθαι (ζ 216), λοῦνται (Hdt.), λούμενος (Ar.); Dor. (Call. *Lav. Pall.* 72f.) λῶντο, λῶντο; aor. λοῦσαι, -σασθαι (Il.), epic also λοέσ(σ)αι, -έσσασθαι, Dor. λωσάμενος (Cyrene), pass. λουθῆναι (Hp.), -σθῆναι (LXX, pap.); fut. λούσω, -ομαι (IA), λοέσσομαι (ζ 221), perf. ptc. λελουμένος (E 6).

•DIAL Myc. *re-wo-te-re-jo* /lewotreibios/, epithet of bathtubs.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀπο-, ἐκ-. As a first member e.g. in λοετρο-χόος 'pouring bathwater' (Hom.) = Myc. *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo*, see below.

•DER 1. λουτρόν, Hom. λοετρόν, Dor. λωτρόν (H.), usually plur. (always in Hom.) 'bath, bathing site' (Il.); λούτριον [n.] 'bathwater' (Ar., Luc.), ἀπολούτριος 'already used for washing' of water (Ael.), λουτρών, -ῶνος [m.] 'bathroom, public baths' (X., Hell.) with -ωνικός 'ptng. to a bathing site' (Cod. *Just.*), λουτρίς [f.] 'ptng. to the bath' (Theopomp. Com., H., Phot.), λουτρικός (H. s.v. ξυστρολήκυθον), λουτρόομαι [v.] 'to bathe' (Euboea). 2. λούτρα [f.] 'sarcophagus' (Corycos), for the mg. cf. μάκτρα (from μάκτρα) 'bathtub, coffin'. 3. λουτήρ [m.] 'bathtub' (LXX, inscr.), -ήριον [n.] 'id.' (Antiph., inscr.; λωτ- *Tab. Heracl.*), whence diminutives -ηρίδιον (Hero, pap.), -ηρίσκος (gloss.); ἐκλουτήριος 'for washing out' (Aegina); ἐγλουστρίς [f.] 'bathing trunks' (Hell. pap.). 4. λούστης [m.] 'who loves bathing' (Arist., M. Ant.). 5. λούσις 'bathing, washing' (late pap., inscr.), ἀπόλουσις 'washing' (Pl.). 6. λούμα [n.] 'stream' (Sardes); probably also λούματα (cod. αούματα)· τὰ τῶν πτισσομένων κριθῶν ἄχυρα Κύπριοι 'the chaff of the barley-corns that are winnowed' (H.); cf. ἀπόλουμα = ἀποκάθαγμα (sch., Eust.); was the chaff drenched in water before feeding it? 7. λουτιάω [v.] 'to wish to bathe' (Luc. *Lex.* 2), after ἐμετ-ιάω : ἐμίεω, etc.

•ETYM The aorist λο(φ)έσαι is of the same type as κορέσαι, στορέσαι; the rare present λο(φ)έω can be explained as an innovation. The form λοῦσαι may have arisen from *\*λοφέσαι* by contraction, and hence λούω may have been formed. In Homer, the uncontracted forms can often be substituted, e.g. λόεσεν, etc. for λοῦσεν, etc., as well as λοέεσθαι for λοῦεσθαι (Z 508 = O 265).

Both λοῦσαι, etc. and the isolated forms λό', λόον, λόεσθαι are understandable if we start from a thematic verb *\*λόφω*; the last forms however, could also be due to hyphaeresis (cf. Schwyzler: 252f.). Likewise, λοῦσθαι, λοῦνται, λούμενος admit of basic forms *\*λόφ-εσθαι*, *\*λόφ-ονται*, *\*λοφ-όμενος*, but they may alternatively be explained from λο(φ)έεσθαι, λο(φ)έονται, λο(φ)εόμενος.

A correspondence to the vocalism of *\*λόφω* is found in Lat. *lavō*, *lavere*, the *a*-vocalism of which Vine KZ 119 (2006): 239 explains from a pre-form *\*lou-V-* that originated in the frequent prefixed verbs (Lat. *lavāre* is mostly found as a simplex). It remains uncertain whether Arm. *loganam*, aor. *logac'ay* 'to bathe' has a disyllabic root too, given the productivity of the Arm. verbs in *-anam*.

Myc. *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* and *re-wo-te-re-jo* deviate in root vocalism from the Homeric and later forms; it is thought that their *e*-vocalism is original, and that λοετρόν, etc. arose by metathesis of *\*lewo-*. The Celt. and Gm. nominal derivatives show the same vocalization as the Homeric forms, e.g. Gaul. *lautro* 'bathing place', OIr. *lóathar* 'basin', ON *lauðr* [n.] 'lye, soap foam', OE *lēaþor* 'soap foam', which may go back to IE *\*louh<sub>3</sub>-tro-* and be identical with λο(φ)ετρόν.

Hitt. *lāhu-i* / *lahu-* 'to pour, cast (metal), overflow' points to *\*leh<sub>2</sub>-u-* and can therefore not be related to λούω.

**λοφνίς, -ίδος** [f.] 'torch' (Lyc., *AP*, Cleitarch. gloss. *apud* Ath. 15, 701a [cod. λοφίδα]). <?>

•DER λοφνίδια· λαμπάδια 'small torches' (H.); also λοφνία [f.] 'id.' (Anon. *apud* Ath. 15, 699d; Kaibel λοφνίδα); cf. Scheller 1951: 56.

•ETYM Formation in *-ίς* or *-ία* derived from *\*λόφνος*, *-νῃ*. Because of the description in Ath., τὴν ἐκ τοῦ φλοιοῦ τῆς ἀμπέλου λαμπάδα 'torch made of the bark of the vine', it may derive from *\*lop-sn-*, related to λέπω 'peel', λοπός 'shell, bark'; the suffix is also seen in λύχνος, with comparable meaning. Still, I find this solution rather improbable.

**λόφος** [m.] 'neck of draught animals and men, crest of a helmet, crest of a hill, ridge' (Il.), also 'tuft on the head of birds, crest of feathers, cockscomb' (Simon., Hdt., Ar., Arist.). <IE? *\*lob<sup>h</sup>-o-* 'crest, top'>

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. γή-, γεώ-λοφος '(earthen) hill' (Pl., X.); rarely as a first member, e.g. (τὰ) λόφουρα 'having a crest-like tail', of draught animals and animals of burden (horses, asses, τὰ ὑποζύγια) as opposed to ruminants (Arist., Thphr., Hell. inscr.). λόφι [f.] 'comb' (D. S.), perhaps after κόμη?

•DER 1. Diminutives: λόφιον 'small crest of the helmet' (sch.), λοφίδιον 'small hill' (Ael.). Other substantives: 2. λοφία, Ion. -ιή [f.] 'manes, bristly back, dorsal fin, etc.' (τ 446, also Hdt., Arist.), cf. Scheller 1951: 72f.; 3. λοφεῖον 'crest case' (Ar.), also λοφίς· περικεφαλαίας θήκη 'chest around the head', i.e. 'helmet' (H.). 4. λοφίας [m.] 'fish with dorsal fins', denomination of the φάγρος (Numen. *apud* Ath.), like ἀκανθίας, etc., Chantraine 1933: 94, also 'the first dorsal vertebra' (Poll.); in the last mg. also λοφαδίας (Poll.); λοφιήτης [m.] 'inhabitant of a hill' (*AP*, of Pan, after πολιήτης). 5. λόφωσις [m.] 'crest ornament' (Ar. *Av.* 291); cf. ἀέτωσις (see ► αἰετός). 6. Adjectives: λοφώδης 'crest-like, hilly' (Arist.), λοφώεις 'crested, hilly' (Tryph., Nonn.). 7. Verbs:

λοφάω 'to be crested' (Babr., Ar., H.), after κομάω, Leumann 1950: 307<sup>77</sup>; λοφίζω [v.] 'to raise the λ.' (Zonar.); λοφόομαι [v.] 'to tower, form a hill' (Eust.). 8. Hypostasis: καταλοφάδεια [adv.] 'hanging down from the neck' (κ 169 with metrically conditioned -εια, cf. κατωμάδιος, κατωμαδόν; Chantraine 1933: 39, Chantraine 1942: 101 and 176).

•ETYM As both Alc. (Z 65) and Hdt. (1, 171) consider the crest of the helmet to be a Carian invention, Schulze 1892: 257, 4 considers λόφος to be a Carian loan in this specific sense, which he separates from λόφος 'neck'. This is untenable.

An acceptable connection is that with ToA *lap* 'head' (Schulze 1933a: 252), the semantics of which are understandable if the Greek meaning was originally 'crest, crown'. However, ORu. *lɔbɔ* 'skull', together with OCS *lɔbɔnɔ* 'belonging to the skull' (also Ru. *lob* 'forehead'), cannot be connected, since they point to \**lub*<sup>h</sup>. Illyr. PN *Otto-(Atto-)lobus* is uncertain (Mayer *Glotta* 32 (1953): 83).

**λόχη** 'lair of wild beasts'. •VAR λόχος [m.] 'ambush, childbed', etc. ⇒λέχεται.

**λυγαῖος** 'dark'. ⇒ήλύγη.

**λυγγούριον** [n.] 'a kind of amber' (Thphr., Delos III<sup>a</sup>, Str.). <PG?, EUR?>

•VAR Also λιγγ-, λιγκ-; note λυγκούριον- τὸ ἤλεκτρον 'amber' (H.).

•ETYM Analyzed as a substantivized bahuvrihi of λύγξ and οὔρον, as the stone was thought to be the urine of the lynx. However, λυγγούριον has variants λογούριον- ὕελος, Λάκωνες 'glass, crystal' (H.) and λογούριον- ὕαλος 'id.' (H.), which rather show that it is a foreign word. Therefore, the explanation as urine of the lynx is just a folk-etymological fantasy. See Fur.: 278<sup>43</sup>. See ►λύγξ 2.

**λύγδος** [f.] '(white) marble' (D. S., *Peripl. M. Rubr.*, AP). <PG?>

•DER λύγδ-ινος 'made of marble, marble-white' (Babr., Philostr., AP, Cyrene), -ίνεος 'id.' (AP). λύγδῃ- τὸ δένδρον ἢ λεύκη 'white poplar' (H.).

•ETYM Ending as in ►μόλυβδος, κίβδος, etc. and, like these, without etymology. A connection with λευκός and cognates is morphologically hard to explain, as the suffix -δος is not productive (except in sound-words like ►κέλαδος, s.v.). Fur.: 307 connects λογάδες, but this is improbable. Still, the word is probably Pre-Greek.

**λύγος** [f.(m.)] 'flexible branch, twig which is suited for twisting' (Il.). <IE? \**leug-* 'bend, twist'>

•COMP Some compounds like Λυγο-δέσμα [f.] "bound with willow-twigs", Laconian epithet of Artemis (Paus.).

•DER λύγιον 'twig' (sch.), λυγέα 'willow' (Eust.), λύγιος 'made of λ.' (Heph. *apud* Ath.), λυγώδης 'like a willow' (Dsc., Eust.), λυγώω 'twist, bend' (AP, APl.). Also λυγίζομαι, -ω [v.] 'to turn, wind, bend' (Hp., Att., Theoc., AP), with λυγισμός 'turning, bending', of wrestlers, dancers, etc. (Ar., Luc.), λυγισμα 'sprain' (Dsc.), -ιστικός 'supple, flexible' (Poll.).

•ETYM Interpreted as verbal noun, λύγος can be connected with isolated formations in other languages: Lith. *lūgnas* [verb.adj.] 'supple', together with the denominative *yod*-present ON *lykna* < PGm. \**lukn-jan* 'bend the knee'; Lat. *luxus* < \**lug-s-o-* 'sprained' (cf. λυγισμα). Cf. also the frequentative Lat. *lucto(r)*, *luctāre* 'to wrestle'

(back-formation *lucta* [f.] 'wrestling match'), originally \*'to turn (intr.)'; cf. λυγισμός.

The original meaning of λύγος would be "turning, bending"; perhaps λυγίζομαι, which is attested at a later date, retained a sense of this meaning.

**λύγξ 1** 'hiccup'. ⇒λύζω.

**λύγξ 2, λυγκός** [m., f.] 'lynx' (*h. Hom.* 19, 24, E., Arist., Thphr., Ael.). <EUR>

•VAR Also gen. λυγγός (E. *fr.* 683).

•COMP As a first member in λυκό-λυγξ 'wolf-lynx' (pap. in Sb. Heidelb. 1923: 2, 14, 13); on ►λυγγούριον (also λυγκ-, λιγκ-, etc.) [n.] a kind of amber (Thphr.), see s.v.

•DER Diminutive λυγκίον (Callix.), λύγγιος 'of the lynx' (Edict. Diocl.). On the ambivalent PN Λυγκεύς (Hdt., Pi.) see Boßhardt 1942: 130f.; thence λυγκεύς name of an eye-salve (medic.).

•ETYM Old name of the lynx, found also in Arm., Gm., and BSl. Except for the nasal, λύγξ has a counterpart in the Lith. consonant-stem *lūš-ų* [gen.pl.], which is found beside the innovated *i*-stem *lūš-is*. The same change of declension occurred in the Slav. group (which received an initial *r*- by influence of another word, e.g. \**rysō* 'sotted, red'): Ru. *rys*, etc.

Transformations have occurred elsewhere as well: with thematic vowel in MoSw. *lō* 'lynx' (PGm. \**luh-a-*, IE \**luk-o-*); with an *s*-suffix in West-Germanic: OHG *luhs*, OE *lox* (cf. MoHG *Fuchs*, OE *fox*); with an *n*-suffix in Arm. *lus-an-un-k* [pl.], which also presupposes an old full grade IE \**leuk-* or *louk-*. The Arm. *n*-formation might be connected somehow with the Greek nasal infix, which reappears in Lith. dial. (*Žem.*) *lynšis*.

Fur.: 121 argues, on the other hand, that the word is of non-IE origin. It has been connected with the root \**leuk-* 'to see'; it would have referred to the sharp sight of the animal. However, this cannot explain the long *ū* of BSl., nor the *-n-* of Arm. nor the *g* of Gr. λύγγιος. So the word is non-IE, and probably a loan from a Eur. substrate language. There seems no reason to connect the gloss λουνόν- λαμπρόν 'shining' (H.). The PN Λυγκεύς may be cognate or not.

Lockwood *Glotta* 72 (1994): 41-43 thinks the name refers to the light color of the animal's skin. He simply declares that the nasal is secondary, and also connects the mythical name Λύγκεύς, but DELG *Supp.* (where Lockwood's interpretation is accepted in its entirety) thinks that the name rather comes from the geographical names with Λυγκ- mentioned by Lockwood, which indeed seems possible (these names may refer to the lynx or not, and they may well be of Pre-Greek origin). Therefore, there is as yet no conclusion to this discussion. Cf. Fur.: index. See ►λυγγούριον.

**λυγρός** 'miserable, unhappy'. ⇒λευγαλέος.

**Λυδός** [adj.] 'Lydian' (Alc.). <LW Luw>

•DER Λύδιος 'of Lydia, Lydian' (Pi.), Λυδία (Hdt.), Λυδικός (Hdt.), Λυδίζω 'speak Lydian' (Hippon.), Λυδιστί 'in Lydian' (Cratin.).



•ETYM The name derives from *Luwiy-a-* 'Luwian'. The Lydians came from the north and were originally called Μήονες. Then coming southward, they occupied Luwian territory and thereby received the name of the older inhabitants. In Lydian, *-y-* > *-d-*, while *-i-* was syncopated. Thus *\*Luwiy-a-* > *\*Luwd-* gave *Lūd-* (with long *ū*). The change of name is mentioned by Herodotus (1, 7; 7, 74); it is not found in Homer. The later Lydian territory had a Luwian substrate. See Beekes *Kadmos* 42 (2004): 47ff., where the thesis is put forth that the Lydians were driven south on the arrival of the Phrygians, around 1200<sup>a</sup>; see also Beekes *BiOrbis* 59 (2002): 205-242 (441f.).

λύζω [v.] 'to hiccup' (Hp., Ar., Arist.). <IE *\*sluk/g-* 'swallow'>

•VAR Aor. λύγξαι (Gal.).

•COMP Sometimes with ἀνα-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-.

•DER λυγμός 'swallowing' (Hp., Arist., Nic.), also = ὀλολυγμός (H.), with λυγμώδης 'accompanied by swallowing' (Hp.); λυγδην [adv.] 'swallowing' (S., AP). Also λύγξ, λυγγός [f.] 'id.' (Hp., Pl., Th.) with λυγγώδης = λυγμώδης (Hp.), λυγγανόμενον λύζοντα ἐν τῷ κλαίειν 'during crying' (H.), λυγκαίνω [v.] 'to swallow' (Suid.).

•ETYM For λύζω : λύγξ, compare ἰύζω : ἰυγξ, κλάζω : κλαγγί, as well as βήσσω : βήξ. It cannot be decided whether the verb or the noun is more original. Morphologically, λύγξ can be a back-formation from λύζω < *\*λυ(γ)γ-ιω*, but also its base form.

Cognates are found in Celtic and Germanic, e.g. OIr. *slucim* 'to swallow' < *\*slu-n-k-*, W llyncu 'id.'; MLG *slūken* 'id.' < IE *\*slūg-*, MHG *slūchen* 'id.'; and with geminate MHG *slucken* 'id.', together with iterative MHG *sluckzen* 'to sob'. This means that Gr. λ- is from *\*sl-*, but there are forms without *\*s-*, e.g. Pol. *łkac* 'to swallow'. LIV<sup>2</sup> distinguishes two roots *\*sleuk-* and *\*sleug-* with identical meaning, which seems to call for a solution.

λύθρος, -ον 'clotted or thick blood'. ⇒ λῦμα.

λυκάβας, -αντος [m.] attested since τ 306 = ξ 161, A. R. 1. 198, Bion *Fr.* 15: 15; grave-epigrams (imperial period) from Arcadia and Ionia. Time-indication of uncertain mg., usually explained as 'year' and used in this sense by later authors, who seem all to be based on τ 306; acc. to Leumann 1950: 212<sup>4</sup> rather 'new moon' (against this Ruijgh 1957: 147). The supposed Arcadian origin (AB) probably refers to the late Arcadian inscriptions, see Leumann: 273. <PG(V)>

•VAR Also acc. -βαν, also λυκαμίας (inscr. Amorgos, Kretschmer *Glotta* 2 (1910): 319).

•DER λυκαβαντίδες ὥραι (AP).

•ETYM Unrelated is the TN Λυκαβηττός. All existing explanations are unconvincing: e.g. original meaning "light-circle", from *\*λύκ-* 'light' (see on λύχνος) and ἄβα-τροχός 'wheel' (H.); or originally "Lycian king (or priest, god)", i.e. Apollo, so elliptical for 'festival of Apollo', and a Lydian word. More dated suggestions are found in Frisk (with lit.). Recently, Koller *Glotta* 51 (1973): 29-34 explained the word from *\*λύκα βάντα* 'das weggegangene Licht', so the moonless night of the new moon. This cannot be correct: the variant with μ and the suffix -αντ- clearly point to Pre-Greek origin.

λυκάψος, -ός [f.] name of a poisonous plant, 'Echium italicum' (Nic., Dsc.). <PG? (S, V)>

•VAR v.l. λύκοψος (Dsc. 4, 46).

•DER Also λυκαψίς.

•ETYM Frisk explains, following Strömberg 1944: 100f. on χορδαψός, that it originally meant "attacking wolves", because it was poisonous (like λυκο-κτόνον, etc., Strömberg 1940: 66 and 70f.). However, the suffix also occurs in σκινδαψός and in the town Galepsos, so it is more probably a Pre-Greek form (note the interchange α/ο).

Λυκηγενής [adj.] epithet of Apollo (Δ 101, 119). <GR>

•ETYM Like for Λύκειος (A.), for Λυκη-γενής several connections have been attempted: with the wolf, the Lycians, and earlier also with light (cf. on λύχνος). There is little doubt now that it means 'born in Lycia', see e.g. Beekes *JANER* 3 (2003): 15f. The antiquity of the formation appears from the lack of the compositional -ι- in Λυκι-.

λύκιον [n.] 'dyer's buckthorn, Rhamnus petiolaris', also a decoction from it (*Peripl. M Rubr.*, Dsc., Gal.). <GR?>

•ETYM Perhaps originally "the Lycian (plant)", named after its place of origin: cf. Dsc. 1, 100 φύεται δὲ πλείστον ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ Λυκίᾳ 'it grows mainly in Cappadocia and in Lycia', though with the addition: καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ τόποις πολλοῖς 'but also in many other places'. Cf. Strömberg 1940: 122.

λύκος [m.] 'wolf' (Il.); often metaph., e.g. as the name of a kind of daw (Arist.; v.l. λύκιος, cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.), of a fish (Hikes. *apud* Ath.; Strömberg 1943: 105), = 'hook, sting' (Plu., Poll.), etc. <IE *\*ulkw-o-* 'wolf'>

•COMP Compounds like Λυκό-(φ)οργος > Λυκοῦργος PN, properly "warding off wolves" (εἴργω), Λυκοσ-οὔρα town in Arcadia; cf. ► λυκαψός (also λύκ-) [m.] and -ψίς [f.].

•DER Feminines: λύκαινα 'she-wolf' (Arist.), after λέαινα, etc., with -αῖνιον (Poll.), of a woman; λυκῶ name of the moon (*PMag. Par.*); diminutives: λυκιδεύς [m.] 'younger wolf' (Sol. *apud* Plu., Theoc.), λυκίσκος ἢ μὴ ἔχουσα ἀξονίσκον τροχαλία, τρήμα δὲ μόνον 'pulley without a bolt, but with only a bolt-hole' (H.); also PN (Schwyzer: 542).

Further: λυκέη, -ῆ 'wolfskin' (K 459, etc.), λύκειος δορά 'id.' (E. *Rh.* 208), substantivized λυκεία [f.] (Plb. 6, 22, 3); λυκώδης 'like a wolf' (Arist.), λυκηδόν 'id.' (A.), λυκηθμός 'howling of wolves' (Anon. *apud* Suid.), after μυκηθμός; λυκόμοιαι [v.] 'to be lacerated by wolves' (X.). On ► λύσσα, see s.v.

•ETYM An exact formal correspondence with λύκος is found in the North-Germanic name of the lynx, MoSw. *lō* < PGm. *\*luha-* from IE *\*luko-* (see ► λύγξ 2). However, one would of course prefer to connect the widespread name of the wolf, which is preserved in e.g. Skt. *vṛka-*, Lith. *vilkas*, OCS *vlъkъ*, Go. *wulfs*, Alb. *ulk*. λύκος can be derived from IE *\*ulkw-o-* if we assume metathesis. A comparable problem is found with Lat. *lupus*.

For the name of the wolf, taboo may have played a role (Havers 1946: 37ff.), causing phonetic irregularities. For IE *\*ul̥kʷo-*, such a taboo origin is possible as well; however, the interpretation as 'lacerater' (from *\*uel(k)-* 'to lacerate') can hardly be maintained, as that root has no labiovelar.

**λύμα, -ατος** [n.] 'dirt, waste, garbage', metaph. 'contamination, defamation' (A 314 and E 371, Hdt.); on the mg. Sinclair 1953: 330ff. (who wrongly connects λύω). <IE *\*luH-* 'dirt, pollute'>

•VAR Mostly plur. -ατα. Also λύμη [f.], often plur. -αι, 'maltreatment (e.g. mutilation, flagellation), damage, violation, revilement' (Ion. poet., also Hell. and late).

•DER 1. From λύμα: λύμακες πέτραι 'rocks' (H.), at an alphabetically wrong position; cf. βῶλαξ, λίθαξ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 379); κατα-λυμακόομαι [v.] 'to be covered with λύμακες (i.e. dirt)' (Tab. Heracl. 1, 56); also Λύμαξ, -κος [m.] Arcadian HN (cf. ῥύαξ, σύρφαξ, etc.; Chantraine 1933: 381f.), acc. to Paus. 8, 41, 2 because of the afterbirth (λύματα) of Rhea that was thrown into the river, but in fact probably because of the ooze. 2. From λύμη: λυμεών, -ωνος [m.] 'destroyer' (S., E., Tim. Pers., Isoc.), like ἀπατεών (Chantraine 1933: 163), with λυμεων-εύομαι [v.] 'to play the λ.' (Plb.); λυμάχη (-χή?)· ἡ εἰς διαφθορὰν λύπη 'grief because of destruction' (H.), after παραχή or στοναχή? A transformation of λύμα, λύμη is λύμαρ (Max. Astrol.), cf. Schwyzer: 519. Denominative λυμαίνομαι [v.], aor. λυμήνασθαι (rare λυμήναι, -άναι), in two meanings: a. derived from λύμα 'to purify, remove dirt' (Hp.), usually ἀπο-λυμαίνομαι 'to wash, purify' (A 313f., A. R., Agath., Paus.) with ἀπολυμαν-τήρ 'table cleaner' (ρ 220, 377); b. more often from λύμη 'to maltreat physically, damage, destroy, violate', also with δια-, κατα- (IA, Arc.); on the mg. see Schulze 1933a: 169, Fraenkel 1906: 49; λυμαντήρ 'destroyer, violator' (X.), λυμάντωρ (Timo, Epigr. Cyrene), -τής (S.) 'id.' with λυμαν-τήριος (A.), -τικός (Ph., Arr.) 'destroying, violating'.

λύθρος [m.], also -ον [n.] 'clotted or thick blood' (Hom. [only dat. -ρω], Hp. Ep.), with λυθρώδης 'bloodstained' (LXX, AP).

•ETYM For λύμα: λύμη, cf. γνῶμα: γνῶμη, χάσμα: -μη, βρώμα: -μη, etc. To λύμα, -μη corresponds Alb. *lum* 'slime, mud' < IE *\*lum-*; an match for λύθρος is perhaps found in the Illyr. TN *Ludrum* (with IE *d<sup>h</sup>* or *d*), and Alb. *ler* 'mud' (IE *\*leu-d<sup>(h)r-</sup>*) is also close.

The nouns mentioned derive from a primary verb meaning 'to pollute, contaminate', lost in Greek and replaced by λυμαίνομαι. This verb lives on in Lat. *pol-luō* < *\*por-luō* and led to the verbal noun Lat. *lutum* = OIr. *loth* 'excrements, dirt'. Other derivatives are Lat. *lustrum* 'puddle, marsh' and German river names like *Lune* and *Lienz* (from *\*Luantia*); cf. Λύμαξ. On the geographical names, see Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 6 (1955): 106ff. and 242ff. and Eisenstuck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 7 (1956): 53ff.

**λύπη** [f.] 'pain, grief' (IA). <IE? *\*leup-* 'peel'>

•COMP As a first member in λυπο-τόκος 'bringing grief' (Halicar.).

•DER λυπηρός 'painful, distressing' (IA); besides λυπρός 'id.' (trag.), often of the soil, opposed to εὐρεῖα (ν 243), πεδιάς (Hdt. 9, 122), also ὀρεινή (Arist. HA 556a 4),

'unfruitful, frugal' vel sim.; compounds παρά-λυπρος (Str.), λυπρόγεως, -χωρος, -βιος (Str., Ph., App.); λυπρότης 'frugality', of the soil (Str.).

Denominative verb λυπέω 'to cause sorrow, pain or distress', -έομαι 'to be distressed' (Hes., Sapph., IA), after ἀλγέω acc. to Debrunner 1917: §194, with λύπη-ημα 'sorrow' (Antipho Soph.), -ητικός 'full of sorrow' (Arist., Plu.).

•ETYM Without a certain explanation. In the same way as ► λευγαλέος and relatives could be related with Skt. *rujāti* 'to break', it was suggested that λύπη could belong, as a verbal noun, to synonymous Skt. *lumpāti*, *lupyāte* 'to break, tear apart'; however, *lup-* is rather dialectal for *rup-* in Skt. *rúpyati* (which is related to Lat. *rumpō* < IE *\*Hru-n-p-*).

Other words going back to IE *\*lup-* rather mean 'peel off' vel sim., e.g. Lith. *lūpti* 'to peel, fleece, flay', Ru. *lupit'* 'to peel', OHG *louft*, *loft* 'bark' (where IE *\*lub<sup>h</sup>-* is also possible). In view of the semantics, this etymology must be considered uncertain. In λυπρός, an old primary derivative independent of λύπη may have been preserved.

**λυπτά** [f.]· ἑταῖρα, πόρνη 'whore' (H.), in an alphabetically wrong position. <PG(S,V)>

•ETYM Connection with Skt. *lubdha-* 'avaricious, desirous, eager' (to which belong Lat. *lubet*, *libet*, MoHG *lieb*, etc.), is phonetically impossible. Fur.: 316 compares λύπη 'id.', also λούπα 'id.'; he also connects ► λίπτω. For the ending, cf. θάπτα. Therefore, the word is Pre-Greek.

**λύρα** [f.] 'lyre', four-stringed (or seven-stringed) instrument like the cithara (h. Merc. 423). <PG>

•VAR Ion. λύρη.

•COMP Compounds like λυρο-ποιός 'fabricator of lyres' (Pl.), ἀντί-λυρος 'like the lyre' (S.).

•DER Diminutives λύριον (Ar.), λυρίς (Hdn. Gr.); further λυρικός 'ptng. to the lyre; lyre-player' (Phld., Plu.); λυρίζω [v.] 'to play the lyre' (Chrysipp.), cf. Schwyzer: 736; instead, καθαρίζω is usual; thencewith λυριστής 'lyre-player' (Plin.), -ίστρια [f.] (sch.), -ισμός 'playing the lyre' (sch.).

•ETYM Technical loan from the Mediterranean area; cf. ► κιθάρα. IE etymologies should be rejected. Borrowed as Lat. *lyra*; OHG *lira* > MoHG *Leier*, etc.

**λυσίτελής** [adj.] 'useful, profitable, advantageous' (IA). <GR>

•DER λυσίτελέω 'be profitable, useful' (IA), -τέλεια 'profit, advantage'.

•ETYM Properly "paying the costs", a governing compound of λύειν and τὰ τέλη.

**λύσσα** [f.] '(martial) rage, fury, frenzy' (Il.), 'rabies' (X., Arist.). <IE *\*leuk-* 'light', GR λυκ- 'wolf'>

•VAR Att. λύττα.

•COMP Some compounds like λυσο-μανής 'mad for rage' (AP), ἄ-λυσσος 'healing λυσσα' (Paus.), ἄ-λυσσον [n.] name of a plant, the seeds of which were used against rabies (Strömberg 1940: 91).

•DER λυσσάς [f.] 'raging' (E.), λυσο-ώδης (N 53, etc.), -αλέος (A. R., Man.), -ήρης (Orph., Man.), -ήεις (H.) 'id.'; λυσσηδόν [adv.] (Opp.). Denominative verbs: 1. λυσσάω, -ττάω [v.] 'to rage, rave, be mad' (Hdt., Ar., S., Pl.), with λυσσητήρ epithet

of κύων (Θ 299; cf. *AP* 5, 265), and λυσσητής, Dor. -ατάς (*Anth.*) 'raging', λυσσητικός 'id.' (Ael.), -ήματα [pl.] 'attacks of rage' (E.); 2. λυσσαίνω [v.] 'to rage, rave' (S.); 3. λυσσόομαι [v.] 'to become raging' (Ps.-Phoc.).

•ETYM Formation like ὄσσα, γλώσσα, αἴσα, etc., so a derived feminine. It has often been explained as "she-wolf" and identified with Skt. *vrkīh*, ON *ylgr* 'id.'; acc. to Wackernagel-Debrunner 1930: 171, it is rather an abstract like φύζα 'flight, rout'.

Specht 1944: 344 and 387, rather connects Skt. *rúc-* [f.] 'light' (the rage is called after the sparkling eyes) and recalls the expression λευκαῖς φρασίν 'with white/lighting phrase' (Pi. *P.* 4, 194), λευκαῖ φρένες· μαινόμεναι 'raging' (H.). Pok. 687 agrees with this.

λύττει [v.] · πολλά λαλεῖ 'is talkative' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Cf. λύζει 'eructat' (Latte).

λύττος [adj.] = ὑψηλός (St. Byz. s.v. Λύκτος, H.). <?>

•ETYM Acc. to St. Byz., also the name of a town in Crete "διὰ τὸ κεῖσθαι ἐν μετεώρῳ τόπῳ" 'because of its elevated location', = Λύκτος; thus, as an appellative, it probably also has Cretan assimilation κτ > ττ (Schwyzer: 316). Etymologically isolated, but see Fur.: 307.

λύχνος [m.] '(portable) light, lamp' (τ 34), also a fish name (Str., H.), cf. Lat. *lucerna*; perhaps called after its fluorescent organs, or after its shape Strömberg 1943: 55f.)? <IE \**leuk-sn-eh₂-* 'moon, stars', etc.>

•VAR Plur. also τὰ λύχνα, to which the sing. λύχνον was formed (cf. Schwyzer 1950: 37, Sommer 1948: 88).

•COMP Several compounds like λυχνούχος [m.] 'lamp-stand' (com.), also as a second member, like in θερμό-λυχνον = λυχν-έλαιον 'lampoil' (Att. inscr.).

•DER 1. Diminutives: λυχνάριον (pap.), λυχνίσκος fishname (Luc.). 2. name of the candlestick: λυχνεῖον (com., Arist., Hell. inscr.) with λυχνεῖδιον (-ῖδιον), λυχνίον, -ιον (Antiph., Theoc., Luc.), also 'lamp' (pap.), λυχνία, -έα, -εία (Hell.). 3. name of the ruby that emits light: λυχνίας λίθος (Pl. Com.), λυχνίτης (Str.), also name of Parian marble, because lamps were made of it (Varro *apud* Plin.; see Redard 1949: 56 and 244<sup>13</sup>), λυχνεύς (Callix., H.), also 'lighter' (Ath.), λύχνις [m.] (D. P., Orph. *L.*), λυχνίς [f.] (Luc.; cf. 4). 4. plant name: λυχνίς [f.] 'rose campion, *Lychnis coronaria*' (Thphr., Dsc.), because of its crimson color, acc. to Strömberg 1940: 49, λυχνίτις [f.] 'candlewick, *Verbascum*' (Plin., pap., Dsc.), because the leaves were used as a candlewick (Strömberg 1940: 106, Redard 1949: 73; cf. on ►θρύον). 5. Other substantives: λυχνεών, -ώνος [m.] 'place to store lamps' (Luc. *VH* 1, 29), λύχνωμα 'lint' (sch. Ar. *Ach.* 1175, = λαμπάδιον), with a nominal basis (Chantraine 1933: 187). 6. Adjectives: λυχν-αῖος (Procl.), also -ιαῖος (S. E., Gal.) 'ptng. to a lamp', -ώδης 'lamp-like' (Heph. Astr.). 7. Verb: λυχνεύω [v.] 'to light sbd.' (Areth. in *Apoc.*).

•ETYM Beside λύχνος < \*λύκ-σν-ος we have, with full grade, Av. *raox-šn-a-* 'light, gleaming', OPr. *lauxnos* [pl.] 'stars', Lat. *lūna* = Praen. *Losna*, OCS *luna* 'moon', Mlr. *luan* 'light, moon', all from IE \**louk-sn-* or \**leuk-sn-*; acc. to Frisk, the deviating zero grade in λύχνος may be related to a reluctance of Greek to use ou-diphthongs.

The words mentioned are all transformations of an old noun with suffixal -sn- from the verb for 'shine, gleam', which is represented in Greek by ►λεύσω. An s-stem probably served as an intermediate form (Av. *raocah-* [n.] 'light' < IE \**leuk-es-*, Lat. *lūmen* from \**leuk-s-men-*, etc.). Uncertain is the appurtenance of λουνόν· λαμπρόν 'brilliant' (H.). The suffix -sn- is also found in synonymous Skt. *jyótsnā-* [f.] 'moonlight'.

A zero grade noun \*λυκ- (= Skt. *rúc-* [f.] 'light') appears in the hypostasis ἀμφι-λύκ-η epithet of the night (H 433) 'dawning', also as a substantive 'twilight, dawn' (A. R., Opp.); and based on this, also in λυκ-αυγής 'of the grey twilight' (Luc.), λυκ-ό-φως, -ωτος [n.] 'twilight' (Ael., H. s.v. λυκοειδέος, sch.); see also on ►λύσσα.

λύω [v.] 'to loose, untie, release, (re)solve, destroy, pay' (Il.). <IE \**lh₂u-* 'cut off, release'>

•VAR Aor. λύσαι, fut. λύσω, perf. med. λέλυμαι, aor. pass. λύθημαι (Il.), aor. med. also λύμην, λύ(ν)το (Hom.); perf. act. λέλυκα.

•COMP Very frequent with prefix, like ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-, παρα-. As a first member λύσ(i)- in governing compounds like λυσί-πονός, ►λυσιτελής, PN's like Λυσί-μαχος, short name Λυσίας, etc.; as a second member in ►βουλυτός.

•DER 1. λύσις 'solution, deliverance' (Ω 655 and ι 421), from the prefixed verbs also ἀπό-, ἀνά-, διά-, κατά-, ἔκ-λυσις, etc. (Thgn., Sol., IA); thence (κατα-, ἀπο-)λύσιμος 'fit for solving, etc.' (trag., Pl., Arist.); also λύσιος 'bringing release', epithet of the gods, especially Dionysus (Pl., Plu.). 2. λύματα [pl.] = ἐνέχυρα 'pledge, security' (Suid.); but κατάλυ-μα [n.] 'inn' (Hell.), together with -μάτιον (Hell. pap.) derived from κατα-λύω in the mg. 'to lodge, visit'. 3. Aeol. Dor. λύα [f.] (Alc., Pi.), λύη (Hdn. Gr.) 'dissolution, separation, στάσις'; thence, but with deviating mg., Λυαῖος, -αία epithet of Dionysus or the Great Goddess (*Anacreont.*, IG 5(2), 287 [I-II<sup>p</sup>]; Tim. *Pers.* 132), borrowed as Lat. *Lyaeus*. 4. (ἀνα-, κατα-)λυτήρ, -ήρος [m.] 'deliverer, arbiter' (A., E., Hell. inscr.) with (ἐκ-)λυτήριος 'rescuing, liberating' (Hp., trag.); λυτήριον = λύτρον (Pi., A. R.), but καταλυτήριον = κατάλυμα (Poll., see above). Fem. λύτεια (Orph.), also λυτηριάς (Orph.). 5. δια-λύτης 'deliverer', κατα- 'lodging guest', ἀνα- 'rescuer', συν- 'reconciler' (Th., Plb.); also (after λύσις, λύω): (ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐκ-, παρα-, etc.)λυτικός 'fit for releasing or solving, etc.' (Pl., Arist.). 6. λύτρον 'ransom' (usually plur.), 'substitute, retribution' (Pi., IA), together with (ἀπο-, παρα-, ἐκ-)λυτρόω, -όομαι [v.] 'to release in exchange for ransom, etc.' (Att.), whence (-)λύτρωσις, λυτρώσι-μος, λυτρωτής, ἀπολυτρωτικός (Hell.).

•ETYM The regular Greek verbal system apparently resulted from levelling. The athematic aorist λύ-μην, λύ-το with short vowel is archaic; a more recent form is the thematic present λύω, originally with short υ (Hom.), but later also long (Att.; sometimes also Hom.), probably by influence of λύσαι, etc. (cf. Schwyzer: 686 and Chantraine 1942: 372).

Correspondences to λύω are Lat. *luō* 'to make amends, pay', to which belongs *solvō* (from \**se-luō*) 'to loose, release'; the long vowel in *solūtus* and in the verbal adjective Skt. *lūna-* 'cut off' agrees with that in βου-λῦ-τός, and points to a laryngeal in the root. Since λύτο, λύσις, etc. have a short root vowel, the root must have been \**lh₂u-*,

perhaps to be further analyzed as a *u*-present *\*leh<sub>1</sub>-u-*. This is confirmed by the accentuation of Lith. *liáuti* ‘to stop’ and PSl. *\*lěviti* ‘to diminish, weaken’.

The Skt. verb deviates formally (the nasal presents *lunāti*, *lunoti* are not found elsewhere, while the other finite forms are of much later date). Germanic has a verb with *s*-enlargement, e.g. Go. *fra-liusan* ‘to lose’ < IE *\*leus-*, *fralusts* ‘loss’ < IE *\*lus-ti-*, *fra-lus-nan* ‘to be lost’. See LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*leuH-* for further forms.

**λῶ** [v.] ‘want, wish’ (Epich., Ar., Theoc., Dor., El. inscr.). <?>

•VAR Pres. 2sg. λῆς, 3sg. λῆ, 1pl. λῶμες, etc., El. opt. λῆοιταν, Cret. opt. λῆ(ι)οι, λῆοιεν, subj. λῆιωντι, ptc. λῆιοντος, -α, etc., inf. (conj. by Ahrens Th. 5, 77) λῆν; the gloss λεφμι (H.) looks Ionic.

•DER 1. λῆμα [n.] ‘will, spirit, courage, audacity’ (Hdt.), with λημάτια· φρονήματα, βουλευματα ‘thoughts, resolutions’ (H.), ληματίας [m.] ‘high-spirited, daredevil’ (Ar. Ra. 494), Chantraine 1933: 93; v.l. ληματιᾶς, as if from *\*ληματιάω*; ληματόμαι in λελημάτωμαι· λῆμα ἔχω εἰς τὸ ἔργον ‘I am desirous of work’ (H.); 2. λῆσις· βούλησις, αἵρεσις ‘will, purpose’ (H.), to which one adds λῆσις ... καὶ βούλησις (H.), for which Laconian loss of intervocalic sigma is assumed (DELG).

•ETYM Connection with ληλαίομαι (root *\*las-*) and λῖαν (no etymology), found in older dictionaries, is impossible. According to DELG, we could start from a pre-form *\*lē-īō*, which would enable derivation from IE *\*uelh<sub>1</sub>-* (Lat. *velle*, MoHG *wollen*) as *\*u<sub>1</sub>lh<sub>1</sub>-ie/o-*. It is not clear, however, if this formation would vocalize to give *\*ῥλη-*. Cf. ▶ λῶϊων.

**λῶβη** [f.] ‘outrage, dishonour, damage, mutilation’ (Il.), ‘kind of rash’ (Gal.). <IE *\*sleh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>w</sup>-* ‘seize’>

•COMP ἐπί-λῶβος ‘bringing damage’ (Vett. Val.), -ής ‘id.’ (Nic.).

•DER λωβητός ‘laden with λῶβη’ (Ω 531, Hes. Sc. 366, S.; Ammann 1956: 21), λωβή-εις (A. R.), -μων (Nic. Al. 536; v.l. -τωρ) ‘outrageous’. Denominative verb λωβάομαι (-άω), rarely with prefixes like ἀπο-, ἐκ-, δια-, ‘outrage, maltreat, mutilate’ (Il.), or rather deverbative like πωτά-ομαι, νωμάω; with λωβητήρ ‘slanderer, corruptor’ (Il.; on the mg. Benveniste 1948: 38 and 42), fem. -ήτειρα (AP); also -ήτωρ (Opp., AP), -ιγής (Ar.); λῶβησις = λῶβη (Ptol., sch.). Rare λωβεύω ‘mock, ridicule’ (Od.; like ἀγορεύω, Chantraine 1942: 368; also Shipp 1967: 120: to avoid contracted forms).

•ETYM Formerly analyzed as a lengthened grade formation like κῶπι, λῶπι, λῶγη, but such ad hoc lengthened grades can no longer be accepted.

Traditionally connected with a Baltic word for ‘aggravation, objection, burden, nuisance, damage’, Lith. *slogà*, Latv. *slāga* < IE *\*sloHg<sup>w</sup>-eh<sub>2</sub>-*, a verbal noun to Lith. *slēgti* ‘to (op)press, aggravate’, Latv. *slēgt* ‘to shut, close’. Recently, Ragot RPh. 76 (2002) convincingly suggested, on the basis of Homeric evidence, that λῶβη originally meant ‘seizure’ and that it is connected with λάζομαι ‘to seize, take hold’ < *\*sleh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>w</sup>-* as a regular feminine *o*-grade derivation.

Fur.: 302<sup>35</sup> compares λυβάειν· λοιδορεῖν ‘slander, abuse’ (H.), which (if correctly compared) would point to a Pre-Greek word *\*lub-*.

**λῶβηξ, -ηκος** [m.] · γύψ ‘vulture’ (Cyran. 28). <PG(V)>

•VAR λούπης = ἰκτίνος ‘kite, Milvus regalis’ (Hierocl., Facet. 257, Hdn. Epim. 46), λούπις ‘milvus’ (gloss.).

•ETYM See Fur.: 148, and cf. Lat. *lupiō* ‘to cry, of the kite’ (Suet. Fr. p. 251). Thus, a Pre-Greek word with interchange *\*lub/p-*.

**λωγάλοι** [m.]? · ἀστράγαλοι ἢ πόρνοι ‘dice or fornicators’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM In the first meaning, it has been connected to λέγω in the sense “die Aufgelesenen”, with a lengthened grade as in λῶγη, for which one also compared ▶ λογάδες (λίθοι) ‘accumulated stones’. However, such lengthened grades are unacceptable. In the sense of πόρνοι, it is related to λωγάς; see ▶ λωγάνιον.

**λωγάνιον** [n.] ‘dewlap (of oxen)’ (Luc. Lex. 3, sch.), also λωγάλιον (H.) and λογάνιον (Suid.). <?>

•ETYM Perhaps from ▶ λαγαίω, ▶ λαγαρός in the sense “(skin) hanging down”; intermediate forms (*\*λῶγανον*, *\*λῶγη?*) cannot be determined, however. The gloss ▶ λωγάς· πόρνη ‘whore’ (H.) also belongs here.

**λωγάς** · πόρνη ‘whore’ (H.).

•ETYM Related to λάγνος ‘lewd’ and to ▶ λωγάνιον (Persson 1912(1): 134 and 2, 939).

**λώγασος** [m.]? · ταυρεία μάστιξ ‘whip made of ox-hide’ (H.). <PG(S)>

•ETYM Pre-Greek, on account of the suffix -ασος.

**λῶγη** [f.] · καλάμη· καὶ συναγωγή σίτου ‘reed, gathering of food’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM In the last meaning, clearly related to λέγω; a lengthened grade is also found in ἐλῶγη· ἔλεγεν (H.), with Dor. contraction of the ending, from the deverbative λωγᾶω; the explanation καλάμη can also be understood as a collective, e.g. ‘straw’.

**λῶϊων** [adj.] ‘better, more desirable, more agreeable’ (Semon. 7, 30). <?>

•VAR Att. λῶων; ntr. λῶϊον (Il.), Att. λῶϊον, plur. λῶϊα, λῶϊα (Thgn., Theoc.), gen. τῶων λῶων (Chalcis IP), also msc. sing. λῶϊος (Hdn. Gr.); λῶϊτερον (Od.), -ερος (A. R.), -έρη (Call., AP).

Superlative λῶϊστος (Thgn., trag.), ᾧ λῶϊστε (Pl.); details in Seiler 1950: 88ff.

•ETYM The neuter λῶϊον, which is the first attestation, can be interpreted both as an *o*-stem and as a *n*-stem; the *o*-stem is ascertained only in rare and late forms: λῶϊα, λῶϊα, λῶων, λῶϊος. The *n*-stem is ascertained in λῶϊων and λῶϊονος, -ι (S.); the *s*-stem alternating with it appears in λῶω [acc.sg.f.] (S., Pl.) and λῶϊους [acc.pl.f.] (S.). From these data, Leumann Mus. Helv. 2 (1945): 7ff. concluded that the *o*-stem forms arose as analogical formations from the neuter λῶϊον, and that λῶϊον is an old *n*-stem form.

As primary formations, λῶϊων and λῶϊστος may go back to a verb as well as a noun (cf. Seiler 1950: 88ff.). Two possibilities are mentioned by Frisk: connection with λῆν, 1sg. ▶ λῶ ‘wish, want’, or derivation from *\*lau-* seen in ▶ ἀπολαύω, ▶ λεία, ▶ λᾶρός, for which we could reconstruct *\*loh<sub>2</sub>u-is-*, perhaps connected with Arm. *law* ‘good, better’.

**λῶδιξ, -ικος** [f.] ‘woven cover’ (Peripl. M. Rubr., pap.). <LW Lat.>

•DER Also diminutive λωδίκιον, etc.

•ETYM From Lat. *lōdix*, which itself might be taken from Celtic; see WH s.v.

λῶμα [n.] 'hem, fringe, border of cloths' (LXX Ex.). <?>

•DER λωμάτιον (AP); acc. to EM = τὸ γυναικεῖον, ὃ ὑπὸ Ἀττικῶν ὄχθορος λέγεται ... καὶ τὸ εἰς τὸ κατώτερον τοῦ ἱματίου ἐπιβλήμα 'woman's dress, which is called ὄ. in Attic ... also the embroidery on the lower part of the dress'; acc. to H. also = ῥαφή 'seam, stitch', κλωσμός (a clucking sound).

Further ἀσύλλωτοι, of ὦμοι 'shoulders' (Call. *Dian.* 213), properly 'not tied together', i.e. 'uncovered'; εὖλωστοι· εὖυφεῖς 'well-woven', λωστοί· ἐρραμμένοι 'stitched', ἄλωστοι· ἄρραφοι 'unstitched', λωισμιόν· λῶμα (H.); see Danielsson *IF* 4 (1894): 162ff.

•ETYM λῶμα has been connected with εὐληρα, αὐληρα 'rein', Lat. *lōrum* 'id.', Arm. *lar* 'noose, cord', but εὐληρα is Pre-Greek. Connection with the root \*uel- 'turn, wind, twist' is hardly possible, as it does not explain the ω in λῶμα. Both proposals are unconvincing. See ►λωτις, ►λωστυς.

λῶπη 'cove, mantle, cloth'. ⇒λέπω.

λωστυς [f.] <?>

•VAR Only λωστυος [gen.sg.] (Ἀρχ. Ἔφ. 1923, N° 123, 39 and 68; Oropos [IV<sup>a</sup>]).

•ETYM Meaning end etymology unknown; cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 16 (1928): 169.

λωτις [f.] mg. unknown (SIG 145, 26; Delphi IV<sup>a</sup>); acc. to Danielsson *IF* 4 (1894): 164ff. designatin of a 'cloth with trimming and ornament woven and sewed on it', and related to λῶμα, ἀ-σύλ-λωτος, etc. (see ►λῶμα). <?>

•DER The reading λ]ωτι (SIG 243 D 15) is uncertain, cf. Dittenberger ad loc.

•ETYM Related to λωστυς?

λωτός [m.] 'lotus', name of several nutrimental plants, 'Trifolium, Melilotus, Trigonella, etc.' (Il.), also of the Egyptian water lily, 'Nymphaea' (Hdt.), of the libyan lotus tree, 'Celtis australis' (ι 93 f.), and a flute made of it (E.); on the mg. Strömberg 1937: 184, Carnoy *REGr.* 71 (1958): 95f., Economos *Class. Journ.* 30 (1934-1935): 424ff. <LW Medit.>

•COMP EN Λωτο-φάγοι (Od.), μελί-λωτος [m.], -ον [n.] 'Melilotus' (Sapph.).

•DER λωτόεις 'rich in lotus', probably in λωτεῦντα, -οῦντα for -όεντα, of πεδία (M 283), see Chantraine 1942: 35 and 351, Chantraine *REGr.* 63: 283; λώτινος 'consisting of λ., made of λ.' (Sapph., Anacr.); λωτάριον 'lotus flower' (medic.), λῶταξ 'αὐλητής, flute player' (Zonar., Eust.).

Denominative verbs: 1. λωτίζομαι 'to pick the flower, i.e. take the best part' (A. *Supp.* 963), -ω (H.), ἀπο-λωτίζω [v.] 'to take the flower from sbd.' (E.), with λώτισμα 'the flower, best part of sth.' (A. *Fr.* 99, 18, E. *Hel.* 1593). 2. λωτέω [v.] 'to play the flute' (Zonar.); hardly in λωτεῦντα (M 283), see above.

•ETYM A Mediterranean word. Acc. to Lewy 1895: 46, it was borrowed from Hebr. *lōt* 'στακτή, oil of myrrh' (LXX *Ge.* 37, 25; 43, 11); cf. also Arab. *lādan* > λάδανον, ►λήδανον. Hyllested 2004 assumes \**luh<sub>3</sub>-to-*, with vocalization of the laryngeal, but the evidence for such a development is too limited.

λωφάω [v.] 'to recover, take rest, let go' (Pl. *Phdr.* 251c), also trans. 'to quench, relieve' (poet.); on the mg. see Fowler *AmJPh.* 78 (1957): 176 and 179. <?>

•VAR Also -έω (Hell.); aor. λωφήσαι (since ι 459), fut. λωφήσω (Φ 292, etc.), perf. λελώφηκα (Th., Pl.).

•COMP Rarely with prefix, e.g. κατα-.

•DER λώφησις 'cessation' (Th.), λῶφαρ· λώφημα (H.), λωφήϊος 'relieving, expiatory' (A. R. 2, 485).

•ETYM Formally, cf. the type πωτάομαι, νωμάω, στρωφάω, which means that it is probably a deverbative (Schwyzer: 719). Etymology unknown; connection with ἐλαφρός, ἐλαχύς, etc. is impossible because these have an initial laryngeal. The comparison with the Germanic group of OHG *labōn* 'to quench, refresh' (Bezzenger *BB* 5 (1882): 318) is doubtful; these may also be considered borrowings from Lat. *lavāre* 'to wash'. Not related to IE \**sleub<sup>h</sup>*- 'hang down' (as per Schwyzler: 719<sup>4</sup>, followed by Pok. 964).

# Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series

*Edited by*  
Alexander Lubotsky

VOLUME 10/2

# Etymological Dictionary of Greek

*By*  
Robert Beekes

*With the assistance of*  
Lucien van Beek

VOLUME TWO



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## M

**μά** [pcl.] asseverating 'really, indeed' (Il., IA), adversative = δέ 'but' (Thess.). <IE \**(s)me(h<sub>2</sub>)* (?)>

•ETYM Might be cognate with Skt. *smā* [pcl.] 'really, truly' and/or with Hitt. *-ma* [encl.] 'but'. It is unclear whether μά continues \**mh<sub>2</sub>* or \**mn*. See ► μήν 1.

**μᾶ** [f.] 'mother', in μᾶ γᾶ voc. = μήτηρ γῆ 'Mother Earth' (A. *Supp.* 890, 899 [lyr.]), and also as a woman's exclamation (Hdt., Theoc.). <IE, ONOM>

•ETYM Nursery word like Skt. *mā* 'mother' (lex.); likewise, παῖς = ► πατήρ 'father'. See ► μαῖα, ► μήτηρ, ► μάμμη.

**μάγαδις, -ιδος** [f.] a stringed instrument, ascribed to the Lydians, but also to the Thracians (Alcm., Anacr.); also a Lydian flute (Ion Trag., Anaxandr.). <LW Lyd.>

•VAR Acc. -iv.

•DER μαγαδίζω 'to play the μάγαδις, imitate the μ., i.e. sing scales' (Theophil., Arist.), cf. Schwyzler 736. Further μαγάς, -άδος [f.] 'the bridge on a stringed instrument' (Ptol., Philostr., H.), with μαγάδιον (pap. I<sup>a</sup>, Ptol.).

•ETYM A foreign word from an unknown, probably Lydian source. Others have proposed Semitic origin (Lewy 1895: 162f.). Fur.: 122, 226 reconstructs a pre-form \*μαγδισ, comparing πηκτίς, also a Lydian stringed instrument, with which it would be identical, according to Aristox *Fr. Hist.* 66 and Menaichm. 4 J.

**μαγαρίς** [f.] · μικρά σπάθη 'small blade' (H.). <LW Sem.??>

•ETYM Lewy KZ 59 (1932): 192 compares Hebr. *m<sup>e</sup>gērā* 'saw', *gārār* 'draw, pull', which remains questionable. Latte considers it a mistake for ματαρίς, comparing μαδάρεις· τὰς πλατύτερας λόγχας τῶν κεράτων. Κελτοί; see DELG s.v.

**μάγγανον** [n.] 'philtre, charm' (Heracl. *All.*, H.), 'block of a pulley' (Hero *Bel.*, pap. III<sup>p</sup>), 'iron peg, bolt' (sch.), μ. πολεμικόν 'catapult, ballista, tormentum' (gloss., H.), · γάγγαμον 'fishing-net' (H.). <PG(V)>

•DER μαγγανάριος 'enchanter' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>), 'mechanic' (Papp.) is probably a loan from Latin. Denominative verb μαγγανεύω 'to deceive by machinations, bewitch, play tricks' with μαγγαν-εία 'trickery' (Pl. *Lg.*, Ph.), -εύματα [pl.] 'trickeries, quack medicines' (Pl., Plu.), -ευτής 'impostor, quack' (Suid., Phot.), -ευτική τέχνη 'magical art' (Poll.), -εύτεριαι [pl.] (H. s.v. βαμβακεύτεριαι), -ευτήριον 'haunt of impostors' (Them.).

•ETYM As a loan, the word became widespread: Lat. *manganum* 'machine' (whence Ital. *mangano* 'sling'), with the by-form *mangō* 'fixer' (from Hell. \*μάγγων?), whence

*mangōnium* 'the touching up of wares for sale'; a number of European languages may have borrowed the word from Latin: for example, Alb. *mangë* 'hemp brake, hackle', *mëngji* 'medicine'; MHG *mange* 'catapult', MoHG *Mange(l)* 'wringer for laundry' (whence e.g. Lith. *mañgalis* 'mangle'); Mlr. *meng* 'deceit, cleverness, ruse'. Skt. *mañju-*, *mañjula-* [adj.] 'beautiful, sweet, charming', *mañgala-* [n.] 'happiness, salvation, good omen' (all epic and class.) were proposed as cognates of μάγγανον, but this is not credible, as they are semantically too far off (Dravidian origin was considered by Mayrhofer KEWA: 547, 553 and Mayrhofer EWAia: 3: 379f.). Such an isolated comparison of Sanskrit and Greek words carries little weight. Oss. *mæng* 'deceit', MP *mang* 'id.', Sogd. *mnk* 'id.' are unclear. Connection to the group of ▶μάσσω 'knead' is unconvincing too.

As Van Beek (p.c.) suggests to me, μάγγανον recalls μηχανή both semantically and formally. Although the Greek form cannot be derived from an IE root \**meng-* (as per Pok. 731), the pair of words shows prenasalization and interchange of γ and χ, which both are typical reflexes of a Pre-Greek word. For the change in vowel quantity, we may compare ▶καγκύλας · κηκίδας. Αιολεῖς (H.).

As regards the semantic development, Frisk assumes that the word originally denoted a concrete technical object. However, the technical meanings diverge strongly, and are attested at a later date. Rather, the connection with μηχανή shows that the oldest attestations depart from a meaning 'ruse, trick' (see ▶μηχανή). Later, the word was used to denote all kinds of special tricks, and the divergent technical meanings, e.g. γάγγαμον 'fishing-net' (H.), can only be understood in this way.

**μαγδαλιά** late for ἀπομαγδαλιά. = μάσσω.

**μάγδωλος** [m.] 'watchtower' (pap., H.). <LW Sem.>

•VAR Or ὠλος? Also μαγδῶλ, -ῶλος.

•COMP μαγδωλο-φύλαξ 'watchman' (pap., H.).

•DER Eg. town name Μάγδωλος (Hecat. 317 J.), Μαγδῶλα (pap.).

•ETYM From Sem.; cf. Hebr. *migdal* 'tower' (also as a TN). Fur.: 312, 321 considers a non-IE loan in Hamito-Semitic (adducing Berb. *mogador* 'watchtower' and Akk. *madgaltu* 'id.').

**μάγειρος** [m.] 'slaughterer, butcher, cook' (Att., Hell. and late). <PG?(V)>

•VAR Dor. μάγῖρος.

•COMP As a second member in ἀρχι-μάγειρος 'chief cook' (LXX, J., Plu.).

•DER Rarely fem. μαγείραινα (Pherecr. 84; nonce form), μαγείρισσα (LXX). Diminutive μαγειρίσκος [m.] (Ath.), with *magiriscium* 'small figure of a butcher' (Plin.). Adjective μαγειρικός 'of a cook or butcher' (Ar., Pl., Arist.) with -ικόν, -ική 'art of cooking, butcher taxes, etc.'; μαγειρώδης 'like a butcher' (Eun.). Denominative μαγειρεῖω [v.] 'to be cook or butcher' (Hell.) with μαγειρ-εῖον 'butchery, soup kitchen' (Arist., Hell.), -εῖα [f.] 'boiled food' (Cato, Hdn. *Epim.*), -ηῖα [f.] 'butcher taxes?' (Eresos), -εῦμα = -εῖα (H., Eust.), -ευτικός (late). Probably also Ἀπόλλων Μαγίριος (Cyprus).

•ETYM As an element of higher culinary culture, the profession μάγειρος seems to have entered Attic from Doric (for older δαιτρός?). The earlier history of the word is

unknown. Pisani *Rev. Int. ét. balk.* 1 (1934): 255ff. supposes Macedonian origin, connecting μάχαιρα 'big knife, butchery knife'; Schwyzler: 471<sup>12</sup> recalls Lat. *mactāre*. Not related to ▶μάσσω 'to knead', as earlier authors assumed.

The word looks non-IE, because of the alternations εἰ / ῖ and (if μάχαιρα belongs here) γ/χ. Is it Pre-Greek, deriving from \**mak-ar*? Aeol. μάγοιρος, mentioned by LSJ s.v., is only attested in Greg. Cor., which is not a trustworthy source. See ▶μάχαιρα.

**μάγος** [m.] 'member of the Median caste of priests, Magus', as an appellative 'interpreter of dreams, sorcerer, deceiver' (Hdt., Heraclit., S., E., etc. [Μᾶγος A. *Pers.* 318]), as an adjective 'magical, enchanting' (Philostr., AP). <LW Iran.>

•COMP ἀρχι-μάγος 'chief Magus' (Epigr. Hypaipa; cf. Wikander 1946: 49f.).

•DER μαγικός 'belonging to the Magi, magical' (LXX, Plu., etc.), μαγιανός 'magical, enchanted' (pap. I<sup>a</sup>; after Ἀσιανός), μαγέταν αὐλόν· τὸν μαγεύοντα τοὺς ἀκρωμένους H.; μαγεύω 'perform as a Magus, enchant' (E., Hell.) with μαγεία (-ία) 'teachings of the Magi, magic' (Pl. *Alc.*, Thphr., *Act. Ap.*), μαγ-εὔματα [pl.] 'id.' (E.), -ευτής = μάγος (D. C.), -ευτικός 'regarding the Magi, regarding magic' (Pl.).

•ETYM From Iranian; cf. OP *Maguš* (Av. *moyu-*), name of a Median tribe with priestly functions. As the appellative meaning is unknown, the etymology cannot be established. See Schmitt *Glotta* 49 (1971): 105-107; recent discussion in Brust 2005: 385ff.

**μαγύδαρις** [f.] 'blossom, seed, root (and the sap obtained from it) of the plant called σίλφιον and of a related plant' (Thphr., Dsc., H.). <?>

•VAR Late μαγόδδαρις (Gp. 2, 35, 9 codd.).

•ETYM Foreign word of unknown origin (Libyan or Syrian?); cf. the litt. in WH s.v. *magūdaris* (Pl.).

**μαδάω** [v.] 'to drip, melt, be moist' (Thphr.; concerning a disease of a fir-tree), also 'to fall out', of hair. <IE \**meh<sub>2</sub>d-* 'be moist, drip'>

•VAR Aor. μαδήσαι.

•COMP Also with ἀπο- (Hp., Ar., Arist., LXX).

•DER μάδησις 'hair loss' (Hp.), μαδαῖος 'moist' (Poet. *de herb.*), after ἰκμαῖος? Factitive μαδίζω [v.] 'to remove hair, pluck or singe' (medic.), also with ἀπο-; thence μαδιστήριον 'instrument for removing hair, place where depilation is carried out' = εὔστρα 'place for singeing slaughtered swine' (Halicarn. I<sup>a</sup>, sch.), ὅλο-μάδιστος 'completely bald' (Cyran.), also μάδισος (see below); as an iterative μαδάσκειν [v.] 'to drip, become moist' (medic. VII<sup>a</sup>). Expressive enlargement μα[γ]δάλλει· τίλλει, ἐσθίει 'plucks, eats'; μα[γ]δάλλοντες· τίλλοντες, ἐσθιοντες (H.), cf. κναδάλλεται· κνήθεται 'scratches' (H.) and Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 91.

Further: μαδαρός [adj.] 'wet' (Hp., Arist.), 'bald' (Luc.) with μαδαρότης 'baldness, loss of hair and of the eyelashes' (Hp., Gal.), μαδαρώ 'to remove hair' (LXX *Ne.* 13, 25, v.l., Crete II<sup>a</sup>), μαδάρωσις = -ότης (Gal., Vett. Val.), probably directly from μαδαρός; μαδαρ-ιάω [v.] 'suffer from hair loss' (Cleopatra *apud* Gal. 12, 405). Also μαδι-γένειος 'with bald chin' (Arist.); cf. χαλαρός beside χαλί-φρων. Note μάδος, -ον (back-formation?) = ἄμπελος λευκή (Dsc.), because its root was used for depilation;

rendered as ψίλωθρον by H., which may indicate the same plant. Further μαδωνάϊς = νυμφαία 'water-lily' (Boeot. according to Thphr. *HP* 9, 13), but Bechtel amends to μαδωνία. Also μάδιος· δίκηλα. οἱ δὲ μαδιβός (H.), probably from μαρίζω.

•ETYM For the shift of meaning from 'flow away' to 'fall out', compare ἐκρέω 'to flow away, fall out' and Lat. *dēfluō* 'to flow down', also 'to fall out', of hair. For the pair μαδάω : μαδαρός, cf. χαλάω 'slacken' beside χαλαρός 'loose' and πλαδάω 'to be moist' beside πλαδαρός 'wet' (rhyming), which are both semantically close. The aor. μαδησαι is an innovation as compared to χαλάσαι (which behaves like λαγαρός : λαγάσαι, etc.); it is unclear how the present stem μαδα- was derived. The root is also found in Lat. *mado* 'to be moist, drip, be drunk' (after the intransitives in -ēre), OIr. *maidim* 'to break (out)' (intr.), 'to fall to pieces' (< \*'to flow out or away' vel sim.; possibly formally identical with *mado*), Skt. *mādati* 'to be intoxicated'. On the reconstruction \**meh<sub>2</sub>d-*, see Lubotsky MSS 40(1981): 133-138. See further ►μαστός, ►μήδεα.

**μάδρυα** [n.pl.] = κοκκύμηλα, βράβυλα 'plums, sloes' (Seleuc. *apud* Ath. 2, 50a). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ἀμάδρυα· κοκκύμηλα. Σικυώνιοι (H., Phot.). Also ►ἄδρυα, in Σικελοὶ δὲ ἄδρυα λέγουσι τὰ μῆλα 'apples'. παρὰ δὲ Ἀττικοῖς ἀκρόδρυα 'fruits grown on upper branches of trees' (H. and Ath. 3, 83a). Maybe also βάδρυα, but see Fur. 221.

•ETYM ἀμάδρυα did not originally mean 'belonging to a tree', as tree names in ἄμα- meant 'blossoming at the same time as'. Rather, initial /h-/ was added by folk etymology to \*ἄ-μάδρυα, a form with (non-IE) prothetic vowel. This form (ἄ)μάδρυα must be a Pre-Greek etymon. If βάδρυα is reliable, we also have variation μ/β, to which φ may be added in order to explain ►ἄδρυα.

**μάζα** [f.] 'barley-cake' (IA), '(metal) nugget, mass, ball' (LXX, J., pap.). <IE? \**meh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-* 'knead'>

•VAR Accent acc. to Hdn. Gr. 2, 937; Att. acc. to Moer. Also μάζα (Hell. acc. to Moer.), Megar. μάδδα (Ar. *Ach.* 732, 835).

•COMP Compounds: μαζο-νόμος (pap. III<sup>p</sup>), -νόμον (Hell. inscr.), -νόμιον (Callix. 2), -νομείον (com.) 'trencher for μ.'; ὁλό-μαζος 'with its whole mass, from top to bottom' (Hero *Stereom.*).

•DER Diminutive μαζ-ίσκη (Ar.), -ιον (Phryn. Com. et al.). Adjective μαζ-ηρός 'belonging to the μάζα' (Poll.), for the formation cf. σιτηρός; μαζεινός (for μάζινος?) βοῦς· ὁ ἐξ ἀλφίτων 'of barley groats' (H.). Denominative μαζάω [v.] 'to knead barley dough' (pap., H.), ὑπερ-μαζάω 'to be overfed' (Ath., Luc.); also μαζάω (Suid.), cf. κριθάω. Unclear μαζύγιον [n.] (beside μαζύς [f.]) 'amalgam' (Zos. Alch.).

•ETYM Derived from μαγ-ῆναι, pres. ►μάσσω with a suffix -ια-; cf. μάζα μεμαγμένη (Archil.). The long α would then be secondary. Borrowed from μάζα: Lat. *massa* 'clump, mass' (Plaut.). Not a Semitic loan word (Hebr. *maṣṣāh* 'unsoured bread' is rather from Greek). The comparison with OCS *mazati* 'to salve, smear', *mažo* [1sg.pres.] points to \**meh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-*. In this case, the long α may also represent an old full-grade.

**μαζός** 1 [m.] 'nipple, breast'. ►μαστός.

**μαζός** 2 [?] a fish (Epich. 69). <PG?(S)>

•VAR Also μαζέας = the fish ἡπατος (Xenocr. *apud* Orib. 2, 58); μαζεινός or μαζεινός (Doris *apud* Ath. 315f).

•ETYM See Thompson 1947 s.v. The variation has no parallel, but rather points to a Pre-Greek word. LSJ notes: "probably for μαζίνης in Thphr. *Fr.* 171.2".

**μαθαλῖς, -ίδος** [f.] 'name of a cup, used as a measure (Blaes. 2, H.). <PG?(S)>

•ETYM Formation like ἀγκ-αλ-ίς, φουσ-αλῖς, τρυφ-αλῖς et al. (Chantraine 1933: 252), but there is no root etymology. Connection with μάθυιαι· γνάθοι 'jaws' or ►μασάομαι 'to chew' seems impossible. Fur.: 212 compares Lat. *matula* 'pot for liquids' and βάτος, βάδος, βάδιον 'measure of liquids'.

**μάθη** •VAR μάθησις, μαθητής, etc. ⇒μανθάνω.

**μάθυιαι** [f.pl.] · γνάθοι 'jaws' (H.). ⇒μασάομαι.

**μαῖα** [f.] 'mother', mostly used to address elderly women (Od.), 'nurse, midwife' (Att.), 'grandmother' (Dor.); name of a big crab (Arist.), cf. γραιῖα; of a plant, = λεπίδιον (Orib.), cf. γέρων and synonyms in plant names in Strömberg 1940: 56 and 159'. As a PN, mother of Hermes (*h. Merc.*). <GR>

•DER μαῖηϊος and μαιῖας = μαιευτικός, -κή (Nonn.), Μαιῖας = Μαῖα (ξ 435).

Denominatives: 1. μαιεύομαι [v.] 'to be midwife, deliver' (Att.) with μαιεία [f.] 'midwifery' (Pl.), μαιεύ-μα 'product of delivery', -σις 'delivery', -τικός 'pertaining to delivery, able to deliver' (Pl.), μαιεύτρια 'midwife' (S.); 2. μαιόομαι [v.] 'id.' (Hell.) with μαιώ-σις 'delivery', -τικός (Plu.), μαιώτρα [pl.] 'midwife's wages' (Luc.); μαιῖοι 'adoptive parents' (Paros).

•ETYM Analogical enlargement of the nursery word μά with the suffix -ια, based on γραιῖα (related to γραιῖς, both 'old woman'). Borrowed as Lat. *maia* 'midwife'; the ancient roman goddess *Maia* was later identified with Μαῖα (WH).

**μαιμάω** [v.] 'to be eager, quiver with eagerness, rage' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR 3sg. μαιμάει, pl. μαιμῶσι, etc., aor. μαιμήσαι (E 670); enlarged form μαιμάσσω (LXX, AP), also μαιμῶσσω (Nic.) and μαιμάζω (Ph.).

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, περι-, ἐπι-.

•DER μαῖμαξ· ταραχώδης 'disturbing' (H.), μαιμάκτης, -ου [m.] "the boisterous one", of Zeus as god of the wind in Athens (Plu., Harp., H.), opposed to μελίχιος; also Μαιμακτήρ name of a month (Phocaia), with Μαιμακτηριών, -ώνος [m.] 'id.' (Att.), probably from \*Μαιμακτήρια [pl.] name of a festival; μαιμάχης· ὕβριστής (Zonar.).

•ETYM The intensive reduplication can hardly be of IE origin; the aorist must be secondary. The original quantity of the middle syllable cannot be ascertained.

Although productive, the suffix -ακ- in μαῖμαξ, μαιμάκτης, etc. points to Pre-Greek origin. Late μαιμάσσω may just contain an enlargement -(α)σσω, but it might also be connected with the velar in μαιμάκ-της, etc. Additionally, ἄ-μαιμάκετος may belong here (cf. s.v.), but this is semantically unclear (assuming a pleonastic privative, like in ἀβέλτερος, is unlikely).

The connections with *μαίομαι* and *μῶμαι* are obsolete; see Tichy 1983: 331-334 for a discussion of the meaning of *μαϊμάω* and an attempt to derive it from the perf. ptc. *μεμαῶτ*.

**μαίνη** [f.] 'name of a small herring-like fish, *Maena vulgaris*' (AP 9, 412). <?>

•VAR Further forms *μαινομένη* (sch. Luc.) with *μαινομένιον* (Alex. Trall.), MoGr. *μαίνουλα*, *μανάλι*, etc.; details in Thompson 1947 s.v. Also *μαίνις*, *-ίδος* [f.] (com., Arist.) with *μαινίδιον* (com., Arist.).

•ETYM No etymology. The connection with fish names in other languages (e.g. Ru. *men* [m.] 'barbot', Lith. *mėnkė* 'haddock', which derives from *mėnkas* 'small', see Fraenkel 1955 s.v., and Skt. *mīna-* [m.]) is extremely doubtful. Strömberg 1943: 53ff. hesitatingly attempts to connect *μαίνη* with ►*μαίνομαι* by interpreting it as "the wildly raging fish". Borrowed as Lat. *maena*.

**μαίνομαι** [v.] 'to rage, be furious, out of one's mind, excited' (Il.); rarely active *ἐκ-μαίνω* 'make furious' (E., Ar.), *μαίνω* (Orph.), aor. *μήναι* (S., E.), intr. med. *μήνασθαι* (Z 160, Theoc.). <IE \**men-* 'think of, remember'>

•VAR Aor. *μανῆναι* (IA), fut. *μανέεται* (Hdt.), perf. (with present mg.) *μέμνηνα* (A., S.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. *ἐκ-*, *περι-*, *ὑπο-*, *ἐν-*.

•DER 1. From the present: *μαινάς*, *-άδος* [f.] 'the raging one, Bacchante' (Il.); *μαινόλης* (Aeol., Dor. *-λας*, fem. *-λις*) 'raging, excited' (Sapph., A.). 2. From the root: *μανία*, *-ίη* 'fury, madness' (IA); *μανικός*, *μανιώδης* 'furious, raging' (IA), fem. also *μανιάς* 'id.' (after *λύσσα*: *λυσσάς*, Schwyzler: 508). Verbal adj. *ἐμ-μανής* 'raging' (IA), probably a hypostasis (to *μανία*) after *ἐμ-φανής*, etc., as *ἐμ-μαίνομαι* does not occur before *Act. Ap.*, J. On ►*μάντις*, see s.v.

•ETYM Several languages have a zero-grade *yod*-present corresponding to *μαίνομαι* < IE \**mn-ie/o-*: Skt. *mānyate*, Av. *mainiieite* 'to think'; OIr. *muinithir* 'id.'; OCS *mъnjъ* 'to think, consider', Lith. *miniū* 'to commemorate, remember'. The intr. aorist *μανῆναι* has counterparts in the Balto-Slavic infinitive, Lith. *minėti*, OCS *mъněti*. Secondary origin may be considered for *μανῆναι* (which is post-Homeric) as well, cf. *φαίνομαι*: *φανῆναι*. Formations that arose in Greek are *μήνασθαι* < PGr. \**man-s-* and *μέμνηνα* (after *τακῆναι*: *τέτηκα*, etc.).

Related to the group of ►*μένος*, ►*μέμονα*, and probably ►*μμνήσκω*. For more cognates, see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 1. \**men-*.

**μαίομαι** [v.] 'to touch, investigate, search', present also 'to seek to attain' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aeol. also *μάομαι* (Sapph. 36?), fut. *μάσσομαι*, aor. *-μάσσασθαι*.

•COMP Usually with *ἐπι-*, in the aor. also with *εἰς-*, *ἐκ-*, *ἀμφι-*, *μετα-* (Pi. N. 3, 81).

•DER Verbal adjectives *ἀ-προτί-μαστος* 'untouched' (T 263), *ἐπί-μαστος* epithet of ἀλήτης (v 377), mg. unclear (cf. Bechtel *Lex.* s.v.).

Action nouns: *μάσμα* [n.] 'search, investigation' (Cratin. 424, Pl. *Cra.* 421b), *μαστός*, *-ύος* [f.] 'id.' (Call. *Fr.* 277). Agent noun: *μαστήρ* [m.] 'searcher' (trag.), also [f.], Schwyzler: 530, also name of an Athenian officer (Hyp.); *μάστειρα* [f.] (A.), *μαστήριος* Ἑρμῆς 'Hermes, God of tracing' (A.); epic PN Μάστωρ; *μαστρός* [m.]

name of a financial officer (Pellene, Rhodos, Delphi), *μαστρικός* (Delphi II<sup>a</sup>), *μαστρο(ε)ία*, El. *μαστράα* = *εὔθυνα* (Messen. I<sup>p</sup>, H.).

Denominative *μαστεύω* [v.] 'to search, track down' (Pi., A.; Epid., X.), *μάστ-ευσις* (Epid. IV<sup>a</sup>, Archim.), *-ευτής* (X.), *-εία* (VI<sup>p</sup>); cf. *ματεύω*. Perhaps also related are PNs like *Εὔμαιος*, *Οἰνόμαος*, *Μαίων* (epic).

•ETYM The sigmatic forms (e.g. aor. *-μάσσασθαι* and *ἀ-προτί-μαστος*) suggest an analysis *μαίομαι* < \**mas-je/o-*, but they might also belong to *ματέω*, ►*ματεύω* as secondary formations. Often, *μαίομαι* 'to touch' and *μαίομαι* 'to strive for, try' (the latter with genitive) are considered to be two different verbs, but the meaning 'try to reach, strive for' can be easily explained from the conative aspect of the present stem. There are no clear cognates. In the sense 'to touch', *μαίομαι* has been compared with words for 'beckon with the hand', etc., e.g. OCS *namajati*, 1sg. *namajō* 'to beckon', Lith. *móti*, 1sg. *mōju* 'id.', *mosúoti* 'to turn, swing'; but these clearly continue a root \**meh<sub>2</sub>-* or \**meh<sub>3</sub>-*, and thus are formally different from Greek. In the sense 'strive, try', the verb was compared with ►*μαιμάω* 'to be eager', ►*μῶμαι* 'to strive', but these connections cannot be formally substantiated. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**mes-* reconstructs a present \**ms-io-* > \**ahio-* >> PG \**ma<sup>h</sup>io-*, but such analogical replacement is questionable. ►*μάστιξ*, ►*μάσθλης*, ►*μαστροπός* were compared in Frisk, but are unrelated. See further ►*μαστός*.

**μαῖρα** [f.] 'the Dog Star'. => *μαρμαίρω*.

**μαίσων**, **-ωνος** [m.] 'native cook' in Athens (Ath. 14, 659a); *μαισωνικά* σκώμματα (ibd.). <?>

•ETYM No etymology. Acc. to Ar. Byz. (ibd.), it is originally the name of the comic mask of a cook or servant, which was named after an actor. Unrelated to *μασᾶσθαι* 'chew', as per Chrysippus (ibd.).

**μάκαρ** [adj.] epithet of gods and men, 'happy, blissful' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Fem. also *μάκαρ* (E., Ar. [lyr.]), but more frequently *μάκαιρα* (*h. Ap.* 14), also ntr. in the obl. cases (AP, Nonn.). Further also *μάκάρ* (Archil. *Supp.* 3, 5, Sol. 14, Diph. 126, 6), *μάκαρς* (Alcm. 10, 11).

•DER Superl. *μακάρτατος* (Od., A., S.); *μακάριος* 'blessed, happy' (Pi.); often used as a form of address (Pl., Ar.), cf. *δαμόνιε*; also *μακαριότης* 'blessedness' (Pl. *Lg.*, Arist.); *μακαρία* [f.] 'id.' (Ar., Pl. *Hp. Ma.* 293a); *μακαρίτης*, Dor. *-τάς*, fem. *-τις* 'part of the blessed', 'blessed one' (A., Ar., Men., Theoc.). Denominative *μακαρίζω* [v.] 'to praise, glorify' (Od.) with *μακαριστός* (IA), also barytone *μακάριστος*; *μακαρισμός* [m.] 'act of blessing' (Pl. *Resp.*, Arist.), *μακαριστής* [m.] (J.). Also *μακαρτός* 'blessed' (AP 7, 740, 5; verse-final), as if from \**μακαίρω*. Obscure is *μακαρίνη* *ἀνδράχνη* 'purslane, Portulaca' (H.).

•ETYM The idea of Brugmann *IF* 18 (1905-1906): 434 that *μάκαρ* is originally a neuter \*'blessedness', whence occasionally msc. *μάκάρ* and fem. *μάκαιρα*, is not supported by the texts. It is rather Pre-Greek, because its formation is isolated within Greek, and because of the interchange *-ap/-āp*.

**μακεδνός** [adj.] 'tall, slim', of trees, etc. (η 106, Nic., Lyc.); also name of a people related to the Dorians (Hdt.). <PG(S)>

•DER Also EN Μακεδόνες [m.pl.] 'Macedonians', -ών (IA) [sg.], whence Μακεδονία, -ία, -ικός 'Macedonia, -nian' (IA), also ἡ Μακεδονίς (scil. γῆ) (Hdt.), -ῖτις (Ael.), -ισσα 'Macedonian woman' (Stratt.); μακεδονίζω [v.] 'to be pro-Macedonian' (Plb., Plu.). Long medial vowel in Μακη-δών (Hes. *Fr.* 5, 2, Call.), -δονία, -ίη (Hell. poet.).

•ETYM The pair Μακε-δόν-ες beside μακε-δν-ός is thought to contain an old ablauting suffix, which is also supposed in γοεδνός, etc., though a variant -δόν- is lacking there. A suffix -δόν- is found in animal names, in other appellatives, as well as in action nouns.

A by-form of the EN is Μακέτης 'Macedonian' (Gell.), -τις [f.] (Str., AP) and -τία, -τη (AP), -τᾶ (pap., see Mayser 1: 3, 24); cf. οἰκέτης, etc. Fur. does not discuss these forms. As an analysis μακε-δν-ος is impossible for an IE word, the ethnonym is probably of substrate origin (cf. Λακεδαίμων; Fick 1905: 90); the form with -τ- (which could be a variant alternating with -δ-) then points to Pre-Greek origin.

The meaning of the adjective strongly suggests that it is cognate with μακρός (Frisk), but this can hardly be accounted for in terms of IE morphology. On account of the strange suffixation, I assume Pre-Greek origin for it, too.

**μακέλη** [f.] 'mattock' (Hes. *Op.* 470, Theoc., A. R.), also a destructive instrument of Zeus (A., S., Ar.). <PG(V)>

•VAR μάκελλα [f.] (Φ 259, Luc. *Hes.* 7).

•ETYM The formation has been compared with ἀγέλη, θύελλα, etc. The similarity with ►δίκελλα cannot be coincidental, but Frisk concludes that a convincing explanation has not yet been found. A cross of δίκελλα and a form \*ματέλη, corresponding to Lat. *mateola* 'tool to stave in the earth', supposed by Güntert 1914: 122f., is not supported by any further evidence. Arm. *markel* 'mattock' shows a remarkable similarity; it might be a loan from a common source. Unrelated are Lith. *makāras* 'big stave' and Arm. *mač* 'plough-tail' (the latter is an Iranian loan).

The following glosses from H. may belong to μάκελλα, -έλη: μάσκη· δίκελλα, βάσκα· μακέλη and μάκκορ (Lacon. for μάσκος)· ἐργαλεῖον γεωργικόν, ὡς δίκελλα 'agricultural tool like a δ'.

The variation -ελλα/-έλη is best explained by a Pre-Greek ending \*-alʷa. Therefore, μάκελλα, μακέλη are Pre-Greek, as is ►δίκελλα, see Beekes 2008. On variation κ/σκ, cf. Fur.: 295-301.

**μάκελλον** [n.] 'fence' (inscr. Epid. IV<sup>a</sup>). <PG?(V), LW Sem.??>

•VAR -ος [m.] 'id.' (sch. Ar. *Es.* 137); -ος [m.] and -ον [n.] 'meat market, hall for groceries' (Mantineia I<sup>a</sup>, Sparta, 1 *Ep. Cor.* 10, 25, D. C.); μάκελ(λ)α· φράγματα, δρύφακτοι 'fence, railing; latticed partition'; μάκελος· δρύφακτος (H.).

•DER μακελλωταί θύραι 'latticed doors' (Delos II<sup>a</sup>), borrowed as Lat. *macellōtae* 'id.' (Varro); μακελλεῖον· *laniatorium* 'butchery', μακελλίτης· *corporicida* (cod. *corporicina*) (gloss.); details in Redard 1949: 117. Also μακελᾶς [m.] as "keeper of latticed doors" (AP 7, 709)? See O. Masson *Arch. Orbis* 18:4 (1950): 7ff.

•ETYM Frisk considers this to be a borrowing from Semitic (Hebr. *miklā* 'enclosure'), after Stowasser *apud* Lewy 1895: 111f. Borrowed from Greek was Lat. *macellum* 'market, etc.', whence *macellārius* > μακελλάριος 'butcher' (gl. *laniator*), -ιον [n.] 'food market' (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>). The form μακελλωταί was not derived from Hebr. *miklā'ot* [pl.], but from μάκελλον, like e.g. θυσανωτός from θύσανος. The TN Μάκελλα [f.], a town in western Sicily (Hell. and late), also belongs here. The primary meaning of μάκελλον is 'lattice, fence', and thence 'meat market', etc. The fence may have consisted of pointed objects, which would support relationship with ►μακέλη 'mattock'. If this is correct, the word must be Pre-Greek.

**μακκοῶ** [v.] 'be stupid or out of one's mind' (Ar. *Eq.* 62, 396, *Com. Adesp.* 1210, Luc. *Lex.* 19); Μακκῶ [f.] name of a stupid woman (Suid.). <?>

•ETYM Popular formation with expressive gemination; further details are unclear. Lat. (Osc.) *maccus* 'person of the Atellana, fool, buffoon' also belongs here, of which further details and various explanations are found in WH s.v.

**μακκούρα** [f.]· χειρὶ σιδηρᾷ, ἣ χρώνται πρὸς τοὺς ἵππους 'an iron hand, which is used with horses' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Improbable Semitic etymology by Lewy KZ 55 (1928): 24ff.

**μακρός** [adj.] 'long, great, high' also 'deep, tall, far, lengthy' (Il.). <IE \**meh<sub>2</sub>k-* 'long, thin, tall'>

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. μακρό-βιος 'having a long life' (Hdt., Hp.), ἐπί-, ὑπό-, πρό-μακρος 'oblong' (Hp.), see Strömberg 1946: 100.

•DER Grades of comparison: μακρό-τερος (θ 20 = σ 195), -τατος (Ξ 288 a. 373); further primary forms μάσσων, μήκιστος (see on μήκος).

Nominal abstracts: μάκρος [n.] 'length' (Ar. *Av.* 1131), probably an accidental formation, cf. Chantraine 1933: 417; μακρότης [f.] 'id.' (Hell.).

Denominative μακρύνω [v.] 'to lengthen, remove' (LXX, Hero), whence μακρυσμός 'long interval', μάκρυμμα [n.] 'sth. thrown away' (LXX; v.l. μάκρυνσις).

•ETYM Old adjective, which was also preserved in Latin and Germanic: Lat. *macer* 'meagre, thin', OHG *magar*, ON *magr* 'meagre' < IE \**meh<sub>2</sub>kró-*. A parallel *l*-formation is found in Hitt. *mak-l-ant-* 'meagre'. μακεδνός cannot be formally explained in IE terms, however. In the sense of 'long, high', μακρός ousted δολιχός, which was inherited too. On the vocalisation of laryngeals in the position \**RHC-*, cf. Beekes *IF* 93 (1988): 25. See ►μήκος.

**μάκτρα** [f.] 'kneading trough, bathing tub', etc. ⇒μάσσω.

**μάλα** [adv.] 'very, quite, by all means' (Il.). <IE \**mel-* 'strong, better'>

•COMP Compar. μάλλον 'more, rather', superl. μάλιστα 'most of all, especially' (Il.).

•ETYM Formation like ἄμα, τάχα, πάρα, etc. (Schwyzer: 622). It is thought to contain a zero grade stem, as opposed to the full grade seen in Lat. *mel-ius* 'better' beside *multus* 'many' < *ml-tó-*; a zero grade also in Latv. *milns* 'very many'. The compar. μάλλον (with secondary length after θᾶσσον) probably replaced the original full grade \*μέλλον. The form μάλιον· μάλλον (H.), to be inserted in Tyrt. 12, 6 as well, is

an innovation; the same goes for μαλιωτέρα· προσφιλεστέρα ‘more dear’ (H.). See ►μαλερός, ►μέλω.

**μαλάβαθρον** [n.] name of an oriental spice, probably a kind of cinnamon (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*, Dsc., Gal., Plin.). ◀LW Ind.▶

•DER -ινος ‘prepared with μ.’ (Dsc.).

•ETYM From Skt. *tamāla-pattra-* [n.] ‘leaf of the Tamāla tree’, which was borrowed as τὰ μαλάβαθρα, Lat. *mālobat(h)rum* (after *mālum*), -inus, -ātus.

**μαλακός** [adj.] ‘weak, soft, tender; effeminate, flabby’ (Il.), on the mg. cf. Treu 1955: 183, 187f. ◀IE? \*mlh<sub>2</sub>-k- ‘weak’▶

•COMP μαλακογνώμων ‘of mild mood’ (A.), μαλακο-κρανεύς ‘having a weak skull’, bird-name ‘grey shrike’ (Arist.).

•DER μαλακία, -ίη (IA), μαλακότης (Pl., Arist., Herod.) ‘weakness, effeminacy’. μαλακίων [m.] (form of address) ‘sweetheart’ (Ar. Ec. 1058), see Chantraine 1933: 165; τὰ μαλάκια ‘molluscs’ (Arist.); μαλακώδης ‘softish’ (St. Byz.). Denominative verbs: 1. μαλάσσω, -ττω ‘to soften, appease’ (Pi., IA), μάλαγμα [n.] ‘emollient, padding’ (Pl., Thphr., Ph. Bel., etc.), μαλαγμα-τώδης (medic.), -τίζω [v.] (Zos. Alch.); μάλαξιν ‘softening’ (Thphr., Plu.); μαλακ-τήρ ‘weaker’, μαλακτήρ ἐλέφαντος ‘ivory worker’ (Plu.); -τικός ‘mitigating’ (Hp., Plu.). 2. μαλακίζομαι [v.] ‘to be soft’ (Att.). 3. μαλακύνω [v.] ‘to soften’ (X., Hell.), with μαλάκυνσις ‘softening’ (Alex. Aphr.).

•ETYM The nearest cognate of μαλακός seems to be monosyllabic βλάξ, so we are dealing with a primary κ-derivative. The forms point to a split paradigm: \*mlh<sub>2</sub>-k- > \*μλᾱκ- and \*mlh<sub>2</sub>-ek- > \*μαλ-ακ-. The comparison with the verb for ‘rub, meal’ (in ►μύλη) is outdated. See ►βλάξ, ►μαλθακός.

**μαλατήρες**· ναῦται ‘sailors’ (H.). ◀?▶

•ETYM Unknown.

**μαλάχη** [f.] ‘mallow’ (Hes.). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR Also μολόχη (Epich. and Antiph. *apud* Ath. 2, 58d, SIG 1172, 8, etc.), μολάχη (Vase inscr. Naples). μάλβακα [acc.] (Orac. *apud* Luc. Alex. 25).

•DER μαλάχιον (Ar. Fr. 320, 10), μολόχιον (Clem. Al.) ‘woman’s ornament worn around the neck’, also μάλακιον (Poll., H.), after μαλακός; μαλάχιος· ἰχθύς ποῖός α fish (H.), after the color (Strömberg 1943: 25); μολοχίτης (v.l. -τις) ‘mallow-colored stone’ (Plin., Isid.); μολόχινος ‘made of mallow-fibre, mallow-colored’ (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*), μολόχινα [n.pl.] ‘clothes made of mallow’ (ibid.) > Lat. *molochina* [f.]. Cret. TN ἐμ Μολοχᾶντι (nom. \*Μολοχᾶς, see Schwyzler: 528).

•ETYM Along with Lat. *malva* (whence MoHG *Malve*, etc.), from a Mediterranean language; traditionally compared with Hebr. *mallūah*, name of a lettuce-like plant; does Georg. *balba* also belong here? The hapax μάλβακα [acc.] has a remarkable similarity with *malva* and points to \*μαλφακ/χ-. We may therefore assume a Pre-Greek form \*mal\*ak-. This explains all Greek variants, including the different vocalizations. Pre-Greek may have taken the word from Semitic, or the other way around.

**μάλδακον** [n.] = βδέλλιον (Dsc. 1, 67, Plin. 12, 35) ‘aromatic gum obtained from *Balsomadendrum africanum*’. ◀LW Near East▶

•ETYM Fur.: 212 thinks it is a non-IE loan from the Near East, standing for \*μαδαλκον, and compares Hebr. *b’dōlah*, Akk. *budulhu*, *bidurhu*.

**μαλερός** [adj.] mg. uncertain, said of fire (Il., Hes. Sc. 18, A. Ch. 325), of lions (A. Ag. 141), of singers (Pi. O. 9, 22), also of πόθος, ἄρης; usually explained as ‘violent, strong’ (or ‘consuming’), acc. to Bechtel 1914 s.v. rather “zermalmend”, ‘crushing’. ◀?▶

•VAR μελερός· μαραντικόν· καυστικόν ‘quenching, burning’ (H.).

•ETYM Formation like θαλερός, φανερός, etc. There is no etymology, because of the uncertain meaning. Traditionally taken to be related to ►μάλα in the meaning ‘violent’, etc.; acc. to Bechtel, however, it belongs to ►μάλευρον and ►μύλη.

**μάλευρον** [n.] ‘flour’ (Alc. 70 LSJ, Achae. 51, Theoc. 15, 116). ◀IE \*melh<sub>1</sub>- ‘meal, rub’▶

•VAR Cret. PN Μάλευρος (SGDI 5028 n 4).

•DIAL Myc. *me-re-u-ro* /meleuron/.

•ETYM Either a reshaping of ἄλευρον (s.v. ►ἄλέω) after μύλη, or an old word, cognate with OHG *melo* < PGm. \*melwa- ‘meal’, etc. The latter connection is possible if we reconstruct PIE \*melh<sub>1</sub>-uV-, in which case Myc. *me-re-u-ro* < \*melh<sub>1</sub>-ur- represents the old vocalism, cf. ἄρουρα ‘arable land’ (Myc. *a-ro-u-ra*) which is an extension of \*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-ur-. μάλευρον must then have taken its vo or even continue an old ablauting variant \*mlh<sub>1</sub>-eu- (assuming that the heteroclitic inflection is secondary). The explanation of Myc. *me-le-ti-ri-ja* by vowel assimilation from *mela-* (as per LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*melh<sub>2</sub>-) is unacceptable, as there was no regular vowel assimilation in Greek (see Van Beek fthc.b).

**μάλη** [f.] ‘armpit’, almost only in the expression ὑπὸ μάλης ‘under the armpit, secretly’ (Att.), after this also ὑπὸ (τὴν) μάλην (Plb., Luc.), παρὰ τὴν μ. (*Hippiatr.*). ◀?▶

•DIAL Myc. *ma-ra-pi* /malāp<sup>hi</sup>/?

•ETYM In the same meaning we find μασχάλη, but it does not seem probable that μάλη is a shortened form of μασχάλη.

**μαλθακός** [adj.] ‘weak, tender, soft, mild’ (P 588, also Hp., Pl.). ◀PG(S,V)▶

•VAR Aeol. μόλθακος (Alc.).

•DER μαλθακία ‘softness’ (Pl. R. 590 b); μαλθακώδης ‘emollient’ (Hp., Gal.), μαλθάκινος = μαλθακός (AP).

Denominative verbs: 1. μαλθάσσω = μαλάσσω (Hp., trag.), with μαλθακ-τήριον -τικός, -ξιν (medic.). 2. μαλθακίζομαι [v.] ‘to be or become soft’ (A., E., Pl., Gal.). 3. μαλθακύνω = μαλακύνω (sch.). 4. Also μαλθάζω (Aret.), -αίνω (Stob.) = μαλθάσσω, both probably through replacement of the suffix, rather than to μάλθη, ►μάλθων. Unrelated is ►μάλθη.

Without suffixal -ακ-: μαλθώδης = μαλακτικός ἢ κηρώδης ‘emollient or like wax’ (Hp. *apud* Gal.); μάλθων [m.] ‘sissy’ (Socr. *apud* Stob.); Μάλθιον woman’s name (Paros); μαλθώσω· μαλακώσω ‘will soften’ (H.). Here also ἐπίμαλθα· ἀγαθά, προσηνῆ. ἢ μαλακά, ἢ ἀσθενῆ λίαν ‘good, soft, or soft, or very weak’ (H.).

•ETYM Formation like μαλακός; the two synonymous adjectives may have influenced each other. If μαλακός belongs with βλάξ, then μαλθακός must have taken its ending from μαλακός. Solmsen 1909: 55 recognizes ►μάλθη as the feminine of an original adj. \*μαλθός ‘weak’, which also left traces in μάλθων, etc. (though a reconstruction -η-ko- seems improbable for μαλθακός).

Outside Greek, the Germanic word for ‘mild’, e.g. OHG *multi*, Go. *unmildjai* ‘ἀστοργοί’, has been compared, which could belong to Skt. *márdhati* ‘to neglect’ (maintained in LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 1. \**meldh-*).

However, the following considerations may show that the word is Pre-Greek: 1) μαλθ- cannot be explained from IE \**mldh-*, as this would give \*\*βλαθ-; 2) μαλθακός cannot be cognate with μαλακός, as the latter must go back to \**mlh<sub>2</sub>-ek-*, and there is no trace of the \**h<sub>2</sub>* in the former; 3) if μαλθάζω is old, it points to suffixal \*-αγ-, which together with the (more common) variant seen in μαλθακός must derive from the well-known PG suffix -ak-.

It is now clear that words in -ακο- cannot be derived from an IE derivational type \*-η-ko-, as most words of this kind (like ὄστρακον) are of substrate origin.

►μάλθη should be separated from μαλθακός as a technical loanword. However, μαλθων, \*μαλθώ, etc., which seem to be derivations of μάλθη, are rather variants of μαλθακός without the suffix \*-ak-. It is unclear whether ►ἀμαλός ‘weak’ can be connected; ►ἀμαλδύνω differs too much phonetically as well as semantically.

See further ►μαλακός.

**μάλθη** [f.] ‘mix of wax and pitch’, used to caulk ships, and on writing tablets (Cratin. 204); acc. to H. also = τρυφερή [adj.] ‘delicate, tender’; is this correct? Also name of a large aquatic animal (Ael., Opp.), perhaps after its tender or wax-like meat, Strömberg 1943: 32. ◀PG(S)▶

•VAR Also μάλθα (Ar. Fr. 157), μάλτης, -θη (Hippon., S., D.); on the variation -η : -ᾶ cf. Solmsen 1909: 265.

•ETYM This word probably has nothing to do with ►μαλθακός, as it is a technical loanword. The word is Pre-Greek, as μαλθ- cannot be explained from IE (\**mldh-* > βλαθ-). This also explains the nom. in -ᾶ (Pre-Greek: C 3,1). Borrowed as Lat. *malt(h)a*.

**μαλιάω** [v.] ‘to suffer from glanders’. •DER μαλίασις, the disease. ⇒μήλον 1.

**μάλκη** [f.] ‘numbness from cold’ in hands and feet, plur. ‘chilblain’ (Nic.); μάλκην· τὸ ἐπικόπανον. Πάριοι ‘chopping-block’ (H.). ◀PG(V)▶

•DER μάλκιον [n.]: φάρμακον ἀσθενές τε καὶ μάλκιον ‘a weak and benumbing medicine’ (Anon. *apud* Suid.), perhaps a compar. like ῥίγιον; superl. μαλκίστατον ἥμαρ (Call. Fr. anon. 45). Denominative μαλκίω [v.] ‘to become numb with cold, freeze’ (A. Fr. 332 [652 Mette], X., D., Ael.), after ἰδίω, often written μαλακίω after μαλακός; μαλκιδό-ωντι [ptc.dat.sg.] (Arat. 294, m.c.), μαλκιῆν· ὑπὸ κρύους κατεσκληκέναι καὶ δυσκίνητος εἶναι ‘to be stiff and unable to move for cold’ (Phot.). Here also μαλκόν· μαλακόν (H.)?

•ETYM A convincing explanation is still lacking. There have been attempts connect Lith. *mūlkis* ‘blockhead’, OCS *mlbčati* ‘be silent, dumb’, and other words of doubtful

appurtenance. The connection with μαλακός is semantically unconvincing. A form μαλκ- can hardly be explained in IE terms. The variant spelling μαλακίω may indicate that the word is Pre-Greek.

**μαλλός** [m.] ‘flock of wool’ (Hes. Op. 234, Miletē VI<sup>a</sup>, A., S., Herod.). ◀PG?▶

•COMP πήγεσί-μαλλος ‘thick-fleeced’ (Γ 197).

•DER μαλλωτός ‘provided or lined with flocks of wool’ (Pl. Com., Str.) with μαλλωτάριον ‘sheepskin’ (pap. V-VI<sup>p</sup>); μάλλωσις ‘lining with wool’ (sch.). Further μάλλυκες· τρίχες ‘hairs’ (H.), after ἄμπυκες, κάλυκες, etc.; with simplification of the geminate: μάλιον ‘long hair, pigtail’ (AP 11, 157, Herm. Trism.).

•ETYM The connection with Lith. *milas* ‘coarse homespun wool’ has been abandoned. Greppin *Glotta* 59 (1981): 70-75 suggests that Arm. *mal* ‘ram’ is cognate with the Greek word. The latter only denotes the ‘flock of wool’, and never the animal, but this may be a later semantic development. An IE form \**mh<sub>2</sub>l-* is rather improbable, however. Greppin explains the form from \**malyo-*, but this is not certain, as the -λλ- may also be a geminate of Pre-Greek origin. Clackson 1994: 232 (fn. 250) suggests that “the word is better explained as a loan from Arabic *māl* ‘possession’ with its transferred meaning ‘sheep’ (thus Ačāryan 1977: 224).” The word may well be Pre-Greek.

**μάλός** [adj.] epithet of τράγος ‘goat’ (Theoc. Ep. 1, 5), explained as ‘white’ by H. ◀?▶

•ETYM May have been dissolved from μαλο-πάρανος, properly ‘apple-cheeked’ (Theoc. 26, 1), but taken by H. to mean λευκοπάρειος; cf. μάλουρος (-ρις) = λεύκουρος, λευκόκερκος (H.). See ►μήλον 1.

**μάματα** [n.pl.] · ποιήματα (v.l. πέμματα ‘dressed food’ Meineke), βρώματα ‘prepared food’ (H.); μάμματα· βρώματα (sch. Pl. Alc. 1, 118e). ◀?▶

•ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 21f. thinks it is dialectal (Doric-Macedonian) for μάγματα (and related to ►μάσσω ‘to knead’).

**μάμη** [f.] ‘mother’ (Pherecr., Men., Epicur., AP), ‘mother’s breast’ (Arr.), ‘grandmother’ (LXX, pap. I<sup>a</sup>, Ph., Plu.). ◀ONOM▶

•COMP μαμμιό-θρεπτος ‘raised by grandmother’ (Phryg., Poll.), also Μαμμάκυθος [m.] ‘blockhead’ (Ar. Ra. 990), properly “who hides with his mother” (κεύθω).

•DER Hypocoristic derivatives: μαμμία (Ar.), -ίον (Phryn.), -ίδιον (Plu., Hdt.). Adjective μαμιμός, μαμικός (pap.). Cf. παπία, etc. s.v. ►πάππα.

Denominative μαμιάω [v.] ‘to cry for the breast’ [thus LSJ] (Ar. Nu. 383).

•ETYM A nursery word, from reduplicated μάμμι [voc.] (Ar. Byz.). Several cognates, e.g. Lat. *mamma* ‘mother, nurse, grandmother, mother’s breast’, MoHG (Alem.) *mamme*, Lith. *mamā*, Ru. *máma*. See also Chantraine REGr. 59-60 (1946-1947): 243 and Risch *Mus. Helv.* 1 (1944): 119. On the geminate, see Schwyzler: 315; on the α-vowel, ibid. 339. See ►μᾶ, ►μαῖα, ►μήτηρ, ►μαστός.

**μανδάκης** [m.] ‘δεσμός χόρτου (band to tie trusses), sheaf, bundle’. ◀LW Thrac.?▶

•DER μανδάκιον [n.] (pap.); μανδακηδόν ‘in the form of a band’ (*Hippiatr.*).



•ETYM Formation like ► γαυνάκης. Is it perhaps a loan from Old Iranian *banda-ka-* 'band, fetter' via Thracian, in view of the development *b > m*? See recently Brust 2005: 415ff. The formation can hardly be IE. See ► μάνδρα.

**μάνδαλος** [m.] 'bolt of a door' (Med. *apud* Erot., Artem.). <?>

•DER μανδαλώσας 'bolting(?)' (H. s.v. τυλαρώσας), μανδαλωτός 'with the bolt shot' (com., Phot.), also a lascivious kiss [LSJ].

•ETYM Technical word in -αλο- without etymology; cf. on ► μάνδρα. The formation can hardly be IE. Unrelated are ἀμάνδαλον = ἀφανές 'invisible' (Alc. Z 81), ἀμανδαλοί· ἀφανίζει, βλάπτει 'renders invisible, damages' (H.), in view of the divergent meanings.

**μάνδρα** [f.] 'fold, pound, stable' (S. Fr. 659, Call., Theoc., *Peripl. M. Rubr.*, Plu.), also 'cloister' in ἀρχι-μανδρίτης 'chief of a cloister, abbot, archimandrite' (Just.). <PG?>

•VAR μάνδραι· ἔρκη, φραγμοί, αὐλαι, σηκοί βοῶν καὶ ἵπων 'enclosures for cows and horses' (H.).

•DER Enlargement μάνδρευμα (D. H.), after the nouns in -ευμα.

•ETYM The word μάνδρα has been compared with Skt. *mandirā-* [n.] 'dwelling, house', *mandurā* [f.] 'stable' since Fick, in which case we could be dealing with a loan from a common source (Asia Minor). The unification of μάνδρα, μάνδαλος, μανδάκης under one root *mand-* 'to fence in' or 'pound made of twisted rods', is ill-founded. Semitic etymology in Lewy KZ 58 (1931): 59 (to be rejected).

DELG mentions μανδρο- in names, on which see Nilsson 1941(1): 558<sup>3</sup>. Hardly an IE formation, as a root *\*mh<sub>2</sub>n(d)-* is improbable.

**μανδραγόρας** [m.] 'mandrake' (Att., Thphr.). <?>

•DER μανδραγορίτης οἶνος (Dsc.), -ῖτις· Ἀφροδίτη (H.); the plant was known as an aphrodisiac; -ικός 'made of μ.' (Alex. Trall.); -ιζομένη 'drugged with μ.' (name of a comedy of Alexis).

•ETYM Unexplained. E. Fraenkel *Satura Berolinensis*: 23f. suspects that the plant was named after a person (a physician). Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 42 (following Lagarde) hesitatingly refers to the Persian plant name *merdum gijā* 'plant of humans'; the Mandragora root is called ἀνθρωπόμορφος by an unknown informant, and is referred to by Columella as *semihomo*. It could be a folk-etymological adaptation of a foreign word.

From μανδραγόρας, MoE *mandrake*, Arm. *manragor*, etc. have been borrowed.

**μανδύα** [f.] a woollen garment (A. Fr. 364 = 711 Mette, LXX). <?>

•VAR -η [f.], -ας, -ης [m.].

•ETYM Unexplained foreign word: Persian acc. to Ael. Dion. Fr. 252 and H.; A. (l.c.) and St. Byz. 415, 7 speak of Λιβυρνική μανδύη. Considerations in Brust 2005: 420ff.

**μάνης** [m.] 1. 'slave', also a typical slave-name (com.); 2. 'kind of cup' (Nico 1, Delos III<sup>a</sup>, pap.); also the unlucky throw of the dice; also a bronze figure, used in the game of κότταβος (a cup, or a support?); see Ath. 487c d. <?>

•VAR μάνητες [nom.pl.], μάνᾱς [acc.pl.].

•DER Diminutive μανίον.

•ETYM The slave name is from Phrygian (Φρύξ means 'slave', among other things; see WH s.v. *mānēs*); the connection with κότταβος is secondary. Mazzarino *Rend. Acc. Linc.* 6:15 (1939): 366ff. thinks the word is Sicilian in the latter meaning, and connects it with Lat. *mānāre* 'to flow'. We may be dealing with two different origins.

**μανθάνω** [v.] 'to learn, get to know, experience' (Pi.). On the meaning, see Snell 1924: 74f. and Dörrie 1956. <IE *\*mn(s)-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-* ►

•VAR Aor. μαθεῖν (Il.), fut. μαθήσομαι (Thgn., Parm.), perf. μεμάθηκα (Anacr., Xenoph., Emp.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ἐκ-, προ-, μετα-.

•DER Action nouns: 1. μάθη [f.] 'learning, insight' (Emp., H.). 2. μάθος [n.] 'what has been learnt, custom' (Alc., Hp., A.). 3. μάθησις = μάθη (Alcm., IA). 4. μάθημα 'what has been learnt, knowledge', plur. '(mathematical) sciences' (IA, Hell.), with μαθηματ-ικός 'fond of learning, scientific, mathematical' (Pl., Arist.), -ικεύομαι [v.] 'to argue mathematically' (Dam.). 5. μαθημοσύνη 'learning' (Phr., imperial period). Agent nouns: μαθη-τής 'disciple' (IA), -τικός 'fond of learning; learnable' (Pl., Arist.), -τικεύομαι (Dem.), -τεύω [v.] 'to be a disciple, turn into a disciple' (NT, Plu.) with -τεία 'education' (Timo, D. Chr.), -τιάω [v.] 'to be eager to learn' (Ar.); fem. -τρίς (Ph.), -τρια (D. S., Act. Ap.); μαθετής 'id.' (Knossos II<sup>a</sup>), after εὐρετής?

•ETYM The Greek forms all go back to the zero grade aorist μαθεῖν; the full grade could be represented either in μενθήρη 'φροντίς, μέριμνα' (H., EM) or in προμηθής 'premeditative, careful'. The latter is isolated (cf. s.v.), but μενθ- corresponds to OHG *mendi* 'gladness', *menden* 'to rejoice', beside a zero grade in e.g. Go. *mundon sis* 'to look at, σκοπεῖν', ON *munda* 'to aim (with a weapon), head for a goal'.

A full grade in Lith. *mañdras* 'lively, cheerful', OCS *mōdrō* 'φρόνιμος, σοφός'. A pre-form *\*mns-d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* (related to *\*mén-s-*) is assumed for Skt. *medhā* 'wisdom, insight', Av. *mazdā* 'remembrance'. See ► μενθήρη.

**μανιάκης, -ου** [m.] 'golden collar, worn by the Persians and Gauls' (Plb., LXX, Pln.). <?>

•VAR Also -η [f.].

•COMP μαννο-φόρος (Theoc. 11, 41; v.l. for ἀμνο-).

•DER Diminutive -ιάκιον (sch. Theoc. 11, 41), also μανάκιν (pap.); μάννος, μόννος [m.] 'collar' (Poll.).

•ETYM Formation like ► μανδάκης, ► γαυνάκης. Usually considered to be a Gaulish word (cf. e.g. OIr. *muin-torc* 'collar', OW *minci* 'collar for horses', etc.) with cognates in Lat. *monile* 'collar', OHG *menni* 'neck ornament', etc.; see WH s.v. *monile*. Relation with ► μόνναπος 'aurochs' seems improbable.

It is now thought that the other IE languages must have acquired the word from the same (or a related) source as Greek. R. Schmitt *Sprache* 13 (1967): 61-64 connects Av. *zarənu-maini-* 'with golden collar'; see also Kronasser 1969: 61. Arm. *maneak* 'collar' could be of Iranian origin in view of the suffix *\*-aka-*. The variants μάννος, μόννος point to a non-IE origin for the Greek word: geminate -vv-, interchange α/o and presence of a suffix -(ι)ακ-. Still, the origin remains unclear.

**μαννα 1** [f.] 'frankincense powder' (Hp., Dsc.). <PG?>

•ETYM Probably a loan, possibly of Pre-Greek origin.

**μάννα 2** [n.] ‘manna’ (LXX). <LW Sem.>

•ETYM From Hebr. *mān* ‘manna’.

**μᾶνός** [adj.] ‘thin, loose, open in texture, rare’ (IA, Emp. 75, 1). <PG?(V)>

•VAR μᾶνός (Telecl. 61); on βανόν see below.

•COMP μᾶνό-στημιος ‘with loose chain, thin, fine’ (A. Fr. 297 = 688 Mette).

•DER μανότης ‘thinness, rareness’ (Pl., Arist., Thphr.), μανία ‘id.’ (An. Ox.); μανώδης ‘thin’ (Arist.); μανάκις ‘rare’ (Pl. Com., H.), to πολλάκις; μανόω [v.] ‘to loosen’ (Thphr.) with μάνωσις (Arist.). Variant βανόν· λεπτόν ‘thin, delicate’ (H.).

•ETYM Ion. μᾶνός and Att. μᾶνός derive from \*μᾶνρός; beside these, we find a *u*-stem in μάνν· μικρόν (cod. πικρόν). Ἀθαμῖνες ‘small’ (H.). The *u*-stem is also seen in Arm. *manr*, gen. *manu* ‘small, thin, fine’, *manu-k* ‘child, boy, servant’ (see Clackson 1994: 117). Unrelated is ►μάνυζα. Brugmann *RhM* N.F. 62 (1907): 634f. also adduces μαναύεται· παρέλκεται (H.), properly ‘isolates himself’, and, hesitatingly, ►βάναντος. However, the -av- remains unexplained.

Skt. *manāk* ‘a little’, Lith. *meñkas* ‘short’, Hitt. *maninku-* ‘close, near’, are all of unclear formation, as well as OIr. *menb* < \**menyo-*. If Gr. μανν- is from \**mnh<sub>2</sub>-u-* (cf. μανώδης, μαν-άκις), it conflicts with the etymology of OIr. *menb*.

Perhaps, μόνος could be included here. For Pre-Greek origin, see Fur.: 221 with good motivation. See ►μόνος.

**μαντία** [f.] ‘raspberry’ (Dsc. 4, 37). <PG(O)>

•ETYM Probably Pre-Greek. Cf. Alb. Gheg *mand* ‘mulberry(tree)’; see Fur.: 209, 272, who compares Sardinian and Basque forms and states that ►βάτος cannot be separated from these words. He considers μαντία to be Dacian, but with no apparent reason.

**μάντις, -εως** [m., f.] ‘seer, prophet’ (Il.); also name of a plant (Nic.), of a grasshopper: ‘praying mantis’ (Theoc., Dsc.), a garden-frog (H.) as a predictor of the weather, cf. Strömberg 1940: 79. <IE? \**men-ti-*>

•VAR Ion. gen.sg. -ιος.

•COMP Often as a second member in trag., e.g. ιατρό-μαντις ‘soothsayer who is also a physician’ (A.), cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 272f. Rarely as a first member, e.g. μαντι-πόλος ‘predictive’ (E. [anap.], Orac. *apud* Luc., Man.), which is formally like οἰωνο-πόλος ‘bird-watcher’, etc. (Wackernagel *KZ* 29 (1888): 143).

•DER 1. μαντεῖος, -ήϊος ‘concerning the soothsayer, prophetic’ (P., trag.), after βασιλείος, etc.; μαντεῖον, -ήϊον [n.] ‘oracle, oracle site’ (μ 272). 2. μαντικός ‘id.’, μαντική (τέχνη) ‘the art of seeing’ (IA). 3. μαντῶς ‘id.’ (AP), after ἥρως, etc. 4. μαντοσύνη ‘faculty of prophecy’ (Il., Pi., Emp.), after ἵππο-σύνη, etc.; -συνος [adj.] ‘belonging to the seer or oracle’ (Corinna, E. [lyr.]). 5. μαντεύομαι (late also -εὔω) [v.] ‘to predict, consult an oracle’ (Il.), after βασιλεύειν, etc.; with μαντεία, -εῖη, ἡ-ῖη ‘prophecy, prophetic faculty, oracle’ (h. Merc.), μάντευμα ‘oracle’ (Pi., trag.), μαντευτής = μάντις (Hdt.), -εὔτρια (sch.). PN Μάντιος (Od.).

•ETYM As an agent noun in -τι-, μάντις stands isolated (most other *ti*-stems are abstract nouns); μάρπτις ‘brigand’ (A. *Supp.* 826f.; broken context) and πόρτις ‘calf’ are similar in formation. Benveniste 1935: 83 reconstructs an old neuter \*τὸ μάντι ‘divination’, but μαντι-πόλος, adduced by Benveniste, can easily be explained in a different way (see above). μάντις seems to be derived from μαίνομαι, μανῆναι (cf. ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαίνεται, Hdt. 4, 79). It is natural to take it as an original feminine abstract, like φάτις, with an Aeolic reflex of the suffix. However, the vocalism μαν- would have to be an analogical zero grade (after which example?), which makes the etymology a bit doubtful. See ►μέμονα, ►μέμος.

**μάνυζα** [f.] · μονοκέφαλον σκόροδον ‘garlic’ (H.). <PG(S)>

•ETYM No doubt a Pre-Greek plant name; it has nothing to do with μανός ‘thin, loose’. For words in -ζα (with short -α, an ending characteristic for substrate words), cf. κόνυζα.

**μάξινος** glossed as γαλλερίας, ὀνίσκος (diminutive of ὄνος ‘ass’, but also a fish-name) by Dorio *apud* Ath. 315f. ⇒μαζός 2.

**μαπέειν** [v.aor.] ‘to take hold, grasp’ (Hes. Sc. 231, 304). <?>

•VAR Reduplicated μεμάποιεν [3pl.opt.aor.] (ibid. 252; v.l. μεμάρποιεν).

•DER Further \*ἐμ-μαπεῖν in ἐμαπαέως ‘immediately, quick’.

•ETYM Etymology unknown. In spite of its semantic agreement with μάρπτω (μέμαρπεν, -ώς Hes. ibd. 245, *Op.* 204), μαπέειν can hardly be connected with it in formal terms.

**μάραγδος** ⇒σιμάραγδος.

**μάραγνα** [f.] ‘whip’ (A., E., Pl. Com., Poll.); H. also σιμάραγνα (cf. on ►σιμάραγδος). <LW Iran.>

•ETYM The word corresponds to Syrian *māraynā* ‘flagelli genus’. Hübschmann *KZ* 36 (1900): 175f. already assumed that both were loans from OP \**māra-gna-* ‘killer of snakes’. On the formal difficulty that MoP *mahr* points to \**marθra-* (*mārθra-*), instead of \**māra-*, see now Brust 2005: 428ff., who assumes it is a loan from North-West Iranian.

**μάραθρον** [n.] ‘fennel, Foeniculum vulgare’ (Epich., D., Thphr.). <PG?>

•VAR Also -ος [m., f.] (Hermipp.) and μάραθρον (Alex., Hell. pap., Dsc.).

•DIAL Myc. *ma-ra-tu-wo* /marat<sup>h</sup>won/.

•COMP Compounds εὐ-μάραθος ‘rich in fennel’ (AP), ἵππο-μάραθ(ρ)ον ‘Prangos ferulacea’ (Diocl. Med., Thphr., Dsc.), διὰ τὸ μέγεθος (Strömberg 1940: 30).

•DER μαραθῖς, -ίδος [f.] = ἵππο-μ. (Ps.-Dsc.), μαραθαῖς [m.] ‘fennel-trader’, μαραθίτης οἶνος (Dsc., Gr.), TNs like Μαραθῶν, -ῶνος [m., f.] (η 80).

•ETYM For a plant name, foreign origin is suspected. A cunning attempt at an explanation in IE terms was made by Hesselman 1932: 94ff., who compared MoSw. *mjārd(r)e*, OSw. *miærdher* [m., n.] ‘fish-trap’ (or its funnel-like entrance), from PGm. \**merdra-* < IE \**merH-d<sup>h</sup>ro-*; the plant would have been named after its funnel-

like flower. Apart from formal problems, the Mycenaean form eliminates the proposed cognates. It is rather a Pre-Greek word.

**μαραίνω** [v.] ‘to quench, destroy’, med.-pass. ‘to die away, wither’ (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aor. μαρᾶναι (*h. Merc.*), aor. pass. μαρανθῆναι (Il.), perf. med. μεμάρα(σ)μαι and fut. μαρανῶ (late).

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, κατα-, προ-, ἐκ-.

•DER μάρανσις [f.] ‘fading away’ (Arist.), μαρασμός ‘withering’, μαρασμώδης (medic.); μαραντικός ‘withering’ (Phryn., sch.).

•ETYM As an example for the above system of forms, Frisk suggested κηραίνω ‘to damage, corrupt’ with comparable meaning, or: ▶ιαίνω, aor. ἰᾶναι ‘refresh’, with opposite meaning, which probably had an old primary nasal present (cf. s.v.). The precursor of μαραίνω may have been a nasal present as well; see ▶μάρναμαι with further connections.

DELG thinks that the root may be related to Lat. *morior*, etc. This idea finds support in the thesis of Meier-Brügger KZ 102 (1989): 62-67 that the verb meant ‘to die out, let die out, let waste away’, from the root \**mer-* ‘to die away’. However, his reconstruction \**mṛh-je/o-*, with two consequent vocalic resonants, and hence the explanation of μαρ-, is hardly possible and does not solve anything.

**μαράσσαι** [f.pl.] · κύνες, ὄρνιθες ‘dogs, birds’ (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ἀμαράσαι· αἱ σῦς οἱ δὲ κύνας ‘swine, others: bitches’ (H.), see Fur.: 372.

•ETYM The word is Pre-Greek in view of the prothetic vowel. It has been compared with ▶μαρίν.

**μαραυγέω** [v.] ‘to contract the pupils when exposed to light; to be blinded’, of the pupils of a cat (Plu.). <GR>

•DER μαραυγία ‘flicker, be blinded’ (Archyt. *apud* Stob. 3, 1), -γεια also name of a fish (Xenocr.), because of its gaze, acc. to Strömberg 1943: 42f.

•ETYM Compound with second member as in χρυσ-, σκι-, βολ-αυγέω, and with an adjectival or verbal first member. Thus, either related to μαρμάρεος ‘flashing’ (μαρμάρεαι αὐγαί Ar. Nu. 187 [lyr.]), or to ▶μαρμαίρω, with compositional formation like in e.g. εἰλυ-σπάομαι, ▶δνοσταλίζω.

**μαργαρίτης** [m.] ‘pearl’ (Thphr., Str., Ael., Arr., NT). <LW Iran.>

•DER μαργαρίτις (λίθος) [f.] ‘id.’ (Ath., Isid. Char.), diminutive -τάριον (*PHolm.*). Besides, probably as a back-formation (cf. below), μάργαρον ‘id.’ (*Anacreont.*, *PHolm.*), -ος [m., f.] ‘id.’ (Tz.), also ‘Indian pearl mussel’ (Ael.), -ίς (λίθος) ‘pearl’ (Philostr., Hld.), -ίδες [pl.] name of a pearl-like kind of date palm (Plin.); -ίδης [m.] (Praxag.).

•ETYM An oriental loanword, mostly assumed to be from Iranian, MP *marvārīt*, MoP *marvā-rīd* ‘pearl’ (acc. to Schiffer *RPh.* 63 (1937): 45ff.), but critical discussion in Brust 2005: 432ff. The older view derives it from Skt. *mañjari* ‘flowering bead’ (epic class.), ‘pearl’ (lex.), with -ίτης added in Greek, like in numerous other stone names. The by-form *mañjara-* [n.] would agree well with μάργαρον, but the late and rare occurrence of both the Skt. and Greek form is no support for a direct identification.

Suggestion by Gershevitch 1989: from Iran. \**mṛga-ahri-ita-* ‘born from the shell of a bird’ = ‘oyster’.

From μαργαρίτης, Lat. *margarita*, etc.; see WH s.v.

**μάργος** [adj.] ‘mad, furious, greedy’ (Od.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also μόργος· ἀπληστος ‘greedy’, μοργίας· γαστριμαργίας, καὶ ἀκρασίας ‘gluttony, being out of control, incontinence’ (H.). Moreover ἄμαργος; μαρικᾶς· κίναϊδος ‘catamite’ (H.), but see under the names; ἄβαρκνα· λιμός ‘hunger, famine’ (H.), which points to ἄβαρκος. ἄβαρτος· ἀπληστος, οἱ δὲ ἄμαργος (H.), ἀβαρτία· ἀπληστία (H.). PNs Βάργος, Βάργη, Βρόγγος, Βάργασος, Μάργασος. Ἄβαρτος (Paus. 7, 3, 10).

•COMP As a first member in e.g. γαστρί-μαργος ‘gluttonous’ (Pi., Arist., Ph.) with γαστρι-μαργ-ία (Hp., Pl.), -έω (Ph.); Blanc *RPh.* 65 (1991): 59-66 connects στόμαργος from \*στομά-μαργος.

•DER Μαργίτης [m.] name of the principal character of a satirical epic poem (Arist., Plb.), -ιτεία [f.] ‘fury, madness’ (Phld.); μαργότης [f.] ‘madness, gluttony, wantonness’ (Pl., trag.), -οσύνη ‘id.’ (Anacr., Thgn.); μαργηέντων· λυσώντων ‘raving’ (H.).

Verbs: 1. μαργαίνω ‘to rage, be furious’, only pres. (E 882, Democr.); 2. μαργάω, only in pres. ptc. μαργῶν, -ῶσα ‘furious, wanton’ (trag., Call.); 3. μαργόομαι, only in ptc. μαργούμενος, μεμαργωμένος ‘id.’ (Pi., A.). With an unclear *e*-vowel: μέργιζε· ἄθρόως ἔσθιτε ‘eat at once!’ (H.).

•ETYM The many variants (prothetic vowel, κ/γ, μ/β, α/ο, etc.) are typical for Pre-Greek words. The -ε- in μέργιζε probably represents a Pre-Greek variation as well; see Fur.: 217<sup>2</sup>.

**μάρδος** [m.] ‘reed-pipe’ (Hdn. 1, 142, LSJ *Supp.*). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**μάρη** [f.] ‘hand’ (Pi. Fr. 310). <?>

•DER ▶εὐμαρής, whence εὐμάρεια; uncertain μάρις, -εως [m.] name of a measure for liquids, = 6 κοτύλαι (Arist., Poll.), = 10 χόες (Polyaen.), whence diminutive μάριον (pap.).

•ETYM Forssman 1966: 135-140 doubts the authenticity of μάρη ‘hand’. Blanc *REGr.* 105 (1992): 548-556 and Blanc *RPh.* 70 (1996): 118 and 126 supposes that the form was coined to explain εὐμαρής. Schrijver 1991: 458 rejects an *r/n*-stem, as this would presuppose a root consisting of a single consonant *m-*, which is impossible in PIE. Former comparisons with Germanic and Celtic words, to be found in Frisk, are now obsolete.

**μαριεύς, -έως** [m.] ‘stone that burns when in contact with water’ (Arist. *Mir.* 833a 27; v.l. μαριθάν [acc.]); in H. μαριεύς· λίθος τις, ὃς ἐπισταζομένου ὕδατος καίεται ‘id.’, also μαριθήν [nom.] without an indication of mg. (Hdn. 1, 16, 7). <?>

•ETYM The correct form is uncertain; connected with ▶μαρμαίρω? In this case, it would properly mean “gleaming, sparkling”. See ▶μαρίλη.

**μαρίλη** [f.] ‘glowing ashes’, opposed to ἀνθραξ ‘glowing coals’ and σποδός, -ιά ‘ashes’ (IA). <PG(V)>

•VAR Arist. also has σμ-. Photius cites a form μαρεῖνη which he connects with μαραίνω.

•COMP μαριλο-καύτης ‘charcoal-burner’ (S.).

•DER Diminutive μαρύλλια [pl.] (*P.Leid.* X. 56), after other diminutives in -ύλλιον; μαριλ-εύω [v.] ‘to change into glowing ashes; to burn coals’, whence -ευτής (Poll.).

•ETYM Formation like μυστίλη, ζωμίλη, στροβίλη (-ίλος), etc. (Chantraine 1933: 249). The form with σμ- probably shows that the word is Pre-Greek, as initial IE \*s- would disappear in Greek. See ►μαριεύς.

**μαρίν** [f.] · τήν σὺν. Κρήτες ‘swine (Cret.)’ (H.). <PG?(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 372 cites ἀμαράσαι· αἱ σὺς· οἱ δὲ κύνας ‘others say dogs’ (H.) beside μαράσσαι· κύνες, ὄρνιθες ‘birds’ (H.). Because of the prothetic vowel in the former, μαρίν (if connected) is probably Pre-Greek.

**μαρίνος** [m.] an unknown fish; perhaps a kind of barbel (Arist., H.), cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. H. glosses it κίθαρος ‘chest’, a kind of flatfish, ἰχθὺς θαλάσσιος ‘seafish’, καὶ ὄνομα κύριον ‘an ordinary name’. <PG(S)>

•ETYM Formation like ἄτταγ-ῖνος, etc. (see on ►ἄτταγᾶς). The suffix -ῖνος is Pre-Greek.

**μάρις** [m.] a liquid measure (Arist., Poll.) = 6 κότυλαι, or 10 χόες (Polyaen.). <LW Iran.>

•ETYM Schmitt 1989: 301-315 thinks it is a loan from OP \**mari*-.

**μαρίσκος** [m.] ‘bog-rush, Cladium mariscus’ (Plin. *HN* 21, 112). <PG(S)>

•ETYM Formation like ἰβίσκος, ἀλθίσκος, and other plant names (Chantraine 1933: 407); further opaque. The suffix -ίσκος probably points to a Pre-Greek word.

**μαρμαίρω** [v.] ‘to flash, sparkle, gleam’ (Il., late also prose). <PG(V)>

•VAR Only present. Rarely with ἀνα-, παρα-, περι-, ὑπο-.

•COMP πυρι-, περι-μάρμαρος ‘sparkling (of fire)’ (Man., Hymn. Is.).

•DER Besides μαρμάρεος ‘gleaming, flashing, sparkling’ (Il.) with μαρμαρίζω = μαρμαίρω (Pi., D. S.); μαρμαρυγή [f.] ‘flashing, sparkling’, of rapid movements, etc. (IA since θ 265), cf. on ►ἀργός 1 for the semantics; formed after ἀμαρυγή. Thence μαρμαρυγώδης ‘seeing sparks’ (Hp.), μαρμαρύσσω (cf. ἀμαρύσσω) = μαρμαίρω (Them., Jul.); μαρμαρυγμα (Cael. Aur.).

•ETYM Analyzed as a reduplicated intensive *yod*-present μαρμαίρω < \*μαρ-μαρ-ιω, standing beside μαρμάρεος like δαιδάλλω beside δαιδάλεος. The discussion of the semantics and parallels in other IE languages by Tichy 1983: 289-296 shows that the word may well be an onomatopoeia in origin. This means that Pre-Greek origin is a strong possibility, and in fact, it is almost ascertained by ►ἀμαρύσσω, with a prothetic vowel. The suffix -υγ- also speaks for this.

An element μαρ- is found in Μαῖρα [f.] “the sparkling one”, name of Sirius (Call., Eratosth.), also as a PN in Hom., and in ►μαραυγέω. Cf. further perhaps the PN Ἀμφι-μαρος, son of Poseidon (Paus. 9, 29, 6), perhaps from \*Ἀμφι-μάρμαρος?

The connection with ►μαρίλη and ►μαριεύς is quite possible in terms of Pre-Greek origin. It was thought that Skt. *mārici*- [f., m.] ‘beam of light, mirage in the air’ was a certain outer-Greek cognate. Although accepted by Mayrhofer *KEWA* 2: 589 and Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 321, the connection must be rejected, since the Greek vocalism μαρ- cannot be explained in this way (PIE has no phoneme \*a). See ►μάρμαρος.

**μάρμαρος** [m.] ‘stone, (piece of) rock’ (M 380, ι 499, probably also E. *Ph.* 663 [lyr.] and Ar. *Ach.* 1172 [lyr.]), also an attribute of πέτρος (Π 735, E. *Ph.* 1401); ‘white stone, marble’ (Hp., Thphr., Theoc.); also μάρμαρον [n.] ‘id.’ (Call., late inscr.); also ‘callosity on the foot of asses’ (*Hippiatr.*). <PG?(O)>

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. μαρμαρο-φεγγής ‘gleaming like marble’ (Tim. *Pers.*).

•DER μαρμάρ-ινος (Theoc., inscr.), -εος (inscr., pap., AP) ‘of marble’; -όεις ‘gleaming like marble’ (S.), -ώδης ‘marble-like’ (*Et. Gud.*); uncertain μαρμαρικός, of ἄσβεστος (*PHolm.* 25, 19); probably rather to Μαρμαρική. Further μαρμαρίτις (πέτρα) ‘marble-like’ (Ph. Byz.); also a plant name, ‘peony, Fumaria’ (Ps.-Dsc.), because of the blue-gray color; Strömberg 1940: 26, also ‘peony’ (Plin., who explains the plant’s name from its location). μαρμαρ-άριος ‘marble worker’ (inscr.; = Lat. *marmorārius*).

Denominative μαρμαρόομαι, -όω [v.] ‘to be changed into marble, to cover with marble’ (Lyc., Hero); μαρμαρώσις ‘callosity’ (*Hippiatr.*) is best taken directly from μάρμαρον, cf. on ἀέτωσις s.v. ►αἰετός. μαρμαρωσός ‘with callosity’ (*Hippiatr.*) is from Lat. *marmorōsus* ‘id.’.

•ETYM Because of its original sense of ‘stone, rock’, Frisk connected it with μάρναμαι, assuming that the meaning ‘marble’ resulted from folk-etymological connection with μαρμαίρω, μαρμάρεος. P. Mazon prefers a connection with μαρμαίρω; cf. LSJ’s ‘a crystalline rock which sparkles’. Pre-Greek origin is probable.

The age of the veterinary meaning ‘callosity’ cannot be established; in any case, it does not represent an independent development from a supposed mg. \*‘hardening’ vel sim., but is rather a direct metaphor from ‘stone’ or ‘marble’. The same development is seen in Lat. *marmor*, which was borrowed from Greek. The forms found in Western European languages are from Latin. See ►μάρναμαι, ►μαρμαίρω.

**μάρναμαι** [v.] ‘to fight, battle’ (Il.). <IE? \**merh*<sub>2</sub>- ‘seize, grip’>

•VAR Only present; by dissimilation βαρνάμιενος [ptc.].

•COMP Rarely with ἐπι, περι-.

•ETYM The zero-grade nasal present μάρναμαι has an exact formal pendant in Skt. *mṛñihí* [ipv.], from which thematic *mṛñāti* ‘to crush’, also ‘to grab’ was formed. If this etymology is correct, μάρναμαι may originally have meant ‘to crush one another’, or alternatively, it may derive from the sphere of wrestling (from ‘to grab’). Both Gr. and Skt. may derive from athematic \**mr-n(e)h*<sub>2</sub>-. For possible further cognates, most of which do not seem ascertained, see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**merh*<sub>2</sub>-. See ►μάρμαρος.

**μάρπτω** [v.] ‘to catch, seize, lay hold off, overtake’ (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Aor. μάρψαι (Il.), perf. μέμαρπεν, etc. (Hes., A. R.).

•COMP Also with κατα-, συν-.

•DER μάρπις [m.] ‘robber’ (A. *Supp.* 826 [lyr.]; Schwyzer: 271, 504<sup>3</sup>); κάμμιαρψις· μέτρον σιτικόν, τὸ ἡμιμέδιμνον. Αἰολεῖς ‘a corn-measure (Aeol.)’ (H.).

•ETYM A system without outer-Greek cognates. Note the glosses (all H.) βράψαι· συλλαβεῖν, ἀναλῶσαι, κρύψαι, θηρεῦσαι ‘to gather, spend; consume, hide, hunt’ and βράπτειν· ἐσθίειν, κρύπτειν, ἀφανίζειν ‘to eat, hide, make disappear; remove’, τῷ στόματι ἔλκειν, ἢ στενάζειν ‘to suck into one’s mouth, or to sigh, groan’, with βρ- < *mr-*.

With a different auslauting velar, we find βρακεῖν· συνιέναι ‘to understand’, i.e. ‘to grasp’, and βράξαι· συλλαβεῖν, δακεῖν, καταπιεῖν ‘to gather, bite, drink’. The latter have been compared with Skt. *mṛśāti* ‘to touch, take’. However, the variation κ : π cannot be explained in IE terms (improbable is assimilation μ - κ > μ - π as per Schwyzer: 302). Rather, the variants point to Pre-Greek \**mr(a)k-*, which became either βραπ- or βρακ-, with a reflex different from that of the IE labiovelar, or μαρπ-. See ► βρακεῖν, ► μαπέειν.

**μάρσιππος** [m.] ‘bag, pouch (for money), purse’ (X., LXX, Hell. pap.). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR Codd. also -ιπος, -υπ(ι)ος.

•DER Diminutive μαρσίπιον, -ίπιον, -ύπ(ι)ιον (Hp., LXX, Hell. pap.).

•ETYM The word is most probably Pre-Greek because of its variants in π(π) and ι/υ. Borrowed into Lat. *marsup(p)ium*, -*si p(p)*-; see WH s.v.

**μαρτιχώρας** [m.] according to Ctesias (*apud* Arist., Paus.), an Indian name for a mythical animal, acc. to Paus. 9, 21, 4 (μαρτιόρα) the tigre, = ἀνδροφάγος. ◀LW Iran.▶

•ETYM From Iranian; related to OP *martiya-* [m.] ‘man’ and Av. *xʷar-* [v.] ‘to consume’, MoP *mardom-xār* ‘man-eater’. Cf. Brust 2005: 449ff.

**μάρτυς** [m., f.] ‘witness’ (Il.) ‘martyr, blood-witness’ in christian litt. ◀PG(S)▶

•VAR Aeol. (Hdn. Gr.) and Dor. μάρτυρ, Cret. Epid. μαῖτυς (-ρς), -ρος, also μάρτυν [acc.] (Simon.), μάρτυσι [dat.pl.] (-ρσι Hippon.); thematicized in epic and NWGr. μάρτυρος.

•COMP μαρτυρο-ποιεῖσθαι [v.] ‘to call to witness’ (inscr., pap.), ψευδό-μαρτυς ‘false witness’ (Pl.), ἐπί-μαρτυς ‘witness’ (Ar., Call., A. R.), probably back-formation from ἐπι-μαρτύρομαι, -ρέω; on alleged ἐπιμαρτύρος (for ἔπι μάρτυρος) see Leumann 1950: 71.

•DER μαρτυρία (λ 325; cf. below on μαρτυρέω), μαρτύριον (IA) ‘testimony, evidence’. Denominatives: 1. μαρτύρομαι [v.] ‘to call to witness’ (IA), also with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐπι-; 2. μαρτυρέω [v.] ‘to testify, bear witness’ (Alc., Pi., IA), often with prefix, e.g. ἀντι-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, δια-, κατα-, συν-; thence μαρτύρημα (E.), (ἀντι-, κατα-)μαρτύρησις (Epicur., pap.) ‘testimony’, also (δια-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, συμ-)μαρτυρία ‘id.’.

•ETYM The basis may be a verbal abstract \*μάρ-τυ- ‘testimony’, seen in μάρ-τυς, -τυν, -τυσι. The change from the abstract mg. ‘testimony’ to the appellative ‘witness’ is frequently attested, e.g. MoFr. *témoin* < Lat. *testimōnium*, MoE *witness* originally ‘testimony’, then ‘witness’. The suffix -ρο- gave rise to μάρτυρος, probably of adjectival origin. A compromise with μάρτυς then perhaps led to the consonantal stem μάρτυρ-; note the gen.pl. μαρτύρων (ἐναντίον μαρτύρων, etc.), which can be

both from the *o*-stem and from the consonantal stem. Dissimilation occurred in μαῖτυ(ρ)ς < \*μάρτυρ-ς; μάρτυσι and μάρτυς can be explained in the same way.

μάρτυς has been explained as a zero grade τυ-derivation from the root \**smēr-* ‘remember’, which is found in Skt. *smárati* and which may have other derivatives in Greek, e.g. ►μέριμνα ‘care, concern’; the proper meaning of μάρτυς would then be \*‘remembrance’. However, a reconstruction \**smr-tu-* would rather give \*βρατυ-; therefore, I assume that it is rather a loan from Pre-Greek (see Fur.: 296). This is confirmed by the suffixes -*tu-r-*, which are non-Indo-European.

**μασάομαι** [v.] ‘to chew, bite’ (Hp., com., Arist.). ◀?, PG?(V)▶

•VAR Aor. μασήσασθαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. δια-, κατα-.

•DER Derivatives: (δια-)μάσημα ‘bite, morsel’ (Hp., Antiph., Thphr.), (δια-)μάσησις ‘chewing’ (Thphr., Dsc.), μασητήρ ‘chewer’, ‘muscle in the lower jaw’ (Hp.), παρα-μασήτης ‘by-chewer’, ‘trencher-companion, parasite’ (middle com.). Besides παραμασύντης ‘id.’ (middle com.), μασύντης (H.), Μασυντίας PN (Ar.) from \*μασύνω; cf. μοσσύνειν· μασᾶσθαι βραδέως ‘to chew slowly’ (H.); Chantraine corrects to μασ-, which may be right or wrong; the variation might point to Pre-Greek origin.

•ETYM The meaning of μασάομαι suggests that it is an iterative-intensive deverbative formation to a primary *yod*-present (cf. φῦράω to φῦρω < \*φῦρ-ιω). Next to it we find an innovative \*μασύνω. The *yod*-present has been analyzed as PGr. \**mnt<sup>h</sup>-ie/o-* on account of the gloss μάθυσαι· γνάθοι ‘jaws’ (H.); a stem PGr. \**mnt<sup>h</sup>-* can also be recognized in ►μάσταξ << μαστο- < μαθ-τ-.

As there is not enough evidence for a sound change \*-*tH-* > Gr. -θ-, I reject the comparison with Skt. *math-* ‘to stir’ < IE \**metH-* (which is semantically not compelling either). The synonym Lat. *mandō*, -*ere* ‘to chew’ is mostly derived from \**metH-*, too, but in Latin, the development \**mt-nH-* > *mand-* is regular (cf. *pandō* < \**pt-nH-*).

On the other hand, the Gm. group of OHG *mindel*, ON *mél* [n.] ‘bit of the bridle’ < IE \**ment-*, Go. *munþs* ‘mouth’ < IE \**mnt-* has been compared. Gr. μαθ- was analyzed as the corresponding zero grade, but the aspiration cannot be explained. Moreover, the Gm. group should rather be compared with MW *mant* ‘gums, mouth’, Lat. *mentum* ‘jaw’ as \**mn-to-*.

In sum, everything remains uncertain, but note that the gloss μοσσύνειν could point to Pre-Greek origin.

**μάσθλης** [m.] ‘leather’, name of leather objects (cf. διφθέρα) like ‘leather shoe, strap’ (Sapph., Hp., S.); also metaph. of a flexible and flattering man (Ar.). ◀PG?▶

•VAR Aeol. μάσλης, -ητος (with loss of the θ); μάσθλη [f.] (S. Fr. 571, H.).

•DER μασθλήτινος ‘like leather’ (Cratin., Eup.), μασθλήματα [n.pl.] ‘leather ware’ (Ctes.).

•ETYM Formation like τάπης, λέβης, etc.; explanation uncertain. Traditionally derived from ἱμάσθλη (see ►ἱμάς) with loss of the anlaut (for which μάστιξ is compared, see Chantraine 1933: 375, Strömberg 1944: 44). However, such a loss is

highly improbable. Schwyzer: 533 and 725<sup>3</sup> derives μάσθλης from ▶μάστιξ and ▶μαίομαι; thence ἰμάσθλη with secondary adaptation to ἰμάς.

Extensively on μάσθλης, Hamm *Glotta* 32 (1953): 43ff. Possibly Pre-Greek (see Fur.: 172<sup>18</sup>).

**μασθός** ‘breast’. ⇒μαστός.

**μασκαυλῆς** [m.] ‘basin for ablution’. <?>

•ETYM Late transcription of Hebrew *maskel* (inscr. Philadelphia, Lydia III<sup>p</sup>). DELG asks whether it is a notation of ▶βασκαύλης.

**μάσκη** · δίκελλα (H.). ⇒μακέλη.

**μάσπετον** [n.] ‘leaf or stalk of silphion’ (Antiph.). <PG(S)>

•ETYM On the suffix -ετο-, see Fur.: 115<sup>4</sup>.

**μάσσω** [v.] ‘to knead (dough), press a workable material in a form; to strike, wipe off, make a reproduction of sth.’ (since τ 92). <IE? \*menk-, or \*meh₂ǵ- ‘knead’>

•VAR Att. μάττω, -ομαι, aor. μάξαι, -σθαι, pass. μαγῆναι, μαχθῆναι, perf. med. μέμιαμαι, act. μέμιαχα (Ar.).

•COMP Often with prefix, like ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἀνα-.

•DER 1. ἐκμαγεῖον (μαγεῖον Longin.) ‘mass of which prints are made, offprint, mould; towel, napkin’ (IA). 2. μαγίς, -ίδος [f.] ‘kneaded mass, cake, kneading trough, dresser’ (Hp., Com, S.). 3. μάγμα [n.] ‘kneaded mass, thick salve, smear’ (pap., Plin.), ἐκ-, ἀπό-μαγμα ‘offprint, wiping cloth, wiped off dirt’ (Hp., S., Thphr.), μαγιόν· τὸ καθάρσιον ‘purifying means’ (H.). 4. ἐκ-, ἀνά-μαξίς ‘wiping off’ (Arist.). 5. μαγεύς [m.] ‘kneader, baker, sbd. who wipes off’ (Poll., AP, H.), probably directly from the verb. 6. μακτήρ· ἡ κάρδοπος ‘kneading trough’, ἡ πτελὶς ‘socket, basin’. καὶ διφθέρα ‘leather bag’. καὶ ὀρχήσεως σχῆμα ‘scheme of a dance’ (H.); (ἀπο-, κατα-)μάκτης ‘someone who kneads or wipes off’ (Com. Adesp., H.), fem. ἀπομάκτρια (Poll.). 7. μάκτρα [f.] ‘baking trough’ (com., X.), ‘trough, bathing tub, sarcophagus’ (Hell.), spelled μάκρα, see Schwyzer: 337; (ἐκ-, ἀπό-)μάκτρον ‘offprint, towel, etc.’ (E., Ar.). 8. μακτήριον = μάκτρα (Plu.). 9. μακτριμός name of a dance (Ath.), after κορδακισμός; cf. on μακτήρ above; thence -ίστρια name of a dancing girl (ibid.). 10. ἀπομαγδαλιά (Ar., Plu., Gal.), μαγδαλιά (Gal.), -έα (Hippiatr.) ‘bread crumb for handwashing’; like ἀρμαλιά, φυταλιά, etc., but with unexplained δ (perhaps after \*ἀπομάγδην?). 11. With root-final κ: μακαρία· βρώμα ἐκ ζωμοῦ καὶ ἀλφίτων ‘dish made of soup and barley groats’ (H.).

•ETYM In Germanic and Balto-Slavic, comparanda are found that may be derived from IE \*meh₂ǵ-, e.g. MoHG *machen*, OS *makōn* ‘to make, erect, build’, if from \*‘to knead, form’ (but note MoIc. *maka* ‘to smear’), OCS *mazati*, 1sg. *mažr* ‘to smear, salve’ (MBret. *mezaff* ‘to knead’ is unrelated, see Matasović 2009 s.v.); uncertain is the comparison with Arm. *macanim*, *macnum* ‘to stick, congeal’.

On the other hand, a root IE \*menk- is found in Lith. *minkyti*, 1sg. *minkau*, also *mánkyti*, 1sg. *mánkau* ‘to knead a soft mass’, OCS *mōka*, Ru. *muká* ‘flour’ and related Balto-Slavic words. From Gm., one might adduce MoHG *mengen*, OE *mengan*, etc.,

if the original mg. is ‘knead together’, and from Indo-Aryan Skt. *macate* ‘to crush, etc.’ (Dhātup.).

The etymology is connected with the question which velar was original in Greek, -κ- or -γ-. The isolated μακαρία is the only one with a clear voiceless stop, for μάσσω < \*μακ-ιω can be explained as analogical after the aorist. If related, μάζα points to -γ-, but μαγῆναι and most nominal forms -γ- can be explained by analogy as well. Therefore, both options remain open. A suppletive system \*menk (whence μακαρία, μάσσω) beside meh₂ǵ- (whence μαγῆναι) is conceivable, too. I retain some doubts, however, about the form -μαγδαλιά. See ▶μάζα.

**μάσσων** ‘longer’. ⇒μήκος.

**μάστα** [?] · ἡγεμών, ἡ μεγάλως (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**μάσταξ, -ακος** [f.] ‘mouth; mouthful, morsel’ (I 324), also metaph. ‘locust’ (S. Fr. 716, Nic.), Ambraciot acc. to Clitarch. *apud EM* 216, 9, because of its voracity (cf. Strömberg 1944: 17f.). <PG?>

•DER μαστάζω [v.] ‘to chew’ (Nic. Th. 918), also συμ- (Hippiatr.), with expressive by-forms: 1. μασταρύζω (v.l. -ίζω) [v.] ‘to chew fervently, without uttering a word’, of an old man (Ar. Ach. 689); cf. μασταρίζειν· μαστιχᾶσθαι καὶ τρέμειν ‘to tremble’. ἡ σφοδρῶς ἢ κακῶς μασᾶσθαι ‘to chew violently and in a bad way’ (H.), μαστηρύζειν· τὸ κακῶς μασᾶσθαι (Phot.); formation like κελαρύζω, βατταρίζω, etc. 2. μαστιχάω, only ptc. dat.sg. μαστιχῶντι (Hes. Sc. 389, verse-final) ‘chewing violently for anger’ = ‘grinding the teeth, foaming’ (of a boar), μαστιχᾶσθαι in H. s.v. μασταρίζειν (see above); back-formation μαστίχη [f.] ‘resin of the mastich-tree’ (Com. Adesp., Thphr.), μαστίχ-ινος (Dsc.), -ηρά [f.] ‘plaster from mastich’ (Aet.), after ἐλαιηρός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 232f.).

•ETYM Both μασταξ and μαστάζω, which need not be directly related, go back to a derivative μασ-τ- (from \*μαθ-τ-, cf. the gloss μάθυιαι· γνάθοι H.) which stands beside the yod-present μασάομαι (from \*μαθ-ι-). The function of the proposed formation remains unclear, however. For the formation of μαστάζω, cf. βαστάζω, κλαστάζω (beside κλάω), etc. (Schwyzer: 706); for μασταξ, see πόρταξ (: πόρτις), μύλαξ (: μύλος). The gloss μέστακα· τὴν μεμασημένην τροφήν ‘chewed food’ (H.), with deviating vocalism, does not show an old full grade, but it was simply reshaped folk-etymologically after μεστός ‘mouthful’.

The group may be of Pre-Greek origin; see ▶μασάομαι for further details.

**μαστεύω** ‘to search after’. ⇒μαίομαι, ματεύω.

**μάστιξ, -ίγος** [f.] ‘whip, scourge’, metaph. ‘plague’ (Il.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Also dat. μαστί, acc. -ίην (Ψ 500, o 182, AP).

•COMP μαστιγο-φόρος ‘bearing the whip’, also name of a policeman (Th., pap.).

•DER Diminutive μαστίγιον (M. Ant.); μαστιγ-ίας [m.] ‘rogue’ (Att.), see Chantraine 1933: 93; -ία name of a magic plant (PMag. Par.).

Denominative verbs: 1. μαστίω ‘to whip, scourge, thrash’ (Il.), present only, sporadic in epic. 2. μαστίζω (post-Hom.), -ίσδω (Theoc.), aor. μαστίξαι (Il.; Hell.) ‘id.’, either

from μάστιξ or enlarged from μαστίω, beside μαστίκ-τωρ 'scourger, chastiser' (A. Eu. 159), -τήρ 'id.' (conj. A. Supp. 466). 3. μαστιγ-ῶσαι, -ῶω (-έω Hdt. 1, 114) 'id.' (IA), with μαστίγωσις 'whipping' (Ath.), -ῶσιμος 'worth a thrashing' (Luc.), after λεύσιμος (Arbenz 1933: 99).

•ETYM The connection with μαίομαι, as an enlargement in -γ- of an old instrument noun in -τι-, is doubtful; the word is rather Pre-Greek, on account of the suffix -ιγ-.

**μαστιχάω** ⇒ μάσταξ.

**μαστός** [m.] 'nipple, motherbreast, breast', metaph. 'hill, height', also name of a cup (Apollod. Cyren. *apud* Ath. 11, 487b, Oropos, Delos); cf. Jaeger *RhM* 102 (1959): 337ff. (on the use in Clem. Al. and Ph.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Post-Hom. μαστός, epic ion. poet. μαζός, Dor. (Theoc.) μασδός, Hell. also μασθός; on μαστίχη see ► μάσταξ.

•COMP φιλό-μαστος 'loving the breast' (A.), γυναικό-μαστος (-θος) 'having female breasts' (medic.), δεκά-μαζος 'having ten breasts' (*Epigr. Gr.*); μαστό-δε-τον [n.] 'breast-band' (AP); cf. e.g. ἀκμό-θετον.

•DER Diminutive μαστίον 'small cup' (Oropos), μαστάριον 'id.' (Delos), also 'small breast' (Alciph.).

•ETYM Attempts have been made to attribute μαζός, μαστός, μασθός to three different pre-forms, \**mad-do-*, \**mad-to-*, \**mad-d<sup>h</sup>o-* (Schrader *KZ* 30 (1890): 476). However, the existence of a nominal suffix \*-d<sup>h</sup>-, and especially of \*-d-, is doubtful. Moreover, semantically, derivation from the root of μαδάω is meaningless.

If the form is Pre-Greek, μαζός [mazdos] and μαστός differ in voice only (and aspiration in Hell. μασθός). Since voice and aspiration are not distinctive in Pre-Greek, all forms may go back to the same Pre-Greek word. It is therefore not preferable to explain μασθός (attested at a later date) as a reshaping after words with comparable meaning, or by association with words like στήθος, κύσθος, βρόχος.

**μαστροπός** [m., f.] 'procurer, procuress' (Ar., X., etc.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also μαστροφός (H.); hypocoristic μάστρυς [f.] (Phot.).

•DER μαστροπικός, -οπέω, -οπεία (Att.).

•ETYM The usual connection with μαίομαι 'touch, investigate' is uncertain, as the variant with -φ- may point to a Pre-Greek word. Fur.: 160 compares μάτρυλλος, -α 'procurer', ματρυλείον 'brothel', μαστρυλλεῖον and μάστρυς 'procurer, -ess'; note the variation σ/ zero in these forms, on which see Fur.: 301ff.

**μασχάλη** [f.] 'armpit' (*h. Merc.*), metaph. 'axil, branch' (Thphr.), 'bay' (Str.), etc. <PG(S)>

•COMP E.g. ἀμφι-μάσχαλος 'with two arm-holes', of χιτών (com.).

•DER μασχαλῖς [f.] 'axil' (Thphr.), μασχάλι(ν)ον, -εον (-έον cod.) [f.] 'basket made of palm twigs' (H., sch.), -ιαῖος 'belonging to the armpit' (inscr., medic.); μασχαλιστήρ 'girdle in the arm-pits' (Hdt., A.), like βραχιονιστήρ, etc., see Chantraine 1933: 328; formally, it is a euphemistic expression for 'mutilate' from the denominative μασχαλίζομαι, with probable original mg. 'be girded in the armpits': according to ancient informants, all bodily extremities including nose and ears were cut off

during mutilation, and were fastened to a string running through the armpits. Thence μασχαλισμός 'mutilation', μασχαλίσματα [pl.] 'cut off extremities' (A., S., Lex.). The correctness of this old interpretation is doubted by Boehm in *PW* 14: 206off.

•ETYM The formation may be compared with that of ἀγκάλη 'bent arm'; further details are unclear. No doubt a Pre-Greek word. A very bold attempt was made by Adams *Glotta* 62 (1984): 65f. See ► μάλη.

**μάταιος** ⇒ μάτη.

**ματεύω** [v.] 'to search, seek, strive to' (Ξ 110). <?>

•VAR ματέω in μάτης (Theoc. 29, 15, from Aeol. \*μάτημι), ματεῖ-ζητεῖ; ματήσαι-μαστεύσαι, ζητήσαι 'id.'; μάσαι-ζητήσαι (H.), ματεῖσθαι-ζητεῖσθαι (Hp. *apud* Erot.). •COMP Also with prefix: ἐσ-ματέομαι, -μάσασθαι (Hp.), ἐμ-, κατ-εμ-ματέω (Nic.) 'to put the finger (down the throat), to implant (a sting)'.

•DER μάτος [n.] 'investigation' (Hp. *apud* Gal.), ματήρ-ἐπίσκοπος 'supervisor', ἐπιζητών, ἐρευνητής 'searcher, inspector' with ματηρεύειν-μα<σ>τεύειν, ζητεῖν (H.).

•ETYM ματεύω is probably secondary for ματέω (cf. Schwyzler: 732). The latter formally corresponds to δατέομαι and πατέομαι, so we probably have to start from a nominal τ-stem.

The verbal nouns ἄδαστος, ἄπαστος are paralleled by ἀπροτίμαστος, while -μάσ(σ)ασθαι, μάσαι conform to the aorists δάσ(σ)ασθαι, πάσ(σ)ασθαι. Therefore, the verbal forms with -σ- can be combined with ματέω, just like nominal

as μαστός, μαστήρ, μάστιξ, ► μάσμα, etc. The form μαστεύω (see ► μαίομαι) may also have received its -σ- from these sigmatic forms.

The pair ματέω: μαίομαι may be compared with δατέομαι: δαίομαι; but ascertained outer-Greek comparanda are lacking for μαίομαι (unlike for δαίομαι).

**ματέω** [v.] 'to tread', in the ptc. μᾶτειςαι [nom.f.pl.] (Aeol., *Incerti auct.* 16, 3 LP, from \*μάτη-μι), ματεῖ-πατεῖ 'id.' (H.). <IE? \**men-* 'tread'>

•ETYM Formed like ► ματέω 'to search', if not simply a rhyme with πατέω. Connected with a primary verb 'to tread' in Balto-Slavic, e.g. Lith. *minti*, 1sg. *minù* 'to tread (down), break flax', OCS *męti*, 1sg. *mъnъ* 'to press together', Ru. *mjat'*, 1sg. *mnu* 'to knead, tread (loam), break (flax)'; nominal derivatives are found in Celtic, e.g. W *mathr* 'trampling, mire' < \**mn-tro-*. Skt. *carma-mná-* [m.] 'tanner' cannot be included here; see Mayrhofer *EW Aia* s.v. See ► πατέω.

**μάτη** [f.] 'fault, folly' vel sim. (Stesich., A., S.). <?>

•VAR Also ματή 'id.' (κ 79, A. R.), a metrically convenient transformation (Porzig 1942: 204 and 70); μάτην [adv.] 'idly, in vain, without reason' (*h. Cer.*).

•DER 1. μάταιος 'idly, empty, foolish, rash' (IA) with ματαιό-της (Hell.), -σύνη (Polem. *Phgn.*) 'idleness, etc.' and denominatives: a) (ἀπο-)ματαῖζω [v.] (Hdt., J.), ματάζω [v.] (A., S.) 'to talk nonsense, act foolishly', also -αιάζω [v.] 'id.' (Hell.); b) ματαιόομαι, -ῶω [v.] 'to bring to naught, act foolishly' (LXX, NT) with ματαίωμα (Hermas). 2. ματάω, aor. ματήσαι 'to do in vain, miss, be useless' (Il.).



•ETYM The difficulty in determining the original meaning of the verbal noun μάτη (thus Fraenkel 1912: 115) and of its fossilized accusative μάτην makes it very hard to find a convincing etymology. The connection with the Slavic group of Pol. *matać*, 1sg. *matam* 'to swindle, turn, lie, deceive', SCr. *matati*, 1sg. *matam* 'to allure, attract', clearly has little value.

Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 67 (1989): 42-44 connects the root \**men-* 'to have in mind', with negative connotations. Fur.: 88 n. 476 notes that words for 'stupid, foolish' are often of substrate origin (see also ibid. 242, 339; cf. ματταβος· ὁ μωρός 'moron' H.). See ►μηνύω, ►ματταβος.

**μάτιον** [n.] Eg. measure of capacity (pap. II-III<sup>p</sup>)·◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

**ματίς** [adj.] · μέγας· τινὲς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM Tentatively compared with Celtic words for 'good', e.g. OIr. *maith* < PCl. \**mati-*. It remains doubtful whether the gloss is from Greek or from another language.

**ματρυλεῖον** ⇒μαστροπός.

**μάτταβος** [adj.] · ὁ μωρός 'someone stupid, moron' (H.). ◄PG? (SV)►

•VAR ματτάβης· ἀπορῶν 'without escape or means' (H.), ματταβεῖ· περιβλέπει, ἀδημονεῖ 'gazes around, is troubled' (H.), ματταβο<ύ>μενος· μέλλων καὶ ἀποκνῶν 'who is about to do something but hesitates' (H.).

•ETYM A popular word, acc. to Chantraine 1933: 261f. derived from μάτη with the degrading suffix -β-, and containing expressive gemination. It may well be Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 242, who connects it with μάταιος 'idle'. See ►μάτη.

**ματτύη** [f.] name of a sweet dish, which is made of all kinds of ingredients, like minced meat, poultry, aromatic spices; it is ascribed to the Thessalians and the Macedonians (middle and new com.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also -α [f.], -ης [m.].

•COMP As a first member in ματτυο-κόπης [m.] (epithet, Amm. Marc.), perhaps also in ματτυο-λοιχός (Ar. *Nu.* 451 and Hdn. Gr. 1, 231 according to Bentley; codd. ματιο-).

•DER ματτυάζω [v.] 'to prepare a μ.' (Alex.).

•ETYM Formerly analyzed as derived from \*ματτύς (comparing ἰχθύη : ἰχθύς, δελφύα : δελφύς, etc.), representing \*μακ-τύς with a dialectal (Cretan or perhaps Thessalian) assimilation. This would be a τυ-derivative of μάσσω < \*μακ-ιω 'to knead'; see Kalén 1918: 91ff. following Ath. 14, 663b. Improbable. Fur.: 386 compares ματύλλη 'id.' (Poll. 6, 70). The *a*-vocalism in the root and the alternation τ(τ) point to Pre-Greek origin. Borrowed as Lat. *mattea*; see WH s.v.

**μαῦλις 1** · μάχαιρα· καὶ ἡ μισθωτὸν (Latte: μισθίον) ποιοῦσα 'large knife, also a procuress' (H.). ◄LW Lyd.?►

•DER μαυλίζω = μαστροπεύω 'to pander' (H., sch.) with μαυλιστής [m.] (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*, Phot., Suid.), μαυλιστρία [f.] (Suid., sch., *EM*); μαυλιστήριον· παρ' Ἰππώνακτι,

λύδιον νόμισμα 'a Lydian custom / currency in Hipponax' (λέμισμα cod.) λεπτὸν τι 'something small or delicate' (H.); Latte gives Λυδίον τι λεπτὸν νόμισμα 'a small Lydian currency', *fr.* 126 Bergk.

•ETYM A chain of hypotheses is assumed by Jongkees *Acta Orbis* 16 (1938): 146ff.: from Lyd. \**mav-lis*, an adj. built on \**Mavś*, the Lydian name of the mother goddess Magna mater (seen in PNs from Asia Minor, e.g. Μαυα, Μαυ-εννα, Μαυ-σσ-ωλλος, etc.). Thus, it would properly mean 'belonging to *Mavś*'. Thence 1. = μάχαιρα, as the Magna mater was considered the patroness of metal weapons; 2. 'woman devoted to the Magna mater', who makes her money as a prostitute; 3. 'coin of the Magna mater' (with added suffix -τήριον). Criticism of these hypotheses in O. Masson 1962: 178f.

**μαῦλις 2, -ιδος, -ιος** [f.] 'knife' (Call., Nic., AP, H., Suid., sch.). ⇒μαῦλις 1.

**μαῦρος** •VAR μαυρός. ⇒ἀμαυρός.

**μαφόρτης, -ου** [m.] 'short cloak with a cap' for women and monks. ◄LW Sem.►

•VAR μαφόρ(τ)ιον [n.].

•COMP δελματικο-μαφόρτης, -τιον 'a μ. cut like a Dalmatian cloak', from δελ-, δαλματική, Lat. *Del-*, *Dalmatica* (pap. imperial period).

•ETYM From Sem., cf. Hebr. *ma'aforet*, Aram. *ma'aforā*, -*for'tā* 'cloak with cap'. See Lewy KZ 59 (1932): 192. Lat. probably borrowed *mafortium*, *maforte* from Greek, as well as *mafortis*, -*fors*; see WH s.v. Greek borrowed σουβρικο-μαφόρτιον (pap. imperial period) from Latin.

**μάχαιρα** [f.] 'large knife, butchery knife' (Il.); post-Hom. also 'short sword, dagger'. ◄PG(V)►

•COMP μαχαιρο-φόρος [adj.] 'sword-bearing', subst. msc. 'sword-bearer' (IA), ἀ-μάχαρος 'without a knife' (Pherecr.).

•DER Diminutive μαχαίρ-ιον (Hp., X., Arist.), -ίς [f.] (com., Str.), -ίδιον (Ph., Luc.); further μαχαιρᾶς [m.] 'sword-bearer' (pap., inscr.), μαχαιρωτός 'equipped with a sword' (Gal., Paul. Aeg.); μαχαιρίων, -ίωνος [m.] plantname = ξιφίον (Dsc. 4, 20, v.l. -ώνιον), after the form of the leaves, acc. to Strömberg 1940: 44; also as a PN (Paus.); Μαχαιρεύς [m.] (Str., sch. Pi.).

•ETYM Like γέραιρα, χίμαιρα, πείρα, etc., μάχαιρα looks like a derivative in \*-ια- built on an *r*-stem. Traditionally connected with μάχομαι, but DELG finds this implausible. Semitic etymology (with reservations) in Lewy 1895: 177 (comparing Hebr. *m'kērā* 'sword', but acc. to Gordon *Antiquity* 30 (1956): 22ff., this is rather from Greek); cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 19 (1931): 160. Borrowed as Lat. *machaera*.

I compare μάγειρος 'cook', and on account of the interchange γ/χ, conclude that it is a Pre-Greek word.

**μάχλος** [adj.] 'lascivious' (of women), 'luxuriant, wild' (Hes., A.). ◄PG?(V)►

•VAR μάχλης· ἀκρατής, πόρνος 'out of control, sodomite' (H.); also μαχλάς, -άδος [f.] (Man., AP, Ph.), μαχλῖς· ἐταῖρα, πόρνη 'courtesane, prostitute' (H.).

•DER μαχλο-σύνη 'lasciviousness, voluptuousness' (Ω 30, Hes., Hdt.), -της 'id.' (EM, Sch.); μαχλικός 'like a lascivious woman' (Man.); μαχλεύομαι [v.] 'to be lascivious' in μεμαχλευμένον ἦτορ (Man.), μαχλῶντες· πορνεύοντες 'prostituting' (H.).

•ETYM The comparison with Skt. *makhá-*, an attribute of gods, is gratuitous and should be discarded in view of the unknown meaning of the latter (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 288). Fur.: 211 adduces Βάκχος (with interchange β/μ), and compares (ibid. fn. 48) Arm. *mahaz* 'lascivious', suggesting that all these words are from Asia Minor. Note that a word of this meaning with interchange β/μ may well be Pre-Greek.

**μάχομαι** [v.] 'to fight, combat' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Epic also μαχέομαι (μαχειόμενος, μαχεούμενον with metr. lengthening), aor. μαχέσ(σ)ασθαι (Il.), μαχήσασθαι (D. S., Paus.), μαχεσθῆναι (Plu., Paus.), fut. μαχήσομαι (epic Ion.), μαχέσ(σ)ομαι (Ion. and late), μαχέομαι (B 366), μαχοῦμαι (Att.), μαχεῖται (Υ 26), perf. μεμάχημαι (Att.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. δια-, συν-, ἀπο-. As a second member in μονο-μάχος 'fighting on his own' (A., E.), msc. 'gladiator' (Str.), whence μονομαχ-έω, -ία, etc., ναυ-μάχ-ος 'fighting at sea' (AP), but ναύ-μαχος from μάχη, see below.

•DER μάχη 'battle' (Il.); as a second member in ἄ-, πρό-, σύμ-, ναύ-, ἱππό-μαχος, with derivatives like προμαχ-ίζω, συμμαχ-έω, ναυμαχ-έω, -ία.

Thence: 1. μαχη-τής [m.] 'warrior' (Hom., LXX), Dor. μαχατάς (Pi.), μαχάταρ· ἀντίπαλος 'adversary' (H.), Aeol. μαχαίτας (Alc. 350), probably hyperaeolism (cf. DELG). 2. μάχ-μιος 'warlike, militant' (IA), after ἄλκιμος; also msc. 'soldier of an Egyptian tribe', with μαχημικός 'in the way of the μάχημοι' (pap.). 3. Μαχάων [m.] PN (Aeol. epic), Ion. -έων, with Dor. Μαχαν-ίδας.

From μάχομαι also μαχ-ήμων 'warlike' (M 247, AP) and μαχ-ητός 'to be fought with' (μ 119), ἄ-, περι-μάχ-ητος (Att.), μαχ-ητικός 'ready for battle' (Pl., Arist.). The second member -μάχᾱς, as in ἀπειρο-μάχᾱς 'unexperienced in battle' (Pi.), λεοντο-μάχᾱς 'fighting with a lion' (Theoc.), may be derived from noun or verb alike.

•ETYM Beside the thematic root present μάχομαι, the isolated by-form μαχέομαι is modelled on μαχήσομαι, rather than a denominative of μάχη. The pair μαχήσομαι : ἔμαχό-μην has parallels like ἀπ-εχθήσομαι : ἀπ-εχθόμην, μαθήσομαι : ἔμαθον and γενήσομαι : ἐγενόμην. One has therefore been inclined to analyze ἔμαχόμην as an original aorist, from which μάχομαι was subsequently made. Further evidence for this view is the remarkably low frequency of the aorist in Homer (Trümper 1950: 260<sup>333</sup>). It is supposed that a new aorist μαχέσ(σ)ασθαι arose (after the model of κοτέσασθαι, etc.) after μαχέσθαι had been reinterpreted as a present. The new future μαχοῦμαι then arose from μαχέσ(σ)ασθαι in analogy with the type τελέσ(σ)αι : fut. τελῶ.

In the domain of fighting and battle, old inherited expressions can hardly be expected. The connection with a supposed Iran. PN *\*ha-mazan-* 'warrior' in ▶ Ἀμαζών, ἀμαζακάραν· πολεμῖν. Πέρσαι, and ἀμαζανίδες· αἱ μηλέαι (H.) is ingenious, but highly uncertain. Within Greek, it is formally possible to connect μάχομαι with μάχαιρα '(butchering) knife' and with μῆχαρ, μηχανή 'ruse' (cf. χειρο-μάχα [f.], scil. ἐταιρεία, the name of the workers' party in Milete acc. to Plu. 2, 298c.),

a suggestion which DELG rightly calls improbable. As an isolated root, μαχ- may well be Pre-Greek.

**μάψ** [adv.] 'blindly, in vain' (Hom.). <PG?>

•COMP As a first member in μαψι-λόγος 'speaking in vain' (h. Merc.), after other first members in -ι, see Zumbach 1955: 22; μαψ-υλάκᾱς 'barking in vain' (Pi., Sapph.), etc.

•DER μαψ-ίδιος 'idle, useless' (E., Theoc.), -ιδίως [adv.] (Hom.).

•ETYM Adverb in -ς, always occurring before vowel, of unexplained origin. Not related to Lat. *mox* 'soon', etc. (see WH s.v.). It could well be Pre-Greek.

**μεγαίρω** [v.] 'to grudge, envy, refuse' (Il.), mostly with negation. <IE *\*megh<sub>2</sub>-* 'great'>

•VAR Aor. μεγῆραι.

•DIAL According to sch. N 563 and Eust., from Salamis (cf. Ruijgh 1957: 162).

•DER Privative verbal adj. ἀ-μέγαρ-τος 'not enviable, unpleasant, unhappy' (Il.). Perhaps Μέγαира [f.] name of one of the Erinyes.

•ETYM Formation like ἐχθαίρω, γεραίρω, etc., formally identical with Arm. *mecarem* 'to esteem highly' from *mec* 'great', except for the *yod*-derivation. As Clackson 1994: 149-150 remarks, the suffix -αίρω became productive in Greek, e.g. ἐλεαίρω to ἐλέω 'to pity'. Thus, it is unnecessary that an *r*-stem *\*meg(h<sub>2</sub>)-r-* 'greatness' or *\*megh<sub>2</sub>-ro-* 'great' underlies both the Greek and Armenian verbs.

The Greek development of meaning is understood by Clackson from 'to regard as great' > 'regard as too great' > 'grudge'. See ▶ μέγας.

**μέγαρα 1** [n.pl.] 'pits into which living pigs were thrown during the Thesmophoria' (Paus.). <LW Sem.?>

•VAR Also μάγ- (Men.).

•ETYM Probably from Semitic, cf. Hebr. *me'ārā* 'cavity'. See Lewy 1895: 94, although he prefers identifying the word with μέγαρον 'hall'.

**μέγαρον 2** [n.] 'hall, room, the inner space of a temple', plur. 'house, palace' (epic Ion., Il.); on the mg. e.g. Wace *JHS* 71 (1951): 203f. <PG>

•VAR Gen.pl. -έων (Sophr.).

•ETYM Undoubtedly a technical loan from the substrate, perhaps adapted to μέγα; cf. the TN Μέγαρα.

**μέγας** [adj.] 'great, big, large' (Il.). <IE *\*meg<sub>2</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>-* 'much, many'>

•VAR μεγάλη [f.], μέγα [n.]; compar. μέζων, superl. μέγιστος (Il.).

•DIAL Att. compar. μείζων, lengthened after κρείττων, ἀμείνων, etc. (Schwyzer: 538), Myc. compar. *me-zo*.

•COMP μεγά-θυμος 'with great mind' (Hom.), μεγαλ-ήτωρ 'magnanimous' (Il.), μεγαλό-φρων 'magnanimous' (Att.), cf. Hom. μέγα φρονέων; μεγιστό-τιμος 'with highest honour' (A.).

•DER 1. From μεγα-: μέγεθος [n.] 'greatness, sublimity' (Il.), Hdt. v.l. μέγαθος; cf. πλῆ-θος; -ε- by vowel assimilation according to Schwyzler: 255, but this is improbable as such assimilations were irregular; thence μεγεθ-ικός 'quantitative' (comm. Arist.), -ύνω [v.] 'to magnify', pass. 'to get exalted' (late), after μεγαλύνω; -όομαι = μεγαλύνομαι (medic., S. E.); PN Μέγης with patronymic Μεγάδης (Il.).

2. From μεγαλο-: μεγαλ-εἰος 'grand(iose)' (Pl., X., Plb.), enlarged after ἀνδρεῖος, with -εἰότης 'highness, majesty' (LXX); μεγάλ-ωμα [n.] 'greatness, power' (LXX), -ωσύνη 'id.' (LXX, Aristes), -ω- analogical; -ωστί [adv.] 'magnificently'.

3. From μέγιστος: μεγιστᾶνες [m.pl.] (rarely -άν sg.) 'great lords, magnates' (Men., LXX, NT), after the PNs in -ᾶνες, Björck 1950: 55, 278ff.; PN Μεγιστ-ώ [f.] (Emp., pap.), -ίας, -εύς; μεγιστεύω [v.] 'to be(come) very great' (App.).

•ETYM A form corresponding to μέγα, μέγας is found in Arm. *mec* 'great', *meca-w* [instr.] (*a*-stem); Skt. *māhi* [n.] 'great' (with *h* from *\*gh₂-*) can also be subsumed under IE *\*mégh₂-*. We find PGm. *\*meku* with secondary *\*-u* after *\*felu* > Go. *filu* 'many', see ►πολύς; ON *mjǫk* 'very'. Further, Hitt. *mekk-* 'much, many' (Old Script) was reshaped into an *i*-stem *mekki-*.

The final -α from -h₂ is the zero grade of -ā in Skt. *mahā-* 'great' (as a first member), *mahā-nt-* 'id.'; the effect of a laryngeal after *g* was aspiration in Skt., with *\*gh* > *h*. The masculine μέγας, -αν is immediately understandable as an innovation from μέγα; the other forms have an enlargement *\*-l-*, the origin of which is unclear. This enlargement is also found in Go. *mikils* 'great' < PGm. *\*mekila-* and in synonymous Lith. *didelis* 'great' (from *didis* 'id.'). See ►ἀγα-, ►μεγαίρω.

μεδέων, -έουσα 'ruler'. ►μέδω.

μέδιμνος [m.] corn measure (IA), a "bushel" = 48 χοίνικες, which was about 52 1/2 liters in Athens. <PG>

•VAR Older -ίμνος; with dissimilation φεδίμνος (Gortyn).

•COMP As a second member in ἡμέδιμνον [n.] 'half-bushel', also -ος [m.] (haplological for ἡμι-μέδιμνον, originally a substantivized adj.).

•DER μεδιμν-ιαῖος 'measuring one μ.' (Gortyn), -αῖον· μέτρον μοδίου (H.).

•ETYM Formally, μέδιμνος looks like μέριμνα 'care, anxiety', λίμνη 'harbor' (cf. λίμην), στάμνος 'wine-jar', etc. If we assume an enlarged *mn*-stem to the root *\*med-* (seen in Greek μέδομαι 'to care', μέδω 'to rule, govern', μήδεα 'counsels, plans'). However, the -ι- remains problematic. It is tempting to compare Lat. *modius* "bushel", derived from *modus* 'measure'. Because of the great number of loanwords in -μν-, Chantraine 1933: 216 considers the word to be of Mediterranean origin. To my mind, the word must be Pre-Greek, in view of the suffix -μν-. See Fur.: 246<sup>71</sup>.

μέδω [v.] 'to rule, govern' (Emp., trag.). <IE *\*med-* 'measure'>

•VAR Also -έω? Only present.

•DER μέδων [ptc.] 'ruler' (Hom.), like ἄρχων, fem. -ουσα "ruling", name of one of the Gorgons (Hes.), also μεδέων, -έοντος 'id.' (Il., *h. Merc.*), fem. -έουσα (*h. Hom.*, Hes.); PN Μέδων, Λαο-μέδων, etc., TN Μεδεών (Boeotia) in the sense "seat of government"(?).

μέδομαι [med.] 'to care for, think of, be prepared for' (Il.), only pres. except μεδήσομαι (I 650). Hence μεδίμω· ἥρωι 'hero' (H.), probably after κύδιμος, δόκιμος, etc.

•ETYM In the sense of 'think of, be prepared for', μέδομαι corresponds exactly to the Lat. frequentative *meditor*, -ārī 'to reflect, meditate', beside which we find the primary verb *medeor*, -ērī 'to heal' and the primary noun *modus* 'measure', from

which *modius*, *modestus* and *moderor* are derived. Celtic has several cognates, e.g. OIr. *mess* 'iudicium' < *\*med-tu-*, *air-med* 'measure'. The basic meaning 'measure' is found in Germanic as well: Go. *mitan* (also *miton* 'to consider'), OE *metan*, MoHG *messen*, etc. An old specialized meaning is found in Lat. *medeor* 'to heal' (originally 'to take measures' vel sim.?) and Av. *vī-mad-* 'healer, physician'.

See ►μήδομαι, which has been considered to show a lengthened grade of the same root, but may also be from a different root *\*meh₁(d)-*.

μέζεα [n.pl.] 'male genitals'. ►μήδεα.

μέθυ [n.] 'entoxicating drink, wine' (Il.). <IE *\*medh₁u-* n. 'honey, intoxicating drink'>

•VAR Gen. -υος (Pl. *Epigr.*, Nic.).

•COMP As a first member in μεθυ-πλήξ, -γος 'hit by wine, drunk' (Call., *APL*), etc.

•DER Denominative verbs: μεθύ-σκομαι (IA) 'to intoxicate oneself, be(come) drunk', aor. μεθυ-σθῆναι (Alc., IA); act. μεθύ-σκω 'to intoxicate oneself' (Pl., Hell.), aor. μεθύ(σ)-σαι, fut. μεθύσω; μεθύ-ω (only present-stem) = -ύσκομαι, often metaph. (Od.).

Verbal nouns: 1. μέθη [f.] 'drunkenness, intoxication' (IA), back-formation from μεθύω after πληθύω : πλήθι; 2. μέθυσις 'intoxication' (Thgn.), after πόσις (Porzig 1942: 190); 3. μέθυσμα 'intoxicating drink' (LXX, Ph.). 4. μέθυσο (-ση) [m., f.] 'drunkard' (Hecat., Ar.), first of women; also μεθύσης 'id.' (Ath., Luc.); 5. μεθυστής 'id.' (Arr., AP), -ύστρια [f.] (Theopomp. Com.), -υστάς (*Trag. Adesp.*). 6. μεθυστικός 'dipsomaniac, intoxicating' (Pl., Arist.); 7. μεθύσιον· εἶδος ἀμπέλου 'kind of grapevine' (H.); 8. μεθυμναῖος epithet of Dionysus (Plu.); playful transformation of Μηθυμναῖος (from Μήθυμνα), according to H. an epithet of Dionysus (Wackernagel 1916: 131<sup>3</sup>).

PNs, e.g. Μέθων, -υλλος, -ύσκος. On ►ἀμέθυστος, see s.v.

•ETYM Old word for 'honey, mead', which was retained in most languages: Skt. *mádhu-* [n.] 'honey', Av. *mađu-* [n.] 'currant wine', OCS *medъ* 'honey', Lith. *medūs* 'id.', ON *mjǫðr*, OHG *metu* [m.] 'mead', OIr. *mid* 'id.', ToB *mit* 'honey'. The meaning 'honey' was limited in Greek to μέλι, which was inherited as well; the archaic word μέθυ, which (unlike its derivatives) was soon given up, referred to wine only.

μείγνυμι [v.] 'to mix, bring together, connect', med. 'to intermingle, convene in battle' (Il.). <IE *\*meig/k-* 'mix'>

•VAR μειγν-ύω (X., Arist.), μίσγω (Hom., IA, etc.), ὀνείμειχνυτο (Sapph.), aor. μείξαι, med. μίκτο (epic), pass. μιγῆναι with fut. -ήσομαι, μ(ε)ιχθῆναι with -ήσομαι, fut. μείξω, -ομαι, perf. med. μέμ(ε)ιγμαί; act. μέμχα (Hell.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. συν-, ἐπι-, κατα-, ἀνα-. As a first member in governing compounds μ(ε)ιζ(ο)-, e.g. μιζ-έλληνες [pl.] 'semi-Hellenes' (Hellanic, Hell.), μ(ε)ιζό-θροος 'mixing the crying, with mixed cries' (A.); also μισγ-, especially in μισγ-ἀγκεια [f.] 'place where valleys meet' (Δ 453), from *\*μισγ-αγκής*. As a second member in παμ-, ἀνα-, συμ-μής, etc. (IA); thence μής (Nic.), ἀνα-, ἐπι-μίζ [adv.] 'mixed' (Il.).

•DER Few derivatives: 1. (σύμ-)μειζις (also -ι-) 'mixing, etc.' (IA); 2. μείγμα (-ι-) 'mixing' (Emp., Anaxag., Arist.), μείχμ[α] (Alc.); 3. ἐπιμ(ε)ίξια, -ίη 'mixing, intercourse' (IA); from ἐπίμ(ε)ικ-τος. 4. μίγας, -άδος [m., f.] 'mixed, together' (Att.). 5. Several adverbs: (σύμ-)μίγα, μίγ-α-δην, -δης, μίγ-δα, -δην (epic poet.). 6. μιγάσσομαι [v.] 'to mix, unite' (θ 271), to μίγα, μίγας (Schwyzer: 734).

•ETYM It is very doubtful whether μίγνυμι, which is frequent in mss., is an original zero grade. It is probable that μείγνυμι, built after μείζαι and μείζω, was early. The full grade is an alternative rendering for other forms, which in principle take zero grade (as in μείζις for μίζις; (σύμ-)μικτος, μέμγμαι).

IE \*m(e)ik- is reflected by Skt. *miśrá-* = Lith. *mišras* 'mixed'; Lith. *miēšti*, 1sg. *miešiū* 'to mix', OCS *měšiti*, 1sg. *měšō* [caus.] 'to mix'. A *sk*-present, like in μίσγω, is well-represented in the Western languages too: Lat. *misceō*, OIr. *mescaid* 'mixes, confuses', OHG *miscan*, MoHG *mischen* (if not a Lat. loanword). The *vu*-present is probably an innovation, as it is limited to Greek. Indic has a reduplicated *s*-formation in *mí-mikṣ-ati* 'mix', probably an original desiderative, with perf. *mimikṣé*, caus. *mekṣayati*.

All other languages have a voiceless root-final stop instead of the voiced one represented by μίσγω and found in μιγῆναι, μίγα. Since all Greek formations (except the *ske/o*-present) are isolated (e.g. pass. μιγῆναι), these are probably analogical after forms with a following voiced consonant (or made to the aorist μείζαι). It is unnecessary to assume a variant \*meig-.

**μειδιάω** [v.] 'to smile' (Il.). <IE \*smei- 'smile'>

•VAR In Hom. only ptc. -ιόντων, -ιόωσα, later also inf. -ιᾶν (Pl.) and indicative forms, e.g. μειδιᾷ (Theoc.); aor. μειδ-ιάσαι (Sapph., Pl., Plb., Plu.), -ῆσαι (Il.).

•COMP Also with prefixes like ἐπι-, ὑπο-. Compound φιλο-(μ)μειδής 'with a friendly smile', especially of Aphrodite (Il.), as if from μείδος· γέλως 'laughter' (H.), but perhaps directly from the verb, see below. On Hes. *Th.* 200 see Risch 1947: 76 and Strunk *Glotta* 38 (1960): 70, but also Dornseiff *Ant. class.* 6 (1937): 247, and Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 16 (1965): 204-6; see DELG.

•DER μείδημα [n.] 'smiling' (Hes.), -ίαμα 'id.' (Luc., Plu.), (ἐπι-)μειδίασις (Plu.), -ίασμα (H.), -ιασμός (Poll., Sch.), τὸ μειδιαστικόν 'cheerfulness' (sch.); μειδ-ᾄμων 'smiling' (*Hymn. Is.*).

•ETYM The relationship between the above forms is unclear. The present μειδ-ιάω, with the aor. μειδιᾷσαι, is probably an epic transformation, and the pres. ptc. may have served as a pivot form. The form φιλο-(μ)μειδής can be derived from a verb as well, and μείδος then extracted from it.

All Greek forms have an element -δ-, which appears to be lacking in most other languages. Skt. *smáyate*, -ti 'smile', ToB *smi-*, ToA *smi-* 'id.', OCS *smijati* 1sg. *smějo* 1sg. 'to laugh', Latv. *smiēt*, 1sg. *smeju* 'to laugh (at)'. However, we also find the Balt. iterative *smaidīt*, and *smaida* 'laughing'. One view is that Baltic and Greek independently added \*-d- to the root. The opposite view is that Baltic and Greek share an old \*d-enlargement (DELG s.v. and LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*smei-). In view of the recent insight that root-final \*d and \*h, interchange frequently, \*smeid- may well be the original form.

**μείζων** [compar.] 'larger'. ⇒ μέγας.

**μείλια** [n.pl.] 'propitiations, atonement, penalty' (I 147 = 289, A. R., Call.).

•VAR Rarely sing. -ιον.

•ETYM No good explanation exists. See ► μείλιχος.

**μείλιχος** [adj.] 'soft, mild, friendly' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Also μείλιχιος 'id.' (Il.); Μείλιχιος epithet, especially of Zeus (IA).

•DIAL Att. also Μιλίχιος (early itacism, Schwyzer: 193), Dor. Μηλ-, Arc. Μελ-, with Μελιχιεῖον 'temple of Zeus M.' (Halaesa); details in Nilsson 1941(1): 411ff.; Aeol. μέλλιχος.

•COMP μελλιχό-φωνος (Sapph.), ἀ-μείλιχος 'unfriendly, irreconcilable' = ἀμείλικτος (Il.).

•DER From μείλιχος: 1. μιλίχην [f.] 'softness, mildness' (O 741, Hes., A. R.); 2. μιλίχῳδης 'soft' (Cerc.); μιλίχη [f.] 'boxing-glove' (Paus. 8, 40, 3), cf. πυρρίχη; 4. μιλίσσω [v.] 'to calm, appease' (Il.), aor. -ίξαι, also with ἐκ-; μείλιγμα (μέλιγμα Milete VI<sup>a</sup>) [n.] 'expiational sacrifice' (κ 217), (ἐκ-)μείλιξις 'expiation' (Anon. *apud* Suid., Eust.), μελικ-τήριος 'expiating' (A. *Pers.* 610), -τικῶς [adv.] 'id.' (sch.); μείλικτρα [pl.] = μιλίγματα (A. R.).

•ETYM Popular formation with a suffix -χ- like in νηπίαχος, Dor. ὀσσίχος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 403f.), related to ► μείλια, but without any certain further connection. The different dialectal forms μιλ- : μελλ- : μηλ- have been explained from μελ-ν-; for comparison, Lat. *mel* 'honey', gen. *mellis* (if indeed from \*mel-n-) has been proposed, as well as Lith. *malónė* 'mercy'. μείλιχος was undoubtedly connected with ► μέλι by folk etymology.

**μείον** [n.] 'small animals (sheep or lambs), which were sacrificed during the Apatouria' (Att. inscr., Is., sch.). <GR>

•COMP As a first member in μει-αγωγός 'who puts the animals on the weighing-machine' (Eup. 116) with μει-αγωγή (Ar. *Ra.* 798), -εῖον, -ία (Suid.).

•ETYM Properly a neuter of the comparative ► μείων with transition to an *o*-stem. Unrelated to the IE word for 'ram, sheep' in Skt. *meśá-* [m.] 'ram, sheep, fell', OCS *měxo* 'leather sack', etc.

**μείραξ** [f.] 'girl' (com.), late also msc. 'boy' (Aret., Hld.). <IE \*mer-io- 'young (girl or man)'>

•COMP φιλο-μείραξ [m., f.] 'loving boys' (Ath., Paus.).

•DER Diminutives: 1. μειράκιον [n.] 'youth, younger man' (Hp., Att.) with μειρακιώδης 'youthful' (Pl., Arist.), -όομαι [v.] 'to become adolescent' (X., Ph., Ael.), -εύομαι [v.] 'id., to behave as a youth' (Arr., Plu., Luc.), also μειρακ-εύομαι (Alciph. 2, 2). 2. μειρακίσκος [m.] 'boy', also -η [f.] 'girl' (Att.). 3. μειρακύλλιον 'id.' (com.).

•ETYM For the feminine gender, cf. δέλφαξ, πόρταξ, σκύλαξ. The diminutive derivatives in Greek ousted the basic word.

We have to start from a noun, perhaps \*μείρος (cf. λίθαξ : λίθος), which would agree with Skt. *márya-* [m.] 'youth, lover', Av. *mairiia-* (meaning unclear), and Skt. *marya-*

*ká-* 'small man' (with a thematic *k*-suffix independent of *μείραξ*). A fem. *\*μείρα* (like *στείρα*) may be also considered.

As a remote cognate, Lith. *mergà* 'girl' has been adduced and, with different vocalism, Lith. *martì* [f.] 'bride, young woman' (cf. ► *Βριτόμαρτις*); also, the unclear Lat. *maritus* 'with wife, married' (see WH s.v.). Nowadays, Celtic words are also connected: W *morwyn*, OCo. *moroin* 'girl, maiden' < PCl. *\*moreinā-*, MW *merch* 'daughter' < *\*mer-k-*. The connection of Alb. *shemërë* is "hardly convincing" (Demiraj 1997 s.v.). In view of all the different enlargements involved, all comparisons beyond Ilr. and Gr. *\*mer-io-* (perhaps a common innovation?) remain a bit weak.

**μείρομαι** [v.] 'to receive as one's share' (I 616), 'to divide' (Arat. 1054). <IE *\*smer-* 'remember, care'>

•VAR *ἐμπορε* [3sg.perf.act.] 'shares in' (Il.), 3pl. *ἐμώραντι· τετεύχασι* 'they have as a share' (H.), later also *ἐμπορες, -ον* (A. R., Nic.); *μεμόρηκα* (Nic.); *εἴμαρται* (-το) [3sg.perf.(plpf.)med.] 'it is (was) decided by fate' (Il.), ptc. (especially fem.) *εἴμαρμένη* 'fate' (IA); Aeol. *ἐμώρμενον* (Alc.), Dor. *ἐμβραται· εἴμαρται, ἐμβραμένα· εἴμαρμένη* (H.); also innovated *βεβραμένων· εἴμαρμένων* (H.), *μεμόρ-ηται, -ημένος* (Man., AP).

•COMP Also with *ἀπο-* (Hes. *Op.* 578), *ἐπι-* (Vett. Val. 346, 6). As a second member in ► *κάμμορος* (< *κά-σμορος*), ► *ἥμορος* < *ἄ-σμορος*, etc.

•DER 1. ► *μέρος* [n.] 'share, etc.'. 2. *μόρος* [m.] 'fate, (fate of) death, violent death' (Il.), 'share, share of ground', also as a measure of land (Mytilene, Western Locris). Diminutive *μόριον* [n.] 'share, part, member of the body' (IA), mathem. 'fraction, denominator', with *μοριασμός, -στικός*, from *\*μοριάζω* (Ptol., sch.); further *μόριμος* [adj.] 'destined by fate' (Y 302, Pi., A.), *μόριος* 'belonging to the fate (of death)' (AP), probably also ► *μορίαί*, of *ἐλαΐαι, μορόεις* 'deathly' (Nic.). 3. *μόρα* [f.] name of a Lacon. section of troops (X.). 4. *μοῖρα* [f.] 'part, piece, piece of ground, share, degree, fate, (evil or good) fate, death-fate', also personified 'goddess of fate' (Il.); in compounds, e.g. *μοιρη-γενής* 'child of destiny' (Γ 182), -*η*- analogical metrical lengthening; *εὖ-μοιρος* 'favoured' (B., Pl.). Hence *μοιρ-άδιος* 'destined by fate' (S. OC 228 cod. Laur.), -*ίδιος* 'id.' (Pi., S.), -*αῖος* 'belonging to fate' (Man.), -*ιαῖος* 'measuring a degree' (Ptol., Procl.). *μοιρ-ικός, -ικῶς* 'according to degree' (Ptol., Vett. Val.); *μοιρίς* [f.] 'half' (Nic.); *μοιρ-άομαι, -αω* [v.] 'to divide, be awarded one's share, share' (A., A. R.), -*άζω* = -*άω* (Anon. in *Rh.*). 5. *μορτή* (Dor. -*τά*) 'share of the farmer' (Poll., Eust., H.). 6. ► *μόρσιμος* 'destined by fate'.

•ETYM The perfect forms Aeol. *ἐμπορε* (later taken as a them. aor., whence *ἐμπορες, -ον*) and Ion. *εἴμαρται* can be explained from *\*sé-smor-e* and *\*sé-smr-toi*, resp. The full grade yod-present *μείρομαι* < *\*smér-io-* joins this pattern, also seen in *φθείρω* : *ἔφθορα* : *ἔφθαρμαι*. Initial *\*sm-* shines through in derivatives too: e.g. *ἄμμορος, κατὰ (μ)μοῖραν*.

Corresponding forms outside Greek are doubtful. Lat. *mereō, -ēre, -eor, -ēri* 'to earn, acquire' (if properly *\*to get one's share*) might be cognate, but its formation, *\*(s)mer-eh-*, is different. Hitt. *marrije/a-<sup>ta(r)</sup>* cannot be connected (as it rather means 'to dissolve by heating'; cf. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). The connection with the group of

*μέριμνα* 'care, concern' is highly hypothetical. Of the nominal derivatives, only *μοῖρα* requires a special explanation: one may start either from an o-stem *μόρος* or from an older consonant-stem *\*μορ-*. The o-vowel could also be an Aeolic zero grade. See LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 2. *\*smer-*, to be separated from 1. *\*(s)mer-* 'denken an, sich erinnern'.

**μείων** [compar.] 'smaller' (Il., Hp., X., Dor., Arc.). <IE *\*meiH-u-* 'less, small'>

•VAR *μείον* [n.], also *μειότερος* (A. R., Arat.), superl. *μείστος* 'least' (Locr. V<sup>a</sup>, Hdn., H.).

•DIAL Myc. *me-u-jo, me-wi-jo* /*meiw-ios*/.

•COMP As a first member in *μειον-εκτέω* [v.] 'to have too little, fall short', with -*εξία* (X.), from *μείον ἔχειν* after *πλεον-έκτης, -εκτέω, -εξία*.

•DER Derivatives, probably analogical after the o-stems: 1. *μειότης* [f.] 'minority' (A.D., Vett. Val.); 2. *μειόομαι, -όω* [v.] 'to decrease, be inferior, diminish' (Hp., X., Arist.) with *μει-ωσις* 'decrease' (Hp., Arist.), -*ωμα* 'reduction of wealth' = 'penalty' (X. An. 5, 8, 1), -*ώτης* [m.] 'who diminishes' (Paul. Al.), -*ωτικός* 'diminishing, decreasing' (Hell.).

•ETYM Considered to be a primary comparative from a verbal root 'to lessen' (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 1. *\*meiH-*), seen in Skt. *mināti* 'to lessen, damage', *mīyate* 'to become less, wither', etc. Cf. the opposite *πλείων, πλέων, πλείστος* (see ► *πολύς*). The presence of the suffixal -*u-* in Myc. *me-u-jo* and *me-wi-jo* is unexpected from an IE point of view (we expect it in the positive only), but it is not contradicted by the later evidence. It might find support in ToB *maiwe* 'small, young' < *\*moHi-u-* (Adams 1999 s.v., which he connects with ON *mjór* 'small, thin'). See ► *μινύθω*.

**μέλαθρον** [n.] 'vault of the roof, roof-beams, roof, also (often plur.) 'dwelling, house' (Il., also inscr. Delos III<sup>a</sup>, LXX, pap.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also *μελάθρα* [f.] (Delos IV<sup>a</sup>).

•COMP As a second member in *ὑψι-μέλαθρος* 'with high-roof-beams' (*h. Merc.*), etc.

•DER *μελαθρόομαι* 'provide with roof-beams' (LXX).

•ETYM Explained by the ancients as *ἀπὸ τοῦ μελαίνεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ*, 'because of sooting by smoke' (EM 576, 16). The comparison with ► *βλωθρός* 'high', proposed by Frisk, fails because the latter would presuppose a root *\*mlh<sub>3</sub>-* (if inherited at all), which can never yield *μέλα*.

Connection with ► *κμέλεθρον* 'beam' was tentatively considered by Güntert 1914: 144f. and Pisani KZ 71 (1954): 125f. because of the remarkable formal and semantic similarity. In my view, this proves that the word is Pre-Greek, as ► *κμέλεθρον* is a by-form showing variation *ε/α* and in the initial.

**μέλας** [adj.] 'dark-colored, black' (Il.). <IE *\*mel(h<sub>2</sub>)-n-* 'black'>

•VAR Fem. -*αινα*, ntr. -*αν*. Compar. *μελάν-τερος* (Il.), superl. -*τατος* (IA), late *μελανώτερος* (Str.), *μελαινοτάτη* (Epigr. Gr., AP).

•DIAL Aeol. -*αις*.

•COMP Very frequent as a first member, e.g. *μελάγ-χροος* (-*ες* [pl.]), -*χροής, -χρής, -χρως, μελανό-χροος*, etc. 'with dark skin' (see Sommer 1948: 21ff.); *μελαγ-χιμος* 'dark, black' (A., E., X.), cf. *δύσ-χιμος*, Sommer 1948: 71ff.; *μελάν-δετος* probably 'dark-striped' or 'with dark bands' (O 713, A., E.); *μελάν-δρυ-ος* 'made of black wood

(δόρυ) (A. Fr. 251), ntr. 'heartwood' (Thphr.), plur. 'piece of tunny', with μελάν-δρυς [m.] 'tunny' (Pamphil.); μελάμ-πυρον [n.] (also -ος [m.]) 'ball-mustard, Neslia paniculata' (Thphr., Gal.); for the form cf. ► διόσπυρον, on the mg. Carnoy *REGr.* 71 (1958): 96; μελαγ-κάλαμιν [n.] (dvandva) 'ink and pen' (pap. V<sup>p</sup>, see Maas *Glotta* 35 (1956): 299f.). Often in PNs (e.g. short names like Μελαινεύς, Μελανεύς, Μελανθεύς, Μέλανθος).

•DER 1. μελαίν-ας [f.] name of a dark-colored fish (Cratin.), see Strömberg 1943: 22; -ίς [f.] name of a sea-shell (Sophr., Herod., Xenocr.), also name of Aphrodite in Corinth (Ath.). 2. μελάν-ιον [n.] 'ink' (pap., *Edict. Diocl.*). 3. μελαν-ία [f.] 'blackness, black shade or pigment' (X., Arist.), -ότης [f.] 'blackness' (Arist.), opposed to λευκότης. 4. μελανός = μέλας (Sp.), -όν [n.] 'black pigment' (*Sammelb.* IV<sup>p</sup>); after κελαινός, ὀρφνός, etc.; μελαιναῖος 'id.' (*Orac. Sib.*), after κνεφαῖος, etc.; μελανώδης 'blackish' (*EM*).

Denominative verbs: 1. μελαίνομαι [v.] 'to become dark or black' (Il.), act. (trans.) -ω; hence μέλανσις [f.] 'blackening' (Arist.), μέλας-μα [n.] 'black spot, black paint' (Hp.), -μός [m.] 'blackening, black spot' (Hp., Plu.), μελαντηρ-ία [f.] 'black pigment, blackness' (*IG* 2<sup>3</sup>, 1672, Arist.), -ιον 'stain' (sch.). 2. μελάνω [v.] 'to become (make?) black' (H 64). 3. intr. μελανέω [v.] 'id.' (Thphr., A. R., Call.).

•ETYM The formation μέλας [m.] < \*μέλαν-ς, μέλαινα [f.] < -αν-ια, μέλαν [n.] is paralleled in the adjective τάλας [m.] 'wretched', τάλαινα [f.], τάλαν [n.]. It must be remarked, however, that τάλας seems to be an original *nt*-stem. Traditionally, μέλαινα is identified with Skt. *malinī* [f.], from alleged IE \**melh<sub>2</sub>-n-ih<sub>2</sub>*. The stem μελαν- [m.] would be an innovation for older thematic \*μέλανο- = Skt. *malina-* 'dirty', but the direct comparison fails, for not only is *malinī* exclusively known as a gloss in the sense of 'menstruating woman', but the masculine *malina-* must be an epic-classical derivative from Ved. *māla-* [n.] 'dirt'. The latter may be from \**molh<sub>2</sub>-o-* or from \**mel-o-*, so we cannot decide on this basis whether the root of μέλας ended in a laryngeal.

Of the many words cited under the root *mel-* denoting colors, a couple of Baltic formations with a suffix -n- are interesting for Greek: Latv. *mēlns* 'black', OPr. *melne* 'blue spot', fem. *mīlinan* [acc.] 'spot'; beside these, there are formations with a suffix -u(o)-, e.g. Lith. *mulvas* 'yellow, of clay'. See ► μολύνω.

**μέλδομαι** [v.] 'to cause to melt' (Φ 363), intr. 'to melt' (Nic. *Th.* 108). <IE \**smel-d-*, \**h<sub>2</sub>meld-* (?) 'melt'►

•VAR μέλδω 'to cause to melt' (Call., Man.); ἀμέλδω 'to melt' (H.).

•ETYM In Greek, μέλδομαι was superseded by inherited τήκω. It is a full grade thematic root present with an exact parallel in Gm.: OE *meltan* 'to melt, flow away', caus. *mieltan* 'to dissolve, digest' < \**maltjan* = ON *melta* 'to digest, malt'; beside these (with initial s-) OHG *smelzan*, MoHG *schmelzen*, etc. The Gm. verbs have many derivatives, e.g. Go. *ga-maltein* 'analysis'.

The relation to Greek ► ἀμαλδύνω and ἀμέλδω is unclear. Rix *KZ* 104 (1991): 194<sup>38</sup> reconstructs the root without initial laryngeal. On μελδόμενος (Φ 363) see Schmidt *Glotta* 65 (1987): 65-9.

**μέλε** [voc.] in Att. ὦ μέλε [voc.], 'my best (friend)' vel sim. (com., Pl.). <GR►

•ETYM Probably shortened from ὦ μέλεε; compare ὦ τᾶν from ὦ τάλαν.

**μελεαγρίς, -ίδος** [f.] 'guiney-fowl, Numida ptilorhyncha, meleagris' (Soph. *apud* Plin., Arist.), also μελέαγρος ἡ κατοικίδιος ὄρνις 'the domestic bird' (H.); extensively Thompson 1895 s.v. <?►

•ETYM Probably a foreign word, adapted to Μελέαγρος by folk etymology. Uncertain hypothesis by Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 159<sup>1</sup>: connection to an Iranian word for 'bird, fowl' seen in Av. *māraγa-*, which does not match the African origin of the bird at all.

**μελεδαίνω, μελετάω, etc.** ► μέλω.

**μέλεος** [adj.] 'idle, vain, futile; miserable' (Il.). <?►

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. μελεο-παθής 'suffering misfortune' (A.).

•ETYM As for its accent, μέλεος agrees with secondary adjectives like χρύσεος, λίθιος, βόειος (Chantraine 1933: 50f.), but conceptually it rather belongs to primary oxytones like ἐτεός, κενεός, στερεός; is it a case of Aeolic retraction? Like ἐτεός from ἐτερός, μέλεος may derive from \*μέλερος. Further details are unclear. See ► βλάσφημος.

**μέλι, -ιτος** [n.] 'honey' (Il.). <IE \**melit-* 'honey'►

•DIAL Myc. *me-ri*.

•COMP Very frequent as a first member, e.g. μελί-κρᾶ-τον, Ion. -κρη-τον 'honey mix', 'sacrifice of milk and honey' (Od.), compounded with ► κεράννυμι; also μελιτο-, e.g. μελιτο-πώλης [m.] 'honey trader' (Ar.); as a second member in οἶνό-μελι 'drink from wine and honey' (Plb.), etc.; on ► ἀπόμελι, see s.v.

•DER A. Adjectives: μελιτόεις 'honey-sweet' (Pi.), fem. μελιτόεσσα (scil. μάζα), Att. μελιτοῦττα 'honey-cake' (Hdt., Ar.), μελιτ-ηρός 'pertaining to honey, honey-like' (Ar., Thphr.), -ινος 'made from honey' (pap.), -ώδης 'honey-like' (Thphr.). Probably also μελι-χρός 'honey-sweet' (Alc., Anacr., Hp., Telecl., Theoc.), cf. πενιχρός, βδελυχρός, Chantraine 1933: 225f. See Sommer 1948: 26<sup>3</sup>, who assumes it is Aeol. for μελί-χρος 'honey-colored'; acc. to Schwyzler: 450 it stands for -χροος.

B. Substantives: μελι(ε)ιον [n.] 'mead' (Plu.); μελιτόν κηρίον, ἢ τὸ ἐφθὸν γλεῦκος 'honeycomb, or the boiled new wine' H.; μελιτίτης (λίθος) 'topaz', (οἶνος) 'honey-wine' (Dsc.); μελίτεια [f.] 'Melissa officinalis' (Theoc.); μελιτισμός [m.] 'treatment with honey' (medic.) as if from \*μελιτίζειν.

C. Verbs: μελιτόομαι 'to mix with honey, be sweetened with honey' (Th., Plu.) with μελιτώμα 'honey-cake' (com.), -ωσις 'sweetening' (*gloss*).

Isolated stands μέλισσα, -ττα [f.] 'bee' (Il.), perhaps haplological for \*μελί-λιχ-ια 'honey-licking'; compare Skt. *madhu-lih-* [m.] 'honey-licker' = 'bee'; but alternatively derived from \*μέλιτ-ια. Thence several compounds and derivatives, e.g. μελισσοῦργός (-ττ-) 'beekeeper' (Pl., Arist.) with -έω, -ία, -εῖον; μελισσεύς 'id.' (Arist., pap.), also (with different origin) as a PN; μελίσσιον 'beehive' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>), -ία 'id.' (Gp.), -ών 'id.' (LXX), etc. Cf. further ► βλίττω.

•ETYM Old inherited neuter for 'honey', formally identical with Hitt. *milit* < *melit*. The Greek verb ►βλίττω and the Hitt. stem form *malit(t)-* show that the root originally had ablaut, so a gen. \**mlit-ós*.

With thematic enlargement, it is found in Go. *miliþ* and Alb. *mjaltë* < PIE \**meli-t-o-*. OIr. *mil* and Lat. *mel* may also go back to \**meli-t-*; it is improbable that the Lat. gen. *mellis* is from \**mel-n-*. Arm. *metr*, gen. *metu* was supposedly transferred to the *u*-stems after synonymous \**médʰu* (see ►μέθυ).

The gloss μελίτιον· πόμα τι Σκυθικὸν μέλιτος ἐψομένου σὺν ὕδατι καὶ πόα τινί 'a Scythian drink made from honey, cooked with water and a kind of herb' (H.), stems from an unknown source.

**μελία** [f.] 'ash, lance made of ash-wood' (Il., also Thphr.). <PG? (S, V), IE? \**smel-* 'ash, grey'►

•VAR Epic -ίη.

•COMP μελιη-γενής 'born from an ash' (A. R.); ἐϋ-μμελίας [m.] 'armed with a good lance' (Hom.), after it φερε-μμελίας 'bearing a lance' (Mimn.).

•DER μέλ-ινος (ρ 339); with metrical lengthening μείλ-ινος (Il.) 'made of ash-wood'; like in δρύ-ινος, etc., and favoured by the metre; further μελί-ῖνος (Att. inscr.), μελέ-ῖνος (Att. inscr., Thphr.): after πτελέ-ῖνος, etc., or dissimilated from -ι-ι-?

•ETYM Morphologically and etymologically isolated. The old comparison with Lith. (dial.) *smėlius* 'sand-colored, ashy-grey' starts from the grey color of the wood. Perhaps the word is Pre-Greek in view of the various forms in -ινος. See Fur.: 223, 226, 317 on the consonantism (who compares ►πτελέα 'elm'), and 354, 356 on the vowel alternations.

**μελίνη** [f.] 'millet', especially 'foxtail millet (*Setaria italica*)' (IA). <?►

•ETYM Lat. *milium* [n.] 'millet, proso millet' is usually compared, although it formally deviates from μελίνη. Uncertain is the appurtenance of Lith. *málnos* [f.pl.] 'swath, foxtail millet'. The root is thought to be either that of Lat. *molō* 'to meal', etc., in the sense "product to be mealed"; or that of μέλας (cf. MoFr. *millet noir*, G *Mohrenhirse*, denoting varieties of millet); Porzig 1954a: 178 assumed an opposition with ἄλφι, supposed to be related to ἄλφος 'white'.

On the other hand, Fur.: 246 compares ἔλυμος 'millet' and ἐλίμαρ· κέγχρω ὅμοιον ἢ μελίνη ὑπο Λακώνων (H.), which may continue φελ-. This seems too far-fetched.

**μέλκα** [f.] 'a dish prepared from sour milk' (Gal., Alex. Trall., Gp.). <LW Lat.►

•VAR Or [n.pl.]? Also -η.

•ETYM From Lat. *melca* 'id.', which itself is considered to be a loan from Germanic; see WH s.v. for this and other interpretations.

**μέλκιον** [n.]· κρήνη, νύμφαι, παίγνιον 'source, nymphs, playful' (H.). <?►

•ETYM Has been compared with a few Balto-Slavic words of various meanings, e.g. Ru. *molokó* 'milk', Lith. *maĩkas* 'draught'. The second and third meanings are rather unclear.

**μέλλαξ, -ακος** [m.] 'young boy' (inscr. Alexandria, *PMag. Par.*), μέλακες· νεώτεροι 'the younger ones' (H.). <PG(V)►

•VAR See below on μῖλαξ.

•DER Diminutive μελλάκιον (Alexandria).

•ETYM Thought to be a hypocoristic short form (based on, e.g., μεῖραξ) of μελλ-έφηρος (Hell. inscr.), μελλ-εῖριν (Sparta), vel sim.; cf. μελλόνυμφος (S.), and see Chantraine 1933: 379f. However, as the word is no doubt identical with ►μῖλαξ 2, it is rather Pre-Greek (note the variant with single -λ-). Therefore, etymological connection with μελλ- is improbable.

**μέλλω** [v.] 'to be destined, must, need, etc.', in various constructions; also 'to be about to, commemorate, linger, hesitate' (Il.). <?►

•VAR Aor. μελλῆσαι (Thgn., Att. prose), fut. μελλήσω (D.).

•COMP Rarely with δια-, κατα-, ἀντι-. As a first member in μελλό-γαμος = μέλλων γαμεῖν (S.), μελλ-εῖριν 'who is about to be εἰρήν' (Lacon.).

•DER μέλλησις 'being about to do, (mere) intention, hesitation' (Th., Pl. *Lg.*, Arist.), μέλλημα 'postponement' (E., Aeschin., -ησµα *PMasp.*), μελλώ [f.] 'hesitation' (A. Ag. 1356), μελλησιμός 'delay, indecision' (Epicur., D. H.), also 'approach', of a disease (Aret.); μελλητής [m.] 'laggard' (Th. 1, 70, Arist.), -τικός 'hesitating' (Arist.), μελλητιᾶν· τὸ μέλλειν (H.), like βινητιᾶν etc., Schwyzler: 732.

•ETYM The full grade *yod*-present μέλλω, probably < \*μελ-ιω, is original; the non-present forms and the nominal derivations were created at a later date. Traditionally connected with Lat. *prō-mellere* 'litem promovere' (Paul. Fest.) and the Celtic group of OIr. *mall* 'slow, tardy'. On this basis, a root \**mel-* 'to linger, hesitate, be late' is sometimes reconstructed.

According to Gray *Lang.* 23 (1947): 247, however, μέλλω is a denominative from \*μέλος 'concern, interest', related ►μέλω, Lat. *melior*, etc. Alternatively, Szemerényi *AmJPh.* 72 (1951): 346ff. suggested derivation from the root of μολεῖν 'to go', μέλος 'member', Lat. *mōlior* 'set in motion by force', etc.

**μέλος** [n.] 'member', in older literature only plur. 'limbs' (Il.); also '(articulated) tune, song, melody' (h. *Hom.* 19, 16, Thgn., Pi., IA). <?►

•COMP λυσι-μελής 'relaxing the limbs' (Od.), also with allusion to the μελεδήματα (v 57); μελο-ποιός 'poet of songs' with -έω, -ία (Att.), μελεσί-πτερος 'with singing wings', of a cicada (AP), after the type ἐλκεσί-πεπλος.

•DER 1. Diminutive μελύδριον 'small song' (Ar., Theoc.), -ια [pl.] 'poor limbs' (M. Ant.); μελίσκ(ι)ον 'id.' (Alcm., Antiph.).

2. Adjective: μελικός 'lyric' (D. H., Plu.).

3. Adverb: μεληδόν 'part by part' (Poseidon.); on μελ(ε)ῖστί see below.

4. Verbs: μελίζω 1. 'to analyze' (Pherecyd. Hist., LXX), also with δια-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-; 2. 'to sing, sing of' (Pi., A., Theoc.), also with δια-, ἀντι-. Further μελισμός (δια-) 'analysis' (Plu.), 'song' (Str.), μέλισμα 'song, melody' (Theoc., AP); μελικτάς (Theoc., Mosch.), -ιστής (*Anacreont.*) 'flute-player'; μελιστί 'limb for limb' (J.), older form μελεῖστί (Hom.), probably from \*μελεῖζω. Also μελεάζω [v.] 'to execute a recitative' (Nicom. *Harm.*).

•ETYM For the double meaning 'member' and 'tune, song', cf. Ir. *alt* 'member' and 'poem'. In the sense of 'member', μέλος has been replaced by synonymous terms like



κῶλον, ἄρθρον. To judge by its structure, μέλος must be old (cf. ἔδος, ἔπος, γένος etc.), but it does not have a clear outer-Greek counterpart. Still, a comparison with a Celtic word for 'knuckle' might be possible: Bret. *mell*, Co. *mal*, plur. *mellow*, also in W *cym-mal* 'artculus, iunctura, commissura'. This may derive from PCl. \**melsā*, and would relate to μέλος like e.g. Skt. *vats-á-* 'yearling' to \**φέτος* 'year'.

**μέλω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to celebrate with song and dance; to sing, dance' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Post-Hom. (epic lyr.) aor. μέλψαι, -ασθαι, fut. μέλψω, -ομαι.

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, μετα-, ἐπι-.

•DER μέληθρα [n.pl.] 'plaything' (Il.), μελήτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'singer'; μολή [f.] '(play with) song and dance' (Il.), with μολπαῖος epithet of αἰοδή (Erinn.), μοληδόν 'like a μολή' (A. Pers. 389), μολπαῖς [f.] (Dor.), apposition to κερκίς 'female singer' (AP), μολπάω [v.] 'to sing (of)' (Ar.), whence μολπαστάς [m.] (Dor.) 'singer, dancer' (AP), μολπάστρια = συμπαίτρια (H.); μολποί [m.pl.] guild of singers in Milete, with μολποκοί 'id.' (V<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM No etymology. If somehow related to μέλος, we have to start from an original meaning 'member', not from 'song'. Far-fetched speculations by Szemerényi *Emerita* 22 (1954): 169ff. Connection with the Celtic group of OIr. *-molathar* 'to praise', W *mawl* 'praise' is dubious.

**μέλω** [v.] 'to be concerned with, care for' (IA). <?>

•VAR μέλει μοι [3sg.pres.], μέλομαι, fut. μελήσω, -σει, -σομαι (Il.), aor. μελήσαι, ἐμέλησε (Att.), pass. μεληθῆναι (S.), perf. μέμηλα, -ε (Il.), med. μέμβλεται, -το (Il.), with a new present μέμβλομαι (A. R., Opp.), μεμέληκε (Att.), μεμέλημαι (Theoc., Call.).

•COMP With prefix: ἐπι-μέλομαι and -έομαι 'to care for', μετα-μέλομαι, μετα-μέλει μοι 'repent' (IA).

•DER 1. μέλημα [n.] 'anxiety, object of care, darling' (Sapph., Pi., A.), μελησιμός 'care' (EM). 2. μελέτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'who takes care of' = 'avenger' (S. El. 846). 3. μελετάω [v.] 'to care for, strive; to study, practise oratory' (Hes., *h. Merc.*) beside μελέτη 'care, provision, practice, etc.' (Hes.); because of its accent (cf. γενετή, τελετή), the latter is probably a back-formation, like ἀγάπη from ἀγαπάω; on deverbatives in - (ε)τάω see Schwyzler: 705. Thence μελετη-ρός 'who likes practicing' (X.). From μελετάω: μελέτημα 'practice' (Att.), -ησις 'id.' (AB), -ητικός 'caring' (LXX), -ητής [m.] 'trainer' (Aristid.), -ητήριον 'place for practice' (Plu.). 4. μελε-δῶνες [f.pl.] (late also sg.) 'cares, concerns' (v.l. τ 517, *h. Hom.*, Hes., Thgn.), also μελη-δόνες, -δών 'id.' (Simon., A. R.); -εδων- and -ηδων- are both metrically conditioned for -εδον-; μελεδῶναι [pl.] 'id.' (v.l. τ 517, Sapph., Theoc.), sing. -ώνη (Hp.); μελεδωνός [m., f.] 'watcher' (Ion.), -ωνεύς 'id.' (Theoc.).

Denominative μελεδαίνω [v.] 'to care for' (Ion., Archil.); besides, μελεταίνω (Argos VI<sup>a</sup>) from μελετάω; μελεδήματα [pl.] = μελε-δῶνες (Ψ 62), after νοήματα; μελεδήμων 'caring' (Emp., AP), after νοήμων etc., see Chantraine 1933: 173; μελεδησιμός 'practice' (Orac.); back-formation μελέδη [f.] 'care' (Hp.), after μελέτη.

From ἐπι-μέλομαι: 1. ἐπιμελ-ής 'caring for, anxious; object of care' (IA); thence ἐπιμέλεια 'care, attention' (Att.); 2. ἐπιμελη-τής [m.] 'who cares, governor', etc.;

μεταμέλεια 'repentance, change of mind' (Att.) is analogical to μετα-μέλομαι; also (back-formation) μετάμελος 'id.' (Th. 7, 55).

•ETYM Beside the full-grade thematic root-present μέλω, the perfect μέμηλα has a remarkable lengthened grade. The middle μέμβλεται, -το for \**μμε-μλ-ε-* takes the zero grade and a thematic vowel. The ιη-enlargement in μελ-ή-σω gradually conquered the whole verbal system: μελῆ-σαι, -θῆναι, μεμέλη-κε, -μαι.

There is no convincing etymology. Most dictionaries defend the connection with μέλλω, which is semantically not evident.

**μέμβραξ, -ακος** [m.] 'kind of cicada' (Ael.). <PG(S)>

•ETYM Formation like ἀσπάλαξ, κόραξ, ὕραξ, and other animal names (Chantraine 1933: 379). Probably related to βράζειν 'drone' vel sim., as a sound-imitation. Other such names of cicadas and locusts in Strömberg 1944: 18. According to Gil *Emerita* 25 (1957): 322f., the word is Pre-Greek, which must be correct in view of the suffix and the meaning. See ►μεμβράς.

**μεμβράς, -άδος** [f.] 'kind of sprat' (com., Arist.). <PG(S)>

•VAR μεμβράδιον (Alex. Trall.).

•COMP μεμβρ-αφύα [f.] 'kind of anchovy' (com.), cf. the gloss ἀφύα· μεμβράς (H.), see ►ἀφύα.

•ETYM Perhaps dissimilated from βεμβράς (Aristomen.). See Fur.: 217. See ►βεμβράς.

**μέμνημαι** 'to be mindful of'. ►μμνήσκω.

**μέμνων 1, -ονος** [m.] name of a black bird (Ael., Q. S., Dionys. Av.). <?>

•DER μεμνονίδες [f.pl.] 'id.' (Paus. 10, 31, 6).

•ETYM The birds in question were connected with the tomb of Memnon in different ways by ancient informants; see Thompson 1895 s.v. and Hitzig and Blümner 1896-1910 on the attestation in Pausanias. See ►μενω, ►μέμνων 2.

**μέμνων 2, -ονος** [m.] · ὁ ὄνος 'donkey'; μεμνόν<ε>ια· τὰ ὄνεια κρέα 'donkey meat' (H.); acc. to Poll. 9, 84, also name of the relevant market. <GR>

•ETYM In the meaning ὄνος, we have an appellative use of the PN Μέμνων as "the firm, steadfast one" (see ►μένω and ►Ἀγαμέμνων for a different opinion), because of the proverbial stubbornness of the donkey (cf. Λ 558ff.). See ἀλέκτωρ 'cock' (s.v. ►ἀλεκτρύων), καλλίας 'ape, monkey', and Κάστωρ 'beaver' as other animal names that are based on appellatives. Further examples of this naming process in Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 231<sup>1</sup>.

**μέμονα** [v.perf.] 'to have in mind, strive' (Il.). <IE \**men-* 'think'>

•VAR 1pl. μέμαμεν.

•ETYM Old stative perfect, identical with Lat. *memini* 'to remember', IE \**mé-mon-h<sub>2</sub>e*. Without reduplication, we find Go. *man* 'to think, believe', *ga-man* 'to remember'. The ablaut, with a zero grade in the plur. μέμαμεν < \**mé-mn-me*, is old and matches e.g. Go. 1pl. *mun-um*. Another exact correspondence exists between the imperatives μεμιάτω and Lat. *mementō* < PIE \**mé-mnē-tōd*. The zero grade in the ptc. μεμιάς, plur. μεμιάωτες, μεμιάότες (with metrical lengthening) is analogical.

A yod-present was formed to the root \**men-*, represented in Greek by ►μαίνομαι (with deviating meaning); from a root \**mneh<sub>2</sub>-* (probably an extension) derives ►μυμνήσκω. An old verbal noun is ►μένος; perhaps, the compound ►αὐτόματος also contains the zero grade.

On the supposed forms ἐμμεμαώς (Hom.), ἐμμέμιονεν (S. Tr. 982 [Iyr.]) see Leumann 1950: 52.

**μεμόριον** [n.] 'monument, mortuary monument' (inscr. imperial period). <LW Lat.>

•VAR Also μημόριον, μνημόριον.

•ETYM All of the above are crosses of μνημεῖον and Lat. *memōria*. From μεμόριον comes Lat. *memorium*. See Kretschmer *Glotta*, 11 (1921): 97 and WH s.v. *memor, memoria*.

**μέμφομαι** [v.] 'to reproach, blame, be discontent, complain' (Il.), 'to accuse' (Gortyn). <IE? \**me-mb<sup>h</sup>-* 'reproach' (?)>

•VAR Fut. μέμψομαι, aor. μέμψασθαι, μεμψήναι.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐπι-, κατα-. As the first member of a governing compound: μεμψί-μοιρος 'reproving fate' (Isoc., Arist.).

•DER 1. (ἐπί-, κατά-)μέμψις 'reproof, reproach, objection' (Att. since A.). 2. (ἐπι-)μομφή 'id.' (poetic since Pi., *Ep. Col.* 3, 13), μόμφος [m.] 'id.' (E. *Fr.* 633, Mantinea V<sup>a</sup>); ἐπί-, κατά-μομφος 'subject to reproach, reproachable, reproaching' (A., E.), either hypostases from ἐπί, κατά μομφής, or bahuvrihis; also ἐπιμεμφ-ής 'reproachable' (Nic., AP), ἱμμεμφ-ής 'subject to complaints' (Mantinea V<sup>a</sup>), derived from ἐπι-, ἐμι-μέμφομαι; opposite ἄ-μομφος (A.), ἄ-μεμφής (Pi., A.) with ἀμεμφ-ία (A., S.). 3. μέμφειρα [f.] = μέμψις (Telecl. Com. 62), probably personified after πρόσβειρα, κτεάτειρα, etc. 4. μεμψωλή = μέμψις (H., Suid.).

•ETYM The isolated Gothic verb *bi-mampjan* 'mock, insult' (Ev. Luc. 16, 14) shows a remarkable similarity, although its -p- does not correspond to Gr. -φ-. Celtic words for 'disgrace', like OIr. *mebul* 'shame' et al. <PCelt. \**meblā*, lack the medial nasal. This may point to a root \**meb<sup>h</sup>-*, which occurs as a reduplicated or a nasal present in Greek (and perhaps Gothic). Most dictionaries doubt the connections mentioned (not even mentioned in LIV<sup>2</sup>).

**μέν** emphatic pcl. ⇒μῆν 1.

**μενεαίνω**, μενοινάω ⇒μένος.

**μενθήρη** [f.] explained as φροντίς, μέριμνα 'thought, care' (in Panyas. 12 [?], H., EM, Suid.). <?>

•VAR Cf. μενθηριῶ· μερμνήσω, διατάξω 'to take care of, arrange' (H.), and ἄ-μενθήριστος = ἀφρόντιστος, ἀμέριμνος 'without consideration, careless' (Timo 59; codd. ἀπ-).

•ETYM Origin uncertain. Perhaps derived from the root of μανθάνω with a suffix -ήρη (cf. μέριμναι, -ρίζω). See ►μανθάνω, ►μοῦσα.

**μένος** [n.] 'mind, courage, rage, strength, urge' (Il.). <IE \**men-s-* 'mind'>

•COMP δυσ-μενής 'evil-minded, hostile' (Il.) with δυσμέν-εια, -ίη, -αίνω, etc.; metrically enlarged δυσμενέων, -έοντες (Od.); ἄ-μενής 'forceless' (E.); perhaps also the PNs Ἀμενέας, Ἀμενίσκος and (with unexplained -νν-) Ἀμεννάμενος (Bechtel 1917a: 6f.)? Cf. further ►ἀμενιγός. In PNs, e.g. Κλεο-μένης; as a first member in μενο-εϊκής 'suitable for the mind, delightful, plentiful' (Hom.).

•DER 1. μενεαίνω [v.] 'to desire strongly, rage' (Il.), aor. -ήναι, with -αίνω added to \**meneh-*. 2. μενοινάω [v.] 'to have in mind, aim at, wish, desire' (Il.), also -ώω, aor. -ῆσαι, of unclear origin (Μενοίτης, -οίτιος belongs to οἶτος 'fate'). Thence μενοινή [f.] 'intention, desire' (Call., A. R., AP; probably a back-formation).

•ETYM As an old verbal noun, μένος is identical with Skt. *mānas-* [n.], Av. *manah-* [n.] 'spirit, thought, will', IE \**men-s-* [n.]. The adjective δυσ-μενής matches with Av. *duš-manah-* 'evil-minded', Skt. *dur-manas-* 'sorrowful'; and εὖ-μενής with Skt. *su-mānas-* 'well-minded'. The root formed a perfect that is preserved in ►μέμονα, cf. γένος : γέγονα. The related present ►μαίνομαι deviates in meaning. See further ►μυμνήσκω.

**μέντοι** [pcl.] postpositional pcl. 'however, meanwhile, yet' (IA). <GR>

•ETYM From μέν (►μῆν 1) and the dative τοι 'tibi' (still distinct in Hom.). Hell. μέντον 'id.' modelled on ἔνδοι· ►ἔνδον. See Denniston 1954: 405, 409-10, 495.

**μένω** [v.] 'to remain, stay, wait, expect, stand fast' (Il.). <IE \**men-* 'stay'>

•VAR Also μῖμνω (Il.), enlarged μυμνάζω (Il.), fut. μενέω (Ion.), Att. μενῶ, aor. μεῖναι (Il.), perf. μεμένηκα (Att.).

•COMP Very frequent with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, ἐπι- κατα-, παρα-, ὑπο-. Often as a first member in governing compounds, e.g. μενε-χάρμης 'steadfast in battle' (Il.), also -ος (Il.); PN Μενέ-λαος, -λεως (Il.).

•DER μονή (ἐν-, ἐπι-, κατα-, παρα-, ὑπο-, etc.) 'stay, abode, etc.' (IA) with μόνιμος (παρ(α)-) 'staying, steadfast, etc.' (Thgn., Pi., IA); μονίη 'stability, permanence' (Emp.), 'steadfastness' (Tyrnt.), probably after ►καμμιονή 'endurance'; μονος (ἐν-, παρ(α)-, ἐπί-, etc.) 'enduring' (Pi., Att.). μένημα [n.] 'place of detention' (pap. VP). μενετός 'inclined to wait' (Th., Ar.). Μέμνων (Hom.), a secondary appellative (►μέμνων 2), interpreted as 'who stands firm, who persists', but rather from \*Μέδμων, cf. on ►Ἀγαμέμνων. An iterative deverbative ἐπι-μηνάω is retained in the perf. ἐπιμεμηνάκαντι (*Del.*<sup>3</sup> 91, 11; Argos III<sup>a</sup>); cf. below.

•ETYM The thematic root-present μένω is the basis of the whole Greek system. Beside this stands a reduplicated present μῖμνω. The perfect μεμένηκα is an innovation. Although a counterpart of these formations is not found outside Greek, we have Arm. *mnam* 'to stay, expect', which agrees with the iterative ἐπι-μηνάω; both derive from \**mēnā-*, for which cf. Lat. *cēlāre* (to *oc-culere*), *sēdāre* (to *sīdere*; cf. ►ἔζομαι). Other formations are found in Lat. *manēre* < \**mn-eh<sub>1</sub>-* and Av. *mānaieiti* [caus.] 'he makes stay' < \**mon-eie-*. In Sanskrit, we find as primary formations the reduplicated athematic *ma-man-dhi* (ipv.), *ma-man-yāt* (opt.), *ā-ma-man* (ipf.) 'to wait, stand still' (only RV 10, 27; 31; 32). Further represented in ToAB *māsk-* 'to reside, be' < \**mn-sk-*, and probably in the isolated verbal noun OIr. *ainmne* 'patience' < \**an-men-V-*. The comparison with Hitt. *mimma-* 'to refuse, reject' as from \**mi-mn-e/o-*,

matching μίμνω (Jasanoff 2003) is doubtful for semantic as well as formal reasons (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.).

**μέριμνα** [f.] 'care, concern, solicitude' (*h. Merc.*, Hes., Sapph., Emp., Pi., trag., Ar.); rare in prose, originally Ionic? <IE? \*smer-, PG?>

•COMP ἀ-μέριμνος 'without concern' (S., Hell.), ἀμεριμν-ία 'carelessness' (Plu.), etc.

•DER μεριμνάω [v.] 'to care (for), be anxious' (S., Ar., X., D.), whence μεριμν-ήματα, Dor. -άματα [pl.] 'cares' (Pi., S.); -ιτης [m.] 'caring for something' (E.), -ητικός (Artem., sch.).

•ETYM The position generally taken is that μέριμνα is a back-formation from μεριμνάω (cf. ἐρευνάω : ἐρευνά, etc.), but this idea is not confirmed by the age of the attestations, nor by their distribution. Formally closest is ▶ μέδιμνος; a noun \*μερ-ί-μων or \*μέρ-ι-μα seems to have served as a basis. A primary verb \*smer- presupposed by this analysis exists in Skt. *smāra*ti, Av. *maraiti*, *paiti-smāra*iti, *hi-šmar-* 'to remember, remind'. Cognate formations can perhaps be found in ▶ μέριμερος, μέριμηρα, -ίζω, where further connections are given. Alternatively, Fur.: 246 assumes Pre-Greek origin because of the suffix (-μιν-).

**μέριμερος** [adj.] conventional epithet of unclear mg. (acc. to H. μέριμερα = χαλεπά, δεινά, φροντίδος ἄξια 'difficult, awesome, worthy of thought'); apparently a reduplicated intensive formation. If related to μέριμνα, we may assume an original mg. 'raising concern', whence 'distressful, dreadful' vel sim. (?), beside 'pondering, caring', of persons. <PG(V)>

•VAR Also attested as a PN (Apollod., Paus.). In Hom. (only Il.) always μέριμερα [n.pl.] as an epithet of ἔργα, also as object of ῥέζειν, μητίσασθαι; post-Hom. of κακόν, βλάβη, etc. (E., Lyc., Nic.), also of persons and animals (Pl. *Hp. Ma.*, Plu., Opp.); enlarged μερ-μέριος (Them.).

•DER μέριμηραι [f.pl.] 'cares, concerns' (Hes. *Th.* 55, Thgn. 1325, also *IG* 14, 1942 [late verse]), μεριμηρίζω [v.] 'to care, meditate, invent, consider, linger' (Hom.), aor. -ίζαι, fut. -ίζω (cf. Ruijgh 1957: 87); also μερμαίρω [v.] (Suid., H., Phot. [codd. also -μέρω]); on ἀπο-μεριμηρίσαι 'forget the cares' (Ar. *V.* 5, D. C.) see Ruijgh *ibid.*

•ETYM Under μέριμνα, the primary thematic root-verb Skt. *smāra*ti, Av. *maraiti* 'remember' (reduplicated *hi-šmar-*) was adduced. The length of the vowel in μέριμηραι, as opposed to μέριμερος, was explained by Frisk from the verb μεριμηρίζω, where he ascribed it to the meter. Yet, this is no sufficient explanation; the interchange rather points to Pre-Greek origin (on ε/η, see Fur.: 257<sup>42</sup>). Thus, unrelated to ▶ μάρτυς or ▶ μείρομαι.

**μέριμς, -ίθος** [f.] 'band, string' (κ 23, D. S. 3, 21). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Dat.pl. -θαις (Agatharch. 47); acc.sg. -θον (H.), nom. -θος (Zonar.).

•ETYM Formation like ἔλμς 'intestinal worm' (μέριμνθα is a v.l. in D. S. l.c., cf. ἔλμινθος), and like ὄρνις, γέλις 'head of garlic', etc. Cognates have been supposed in μῆρῳ 'to wind up' as well as in ▶ βρόχος and ▶ μάραθρον 'fennel'. But of course, the word must be Pre-Greek, because of the alternating suffix -ίθ-/ινθ-. Fur.: 289 compares μῆρινθος, σμήρινθος 'string, thread', and further σμήριγξ 'hair', σμήριγγες-πλεκταί, σείραι, βόστρυχοι 'coils, strings; cords; curls of hair' (H.).

**μέριμνος** [m.] 'kind of falcon' (Call., Ael.). <PG(V)>

•VAR μέριμνης· τριόρχος (H.).

•DER PN Μέρμνων (Theoc. 3, 35).

•ETYM Origin unknown, but compare the Lydian dynasty of the Μερμνάδαι; see Neumann 1961: 70. Fauth *Herm.* 96 (1968): 257 recalls the PNs Μάρμαξ (Paus.) and Βάρβαξ (▶ βάρβαξ), and ▶ μόρφνος (epithet of αἰετός 'eagle', meaning unclear). The last connection could show that the word is Pre-Greek (alternation μ/φ).

**μέροτες, -ων, -εσσι** [pl.] epithet of ἄνθρωποι (Hom.), βροτοί (B 285), after these of λαοί (A. *Supp.* 90 [lyr.]) and, as a substantive, = ἄνθρωποι (trag., Hell. and later poets); also = οἱ ἄφρονες ὑπὸ Εὐβοέων 'senseless (Eub.)' (*Gloss. Oxy.* 1802, 48). Further as an EN (Pi.) and of a bird (Arist., Plu.); cf. below. <PG(S)>

•COMP μεροπο-σπóρος 'procreating men' (Man.).

•DER μεροπήϊος 'human' (Man., Opp.).

•ETYM The original meaning is unknown, which has opened up the way for speculations (see Frisk). Koller *Glotta* 46 (1968): 14-26 starts from *h. Ap.* 4 with the formula πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, said of Cos, and states that it meant 'a city of mortal men'. See further Ramat *Acad. Toscana La Colombaria* 1960: 131-157 and Ramat *Riv. fil. class.* 90 (1962): 150.

The suffix -ων (-ωψ), probably non-IE, is found in various names of animals and peoples, e.g. δρύονψ, Δρύοπες, πάρνοψ, Δόλοπες, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 259). Like the word itself, it is probably Pre-Greek. See Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 21-27. The relation between ἄερονψ and Μέρονψ is unclear (see Fur.: 246).

**μέρος** [n.] 'part, share, section, row, rank' (*h. Hom.*, Thgn., Pi., IA). <IE \*smer- 'think of, remember, care'>

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. μερ-άρχης [m.] 'distributing official' (Att. inscr.), 'commander of a military division' (Hell.), very often as a second member, e.g. πολυ-μερής 'consisting of many parts' (Ti. Locr., Arist.).

•DER μερίς, -ίδος [f.] 'part, distribution, contribution, plot of ground, district, class' (Att., Hell.) with μερίδ-ιον (Arr.); as a first member it appears in in μερίδ-άρχης [m.] 'governor of a district' (pap., LXX), etc. Further μερίτης [m.] 'participant' (D., Plb.) with μεριτικός 'belonging to the μερίτης' (Lyd.), (συμ-)μεριτεύω, -ομαι [v.] 'to distribute (among each other)' (LXX, pap.), with μεριτεία 'distribution of property' (pap.); μερικός 'concerning the part, individual, special' (Aristipp. *apud* D. L.), with -κεύω [v.] 'to consider as an individual' (Steph. *in Rh.*, Eust.); μερόεν· μεριστικόν 'fit for dividing [LSJ]' (H.); μέρεια or -εία in ἐν τῷ μερειᾷ (*Tab. Heracl.*).

Denominative (first from μέρος, but later from μερίς too): μερίζω (Dor. -ίσδω) [v.] 'to distribute', med. 'to distribute among each other, to drive apart' (IA, Theoc., Bion), also with prefix as ἐπι-, δια-, κατα-; thence (ἐπι-, κατα-)μερισμός 'distribution' (Pl., Arist.), μέρισμα 'part' (Orph.), κατα-, ἀνα-μέρισις 'distribution' (Epicur.), μεριστής 'distributor', συμ- 'fellow-heir' (*Ev. Luc.*, pap.), fem. -ίστρια (sch.).

•ETYM Verbal noun from ▶ μείρομαι 'to take one's share', perf. ἔμμορε 'to participate'.

**μέσαβον** [n.] 'strap', fixing the pole to the middle of the yoke. <PG>

•VAR Hes. *Op.* 469 -ων, probably gen.pl.; μεσσαβα [pl.] (Call.); μεσάβοιον, v.l. -ό- (Poll. 1, 252).

•DER μεσσαβόω [v.] 'to yoke (the horses)' (Lyc.).

•ETYM Analyzed as an hypostasis from (έν) μέσω βοών 'between the oxen', with a thematization like in εκατόμ-βη (μεσάβοιον based on έννεάβοιον, etc.). However, the compositional vowel -α- instead of -ο- is unexplained (assuming that μεσα- was influenced by μετα- does not help). In fact, the whole analysis is morphologically unacceptable. If we take into consideration the forms μέσoψ 'strap' in μεσόπα·ίμάντα τὸν περὶ τὸν ζυγὸν καὶ τὸ ἄροτρον δεδεμένον 'a strap bound around the yoke and the plough' (H.), pointing to interchange of labials, and also μεσσαίον· τὸ ὑπὸ τοὺς τραχήλους ὑποτιθέμενον 'which is put around the neck' (H.), with geminate -σσ-, μεσάτιον (μεσάντιον I Reg 17, 7), Pre-Greek origin becomes evident. See Fur.: 107 on α/ο, 148f. on π/β.

**μέσακλον** [n.] 'weaver's beam' (LXX 1 Ci. 17, 7). <PG(V)>

•VAR v.l. -κνον, -άντιον; -κμον (H.), -κνον (Suid.); μέσακμον· κανὼν τοῦ ἱστοῦ 'rod of the loom', οἱ δὲ ἄντιον 'others: (part of) the loom', οἱ δὲ τὸ μεσάκτων ἢ μεσάκρων (H.); μεσάτμω· τῷ κανόνι, τῷ μέσῳ καλάμῳ τοῦ ἱστοῦ 'the middle rod of the loom' (Suid.).

•ETYM Almost certainly a technical loanword from Pre-Greek, because of the many different variants.

**μεσημβρία** [f.] 'midday, noon', as a direction 'south' (Att. A.). <GR>

•VAR -ίη (Archil., Hecat.), μεσαμβρίη (Hdt.).

•DER μεσημβρινός (Att.), Dor. (Theoc.) μεσαμβρινός 'ptng. to the afternoon, southern' (after the adj. of time in -ινός); μεσήμβριος 'southern' (Ruf. *apud* Orib.), μεσημβριάς [f.] (Nonn.); also (after Dor. ἀμέρα) τὸ μεσᾱμέριον 'at midday' (Theoc.). Denominative verb μεσημβρ-ιάζω (Pl.), -ίζω (Str.), with ptc. -ιάων, -ιόων (AP, A. R.) 'to pass the meridian, culminate', of sun and stars.

•ETYM An abstract formation in -ία from μέσον ἡμαρ, or derived from an old adjective \*μέσ-ᾱμ(β)ρ-ος, -ιος 'of the middle of the day' from the zero grade of ἡμαρ 'day'. Thence μεσ-ᾱμβρ-ία, -ίη with shortening by Osthoff, and μεσ-ημβρ-ία with analogical η after ▶ ἡμαρ, ἡμέρα.

**μέσκος** [m.]? · κῶδιον, δέρμα. Νίκανδρος 'skin, fleece (Nic. = Fr. 119)' (H.). <LW Orient.>

•ETYM An Oriental loanword acc. to Lewy 1895: 131, Justi *IF Anz.* 17: 125; cf. Aram. *meškā*, Assy. *mašku*, OP *maškā*, MP and Arm. *mašk* 'hide, skin, soft leather', etc. Did ▶ πέσκος arise from here by contamination with πέκος (Güntert 1914: 145f.)? Latte simply reads πέσκος instead of μέσκος.

**μεσόδμα** · γυνή <ὡς Λάκωνες> (H. gl. 917). <?>

•VAR Also μεσοδόμα· γυνή. Λάκωνες (H. gl. 947).

•ETYM Unknown; -δμα reminds of δάμαρ. Fur.: 227 derives a form μεσ(σ)ομα from the glosses cited above, but this is unwarranted.

**μεσόδμη** [f.] 'crossbeam', stretched from wall to wall in a building, or from side to side on a ship, and in which the mast was stepped (Od., Hp., Q. S.), details in Bechtel 1914 s.v. <GR>

•VAR μεσόδμᾱ (Delph. IV<sup>a</sup>), μεσόμνη (Att. inscr.), on the phonetics see Schwyzler: 208. Also μεσόδμη· ξύλον, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς τρόπεως ἕως τοῦ ἱστοῦ (H.) and μεσόδμαι καὶ μεσόδματα· τὰ μεσόστυλα. τίνες δὲ τὰ τῶν δοκῶν διαστήματα (H., Latte: "μεσόδματα vix sanum").

•ETYM Properly "belonging to the middle of the house", a compound of μέσος and the zero grade of the word for 'house' (δεμ-, δμ-), seen in ▶ δεσπότης and ▶ δάπεδον, cf. on ▶ δόμος, enlarged with a suffix -ᾱ-: μεσό-δμ-ᾱ like \*ἐκατόμ-βρ-ᾱ. The term was transferred from domestic architecture to the construction of ships. The second member -δμη is often directly derived from δέμω 'to build' as a zero grade root-noun (cf. νέο-δμᾱ-τος, δέ-δμη-μαι <\**-dmh₂-*), so "middle structure"?

**μέσος** [adj.] '(in the) middle', of space, time, etc., τὸ μέσον 'centre' (Il.). <IE \*med<sup>h</sup>io- 'middle'>

•VAR Compar. μεσαί-τερος, superl. -τατος (IA), after παλαιότερος, etc.; also μέσ(σ)ατος (Il., Ar.), after ἔσχατος, etc.; μεσσότατος (A. R., Man.).

•DIAL Aeol. μέσσοις, Cret. Boeot. μέττος.

•COMP Very often as a first member, e.g. ▶ μεσόδμη, ▶ μεσημβρία; μεσαι-πόλιος 'half-grey, grizzled' (N 361; cf. e.g. μεσό-λευκος), like μεσαίτερος, was not built on a locative but metrically conditioned (Schwyzler: 448).

•DER Adjectives: 1. μεσῆεις = μέσος (M 269, metrical enlargement in verse-final position, perhaps after τιμῆεις, τελῆεις). 2. μεσ(σ)ήρης = μέσος (E., Eratosth.), after ποδῆρης, etc. 3. μεσαῖος = μέσος (Antiph.), cf. τελευταῖος. 4. μεσάδιος 'central' (Aeol. acc. to sch. D. T.), after διχθάδιος etc., cf. also μεσάζω. 5. μεσιδῖος 'in the middle, mediating' (Arist.); μεσίδιον [n.] 'property deposited with an intermediary', whence -ιόω 'to make a deposit' (pap., inscr.). 6. μεσίτης [m.] 'mediator, arbiter', with -ιτεύω [v.] 'to be a μ., to settle', also 'to pawn' (Plb., pap., NT), -ιτεία 'mediation, settlement, pawning' (J., pap.). 7. μέσης [m.] 'wind between ἀπαρκτίας and κακίας' (Arist.), also μεσεύς = κακίας (Steph. in Hp.). 8. μεσότης, -ητος [f.] 'middle, mean, moderation' (Pl., Arist.). 9. μεσακόθεν [adv.] 'amidst, between' (Arc. IV<sup>a</sup>), from -αχόθεν after πανταχόθεν.

μεσάτιος (Call.), μεσάτιον name of a strap (Poll.) are unrelated, see ▶ μέσαβον 'leather strap'.

Denominative verbs: 1. μεσώω 'to constitute the middle, be in the middle' (IA); 2. μεσεύω 'to keep the mean, be neutral' (Pl. *Lg.*, X., Arist.); 3. μεσάζω = μεσώω (LXX, D. S.).

•ETYM Old local adjective, identical with Skt. *mādhyā-*, Lat. *medius*, Go. *midjis*, OHG *mitti*, all from IE \*med<sup>h</sup>io- 'in the middle'. See further ▶ με(σ)σηγύς(ς).

**μέσπιλον** [n.] 'medlar, -tree, *Mespilus germanica*' (Archil., Hp., Amphis, Dsc.), also 'thorn, *Crataegus (orientalis, oxyacantha)*, Thphr.). <PG?(S)>

•VAR -ίλη [f.] (Thphr.).

•ETYM A foreign word of unknown origin. Probably Pre-Greek on account of the suffix -ιλ- (Pre-Greek: suffixes). Borrowed as Lat. *mespilum*, -a, whence OHG *mespila*, etc.

**μεσποδι** ⇒ μέσφα.

**μέσσαυλος (-ον)** ⇒ μέταυλος.

**με(σ)σηγύς** [adv.] 'in the middle, between' (Il., Hp., Eratosth.). <IE \*med<sup>h</sup>ieh<sub>2</sub>-g<sup>u</sup>u- 'going in the middle'>

•VAR μεσηγύς (only Orph.).

•ETYM On the facultative -ς, see Schwyzler: 404 and 620. The similarity with ἐγγύς is obvious, but it is unknown whether this is due to a common origin or to analogy. See most recently De Lamberterie *RPh.* 72 (1998): 132, arguing that it contains an instrumental μεσση, like in Skt. *madhyā* 'in the middle' (Forssman *IF* 101 (1996): 305), and a root \*g<sup>u</sup>eu- which stands beside \*g<sup>u</sup>em-, \*g<sup>u</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-. See ▶ πρέσβυς, ▶ ἐγγύς.

**μεστός** [adj.] 'full, filled, satiated' (IA). <IE? \*med- 'measure, be full'>

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, etc. in different mgs., first after ἀνάπλεος, etc. Also possible is a back-formation of ἀνα-μεστοῦσθαι (cf. Strömberg 1946: 91 and 117).

•DER μεστόμαι, -όω [v.] 'to be filled, fill up' (com., S., Pl. *Lg.*, Arist.), also with ἀνα-, δια-, ἐν-, κατα-, whence late and rare μέστωσις 'filling, satiation', -ωμα 'filling'. Also μέσμα· μέστωμα (H.), perhaps an old primary formation independent of μεστός?

•ETYM Unclear. Connection with μαδάω is impossible from the laryngealist point of view. A connection with \*med- 'to measure' has also been proposed, defended by Meier-Brügger *KZ* 105 (1992): 240-244, referring to de Saussure's translation 'qui a sa mesure'. LIV<sup>2</sup> connects μεστός with 2. \*med- 'voll werden, satt werden', to be separated from 1. \*med- 'measure'.

**μέσφα** [adv., prep.] 'until' (Θ 508). <GR>

•VAR Further μέσφι (Aret.); μέστα (Cret. II<sup>a</sup>, Cyren.), μεττ' ἐς (Gortyn), μέστε (Arc.), μεσποδι, μες (Thess.); cf. Ruijgh 1957: 137.

•ETYM The initial part is the same as in ▶ μέχρι (and perhaps ▶ μετά); thence the -ι in μέσφι was taken. Final -φα is obscure. μέστε corresponds to ▶ ἔστε; μεσποδι may contain IE \*pod-i 'foot' (see García Ramón in *DELG Supp.*); Thess. μες (only in μέσ τῆς πέμπτης), might stand for μέστε, -τα with haplology. Many details remain unclear, as is common with petrified expressions.

**μέτα, μετά** [adv., prep.] 'in the midst, afterwards; between, with, after' (Il.), with gen., dat. and acc. <IE \*meth<sub>2</sub> 'in the midst, between, after'>

•DIAL Myc. *me-ta*.

•ETYM The Germanic preposition Go. *miþ*, ON *með*, OHG *mit(i)* 'with, among' < IE \*met(i) or med<sup>h</sup>i is very similar, and probably related to μέσος; Gr. -α could be an innovation after κατά, ἀνά, διά, etc. Cf. also Alb. *mjet* 'middle'. A remote cognate may be contained in the first element of ▶ μέχρι, and possibly in ▶ μέσος. Note τὰ μετὰζε 'afterwards' (Hes. *Op.* 394 acc. to Hdn. and other sources [τὰ μετὰζύ codd.]), with -ζε like in θύραζε, etc. The form μετὰζύ [adv.] 'in the midst, between' (Il.), late

also 'afterwards', is common and old, and may derive from μετὰ + ζυ(ν). Beside μετὰ or instead of it, some dialects (Aeol., Dor., Arc.) use ▶ πεδά.

**μέταλλον** [n.] 'mine, quarry' (Hdt., Th., X., Att. inscr.), late also 'mineral, metal' (Nonn., AP), back-formation from μεταλλεύω. <PG(s)>

•COMP As a first member in μεταλλ-ουργός 'miner', with -έω, -εῖον (D. S., Dsc.).

•DER 1. μεταλλεία [n.pl.] 'minerals, metals' (Pl. *Lg.* 678d), substantivized form of \*μεταλλείος 'ptng. to to a mine'. 2. μεταλλικός 'ptng. to mines' (D., Arist.). 3. μεταλλεύς [m.] 'miner' (Lys., Pl. *Lg.*, Att. inscr.); thence, or from μέταλλον, 4. μεταλλεύω [v.] 'to be miner, work in the mines, dig up from quarries' (Pl., Arist., LXX) with μεταλλ-εία (Pl., Str.), -ευσίς (Ph. *Bel.*) 'mining', -ευτής = μεταλλεύς (Str.), -ευτικός 'ptng. to mining' (Pl. *Lg.*, Arist., pap.). 5. μεταλλίζομαι [v.] 'to be condemned to be a miner' (Cod. *Just.*). 6. μεταλλίτις· γῆ τις 'some kind of earth' (H.). On itself stands μεταλλάω [v.] 'to investigate, inquire, examine' (Il., late prose), cf. below.

•ETYM A technical term of mining, and therefore suspected of being a loan. The attempt to explain μέταλλον as a back-formation from μεταλλάω does not help, as no convincing etymology has been found for the verb either. The explanation from μετ' ἄλλα, properly "(inquire) for other things", is hardly convincing. It is much more probable that denominative μεταλλάω is originally a technical term, which was used in a metaph. sense by epic poets, but fell out of use elsewhere. Borrowed as Lat. *metallum* 'mining, metal', whence MoHG *Metall*, MoE *metal*, etc. On Pre-Greek -αλλ-, see Beekes 2008.

**μεταμώνιος** [adj.] 'idle, vain, useless' (Hom., Pi., Theoc.), where always -α [n.pl.], later 'borne by the wind, raised on high' (Simon., Ar.), by association with ἄνεμος. <GR>

•ETYM The word is synonymous with ἀνεμώλιος, and like the latter, it is modelled on ἄνεμος 'wind'. It is a hypostasis of μετ' ἀνέμων for \*μετ-ανεμ-ώνιος, with subsequent haplology. The glosses μωνιή· ὀλιγωρία and μωνιόν· μάταιον, ἀχρεῖον (H.) probably originated from a false analysis of this form. Not related to ▶ μάτην.

**μετανάστης, -ου** [m.] See below. <GR>

•DER In Hom. only in the expression ἀτίμητον μετανάστην (I 648 = P 59); post-Hom. 'migrant, emigrant, fugitive' (Hdt. 7, 161 of the Athenians, Arat., Ph., pap.), -στις [f.] (Ph.) and -στρια (AP), like ἀγύρτης : ἀγύρτρια, etc.; μετανάστ-ιος [adj.] 'migrating, wandering' (AP, Nonn.), μεταναστ-εύω, -εύομαι [v.] 'to drive out, wander, flee' (LXX, Str., Ph.).

•ETYM Hdt. and his contemporaries already understood the word as 'wanderer', and connected it (as μετ-ανά-στη-ς) with μετ-ανα-στή-ναι 'to move, emigrate', μετανάστασις 'removal, emigration' (Hdt., Th., Hp.). In this case, however, it would stand for \*μετανα-στά-της with metrically conditioned haplology (cf. ἐπι-, παρα-, προ-στά-της, etc.), as an old root noun -στη-ς < \*steh<sub>2</sub>- (like in Skt. *ni-ṣṭhā-s*, *prati-ṣṭhā-s*, etc.) has no counterpart in Greek.

Since this interpretation is in conflict with the Homeric use of μετὰ and ἀνίστασθαι, a better hypothesis may be the explanation already given in the TLG: μετα-νάσ-της ~ \*μετα-ναίω 'to live together with', like μεταναιέ-της (Hes.), -τάω (h. *Cer.*). As an old

parallel formation to Att. μέτ-οικος, Arg. πεδά-φοικος and to μετοικείται· κατὰ μέσον οἰκοῦντες (H.), μετανάστης would originally have meant 'who lives among others (as a foreigner), resident' (and still does in Homer).

Because of the disappearance of verbal -νασ- and the gradual advance of μετα- 'around' at the expense of μετα- 'with', μετανάστης was associated with μετανασθῆναι, μετανάστασις already in classical times. Leumann's view (Leumann 1950: 183<sup>30</sup>) that μετα-νάσ-της would properly mean 'immigrant' (from μετα-ναίω 'to move') has to meet the same objections as the connection with μετανασθῆναι. See ▶ ναίω.

μεταξύ = μέτα.

**μετάρσιος** [adj.] 'raised, high in the air' (Ion.), equivalent of Att. μετέωρος (Capelle *Phil.* 71 (1912): 449ff.). ◀GR▶

•VAR Dor. πεδάρσιος (A., Ar.).

•DER μεταρσιώ [v.] 'to raise on high' (Ion.).

•ETYM Formation like ἀνάρσιος (to \*ἀν-αρτος), ἀμβρόσιος (to ἄμ-βροτος), etc. Acc. to Wackernagel *KZ* 28 (1887): 131, it is a contracted form of \*μετ-ἀερτος > \*μέτ-ἀρ-τος, from μετ-αείρω, -αίρω 'to lift up'. See ▶ μετέωρος.

**μέτασσα** [f.pl.] 'lambs born later, i.e. of middle age', between the πρόγονοι and the ἔρσαι (I 221); τὰ μέτασσα [n.pl.] 'later on' (*h. Merc.* 125). ◀IE \*meth<sub>2</sub>-tio- 'born later'▶

•ETYM Derived from μέτα like ἔπισσαι 'daughters born later' to ἔπι, so probably from \*μετα-τιο-, -τιᾶ [f.], like Skt. *āpa-tya-* 'offspring'. The explanation as μέτ-ασσαι = μετ-ῶσαι 'being in between', an archaic zero grade fem. ptc. of μετ-εἶναι, meets the problem that both τὰ μέτασσα (for τὰ μετόντα) and ἔπισσαι have to be explained as analogical formations. See ▶ περισσός.

**μέταυλος** [adj.] attribute of θύρα (Ar., Lys., Plu.), also substantivized [f.] 'the door that opens from the (outside) court, or from the living of the men, towards the back rooms' (opposite ἡ αὐλῆος θύρα 'the outside door'), in Vittr. (6, 7, 5) used of a corresponding corridor. ◀GR▶

•VAR μέσσαυλος (E., Ph. [v. l. -λιος, Vittr.], μέσσαυλος (-ον) 'the inner court where the cattle were put for the night' (Hom., A. R. 3, 235); μεσαύλη [f.] 'court inside the house' (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>; reading not quite certain).

•ETYM As a hypostasis, Att. μέταυλος either stands for ἡ μετ' αὐλήν (θύρα), i.e. the door behind the (outward) court, or for ἡ μετ' αὐλῆς (μετ' αὐλῶν θύρα), i.e. the door in the middle of the court (between both courts); the meaning, which changed with the organisation of the house, cannot be settled without exact knowledge of the plan of the house; cf. the explanations by Wistrand *Eranos* 37 (1939): 16ff. Therefore, the etymological analysis is likewise uncertain. On μεσο- for older μετα-, see Wackernagel 1920-1924(2): 242.

On the other hand, Hom. μέσσαυλος seems to stand for τὸ μέσον or (ἐν) μέσσω αὐλῆς, meaning "what belongs to the middle of the court" or "what is in the middle of the court", i.e. 'middle of the court, interior of the court'; cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 19f. It would then have to be separated from μέταυλος. In A. R. 3, 235, epic

μέσσαυλος may have been influenced by later μέσσαυλος; late μεσαύλη conformed to the simplex.

**μετέωρος** [adj.] 'raised on high, in suspense, above the earth, on high sea, superficial', metaph. 'hesitating, uncertain, pending, excited' (Il.). ◀GR▶

•VAR Epic μετήορος, Aeol. and Dor. πεδάορος (Alc., A.).

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. μετεωρο-λόγος 'who speaks about τὰ μετέωρα, astronomer', with -έω, -ία (IA).

•DER μετεωρ-ότης [f.] 'sublimity' (Corn.), -ία 'absence of mind' (Suet., M. Ant.), -οσύνη 'id.' (Man.); -ίδιον mg. uncertain (pap. letters). Denominative μετεωρίζω [v.] 'to raise high, encourage (with false hopes), etc.', med.-pass. also 'to become proud, arrogant' (IA) with μετεωρ-ισμός (Hp., Arist.), -ισμα (Hell.), -ις (Plu., D.C.) 'exaltation, excitedness, etc.'; -ιστής (H.) as an explanation of πεδαοριστής (beside ἵππος φρυ<α>γματίας), -ιστικός 'exciting' (Vett. Val.). Also μετεωρέω = μετεωρίζομαι (Ph.).

•ETYM Derivation from \*μετ-αείρω, μετ-αίρω (Aeol. πεδαίρω) 'to lift up', like συνάορος 'coupled together' from συν-αείρω (cf. ἔξοχος to ἐξέχω, etc.). A hypostasis of μετ' ἀέρος 'located in the air', with analogical -ο-, is unlikely. See ▶ μετάρσιος.

**μετόπη** [f.] 'metope', element between the triglyphs on the frieze of Dorian temples (Vittr.), codd. *methope*, -a like *triumphus*, *sephulcrum*, etc. (cf. Leumann 1963-1979: 131). ◀GR▶

•VAR Accentuation not found in the mss. Also μεθόπια [n.pl.] (Delph. IV<sup>a</sup>, H.; μ[...]οπια Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>), cf. ἐφόπτης beside ἐπόπτης, etc. (Schwyzer: 220).

•ETYM Given other technical terms like μετα-κίονιον, μετα-στύλιον 'space between the columns' (Att. and Hell. inscr.), μεθόριος, -ον 'what lies between boundaries, borderland between two countries' (Th., X.), μετόπιον must indicate a space between the οπαί. Acc. to Vittr. 4, 2, 4, the οπαί were *tignorum cubacula et asserum*, i.e. omissions or indentations in the beams, in which the heads of the crossbeams were fitted in; these heads were covered with special planks, the so-called triglyphs. According to another view, rejected by Vittr., the οπαί were originally openings for light, which certainly fits the meaning of ὀπή, 'hatch, opening for light', better. Demangel *BCH* 55 (1931): 117ff. argues for the latter, seeing the triglyphs as a grid which was put before the οπαί afterwards.

The form μετόπη is clearly secondary to μετόπιον, and adapted to the simplex, perhaps because the metopes themselves seemed to be "openings in-between"; μετόπη 'opening between (the triglyphs)' would be a compound of the type περί-κηπος 'garden around (the house)' (Hell. and late pap.), cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 252, or understood like μεσ-αύλη (see ▶ μέταυλος).

**μέτρον** [n.] 'measure, goal, length, size; metre' (Il.). ◀IE \*meh<sub>1</sub>- 'measure'▶

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. σύμμετρος 'with the same measure, measured, appropriate, symmetrical', συμμετρ-ία 'harmony, symmetry, etc.' (IA); περί-μετρος 'exceeding (the measure)' (Od.); but περί-μετρον (Hdt., Arist.), -ος [f.] (scil. γραμμῆ) 'circumference', with verbal connotation after περίοδος etc. (cf. περι-μετρέω Luc.).



•DER Adjectives: 1. μέτριος 'moderate, suitable' (Hes.) with μετρι-ότης 'moderation' (IA), -οσύνη 'poverty' (pap. VIP), -ακός 'moderate' (pap. VIP), -άζω 'to be moderate' (Att., Hell.) with -ασμός (Suid.); μετριεύεται (H. s.v. λαγαρίττεται). 2. μετρικός 'metrical, by measure' (Arist.). 3. μετριδόν [adv.] 'in metrical form' (Nonn.). 4. Verb: μετρέω 'to measure (out)', etc. (Hom.), very often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, δια-, ἐπι-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-, συν-; hence (often with prefix) μέτρ-ησις 'measurement' (IA), -ημα 'measure' (E., Hell.), -ητής [m.] 'measurer', name of a measure, 'metretes' (Att.), -ητής [f.] 'id.' (Amorgos IV<sup>a</sup>), -ητιαῖος 'sticking to a μ.' (Caryanda), -ητικός 'regarding measurement' (Pl.). As a second member in several verbal compounds, e.g. γεω-μέτρης [m.] 'geometer' (Pl., X.) with γεωμετρ-ία, Ion. -ίη (Hdt., Ar.), -ικός (Democr., Pl.), -έω (Att.), βου-μέτρης 'measurer of cows' = ὁ ἐπὶ θυσίων τεταγμένος παρὰ Αἰτωλοῖς 'who has been appointed at a sacrifice (Aetolian)' (H.). Backformations, e.g. διάμετρος (scil. γραμμή) [f.] 'diameter, diagonal, etc.' (Pl., Arist.), ἐπίμετρον 'excess, addition' (Hell.).

•ETYM Beside μέτρον, we find μήτρα [f.] 'areal measure', etc. (Cilicia) with an identical suffix, but a different root grade; corresponding exactly with Skt. *mātrā* [f.] 'measure'. Also in ἐρεσι-μήτηρ-ν- τήν γεωμετρίαν (H.), see on ►ἔρα.

It may go back to the root \**meh-* seen in the athematic present Skt. *mā-ti* 'measures'. Greek shows a short vowel in μέτρον, as opposed to Skt. *mātram* [n.] 'id.'; this derives from a vocalization of the zero grade \**m<sub>h</sub>-tro-* > μετρ- (rather than \**m<sub>h</sub>tr-* > μητρ-). The latter would be the expected vocalization, if we assume that \*NHC-develops like \*-CNHC- > Gr. CNῑ/ā/ωC. However, contra Beekes 1969: 183, it seems that the \**m-* remained consonantal in initial position, see Beekes *IF* 93 (1988): 22-45. A derivation IE \**méd-tro-* from \**med-* 'measure' is impossible, as it would have given \*μέστρον. See ►μήτις.

**μέτωπον** [n.] 'the space between the eyes, forehead, brow', metaph. 'front, front of an army' (Il.); also as a plant name = χαλβάνη (Dsc.). ◀GR▶

•COMP εὐρυ-μέτωπος 'with a broad forehead' (Hom.).

•DER μετώπιος 'on the forehead' (Λ 95, P 739), also substantival = 'forehead' (see below), -ιον [n.] 'front' (Priene IV<sup>a</sup>), 'bandage on the forehead, etc.' (Gal.), name of a salve prepared from the plant μ., etc. (Dsc., Gal.); μετωπ-ίδιος 'of the forehead' (Hp., AP), but προ-μετωπ-ίδιος 'on the forehead' (Hdt., X.), περι- 'covering the forehead' (Hp.), from the corresponding prepositional forms; -ιαῖος 'id.' (medic.); -ίας [m.] 'with a typical forehead' (pap.); μετωπίς: ἰατρικὸς ἐπίδεσμος 'medical bandage' (H.); μετωπ-ηδόν (Hdt., Th.), -ᾶδόν (Opp.) 'forming a front'. On the PN Μέτωπος Sommer 1948: 8<sup>2</sup>.

•ETYM Acc. to Arist. (HA, 491b 12), it originally means μεταξὺ τῶν ὀμμάτων, 'space between the eyes', a hypostasis from μετά and ὦπ-α 'eye, face' with a thematic vowel. The form μετώπ-ιον 'forehead, front' may be a parallel formation containing a suffix -ιο-. The expression is understandable when one starts from an animal's head, which has the eyes on the flanks (cf. Sommer op.cit. 115').

**μέχρι** [adv., prep.] 'as far as, until' (Il.). ◀IE \**me-ǵ<sup>h</sup>s-r-i* 'until'▶

•VAR Also μέχρις (Ω 128, X., Hell.).

•ETYM Identical with Arm. *merj* 'near, by', whence *merjenam* 'to approach' < \**merji-anam*; from IE \**mé-ǵ<sup>h</sup>s-r-i*, containing the word for 'hand'. See ►ἄχρη.

**μή** [pcl.] 'not, that not' (Il.). ◀IE \**meh<sub>1</sub>*▶

•VAR Further μηδέ, μηδεῖς, μηκέτι, μήτε, etc.

•ETYM Old prohibitive negation, identical with Arm. *mi*, Skt. *mā*, Av. *mā*, OP *mā*, and ToAB *mā*; IE \**meh<sub>1</sub>*; also to be included here is Alb. *mo* 'id.' < \**meh<sub>1</sub>*, next to *mos* < \**meh<sub>1</sub>*, *k<sup>w</sup>e*. See ►οὐ.

**μήδεα** 1 [n.pl.] 'male genitals', of φωτός (Od., Androm. *apud* Gal., Call., also Ant. Lib.), μέζα (Hes. Op. 512, Lyc.); μέδεα (Archil. 138); metaph. 'urine' in Opp. (Cyn. 4, 441); μέζος: αἰδοῖον 'private parts' (H.). ◀PG(V)▶

•COMP As a second member in εὐμέζος (cod. -μάξω; leg. -μεζός?)· εὐφυής (cod. -εις; leg. -οὐς?) τοῖς αἰδοίοις 'well-endowed qua private parts' (H.).

•ETYM The variation between μήδεα, μέζα and μέδεα clearly points to a Pre-Greek word: interchange ε/η (cf. Fur.: 258<sup>2</sup>), δ/ζ (Fur.: 253ff.). The form μήδεα is not a euphemistic replacement for μέζα, μέδεα (as per Wackernagel). WP compared Mir. *mess* (< \**med-tu-*) 'gland', assuming an original meaning 'swell, swollen in the form of balls' (which does not make sense for this root).

**μήδεα** 2 'counsels, cares'. ⇒μήδομαι.

**μήδιον** [n.] plant name, 'Campanula lingulata' (Dsc.). ◀?▶

•DER ἐπιμήδιον name of an unknown plant (Dsc.).

•ETYM Strömberg 1940: 122 supposes connection with μήδιος: μαλακός 'soft, delicate' (H.).

**μήδομαι** [v.] 'to deliberate, estimate, contrive, decide' (Hom.). ◀IE \**meh<sub>1</sub>-*, \**med-* 'measure'▶

•VAR Aor. μήσασθαι (Hom.), μῆστο· <ἐ>βουλεύσατο (H.), fut. μῆσομαι.

•COMP Rarely with ἐπι- and δια-. As a second member e.g. in θρασυ-μήδης 'with bold plans' (Pi., B.), also as a PN (Il.). 2. μηδοσύνη 'prudence' (Hell.). 3. μήστωρ, -ωρος, -ορος [m.] 'adviser' (Il., Hp.), also as a PN (Il.); as a second member in e.g. δορι-μήστωρ [m.] 'adviser in war' (E.), often in PNs, e.g. Θεο-μήστωρ (Hdt.), Κλυται-μήστρα, -η (see on ►κλύω), etc.

•DER μήδεα [n.pl.] 'counsels, plans' (Il.).

•ETYM Primary thematic μήδομαι, whence aor. μήσασθαι beside older μῆστο, and μῆσομαι, is commonly identified with the near synonym μέδομαι (see ►μέδω). The lengthened grade -η- is also seen in Dor., so it must be old. This is remarkable, as all other presents with a long root vowel have an old full grade plus a laryngeal. Therefore, one might consider influence of the root \**meh<sub>1</sub>-* 'measure' (discussed under μήτις and μέτρον) on μέδομαι, so as to yield μήδομαι. This cross would have to be old, as the verbal noun μήδεα 'plans' has an immediate counterpart in Arm. *mit-k'* [pl.] 'id.'. See Beekes *IF* 93 (1988): 30f., and also Clackson 1994: 147-149, who denies that Arm. *mit-k'* and Greek μήδεα necessarily constitute a shared innovation of these two languages.



**μηκάομαι** [v.] 'to bleat', of sheep, also of a hare and of a horse; in the formulaic verse καὶ δ' ἔπεσ' ἐν κονίῃσι μακῶν, of a horse, deer, boar, and also of a man (Phryn. PS, Procop., sch., H.). <ONOM \**mēk-* 'bleat'>

•VAR μηκάζω (Nic.), perf. μέμηκα only in ind. plpf. ἐμέμηκον (ι 439) and ptc. μεμηκώς (K 362), fem. μεμακυῖαι (Δ 435), aor. ptc. μακῶν (P 469, κ 163).

•DER After κεμάς and other animal names: μηκάς [f.] 'bleating', in Hom. only plur. of αἴγες 'goats', later (S., E.) also of ἄρνες 'sheep', and (substantivized) = αἴξ. Late derivatives: μηκ-ασμός (Plu., Poll.), -ηθμός (Opp.), -ή (Ael., sch.) [f.] 'bleating', -ητικός [adj.] 'bleating' (sch.).

•ETYM The pair μέμηκα: μακεῖν (ptc. μακῶν) agrees with λέληκα: λακεῖν (with comparable meaning 'to scream, screech'), κέκρυγα: κραγεῖν 'to croak', etc. Several types of present were created from the old intensive perfects and thematic aorists: μηκάζω, -άομαι (cf. λάσκω, κράζω, etc.). On μακῶν, see Leumann 1950: 235 n. 31. The formation is onomatopoeic, starting from the sound-imitation μη (\**mē*), and with many cognates, e.g. MHG *meckatzen* 'bleat', *mecke* 'he-goat', Lith. *mekčiōti*, *mekėnti* 'id.', Lat. *micciō* 'id.', Skt. (lex.) *mekā-* [m.] 'he-goat', Arm. *mak'i* 'sheep'. The ablaut μηκ-/μακ- cannot be of IE date, so it must be analogical.

**μήκος** [n.] 'length' (Od.). <IE \**meh<sub>2</sub>k-os-* 'length', \**mh<sub>2</sub>k-* 'long'>

•DIAL Dor. μάκος (Archyt.).

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. περι-μήκης, Dor. -μάκης 'very long, very high' (Il.), with expressive enlargement περιμήκ-ετος 'id.' (Hom., Arat.), after πάχετος, ἀριδείκετος, ἀμιαμάκετος, etc.

•DER Superlative μήκιστος (Dor. μάκιστος) 'longest, highest, greatest' (Il.), with Μηκιστεύς PN (Il.); compar. μᾶσσων, ntr. μᾶσσον (θ 203, etc.), after ἄσσον etc., derived from ►μακρός after ἐλάσσων, πᾶσσων, θάσσων; secondary μακρό-τατος, -τερος.

Old denominative verb μηκύνω (Dor. μακύνω) 'to lengthen, stretch out' (Pi., IA), rarely with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐπι-. Hence the rare and late prosodic terms μήκ-υνσις (sch.), -υσιός (Eust.) 'lengthening', -υντικός 'which can be lengthened' (A. D.). Further derivations, also rare and late: μηκεδανός 'long' (AP, Nonn.), for μακεδνός after ἡπεδανός, etc.; μηκ-ικός 'regarding the length' (Procl.), -όθεν 'from afar' (Aesop., Paul. Aeg.), -ότις [f.] 'length' (Gal.).

•ETYM A counterpart to μήκος is Av. *masah-* [n.] 'length, greatness', with a short stem vowel. Likewise, Av. *masišta-* and OP *maθišta-* are opposed to μήκιστος in their vocalism, which is not well understood. The full grade formation \**meh<sub>2</sub>k-os-* in μήκος is typical for an old *s*-stem. On the short vowel in ►μακρός < \**mh<sub>2</sub>k-ro-* see further ►μέτρον. The root is also seen in Lat. *maciēs* 'leanness', *maceō* 'to be lean' and Hitt. *mak-l-ant-* 'lean'.

**μήκων** [f.] 'poppy, Papaver somniferum, poppy-head' (Θ 306), metaph. of poppy-like objects, e.g. 'ink-bag of the cuttle-fish' [m.] (Arist.). <IE \**meh<sub>2</sub>k-n-*>

•VAR Dor. Arc. μάκων, -ωνος.

•COMP μηκωνο-φόρος (scil. γῆ) [f.] 'poppy-bearing country' (pap.).

•DER 1. name of poppy-like plants (Euphorbia, wild lettuce): μηκών-ιον (Hp., Thphr.); also = 'opium' (Phld.), -ίς [f.] (Nic., inscr., pap.), -ίτις (Gal.), also name of a stone (Plin.), Redard 1949: 57. 2. μηκών-ειος [adj.] 'spiced with poppy' (Philostr.), ntr. 'opium' (S. E., sch.), -ίς [f.] (Alcm.), -ικός 'poppy-like' (Thphr.). 3. Diminutive μηκωνάριον (Androm. apud Gal.).

•ETYM Formation like βλήχων. It is clearly related to the Slavic and Germanic word for 'poppy': CS *makъ*, Ru. *mak* (*o*-stem), and OHG *maho*, MHG *mahen*, *mān*, and (with the reflex of Verner's Law) OHG *mago*, OSw. *val-mōghi* (*val-* < \**uhalha-* 'torpidity'), etc. The Verner variants and the short vowel (as opposed to Gr. -ā-) are notable and point to old ablaut. Kroonen 2009 reconstructs an ablauting *n*-stem for PGM., which is the same formation as Greek and points to an inherited lexical item. As the poppy originates from the Mediterranean according to botanists, it is often thought that we are dealing with a 'Wanderwort', which was borrowed into Indo-European at PIE date. Fur.: 218 compares βηκῶνιον· εἶδος βοτάνης and concludes to a Pre-Greek form, but this is improbable.

**μήλη** [f.] 'chirurgical probe' (Hp., AP). <GR?>

•COMP As a second member in πλατυ-μήλη 'broad probe' (medic.) and other determinatives (Risch IF 59 (1949): 285), ἀμφί-μήλον [n.] 'probe with two ends' (medic.).

•DER μηλώ [v.] 'to probe' (Hp., Ar.), also (med.) 'to paint wool' (Eust., H.), with μήλωσις 'probing', μηλω-τή, -τίς, -τρίς, -τρίδιον 'próbe' (medic.); μηλ-αφάω [v.] 'to probe' (Sophr., H., EM, Eust.), after ψηλαφάω; μήλωθρον 'painted wool' (Eust., H.).

•ETYM Prellwitz proposed a pre-form PGr. \**mas-lā-* derived from the root of μαιόμαι, aor. μᾶσασθαι 'to touch, examine'. Possible, but uncertain.

**μηλολόνη** [f.] 'beetle, gold-beetle, dung-beetle' (Ar. Nu. 764, Arist.). <GR>

•VAR Also μηλολάνθη (Poll.), μηλάνθη (Herod.).

•COMP χρυσο-μηλολόνηθιον (Ar. V. 1341).

•DER μηλολόνηθιον (sch. Ar. V. 1332).

•ETYM From μήλον ὀλόνηθιον, properly "fig-sheep"; it consists of μήλον 'sheep' and ὀλονθος 'wild fig', because many beetles are parasitic of figs and other plants. The formation is like ἵππο-πόταμος (for ἵππος ποτάμιος). It was reshaped to μηλολάνθη by folk etymology, based on ἄνθος; thence (after οἰνάνθη 'blossom of the vine', etc.) μηλάνθη. Extensive treatment in Strömberg 1944: 5ff.

**μήλον 1** [n.] 'apple' (Il.), also of other stonefruits (Hp., Dsc.), '(seed-)capsule of a rose' (Thphr.), metaph. plur. 'breasts, cheeks, tonsils, apple-like beaker' (Ar., Theoc., medic., pap., inscr.). <?>

•VAR Dor. Aeol. μάλον.

•COMP As a first member in μῆλ-ονψ 'apple-colored' = 'yellow' (η 104), μαλο-πάρανος 'with apple-like cheeks' (Theoc.); μῆλ-άπιον [n.] name of a fruit (medic., Plin.), etc. As a second member in determinatives, e.g. γλυκύ-μαλον, -μήλον 'sweet-apple' (Sapph. [but cf. Risch IF 59 (1949): 10], Call.), μελί-μήλον 'summer apple, Pyrus praecox' (Dsc.), also 'apple mead' (medic.) for μῆλό-μελι (Dsc.); cf. κοκκύ-μήλον; cf. further ►ἐπιμηλῖς.

•DER A. Substantives: 1. μηλέη, -α 'apple-tree' (Od.); 2. μηλίσ, μαλίσ [f.] = μηλέα (Ibyc., Theoc.), 'yellow pigment' (Plu.), name of a distemper of asses, perhaps 'glanders' (Arist.); 3. μηλίτης οἶνος 'apple-, quince-wine' (Plu., Dsc.); 4. μηλίσκα [n.pl.] name of cups shaped like apples (Delos III<sup>a</sup>); 5. Μηλ-ιάδες [f.pl.] 'fruit-tree nymphs' (Poll.), like κρην-ιάδες; 6. μήλωθρον [n.] = ἄμπελος λευκή (Thphr., Dsc.), cf. ψιλωθρον 'id.' from ψιλώω, πύρωθρον = πύρεθρον.

B. Adjectives: 7. μήλινος, μάλινος 'made of apples, apple-colored' (Sapph., Thphr.); 8. μήλειος 'concerning the apple' (Nic., A. R.); 9. μιλώδης 'apple-like' (Gal.).

C. Verb: 10. μηλίζω 'to resemble an apple (in color)' (medic.). Perhaps the island name Μήλος; see Heubeck *Glotta* 25 (1936): 271.

•ETYM Mediterranean word. From Greek στεῖνς Lat. *mālum*, *mēlum*, with *mālinus* 'apple-colored', *mēlinus* 'of quince-apples'; see WH s.v. 1. *mālus*. The word was formerly connected with Hitt. *maḥla-*, but this appears to have a different meaning 'grape, vine, twig of a vine', see Cuny *REA* 20 (1918): 364f. It can hardly be related to ἁμάμαζυς, as per Fur.: 212.

**μήλον 2** [n.] 'small cattle, sheep and goats' (Il.). <IE? \**meh<sub>1</sub>lo-* 'small cattle'>

•VAR Mostly plur. -α. μιλάτων (Lyc. 106) after προβάτων.

•DIAL Also Dor.

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. μίλο-βότης, Dor. -τας 'shepherd' (Pi., E.), also -βοτήρ (Σ 529, *h. Merc.* 286) in verse-final -βοτήρας, after the simplex; μιλάταν· τὸν ποιμένα. Βοιωτοί (H.), haplological for μίλ-ιλάταν or for μιλόταν after βοιλάταν (Bechtel 1921, 1: 307); on ▶μιλολόνη, see s.v. Rarely as a second member, only in a few bahuvrihis, e.g. πολύ-μῆλος 'with many sheep' (Il.); also in PNs, e.g. Boeot. Πισί-μειλος.

•DER μήλειος 'pertaining to the small cattle' (Ion., E.), μιλόται· ποιμένες (H.), μιλωτή [f.] 'sheepskin' (Philem. Com., Hell.), like κηρωτή etc., with Μιλώσιος epithet of Zeus (Corc., Naxos), prop. "who is wrapped in a sheepskin" (Nilsson 1941(1): 395f.).

•ETYM An old word for 'small cattle', which is well-attested in Celtic, e.g. OIr. *mil* [n.] 'small animal', and is sporadically found in WGm. too, e.g. in OLFr. *māla* 'cow', MoDu. *maal* 'young cow'. Opposed to these words, which may all go back on a pre-form \**meh<sub>1</sub>lo-*, stands Arm. *mal* 'sheep' with *a*-vocalism, as well as Ukr. *mal'* [f.] 'small cattle, young sheep', Ru. (Crimea) *malíč* 'kind of Crimea-sheep'. It seems obvious to connect these words with the Slavic adjective for 'small', e.g. OCS *malъ*, Ru. *mályj*. One step further is the Gm. word for 'small, narrow' in Go. *smals*, etc., which is often used of small cattle, e.g. ON *smali* [m.] 'small animal', OHG *smalaz fihu* 'small cattle'. If we posit IE \*(s)*meh<sub>1</sub>l-*, (s)*moh<sub>1</sub>l-* (OCS *malъ*, etc.), and (s)*mh<sub>1</sub>l-* (Arm. *mal*, Go. *smals*, etc.), it seems possible to bring together all words mentioned. For Arm. *mal*, Ačařyan 1977: 224 (approved in Clackson 1994: 232<sup>250</sup>) proposes a loan from Arabic *māl* 'possession; sheep'.

**μήν 1** [pcl.] confirming pcl., 'honestly, certainly; truly' (Il.). <IE \**sme* 'really, true'>

•VAR Dor. Aeol. μάν.

•ETYM Commonly compared with the asseverating pcl. Skt. *sma*, *smā*, but the exact relation with this form and with μά remains unclear. The particle ▶μέν 'really, true', which is functionally identical and related in meaning, can hardly be separated from ▶μήν. Like ▶δή beside ▶δέ, μήν must have undergone vowel shortening as a result of a weakening of its function; this shortening then entered Attic and the other dialectal areas from the epic and Ionic scientific language. See Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 6 (1949): 85ff.; extensively on μήν Schwyzer 1950: 569f. See ▶μά.

**μήν 2** [m.] 'month' (Il.), also 'moon-sickle' (Ion., Ar., Att. inscr., Thphr.). <IE \**meh<sub>1</sub>nōt*, \**meh<sub>1</sub>n-es-s* 'moon, month'>

•VAR Also Att. μείς, Dor. μής, El. μεύς; gen. μηνός, Aeol. μῆννος.

•COMP μηνο-ειδής 'formed like a moon-sickle' (IA), PN Μηνό-δωρος, also μηνί-αρχος, -άρχης [m.] 'monthly prefect' (pap. IV<sup>a</sup>). after ταξι-αρχος etc.; ἡλιτό-μηνος 'missing the right month' (T 118; cf. s.v.), ἐπι-μήν-ιος 'lasting a month, monthly' (IA).

•DER μήν-η 'month' (Il.), like σελήνη; -άς 'id.' (E.); μην-ίσκος [m.] 'moonsickle', especially of objects in the shape of a moon-sickle (Ar., Arist.); μην-ιαῖος 'a month old, monthly' (Hp., LXX, pap.), -ιεῖος 'monthly' (Hell. pap.), μην-αῖος 'belonging to the month' (Orac. *apud* Lyd. *Mens.*; probably from μήνη); μηνιαστέα [f.] 'monthly achievement' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>), but cf. Μηνιασταί [m.pl.] 'adorers of Μήν' (Rhodos); μήνιον [n.] (botanical) 'peony' (Ps.-Dsc.), from its astrological use, see Strömberg 1940: 133.

•ETYM From the oblique cases (gen. μῆνν-ος < \**mēnsos*, etc.), an analogical nom. \**mēns* arose, whence \**mens* by Osthoff's Law. By subsequent loss of the nasal and compensatory lengthening, μείς and μής developed. The new nom. μήν arose by analogy with gen. μηνός, etc. (after simplification of the -vv-), and El. μεύς is built on the model of Ζηνός: Ζεύς.

Originally, a disyllabic nom. \**mēnōs-* (with lengthened grade) or \**mēnōt-* (with alternating -t-) existed beside the obl. stem \*μηνσ- < IE \**mēns-*. Thence arose Lith. *mėnuo* 'moon, month', Go. *menoþs* 'month', etc. The disyllabic form is also seen in Lith. *mėnes-is* 'month'. On monosyllabic \**mēns-* are based both Lat. *mēns-is* (gen.pl. *mēnsūm*) and Skt. *mās-* 'moon, month' < PIIr. \**maHas-* < \**meh<sub>1</sub>ns-*. The development of the calendrical meaning 'month' was accompanied by the creation of new expressions for 'moon' (σελήνη, *lūna*, etc.). Original derivation from \**meh<sub>1</sub>-* 'measure' (see ▶μήτις), from the role of the moon as a measure of time, is quite possible.

**μήνιγξ, -ιγγος** [f.] 'skin, cuticle', especially 'cerebral membrane' (Hp., Arist., Gal.), also 'cuticle in the eye' (Emp., Arist.), 'drum of the ear' (Arist.). <PG(S)>

•COMP As a first member in μηνιγγο-φύλαξ [m.], name of a surgical instrument (medic.).

•DER Diminutive μηνίγγιον (gloss.); MoGr. μηνιγγίτις [f.] 'inflammation of the cerebral membrane', MoFr. *méningite* (Redard 1949: 103f.).

•ETYM The semantic parallel with words like Lat. *membrana* 'thin, soft skin' and Slavic words for 'inner part of the skin, etc.' (e.g. SCr. *mězdra*, Sl. *mězdra*, Ru. *mezdrá*), all ultimately derived from the root of IE \**mēms-* 'meat', is striking.

However, μῆνιγξ cannot be combined with them. The unexplained -v-, together with the suffix -ιγγ-, clearly points to a Pre-Greek word.

**μῆνις** [f.] 'wrath', especially of gods, but also of Achilles (Il.). <?>

- VAR Dor. μᾶνις, -ιος, -ιδος.
- COMP As a second member in ἔμ-μάνις 'filled with wrath' (Cret.), on the formation Sommer 1948: 113.
- DER μῆνίω, Dor. μανίω [v.] 'to rage' (Il., Hdt., Hell.), aor. -ῖσαι, rarely with ἀπο-, ἐπι- (ἀντι-, ἐκ-); μῆνι-μα [n.] '(reason for) wrath' (Il.), -θμός 'raging' (P 62, 202, 282); also μῆνιάω 'id.' (LXX, D. H.), on the formation Schwyzler: 732, and μῆνίαμα (LXX); enlargements -ιάω (*Et. Gud.*), -ίζω (*An. Ox.*), and -ισμα (Iolkos III<sup>a</sup>). From μῆνις (μῆνιω?) also μῆνιτης (-τή?) [m.] 'a man filled with rage' (Arr. *Epict.*).
- ETYM Etymology unknown. The identification with Lat. *mānēs* 'souls of the departed' by Ehrlich KZ 41 (1907): 294f. is now abandoned. The explanation from \*mṇā-νις (from the root of μέμνημαι by Schwyzler *RhM* 80 (1931): 213ff. was later doubted by Schwyzler himself (Schwyzler 1939: 495); instead, he proposes connection with μαμιάω. The semantically obvious connection with μένος and cognates is impossible because of the long ā in Doric (see Björck 1950: 177f.); on μῆνιτης, see also Radermacher *RhM* 63 (1908): 444ff.

**μηνύω** [v.] 'to notify, betray, announce' (*h. Merc.*). <IE? \*meh<sub>2</sub>- 'notify'>

- VAR Dor. μανύω, aor. -ῦσαι, etc.
- COMP Also with prefix: κατα-, ἐκ-.
- DER μήνυμα [n.] 'indication, information' (Th., Men.), (κατα -)μήνυσις 'id.' (Att.); μηνυτής [m.] 'informer' (Att.), also -τήρ 'id.' (A. *Eu.* 245, Orph. *H.*), μανύτωρ 'id.' (AP); μηνυτικός 'containing information; boastful' (Ph., D. C.); μήνυτρον, usually plur. -α 'reward for information' (*h. Merc.*) with μηνυτρίζομαι 'to be denounced (for a reward)' (Hell. pap.; also H. as an explanation of μῆνυέσθαι).
- ETYM μῆνύω is either a primary thematic vu-present (with present suffix introduced in the aorist) or a denominative from a pre-form \*μῆνυς or \*μῆνύς. The word remains without obvious cognates. LIV<sup>2</sup> takes up the connection with the BSL group of Lith. *móti*, OCS *namajati* 'to beckon (with the hand)' and reconstructs \*meh<sub>2</sub>- 'to notify'.

**μῆον** [n.] Name of an umbellate, 'bald money, spignel, Meum athamanticum' (Dsc., Plin.). <PG?(V)>

- VAR μείον (v.l.).
- ETYM Carnoy *REG* 71 (1958): 96 connects *mei-* 'to be refreshing', which does not convince. Fur.: 235<sup>35</sup> compares μαῖον 'Trifolium arvense', which would point to substrate origin.

**μῆριγξ** [?] · ἄκανθα γινομένη ἐν τοῖς ἐρίοις τῶν προβάτων 'thorns which grow in the fleece of cattle', i.e. 'bristles?' (H.). <PG(S,V)>

- VAR σμήριγξ· πόα, καὶ εἶδος ἀκάνθης 'grass, also a kind of thorn'; σμήριγγες· πλεκταί, σειραί, βόστρυχοι 'braids, cords, curls of hair'. καὶ τῶν κυνῶν ἐν τοῖς μῆροις

καὶ τοῖς αὐχέσιν ὀρθαὶ τρίχες 'hairs which stand upright on the shank and neck of dogs' (H.); a kind of hairdress (Lyc. 37, Poll. 2, 22).

•ETYM In the sense of 'braids, cords', σμήριγξ agrees with ▶ μῆρινθος. The occasional meaning 'rope, string' may have been caused by the similarity with μῆρινθος, μῆρύω. The meaning 'ἐν τοῖς μῆροις... τρίχες' is clearly a folk-etymological attempt to connect μῆριγξ with μῆρός. Fur.: 289<sup>78</sup> separates the gloss as ἄκανθα from the other words. All of them are clearly of Pre-Greek origin, of account of the suffix -ιγγ-, the prothetic σ-, and the lack of possible cognates.

**μῆρινθος** [f.] 'cord, thread' (Il.). <PG(S)>

- VAR σμήρινθος [f.] (Pl. *Lg.* 644 e). Cf. μῆρινος Orph. A. 597, and further σμήριγξ, -ιγγος 'hair' (Lyc. Poll. 2,22, H.); σμήριγγες· πλεκταί, σειραί, βόστρυχοι (H.), see ▶ μῆριγξ.
- ETYM Because of its suffix, μῆρινθος is probably Pre-Greek. Adaptation to μῆρύομαι has also been assumed, a word that was probably inherited. However, there is little reason for this: see ▶ μῆρύομαι.

**μῆρός** [m.] 'the upper meaty part of the shank, shank' (Il.). <IE? \*mē(m)s-ro- 'fleshy'>

- VAR Plur. both μῆροί [m.] (O 146) and μῆρα [n.].
- COMP Few compounds, e.g. μῆρο-τραφής 'with fleshy shanks' (Str., AP), σύμ-μῆρος 'with the thighs closed' (Hp.).
- DER μῆρία [n.pl.] 'thigh-bones' (Il.), -ίον [sg.] (Posidon.); μῆρ-ιαῖος 'belonging to the shanks' (X.), like νωτ-ιαῖος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 49); μῆρίζω [v.] 'to strike on the thigh' (D. L.), after γαστρίζω; δια-μῆρίζω [v.] 'to hold the thighs separated' with -ισμός (Ar., Zeno), also κατα- 'id.' (Suid.).
- ETYM According to Vine 2002: 333, μῆρα continues an old collective plural \*mēms-reh<sub>2</sub>, although one would expect Greek to develop anaptyxis as in \*μμεμβρ-. Via a back-formation \*mēms-ro-, this collective may have been the basis for the thematic neuter for 'flesh': IE \*mēms-(o-), seen in Skt. *māmsá-* [n.], Go. *mimz*, Ru. *mjáso*, ToB *mīsa* [pl.], all 'meat'. We also find a form IE \*mēs- (with unexplained lack of nasal) in Skt. *mās-* [n.] 'id.'. Reflexes of \*mēms-ro- can be found in Lat. *membra* [n.pl.] 'limbs, body parts', OIr. *mír* 'piece, bite', CS *mezdra* 'inner side of a rind'. To account for the Greek forms μῆρός and μῆρα, it would be best to depart from the nasalless pre-form \*mēs-ro- seen in Skt. *mās-*. Unrelated is ▶ μῆνιγξ.

**μηρυκάω** [v.] 'to ruminate' (Arist., Thphr.), -άομαι. <?>

- VAR μαρ- (Ath. 9, 390f, Jul. *Gal.* 314d), -ίζω (Gal.).
- COMP Also with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, (LXX, Ph., Plu. et al.).
- DER μῆρυκιμός [m.] (LXX), ἀνα-μῆρύκησις [f.] (Aristeas) 'ruminating'; back-formation μῆρυξ [m.] name of a (supposedly) ruminating fish, 'Scarus cretensis' (Arist.), see Strömberg 1943: 53.
- ETYM The three verbs μῆρυκ-άομαι, -άζω, -ίζω are derived either as denominatives from a noun with a suffix -κ-, or as enlargements of a primary \*μῆρύκ-, which may itself have an enlargement -κ- (cf. ἐρύκ-ω, ἐρυκ-άνω, -ανάω to ἐρύομαι or ἐρύω). Frisk connects \*μῆρύω, -ύομαι 'to wrap, wind', referring to the turning movements of the mouth and muscles of a ruminator; unconvincing.

**μηρύομαι** [v.] 'to draw up, furl, wind (up)' (μ 170, Hes., Hp., X., Plb., Hero). <PG(V)>

- VAR Dor. μαρ- (Theoc., cf. below), aor. μηρύσασθαι, perf. μεμήρυκα (Hp.).
- COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-, περι-, συν-.
- DER μήρυμα [n.] 'knot, strand' (Hero, Ph. *Bel.*, Nic.), -μάτιον (Hero); συμμήρυ-σις [f.] 'winding together, connection' (M. Ant.). \*μῆρυς 'clew' is posited by Fur.: 218 on account of βήρυσσεύειν-σπειρειν (supposed to stand for σπειρᾶν), ἐλίσσειν 'to wind' (H.); which he assumes to be a denominative of \*βήρυσσα = \*μῆρυς.
- ETYM The word is probably Pre-Greek, on account of the variant in β-. Fur.: 289 suggests that μηρύομαι is a denominative of \*μῆρυς. See ► μήρινθος.

**μήτηρ** [f.] 'mother' (Il.). <IE \**meh<sub>2</sub>ter*- 'mother'>\*

- VAR Dor. μάτηρ; gen. μητρός, acc. μητέρα, etc.
- DIAL Myc. *ma-te*.
- COMP Many compounds, e.g. μητρο-πάτωρ 'mother's father, grandfather through mother' (Il.) and other kinship-names, μητρό-πολις [f.] 'mother-state' (Pi., Simon., IA), ἄ-μήτωρ 'motherless' (Hdt.), poet. also 'unmotherly' in μήτηρ ἀμήτωρ (S.); probably in ► Δημήτηρ. On the compounds see Sommer 1948: 147, 176f., Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 17f., 59 and 261, Wackernagel *Glotta* 14 (1925): 38.
- DER 1. Diminutives: ματρύ(λ)α [f.] 'brothel-hostess' (Phryn., Eust.) with ματρυλ-εῖον 'brothel' (Din., Men.), see Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 224, Björck 1950: 67; μητράριον = *matricula* (gloss.). 2. μήτρα, Ion. -η [f.] 'uterus, womb' (IA), metaph. 'hardwood, marrow' (Thphr.), see Strömberg 1937: 122ff., also 'queen bee' (Arist.), see Sommer 1948: 147<sup>4</sup>; μητρίδιος 'having a womb', 'rich in seeds' (Ar. *Lys.* 549), after κουρίδιος, νυμφίδιος? 3. μητρίς (scil. γῆ) [f.] 'land of the mother' (Pherecr.), after πατρίς. 4. μητρικός 'regarding the mother' (Arist., Hell. inscr., pap.). 5. μητρό-θεν (Dor. μα-) 'from mother's side' (Pi.). 6. Denominative verbs: μητρ-ιάζω 'to honour the (Great) Mother' (Poll.), after θυσι-άζω (cf. Schwyzler: 735), -ίζω 'to belong to the (Great) Mother' (Iamb.), -άζω 'to resemble the mother' (gloss.). 7. PN Μητρεῖς (Schulze 1933a: 419), Μᾶτρυς (Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 220). 8. See also ► μήτρως and ► μητρυιά.
- ETYM Old inherited word for 'mother'. It has been retained in all branches except in Hitt. (which has *anna*-); Skt. *mātár*-, Lat. *māter*, Lith. *mótė* 'woman, wife', (dial.) 'mother', OHG *muoter*. The word does not go back to a nursery word \**mā* (see *mā*), as it contained a laryngeal (\**meh<sub>2</sub>ter*-), as shown by the acute accent of Lithuanian.

**μήτις, -ιος, -ιδος** [f.] 'measure, skill, craft' (Il.). On the concept of μήτις, see Detienne and Vernant 1974. <IE \**meh<sub>2</sub>*- 'measure'>

- COMP As a second member in πολύ-μητις 'capable of many machinations, inventive', of Odysseus, also of Hephaistos (Hom.), ἀγκυλο-μήτης 'having crooked counsels, cunning', of Kronos, also of Prometheus (Hom.).
- DER 1. μητιέτᾱ [nom.sg.m.] (originally vocative?), epithet of Zeus, 'who possesses μήτις', metrically conditioned form at the end of verse for \*μητίτα, cf. νεφεληγεγ-έτα (Ζεύς); acc. μητιέτην (metr. inscr. Tegea), nom.-έτης (Corn.). 2. μητιόεις 'imbued with μ.', of Ζεύς, φάρμακα, etc. (δ 227, *h. Ap.* 344, Hes.).

Denominative verb: aor. μητίσασθαι, fut. μητίσεσθαι 'to ponder, design, devise' (Hom., Emp., A. R.); pres. μητίομαι (Pi. *P.* 2, 92); as a present, epic poetry uses μητιάω, -άομαι (μητιόων, μητιάσθαι, etc.) for metrical reasons (after the type in -ιάω), also prefixed ἐπι-, συν- (Hom., A. R.). Verbal noun μητίματα [pl.] (H. s.v. μήτεα, for μήδεα?).

•ETYM An original verbal noun meaning \*'measuring', μήτις is derived from the root \**meh<sub>2</sub>*- found in Skt. *mimāti* 'measures', etc. The formation \**meh<sub>2</sub>-ti*- itself is found in an isolated Germanic word, OE *mæd* [f.] 'measure', and is presupposed by the denominative Lat. *mētiōr* 'to measure'.

Another Greek formation is μήτρα 'land-measure', ablauting with ► μέτρον, with the instrument suffix \*-tro-. Other languages also preserved isolated verbal nouns in various meanings, e.g. in Germanic: Go. *mel* 'time', OHG *māl* 'point of time, (time for) meal'. The unassibilated -τι- (for -σι-) must be explained as an archaic element of Aeolic (and perhaps Doric). See further ► μήδομαι.

**μήτρα 1** 'uterus'. ► μήτηρ.

**μήτρα 2** 'land-measure, κλήρος'. ► μέτρον.

**μήτρως** [m.] 'male relative of the mother, maternal uncle, grandfather' (Il.). <IE \**meh<sub>2</sub>tēr* 'mother', \**meh<sub>2</sub>tr-ōu*- 'relative of the mother'>

- VAR Dor. μάτρως, -ωος and -ω (further forms in Schwyzler: 480 and in LSJ).
- DER μητρώιος, -φιος (Dor. μα-) properly 'belonging to the μήτρως, i.e. to the mother's family' (τ 410), later referring to μήτηρ directly: 'what belongs to the mother, maternal' (A.); τὸ Μητρώον (scil. ἱερόν) 'the temple of the Great Mother Cybele', which was used as a state archive in Athens (Att.); τὰ Μητρώα (scil. ἱερά) 'the temple-service of Cybele' (D. H.); with μητρωακός 'belonging to the service of Cybele' and μητρώζω 'to celebrate the Cybele-festivals' (late); μητρωϊκός = μητρικός (Delos II<sup>a</sup>). By-form μήτρων (Dor. μά-), -ωνος [m.] (inscr. Asia Minor; originating from the acc. μήτρων). μητρυιά (Dor. μα-, Ion. -ή) [f.] 'stepmother' (Il.) with μητρυι-ώδης 'like a stepmother' (Plu.), -άζω 'to act as stepmother' (gloss.); jocular innovation μητρυιός [m.] 'stepfather' (Theopomp. Com., Hyp.).
- ETYM If μητρυιά is connected with μήτρως (following the *communis opinio*, but there is in fact no decisive evidence for this), we must start from a long -ōu- > ō, of which -u- in μητρυιά would be the zero grade (cf. Schwyzler: 479f.). Regular correspondences with μητρυιά (probably for older \*μήτρυιᾱ, gen. -υιᾱς, see Wackernagel *KZ* 33 (1895): 574<sup>1</sup>, Schwyzler: 469<sup>8</sup>) are found in Arm. *mawru*, gen. *mawrui* (< \**mātruui*-) 'stepmother, mother-in-law', and perhaps also (though further off) in OE *modrige* 'sister's mother' < PGm. \**mōdruuīōn*-. The formation would have to be of pre-Proto-Greek age. Cf. Kuiper 1942: 56ff. See ► μήτηρ.

**μηχανή** [f.] 'expedient, contrivance, cunning; means, tool, machine, device' (IA, Dor.). <PG(S,V)>

- VAR Dor. μαχανά.

•COMP μηχανο-ποιός 'machine-builder, engineer, machinist' (Att.), ἀ-μήχανος (Dor. -ά-) 'without any means, helpless; unmanagable, irresistible, impossible' (Il.), partly associated with μηχανάομαι; thence ἀμηχανία, -ία (1 295), -έω (Ion.).

•DER 1. Uncertain Μαχα-νεὺς epithet of Zeus (Argos, Tanagra, Cos, since V<sup>a</sup>), also a month name (Corcyra), Μαχανεῖος month name (Chalcedon); Μαχαν-ίς epithet of Athena (Cos), -ίτις epithet of Aphrodite and Athena (Megalopolis). 2. μηχανιώτης 'deviser, machinator', of Hermes (*h. Merc.* 436; after ἀγγελι-ώτης, etc.). 3. μηχανάριος 'engineer' (pap.). 4. μηχαν-όεις 'inventive' (S.), -ικός 'id., pertaining to machines, mechanical', subst. 'engine builder' (X., Arist.). 5. μηχανώμα (Dor. μα-) [n.] 'apparatus, crane' (Thphr., Delphi), enlarged from μηχανή (Chantraine 1933: 187). 6. Denominative verb μηχανάομαι (-άω) 'to devise (with ruse), realize, construct, manufacture artificially' (Il.), aor. μηχανήσασθαι, etc., also with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, ἀντι-, προσ-; hence μηχανήμα 'invention, apparatus, mechanical device' (Hp., D., trag.), -ησις 'id.' (Hp., Plb.), -ητής [m.] 'deviser of war machines' (sch.), -ητικός 'inventive' (X.). Besides, we find μῆχαρ [n.] (indecl.) 'means, expedient' (A., Lyc.) and μῆχος (Dor. μᾶ-) [n.] 'id.' (Il., Hdt.); unlike μηχανή, both words are dying and remain without compounds and derivatives.

•ETYM Dor. μαχανά, IA μηχανή are not derived (as traditionally assumed) from a heteroclitic \*μάχαρ, \*μάχανος. They have oxytone accentuation, like the verbal nouns φυλακή, κοιμή. Beside the *r/n*-stem, we find an *s*-stem μῆχος, according to a regular pattern. The root is usually recognized in verbal forms with a short vowel in Germanic and Slavic, e.g. Go. *mag* 'can, is able', MHG *mag*; OCS *mošti*, 1sg. *mogŕ*, Ru. *moč'*, 1sg. *mogú* 'can, be able'. These verbs have accompanying nouns Go. *mahts* 'power, might', etc. = OCS *moštъ*, Ru. *moč'* 'id.' < QIE \**mag<sup>h</sup>-ti*-. Beside this *ti*-derivation, we find an *n*-stem in OHG *magan*, *megin*, ON *magn*, *megin* 'power, might'. It is doubtful if Lith. *magėti*, 1sg. *magù* 'to please, be pleasant', *mėgti*, 1sg. *mėgstu* 'to love, like', etc. can be connected with μηχανή, already in view of the ablaut \**e* : Gr. *ā*.

Since PIE had no \**a*, the question is how we can derive the ablauting forms. In Beekes *MKNAW* 61 (1998): 10f., I pointed out that a laryngeal cannot have been vocalized to Slavic \**o*. This means that the Germanic and Slavic forms (which are closely related, both semantically and formally) cannot derive from \**mh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>h</sup>*-. As a consequence, the Greek word remains isolated.

The suffix -αν- is typical for Pre-Greek words; note that Greek has no forms with \*μάχ- either that could point to a zero grade. In fact, the connection with ▶μάγγανον (Van Beek p.c.) proves that μηχανή is Pre-Greek.

Lat. *māchina* was borrowed from Dor. μαχανά; Pashto *mēčan* 'handmill' from μηχανή (Morgenstierne *Acta or.* 7 (1929): 200; Morgenstierne *Acta Orbis* 18: 143); for the meaning, cf. VLat. *māchina* also 'millstone, handmill'.

μία [f.] 'one'. ⇒εἷς.

μιάινω [v.] 'to stain, soil, defile' especially 'to defile through bloodcrime' (Il.); in Hom. also a technical term for coloring or dying (Δ 141-7), see Myc. below. <PG?, IE? \**smei*- 'smear'>

•VAR Aor. μιᾶναι, μιῆναι, pass. μιανθῆναι (Il.), fut. μιανῶ (Cyrene, Antipho), pass. μιανθήσομαι, perf.pass. μεμίασμαι (Att.), act. μεμίαγκα (Plu.), μιᾷ [3sg.subj.aor.pass.] beside fut. μασεῖ (Cyrene).

•DIAL Myc. *mi-ja-ro*, probably of colored fabrics.

•COMP Rarely with prefix as ἐκ-, κατα- συν-. Compounded μαι-φόνος 'committing a defiling murder, defiled by murder', epithet of Ares (Il. E and Φ, B., Hdt., E.), μηι-φόνος (Archil.), μαι-φονέω (Att.), -ία (D., D. S., Plu.). Isolated are μιάχος· μίασμα, and μαχρόν· <οὐ> καθαρὸν (H.).

•DER μίασμα [n.] 'defilement, abomination, horrible stain' (IA), on the formation see Porzig 1942: 241; μασμός [m.] 'defilement' (LXX, Plu.), μίανσις [f.] 'id.' (LXX); μιάστωρ [m.] 'defiler, avenger' (trag., late prose), -σ- like in μίασμα, cf. also ἀλάστωρ; μιάντης [m.] 'id.' (EM), ἀ-μίαν-τος 'unstained' (Thgn., Pi.), of a stone = ἄσβεστος (Arist., Plin., Dsc.). Further μιάρος (Il.), μιερός (Call.) 'defiled, soiled, polluted', especially through bloodcrime, with μιαρ-ία (Att.), -ότης (An. Ox.).

•ETYM Although the interchange \**r/n* in μιάνω : μιάρος looks Indo-European, clear cognates are unknown. Improbable or uncertain hypotheses are listed in Frisk.

The first member in μαι-φόνος is probably verbal, like in ταλαί-πωρος, so properly "ὁ μιάνων φόνω". Beside it, we find μηι-φόνος, probably secondary like Ἀλθη- beside Ἀλθαι-μένης.

Blanc BSL 96 (2001): 153-179 connects Go. *bi-smeitan* 'to besmear, strike', but there is no evidence for *sm-* in Greek; moreover, the development of meaning within Germanic is not evident.

If there is no etymology, μιάνω is rather Pre-Greek. Did it have \**m<sup>a</sup>a(n)-*, with palatal \**m-*? We know that an /a/ could be pronounced as [e] after a palatalized consonant; this might be the origin of the ε/α-alternation in adjectives of the type μιάρος/μιερός.

μῖγνυμι ⇒μείγνυμι.

μῖκρός [adj.] 'small, short, little' (E 801, γ 296, trag., Att.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also σμικρός (P 757, Hes. *Op.* 361, Ion., trag., Att.), μικκός (Dor. Boeot.), μικός (Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>, *Trag. Adesp.* 31, pap.).

•COMP Very frequent as a first member, especially in scientific and technical language.

•DER Diminutives and hypocoristics: μικύλος (Mosch. 1, 13); μικύθινον· τὸ μικρόν καὶ νήπιον 'infant' (H.); \*μικκιχος (cf. ὁσσίχος etc., Chantraine 1933: 404) in Lacon. μικκιχιδδόμενος 'under age' (inscr.), from \*μικκιχιζομαι; cf. also the PN below. Abstract: (σ)μικρότης [f.] 'trifle, insignificance' (Anaxag., Pl.). Denominative: (σ)μικρόνω [v.] 'to diminish, reduce, belittle' (Demetr. *Eloc.*, LXX), also with prefix, especially κατα-; κατασμικρίζω 'id.' (Arist., Phld.), σμικρίζεσθαι· διαττάσθαι 'to sift' (H.); ἀποσμικρόω 'id.' (Tim. *Lex.*). PNs, e.g. Σμικρίνης [m.] "niggard" (Men.), like Αἰσχίνης, etc.; Μίκων, Μικίων, Μίκυθος, -ίων, Σμικυθίων (Leumann 1950: 155, Schulze 1933a: 671).

•ETYM The group of words has a familiar and colloquial aspect, as is shwon by the variants μικός and geminated μικκός. The initial interchange in μικρός and (older)

σ μικρός is unexplained and (also) points to Pre-Greek origin. The connection with the comparative μείων, assuming that the κ was taken from the opposite μακρός, fails because σ μικρός is clearly older: the latter cannot be combined with μείων (which belongs to Skt. *mināti* 'reduce', etc., and has no *s*-mobile). Old alternation of suffixes in μικ-ρό-ς : μικ-υ-θός (Bloomfield *Lang.* 1 (1925): 94) is improbable.

**μίλαξ 1** 'taxus, bindweed'. •VAR μῖλος. ⇒ σμίλαξ.

**μίλαξ 2** [?] · ἡλικία 'age-group' · ἔνιοι δὲ μέλλαξ καὶ παρ' Ἑρμίππῳ ἐν Θεοῖς (*fr.* 33) ἀγνοήσας Ἀρτεμίδωρος· ἐκεῖ γὰρ μιλᾶξ ἐστίν, δηλοῖ δὲ τὸν δημοτικόν 'some have μέλλαξ, among them Artemidorus on Hermippus's "Gods" (*fr.* 33), but wrongfully, as μίλαξ is found there, and it means a kind person' (H.). DELG adds that the gloss may be partly corrupt, referring to μέλλαξ in H., i.e. μέλ[λ]ακες· νεώτεροι 'the younger ones' (corrected to μελλ- by Salm.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Identical with ►μίλαξ 1 as a metaphor? Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 461 supposes a cross of μεῖραξ (pronounced μῖρ-) and μέλλαξ (?). The word is Pre-Greek on account of the variant seen in ►μέλλαξ.

**μιλ(λ)ός** [adj.] · βραδύς, χαῦνος 'slow, loose, spongy; frivolous' (H.), cf. ἀργός· μιλός, βραδύς and νωχέλεια 'slowness'· .... μιλότης (-ώτις cod.) (H.), νωχελής· ὁ μιλός, βραδύς, ἄχρηστος 'useless; ineffective' (H.). <PG(V)>

•DER PN Μίλων (inscr.).

•ETYM Unexplained; cf. Latte *Glotta* 34 (1955): 191f. DELG compares ►μίλαξ 2. The variation λ/λλ points to a Pre-Greek word. Fur.: 226, 317 compares πτίλος 'having an eye-disease through which the eye-lashes fall out', but this is not very convincing.

**μίλτος** [f.] 'ruddle, red earth, red color, cinnabar, vermillion, red lead' (Hdt., com., Att. inscr.), also 'rust' in plants = ἐρυσίβη (Paus. Gr.), and a taboo for 'blood' (*PMag.*). <PG>

•DIAL Myc. *mi-to-we-sa* /miltowessa/.

•COMP μιλο-πάρης 'with red-painted cheeks', of ships (Hom.), ἔμ-, σύμ-μιλτος 'painted red' (Dsc., Lebadea).

•DER μιλάριον = 'blood' (*PMag.*), μιλάριον 'vessel for storing μ.' (*AP*), μίλτ-εις 'of μ.' (*AP*), -ώδης 'μ.-colored, rich in μ.' (Eub., com., Str.), -ίτης [m.] name of a red stone (Plin.), -όω 'to smear with μ.' (Hdt., Ar.). PN Μιλτεύς (Epid.VI\*), or an appellative; Μιλτ-ιάδης (after Στρεψι-άδης), Μιλτώ [f.], etc.

•ETYM A technical foreign word. The connection with μέλας 'black' is phonetically as well as morphologically impossible, and semantically unconvincing. The word is undoubtedly Pre-Greek.

**μίλφοι** [m.pl.] a disease, 'falling off of the eyelashes' (Dsc., Gal.). <PG?>

•DER μίλφωσις [f.] 'the falling off of the eyelashes' (Gal.), cf. ἔλκωσις, ἰλλωσις, κνίδωσις, etc.; back-formation μιλφός [m.] 'sbd. who suffers from μίλφωσις' (Vett. Val.).

•ETYM Like so many nouns in -φος, μίλφοι is etymologically unclear. Fur.: 225, 317 compares ►πτίλος 'id.' and ►μιλ(λ)ός 'slow' (but see s.v.).

**μυαῖκυλον** [n.] 'fruit of the κόμαρος' (com., Thphr.), cf. Dawkins *JHS* 56 (1936): 1. <PG(V)>

•VAR Also μεαῖκυλος (Gal.), μιάκυλος (H.).

•ETYM A foreign word, no doubt Pre-Greek (note the variations). For the ending, cf. ἄκυλος 'acorn' with comparable meaning.

**μίμαρκυς, -υος** [f.] 'hare-soup, jugged hare', from the intestines with their blood (com.). <PG>

•ETYM The form μίμαρκυς seems to display reduplication. A tempting similarity exists with a synonymous Germanic word: OE *meorh* 'sausage', MoNw. *mor* 'meat-sausage from intestines', ON *morr* 'the fat inside a slaughtered animal', etc., PGm. \**mārhu-* < IE \**márku-* or \**mórku-*. If related, it would have to be a very old anatomical expression of cattle-breeders, cf. ἦνυστρον 'fourth stomach of a ruminant', which is unlikely. Unrelated are Lat. *murcus* 'maimed' or Hitt. *mark-* 'to cut apart' < \**merǵ-*.

Acc. to Neumann 1961: 85f., μίμαρκυς is a loan from Hitt. or another IE Anatolian language. I agree with Fur.: 366<sup>95</sup> that the word cannot be IE. The reduplication is clearly Pre-Greek.

**μιμνήσκω** [v.] 'to remind (oneself), remember, heed, care for, make mention' (Il.). <IE \**mneh₂-* 'remind'>

•VAR Usually -ομαι (-ήσκω, Schwyzler: 709f., Aeol. μμναισκω [gramm.], μνήσκειται Anacr.); fut. μνήσω, -ομαι, aor. μνήσαι (Dor. μνάσαι), -ασθαι, perf. med. μέμνημαι (Dor. -μνᾶ-, Aeol. -μναι-) with fut. μεμνήσομαι (all Il.), aor. pass. μνησθῆναι (δ 418, Aeol. μνασθῆναι) with fut. μνησθήσομαι (IA).

Also pres. μνάομαι, μνῶμαι, μνῶντο, μνωόμενος, etc. (Il.), 'to woo for one's bride, court' (Od.) 'to solicit' (Hdt., Pi.), προ-μνάομαι 'to court for' (S., Pl., X.); see below.

•COMP Often with prefix, especially ὑπο-, ἀνα-; also παρ-, προσ-υπομμνήσκω, ἐπ-, συν-, προ-αναμμνήσκω.

•DER 1. μνήμα, Dor. Aeol. μνάμα [n.] 'memorial, monument, tomb' (Il.) with μνημ-εῖον, Ion. -ήϊον, Dor. μναμ- 'id.' (Dor., IA), cf. σῆμα : σημείον, etc., rare and late -άτιον, -άδιον, -άφιον, -όριον (see ►μεμόριον); μνηματίτης λόγος 'funeral oration' (Choerob., Eust.); ὑπόμνημα 'remembrance, note' (Att.) with -ματικός, -ματίζομαι. 2. μνήμη, Dor. μνάμα [f.] 'remembrance, mention' (Dor., IA), μνή-σ-μη (Lycaonia); hence or from μνήμα: μνημ-ήϊος 'as a remembrance' (Phryg.), -ίσκομαι = μμνήσκομαι (pap.). 3. μνεῖα [f.] 'remembrance, mention' (Att.), verbal noun < \*μνᾶ-ῖα like πεν-ία etc. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 81). 4. μνήστις (μνάσ-) [f.] 'remembrance, thought, posthumous fame' (v 280) with -σ- like in μνησθῆναι, μνηστύς, etc.; after λῆστις (see ►λανθάνω) rather than the other way round. 5. ἀνά-, ὑπό-μνη-σις 'remembrance, admonition' (Att.); also μνησι- as a verbal first member in μνησι-κακέω [v.] 'to remember the (suffered) wrong', whence -ία, -ος (IA). 6. μνηστύς, -ύος [f.] 'courting' (Od.), later replaced by μνηστ-εῖα, -ευμα (see μνηστεύω). 7. μνηστήρ (μνάσ-), -τήρος [m.] 'wooer' (Od.), on μνηστήρ beside μνηστύς see Fraenkel 1910: 32; also month name μναστήρ (Messene); adjectival 'remembering, reminding' (Pi.), μνήστειρα [f.] 'bride' (AP), 'reminding' (Pi.); μνηστρον 'betrothal,

marriage' (*Cod. Just.*); προμνήστρ-ια (προ-μνάομαι) [f.] 'matchmaker' (E., Ar., Pl.), -ίς 'id.' (X.). 8. μνήστωρ 'mindful' (A.). 9. μνηστή [f.] 'wooed and won, wedded' (Hom., A. R.), also 'worth remembering' (*Sammelb.* 6138), πολυ-μνήστη (-ος) 'much wooed' (Od.), also 'mindful; remaining in memory' (Emp., A.); but Ἄ-μνάτος (Gortyn); hence μνηστεύω (μνάσ-) [v.] 'to woo a wife' (Od.), also 'to apply for a job', with μνήστευμα (E.), -εία (Hell.) 'wooing'. 10. μνήμων (μνά-, -ονος [m., f.] 'mindful' (Od.), often as the title of an office 'notary, registrar' (Halic., Crete, Arist.), first derived from μνήμα, but also directly associated with the verb. Thence μνημο-σύνη 'remembrance' (Θ 181), also the name of one of the Muses (*h. Merc.*, Hes.); -συνον [n.] 'id.' (Hdt., Th., Ar.); probably poetical; -ος 'for remembrance' (LXX); besides Μναμόν-α (Ar. *Lys.* 1248), cf. on εὐφρόνη; Μνημ-ώ (Orph.) = Μνημοσύνη. Denominative μνημονεύω [v.] 'to remember' (IA), with μνημόνευ-σις, -μα, etc. Adjective μνημον-ικός 'for remembrance, with good memory' (Att.). 11. PN's like Μνησεύς (Pl.), short name of Μνήσ-αρχος (Boßhardt 1942: 130), Μνασίλλαι (Boeot.); Μνασέας; probably a Hellenisation of Sem. *M'našše* = Μανασση.

•ETYM The above paradigm (including all formations derived from μνά-) is a Greek creation. A monosyllabic IE *\*mneh₂-* is represented in classical Skt. *a-mnāsiṣuḥ* [3pl.aor.] 'they mentioned' (which recalls μνήσαι); further, in *a-mnā-ta-* 'not mentioned' and *mnāyante* 'are mentioned'. It is probable that this is a root extension of *\*men-* 'to remember', but its function is unclear. Other cognate languages present nothing that could be compared directly with the Greek forms.

It has been thought that μνάομαι corresponds exactly to Skt. *mnāyate*, so from *\*mneh₂-ie/o-*, but it was rather analogically formed to (e.g.) the aorist μνήσασθαι; μμνήσκω may also have been secondarily created, like e.g. κικλήσκω or βιβρώσκω. The meaning 'to woo a woman, court' developed from μνάομαι 'to think of, be mindful of' as a courteous expression; see Benveniste 1954: 13ff. The connection with γυνή < *\*gʷn-h₂-* should be discarded. See ▶μαίνομαι, ▶μέμονα, ▶μένος.

**μίμος** [m., f.] name of an actor, 'mime' (A. *Fr.* 57, 9, E. *Rh.* [Iyr.], D., Plu., pap.), kind of scenic sketch, founded by the Syracusan Sophron, 'mimus' (Arist.). <PG?>

•COMP μμο-γράφος 'mime-writer' (Hell.), λογό-μμος [m.] 'actor or writer of spoken mimes' (Hegesand. Hist.), ἀρχί-μμος [m.] 'chief comedian' (Plu.); as a second member mostly verbal to μιμέομαι, e.g. γυναικό-μμος 'imitating women' (trag.).

•DER μιμάς, -άδος [f.] 'mimic player (female)' (Ael.), μμώ [f.] 'ape' (Suid. s.v. πίθηκος), μμ(ε)ία [f.] 'farce' (Ph.), μμικός 'regarding the μίμος, mimic' (Hell.).

Probably denominative μιμέομαι, μμήσασθαι 'to imitate, mimic, copy (in art)' (*h. Ap.* 163), also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐκ-, with derivatives: (ἀντι-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-)μίμησις 'imitation, artistic, especially dramatic presentation' (IA), (ἀπο-) μίμημα 'imitation, representation' (IA); (συμ-)μμητής [m.] 'imitator, artist' (IA), μμητήρ, -ορος [m.] 'id.' (Man.); μμητικός 'able at imitation, imitating, mimetic' (Pl., Arist.); μμηλός 'id.', also 'imitated' (Luc., Plu.), or 'referring to μίμος' (Chantraine 1933: 242), with μμηλάζω (-ίζω?) = μιμέομαι (Ph.).

•ETYM Compared with μιμέομαι, μίμος is attested only rarely and at a late date; still, it is most likely that μιμέομαι is a denominative built on the latter. The technical

meaning of μίμος makes a loan probable. The connection with Skt. *māyā* [f.] 'magic, etc.' is dated: the translation found in Frisk (following Schulze) as 'Zauber(bild), Truggestalt' is deceptive, as it focuses on the notion of 'image', which is not found in the earliest attestations of *māyā*. It rather means 'magical power, skill, etc.'.

μίμος was borrowed as Lat. *mimus* 'id.'. There is no etymology, and Pre-Greek origin is quite possible.

**μιν** [encl.pron.] 'eum, eam, id; se', anaphoric or reflexive pron. 3sg. (Il.), late also 3pl.

<IE *\*h₁i-* 'he, who'>

•VAR Also anaph. μιν 'id.' (Dor., trag., cf. Björck 1950: 163).

•DIAL Myc. *-mi* /min/.

•ETYM Compare especially Cypr. ▶ἴν 'id.' < *\*h₁i-m* (Lat. *is*, etc.). Not from a reduplicated form *\*im-im* (as per Rix 1976: 186), which looks rather strange for indefinite pronouns. The initial nasal may have been taken from (the end of) the preceding word, as happened in OP *dim* and OPr. *dim* (reanalysis of the neuter ending *\*-od*), e.g. in the 1sg. aorist *\*(h,e)deiksm̐ Him* > *\*(e)deiksam im* >> *\*(e)deiksa mim* > ἔδειξά μιν. Cf. Beekes KZ 96 (1982-1983): 229-32.

**μίνδαξ** [f.] 'a kind of Persian incense' (Amphis 27 Kock). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**μίνδης** [?] 'association for the maintenance of tombs' (*Tit. As. Min.* II, 1, 62, [Telmessos]). <LW Lyc.?>

•DER μινδῖται 'members of such a society'.

•ETYM A local word, perhaps from Lycian *miñti*. See Neumann 1961: 53f. and Laroche BSL 58 (1963): 78'.

**μίνθη** [f.] 'mint' (IA, Thphr., Plu.); on the mg. Kretschmer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 105ff.

<PG>

•VAR Also μίνθα (Thphr.), μίνθος.

•DIAL Myc. *mi-ta*.

•ETYM A foreign word, like Lat. *menta*. It is undoubtedly Pre-Greek, because of the variant ending -ᾱ. See ▶καλαμίνθη.

**μίνθος** [m.] 'human ordure' (Mnesim. Com.). <PG?>

•DER μινθ-όω [v.] 'to stain with μ.' (Ar.), metaph. 'to renounce utterly, abominate' (Hell., com.).

•ETYM Formation like ὄνθος, σπέλεθος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 369); further unclear, but perhaps Pre-Greek.

**μινύθω** [v.] 'to lessen, fade away', also trans. 'to reduce' (Il.). <IE *\*mi-n(e)-u-* 'lessen, diminish'>

•VAR Also μινυνθάνω (*PMich.*); ipf. -ύθεσκον (ἐμινύθει Hp.), fut. μινυθήσω, aor. -ῆσαι, perf. μεμινύθηκα (Hp.).

•COMP Rarely with περι-, συν-, ἀπο-.

•DER Medical terms: μινύθ-ις [f.] 'waning', -ήματα [pl.] 'what is lessening, dying members', -ώθης 'weak, lessening' (Hp.), on the verbal derivation see Chantraine



1933: 431, -ικός 'diminishing' (Cael. Aur.). Beside it μίνυνθα [adv.] 'for a short time' with μινυνθάδιος 'lasting a short time' (Il.).

•ETYM Built after the synonym φθινύθω, either from a νυ-present (corresponding to Lat. *minuō*, cf. \*φθίνω-ω) or from an adjective \*μινύς (cf. βαρύθω : βαρύς), which seems to have been preserved as a first member in a few compounds, though late and rarely attested: μινύ-ωρος, -ώριος 'living a short time' (AP), μινύζιον· ὀλιγόβιον 'having a short life' (H.). The same adjective has been recognized in μίνυνθα, i.e. acc. \*μινύν + -θα e.g. after the opposite δηθά.

An IE adj. \**minu-* is also presupposed by Lat. *minuō*, and probably also by *minus* (secondarily *s*-stem), and is assumed for Germanic (e.g. Go. *minniza* 'smaller' < \**minniza-*) as well. If a suffix -*nu-* is separated, ►μείων, etc. may be compared.

**μινυρίζω** [v.] 'to whimper, whine, complain (in a low tone)' (E 889, δ 719), 'to sing in a low tone, wharble, hum' (Ar., Pl., Arist.). <PG?>

•VAR μινυρίσαι [aor.] (Plu.).

•DER μινύρισμα 'twittering' (Theoc., S. E.), -ισμός 'id.' (sch.), -ίστρια [f.] 'twittering' (ἀηδών, verse inscr.); unclear μινυρίγματα [pl.] (Philox. 2, 28). μινύρομαι [v.] 'to sing in a low tone, twitter' (A., S., Ar., Call.), μινυρός 'whimpering, whining' (A., Phryn. Com.), 'twittering' (Theoc.).

•ETYM Expressive and onomatopoeic words, resembling κινυρίζω : κινύρομαι : κινυρός, with which they were amalgamated in a way that can no longer be established. There is no further evidence for a variation κ/μ, as proposed by Fur.: 388. Still, Pre-Greek origin is possible.

Acc. to Leumann 1950: 244, μινυρίζω is the oldest form of the series. Lat. *minurriō*, -ire 'twitter' (Suet.) shows a remarkable similarity: if it is not directly borrowed from Greek, it was at least influenced by it. Similar reduplicated formations are μμιχμός· τοῦ ἵππου φωνή 'horse's voice' and μιμάξασα· χρεμετίσασα, φωνήσασα 'to neigh (of horses), resound' (H.). See ►μύρομαι.

**μυργάβωρ**· τὸ λυκόφως 'twilight' (H.). <GR?>

•VAR μυργῶσαι· πηλῶσαι 'to cover with mud or clay' (H.).

•ETYM A relationship with μίσγω (μυργάβωρ as dialectal Laconian or Elean for Ion. \*μισγ-ήφω, e.g. Brugmann-Thumb 1913: 150) has been assumed, the second element being the word for 'dawn'. However, the gloss on μυργῶσαι (if it belongs here at all) cannot be correct. Connection of the first element with Lith. *mirgėti* 'flicker', ON *myrkr*, acc. *myrkvan* 'dark' < PGm. \**merku-*, \**merkuija-* is improbable.

**μύργμα** [n.] (?) 'ἐπὶ τοῦ κακοπινούς καὶ ῥυπαροῦ καὶ πονηροῦ 'filthy, dirty, bad' (H.). <?>

•VAR μυρμα ms. (DELG).

•ETYM Unknown. Latte connects the glosses μυργῶσαι and μυργοῦλον.

**μυργοῦλον** [n.] μύσος, μιάσμα 'defilement, stain' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. See ►μύργμα.

**μυρόν** [?] ὅταν νυστάξῃ τις λέγουσι Ταραντῖνοι 'The Tarentians say this whenever someone is sleepy' (H.). <?>

•DER Perhaps the PN Μίρων (see Latte)?

•ETYM Unknown.

**μυρύκεον** = μυρική.

**μίσγω**

•ETYM See ►μείγνυμι; for μισγ-άγκεια, see also ἄγκος (►ἀγκ-).

**μισέω** [v.] 'to hate, abhor' (Pi., IA). <PG>

•VAR Aor. μισῆσαι (P 272), aor. pass. μισηθῆναι (Hdt.), fut. pass. μισήσομαι (E.), also -ιθήσομαι (LXX), perf. μεμίση-κα, -μαι (Att.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἀπο-. Very often as a first member (opposed to φιλο-), e.g. μισό-θεος 'who hates the gods' (A., Luc.), cf. Schwyzler: 442.

•DER μίσημα [n.] 'what is hated' (trag.), μισηθρον (-τρον) 'charm producing hatred' (Luc., pap.), after στέργηθρον, Benveniste 1935: 203; μισητός 'hated, hateful' (A., X.), -ητικός 'prone to hatred' (Arr.), μισήτιζε· μίσει, στύγει 'id.' (H.). μισήτη [f.] 'lascivious woman, whore' (Archil. [?], Cratin.), accent according to Ammon. 94; cf. μισητός ... ἄπληστος 'greedy' (H.) with unclear change of mg., with μισητία 'lasciviousness, unsatiable desire' (Ar., Procop.). μῖσος [n.] 'hatred, enmity, grudge, object of hatred' (trag., Att.).

•ETYM The date and the spread of the respective attestations do not favor the common assumption that μισέω is a denominative to μῖσος; if it were, we would expect an aorist Hom. \*μῖσε(σ)σεν instead of μισησεν (but perhaps it is analogical after φίλησεν?).

A suffix -σος does not exist in inherited words. Therefore, Fur.: 254 assumes a Pre-Greek word, with an assimilated dental \*tʰ.

**μισθός** [m.] 'hire, pay, wages, reward, daily wages' (Il.). <IE \**misdʰo-* 'salary'>

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. μισθο-δό-της [m.] 'who pays the wages', -τέω, -σία (Att.), compounded forms of μισθὸν δοῦναι with a suffix -τη-; μισθο-φορέω [v.] 'to get paid' with -φόρος 'who served for hire', -φορά 'wages'; ἐμ-μισθος 'being paid' (Att.).

•DER Diminutive μισθάριον (Hp., com., pap.); μίσθιος [adj.] 'hired' (Hell.); μισθόμαι, -όω [v.] 'to hire for oneself, act. 'to hire' (IA) with several derivatives: μίσθωμα 'rent, lease' (Att.), -ωμάτιον (Alciph.), μίσθωσις 'hiring' (Att.), -ώσιμος 'which can be hired' (Lex. apud D.), -ωσιμαῖος (gloss.); μισθωτός (directly from μισθός?) 'hired, hireling, mercenary' (IA), -ωτής [m.] 'tenant' (Att.), -ώτρια [f.] (Phryn. Com.), -ωτικός 'belonging to rent' (Pl., pap.), -ωτήριον 'meeting place of the μισθωτοί' (Ephesus II<sup>p</sup>, H. s.v. ὄψ' ἡλθε).

•ETYM This old word for 'reward, recompense' vel sim. was also preserved in Indo-Iranian, Germanic and Slavic: Skt. *mīdhá-* [n.] 'prize in a contest, contest', Av. *mižda-* [n.] 'wages', Go. *mizdo* [f.] 'wages', MoHG *Miete* 'rent', OCS *mvzda*, Ru. *mzdá* [f.] 'wages, hire, reward', all from IE \**misdʰo-*. Because of the gender of the Gm. and Slav. words, Meillet MSL 21 (1920): 111 considers \**misdʰo-* to be an old feminine; but if so, the change of gender in μισθός would be remarkable. In the sense

of 'wages', μισθός was replaced by ὀψώνιον in the Hell. period (Chantraine 1956a: 25f.).

### μιστύλη

•ETYM See ►μιστίλη (also for μιστυλάομαι).

**μιστύλλω** [v.] 'to cut up meat' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Aor. μιστύλαι, -ασθαι (Semon., Lyc., Nonn.); δια-μιστύλαι (Hdt. 1, 132).

•DER Backformation μίστυλλον 'piece of meat' (Strato Com.).

•ETYM As a denominative, μιστύλλω seems to go back to \*μιστύλος 'cut up, consisting of pieces' (cf. στωμύλλω : -ύλος, καμπύλλω : -ύλος). As a further basis, one might posit a noun \*μιστο-, which could stand for \*miT-to-, and could be connected with some Germanic words for 'hew, cut', e.g. Go. *maitan* 'to injure, mutilate'. Skt. *méthati* 'to be inimical' is not related (cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia*). The word may rather be Pre-Greek. See ►μίτυλος.

**μισυ, -νος, -έως** [n.] 1. 'copper ore' found in Cyprus (Hp.); 2. 'ruffle, Tuber aestivum', growing near Cyrene (Thphr.), cf. André 1956 s.v. *misu*. <LW Anat.?>

•ETYM Perhaps an adjective 'brilliant' borrowed from an Anatolian language; cf. Hitt. *mišriuant-* 'brilliant', from the root \**meis-* (Skt. *miśāti* 'to open the eyes'). See Neumann *Kadmos* 28 (1989): 94f.

**μίσχος** [m.] 1. 'stalk of a leaf, fruit or flower' (Thphr., Porph.); 2. name of a Thessalian instrument for field work, ισχυρότερον ἔτι τῆς δικέλλης 'even stronger than the δ.', ... ὃ μᾶλλον εἰς βάθος κατιὸν πλείω γῆν περιτρέπει καὶ κατωτέρωθεν 'which, reaching deeper, turns around more earth, and from a greater depth' (Thphr.). Acc. to H. = ὁ παρὰ τῷ φύλλῳ κόκκος 'the seed at the leaf, which can hardly be correct. Also difficult to understand is μίσκος = 'pod, shell' (Poll. 6, 94). Extensively on μίσχος Strömberg 1937: 115f. <1. PG(V); 2. PG?(V)>

•COMP ἄ-μισχος 'without stalk' (Thphr.).

•ETYM Probably an agricultural term in origin, and transmitted to botany by the botanist Theophrastus. No etymology. The connection with μίσκαιος κῆπος 'garden' (H.), which is also compared to Lith. *miškas* 'wood, forest', also 'wood for burning or building', is semantically void, unless one accepts a basic meaning 'trunk, bar' for the Lith. word.

Fur.: 133 connects μίσχος with μίσκος 'pod, shell', which means that the word is Pre-Greek. However, he does not connect the stalk with the Thessalian tool. On the other hand, he may be right in connecting the latter with μίσκαιος 'garden', where σχ/σκ also points to Pre-Greek origin.

**μίτος** [m.] mg. uncertain, 'thread of the warp, chain' vel sim., also 'thread' in general, Lat. *licium* (since Ψ 762), see Blümner 1875-1887: 141ff., where other interpretations are discussed. Cf. κατὰ μίτον 'uninterrupted' (Pherecr., Plb.). <?>

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. λεπτό-μιτος 'with fine threads' (E.), πολύ-μιτος 'consisting of many threads, damask' (A., Cretin., *Peripl. M. Rubr.*).

•DER μιτώδης 'thread-like, made of threads' vel sim. (S. *Ant.* 1222), μίτινοι 'licinae' (gloss.), μιτηρός, μιτάριον (sch. E. *Hec.* 924), μιτόομαι, -ώσασθαι [v.] 'to hitch up threads' vel sim. (AP), μίσασθαι(?) 'id.' (Pl. Com.), μίτισσασθαι 'liciare' (gloss.).

•ETYM Because of the uncertain meaning, all explanations are hypothetical.

**μίτρα** [f.] 'girdle bound with metal' (Il.), 'maiden's girdle' (Theoc., A. R., Call.), 'fillet, diadem' (Alcm., Hdt., E., Ar., Call.), 'victor's chaplet, wreath' (Pi.). <?>

•VAR Ion. -ρη [f.].

•COMP μιτρη-φόρος (also -ο-φ-) 'bearing a μ.' (Hdt., Plu.), αἰολο-μίτρης 'with glittering girdle' (E 707, Theoc.), on the ending -ης see Schwyzler: 451; ἄ-μιτρος 'without girdle' (Call.).

•DER μιτρίον (gloss.), μιτρώδης 'like a μ.' (An. Ox.), μιτραῖον (cod. -έον) ποικίλον 'many-colored' (H.); μιτρόομαι, -όω [v.] 'to put on or wear a μ., to dress with a μ.' (Str., Nonn.).

•ETYM For comparison, one has thought of Skt. *mitrá-* [n., m.] 'friend', properly 'friendship', Av. *miθra-* [m.] 'treaty, friend', as a personification 'Mithra' = OP *Miθra-*, assuming an inherited word \**mi-tro-* with original meaning 'connection', from IE \**mei-* 'to bind, attach' (Pok. 710). The combination remains quite hypothetical, as long as a corresponding primary verb is not found (Iir. *may-* 'to fix, establish?'). Extensive treatment of *mitrá-* in Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v.

Given its technical meaning, μίτρα (which is isolated in Greek) could very well be a loan, perhaps from an Indo-Iranian source. Or does the short -ᾶ (in the acc. μίτράν [LSJ]) point to a Pre-Greek word?

**μίτυλος** [adj.] Adjunct of αἶξ (Theoc. 8, 86) of uncertain mg.; acc. to H. μίτυλον-ἔσχατον, νήπιον. Λακεδαίμονες 'utmost, childish; foolish'. <?>

•VAR μύτιλον-ἔσχατον, ἄφ' οὗ καὶ τὸν νεώτατον 'utmost, whence (?) also the youngest'. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀποβαῖνον καὶ ὁ νήπιος καὶ ὁ νέος 'that which results, infant, young one' (H.); see Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 217.

•ETYM Explained as 'hornless' and connected with μιστύλλω, in which case μύτιλος must have arisen by means of metathesis. However, as DELG remarks, the explanation may be due to a folk-etymology with Lat. *mutulus* by a later scholiast. Dissimilation from an original \*μύτυλος could be imagined (similar cases in Schwyzler: 258). The similarity with the PN Μυτιλήνη (also Μιτυλ-) is probably irrelevant (cf. WH s.v. *mūtulus*).

**μίτυς, -νος** [f.] name of a substance used by bees (Arist.). <PG?>

•ETYM Unexplained; it could very well be Pre-Greek.

**μνᾶ** [f.] 'mina', weight and a sum of money = 100 drachmae (IA). <LW Sem.>

•VAR Gen. -ᾶς (Ion. -ῆς), etc., Ion. μνέαι [pl.].

•DER Diminutive μναδάριον (Diph. Com.), probably for \*μναδ-άριον from \*μνά-διον, -μνα-ῖδιον (like ζφδ-άριον : ζφ-διον); μνα-αῖος, μναῖος 'weighing or worth a mina' (com., X., Arist.), -ῖαιος 'id.' (Arist., Hell.), -ῖειον [n.] golden coin = 1 silver-mina (pap.); on -ῖαιος, -ῖειος see Chantraine 1933: 49 and 53.

•ETYM A Semitic loanword. Cf. Hebr. *māne*, Akk. *manū* name of a weight. Borrowed from μνᾶ was Lat. *mina*. Skt. *manā-* [f.], name of a golden ornament, remains far; but MoP *man* as a designation of a weight might belong here, too; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 308. Fur.: 380 connects μνάσιος/ν and assumes a cultural term from the Near East.

**μνάομαι** ‘to remember, think of, ponder’, also ‘to woo (a woman), court’. ⇒μυμνήσκω.

**μναρόν** [adj.] glossed as μαλακόν, ἡδύ, ῥάδιον ‘delicate, sweet, easy’ (Phot.), or θυμῆρες ‘delightful’ (H.), respectively (Cratin. 431). <?>

•ETYM Probably for μνιαρόν (\*μνιάρόν), cf. Schwyzler: 274. See ►μνίον.

**μνάσιον** [n.] name of an Egyptian waterplant, ‘Cyperus esculentus’ (Thphr.). <LW Eg.>

•VAR Also μναύσιον.

•ETYM From Eg. *mnw*; see Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 245.

**μνίον** [n.] ‘seaweed’ (Lyc., Nic., Agatharch., Str.), also μνίος = ἀπαλός ‘soft’ (Euph. 156 from *EM* and Hdn.). <?>

•DER μνι-όεις (A. R.), -ώδης (Nic.), -αρός (Opp., AP) ‘weak like moss’.

•ETYM Unexplained. See ►μνός.

**μνός, μνοῦς** [m.] ‘soft down’ (on young birds) (Hp., Ar., AP). <?>

•ETYM Rhyming word with χνός, χνοῦς [m.] ‘down, foam, crust’. On the other hand, cf. μνίον ‘seaweed’. Is μνός a cross from these two? See ►μνίον.

**μνώα** [f.] name of the serf population of Crete. <?>

•VAR μνωῖα, μνοῖα.

•ETYM Polomé *Latomus* 13 (1954): 83 argues against the connection with Georg. *mona* ‘servant, slave’ as a Caucasian-Pre-Greek correspondence (as per Hubschmid 1953b: 103, with Dumézil). See ►δμώς.

**μογέω** [v.] ‘to toil, be distressed, suffer’ (Il.). <PG>

•VAR μεμογηώς [perf.ptc.] (Nic.).

•COMP Rarely with συν-, ἐν-. As a first member in μογοσ-τόκος epithet of Eileithyia (Il.) and Artemis (Theoc.), who where assist at child-birth; also of ὠδῖνες (Lyc.), of the Trojan horse (Tryph. Ep.), of ὥρα (Nonn.). Compound mg. uncertain, but not (as per Bechtel 1914) ‘causing pain’, taking μογοσ- as an acc. pl. < \*μόγονς. In any case, μογο-τόκος was metrically impossible (Chantraine 1942: 95).

•DER μόγος [m.] ‘toil, trouble, distress’ (Δ 27, rare). From μόγος probably μογερός ‘laborious, distressful’ (trag.). Adverb μόγῃς ‘with toil, barely’ (Il.). Perhaps PN Μογέᾱ [m.] (Boeot.).

•ETYM μογέω may be a denominative from μόγος, but the scarcity of the substantive makes it more probable that an old intensive verb μογέω gave rise to μόγος as a back-formation.

There are no certain cognates. The Baltic adjective Lith. *smagūs* ‘heavy, strong, powerful (of blows)’, Latv. *smag(r)s* ‘heavy’ rather belongs to Lith. *smōgti*, 1sg. *smagiū* ‘to scourge, beat, throw (something heavy)’. Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 70 (1992):

134f. proposes that the word belongs to \**megh<sub>2</sub>*- ‘big’, but this is semantically not immediately convincing.

A by-form with initial σμ- is found in σμογερόν· σκληρόν, ἐπίβουλον, μοχθηρόν ‘harsh, treacherous, sorrowful’ (H.), cf. also ►σμυγερός ‘painful’, etc. Beside σμογερόν and σμυγερός, Fur.: 140, 363 connects μόχθος, μοχλός, and judges the group (probably correctly so) to be Pre-Greek. See on ►μῶλος. See ►μόχθος, ►μοχλός, ►μόλις.

**μόθος** [m.] ‘battle-din’ (Il., Hes. Sc., Nic.). <PG?>

•COMP μοθούρας· τὰς λαβὰς τῶν κωπῶν ‘the grips of a handle’ (H.), explained in Solmsen 1909: 56<sup>2</sup>.

•DER μόθαξ, -ακος [m.] ‘child of the Helotes or Perioikoi, who has received his education together with a Spartan’ (Phylarch. Hist. [III<sup>a</sup>], Plu., Ael.); μόθων, -ωνος [m.] = μόθαξ (sch., *EM*, H.), also ‘impudent man’ vel sim. (Ar. *Pl.* 279), parodically represented as a demon (beside Κόβαλοι etc., Ar. *Eq.* 635); name of a vulgar dance, practised by sailors (Ar., Poll.), also name of a melody on the flute that accompanies the dance (Trypho *apud* Ath. 14, 618c). μοθωνικός ‘like the μόθωνες’ (Ion *apud* Plu. *Per.* 5), μοθωνία· ἀλαζονεία τις τοῦ σώματος κινητική ‘a boasting posture of the body that sets in motion’ (*EM*).

•ETYM The great stylistic difference between epic μόθος and Dor. μόθαξ and μόθων is remarkable, but it is clear that Homer preserves the oldest meaning ‘turmoil’.

No cognates outside Greek. Has been compared with CS *motati se* ‘agitari’, Ru. *motát* ‘to throw to and fro, waste; to reel, wind up’, or with Skt. *mánthati*, *mathnâti* ‘to stir, shake’, but Gr. θ as against Sl. *t* and Skt. *th* contradicts this (\*-*tH*- does not regularly yield Gr. -θ-); moreover, regarding the latter equation, a vocalic nasal does not vocalize to -o- in this position in any Greek dialect. Perhaps the word is Pre-Greek.

**μοιμνάω**

•ETYM See μνάω (s.v. ►μύω) and ►μύλλον.

**μοιμύλλω**

•ETYM See μύλλω s.v. ►μύλη.

**μοῖος** ⇒σμοῖός.

**μοῖρα** [f.] ‘part, share, lot’. ⇒μείρομαι.

**μοῖτος** [m.] ‘χάρις, thanks, favour’ (Sophr. 168). <LW Ital.?>

•ETYM As the word is Sicilian, perhaps it is a borrowing from OLat. (or Italic?) \**moitos* ‘exchange’ (seen in Lat. *mūtāre* ‘to change, exchange’; cf. *mūtuius* ‘mutual’, etc.); see WH s.v. *mūtō*. At any rate, unrelated to the group ►ἄμοιος, ►μοῖος, and ►σμοῖός.

**μοιχός** [m.] ‘adulterer’ (IA), ‘idolatrous person’ (*Ep. Jac.* 4, 4), cf. μοιχαλῖς, μοιχάω, -εύω. <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>meiǵh<sup>h</sup>*- ‘urinate’>

•COMP Sometimes as a first member, e.g. μοιχ-άγρια [n.pl.] ‘fine imposed on one taken in adultery’ (θ 332), after ►ζωάγρια, Chantraine 1956a: 51<sup>3</sup> (cf. s.v.); also

κατάμοιχος = μοιχός (Vett. Val.), probably back-formation from καταμοιχεύω (pap.).

•DER A. Several feminine formations, mostly late: μοιχ-άς (Aeschin. Socr.), -άλις (LXX, NT, Hld.), also 'idolatrous woman' (NT), -ή, -ίς (Ar. Byz.), -αίνα (Tz.); older μοιχεύτρια (see below).

B. Adjectives: μοιχ-ίδιος 'begotten in adultery' (Hecat., Hdt., Hyp.), after κουρίδιος, see on ► κόρη; -ικός (Luc., Plu.), -ιος (AP), -ώδης (Com. Adesp., Ptol.) 'adulterous'.

C. Abstract formation: μοιχοσύνη = μοιχεία (Man.).

D. Denominatives: 1. μοιχάω [v.] 'to seduce into adultery, be adulterous' (originally Doric: Gortyn -ίω), of a man (the Lacedaimonian Callicratidas in X. HG 1, 6, 15), -άομαι 'id.', of women and men (LXX, NT), 'to be idolatrous' (LXX), 'to bastardize' (Ael.), after Lat. *adulterāre*; 2. μοιχεύω = -άω, also pass. 'to be seduced' (Xenoph., Att.), med. -εύομαι 'to be adulterous' (Att. only of women, LXX also of men); 'to idolate' (LXX); μοιχεία 'adultery' (Att.), μοιχευ-τής = μοιχός (Man.), -τρια [f.] (Pl., Plu.); 3. μοιχ-αίνω (Vett. Val.); 4. -άζω (Anon. *apud* Suid.) 'id.'.

•ETYM Often analyzed as an agent noun of ► ομείχω 'to urinate', as a vulgar expression. Borrowed as Lat. *moechus*. The initial laryngeal (\*h<sub>3</sub>meig<sup>h</sup>-) is usually assumed not to have vocalized before a resonant and an *o*-grade root (the Saussure Effect). Alternatively, it may be thought that the semantic connection of adultery with urinating is not specific enough, and that the etymology must be abandoned.

μόκρων [?] μόκρωνα· τὸν ὀξύ. Ἐρυθραῖοι 'sharp' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Latte *Gnomon* 31 (1959): 32 corrects it to μόκωνα, after the Acarnanian name Μόκων; an adjective \*μόκων would explain μοκκώνεις περιφρονεῖς 'very thoughtful; arrogant' (ms. μοκκώνωσις). Fur.: 341, 372 identifies μόκρων with ἀμακρῶτις = ἀμπελόπρασον 'wild leek, Allium Ampeloprasum' (Ps-Dsc. 2, 150), but it remains unclear on which grounds.

μολγός [m.] 'bag made of cowhide' (Ar. Eq. 963, D. C.), Tarentinian acc. to Poll. 10, 187. <LW Thrac>

•DER μολγινος 'made of ox-hide' (Theodorid. *apud* Poll. 10, 187); μολγης, -ητος [m.] (like πένης, πλάνης, etc.) = μοχθηρός (Crates Gramm. *apud* sch. Ar. Eq. 959), in the same mg. also μολγός (Suid.).

•ETYM Differs from a Germanic word for 'bag, pouch' only in the velar and accent: OHG *malaha*, MHG *malhe* 'leather bag', ON *malr* 'bag' < IE \*mólko-. It has therefore been assumed that Gr. -γ- is due to borrowing, perhaps from Thracian (thus Pok. 747). Also, Go. *balgs* 'ballows, bag', Ir. *bolg* have been compared, in which case μολγός must have been phonetically influenced by ἀμέλγω.

Fur.: 126 assumes a pre-IE Wanderwort. Cf. Taillardat 1962: §§160 and 209, commenting on the meaning 'glutton, κίναιδος'; cf. also Taillardat *REGr.* 64 (1951): 10ff.

μολεῖν 'to go, come'. ⇒ βλώσσω.

μολεύω [v.] 'to cut off and transplant the shoots of trees' (Lex. Att. *apud* Poll. 7, 146); μολοῦειν· ἐγκόπτειν τὰς παραφυάδας 'to engrave the offshoots' (H.). <IE? \*melh<sub>3</sub>- 'come, appear', PG?>

•ETYM Probably built on \*μόλος or \*μολεύς 'runner', from the root of μολεῖν 'to go, come'; see ► βλώσσω. The form μολοῦειν is explained as modelled on κολουῖν. Perhaps, μόλουρος [m.] 'kind of snake', μολουρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'locust' (Nic.) should also be included here? It may be asked, however, whether the variation -ου/-εу- is not rather a Pre-Greek phenomenon. I do not believe in a variation μ/κ as in μολεύω/κολούω (Fur.: 388). See ► μόλουρος.

μόλις [adv.] 'hardly, barely' (trag., Att.). <?>

•VAR = μόγις.

•ETYM No etymology. Earlier proposals (see Solmsen 1909: 169ff.) are problematic: connection with μῶλος 'fight', if from earlier 'trouble', is formally doubtful because of the root vocalism; that with μέλλω 'to be about to do, hesitate, etc.', semantically unconvincing. See ► μογέω.

μολοβρός [m.] scornful or ignominious qualification, referring to Odysseus, who has not yet been identified, by the goat-herd Melanthos and the beggar Iros (ρ 219, σ 26; after this Lyc. 775); also of the head (κεφαλή) of a plant in unknown mg. (Nic. *Th.* 662). <PG(V)>

•DIAL Myc. *mo-ro-qo-ro* /molog<sup>w</sup>ros/.

•DER μολόβρ-ιον [n.] 'the young of a swine' (Ael.), -ίτης ὅς 'id.' (Hippon.). PN Μόλοβρος [m.] (*Th.* 4, 8, 9; Lacon.).

•ETYM Numerous doubtful proposals have been advanced. In antiquity: ἀπὸ τοῦ μολεῖν καὶ παραγίνεσθαι πρὸς βορὰν καὶ τροφήν 'from going, and having recourse to food' (sch. Lyc. 775), which is clearly folk-etymology; and also recently: Neumann *KZ* 105 (1992): 75-80 derives it from \*μολος, related to Skt. *māla*- [n.] 'dirt', and the root \*g<sup>w</sup>rh<sub>3</sub>- 'eat' in βιβρώσσω, assuming a meaning 'Dreckfresser'. Although this is clearly better than earlier proposals, it does not explain the second member -βρος, as \*g<sup>w</sup>rh<sub>3</sub>- would have given \*-βαρο- (I do not accept the loss of laryngeals in compounds). Rather a Pre-Greek word; Fur.: 388 compares κολόβριον 'young of a swine' (Ar. Byz. *apud* Eust.).

μολόθουρος 'evergreen plant, asphodill, Asphodelus ramosus' or = ὀλόσχοινος, 'Scirpus holeschoenus' (Euph. 133, Nic. *Al.* 147). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

μόλουρος [?] unidentified snake (Nic. *Th.* 491). <?>

•ETYM It has been assumed that a word for a locust is derived from this word: μολουρίς, -ίδος (Nic. *Th.* 416). Gow and Scholfield think that it is the snake μόλουρος, but Gil Fernández 1959: 52 translates 'locust'. Hesychius has μολοῦρις· αἰδοῖον 'private parts'· κολοβή λόγχη 'blunt spear(head)'· ἢ μόλις οὐρῶν 'urinating with difficulty' (folk-etymology), and μολουρίδες· βατραχίδες καὶ τῶν σταχῶν τὰ γόνατα 'little frogs, the knees of the offspring' (?); Suid. has μολουρίς, μολουρίδες· μολουρίδας τὰς ἀκρίδας 'locusts' φασί. No etymology.

μολόχη [f.] 'mallow'. ⇒μαλάχη.

μολπή [f.] 'dance with song'. ⇒μέλπω.

μόλσον [n.]? · σελίνου καυλός καί ἄνθος 'stalk and flower of the celery' · οἱ δὲ τὴν ὑποφυάδα (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

μόλσος [m.] ὁ δημός. Αἰολεῖς 'fat (Aeol.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Compared with μέλδω. See Hoffmann 1893: 241, who reads δημός for δῆμος.

μόλυβδος [m.] 'lead' (IA). <LW IE Anat.>

•VAR μόλιβος (A 237, also Hell. prose), alsδ μόλυβος (LXX), μόλιβδος (Plu.), βόλυβδος (Att. defix.), βόλιμος (Delph., Epid.), βόλιβος (Rhod. in περι-βολιβῶσαι).

•DIAL Myc. *mo-ri-wo-do*.

•COMP μολυβδο-χοεῶ 'melt lead, solder with lead' (Ar., inscr.).

•DER A. Substantives: μολύβδ-αινα [f.] 'weight of lead, plummet, ball of lead' (Ω 80, Hp., Arist.), 'a plant, Plumbago europaea' (Plin.), see Strömberg 1940: 26; like ἄκαινα, etc. (Schwyzer: 475, Chantraine 1933: 109); -ίς [f.] 'id.' (Att., Hell.); -ιον [n.] 'leaden weight' (Hp.), μολίβ-ιον [n.] 'leaden pipe' (Antyll. *apud* Orib.), -ίδιον (Hero); μολυβδ-ῖτις [f.] 'lead-sand' (Dsc., Plin.); -ωμα 'lead-work' (Moschion *apud* Ath.); μολυβᾶς, -ἄτος [m.] 'lead-worker' (pap.).

B. Adjectives: μολύβδ-ινος (μολίβ-) 'leaden' (IA, Paul. Aeg.), -οῦς (μολιβ-, μολυβ-) 'id.' (Att., Hell.); -ώδης 'like lead' (Dsc., Gal.), -ικός 'leaden' (gloss.), μολυβρόν· τὸ μολυβοειδές 'like lead' (H.).

C. Verbs: μολυβδόομαι (μολιβ-) 'to be furnished with leaden weights, etc.' (Arist.) with -ωσις (gloss.); περι-βολιβῶσαι 'frame with lead' (Rhod.); μολυβδ-ιάω [v.] 'to have the color of lead' of the face, as a symptom of disease (*Com. Adesp.*).

Here also μολβίς· στάθμιόν τι ἐπταμναῖον (H.) with loss of internal ι or υ (Solmsen 1909: 60<sup>2</sup>).

•ETYM Because of its variants, the word is commonly considered to be an Anatolian loan. The form βολιμος would be due to metathesis and βολιβος due to assimilation. The forms μόλιβος and μόλυβδος are clearly the most archaic; apart from these, there is also Myc. /moliwdos/; and μολιβδος is now also found in Olbia about 500<sup>a</sup>. The Mycenaean form could easily be the oldest, assuming that *i* changed to *u* before *w(d)*.

A connection with Lat. *plumbum* cannot be substantiated. The Latin word is rather related to Celt. \**pl(o)ud<sup>h</sup>o-*, as I have shown in Beekes MSS 59 (1999): 7-14; the Germanic word \**laud-* (E *lead*) was borrowed from Celtic. The Greek word cannot have come from the West (cf. also Basque *berún* 'lead'), as lead was much older in Greece.

The Greek word has now been compared with Lyd. *marivda-*, of which we now know that it meant 'dark' (as in E *murky*); its Hitt. equivalent is \**Marku<sup>u</sup>aija-* 'chthonic deities'. *marivda-* would be an IE word from the root \**merg<sup>w</sup>-*, \**morg<sup>w</sup>iio-* giving \**marwida-*, which may have become \**marwda-* with syncope, which in turn

might have become \**marwida-* by anaptyxis. For the semantics connecting 'lead' and 'dark', cf. Lat. *plumbum nigrum*. See Melchert 2004.

μολύνω [v.] 'to defile, pollute, stain' (Att.). <IE? \**mel(h<sub>2</sub>)-* 'dirt'>

•VAR Mostly present stem; μολυνῶ, μολύναι, -υνθῆναι, etc. (Hell.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, συν-.

•DER μολ-υνσις, -υσμός 'defilement, pollution' (LXX, Str.), -υσμα 'stain' (late), -υμμα 'id.' (gloss.); μολυνίη· ἡ πυγὴ 'behind, rump' (H.), μόλυχον· δυσσταλέον (H.), leg. αὐσταλέον 'dried up'?; Latte gives δεισταλέον 'filthy' vel sim.

Perhaps also the Boeot. HN Μολόεις, if "the filthy one", from \*μόλος?

•ETYM Denominative in -ύνω from an unattested base form. Schmidt KZ 32 (1893): 384 connects it with Lith. *muilvė* 'mud, mire' and the factitive verb *muilvinti* 'to cover with mire'. In order to combine the root vocalism with that of Lithuanian, he assumes \*μαλύνω (like Lith. -ul- from \*-l-), and assimilation \*α > ο before υ in the following syllable, but there are too many counterexamples to such a rule.

Numerous words for 'dark, dirty color' and 'dirt, defilement' are assembled under a root \**mel(H)-*, but only Skt. *māla-* [n.] 'dirt, defilement' is of interest here, with a derivative *mālavant-* 'dirty', which formally matches the hydronym Μολόεις. Both Greek μολύνω and Μολόεις may have been built on older \*μόλος, -ον 'dirt' (cf. αἰσχύνω, σκληρύνω, etc.), which corresponds with the Skt. word if we assume a pre-form \**molH-o-*. Cf. Mayrhofer EWAia, s.v. *māla-*.

Alternatively, Fur.: 227 compares φολύνει· μολύνει (H.), which could point to a Pre-Greek word. See ►μέλας.

μόναπος [m.] Paeonic word for βόνασος, βόλινθος, 'aurochs' (Arist.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also μόναιπος (Arist.), μόνωψ, -ωπος (Ael.).

•ETYM Fur.: 207, etc. adduces μόναιπος (Arist. *Id. Mir.* 830a) and derives μόνωτος (Antig. *Mir.* 53 cod.) from \*μοναφτος < \*μοναπτος; both μόναιπος and \*μοναπτος may continue a Pre-Greek pre-form \**monap<sup>w</sup>-*. Other variants could be βόλινθος and βόνας(σ)ος, but details are unclear.

μονθυλεύω [v.] 'to stuff, fill, etc.' <PG?(V)>

•ETYM If ὀνθυλεύω stands for φονθ-, it may show the characteristic Pre-Greek variation *φ/μ* (Fur.: 246). See ►ὀνθυλεύω.

μόνιμος 'lasting, steadfast'. ⇒μένω.

μόνος [adj.] 'alone'. <IE? \**men-* 'small', \**mon-u-* 'alone'>

•VAR μοῦνος (epic Ion.), μῶνος (Theoc.).

•COMP Frequent as a first member, e.g. μόν-αρχος [m.] 'monarch' (μούν-), with -έω, -ία, etc. (Thgn., Pi., IA).

•DER 1. μονάς, μουνάς, -άδος as an adj. [f., m.] 'lonely' (trag., AP), subst. [f.] 'unity' (Pl.) with μοναδ-ιαῖος 'of uniform greatness' (Hero), -ικός 'consisting of unities, uniform, individual' (Arist.), -ιστί [adv.] 'in unities' (Nicom.), -ισμός [m.] 'formation of unity' (Dam.). 2. μοναχ-ῆ (Pl., X.), -ῶς (Arist.) 'only in one way', -οῦ (Pl., Thphr.) 'only in one place'; μοναχός [adj.] 'single' (Arist., Epicur.), also [m.] 'hermit, monk' (AP, Procop.), Lat. *monachus*, with μονάχ-ουσα [f.] (Jerusalem VIP), -ικός [adj.]

'hermit-like, monkish' (Just., pap. VI<sup>p</sup>); substantive μοναχισμός 'monastic life'; μοναχ-όω 'to get lonely' (Aq.). 3. μουνάξ [adv.] 'lonely, alone' (Od., Arat.), μοναξία 'loneliness' (sch., Eust.) from \*μοναξός like διξός, etc.; PN Μονάξιος (V<sup>p</sup>). 4. μονιός, μούνιος 'living alone, wild' (Call., AP), μονίας [m.] 'lonely man' (Ael.). 5. μονία, -ίη 'loneliness, celibacy' (Max.), μονότης [f.] 'unity' (Sm., Iamb.), 'singularity' (Alex. Aphr. in *Metaph.*). 6. μουνόθεν (Hdt. 1, 116; v.l. -οθέντα), μονά-δην (A. D., EM), μουνά-δόν (Opp.) 'lonely, alone'. 7. Verbs: μονόομαι (μουν-) [v.] 'to be left alone', -όω 'to leave alone' (Il.), with μόν-ωσις 'loneliness' (Pl., Ph.), -ώτης [m.] = μονίας (Arist.), -ωτικός 'left alone' (Ph.); μονάζω [v.] 'to stay alone, separate oneself' (LXX, Christ. authors, gramm.) with μονασμός 'lonely situation' (Eust.), μοναστήριον 'cell of a hermit, cloister' (Ph., pap.), μονάστρια [f.] 'nun' (Just.).

•ETYM PGt. \*μόνφος (whence Ion. μούνος, Att. μόνος) probably stands beside \*μανφός in μᾶνός, ► μανός 'thin, rare', albeit with a somewhat different meaning. The latter agrees with Arm. *manr*, gen. *manu* 'small, thin'. An element -μο- also appears in the synonym \*οἴφος (see ► οἶος), and also in ► ὅλος < \*sol-uo- 'whole'. Otherwise, \*μόνφος is isolated. A different formation may be found in Skt. *manāk* 'a little', Lith. *meñkas* 'scanty', ToB *meñki* [n.] 'lack', etc., which contain a velar. Unrelated is Hitt. *maninku-* 'short, near'.

μόρα → μείρομαι.

μοργίας [f.] · γαστριμαργίας καὶ ἀκρατίας 'gluttony, being without command; incontinence' (H.). <PG?>(V)>

•ETYM It has been suggested that this is the Aeolic equivalent of \*μαργίας. On the other hand, we may also be dealing with the Pre-Greek variation a/o (Pre-Greek, sections 6.1 and 6.3). See ► μάργος.

μόργος [m.] 'twined basket of a chariot, in which straw and chaff was transported' (Poll. 7, 116, H.); acc. to H. also σκύτινον or βόειον τεύχος 'leather ware'. <PG?>

•DER μοργεύω [v.] 'to transport in a μόργος' (Poll. l.c.). Unclear μόργιον· μέτρον γῆς, ὃ ἐστὶ πλῆθρον. καὶ εἶδος ἀμπέλου 'land measure, which equals a plethron; also a kind of vine' (H.). Chantraine reads μόρτιον and connects μορτή, without argumentation.

•ETYM The connection with ► ὁμόργνυμι or Ἀμοργός would presuppose the operation of the Saussure's Law (loss of initial or root-final laryngeal in an o-grade root). However, the connection is semantically unconvincing and speculative. As a technical term, probably Pre-Greek. See ► μάργος.

μοριάι [f.pl.] of ἐλαία, probably to be corrected in μοριαί (Scheller 1951: 128 and 132\*), name of holy olives in Athens (Ar., Lys., Arist.). Thence Ἀθηνᾶ Μορία and Ζεὺς Μόριος as protectors of olive cultivation (S.). Cf. Nilsson 1941(1): 442. <?>

•VAR Rarely sing.

•ETYM Probably from μόρος, μόριον 'lot, share' (see ► μείρομαι), as these trees formed the share due to the goddess in every plantation (Latte in PW 16: 302f.). Nilsson (l.c. fn. 4) refers to "den primitiven Rechtsbrauch, daß ein Baum dem gehört, der ihn gepflanzt hat, auf welchem Boden er auch wächst". Different

explanation by Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 1 (1949): 281 (with Brandenstein): a Pre-Greek word for 'olive', whence several PNs in Asia Minor and Greece were derived, e.g. Μύρα (Lyc.), Μύραι (Thess.).

μορμύρος [m.] name of a sea-fish of the family of the breams (Sparidae), 'Pagellus mormyrus' (Arist., Archestr.); details in Thompson 1947 s.v. <PG?>

•VAR With dissimilation μορμύλος (Dorio *apud* Ath., Opp.); also μύρμη (Epich. 62).

•ETYM According to Strömberg 1943: 76 "probably called after the sound, which arises from its quick movement in the water". The connection with μύρομαι, μύρω 'to flow, trickle' (Strömberg l.c.) is not convincing. Connection with μορμύρω is quite possible, if the fish meant here would properly be the 'bubble-blower'.

Borrowed as Lat. *murmillo* 'gladiator with Gaulish helm, on top of which was a fish'; see WH s.v.

μορμύρω [v.] 'to bubble up, foam', of water (Il., late prose). <ONOM>

•VAR Present stem only; also μυρμύρω (H.).

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, ἐπι-.

•ETYM Onomatopoeic verb with intensive reduplication (Schwyzer: 647 and 258, Chantraine 1942: 376). Such formations are frequent: Lat. *murmurō*, -āre [v.] 'to murmur', Skt. *múrmura-* [m.] 'crackling fire', -ā [f.] name of a river, *marmara* 'roaring', Lith. *murmēti*, *murm(l)ėnti* 'to grumble, murmur', Arm. *m̃m̃-am*, -im < \**murmur-am*, -im) 'id.', etc. See ► μύρομαι.

μορμώ, -οῦς [f.] 'bogey, spectre', also personified and as an interjection (Erinn. [?], Ar., X., Theoc., Luc.). <PG?>

•VAR Also -όνος, -όνα, etc. (Schwyzer: 479).

•DER μορμωτός 'frightful' (Lyc.); μορμύσσομαι [v.] 'to frighten' (Call.), μορμύξαντες (Phryg. IV<sup>p</sup>), also μορμύνει and μορμύρει· δεινοποιεῖ 'scares' (H.). Further the nouns μόρμος and μύρμος· φόβος, μόρμη· χαλεπή, ἐκπληκτική (H.). PN Μόρμυθος (like Γοργώ : Γόργυθος, Leumann 1950: 155<sup>129</sup>); also the PN Μυρμιδόνες? Enlarged verbal form μορμολύττομαι = μορμύσσομαι (Ar., Pl., X., Ph.), μορμολυξάμενος (Gal.) with μορμολύκ-η, Dor. -α [f.] (Sophr. 9, Str.), -ειον (-εῖον) [n.] (Ar., Pl. u.a.) = μορμώ; also μορμορύζω 'id.' (Phot.).

•ETYM μορμώ has been compared with Lat. *formidō* 'terror, fear, ghost' by assuming a dissimilation analogous to that supposed for μύρμηξ beside Lat. *formica*. Further connections are uncertain; it is probably a reduplicated formation like Γοργώ (see γοργός), which was originally used as a terrorizing call, and perhaps cognate to μορμύρω. The by-forms Μομβρώ, Μομμώ (H.) clearly show the popular character of the word. Beside μορμώ, we find both μορμύσσομαι, -ύνει, -ύρει and μορμολύττομαι, -λύκη, -λύκειον, for which πομφόλυξ, πομφολύξαι (to πομφός) may be compared, though dissimilation from \*μορμορύττομαι (Schwyzer: 258) is also imaginable (the nouns μορμολύκη, -ειον are backformations).

A connection with Lat. *formidō*, etc. does not seem obvious. To my mind, it is likely that the words are Pre-Greek, although there is no concrete proof of this. See Fur.: 364.

**μορόεις** [adj.] μορόεντα epithet of ἔρματα 'ear-pendants' (Ξ 183, σ 298). <GR>

•VAR Only ntr.pl. -οεντα; a different word is μορόεις derived from μόρος 'fate (of death)', as in μορόεν ποτόν 'fatal drink' (Nic.).

•ETYM Acc. to H. and Eust. 976, 40 = μετὰ πολλοῦ καμιάτου πεπονημένα 'what has been accomplished with much pain' (from μόρος 'share'; per H., also = πόνος 'labour, pain'); therefore in Q. S. 1, 152 also of τεύχη. Acc. to LSJ, it probably rather derives from μόρον 'mulberry', in the sense 'having the color or shape of mulberry'.

**μόρον** [n.] 'black mulberry, blackberry' (Epich., A., Hp.). <?>

•DER μορέα, -έη [f.] 'mulberry tree, Morus nigra' (Nic., Gal.); μόρινος 'mulberry-colored' (pap.); on ►μορόεις s.v. Here also μαρίδες· μάντεις 'seers' (H.), where the latter must be a mistake for μαντίαι vel sim., which Dsc. 4, 37 gives as the Dacian name of the mulberry (see ►βάτος).

•ETYM Gr. μόρον matches with Arm. *mor*, instr. -*iw* 'blackberry', whence *mor-i*, *mor-eni* 'berry-shrub'. Latin has *mōrum* 'mulberry', whence (as loans) Germanic words like OHG *mūr-bere*, *mōr-bere*, MHG *mülber*. In spite of its long vowel, Lat. *mōrum* may be a loan from Greek; the same holds for Arm. *mor*. Thus, all forms mentioned may go back to Gr. μόρον. For the compounded form συγκόμορον, see ►σῦκον. Pok. 749 gives μῶρον (H.), but I can only find μῶρα· συκάμινα, which Latte corrects to μόρα.

**μόροξος** [m.] 'kind of pipe-clay, used to bleach clothes' (Gal., Aët.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also μόροχθος (Dsc.).

•ETYM The variation ξ: χθ (like in Ἐρεχθεύς : Ερεχσῆς) is typical of Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 263 Anm. 3. The interchange θ/σ may reflect a phoneme \*ʃ (Pre-Greek: section 5.5).

**μόροττον** [n.] ἐκ φλοιοῦ πλέγμα τι ᾧ ἔτυπτον ἀλλήλους τοῖς Δημητρίοις 'kind of wickerwork made of bark, with which people used to beat each other during the Demetria' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM See Nilsson 1906: 323<sup>3</sup>. Fur.: 341 connects Calabr. *marrotta*. A Pre-Greek word is probable (cf. DELG).

**μόρρια** [n.pl.] name of an oriental mineral ('Derbyshire spat' or a kind of agate); also a vessel made of it, "murra vessel" (Paus.). <LW Iran.>

•VAR μούρρινα (Arr.); also μο(υ)ρρίνη [f.sg.] (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*).

•ETYM Probably of Iranian origin; cf. MoP *mori*, *muri* 'glass balls'; the Greek word was borrowed as Lat. *murra*, *vāsa murrina* (whence perhaps μούρρινα, -ίνη?). See also Kretschmer *Glotta* 1 (1909): 337.

**μόρσιμος** [adj.] 'decided by fate, πεπρωμένος', of ἡμαρ = 'day of death', thence also of man (X 13): 'destined to die, mortal' (Il., also Hdt.). <IE \*smer- 'think of, remember, care'>

•ETYM Related to ►μείρομαι, and traditionally derived from \*μόρσις, supposed to be Aeolic for \*smṛ-ti- in the sense of μόρος, ►μοῖρα. This analysis is doubted by DELG s.v. μείρομαι, which prefers a derivation in -σιμος. The connection with the word for

'death' (Lat. *mors*, IE \*mr-ti-) or 'mortal' (►μορτός, ►βροτός) is rightly rejected by Frisk.

**μορτός** [adj.] = ἄνθρωπος, θνητός (H., Call. *Fr.* 271), rather μόρτος (Latte). <IE \*mór-to- 'mortal, man'>

•COMP μορτοβάτιν· ἀνθρωποβάτιν ναῦν (H.), mg. unclear; cf. μορτο-βάτη 'trodden by the dead' (LSJ). As a second member in Ἀγέ-, Κλεό-, Χαρί-μορτος (Lesbos, Syros, Lato), Bechtel 1921, 1: 123; Masson *RPh.* 89 (1963): 218ff. (more names in DELG).

•ETYM DELG correctly remarks that there is no reason to take the gloss as Aeolic, in view of the Doric names. Therefore, the vocalism points to original \*mór-to-, identical with Skt. *márta-* and Av. *marəta-* [m.] 'mortal, man'. See ►βροτός.

**μόρτος**· μέλας, φαιός 'black, grey' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Uncertain. DELG compares μορύσσω and refers to Pok. 734.

**μορύσσω** [v.] Only perf. ptc. μεμορυχμένος (v.l. -γ-) 'defiled, blackened' (v 435, Nic., Q. S., Opp.), also 2sg. aor. opt. μορύξαις 'one should besmear' (Nic. *Al.* 144). <?>

•DER Compar. μορυχώτερον (used as an adverb) 'darker' (v.l. in Arist. *Metaph.* 987a 10), Μόρυχος epithet of Dionysus in Sicily (Sophr. 94), as his face was besmeared with yeast during the wine harvest; also name of a tragic poet (Ar.) with Μορυχία οἰκία (Pl. *Phdr.* 227b); see Praechter *Herm.* 42 (1907): 647.

•ETYM For Μόρυχος, cf. ἥσυχος, βόστρυχος, and other popular words in -χος (see Chantraine 1933: 402ff.); a back-formation from μορύσσω, with analogical -ύσσω, is possible.

Possible Greek cognates are mentioned under ►μόρφος. Outside Greek, Slavic words for 'smear', etc. have been considered, e.g. Ru. *marátv*, *maráju* 'to smear, stain', etc. (but these have IE lengthened grade).

**μορφή** [f.] 'shape, form, beauty, grace' (θ 170 and λ 367), on the mg. cf. Treu 1955: 175f. <?>

•COMP Very often as a second member, e.g. πολύ-μορφος 'with many forms' (Hp., Arist.) with πολυμορφ-ία (Longin., Him.).

•DER Three denominatives: 1. μορφόομαι, -ώω [v.] 'to assume a shape or form' (Thphr., Arat., LXX, NT, Plu.), also with μετα-, δια-, etc., whence (μετα-, δια-)μόρφωσις 'shaping, embodiment' (Thphr., Str., *Ep. Rom.*); μορφ-ώτρια [f.] 'she who shapes, represents' (E. *Tr.* 437), -ωτικός 'forming' (Gal., Procl.); also μόρφωμα 'form' (Epicur., Aq.), but in trag. (A., E.) as an enlargement of μορφή, cf. Chantraine 1933: 186f.

2. μορφάζω [v.] 'to make gestures, behave' (X.) with -ασμός name of a dance (Ath., Poll.), 'to embellish' (Eust.); ἐπι-μορφάζω 'to pretend, simulate' (Ph.).

3. μορφύνει· καλλυπίζει, κοσμεῖ 'to adorn' (H.), after καλλύνω etc.; from ἄ-μορφος: ἀμορφύνειν· οὐ δεόντως πράττειν 'not proceeding as one should' (H., Antim. 72).

Two names: Μορφώ [f.] epithet of Aphrodite in Sparta (Paus., Lyc.), Μορφεύς [m.] son of Sleep (Or. *Met.* 11, 635), after the dream-images created by him. Adjective μορφῆεις 'with beautiful shape' (Pi.).



•ETYM ἀμειφής· αἰσχροῖν (H.) points to a noun \*μέρφος [n.] beside μορφή. A verbal root \*merg<sup>wh</sup>- vel sim. that could be the basis of the verbal nouns \*μέρφος and μορφή is unknown. Lith. *márgas* ‘many-colored, beautiful’ and *mirgėti* ‘to flicker’ (with zero grade), point to a root \*merg<sup>(w)</sup>- (Winter’s Law) and therefore cannot be related. Van Beek (p.c.) suggests that Lith. *mergà* ‘girl’ (which has no good etymology) makes a nice formal match, if from ‘beautiful appearance’; we would have to assume a pre-form \*merg<sup>wh</sup>-h<sub>2</sub>- in which Gr. introduced an *o*-grade. Lat. *fōrma* (the long *ō* is secondary, De Vaan 2008 s.v.) may be a loan from Greek via an intermediary (e.g. Etruscan), but perhaps it could be related to μορφή, assuming a relatively early metathesis \*merg<sup>wh</sup>- >> \*g<sup>wh</sup>erm- > \*g<sup>wh</sup>orm- > form-.

**μόρφνος** [adj.] epithet of αἰετός (Ω 316), also name of a kind of eagle (Hes. Sc. 134, Arist., Lyc.), ‘vulture’ acc. to Suid.; cf. Thompson 1895 s.v. ◀?>

•VAR Accentuation after Hdn. Gr. 1, 173 (following Aristarchus); μορφνός is cited as well.

•ETYM Like the rhyming word ὀρφνός ‘dark’, μόρφνος is usually explained from a meaning ‘dark-colored’ vel sim. (thus already Hdn., Suid.). Similar words are μοριφόν· σκοτεινόν, μέλαν ‘dark, black’ (H.), μορύσσω, Μόρυχος, as well as ►μόρον. Connection with μορφή cannot be proven.

Pisani *RILomb.* 73 (1939-40): 497ff. suggests an Aeolic form \*μορβο-φν-ο-ς < IE \*mrg<sup>w</sup>o-g<sup>wh</sup>n-o-, with a first member related to Skt. *mrgá-* [m.] ‘big bird’, and influenced by the eagle name νηττοφόνος ‘killer of ducks’ (Arist.); doubtful in view of the haplology that has to be assumed. See ►μορφή.

**μόσσυν, -ῦνος** [m.] ‘tower-like building of wood’ (X., A. R., Call., D. H.), also of other wooden constructions (Lyc.). ◀LW?>

•VAR -vois [dat.pl.].

•DER Μοσσύν-οικοι [m.pl.] ‘inhabitant of the μόσσυνες’, name of a people south of the Black Sea (Hecat., Hdt., X., Arist.); μοσσυνικοί· ξύλινοι πίνακες μεγάλοι, ὥστε ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλφιτα μάζσιν ‘large wooden planks, for pressing barley groats in’ (H.); also as an ethnicon in μοσσυνικά μαζονομεῖα (Ar. Fr. 417), cf. H.

•ETYM Stated to be a loan from Iranian (comparing Oss. (Digoron) *masug* ‘turreis’). However, acc. to Brust 2005: 464ff., this must be regarded as uncertain. Fur.: 340 follows a proposal by Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 112 that the word is a pre-IE substrate word.

**μοσσύνειν** ⇒ μασάομαι.

**μόσυλον** [n.] kind of cinnamon (Dsc. 1, 14, cf. Gal. 14, 257). ◀?>

•DER μοσυλίτις a kind of cassia (ib.).

•ETYM Has been compared with the PN Μόσυλοι. Cf. Redard 1949: 67, 74.

**μόσχος 1** [m.] ‘offshoot of plants, slip’ (Λ 105, Thphr.), ‘stalk of a leaf’ (Dsc.); ‘young cow, heifer, calf’ (also fem.), also of other young animals and of young men (Hdt., com., E., pap.). ◀IE \*mosg<sup>h</sup>o- ‘young of an animal’, \*mosg<sup>h</sup>o- ‘young shoot’>

•COMP As a first member almost only in the sense ‘calf’, e.g. μοσχο-τρόφος ‘raising calves’ (pap.), μοσχό-ταυρος [m.] ‘bull as old as a μόσχος’, i.e. ‘bull-calf’ (Al. Le. 4, 3); as a second member only in μονό-μόσχος ‘with one stalk’ (Dsc.).

•DER 1. Diminutive μοσχ-ίδιον ‘small shoot’ (Ar., Ael.), -ίον ‘young calf’ (Ephipp., Theoc.), -άριον ‘id.’ (LXX, pap.).

2. Substantives: μοσχ-άς, -άδος [f.] ‘shoot, slip’ (Pamphylian), after φυνάς etc. (Chantraine 1933: 353), also ‘heifer’ (gloss.); -ίας [m.] ‘young of a animal’ (Poll.), like νεανίας etc.; -ών, -ῶνος [m.] ‘calf-stable’ (pap.); -ῆ [f.] ‘hide of a calf’ (Anaxandr.).

3. Adjectives: μόσχ-(ε)ιος ‘of a calf’ (E., X., Plb., AP); -ινος ‘of calf-leather’ (pap.), -ίνα· οἱ σκιρτητικοί ‘the jumping ones’ (H.). 4. Adverb: μοσχ-ῆδόν ‘like calves’ (Nic.). 5. Verb: μοσχεύω [v.] ‘to plant a shoot’ (D., Thphr., D. H.), also ‘to raise a calf’ (Philostr.), with μοσχ-εῖα [f.] ‘planting of shoots’ (Ph. Byz.), -ευσίς [f.] ‘id.’ (Gp.), -εσμα [n.] ‘shoot, offspring’ (Thphr., pap.), -εσματικός = *malleolaris* (gloss.).

Perhaps related is the EN Μόσχοι ‘youngsters’, see Brandenstein 1954b: 82.

•ETYM The form μοσχίον seems to match Arm. *mozi*, gen. -voy ‘calf’ exactly. However, a number of objections may be raised against the reconstruction of a Graeco-Armenian isogloss (see Clackson 1994: 152-154). First, the Armenian word may have a number of different origins; it is not excluded that it is a borrowing from Greek, for example. Further, the meaning ‘calf’ is comparatively recent in Greek beside ‘stalk, shoot of a plant’, in which meaning μόσχος is traditionally compared with Lith. *māzgas* ‘bud of a tree’. Also, the semantic development ‘heifer, young’ > ‘shoot’ seems strange (though not without parallels: DELG compares E to *sucker*). Now, the Lithuanian word is mostly derived internally from *mēgsti* ‘to knit’, so that a couple of options remain:

1) μόσχος ‘calf’ and Arm. *mozi* are a Graeco-Armenian isogloss \*mosg<sup>h</sup>o-, and Lith. is unrelated.

2) Greek and Lith. are related as \*mosg<sup>h</sup>o-, and Arm. is a loan from Greek.

3) two etyma \*mosg<sup>h</sup>o- and \*mosg<sup>h</sup>o- merged in Greek (improbable).

**μόσχος 2** [m.] ‘musk’ (Aët., Alex. Trall.). ◀LW Iran.>

•DER μοσχίτης = ὀσμύλος, name of a sea-octopus that emits a strong odor (sch. Opp. H. 1, 307).

•ETYM From MoP *mušk* ‘id.’, which is from Skt. *mušká-* [m.] ‘testicle’, because of the shape of the gland; cf. μύσχον· τὸ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ γυναικεῖον μόριον ‘the male and female genitals’ (H.). Late Lat. *muscus* ‘id.’ with *muscātus*, -um also belong here, possibly a borrowing from Greek. All other European forms came from Latin.

**μότα** [n.pl.] · Σαρδιάναι βάλανοι ‘acorns’ (Dsc. 1, 106). ◀PG>

•ETYM Fur.: 304 compares μόστινα κάρνα (a nut-bearing tree, Ath. 2, 52b); further, ἄμωτον = καστανέιον ‘chestnut’ (Ageloch. *apud* Ath. 2, 54d). So an interchange μο(σ)τ- ~ ἄ-μωτ- remains, which points to Pre-Greek origin.

**μοτός** [m.] ‘lint pledget, lint, compress, tampon’ (Hp., Dsc.). ◀PG?(v)>

•VAR τὰ μότα [pl.] (Call., H.), like μῆρός : μῆρα etc., gen. μοτάων (Q. S. 4, 212; verse-final); μοτός ... κοῖλος ‘drainage tube’ (Hp.).

•COMP μοτο-φύλαξ [m.], -άκιον [n.] 'bandage to retain a compress' (medic.), ξιμοτος 'provided or treated with μ.', also 'ulcerating' of wounds (medic. since Hp.), also metaph. (A. Ch. 471), cf. Bechtel 1921(3): 294f.

•DER Diminutive μοτάριον (Gal., EM), Lat. *motarium*; further μόντωμα [n.] 'lint dressing' (Hp., pap.), -ημα [n.] 'linen, oakum' (pap.). Denominative μοτόω [v.] 'to stop up, pack', also with δια-, ἐπι-, περι-, whence (δια-, περι-)μότω-σις 'packing' (medic., LXX), back-formation διάμοτον [n.] 'lint, tent' (Paul.Aeg.); besides ἐμοτέω 'id.' (medic.).

•ETYM Technical medical expressions without etymology. Fur.: 182 compares μόδα-στρώματα 'anything soft for lying on: mattress, etc.'. If this is correct, the word is Pre-Greek.

**μοττία** ⇒ μόχθος.

**μοῦσα** [f.] 'Muse', goddess of song and poetry (usually in plural), also metaph. 'song, music, poetry' (IA, II.). <IE? \*men(s)-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>- whence \*mond<sup>h</sup>-ih<sub>2</sub>, PG?>

•DIAL Aeol. μοῖσα, Dor. μῶσα, Lacon. μῶά (Ar.).

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. μουσ-ηγέτης, Aeol. μοισ-αγέτας [m.] 'who leads (the) Muses' = Apollo (Pi., Att.), ἄ-μουσος 'without Muses, uneducated, etc.' (IA), ἀμουσία 'lack of education' (E., Pl.).

•DER A. Substantives: 1. μουσ-εῖον 'seat of the Muses, school for higher education, Museum' (Att.), Lat. *mūsēum*, -ium, also 'varicolored sculpture of stones, mosaic'; thence late Gr. μουσῖον 'id.' (WH s.v.). 2. Μουσα-ῖσταί [m.pl.] 'guild of worshippers of the Muses' (Rhod.), like Ἑρμαῖσταί etc. 3. μούσωνες: οἱ κορυφαῖοι τῶν μαγείρων, καὶ οἱ τεχνῖται 'the top cooks, i.e. the specialists' (H.), with Μουσώνιος, -ία (if not Etruscan; Solmsen 1909: 49). 4. μουσάριον name of an eye-salve (Alex. Trall.).

B. Adjectives: 1. μουσικός 'belonging to the Muses, musical, educated' with μουσική (τέχνη) 'music, poetry, mental education' (Pi., IA), -ικεύομαι [v.] 'to be a musician' (Duris, S. E., sch.). 2. μοισ-αῖος 'belonging to the Muses' (Pi.). 3. μούσ-ειος 'id.' (E., AP).

C. Verbs: 1. μουσόομαι 'to be led and educated by the Muses' (Ar., Phld., Plu.), -όω 'to endow with music' (Ph.), ἐκ- (E. Ba. 825), κατα- (Jul.), 'to ornate with mosaics' (Tralles), with μουσωτής 'mosaic-worker' (Syria VI<sup>p</sup>); probably a back-formation to μουσῖον (see above). 2. μουσ-ίζομαι (E.), -ίσδω (Theoc.) 'to sing, play', with μουσικτάς ψάλτης, τεχνίτης 'harper, artist' (H.). 3. μουσ-ιάζω 'id.' (Phld.).

•ETYM Although the precise original appellative meaning of μοῦσα is unknown, it is clear that the Muses are connected with poetry and singing. The word may be analyzed either as \*μόντ-ια or as \*μόνθ-ια. It cannot be directly related to \*men- (μένος, μέμονα, etc.). The explanation from \*μόντ-ια (as 'mountain woman, nymph') is impossible, as the root of Lat. *mont-* 'mountain' is not found in Greek (and is actually IE \*men-, LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. ?3. \*men-). More plausible is the comparison of μοῦσα < \*μόνθ-ια with ►μενθήρη, ►μανθάνω. In this context, it may be remarked that the Muses are connected with memory and remembrance, which is indeed the meaning of the root IE \*men- (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 1. \*men-).

So far, all explanations have started from the assumption that the word is IE, while it could also be of Pre-Greek origin (continuing \*mont<sup>h</sup>-a).

**μόχθος** [m.] 'exertion, difficulty, distress, misery' (Hes. Sc., Pi., trag., mostly poet.). <PG>

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. πολύ-μοχθος 'of much labour' (trag., Arist.), also as a technical expression (in construction) in πρόμοχθοι: τὰ προβεβλημένα τῶν τοίχων 'the projecting parts of the walls' (H., also Delos II<sup>a</sup>).

•DER 1. μοχθ-ηρός 'laborious, miserable, worthless, bad' with μοχθηρ-ία 'bad condition' (IA), -όομαι [v.] 'to be troublesome' (Aq.). 2. μοχθ-ήεις (Nic.), -ώδης (Vett. Val.) 'id.'.

Verbs: 1. μοχθ-έω 'to exert oneself, subsist with difficulty' (poet. since K 106), also with ἐκ-, etc., with μοχθήματα [pl.] 'exertions' (trag.); 2. μοχθ-ίζω 'id.' (poet. since B 273), a metrical variant of μοχθέω, see Chantraine 1942: 95, Shipp 1967: 95; 3. μοχθ-όω 'to tire' (Aq.).

•ETYM For the sequence -χθ-, we may compare ἄχθος, ὄχθος, βρόχθος etc. When compared with synonymous ►μόγος, ►μογέω, the words show a variation γ/χθ, which must be Pre-Greek. It is improbable that μόχθος contains an "expressive enlargement" -θ- (Frisk).

Fur.: 319f., 388 connects μοττίας: ᾧ στρέφουσι τῶν ῥυτήρων τὸν ἄξονα 'by which one turns the ἄξων of the reins' (H.) as Cretan for \*μοκτίας.

**μοχλός** [m.] 'handle, lever, long or strong rod', often used to bar doors, 'crossbeam, -bar' (Od.). <PG(V)>

•VAR μοκλός (Anacr. 88).

•DER Diminutive μοχλ-ίον (Com. Adesp., Luc.), -ίσκος (Hp., Ar.), μοχλ-ικός 'regarding the lever' (Hp., Ph. Bel.).

Verbs: 1. μοχλεῦω 'to (re)move with a lever' (Ion. poet., also late prose), also with ἀνα-, ἐκ-, whence μοχλ-εῖα 'removing with a lever, restoring with a lever' (Arist., medic.), -ευσίς 'id.' (Hp.), -ευτής (Ar.), -ευτικός 'pertaining to leverage' (medic.); 2. μοχλέω 'id.' (M 259); 3. μοχλόω 'to shut with a bar' (Ar.).

•ETYM A pre-form \*μογ-σλο-ς with the instrumental suffix has been assumed, as seen in Lat. *pālus* 'pole' < \*pag-slo- from \*peh<sub>2</sub>-g- 'to fix'. The basis has been taken to be the stem seen in ►μόχθος and ►μογέω. The variation κ/χ, and (if correct) the comparison with μόχθος and μογέω, show that the word is Pre-Greek.

**μῠ 1** [n.] the twelfth letter of the Greek alphabet (inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>). <LW Sem.>

•ETYM Transformation of a Semitic name based on vū; cf. Hebr. *mēm*. Ion. has μῠ instead (Democr., Delos III<sup>a</sup>; Schulze KZ 42 (1909): 113), like vῠ based on ῥῠ. Cf. Schwyzler: 140.

**μῠ 2** [interj.] μιμῠ imitation of a complaint (Ar. Eq. 10). <ONOM>

•ETYM Cf. Schwentner 1924: 29 and 50f., and Lat. *mū facere*. See ►μύζω.

**μύαξ, -ἄκος** [m.] '(sea) mussel' or its shell (medic., Plin.); 'spoon' (medic.), from 'shell'. <PG?(S), GR?>

•ETYM Formation like ἀσπάλαξ, μέμβραξ, ὕραξ, and other animal names (Chantraine 1933: 378f.). Probably derived from μῦς (which may also mean 'mussel'), like μυῖσκη, -ος 'id.'; cf. also Lat. *mūsculus* 'mussel', and see Strömberg 1943: 109. Connection with μύω 'to shut (oneself)' is not very probable. Although the suffix -αξ is typically Pre-Greek, it is quite possible that this suffix was added to the IE word *\*muHs* 'mouse'.

μυάω ⇒ μύω.

μυγερός ⇒ μυκαρίς.

μυδάω [v.] 'to be humid, decay (due to moisture)'; (Ion. poet., Plb.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR Aor. μυδήσαι (H.), perf. μεμύδηκα (Dsc.).

•COMP Also with περι-, δια-.

•DER μῦδ-αλέος 'soaked, dripping' (since Λ 54), δια- (A. [lyr.]), -αλόεις 'id.' (AP); μῦδος [m.] 'moisture, corruption' (Nic.) with μυδόεις = μυδαλέος (Nic.), μυδών, -ῶνος [m.] 'putrefaction of an ulcer' (Poll.). (δια-)μύδησις 'moisture, corruption' (medic.), μυδαίνω [v.] 'to moisten, make wet' (A. R., Nic.), also with δια-. For ► μύδρος, which may be cognate, and ► μύζω 'suck', which was wrongly connected.

•ETYM It is doubtful whether μῦδος was the basis of the Greek group, as it is late and rare (see below). A verb or a noun may have served as a basis for μυδαλέος, which is the earlier attestation (formation like ικμαλέος, ἀζαλέος, etc.); beside this adjective (probably with metrically lengthened ῡ), the verb μυδαίνω may have its long vowel by analogy (after αὔαλέος : αὔαίνω, etc., see Schulze 1892: 169ff.). μυδάω is ambiguous too: it can be denominative from μῦδος, but it can also be understood as a deverbative formation (cf. Schwyzler: 719, also 682 on μαδάω), in which case μῦδος would be a late back-formation.

Comparable words outside Greek do not clarify the situation: Lith. *máudyti* 'to bathe' (full grade iterative), may have secondary *d* and is probably related to Latv. *maūt* 'to submerge, swim'; Lith. *mudrūs* 'lively' cannot be from IE *\*mud-*, as the expected reflex of Winter's Law is missing (so it must derive from *\*mudh-*). Further Skt. *mudira-* [m.] 'cloud' (class.), also 'frog' and 'lover' (lex.), where all meanings probably derive from *mūd-* [f.] 'lust, joy', *módate* 'to rejoice'. For the semantics, note Skt. *mádati* 'to rejoice', beside ► μαδάω. Further, MoDu. *mot* 'fine rain' and other Germanic words are compared.

Fur.: 249f., 259 connects μύσος and takes δ/σ to point to Pre-Greek origin. The variation of vocalic length may also point in the same direction.

μύδιον ⇒ μῦς.

μύδος [adj.] ἄφωνος (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR μύνδος (S. Fr. 1072, Lyc. 1375, Call. Fr. 260), in lower Italy 'with small ears' (Rohlf's ByZ 37 (1937): 58f.).

•ETYM The connection with μύνδος (see also on ► μυκός) immediately presents itself, and it would point to a Pre-Greek word (prenasalization). Connection with Arm. *munj* 'dumb' may seem obvious, but is unclear in the end (Clackson 1994: 45 lists

*munj* < *\*mundjo-* as 'somewhat dubious'); it could well be a substrate word. Pok. 751 does not help.

μύδρος [m.] 'metal or iron mass roasted in fire, glowing stones (of a volcano)', etc. (Ion., A., S., Antiph., Arist.) on the mg. see Kagarow *Eos* 31 (1928): 195ff. <PG>

•VAR σμύδρος· διάπυρος σίδηρος 'red-hot iron' (H.).

•COMP As a first member in μυδροκτυπέω 'to forge glowing iron' (A.), -κτύπος (E.).

•DER As a medical technical term, μυδρί-ασις (Ion. -ησις) [f.] 'broadening of the pupils' (Cels., Gal., Cael. Aur.), as if from *\*μυδρ-ιάω* 'to glow like metal'; naming motive uncertain.

•ETYM If related to μυδάω, which is formally proximate (μύδρος : μυδαλέος; cf. Debrunner *IF* 23 (1908-1909): 5 and 9), μύδρος originally denoted the molten, flowing metal mass as opposed to the hard iron. However, the technical meaning rather suggests a Pre-Greek word. This is confirmed by the variant σμύδρος.

μυελός [m.] 'marrow' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Epic ῡ with metrical lengthening. Late Greek has μυαλός, rejected by Phrynichos.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ἀ-μύελος 'without marrow' (Arist.).

•DER μυελ-οίς 'full of marrow' (Od.), -ώδης 'like marrow' (Arist.), -ινος 'soft as marrow' (AP); μυελόομαι [v.] 'to be changed into marrow, consist of marrow' (LXX).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. πημελή 'fat' with comparable meaning. Has been linked with μυών 'cluster of muscles' (see ► μῦς). Marrow and muscles, both being soft, stand in opposition to the bone. The old word for 'marrow', seen in Skt. *majján-*, OHG *mark*, etc. was replaced in Greek by μυελός, and in Latin by *medulla*.

The word has no further etymology. Chantraine 1933: 244 is probably right that the word is Pre-Greek. Fur.: 350 adduces μυαλός as a Pre-Greek variant, but this may be recent and is unreliable.

μυέω ⇒ μύω.

μύζω 1 [v.] 'to suck' (Hp., X.). <ONOM>

•VAR Aor. μυζῆσαι (Δ 218), pres. also μυζ-άω, -έω (Hero, late).

•COMP Also with ἐκ-, ἀπο-. As a first member in μύζουρις 'fellatrix' (Com. Adesp.).

•DER (ἐκ-)μύζησις, ἐκ-μυζ-ηθμός, -ησιμός 'sucking' (medic.), μυζητής [m.] 'caterpillar' (Sm.).

•ETYM Properly "to do μν", because of the position of the lips when sucking, and basically identical with ► μύζω 2. The traditional connection with μυδάω is not obvious semantically. See for further details Tichy 1983: 103f., 143f.

μύζω 2 [v.] 'to mutter, moan' (Hp., A., Ar., Arist.). <ONOM>

•VAR Aor. μύξαι (Men.), fut. μύζω (D. L.), perf. ptc. μεμυζότες (Antim.), after Hom. πεφυζότες.

•COMP Also with ἐπι- in ἐπέμυξαν (Δ 20), ἐπεμύξατο· ἐπεστέναξεν, ἐπεγόγγυσεν 'groaned, muttered' (H.).

•DER μυγμός [m.] 'moan, sigh' (A., Arist.), also 'production of the sound μ' (D. T.); further μυχμός 'id.' (ω 416).

•ETYM Properly "to say μῦ", an old onomatopoeic formation with several correspondences, like Lat. *mūgiō* 'to roar', Hitt. *mūgae*<sup>21</sup> 'to evoke, invoke, entreat', OHG *muckazzen* 'to speak slowly', etc. See Tichy 1983: 150. A connection with ► μύσσομαι may also be envisaged. See ► μυκάομαι, ► μῦθος.

μῦθος [m.] 'word, discourse, conversation, deliberation, story, saga, tale, myth' (Il.); on mg. and use see Fournier 1946: 15f. <PG?>

•COMP μυθολόγος [m.] 'story-teller', whence -έω, -ία (Att.), -εύω 'to tell' (Od.), metr. for -έω; πολύ-μυθος 'rich in words (stories)' (Il., Arist.).

•DER 1. Diminutives: μυθ-άριον (Str.), -ίδιον (Luc.), -ύδριον (Tz.). 2. Adjectives: μυθ-ικός 'belonging to the μ.' (Pl., Arist.), -ώδης 'fabulous' (Att.).

3. Verbs: a) μυθέο-μαι 'to tell' (Il.) with μυθη-τής 'story-teller' (Antig.), μυθητήρες-στασιασταί 'leaders of a revolt' (H.), also μυθιῆται (like οἰκιῆ-ται, πολι-ῆται) = στασιασταί (Anacr. 16; cf. *Coll. Alex.* 248f.); also sing. with unclear mg. (Phoen. 1, 7); b) μυθεύω 'id.' (E., Arist.) with μύθευμα 'tale' (Arist., D. H.); c) μυθίζω 'id.' (Dor. in Ar. *Lys.*, Theocr., AP). On itself stands μύθα·φωνή. Κύπριοι 'voice (Cypr.)' (H.).

•ETYM Frisk thinks that μῦθος is originally a creation of popular and everyday language, drawn from an onomatopoeic element μῦ. DELG objects that there is no trace of sound-imitation, not even in the earliest texts. There are no comparanda; the word is quite possibly Pre-Greek.

μῦῖα [f.] 'fly' (Il.). <IE \*mus-ih<sub>2</sub>>

•VAR Also μῦα.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. μυ(ι)ο-σόβη [f.] 'fan against flies, fly-flap' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>, Men.), ► μύωψ 1 [m.] 'horse-fly; goad, spur', ► κυνάμνια [f.] 'dog-fly'.

•DER 1. μυῖτις, -δος [f.] = θιάσπι, 'Capsella bursa pastoris' (Ps.-Dsc.), also μυιό-πτερον (ibid.), as the partition of the fruit was compared to the wing of a fly (Strömberg 1940: 55). 2. μυϊκός 'pertaining to the fly' (gloss.), μυϊώδης name of a god in Elis, who was also called μυι-αγρος "fly-catcher" (Plin.). 3. μυῖνδα παίειν 'play the game μῦῖα χαλκή' (Poll., H.).

•ETYM Formation with the suffix -ια-, like νήσσα, κίσσα, and other animal names (Chantraine 1933: 98). An old word for 'fly, mosquito' is found in several languages, but it was subject to all kinds of (tabooistic?) transformations. PGr. \*mus-ia, whence μῦῖα, agrees best with Lith. *musià*, *musē* 'fly' and with the Slavic group of OCS *mbšica* 'mosquito'. Lat. *musca* 'fly' has a suffix -k-, and Arm. *mun* (gen. *mn-oy*) 'mosquito' a suffix -n-, if it derives from \*mus-no-. A basis without -s- is possible too, like in ON *mý* [n.] <PGm. \*mū-ia-. Forms with (secondarily developed?) velar are found as well: OHG *mucka* 'id.', Slavic words (with ou-diphthong) like Ru. *múxa* 'fly' < IE \*mous-h<sub>2</sub>-, etc. Onomatopoeic origin (from the humming sound) is quite possible; see WH.

μυκάομαι [v.] 'to low, bellow' (of cattle), metaph. 'to roar, crack' (almost only poet.). <IE \*muH- 'bellow'>

•VAR Aor. μῦκεῖν (Il.), μῦκήσασθαι (Ar.), perf. μέμυκα (Il.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀμφι-, παρα- (κ 413). As a second member in ἐρί-μῦκος 'lowing loudly' (Hom.).

•DER Action nouns: μῦκ-ηθμός [m.] 'the bellowing' (Il.), Chantraine 1933: 137; -ημα 'id.' (E., Arist., Call.), -ησις 'id.' (Arist.); back-formation μυκή 'id.' (A. R.).

Agent nouns: μυκ-ητής, Dor. -ατάς 'the bellowing' (Theoc.), -ήτωρ 'id.' (Nonn.), -ητῖαι σεισμοί (Arist.), "σειόντες τὴν γῆν μετὰ βρόμου" 'shaking the earth with a roar'; cf. on βρασματίας s.v. ► βράσσω; μυκάμων 'bellowing' (*Hymn. Is.*).

Adjective μυκητικός 'bellowing' (Corn., S. E.). Adverb μυκηδόν 'with bellowing' (unknown poet *POxy.* 864, 22).

•ETYM The pair μῦκεῖν : μέμυκα agrees with κράγειν : κέκραγα, λακεῖν : λέληκα, etc. The present μυκάομαι, to which μυκήσασθαι is an innovation, was formed from this pair after intensive verbs like βέβρυχα: βρύχασθαι (Fraenkel 1912: 95f.<sup>3</sup>); on the middle diathesis, see Schwyzler 1950: 227.

The Greek verb has direct counterparts in Balto-Slavic and Germanic: Lith. *mūkti*, 1sg. *mūkiū* 'to bellow', Ru. *myčát*, Ukr. *múkaty*, etc., MHG *mühen* 'id.'. Lat. *mūgiō*, etc. have IE \*g (see on ► μύζω 2).

μυκαρίς [?] · νυκτηρίς 'bat' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM The assumption of a taboo reshaping of νυκτηρίς based on μυκτήρ, μύξα, μύκητες, etc. is unconvincing. Latte thinks the gloss is corrupt (see DELG), but this cannot be maintained as there is no argument. Fur.: 122 compares μυγερός = νυκτικόραξ 'long-eared owl' (Cyrano. 29), so the word could be Pre-Greek.

μύκη [f.] · ἡ θήκη 'chest, box' (Suid.). <PG?, IE? \*mu(H)k-n>

•VAR Cf. μύκων· σωρός, θημῶν 'heap' (H.), and ἀμύκαρις· πλῆθος, ἄθροισμα 'mass, aggregate' (H.).

•ETYM The identification is by Fur.: 372. If the third gloss is correctly compared, the ἄ- is evidence for a Pre-Greek word. Pok. 752 compares ON *múgi* 'heap', OE *mūga* 'heap, mass', Bav. *Mauche* 'Auswuchs, Fussgeschwulst der Pferde'. See now Kroonen 2009: 116ff. on the possibility to reconstruct an IE n-stem for μύκων beside a Proto-Germanic paradigm nom. \*mūhō, gen. \*mukkaz.

μύκηρος [m.] 'almond, kind of nut' (Ath. 2, 52c and 53b, H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Lacon. μούκηρος, acc. to Seleuc. and Pamphil. *apud* Ath. 2, 52c and 53c Laconian and Teian for ἀμυγδάλη; another by-form is ἀμυχθαλόεις; further forms given are ἄμυκτον· γλυκύ 'sweet'. οἱ δὲ ἄμικτον (H.), and ἀμυκλῖς· γλυκύς, ἡδύς 'id.' (H.), see Fur.: 140.

•COMP μουκηρό-βατος (Ath. 2, 53b), -βας (H.) 'καρυοκατάκτης, nutcracker', probably for -βάγος = -φάγος to (φ)άγνυμι 'break'; cf. βάγος· κλάσμα 'fragment, morsel' ... Λάκωνες (H.); details in Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 95f.

•ETYM The variants (prothetic ἄ-, υ/ι, κτ/ γδ/ χθ, etc.) show that the word is Pre-Greek.

μύκης, -ητος [m.] 'mushroom', also metaph., e.g. 'mushroom-like protuberance, any knob or rounded body, cab or cap at the end of a scabbard, snuff of a lamp-wick, membrum virile' (IA). <PG>

•VAR Gen. also -ου (Ion. -εω), plur. -αι.

•DER μυκήτ-ινος 'made of mushrooms' (Luc.), μυκόμαι 'to become like a mushroom, become spongy' (medic.).

•ETYM Traditionally taken to be a formation in -ι(τ)- from a noun possibly found in Lat. *mūcus* 'snivel, mucus of the nose'; for the development of meaning, cf. Sln. *glíva* 'agaric' beside Lith. *glėivės* 'slime'; for further details, see ►μύσσομαι. However, Fur.: 298 correctly remarks that the meanings of this word cannot all be explained by derivation from μύσσομαι 'to snuff, blow one's nose'. He assumes a basic meaning 'prominent, extremity', as μύκης may also mean 'stump of a felled olive tree' (inscr.). He connects the word with μύσκλοι· οἱ πυθμένες τῶν ξηρῶν σύκων 'stalks of dried-up fig trees' (H.), which implies that the word is Pre-Greek (interchange κ/σκ). On the suffix -ις, -ιτος in Pre-Greek, see Fur.: 172<sup>118</sup>.

**μύκλος** [adj.] 'lascivious, lewd' (Archil. 183 as a PN, Lyc. 771, H.), as epithet of the pack mule (Lyc. 816), also name of the ass itself? (*PTeb.* 409, 7, I<sup>p</sup>; written μοικ-, reading very uncertain). Acc. to H., μύκλοι or μύκλαι are 'black stripes at the neck and feet of the ass'; according to *EM* 594, 18 and sch. Lyc. 771, μύκλος is 'a fold on the ass's neck'. <PG(V)>

•VAR Cf. μύσκλοι (below).

•DER μυχλός, a Phocaeen name of a stallion ass according to H., but also = σκολιός, ὀχευτής, λάγνης, μοιχός, ἀκρατής 'twisted, someone lewd, lecherous, adulterer, not in control'; cf. also μύσκλοι· σκολιοί (H.).

•ETYM μυχλός has been reduced to a pre-form \*μυκσλός and identified with Lat. *mīlus* 'mule', if from \**mukslo-*; a deviating formation is found in Alb. *mushk* 'mule' as well as in Slavic forms like ORu. *měskŭ* 'mule'.

As the breeding of mules originates from Pontic Asia Minor (cf. on ►ὄνος), Frisk remarks that we are probably dealing with a *Wanderwort*. I do not agree with this: the variants (notably κ/χ, σκ) are typical for Pre-Greek words (*Pre-Greek* section 5.5), and thus receive an easy explanation. Fur.: 299<sup>25</sup> thinks that μύκλος is a separate word.

**μυκός** [adj.] · ἄφωνος 'speechless' (H.), alphabetically in a wrong position. <PG?, ?>

•VAR With dental stop: μυττός, μύτης, μύδος (H.), μύνδος (S. Fr. 1072, Lyc. 1375, Call. Fr. 260), in lower Italy 'with small ears' (Rohlf's *ByzZ* 37 (1937): 58f.), μυναρός (H.) 'id.'.

On itself sands μύρκος· ὁ καθόλου μὴ δυνάμενος λαλεῖν. Συρακούσιοι, ἐνεός, ἄφωνος 'who is unable to speak at all, dumb' (H.); μυρικᾶς· ἄφωνος, ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχων ὃ μέλλει πράττειν 'who keeps for himself what he is going to do' (H.), cf. von Blumenthal 1930: 42.

•ETYM Skt. *mūka-* 'dumb' has been compared. Perhaps from sound-imitating *mū*. For the dental formations, cf. Lat. *mūtus*. Arm. *munj* 'dumb' < \**mun(d)jo-* (?) can be connected with μύνδος. Lat. *murcus* 'mutilated' (he who cuts off his thumbs, so as to avoid becoming a soldier) corresponds formally with μύρκος; it is rather a loan from Latin in Sicily than the other way around (see WH s.v.).

Does μυρικᾶς continue a Pre-Greek form \**mur<sup>h</sup>-k-*? The other forms do not fit in easily; it is very unclear whether the words with μυ(ν)δ- belong here. The form μύνδος may be a prenasalized variant beside μύδος (and must therefore be retained *pace* Latte, whose note is unclear to me). It seems that μυναρός is a misreading for \*μυνδρος.

**μύκων** [?] · σωρός, θημῶν (H.). ⇒ μύκη.

**μυλαικά** [n.pl.] a kind of figs (Ath. 3, 78a). <GR>

•ETYM Perhaps from a place called Μυλαι.

**μυλάσασθαι** [v.] · τὸ σῶμα ἢ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμῆξασθαι. Κύπριοι 'to wipe off the body or the head (Cypr.)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Taken as a denominative from \*μύλη or \*μῦλον, and connected with a Slavic word for 'soap': Cz. *mýdlo*, Ru. *mýlo*, etc. These derive from a Slavic verb *myti* 'to wash' < \**m(i)uH-* with the instrument suffix \**-d<sup>h</sup>lo-*, which is the Slavic equivalent of Gr. \**-tro-*. The connection is therefore highly improbable.

**μύλη** [f.] 'handmill, mill', '(the lower) millstone' (Od.), metaph. 'molar' (LXX), 'kneecap, hard formation in a woman's womb' (Hp., Arist.). <IE \**melh<sub>2</sub>-* 'grind'>

•VAR Hell. and late also μύλος [m.] (LXX, NT, Str.), cf. Fraenkel 1912: 58.

•COMP μυλο-ειδής 'like a millstone' (H 270), μυλή-φατος 'ground by a mill' (β 355, A. R., Lyc.); χειρο-μύλη 'quern' (X.), also -μυλος (*Edict. Diocl.*), -μυλον (Cass. Fel.), cf. on βούτυρον; diminutive -μύλιον (Dsc., pap.).

•DER A. Substantives: 1. μύλαξ, -ακος [m.] 'millstone, big rounded stone' (M161, AP, Opp.), cf. λίθαξ etc. (Chantraine 1933: 379). 2. Hence, with a suffix -ρ-, μύλακρος [m.] 'millstone' (Alcm.), plur. = γομφίοι ὀδόντες 'molars' (H.); -ακρίς, -ίδος [f.] as an attribute of λᾶας 'millstone' (Alex. Aet.), substantively 'cockroach', also (influenced by ἀκρίς) 'locust' (Ar. Fr. 583, Poll.); also -αβρίς 'id.' (Pl. Com., Poll.), perhaps after ἄβρος, ἄβρα; -ηθρίς 'id.' (Poll.). 3. μυλών, -ώνος [m.] 'millhouse, mill' (Att.) with -ωνικός 'miller' (pap.), diminutive -ώνιον (gloss.). 4. μυλωθρός [m.] 'miller' (Att., Arist.); cf. Chantraine 1933: 373 on the rather unclear formation; hence -ωθρίς [f.] 'milleress' name of a comedy of Euboulos; -ωθρικός 'belonging to a miller' (Plu.), -ωθρέω 'to grind' (Men.); back-formation -ωθρον = μυλών (Phot.)? Also -ωθριαῖοι epithet of καλυπτῆρες (perhaps = 'roof-tiles', Delos II<sup>a</sup>, reading uncertain); also μυλωρός 'miller' (Aesop., Poll.), after πυλωρός, etc. 5. diminutive μυλάριον 'small handmill' (pap.). 6. μυλεύς [m.] epithet of Zeus as keeper of mills (Lyc.). 7. μυλίας [m.] (λίθος) 'millstone, stone from which millstones were made' (Pl., Arist., Str.), see Chantraine 1933: 96. 8. μυλίτης [m.] (λίθος, ὀδούς) 'millstone, molar' (Gal.). 9. Μυλόεις ποταμός Ἀρκαδίας 'a river in Arcadia' (H.), but cf. the HN Μολόεις, usually connected with Skt. *māla-* 'dirt', s.v. ►μολύνω.

B. Adjectives, all rare and late: 1. μύλ-ιος 'belonging to a mill' (Procop.); 2. μυλ-ικός 'id.' (Ev. Luc., Gal.); 3. -ινος 'consisting of millstones' (Smyrna); 4. -αῖος 'working in a mill' (AP), -αῖον [n.] 'handmill' (pap.); 5. -ιαῖοι ὀδόντες 'molars' (medic.); 6. -οίς 'consisting of a millstone, belonging to a mill' (Nic., Nonn.); 7. -ητική ἔμπλαστρος 'remedy for toothache' (Gal.).

C. Verbs, all rare: 1. μυλιάω only in μυλιόωντες [ptc.] 'gnashing with the teeth' (Hes. *Op.* 530), on -ιάω Schwyzler: 732; 2. μυλόομαι 'to be hardened, cicatrized' (Hp.). On itself stands μύλλω = βινέω (Theoc. 4,58) with μυλ(λ)άς [f.] 'whore' (Phot., Suid.), μυλλός [m.] 'cake in the form of the pudenda muliebria' (Ath. 14, 647a; Sicilian).

•ETYM The primary verbal noun μύλη, secondary μύλος (perhaps after λίθος or ὄνος ἀλέτης), and the primary *yod*-present μύλλω are consistent in their *u*-vocalism, which is now explained by Vine 1999b: 565 as a raising \**oli* > *uli*, comparing φύλλον beside Lat. *folium*, and a few more examples. The *u* then spread from μύλλω to μύλη before the former lost its agricultural meaning.

The *yod*-present is seen in OHG *muljan*, ON *mylia* 'to crush', from a zero grade which also appears in W *malu* 'to grind' and Årm. *malem* 'to crush'. Further verbal forms are OIr. *melim* [1sg.], OCS *meljo* [1sg.] from \**melH-*, Go. *malan*, Lith. *malù* [1sg.] from an *o*-grade, like Hitt. *malla-*<sup>i</sup> / *mall-* < \**molH-ei*; Lat. *molō* is probably from \**melō* like OIr. *melim*.

The technical meaning 'grind' may have evolved as a specialization from 'rub' or 'crush'. As a verbal noun, μύλη looks archaic in Greek, while μύλλω, which developed an obscene meaning, was replaced by ▶ἀλέω, which was also inherited, but limited to the eastern languages. ▶μάλευρον stands by itself. Remarkable is the *e*-vowel of Myc. *me-re-u-ro* 'meal' and *me-re-ti-ri-ja* 'female grinders', which seems to point to a root \**melh-* instead of the usual reconstruction \**melh<sub>2</sub>-*.

**μύλλον** [n.] 'lip' (Poll. 2, 90). <ONOM?>

•DER Verbs μυλλ-αίνω, -ίζω (Phot., Suid.), μυλλάω in μεμύλληκε· διέστραπται, συνέστραπται 'distort the mouth, make mouths' (H.). With intensive reduplication μοιμύλλειν· θηλάζειν, ἐσθθίειν 'to suck, eat'. καὶ τὰ χεῖλη προσάπτειν ἀλλήλοις 'attach the lips to each other' (H., Hippon., *Com. Adesp.*), cf. μοιμυάω s.v. ▶μύω.

Adjective, probably a back-formation: μυλλός (cod. -ύ-) = καμπύλος, σκολιός, κυλλός, στρεβλός 'bent, curved, crippled, twisted' (H.), also Eust. 906, 54 'swivel-eyed'.

•ETYM Frisk compares a Germanic group with a single consonant: OHG *mūla* [f.], MHG *mūl* [n.] 'mouth, jaws', and further Skt. *mūla* [n.] 'root', but acc. to Mayrhofer KEWA s.v., Dravidian origin cannot be excluded for the latter. It does not seem that μύθος is connected, nor that the gemination is expressive. Perhaps an onomatopoeia.

**μύλλος** [m.] name of a Pontic fish, also found in the Danube (Ar. *Fr.* 414, Ephipp., Gal., Ael.). <?>

•VAR μύλος (Opp.).

•ETYM As there is no further specification of the fish (see Thompson 1947 s.v.), all explanations are up in the air. Therefore, the connection with the group of μέλας, under the assumption that we are dealing with the mullet (Strömberg 1943: 22; see also WH s.v. *mulleus*), is a pure hypothesis. Borrowed as Lat. *mullus*.

**μύλλω** = μύλη.

**μῦμα** [n.] 'meat, cut up and mixed with blood, cheese, honey, vinegar and tasty herbs' (Com. *apud* Ath. 14, 662 d). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained. See ▶μυττωτός.

**μῦμαρ** ⇒ ἀμύμων.

**μυναρός, μύνδος** ⇒ μυκός.

**μύνη** [f.] 'pretext, πρόσφασις' (φ 111). <?>

•DER Aeol. μύναμαι in μυνάμενος [ptc.] (Alc. Z 69), mg. uncertain: 'to pretend?', 'to divert'?

•ETYM The former connection with ἀμύνω, ἀμεύσασθαι is impossible because the prothetic vowel developed from a laryngeal, provided that the latter words are IE. μύνη might be a back-formation from μύναμαι (Hamm 1957: 143<sup>352</sup>).

**μυλλάκια** [n.pl.] 'kind of shoes' (Poll. 7, 89, Ath. 351a). <GR>

•ETYM Reported (by Poll.) to have been named after their inventor.

**μύξα 1** [f.] 'slime'. ⇒ μύσσομαι.

**μύξα 2** [f.] 'kind of plum-tree'. <PG>

•ETYM Fur.: 129<sup>52</sup> (also 393) compares μυσκλον 'id.' (Orib. *Syn.* 6, 43).

**μύραινα** [f.] 'kind of eel, moray' (Sophr., A., Ar.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Epich. -ῦ-; σμύραινα (Pl. *Com.*, Mnesim., Arist.).

•DER μῦρος (Dorio *apud* Ath. 7, 312f), σμῦρος (Arist.) [m.] 'kind of sea-eel'; cf. e.g. λύκαινα : λύκος; extensive treatment in Thompson 1947 s.vv.

•ETYM Connected with σμῦρις 'emery powder', etc. by Wood *AmJPh.* 49 (1928): 172, and with words for 'grease, fat', e.g. OHG *smero* < IE \**smer(u)-* (Pok. 970f.), which would fit the eel as a fat creature.

However, this does not explain the Greek ῦ. Names of fishes are often Pre-Greek. The suffix -αίνα is well-known in such words (Fur.: 171<sup>117</sup>), as is the prothetic σ-. Therefore, it is a clear Pre-Greek word.

**μυρίκη** [f.] 'tamarisk' (Il.). <PG?(S)>

•VAR Originally ῖ; ῖ from metrical lengthening, see Solmsen 1901: 14f.

•DER μυρίκ-ινος 'of the tamarisk' (Z 39, pap.), -ίνεος 'id.' (AP), -ώδης 'tamarisk-like' (Thphr.); Μυρικαῖος epithet of Apollo in Lesbos (sch. Nic. *Th.* 613).

•ETYM Ending in -ίκη (like ἐλίκη, ἀδίκη), μυρίκη is a loan of unclear origin, probably Pre-Greek word. In favor of Semitic origin is Lewy 1895: 44: connection to Hebr. *mārar* 'to be bitter' because of the bitter bark (cf. μυρίκη· δυσώδης H., related to Aram. *mōrīqā* 'crocus?'); cf. also ▶μύρρα?

**μῦριος** [adj.] 'countless, immense', usually plur. (Il., poet.). <?>

•VAR μύριοι [pl.] 'ten thousand' (Hes. *Op.* 252).

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. μυριό-καρπος 'with countless fruits' (S.), -φόρος (ναῦς) 'freighter carrying 10,000 measures' (Th.); also μυριόντ-αρχος 'commander of 10,000 men' (A., after ἐκατόντ-αρχος).

•DER μυριάς, -άδος [f.] 'the number 10,000, myriad' (IA); μυρι-οστός 'ten thousandth' (Att.), after ἐκατοστός, εικοστός; -αστός 'id.' (Hell.), after μυριάς; -οστός [f.] = μυριάς (X.); μυρι-άκις 'ten thousand times' (Att.), also -οντάκις 'id.' (H.

as an explanation of μυριάκις; after ἑκατοντάκις); μυριονταδ-ικός 'of the number ten thousand' (Theo Sm.), from \*μυριοντάς after ἑκατοντάς.

•ETYM No etymology.

**μύρμηξ, -ηκος** [m.] 'ant', metaph. 'submarine rock' (IA, Lyc.), also as a proper name (Hdt.), also 'gauntlet with metal studs' (Poll.). For the mg. cf. μυρμηκία 'ant-hill; throng of people'. <IE \*morui- 'ant'>

•VAR Dor. (Theoc.) μύρμᾶξ, -ᾱκος. Also μύρμος (Lyc.), βύρμαξ, βόρμαξ, ὄρμικας (H.).

•COMP Rare in compounds, e.g. μυρμηκο-λέων (LXX) and λεοντο-μύρμηξ (Hdn. Gr.), name of a fabulous animal. Cf. Risch *IF* 59<sup>\*</sup> (1949): 256.

•DER 1. μυρμηκ-ία [f.] 'ant-hill' (Arist., Thphr.), 'crowd' (Com. Adesp., H.), 'triller, arpeggio' (Pherecr.). 2. μυρμηκ-ία 'wart under the skin', or the irritation caused by it (Hp., Ph.), with μυρμηκία [v.] 'to be afflicted with warts' (LXX), whence -ίασις (medic.). 3. μυρμήκ-(ε)ιον [n.] name of an ant-like spider (Nic., Plin.). 4. μυρμηκίας λίθος 'stone with ant- or wart-like lumps on it' (Plin.), ~ χρυσός 'gold dug out by μύρμηκες' (Hld.). 5. μυρμηκίτις (λίθος) 'id.' (Plin.). 6. μυρμηκ-ώδης 'ant-like' (Plu.), -ώεις 'full of warts' (Marc. Sid.), metrically lengthened from -όεις. 7. μυρμηκίζω as a medical expression 'to feel as though ants were running under the finger' i.e. 'to be quick and feeble' (of the pulse); 'to itch' (medic.). On itself stands μυρμηδών-ξυνοικία τῶν μυρμηκῶν, a transformation of μύρμηξ, and μυρμηδόνες: οἱ μύρμηκες ὑπὸ Δωριέων (H.), a derivation from μύρμιος (see above) after τενοθηδών and other insect names; cf. also σφηκῶν and other names of habitation in -ών.

•ETYM The suffix is found in σκώληξ 'worm, maggot', σφήξ 'wasp', etc. Parallel forms with a velar suffix (probably genetically unrelated to μύρμηξ) are Lat. *formīca* 'ant' and Skt. *valmīka*- [m., n.] 'ant-hill'. The basic form was probably \**morui*-. It is found in various forms, most of which underwent some deformation, perhaps of tabooistic origin. Influence of \**u(o)rmol/i*- 'worm' may also be assumed.

IE \**morui*- is directly continued in Av. *maoiri*-, OIr. *moirb*, ORu. *morovij*, etc.; IE \**mour*-, \**meur*- in e.g. ON *maurr*- [n.] < PGm. \**maura*-, OSw. *myra* [f.] < PGm. \**meuriðn*-. Other forms are Skt. *vamrá*- [m.] (cf. also *valmīka*- above) and βόρμαξ, βύρμαξ, where β- probably stands for f-; in ὄρμικας, a f- may have been lost. In Lat. *formīca*, the f- may go back to m- by dissimilation (cf. on μορμῶ); it would then be close to μύρμηξ.

**μύρομαι** [v.] 'to shed tears, bewail' (Il.), later (Lyc., A. R.) also 'to flow' (of a river) and 'to drip' (of blood). <ONOM>

•VAR Only pres. and ipf. (3pl. ipf. μύρον Hes. Sc. 132), except for aor. μύρασθαι (Mosch.).

•COMP Also with περι-, προσ-.

•ETYM If it originally refers to a murmuring sound, μύρομαι is onomatopoeic, and related to ►μορμύρω. The connection with Lat. *muria* [f.] 'pickle', Lith. *mūrti*, 1sg. *mūrstu* 'to become wet', etc. is not preferable. Probably derived from the same root is the second member of ἄλι-μυρήεις, -μυρής, an epic epithet of ποταμῖος, πέτρη, etc., although its proper meaning remains uncertain.

**μύρον** [n.] 'sweet-smelling oil, salve, perfume' (Archil., Lesb. lyr., IA). <?>

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. μυρο-πώλης 'seller of salves' (Att.). μυρ-εψός [m.] 'preparer of unguents' (Critias, Arist.).

•DER 1. Substantives: diminutives μυρ-ίδιον (Ar.), -άφιον (Arr.); μυρίς [f.] 'salve box' (Poll.), cf. σπυρίς, also = μυρρίς (Thphr.), see ►μύρρα; μύρωμα [n.] = μύρον (Ar. Ec. 1117); μυρίνης οἶνος (Hell., com., Ael.), beside μυρρίνης (see ►μύρρα and ►μύρτος). 2. Adjectives: μυρ-ηρός 'belonging to μύρον' (A., Ar.), like ἐλαιηρός; -όεις 'full of salves, smelling like salves' (AP, Man.), -ώδης 'salve-like' (sch.). 3. Verbs: μυρίζω (IA), συμρίζω (Archil.) 'to salve, perfume'; μυρόμαι 'to be salved or perfumed' (Ar. Ec. 1117 [v.l. μεμύρισμαι]).

•ETYM Evidently a culture word, μύρον may be a loan (thus Chantraine 1933: 16). Traditionally connected as IE (together with σμύρις 'emery') with a Germano-Celtic etymon for 'smear, fat': OHG *smero* 'smear', OIr. *smi(u)r* 'marrow' (perhaps also in Lat. *medulla* if < \*(s)meru-lo-). However, this comparison does not explain the Greek -u-. The isolated form συμρίζω may rest on association with σμύρις, σμύρνα, but it may also be a variant.

►μύραινα is also a Pre-Greek word on account of the variants in συμ-, and probably unrelated. See also ►σμύρις, ►σμύρνα.

**μύρρα** [f.] 'myrrh, sweet-smelling wood of the myrrh-plant' (Sapph., Thphr.). <LW Sem.>

•DER μυρρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'sweet cicely, Myrrhis odorata' (Dsc. 4, 115) beside μυρίς (Thphr. CP 6, 9, 3) from (or after?) μύρον (cf. below). μυρρίτης (-τις) [m., f.] name of a stone (Plin., "myrrhae colorem habet"), and of a wine (*Edict. Diocl.*); also μυρρίνης (scil. οἶνος; Hell. com.), if not from ►μύρτος or ►μύρον.

•ETYM From Semitic, cf. Aram. *mūrā*, Hebr. *mōr*, Arab. *murr* 'myrrh' (Lewy 1895: 42ff.); should ►μυρική also be included here? Borrowed as Lat. *murra*, *murrina*. According to Ath. 15, 688c, μύρρα stems from μύρον. μύρρα was replaced by unrelated σμύρνα, ►σμύρνη, which had the same meaning; this may in turn be a back-formation from Συμρναία [adj.] (properly 'Smyrnaean'), which arose as an epithet of μύρρα. Further details in Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 1 (1949): 272f.

**μύρσος** [adj.] •κόφινος ὧτα ἔχων 'basket with ears', ὅς καὶ ἄρριχος 'a kind of wicker basket' (H., Call. Fr. anon. 102). <PG?(V)>

•ETYM Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 5 (1955): 112 compares Etr. *murś* 'urna'. Fur.: 65 accepts this, and further compares (213) βυρρός· κάρθαρος. Τυρρηνοί 'dung beetle'; metaph. 'drinking cup' (H.). Probably Pre-Greek.

**μύρτος** [f.] 'myrtle, twig or spray of myrtle' (Pi., Simon.). <PG(V)>

•VAR μύρτον [n.] = μυρσίνη (Archil. acc. to EM 324, 14), 'myrtleberry' (Att.), 'pudenda muliebria' (Ar.); on the difference in gender see Schwyzler 1950: 30.

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. μυρτο-πώλης [m.] 'myrtle seller' (*Sammelb.* I<sup>a</sup>), ιερό-μυρτος [f.] = μυρσίνη ἁγία (Ps.-Dsc.).

•DER 1. μύρτινος 'of myrtle' (Eub., Thphr.), Att. μύρρινος, also μύρτινος; μυρσίνη, Att. -ρρ- [f.] 'myrtle, -twig, -crown' (IA), μυρσινο-ειδής (*h. Merc.* 81), μυρσιν-ίτης (οἶνος) 'myrtle wine' (Dsc.), 'kind of stone' (Plin.), probably after the color, 'kind of



Euphorbia' (Dsc.), after the form of the leaves, acc. to Strömberg 1940: 43; -ινος 'of myrtle' (Dsc., Aët.), Μυρριν-οῦς, -οῦντος [m.], -οῦττα [f.] names of Attic demes, with -οῦσιοι [pl.] 'inhabitants of M.'; μυρσινᾶτον ἔλαιον 'myrtle oil' (medic.); also μυρτίνη [f.] 'kind of olive, kind of pear-tree' (Nic.). 2. μυρτίς, -ίδος [f.] 'myrtle-berry' (Hell.), also μυρτία· μυρσίνη, καὶ μυρτίς (H.), μυρτάς, -άδος [f.] 'kind of pear-tree', etc. (Nic., Gal.). 3. μυρτίδανον [n.] 'myrtle-like plant', etc. (Hp.), perhaps from μυρτίς, cf. ἐρευνθέ-δανον 'madder', Strömberg 1940: 147f. 4. μυρταλῖς· ἡ ὀξύμυρρῖνη, ὡς Λάκωνες 'butcher's broom (Lacon.)' (H.), like συκ-αλῖς etc. (Strömberg 1940: 78). 5. μυρτ-ίτης = μυρσιν-ίτης (Thphr., Nic.). 6. μυρτεών, -ῶνος [m.] 'murtetum' (gloss.), also μυρσεών 'id.' (gloss.). 7. μυρτωταῖ [f.pl.] 'vases decorated with myrtle-twigs' (vase-inscr., *Am/Arch* 31, 349f.; like μῆλωτή etc.). 8. μύρτων, -ωνος [m.] 'weakling, debauchee' vel sim. (Luc. *Lex.*). 9. μυρτίλωψ· ζῷόν τι 'an animal' (H.); formation like αἰγίλωψ etc. with a Pre-Greek suffix. TNs and PNs like Μύρτος, Μυρτώος, Μύρσινος, Μύρσος, Μυρτίλος, Μυρσίλος, etc.; see Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 1 (1949): 271.

•ETYM Because of the phonetic similarity and their semantic proximity, μύρτος, μύρρα, μυρική are usually considered to be mutually cognate Semitic loans without further argumentation, as first stated by Lewy 1895: 42ff. (see especially Heubeck op. cit. 282, with further hypotheses). However, the variation μυρτ-/μυρσ- points to Pre-Greek origin (see Fur. 259) and should not be explained by assuming all sorts of cross-influence. Semitic origin is also rejected by DELG. Heubeck (l.c.) takes the group as coming from Asia Minor, which does not exclude that it is Pre-Greek.

Lat. *murtus*, -um, as well as Arm. *murt*, MoP *mürd*, were borrowed from μύρτος, -ov.

**μῦς, μύς** [m.] 'mouse, rat' (IA, etc.), metaph. of sea-animals: 'mussel, kind of whale', etc. (A. *Fr.* 34 [= 59 Mette]); details in Thompson 1947 s.v., on the naming motive see Strömberg 1943: 109f.; also 'muscle' (Hp., Arist.); cf. below. <IE \*muHs 'mouse'>

•VAR μῦν [acc.sg.] analogical, see below.

•COMP μυ-γαλῆ (-ή) [f.] 'shrew-mouse' (Hdt., com., Arist.), μυο-θήρας [m.] 'mouse-catching snake' (Arist., sch.), ἄ-μυος 'without muscle' (Hp.), also μυσ-κέλενδρα [n.pl.] 'mouse dung' (Dsc., Moer., Poll., H.); for the second member cf. Lat. *musc-erda* 'id.', but unclear in detail.

•DER 1. Diminutive μυτίδιον (Arr., M. Ant.), also μύδιον 'small boat' (D. S.), 'small forceps' (medic.); μυῖσκη, -ος 'small sea-mussel' (Hell.). 2. On ►μύαξ, -ἄκος [n.] 'sea mussel', see s.v. 3. μύων, -ῶνος [m.] 'cluster of muscles, muscle' (P 315 and 324, A. R., Theoc.). 4. μυωνία (rather -ιά) [f.] 'vulva', properly 'mouse hole', as a term of abuse for a lewd woman (Epicr. 9, 4), directly from μῦς like ἰωνία from ἴον, etc.; more in Scheller 1951: 45f., 70f. 5. Adjectives μυώδης 'muscular' (D. S., Plu.), also 'mouse-like' (Plu.); μύειος 'of the mouse' (An. Ox.), μύϊνος 'with the color of a mouse' (EM, Phot.). 6. μυω-τός epithet of χιτών (Poll.), 'mouse-colored' or 'of mouse-skin'? also name for an arrowhead (Paul. Aeg.), also 'having muscles' (Clearch.); thence μύομαι 'to be or become muscular' (medic.), trans. -όω.

•ETYM Old IE name of the mouse, retained in several language families: Lat. *mūs*, *mūr-is*, OHG *mūs*, Skt. *mūṣ-*, etc.; the acc. μῦν must therefore be secondary for \*μῦα by influence of ὕν to ὕς, ὕός, etc.

The vocalic length was caused by a laryngeal, for which there are two indications: the accent of SCr. *mīš*, and ToB *mašcitse* 'mouse', with *mas-* < \*mwās- < \*muHs-. A variant with short vowel has been wrongly supposed in Skt. *muṣkā-* [m.] 'testicle'; cf.

► μόσχος 2.

The metaphorical meaning 'muscle' (after the mouse-like movement of certain muscles under the skin) can be observed in other languages too: beside Greek, also in Germanic (OHG and OE 'muscle of the upper arm'), Lat. *mūsculus* 'small mouse, muscle', Arm. *mukn* 'mouse, muscle'. Derivation from the verb for 'steal' in Skt. *muṣ-* (pres. *muṣṇāti*, *mōṣati*) is purely hypothetical. On several plant names containing the word for 'mouse', see Amigues *RPh.* 74 (2000): 273f.

**μύσος** [n.] 'pollution, defilement, horrible sight' (Emp., trag., Hp.). <?>

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. χερομυσής 'polluting the hands' (A. *Ch.* 73) with verbal interpretation of the second member, μυσ-αχθής 'cumbered by μύσος, horrible' (Nic., AP).

•DER Adjectives: μυσαρός 'polluted, defiled, horrible' (Hdt., E., Ar.), -ερός (Man.), cf. μιαρός/-ερός; cf. μυσαρία (Sm.); also μυσά· μιαρά, μεμιασμένα, μυσαρά 'polluted' (H.). Verbs: 1. μυσάττομαι, -αχθῆναι, -άξασθαι 'to feel defiled, loathe, abhor' (Hp., E., X., Luc.), whence μύσαγμα = μύσος (A. *Supp.* 995) and expressive μυσάχνη [f.] 'prostitute' (Archil. 184), = μισητή, ἀκάθαρτος 'to be abhorred, unclean' (H.), μυσαχρόν· μεμιολυσμένον 'stained' (H.), cf. βδελύττομαι : βδελυχρός. 2. μυσάω = μυσάττομαι (Aq.). 3. μυσιᾶω 'to abhor, loathe' (Corn.), after verbs of disease in -ιάω. With velar enlargement (but perhaps a Pre-Greek variant) in μύσκοις· μιάσμα, κῆδος 'pollution, anxiety' (H.), cf. μιάχος s.v. ►μιαίνω.

•ETYM μύσος recalls μῖσος, but remains without certain etymology. A couple of isolated words meaning 'unclean' from Celtic, Germanic and Slavic are compared in Pok. 742: e.g., OIr. *mosach* < \*mussāko-, LG *mussig* 'dirty', Ru. *múslit* 'to suck, beslaver'. The group has been compared with the root of μυδάω 'to be moist, decay' as \*mud-s-o-, but this remains hypothetical. The sparsely attested forms ►ἀμυσχρός, ►ἀμυχρός could be related if μύσος is Pre-Greek.

**μύσσομαι** [v.] 'to blow one's nose, snort' (Hp., Epic. in *Arch. Pap.* 7, 5); also act. 'to wipe off' (Pl., E., Arr., AP), metaph. 'to deceive' (Men., H.). <IE? \*mug-, \*muk-'slime, glide', PG?(V)>

•VAR Fut. μύξομαι.

•COMP Usually with ἀπο- 'id.' (Ar., X., Arist.), also with προ- 'to deceive sbd. for money' (Hp.), 'to snuff a lamp' (Ar. V. 249 v.l. for πρόβυσον), 'to extort money'.

•DER 1. μυκτηρ, -ήρος [m.], often plur. 'nostril' (Ion., com., X.), also 'mockery' (Timo), as a back-formation from μυκτηρίζω, 'mockery' (Plu., Luc.); thence μυκτηρίζω (ἀπο- H.) 'to bleed at the nose' (Hp.), 'to be mocked' (Lys. *Fr.* 323, S., LXX), whence -ηρισμός 'mockery', -ηρίσματα [pl.] (H. as an explanation of ἀποσκώμματα), -ηριστής [m.] 'mockery' (Ath.). 2. μύξα, -ης [f.] 'slime, mucus', also 'nostril, snout,

spout of a lamp' (Hes. Sc. 267, Ion., Arist.), with several derivatives: diminutive μυξάριον (M. Ant.); μυξώδης 'slimy, full of slime' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.); μυξ-ωτήρες [pl.] (Hdt., Hp.), -ητήρες (Gal.) 'nostrils' (cf. τροπότηρ, κωπητήρ, etc.); μυξ-άζω, -άω 'to be slimy' (sch.); fishnames: μύζων, -ωνος [m.] 'kind of mullet' (Arist.), as a back-formation μύζος 'id.' (Ath.), cf. κόκκων : κόκκος, etc. (but see below on the derivation); μυξίνος 'id.' (Hices. *apud* Ath.), like κορακίνος, etc. 3. ἀπόμυξ-ις 'snuffling' (Plu.), -ία 'mucus' (AB, H.). On ►μύκης 'mushroom', see s.v.

•ETYM μύσσομαι is a *yod*-present; Latin has a nasal present *ē-mungō* 'to wipe the nose' (cf. σχίζω beside Lat. *scindō*). Frisk explains μύξα as follows: in the same way as κνίσση and κνίσσα may go back to the *s*-stem supposed in Lat. *nīdor*, μύξα could go back to an *s*-stem perhaps continued in Lat. *mūcor* [m.] 'mold, moistness' (Solmsen 1909: 238f.). He then asserts that μύζων, μύζος can be derived directly from μύξα. For the sporadic forms with συμ- (συμύσσεται and συμυκτήρ H., συμύζων Arist. beside μύζων), Frisk adduces a Celtic parallel in Gael. *smùc*, *smug* 'mucus'. Further proposed cognates include Mlr. *mocht* 'weak' < \**muk-to-* (problematic, see Matasović 2008 s.v. \**muxto-*), the Germanic group of ON *mjúkr*, and Latv. *mukls* 'marshy'.

To my mind, the forms μύξα, μύζος, μύζων (the above derivation of which seems doubtful) beside μυκ-, as well as the existence of variants with initial σ-, could also point to Pre-Greek origin. On μύσκος, μίασμα (H.), see ►μύσος. See ►μύζω 2, ►μυχθίζω.

**μύσταξ, -ακος** [m.] 'upper lip, moustache' (Stratt., Eub., Theoc., LXX), a Doric and Laconian word (cf. Arist. *Fr.* 539). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR μύττακες, μυκαί (cod. μύκαι). Σικελοί. Ἴωνες (leg. Λάκ-) πώγωνα 'beard' (H.). On βύσταξ see below.

•ETYM According to Ehrlich KZ 41 (1907): 288 and Güntert 1914: 128, a transformation of μάσταξ 'mouth' by influence of the rare ►βύσταξ 'moustache' (Antiph.), which has itself been explained as an innovation. Frisk assumes a cross of μάσταξ and μύλλον 'lip', which seems improbable. Both the variation μ-/β- and the variant μύττακες point to Pre-Greek origin; see Fur.: 218, 304.

**μυστήριον** = μύω.

**μυστίλη** [f.] 'piece of bread, scooped out as a spoon' (com. Ath., Aret., Poll.). ◀PG(S)▶

•DER Diminutive μυστιλάριον (Poll.), denominative μυστιλάομαι [v.] 'to gulp out soup with a μυστίλη' (Ar.). Further μύστρον [n.] 'id.' (Nic. *Fr.* 68,8 = Ath. 3,126b), also -ος [m.] (Poll., Hero Mech.), also 'spoon, especially as a measure or dose' (medic., pap.), μυστρο-θήκη [f.] 'spoon-case' (pap.); diminutive μυστρίον (medic.).

•ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek word because of its suffix -ίλη-, which is frequent in these words. For the suffix of μυστίλη, one may compare ζωμίλη, στροβίλη, μαρίλη, πέδιλον, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 249). For an Indo-European etymology, one would have to assume a nominal basis, e.g. \*μύστον, -ος, for which there is no further connection. The notation μυστύλ(λ)η, -άομαι is due to confusion with ►μυστύλλω.

**μύστιξ** [adv.] · ἄμα τῷ σκότει 'at the time of darkness' (H.). ◀GR▶

•ETYM From μύω, with an adverbial suffix, see Janda *Sprache* 40 (1998): 21.

**μυττός** [?] · τὸ γυναικεῖον 'female genitals' (H.). ◀PG(V)▶

•ETYM Fur.: 218 compares βύττος τὸ γυναικαῖον αἰδοῖον 'id.' (H.), which proves Pre-Greek origin. See ►μυκός.

**μυττωτός** [m.] 'dish, kind of paste', made of cheese, honey, garlic, etc. (Hippon., Anan., Hp., com., Thphr.). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR Also -σσ- (Hp. *Loc. Hom.* 47), -σ- (Call. *fr.* 282).

•DER μυττωτεύω [v.] 'to change into a μ., to hash up' (Ar.), μυσσωτεύματα· ἀρτύματα 'condiments' (H.).

•ETYM For the realia, cf. on μῦμα. A formation in -ωτός, probably denominal (cf. Chantraine 1933: 305f., Schwyzer: 503). In view of the variation -ττ-/-σσ-/-σ-, the word is Pre-Greek.

**μυχθίζω** [v.] 'to blow the nose, sniff; to ridicule' (Theoc., Plb., AP). ◀PG?▶

•VAR ἀνα-μυχθίζομαι 'to sniff, sigh loudly' (A. *Pr.* 743); in H. also προμυχθίζει and ἐπεμύχθισαν, the latter as an explanation of ἐπέμυξαν.

•DER μυχθισμός [m.] 'snorting, mocking' (Hp., E., Aq.); μυχθώδης 'snorting' (Hp.), as if from \*μύχθος (cf. below).

•ETYM An expressive present, related to ►μύσσομαι and ►μύζω 'to moan, sigh'. Frisk suggests that the starting point for the present μυχθίζω may have been the aorist μύξαι, μύξασθαι, perhaps via an intermediary \*μύχθος (see above), or alternatively after βρόξαι : βρόχθος : βροχθίζω. The element μυχθ- could be Pre-Greek (not in Fur.).

**μυχλός** = μύκλος.

**μυχός** [m.] 'the innermost place, interior, corner, hiding-place, storage room' (Il.); on the mg. in Homer see Wace *JHS* 71 (1951): 203ff. ◀PG?▶

•VAR μυχά [pl.] (Call. *Del.* 142). On μοχοί- see below.

•COMP ἐπτά-μυχος 'with seven hiding-places' (Call.).

•DER 1. μύχιος 'innermost' (poet. since Hes. *Op.* 523, late prose); several superlatives, all from μυχός: μυχοίτατος (φ 146), from the loc. -μυχοῖ in μοχοῖ· ἐντός. Πάφιοι 'inside' (H.); μυχαίτατος (Arist.); -τερος (Hdn. *Epim.*), after μεσαί-τατος, -τερος, etc.; μύχατος (A. R., Call.), after ἔσχατος, etc.; μυχέστατος (Phot.). 2. μύχ-αλος = -ατος (trag. anon. μύχαλα Τάρταρα; also E. *Hel.* 189 [lyr.]?), cf. μυχάλη· βυθός θαλάσσης 'depth of the sea' (Phot.), cf. ἄλη· and βύσσαλοι· βόθροι 'holes' (H.). 3. μυχώδης 'full of corners' (E.). 4. μυχάς [f.] = μυχός (*Lyr. Adesp. Oxy.* 15 II 4). 5. μυχόομαι [v.] 'to be hidden in a corner' (sch.).

On μύσχον· τὸ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ γυναικεῖον μόριον 'male and female private parts' (H.), connected by Fick KZ 43 (1909-1910): 149 assuming \*μύχ-σκον, see ►μόςχος 2.

•ETYM As a fourth series of stops (\**k<sup>h</sup>*, etc.) is not assumed anymore, the genetic connection with Arm. *mxem* 'to immerse' (Frisk) is obsolete, but it was semantically doubtful anyway. The Gm. group of ON *smjúga* 'to slip in', MHG *smiegen* 'to nestle' may theoretically derive from IE \**smeugh<sup>h</sup>*, like Greek, but the Gm. words may also go back to \**smeuk*, and correspond to OCS *smykati se* 'to drag on, cooper', Lith.

*smūkti* 'to glide (away)', etc. Fur.: 364 thinks that μυχός is Pre-Greek, but without further arguments (see ►βυθός and Fur.: 254). One argument could be the gloss βύσσαλοι, if it really belongs here; another, the gloss μοχοῖ· ἐντός with a vocalic interchange.

**μῦω** [v.] 'to close, be shut', of the eyes: 'to shut the eyes, abate', especially with κατα- (S. Fr. 774, Call., Nic.). ◀IE? \**meus-*, \**meuH-* 'shut'►

•VAR Aor. μῦσαι (Ω 637), late μῦσαι (AP), fut. μῦσω (Lyc. 988), perf. μέμυκα (Ω 420).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐπι-, κατα-, συν-. As a first element in μύ-ωψ, thematically enlarged -ωπός "with closing eyes", i.e. 'near-sighted' (cf. Sommer 1948: 9<sup>2</sup>).

•DER 1. Adverb in -τί with privative α: ἀμυστί 'without closing (the lips), at one draught' (Hp., Pherecr.), whence ἀμυστις [f.] 'drinking at one draught' (Anacr., Epich., E.), whence ἀμυστίζω [v.] 'to empty the cup at one draught' (E., Plu.). 2. (σύμ-, κατά-)μύσις [f.] 'closing' (Hp., Thphr., Plu.). 3. μύστης [m.] 'sbd. initiated (in the Eleusinian mysteries)' (Heraclit., Ar., E.), probably from "who shuts his eyes", in opposition to the ἐπόπτης "the observer": he who has reached the highest degree; μύστις [f.] name of comedies of Antiph. and Philem., also in LXX; μυστικός 'belonging to the μύσται (mysteries), secret' (IA), μυστήριον, usually -ια [pl.] 'secret service' (IA), μυστηρ-ιώδης, -ικός, etc.

Beside μύω stands μυέω (mostly pass. μυέομαι) 'to be initiated', secondarily act. 'to initiate' (IA), aor. μυηθῆναι, μυῆσαι, fut. μυηθήσομαι, perf. μεμύημαι; rarely with ἐν-, συν-, προ-. The mg. probably developed from 'to have one's eyes closed' (cf. μύστης). Thence μύησις [f.] 'initiation' (Hell., inscr., Ph.).

On itself stands μυάω 'to shut the lips (the eyes?)' (only in Ar. Lys. 126 τί μοι μυᾶτε; explained with σκαρδαμύττετε by H.), also μοιμυάω (H., Phot.); perhaps constructed from the passage in Ar.; but cf. the reduplication in μοιμύλλω s.v. ►μύλλω.

•ETYM The present μύω can be explained either from \**mus-je/o-*, or from \**muH-je/o-*. The short vowel in the aor. μῦσαι, like that of φθάσαι, etc., may perhaps be explained from an older root aor. (Frisk suggests that μῦσαν Ω 637 stands for older \*μῦν); μῦσαι can be secondary after μύω. The fut. μῦσω derives from the aorist. The innovative presents μυέομαι and μυέω may have arisen from non-presentic forms enlarged with η, like μυηθῆναι, μεμύημαι; cf. Schwyzler: 721. The perfect μέμυκα recalls other intransitive perfects, like ἔστηκα, βέβηκα, etc., and could be a recent formation.

From other languages, Oettinger 1979: 161ff. connected Hitt. *munnae-<sup>zi</sup>* 'to hide, conceal', which is followed by Bernabé and Rodríguez Somolinos *Glotta* 71 (1993): 121-129. μύω cannot belong to ►ἀμύνω, however, which requires a root \**h<sub>2</sub>meu-*. The connection with Pal. *muš-* 'to satiate oneself' as IE \**meus-* 'to shut oneself' by Janda *Sprache* 40 (1998): 21 is semantically not very attractive. Finally, Fur.: 378 compares ►ἀμύνω and considers the possibility of Pre-Greek origin.

So: either the root was \**meus-*, in which case the perfect was innovated, or it was \**meuH-*, when the aorist and nominal forms like μύστης are young.

**μυωξός** [m.] 'dormouse' (Opp. K. 2, 574). ◀PG?(S)►

•ETYM The proposal to derive μυωξός from a pre-form \**μυ-ωκ-ιος*, a verbal governing compound of μύω 'to shut' and the IE root \**h<sub>2</sub>k<sup>w</sup>-* 'eye, sight', with a suffix -ιο- and compositional lengthening, is untenable: it would have resulted in -σσ-, not in -ξ-. Unclear is μυωξία, glossed ὑβριστικός λόγος by H. and Suid.; according to Suid., it also means 'mouse-hole', ►μυωπία. If so, the first member may be μῦς, but it may also be folk etymology. The word is rather Pre-Greek, cf. ►μόροξος for the suffix.

**μυωπία** [f.] 1. 'mouse hole' (Arist., Ael.); 2. 'shortsightedness' (Aët.). ◀GR►

•ETYM In the first meaning, a compound of μῦς and ὀπή 'hole', with compositional lengthening and suffixal -ια; cf. Scheller 1951: 45f. In the second meaning, the word is derived from ►μύωψ 2 'shortsighted'.

**μύωψ 1, -ωπος** [m.] 'goad, spur; gadfly', also 'stimulus' (A., Pl., X., Arist.). ◀PG?(S)►

•DER μυωπίζω [v.] 'to spurn' (X., Plb.); μυωπίζομαι [v.] 'to be stung by gadflies' (X., J.).

•ETYM Boisacq's proposal \**μυί-ωψ* "with the aspect of a fly, fly-like" is called doubtful by DELG. The suggestion of a special use of μύωψ 2 (Gil Fernández 1959: 81-4) is not convincing either. For the suffix -ωψ in insect names, cf. κώνωψ 'gnat, crane fly' and Sommer 1948: 9<sup>2</sup>. Since κώνωψ is probably a Pre-Greek word, the same may hold for μύωψ as well.

**μύωψ 2, -ωπος** [adj.] 'shortsighted' (Arist.). ◀GR►

•DER μυωπία 'shortsightedness', -ωπίας [m.] 'shortsighted man' (Poll., Paul. Aeg.), -ωπίας = -ωπία (Gal.), after the words for diseases in -ίας, as if from \**ωπιάω*; μυωπάζω [v.] 'to be shortsighted' (2 Ep. Pet. 1, 9). Also thematic μυωπός 'id.' (X. Cyn.).

•ETYM Properly "with eyes getting shut", from μύω and ὥψ. See ►μύωψ 1, ►μύω.

**μω** [?] Name of a letter. = μῦ 1.

**μωκάομαι** [v.] 'to mock, ridicule, insult' (LXX, Epicur., Agatharch.). ◀PG(V)►

•COMP Sporadically with prefix, like δια-, κατα-.

•DER μωκός [m.] 'mockers, insulting' (Arist., LXX), μωκία 'mockery', μώκος [m.] 'insult' (Anon. *apud* Ath., Simp.), μωκάζω (Suid.), -εύω (Zonar.) 'to insult'; μώκημα (LXX), δια-, κατα-μώκησις (Plb., Ath.) 'mockery'.

•ETYM Formally (cf. βρωμάομαι, πωτάομαι, etc.), it is obvious to take μωκάομαι as an intensive deverbative; the rare forms μωκός and μώκος must then be back-formations. One might also compare intensives like μηκάομαι and μυκάομαι, but further details are obscure. According to an anonymous spokesman (*Stud. itfilol.* N.S. 1, 93), the word was originally used for a camel (κάμηλος μωκάται), an indication which could point to onomatopoeic origin. Fur.: 133 compares μώχεται· φθονεῖ (H.) with a different velar, and concludes to a Pre-Greek word. See ►μῶμιος.

**μῶλος** [m.] 'battle, turmoil of battle' (Il., σ 233, Hes. Sc. 257; after these Archil. 3). ◀IE? \**meh<sub>3</sub>-* 'get tired'►

•COMP As a second member in εὐμῶλος· ἀγαθὸς πολεμιστής, εὖοπλος 'good fighter, well-armed' (H.), Εὐμωλίων (Sparta); further in the following words from Gortyn, which semantically belong together: ἀντίμωλος 'ἀντίδικος, opponent in court', ἀντιμωλία· δίκη εἰς ἣν οἱ ἀντίδικοι παραγίνονται 'trial in which the adversaries are present' (H. s.v. μωλεῖ), ἀμφίμωλος 'about which a trial is held, disputable', ἀμωλεῖ 'without trial', uncertain ἀγχεμω[λία], perhaps = ἀγχιστεία?

•DER Denominative verb μωλέω [v.] 'to go to court, litigate' (Gortyn), also with ἀμφι-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-; μωλεῖ· μάχεται 'battles', μωλήσεται· μαχήσεται, πικρανθήσεται 'will be embittered' (H.). Here probably also Μώλεια [n.pl.], name of an Arcadian festival (sch. A. R. 1, 164).

•ETYM Connection with Lat. *mōlēs* 'heavy mass, effort, etc.' (Frisk) is by no means certain: the original meaning would then be 'effort, labor' vel sim. (cf. μῶλος Ἄρης), whence 'fight' (cf. πόνος), and thence, with transition to the juridical sphere, 'lawsuit' (cf. διώκειν, φεύγειν; see Trümper 1950: 160ff., Ruijgh 1957: 95f.).

A better solution seems to separate a suffix *-l-*, and connect a group of Germanic and Slavic words: OHG *muoan* 'to cumber, bother' (G *müde*), Ru. 1sg. *máju* 'to exhaust, tease', Lith. *pri-si-muol-ėti* 'to get tired'. See LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*meh<sub>3</sub>-*. See ► μόλις, ► μῶλυσ.

μῶλυ [n.] name of an unknown plant (κ 305, *Com. adesp.* 641), identified in various ways by later authors (Plin., Dsc., Ps.-Dsc., Poet. *de herb.*). According to Thphr. (*HP* 9, 15, 7) it is an Arcadian name for a kind of garlic 'Allium nigrum'; also μῶλυσ ῥίζα (Lyc. 679). See Ferrari *RILomb.* 88 (1995): 12ff. ◀PG?(V)▶

•ETYM A foreign word, which may be compared with ► μῶλυζα. This has a non-Greek suffix (cf. κόνυζα, ὄρυζα), which means that our word is probably Pre-Greek, too. For the *u*-stem, cf. μίσυ, βράθυ, σῶρυ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 119). All proposed IE etymologies (see Frisk) have to be rejected.

μῶλυζα [f.] name of a kind of garlic (Hp.). ◀PG(S)▶

•ETYM Related to μῶλυ with the same ending as in κόνυζα, ὄρυζα, ῥίζα, etc. See also André *RPh.* 84 (1958): 235. As the ending can hardly be explained in Indo-European terms, it must be Pre-Greek. It could represent /-dʰa/ or /-tʰa/.

μῶλυσ, -υος [adj.] '(mentally) enervated; dull, feeble, weak' (S. *Fr.* 963. Nic., Demetr. Lac.). ◀?▶

•VAR Also μῶλυξ· ἀπαίδευτος 'lacking education, stupid' (H.), cod. -δ-, cf. von Blumenthal 1930: 42f.; μῶλυκα· τὸν ἀπαίδευτον. Ζακύνθιοι (H.); μωλυρόν· νωθρόν, βραδύ 'sluggish, slow' (H.).

•DER μωλύω [v.] 'to boil imperfectly, scald, simmer', med. 'to become powerless, fade away', especially of wounds: 'to fail to come to a head' (Hp., Arist.), also -ύνω, -ύνομαι; aor. pass. μωλυ(ν)θῆναι, perf. med. μεμώλυσμαι, rarely with ἀπο-, κατα-, δια; μωλύεται· γηράσκει 'becomes old', μεμωλυσμένη· παρειμένη 'slack, weakened' (H.). Verbal nouns μώλυσις (-υνσις) [f.] 'scalding, simmering' (Arist., Thphr.), opposite of ἐψησις; -υτής ἐπέων mg. uncertain (Timo).

•ETYM For μωλύω (whence μωλύνω), compare κωλύω. The much rarer μῶλυσ could be a back-formation. With velar: μῶλυξ like κόρυξ· νεανίσκος 'boy' (H.), see κόρη;

μωλυρός like ἐχυρός, καπυρός, etc., if not dissimilated from -υλός. Because of the unclear meaning and formation, μῶλυσ is etymologically hard to assess.

Connection with μέλεος does not explain the long vowel -ω-. Comparison with μῶλος is mentioned by Pok. 746. Petersson 1923: 18 relates μωλύω to μολοῦω (see μολεύω), like κωλύω to κολοῦω. As Frisk remarks, everything remains hypothetical. The suffix -υκ- looks Pre-Greek.

μῶλαξ [?] a Lydian name for wine (H.). ◀PG?(V)▶

•ETYM Fur.: 219 compares βωληνή = ἄμπελος, a kind of vine in Bithynia (Gp. 5, 17, 5). If correct, the word seems Pre-Greek in view of the interchange.

μῶλωψ, -ωπος [m.] 'stripe, wale, weal, bruise' (Hyp., Arist., LXX, medic.). ◀PG(S)▶

•DER μωλωπ-ικός 'stripy' (Gal.), -ίζω [v.] 'to make stripes, wallop, bash' (Aq., Plu.).

•ETYM The analysis as a compound containing -ωψ 'eye, sight, etc.' is wrong. Words like these contain a suffix -ωψ (see e.g. ► κώνωψ) and are certainly of Pre-Greek origin. Any relation with *\*mel-* 'black' (μέλας, μολύνω) is out of the question.

μῶμαι [v.] 'to strive, try, desire' (poet.). ◀?▶

•VAR 3sg. μῶται (Epich.), 3pl. μῶνται (Euph. [III<sup>a</sup>]), opt. μῶτο (Stob.); perhaps also El. μαῖτο, see Fraenkel 1910: 45, Bechtel 1921, 2: 854; inf. μῶσθαι (Thgn.), ptc. μῶμενος (A., S.), aor. ἐμώσατο· εὗρεν, ἐτεχνάσατο, ἐξήτησεν 'invented, contrived, investigated' (H.).

•DER μῶσις [f.] 'searching' (Corn.).

•ETYM It cannot be established whether the primary verb μῶμαι is an athematic formation or a *yod*-present (cf. Schwyzler: 675<sup>8</sup>). There is little support for the supposition of Bechtel 1914 s.v. μαμάω, that μῶμαι derives from a lost perfect. The hapax ἐμώσατο is an innovation from μῶμαι. Connection with the reduplicated verb ► μαμάω and the ambiguous ► μαίομαι is possible. Prellwitz *BB* 26 (1901): 309ff. connected the Gm. group of Go. *moþs* 'courage, fury', followed by Pok 704f.

μῶμος [m.] 'blame, reproach, blemish' (poet. β 86, late prose), 'stain of a sacrificial animal' (LXX). ◀?▶

•VAR μῶμιαρ [n.] (Lyc.).

•COMP ἄ-μωμος 'without blame' (Ion. poet.), μωμο-σκόπος 'who inspects the sacrificial animal for a blemish', together with -σκοπέομαι, -έω (Ph.).

•DER μῶμι-μος 'with blame' (Stoic.); cf. νόμιμος, etc. Denominative verbs: 1. μωμάομαι 'to blame, abuse, defame' (Ion. poet. since Il.), Ion. -έομαι, rarely with ἐπι-, δια-; thence μῶμημα (LXX, v.l.), -ησις (sch.) 'blame', -ητής [m.] 'censurer' (Hp.), -ητικός 'ensorious' (Hell.), -ηλός 'blameful' (Hld.). 2. μωμεύω [v.] 'id.' (ζ 274, Hes. *Op.* 756), in order to avoid contracted forms, cf. λωβάομαι next to λωβεύω (see ► λῶβη). 3. μωμαίνω [v.] 'id.' (Hdn. *Epim.*).

•ETYM Beside μῶμος stand μῦμιαρ· αἴσχος, φόβος, ψόγος 'shame, fear, blame' and μυμαρίζει· γελοιάζει 'jests' (H.); the old connection with ἀμύμων 'noble, royal, vel sim.' as a privative formation from *\*mūma* is rather doubtful. Ablaut ω (from *\*ōu*) : υ is hardly possible, in spite of examples like ζωμός : ζύμη. The word remains isolated, but cf. μωκάομαι, μῶκος for the meaning.

**μῶνυξ, -υχος** [adj.] 'with one hoof, mostly plur., of horses, as opposed to the split hooves of cattle and sheep (Hom., Hdt., Arist.). <IE \*s<sub>1</sub>ḡi-h<sub>3</sub>noǵ<sup>wh</sup>->

•VAR On the stem formation, see Sommer 1948: 96ff.

•ETYM The ancients derived it from \*μιογ(ο)-ονυξ, with syllable dissimilation and compositional lengthening, an opinion defended in modern times by Runes *Glotta* 19 (1930/1931): 286f. However, Saussure 1922: 266 derived it from \*σι-ῶνυξ with an old zero grade of IE \*sem- (see ► εἷς 'one'). Under this hypothesis, μῶνυξ must be an extremely archaic form, which Frisk did not consider very likely. However, the reconstructed form must be \*s<sub>1</sub>ḡi-h<sub>3</sub>noǵ<sup>h</sup>- > μω-νυχ-, as was shown by the present author (Beekes *Orbis* 20 (1971): 138-142).

**μωρός 1** [adj.] 'stupid, obtuse, foolish' (IA). <?>

•VAR Att. μῶρος (accent probably taken from the vocative; see Schwyzler: 380 and 383).

•COMP Compounds, mostly late: e.g. μωρο-λόγος 'who speaks stupidities', whence μωρο-λογία, -λογέω, -λόγημα (Arist.), ὑπό-μωρος 'a little stupid' (Luc.).

•DER μωρία [f.] 'stupidity' (IA), , Ion. -ίη; μωρίαί· ἵπποι καὶ βοῦς ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων 'horses and cows (Arc.)' (H.), μωρίας [m.sg.], like e.g. ἐρυθρίας, and with a semantic development like in MoGr. ἄλογο = ἵππος; Μωρίων (Arc. Gramm.). Denominatives: 1. μωραίνω [v.] 'to be stupid, foolish' (A., E., X., Arist.), 'to play the fool, make foolish', pass. 'to become insipid' (LXX, NT), whence μῶραν-σις = μωρία (sch.). 2. μωρόομαι [v.] 'to become insipid' (Hp.). 3. μωρεῦω = μωραίνω (LXX). 4. μωρίζω 'to be stupid' (Gal.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Usually connected with Skt. *mūrā*- 'foolish', with ablaut *ō(u) : ū*, but this ablaut is now not accepted anymore, cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. With words of this meaning, we must reckon with deviations and crosses, which makes comparative work rather difficult. Lat. *mōrus* 'mad, silly' was borrowed from Greek (see WH s.v.).

**μωρός 2** [adj.] · ὀξύ, μάταιον, ἀμβλύ 'sharp, in vain, blunt; dull' (H.). <?>

•ETYM On the gloss ὀξύ, see Leumann 1950: 272<sup>18</sup>.

**μώχεται** ⇒ μωκάομαι.

## N

**v-** variant form of the privative prefix, in ν-ηλ(ε)ής, ν-ήνεμος, ν-ωδός, etc. <IE \*n- 'un-'>

•ETYM In Beekes 1969: 98-113, it was shown that forms in νη-, να-, νω- arose from the IE negating prefix \*n- combined with a following sequence \*HC- (for \*H = \*h<sub>1</sub>, \*h<sub>2</sub>, \*h<sub>3</sub>, respectively). This vocalized as \*ṇ-HC-. See ► ἄ-.

**νάβλα** [f.] name of a Phoenician lyre with 10 or 12 strings (Soph. *Fr.* 849 [uncertain conj.], LXX). <LW Sem.>

•VAR -ας [m.] (com., Str.), also ναῦλα [f.] (Aq., Sm.), -ον [n.] (H.).

•DER ναβλίζω = ψάλλω (gloss.) with ναβλιστής [m.] 'νάβλα-player' (Euph.), also ναβλιστο-κτυπεύς 'id.' (Man. 4, 185) for \*ναβλο-κτύπος (through cross and with formal enlargement -εως), ναβλίστρια [f.] (Maced.).

•ETYM Like the instrument, the name was probably also Phoenician; cf. Hebr. *nēbel* name of a harp. More in Lewy 1895: 161. Borrowed as Lat. *nablium*, *nablum*, see WH s.v.

Originally, the word seems to have meant 'vase'. See Masson 1967: 67-69 and Heurgon 1966: 518-522. Etruscan has *naplan*, designating a cup.

**νάεppa** [f.] · δέσποινα 'mistress' (H.). <GR>

•ETYM An Aeolic form, probably for να<έτ>εppa; cf. ναίπειρα (leg. ναέτ-?)· οἰκοδέσποινα (H.), see Hoffmann 1893: 241.

**ναί** [pcl.] affirmative pcl. 'really, yes' (Il.); ναί δή, ναί μὴν, ναί μὰ Δία, νῆ Δία, etc. <IE? \*<sup>(h,e)</sup>no- 'that one'>

•VAR Also νῆ (esp. Att.), νεί (Boeot., also Arc.).

•DER ναίχι (S., Pl.), with -χι like in οὐχί, μηχί; ναιδαμῶς (Com. *Adesp.*) after οὐδαμῶς, μηδαμῶς.

•ETYM Greek νῆ corresponds with Lat. *nē* 'really'; ναί could have a formal counterpart in ToB *nai* 'indeed, surely'. For νῆ : νεί : ναί, cf. ἦ : εἶ : αἶ 'if'; ► δαί is analogical beside δή. The word is usually connected with the demonstrative IE \*<sup>(h,e)</sup>no- 'he there'; see ► ἐκεῖνος and WH s.v. *enim*.

**ναϊάς** [f.] 'Naiade' •VAR ναίς, Ion. νηϊάς, νηϊς. ⇒ νάω.

**ναικισσορεύοντας** · ἐπιτήδες διασύροντας καὶ ἐξευτελίζοντας 'they who willingly "tear to pieces", that is to say, disparage' · τινὲς δέ φρασι ναικισσῆρεις λέγεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμφαίνοντος ὁμολογεῖν καὶ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντος 'others say that v. is called he who

makes it appear that he agrees, even if he does not agree' (Pherecr. 222), ἐπὶ τῶν κατεψευσμένων ἢ λέξις 'the way of speaking of those who speak falsely' (H.). Cf. Photius s.v. <?>

•ETYM It has been attempted to recognize ναίχι (= ναί) in the beginning.

**ναίω** [v.] 'to live, inhabit', occasionally 'to be situated' (in this mg. also med. εὖ ναιόμενος), aor. trans. 'to settle, give as a home', intr. 'to settle' (Il.). <IE? \*nes- 'escape, return home', PG?>

•VAR Aor. νάσσαι, -σασθαι, -θῆναι, late forms ναιήσαντο, perf. νένασμαι, fut. νάσσομαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ἀπο-, συν-, περι-, παρα-.

•DER Enlarged ναιετάω 'to live, inhabit', also with περι-, μετα-, παρα-; also 'to be situated', especially in εὖ ναιετάων 'well situated, livable' (Il.); cf. Chantraine 1942: 358. From the present stem (probably in part a back-formation from ναιετάω): περι-, μετα-ναιέται [m.pl.] 'who live around, together with' (Ω 488, A. R. 4, 470, Hes. Th. 401), ἀλι-ναιέται 'who live in the sea' (B. 16, 97); ἐν-ναέται 'inhabitants' (Isyll., A. R.), -έτις [f.] (A. R.). Simplex ναέτης, Dor. -τας 'inhabitant' (poet. since Simon.), ναιέτις [f.] (Call.); secondary (ἐν-)ναιετήρ [m.] 'id.' (AP), ἐνναέτειρα [f.] (AP). On ►μετανάστης, see s.v.

•ETYM The causative meaning of aor. νάσσαι probably arose from its opposition to intr. νασθῆναι. The meaning 'to be situated', which is often found for ναιετάω (especially in εὖ ναιετάων), but rarely with ναίω, has not yet received a convincing explanation; perhaps we must start from the ptc. εὖ ναιετάων, if properly 'where one lives well', with the same shift as in ὁ ἐπιβάλλων, etc. (type *café chantant*).

The verbal stem νασ- (ναίω < \*νάσ-ιω) is isolated. Comparison with \*nes- as in ►νέομαι, νόστος is semantically attractive, but the α-vocalism poses a problem. A solution could be that νασ- arose by restoration of ν- in the zero grade ἄσ- < \*ns-; thus e.g. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*nes-. Note, however, the original reflex of the zero grade in ►ἄσμενος.

Alternatively, νασ- could be Pre-Greek. See further ►ναός.

**νάκη** [f.] 'woollen skin, fleece', especially of sheep and goats (ξ 530, Lyc., Paus.). <PG?>

•VAR More common is νάκος [n.] (Pi., Hdt., Simon., inscr.).

•COMP As a first member in νακο-δέψης [m.] 'tanner' (Hp.), as a second member in κατω-νάκη [f.] 'coarse cloth, worn by slaves working on the field, with a front of sheepskin' (Ar.), which is properly a bahuvrīhi; on ἀρνακίς see ►ἀρήν.

•DER νακύριον· δέρμα 'skin, hide' (H.); formation unclear, perhaps to be changed (following Schmidt) into νακύ<δ>ριον (like μελ-ύδριον etc., Chantraine 1933: 72f.).

•ETYM For νάκος: νάκη, cf. νάπος: νάπη and common pairs of abstracts, like βλάβος: βλάβη; the suffixation of νάκος is like εἶρος, φᾶρος, etc., that of νάκη like λώπη, etc. (all names for 'wool' and 'cloth').

The reconstruction as IE \*nak-s-ko- and comparison with OE *næsc* 'soft leather, e.g. deer-skin' < PGm. \*naska-, which is isolated in Germanic, cannot be upheld for obvious reasons. Rather a Pre-Greek word; see Fur.: 294, 305. The suffixation of νακύριον points in the same direction. See ►νάσσω.

**ναμαραν** [acc.sg.m.] 'candelabrum?' (inscr. Delos 2240f.). <LW Sem.>

•ETYM Through metathesis from Syr. *m'nārā* 'id.'; see Grégoire *Byzantion* 13 (1938): 181f. Ronzevalle *Mél. Univ. St. Joseph* (Beirut) 22 (1939): 109-121 starts from Syr. *n'marā* 'crown'.

**νάννας, -α** ►νέννος.

**ναννάριον** [n.] · οὕτω καλούμενον εἶδος τι ἀσώτων 'a sort of hopeless people' · ἄμεινον δὲ τὸν τρυφερὸν καὶ μαλακὸν ἀκούειν 'better: hearing softly and delicately' (H.). <?>

•DER Also name of a courtesan (Theophil.11); cf. perhaps νάνναν.

•ETYM Unknown.

**νανναρίς** [m.] · κίναυδος 'someone lewd' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. See ►ναννάριον.

**νᾶνος** [m.] 'dwarf' (Ar. Fr. 427, Arist., Longin., H., POxy. 465, 225 [II<sup>p</sup>]); also a cake made of oil and cheese (Ath. 14, 646c). <ONOM?>

•VAR Often νάννος (mss.); on the notation νάννος (hypocoristic gemination) beside νᾶνος cf. Schwyzler: 268.

•COMP As a first member in ναννο-φυής 'of dwarfish stature' (Ar. Pax 790).

•DER νανώδης 'dwarflike' (Arist.), ναννούδιον 'lapdog' (sch. Luc. Conv. 19).

•ETYM An onomatopoeic word of unknown origin; cf. Schwyzler: 423 and Björck 1950: 67. Borrowed as Lat. *nānus* > MoFr. *nain*, etc.; see WH s.v.

**ναξος** [adj.] epithet of κολοσσός (Epigr. *apud* Phot.). <?>

•ETYM According to Geffcken & Herbig *Glotta* 9 (1918): 97 ff., to be accented ναξός = 'driven (with a hammer)', related to ►νάσσω. According to G. and H., the name of the island Νάξος should also be included here.

**ναός** [m.] 'temple, house of a god, sanctuary' (Dor., Thess., late Att., Hell.). <GR? \*nas-wo-, PG?>

•VAR ναρός (Lacon.), ναῦος (Lesb.), νηός (Hom., Hdt.), νεώς (Att.).

•COMP ναο-κόρος (Delph.), να-κόρος (Dor.), νεω-, νεο-κόρος (IA, Hell.) [m.] 'temple-warden' with derivatives (see ►κορέω); να(ο)-, νεω-ποιός, secondary -πο(ι)ας (Schwyzler 451), -πο(ι)ης name of an office in charge of the construction of a temple, whence -ποιέω, -ποιία, -ποιεῖον, -ποιικός, etc. (inscr. since V<sup>a</sup>); as a second member in πρό-ναος (A.), Att. -νεως, also -νάιος, Ion. -νήϊς (Ἀθηνᾶ Προναῖα, -νηῖα), 'in front of the temple', substantivized πρό-ναος, Ion. -νηος [m.], -ναον, -νάϊον, -νήϊον [n.] 'front hall'.

•DER 1. Diminutives: ναῖδιον (Plb., Str.), ναῖσκος [m.] (Str., J.) with -ίσκιον, -ισκάριον (pap., sch.). 2. Adjective: ναϊκός 'belonging to a temple' (Dodona). 3. Denominatives: ναεύω [v.] 'to take sanctuary in a temple' (Gortyn); ναώω 'to lead into a temple' (Crete); cf. ναύειν· ἱκετεύειν, παρὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν καταφεύγειν τοὺς ἱκέτας 'supplicate, after the fact that suppliants take refuge at the hearth' (H.).

•ETYM A pre-form \*νασφος has to be assumed for the different dialectal forms. Therefore, the word is mostly analyzed as PGr. \*nas-wo- and derived from νάσσαι,

► ναίω as 'habitation, house (of the god)', which is quite possible. However, Fur.: 338<sup>13</sup> adduces the variants ναιός (Clinias *apud* sch. A. R. 2, 1085, H.) and νειός (inscr. Samos IV<sup>a</sup>), variants which would point to substrate origin.

**νάπη** [f.] 'wooded vale, chasm' (Θ 558 = P 300); νάπα· σύμφυτος τόπος 'overgrown place' (H.). <PG?>

•VAR νάπος [n.] (Pi., S., E., X.).

•DER ναπ-αῖος 'like a wooded vale' (S., E.), -ώδης 'id.' (Eust., St. Byz.).

•ETYM Cf. the TN Νάπος (Lesbos); probably Pre-Greek. See ► προνωπής.

**νᾶπυ, -υος** [n.] 'mustard'.

•VAR Also σίναπι.

•DER νάπειον (Nic. Al. 430), after γήτειον, κώνειον. ⇒ σίναπι.

**νάρδος** [f.] 'spikenard, Indian narde, Nardostachys Jatamansi' (Hell. and late). <LW Sem.>

•VAR νάρδον [n.] (Thphr. Od. 12, Poll.).

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. ναρδό-σταχυς, -υος [m.] = νάρδου στάχυς, νάρδος (Dsc., Gal.).

•DER νάρδ-ινος 'of nard' (Antiph., Men., Plb.), -ίτης οἶνος 'wine spiced with nard' (Dsc. in tit.), -ῖτις βοτάνη 'nard-like plant' (Gal.); -ίζω 'to resemble the nard' (Dsc.).

•ETYM From Phoenician, cf. Semitic forms like Hebr. *nērd*, Aram. *nirda*, and Babyl. *lardu*. Further connection with Skt. *naḍā-* 'reed, cane' (beside *nadā-* 'id.') is quite uncertain and should probably be abandoned; the Semitic words rather come from Skt. *nālada-* [n.] 'Indian narde' (AV), on which see Mayrhofer KEWA: s.vv. *naḍāh* and *nāladam*. Borrowed as Lat. *nardus*, -um; see WH. Beside νάρδος, we have νάρτη [f.], designating aromatic plants (Thphr. HP 9, 7, 3).

Fur.: 199 also compares ► νάρθηξ and suggests that we are dealing with a Middle Eastern culture word.

**νάρη** ἡ ἄφρων καὶ μωρά 'an insane and stupid woman' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**νάρθηξ, -ηκος** [m.] 'giant fennel, Ferula communis', also denoting its hollow stalk, which was used as a thyrsos and splint, among other things (Hes.); also 'capsule, cupboard' (Str.). <PG(S,V)>

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. ναρθηκοφόρος 'v.-bearer' (Pl., X.).

•DER ναρθήκιον 'small splint' (medic.), -ία name of a v.-like plant (Thphr.), cf. βακτηρ-ία, ἄρτηρ-ία, etc.; ναρθήκ-ινος 'made of v.' (Arist.), ναρθηκ-ίζω [v.] 'to splint' (medic.), whence -ισμός, -ισμα (Apollod. *Poliorc.*, etc.); ναρθηκιῶντες· νάρθηξι πλήσσοντες 'hitting with v.' (H.). TN Ναρθάκιον in Phthiotis, also a mountain in Thessalia (X., Plu.).

•ETYM The variant νάρθαξ· νάρθηξ (H.) with metathesis, as well as the TN Ναρθάκιον, point to original -ᾱκ-, which is a Pre-Greek suffix. See Fur.: 199, who compares ► νάρδος.

**νάρκαφθον** [n.] 'a fragrant Indian bark' used as spice (Dsc. 1, 23). <PG?>

•VAR Also νάσκαφθον (written ναόκαφθον, which will be a simple mistake), but also νάκαφθον. Also λάκαφθον (Paul. Aeg. 7, 22)?

•ETYM Fur.: 299 thinks it is a cultural term from the Middle East, in spite of the suggested Indian origin. On a possible variation ρ/σ, see ibid. 299f.

**νάρκη** [f.] 'numbness, deadness, numbfish' (IA); on the fish see Strömberg 1943: 57. <PG?>

•VAR Secondary νάρκᾱ (Men.).

•COMP As a second member in θηριο-νάρκη [f.] name of a plant that paralyzes a snake (Plin.).

•DER ναρκώδης 'paralysed' (Hp.); ναρκάω [v.] 'to be paralysed' (Θ 328), also with ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, whence ἀπονάρκη-σις (Plu.); ναρκόω [v.] 'to paralyse, deaden' (Hp.) with νάρκω-σις, -τικός (medic.).

•ETYM νάρκη has been analyzed as a zero grade verbal noun with barytone accent (Chantraine 1933: 22f.), belonging to a Germanic verb OHG *sner(a)han*, MHG *snerhen* 'to swing, knot, draw together', with deverbative ON *snara* 'to turn, swing, wind' <PGm. \**snarhōn*- and the verbal noun OHG *snar(a)ha*, ON *snara* [f.] 'swing'. The supposed connection (thus still LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**snerk*- 'zusammenziehen, schlingen') is semantically far from convincing; moreover, one would expect \**nrk*- to yield Gr. \*ν(δ)ρακ-. The structure of this word looks non-IE. Therefore, we should rather assume a Pre-Greek word \**nark*-; the variant nom. in -ᾱ also points to this.

**ναρκίον** [n.] · ἄσκόν 'skin, hide, belly, bellows, etc.' (H.). <?>

•ETYM DELG considers connection with λάρκος, λαρκίον, and perhaps νάρναξ, and rejects the connection with ► νάρκη.

**ναρκισσος** [m.(f.)] 'narcissus' (h. Cer.). <PG>

•DER ναρκίσσινος 'made from narcissus, narcissus-colored' (Hp., Dsc., pap.), -ίτης name of a stone (D. P., Plin.), because of the color or the smell?

•ETYM The suffix clearly points to a Pre-Greek word; cf. Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 361, with Heubeck *Vox Romanica* 19 (1960): 151f. The connection with νάρκη is due to folk-etymology.

**ναρός** [adj.] 'flowing, liquid'. ⇒ νάω.

**νάρφη** [f.] · σκευαστός ἄρτος ὁ καὶ μασητρίς 'prepared bread/cake, which is also called μ.' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**νάσσω** [v.] 'to stamp down, squeeze close, press together, stuff' (φ 122). <PG?(V)>

•VAR Att. νάττω, aor. νάξαι, fut. νάξω (H.), perf. med. νέναγμα, νένασμαι.

•COMP Rarely with prefix, e.g. κατα-, συν-.

•DER Verbal adjective ναστός 'pressed together, stuffed' (medic., J.), substantivized (scil. πλακοῦς) [m.] name of a cake (com.) with ναστίσκος [m.] (Pherecr.); also νακτός 'pressed together' (Plu.); νακτά· τοὺς πῖλους καὶ τὰ ἐμπίλια 'things made of felt and felt shoes' (H.). Verbal substantive νάγμα [n.] 'closely squeezed stone-wall' (J.).



•ETYM It is unclear from the attestations whether the verbal stem originally ended in a velar (νάξαι φ 122) or a dental (ναστός from \*ναττός?). Etymology unknown; connection with ▶νάκος 'woollen skin' cannot be proven. Borrowed as Lat. *naccae* 'fullones', perhaps from \*νάκται; see WH s.v. The verb is probably Pre-Greek.

**ναυᾶγός** [m.] 'shipwrecked person' (Hdt.). <GR>

•VAR Ion. -ηγός.

•DER ναυ-ᾶγέω, -ηγέω [v.] 'to be shipwrecked', -ᾶγία, -ηγία [f.] 'shipwreck', -ᾶγια, -ήγια [n.pl.] (rarely -ιον [sg.]) 'wreck (of a ship)' (IA).

•ETYM Compounds of ναῦς and ἄγνυμι, ἀγῆναι 'break' with long compositional vowel. This may be due either to compositional lengthening or analogy after other such compounds (thus in Ion. -ηγ-), or to influence of κατᾶγνυμι, ἔαγα, see Björck 1950: 42 and 147.

**ναύκληρος** [m.] 'shipowner, captain', sbd. who lets his ship and the places on board to other persons (IA), on the mg. against ἔμπορος and κάπηλος see Finkelstein *Class. Phil.* 30 (1935): 320ff.; metaph. 'owner of a rented house' (com.). <IE \**krh<sub>2</sub>s-ro*- 'head'>

•DER ναυκληρ-ία [f.] 'employment as a ναύκληρος, society of shipowners, navigation' (Att.), perhaps from ναυκληρέω (see below); -ιον [n.] 'freighter' (D, E.); ναυ-κλάρ-ιος epithet of Poseidon (Delos I<sup>a</sup>), -κληρικός 'belonging to the v.' (Pl. *Lg.*), ναυκληρώσιμιοι στέγαι· τὰ πανδοκεῖα 'rooms, taverns' (H.), after μισθώσιμος.

Denominative ναυκληρ-έω [v.] 'to be ναύκληρος' (Att.), metaph. 'to govern (a state)' (trag.), with ναυκληρήματα [pl.] 'shipping' (Tz.). Further ναύκραρος (ναύκλαρος H.) [m.] name of the manager of a ναυκραρία (Lex Solonis *apud* Arist. *Ath.* 8, 3, Hdt.) with ναυκραρ-ία [f.] part of a phyle in Solonic Athens, for financial and administrative purposes (Arist. *Ath.* 8, 3), -ία [n.pl.] 'registry of the ναύκραροι' (Ammon. gramm.), -ικός 'belonging to the ναύκλαρος or -ία' (Lex Solonis *apud* Arist.).

•ETYM The usual term ναύκλαρος / ναύκληρος arose by dissimilation and folk-etymological connection with κλήρος from older ναύκραρος. The latter only remained in a technical sense. The original mg. is "who stands at the head of a ship". The zero grade in the second member of ναύκρᾶρος (\*-*krh<sub>2</sub>-C-*) may be compared with that in ὀρθό-κραιρα (see ▶κραιρα). Here, κρᾶρ- may derive from \**krāh-ro-*, which belongs to \**krāhn-* < \**krh<sub>2</sub>-s-n-* seen in ▶κρᾶνίον, and inflected forms of ▶κᾶρᾶ. Other ablaut grades are continued in κάρηνα < \**krh<sub>2</sub>-es-n-h<sub>2</sub>* and Lat. *cerebrum* < \**kerh<sub>2</sub>-s-ro-* (see ▶κάρηνα, ▶κέρας).

The same element appears in Boeot. PN (Λ)α-κρᾶρίδας < \*Λά-κρᾶρος (Solmsen *RhM* 53 (1898): 151ff.). Borrowed as Lat. *nauclērus*, cf. Friedmann 1937: 26ff.

**ναῦλον** [n.] 'fare, freight, passage-money' (Att., Hell.). <GR>

•VAR -ος [m.], also -λλ- (inscr.), Schwyzer: 238.

•DER ναυλόω, -όομαι [v.] 'to let out a ship, freight a ship' (Plb., pap.), with ναύλ-ωσις 'freighting', -ώσιμος 'belonging to freighting' (also of κτήνη, ὄνοι, -ωτική [f.], scil. συνθήκη or συγγραφή 'freighting agreement' (all pap.); cf. Kalbfleisch *RhM* 94 (1951): 94f.

•ETYM Probably from ▶ναῦς, though further λο-derivatives of nouns and semantic examples are missing. See Chantraine 1933: 241. Borrowed as Lat. *naulum*. See ▶ναῦσθλον.

**ναῦς** [f.] 'ship' (Il.), details on the inflection in Schwyzer: 578. <IE \**neh<sub>2</sub>u-* 'ship'>

•VAR Epic Ion. νῆς, gen. νεώς (νῆος, νεός, Dor. ναός), dat. νηϊ (ναϊ), acc. ναῦν (νηα, νέα), plur. nom. νῆες (νέες, νᾶες), gen. νεῶν (νηῶν, ναῶν), dat. ναυσί (νηυσί, νήεσσι), acc. ναῦς (νῆας, νέας).

•COMP ναύ-αρχος 'commander of a ship' (IA), see also ▶νεώριον, ▶νεωλκέω; in dat.pl. as a first member, e.g. ναυσί-κλυτος, -κλειτος 'famous for his ship' (epic poet. Od.), ναυσί-πορος (X., Arist.) = ναύ-πορος (A., A. R.) 'sailed by ships'; as a second member in χιλιό-ναυς 'consisting of thousand ships' (E., Str.); amalgamation with a suffix -ία- in e.g. (πεντεκαί-)δεκα-να-ία [f.] 'fleet of fifteen/ten ships' (Plb. and D.). Cf. further ▶ναυᾶγός, ▶ναύκληρος.

•DER A. νῆϊος, Dor. νάϊος (Il.), νηϊτης (Th., A. R.) 'consisting of ships, belonging to the ship', or νῆτης? See Redard 1949: 12 and 43.

B. ναύτης, Dor. -τας [m.] 'sailer, ship-passenger' (Il.), ναύστης (pap.) with analogical -σ-. Thence several derivatives: 1. ναῦτις, -ιδος [f.] epithet of γυναῖκες (Theopomp. Com.), ναύτρια [f.] (Ar. *Fr.* 825); 2. ναῦτ-εῖα [f.] 'shipping' (Hell. inscr. and pap.), after στρατεία (to στρατεύω), etc.; 3. ναυτ-ία (Arist., Aret.), Ion. ναυσίη (Semon.), 'seasickness, disgust' (Scheller 1951: 41) with ναυτι-ώδης 'prone to seasickness, sickening' (medic., Plu.), ναυτ-ιάω [v.] 'to be seasick, be disgusted' (Att.), ναυτία partly a back-formation; -ιασμός = ναυτία (Hippiatr.); 4. ναυτ-ικός '(consisting) of seamen', also (referring to ναῦς) 'nautical' (IA); 5. ναυτ-ίλος [m.] or [adj.] 'shipper, seaman; nautical' (Hdt., trag.), also name of a mollusc, 'paper nautilus, Argonauta argo' (Arist.), see Thompson 1947 s.v.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 248f.; ναυτιλ-ία, -ίη 'navigation, sea-journey' (θ 253), also connected with ναυτίλλομαι (Scheller 1951: 35), ναυτίλλομαι [v.] 'to be sailor, sail' (Od.); 6. Ναυτεύς [m.] PN (θ 112 beside πρυμεύς; see Wackernagel KZ 24 (1879): 297).

C. See ▶ναῦλον and ▶ναῦσθλον.

•ETYM Old IE word \**neh<sub>2</sub>u-* 'ship', which is also found in Ilr., Arm., Lat., Celt., Gm., and Illyr. The inflections of Greek, Sanskrit (and also Latin) seem to correspond: ναῦς = Skt. *nāuṣ* < IE \**neh<sub>2</sub>u-s*; νῆ(φ)α = Skt. *nāvam*, Lat. *nāvem* (whence nom. *nāvis*) < IE \**neh<sub>2</sub>u-m*; νῆ(φ)ες = Skt. *nāvas* < IE \**neh<sub>2</sub>u-es*, νῆ(φ)ας = Skt. *nān-as* < IE \**neh<sub>2</sub>u-ns*, etc. Other reconstructions (e.g. nom. \**neh<sub>2</sub>-ēu-s*, acc. \**neh<sub>2</sub>-eu-m*, gen. \**neh<sub>2</sub>-u-os* << \**nh<sub>2</sub>-u-os*, cf. Beekes 1985: 96) are also possible.

Examples from other languages: MoP *nān*, Arm. *naw* (perhaps from Iranian), OIr. *nau*, ON *nór* [m.], Illyr. TNs *Nau-na*, *Nau-portus*, etc.

Lat. *nauta*, *nausea* were borrowed from Greek.

**ναῦσθλον** [n.] Arg. for ναῦλον: 'fare, freight' (ἐφόδιον καὶ ναῦσθλον, IG 4, 823: 12 [IV<sup>a</sup>, Troezen], H.). <GR>

•DER ναυσθλόο-μαι, -όω [v.] 'to be carried for fare, transport', (as a passenger) 'travel' (E., Ar., Lyc.).

•ETYM Built on ναῦς with a suffix -θλο- also seen in θύσ-θλα, θέμιε-θλα, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 375); the -σ- must be secondary (cf. ναύστης beside ναύτης s.v. ▶ ναῦς). Unrelated is ▶ ναῦσσον.

**ναῦσσον** [n.] 'name of a tax' (Cyzicus VI<sup>a</sup>, Cos I<sup>a</sup>). <?>

•ETYM Because of the -σσ- (original sampi) a technical foreign word, perhaps from Carian; see Wackernagel *RhM* 48 (1893): 299.

**ναφθα** [f., n.] 'petroleum' (LXX, Str., Dsc.). <LW Iran.>

•VAR -ας [m.].

•ETYM Cf. MoP *naft* 'petroleum', which is of uncertain origin. Acc. to Brandenstein *OLZ* 43 (1940): 345ff., the Greek word is from Iran. \**nafta*- from \**nab*- 'be wet'. On the meaning and further forms see Brust 2005: 471ff. Borrowed as Lat. *nap(h)tha*.

**ναφρόν** [n.] · λινούν ράμμα 'linen thread' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**νάω** [v.] 'to flow, stream', mainly of water (Il.). <?>

•VAR Only present stem except for διαναῦσαι· διαπλεῦσαι 'to sail across' (H.) and the ptc. aor. ἀμφι-ναέντος (Emp. 84). A long vowel is found in ipf. νᾶε(v) (A. R., Call.), ναῖον (ι 222); note ναῦει· ῥέει, βλύζει 'flows, gushes forth' (H.), interpreted as Aeol.

•COMP Rarely with ἀμφι-, δια-, περι.

•DER 1. ναέτωρ· ῥέων, πολύρρους 'streaming, having much current' (H.), νάτωρ (S. Fr. 270); 2. νᾶρός 'welding, streaming' (A. Fr. 347 = 764 Mette, S. Fr. 621); 3. νᾶμα [n.] 'flowing water, source, stream' (trag., Pl., X., Arist.) with diminutive ναιμά-τιον (Thphr.), -τιαῖος 'from sources, source-' (Aeschin.), -τώδης 'rich in sources' (Thphr.); 4. νασμός = νᾶμα (E.), -ώδης (H.). Probably also 5. Ναΐας, Ion. Νηΐας (Od., A. R., AP), Ναῖς, Ion. Νηῖς [f.] (Il.) 'Naiade', see below.

•ETYM It is usually assumed that all present stem forms go back to \*νᾶφ-ιω (Frisk, DELG, *Lfgre*). This is only possible if one assumes that shortvocalic νᾶω (νάει, νάουσιν ζ 292, Φ 197) stands for ναῖω as a rhythmical variant (Chantraine 1942: 167). Note, however, that ναῖω is only attested in ι 222 (with a v.l. νᾶον). The ptc. ἀμφι-ναέντος (Emp. 84) was probably formed under the influence of ῥυέντος. It seems that a basic form \*ναφεμα or \*νάφημα has to be assumed for νᾶμα (which is common in Attic), although such a formation is unparalleled; if so, νᾶρός could also be from \*ναφερός, νασμός from \*ναφесμός, and νάτωρ from \*ναφέτωρ (cf. Bechtel 1914: 234f.).

The forms with long vowel να-ΐας, -ῖς, νη-ΐας, -ίς presuppose a noun \*νᾶφ-α (cf. e.g. κρήν-η : -ιάς); the proper meaning would then be "daughter of the source". As all nymphs are considered to be daughters of Zeus, the Naiades are connected with the Dodonaic Ζεὺς Νάϊος. However, a source in Dodona is only mentioned in late Latin writers, and Zeus is unknown as a god of sources (cf. Nilsson 1941(1): 426f.); so the proper meaning of Νάϊος remains unclear. If the Naiades have something to do at all with Ζεὺς Νάϊος, their qualification as daughters of a source must be left open.

Correspondences to νάω outside Greek are uncertain. One might compare the athematic long grade present Skt. *snauti* 'to drip', with zero grade ptc. *snuta*- (cf.

LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**sneu*-), although the explanation of the Greek α-vocalism as an analogical zero grade \**snaw*- beside \**snew*- remains dubious. See ▶ νέω, ▶ νήχω, ▶ Νηρεύς.

-**νε** [pcl.] in Thess. ὅ-νε, τό-νε, τά-νε = ὅ-δε, τό-δε, τά-δε; beside it -νυ in Arc. Cypr. ὅ-νυ, with deictic -ι Arc. gen.sg. τω-νι = τοῦ-δε, τουδί, etc. <IE \**eno*- 'this, that'>

•ETYM Like ναί and νή, -νε has also been connected with the demonstrative stem \*(e-)no-. On -νυ, see on ▶ νῦ, νῦν, νῦν 'now'. See ▶ ναί.

**νεᾶλής** [adj.] 'fresh, powerful, rested' (Ar. Fr. 361, Pl., X., D.). <GR>

•VAR -ᾶλής (Nic.).

•ETYM Originally 'newly fed, newly grown (up)', from \*νεο-αλής, a compound of νέος and the root of an old verb 'to feed, nourish', preserved in ▶ ἀναλτος, and in Lat. *alō*, etc. The compound underwent compositional lengthening and is formed with the suffix -ής (cf. Schwyzler: 513).

**νεᾷνιάς, -ου** [m.] 'youth, young strong man', also as an adj. 'youthful, strong, wilful' (Od.). <GR>

•VAR Ion. νεηνίης, -εω; νεᾷνις [f.] 'young lady, girl' (Il., also LXX), Ion. νεῖνις, contracted νῆνις, -ιδος, -ιν.

•DER 1. Hypocoristic: νεανίσκος, νεην- [m.] 'id.' (IA) with νεανισκ-εύομαι [v.] 'to be in youth' (com., X.), -εῦματα [pl.] = Lat. *Iuvenalia* (D. C.); νεανισκ-άριον (Arr. Epict.), -ύδριον (Theognost.). 2. Adjective: νεανικός 'youthful' (Att., Hp.) with νεανικ-έω [v.] 'to be youthful' (Eup.), -ότης 'youth' (Sext. Ps.). 3. Verbs: νεανιεύομαι [v.] 'to behave youthful or recklessly' (Att.), rarely with prefix as ἐπι-, προσ-; thence νεανιεύμα [n.] 'youthful behaviour' (Pl.), νεαν(ι)εῖα [f.] (Ph.); νεανίζω (Plu., Poll.).

•ETYM A substantival derivation in -ιάς from \*νεᾷνός vel sim., which must itself be an enlargement of νέος. A proposal for the origin of this suffix -*ān*- was made by Leukart 1980: 238ff.

**νεάτος** [adj.] 'lowest, utmost'. •VAR Epic also νεῖατος. ⇒ νεῖός, νέος.

**νεάω** [v.] 'to plough up a fallow land'. ⇒ νεῖός, νέος.

**νεβλᾶραι** = περαίνειν 'to finish, fulfill' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Cf. νεβλάρεται (?) in Phot. = Ar. Fr. 241.

**νεβρός** [m., f.] 'young of the deer, fawn' (Il.). <?>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in νεβρο-τόκος 'bringing forth fawns' (Nic.).

•DER Several derivatives, most poet. and late: 1. Substantive: νεβρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'fawnskin' (E.) with νεβρίδ-ιον (Artem.) and νεβρίζω [v.] 'to wear a fawnskin' (D. 18, 259, beside κρατηρίζω 'drink a bowl', of the participants of a Dionysus-festival), νεβρισιός 'wearing νεβρίς' (gramm.); νεβρή [f.] 'id.' (Orph.); νεβρίας [m.] of γαλεός, name of a shark (Arist.), after its color, cf. Thompson 1947 s.v., ἔλαφος νεβρίας 'deer' (H. s.v. λάδας); νεβρακες· οἱ ἄρρενες νεοττοὶ τῶν ἀλεκτρονῶν 'the male chicks of the rooster' (H.), cf. σκύλαξ, πόρταξ and Chantraine 1933: 379; νεβρίτης λίθος (Orph.), -ίτις (Plin.), after the color. 2. Adjectives: νέβρινος (S.), νέβρειος (Call., APl.) 'of a fawn', νέβρειον name of the *Pastinaca sativa* (Ps.-Dsc.), Strömberg 1944:

50; νεβρώδης 'fawn-like' (AP). 3. Verb: νεβρόομαι 'to be changed into a fawn' (Nonn.).

•ETYM An exact match to νεβρός has been sought in Arm. *nerk*, -oy 'color', deriving both from IE *\*(s)neg<sup>wh</sup>ro-*. However, the meaning of the Armenian word has nothing to do with 'deer'. The correspondence is listed as 'doubtful' in Clackson 1994: 182. Janda *Sprache* 38 (1996): 87-92 derives it from *\*neg<sup>wh</sup>-ro-* 'naked' (= unarmed).

The deer and hind are often called after their variegated color, e.g. πρόξ, προκάς 'deer- or roe-like animal' from περκνός 'speckled', πρεκνόν· ποικιλόχροον έλαφον 'varicolored deer' (H.).

νήλος 'newly arrived'. ⇒ έλεύσομαι.

νεῖκος [n.] 'quarrel, strife, feud' (Il., Hdt.), on the mg. Trümpy 1950: 144f. <IE *\*neik-* 'attack, run at'>

•COMP As a second member in πολυ-νεικής 'much quarrelling', as a PN Πολυ-νείκης (Il.).

•DER νεικέω [v.] 'to quarrel with words, blame, abuse' (Il.), epic also -είω < *\*-es-je/o-*, aor. νεικέσ(σ)αι; thence νεικεσ-τήρ 'quarrelor' (Hes. *Op.* 716; v.l. -ητήρ); νεικέσσιος· πολέμιος 'hostile' (H.), after ίκέσιος etc.

•ETYM Related to the Baltic group of Lith. *ap-nikti*, also *su-nikti* 'to attack somebody', Latv. *nikns* 'bad, grim, vehement', *nāiks* 'vehement, angry', and to Hitt. *nini(n)k-zi* 'to set in motion, mobilize' (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*neik-* 'sich erheben'). Greek only preserves derivations from the s-stem, and perhaps also ► νίκη.

νειός [f.] 'fallow field' (Hom., Hes., Call., Arist., Thphr.); on the mg. see below. <IE? *\*ni-* '(be)low'>

•VAR Also νεός (X., Amorgos IV<sup>a</sup>), νειά (Amorgos IV<sup>a</sup>), νεά or νέα (Thphr., Att. inscr.).

•DER With deviating semantics: νει-όθεν [adv.] 'from below' (K 10, Hell. poet.), νει-όθε 'id.' (poet. inscr. III<sup>p</sup>, Luc.), νει-όθι 'below' (Φ 317, Hes. *Th.* 567, Hell. poet.). Superl. νεάτος 'lowermost, utmost' (mainly epic since Il.), also νέατος, Arc. νήατος, after έσχατος, πύματος, cf. μέσος : μέσατος; νεάτη [f.] (Cratin., Pl.), contracted νήτη (Arist., Ptol.), scil. χορδή 'the lowest string' (with the highest tone); νεότατον· κατώτατον 'lowermost' (H.); also νήϊστος in νήϊστα· έσχατα, κατώτατα (H.), probably also in Νήϊσται (Boeot. -ίται) πύλαι a gate in Thebes (A. *Th.* 460, E. *Ph.* 1104). Fem. νεάιρα (νέαιρα Simon.) 'the lowermost', as a substantive (scil. γαστήρ) 'belly, abdomen' (Il., Hp., Hell.), cf. γέραιρα, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 104, 234; cf. also Benveniste 1935: 112); contracted νείρα (A. *Ag.* 1479, E. *Rh.* 794 [readings not quite certain], H.); νειρός [m.] (Lyc., H.) with νειρή κοίλη· κοιλία έσχήτη 'outermost stomach' (H.), Schwyzer: 475. On the entire set of forms, cf. Schwyzer: 503.

Denominative νεάω [v.] 'to plough a fallow land' (Hes. *Op.* 462, com., Thphr.), connected with νέος 'new' at an early date, if not even derived from it, cf. on ► νέος; νεατός [m.] 'working of fallow land' (X. *Oik.* 7, 20; like άλοατός, νεάσις [f.] 'id.' (Thphr.) with νεάσιμος (gloss.), see Arbenz 1933: 87.

•ETYM If νειόθεν, νεάτος, νεάιρα are cognate with νειός, νειός (scil. γῆ, χώρα), it must have originally meant 'with a low location, low plain'; the meaning 'fallow

land', which is also possible for Homer, could rest on the folk-etymological connection with νέος 'new'; cf. Lat. *novālis*, -e 'fallow land'.

The comparison of νειός < \*νειός with a Slavic word for 'field', e.g. Ru. *níva* [f.], is doubtful (see Derksen 2008 s.v. with alternatives). For Greek, if we separate a suffix *\*-uo-*, it is possible to compare the IE adverb *\*ni* 'low' seen in Skt. *ní*, with derivatives in e.g. OHG *nidar* 'downward', OE *neowol* 'steep' < *\*ni-uo-*. However, the writing νη- in νήϊστος, Arc. νήατος has not been explained in a convincing way. Since an old lengthened grade is highly improbable (especially in a superlative), the η must be secondary.

νείφει [v.] 'it snows' (Il.). <IE *\*sneig<sup>wh</sup>-* 'snow'>

•VAR Aor. νείψαι, νειφθῆναι, fut. νείψει. Cf. νίφα [acc.sg.f.] '(falling) snow' (Hes. *Op.* 535).

•COMP Sometimes with prefix, e.g. κατα-. Compounds, e.g. νιφ-ό-βολος 'snow-covered' (Ar., E.), άγά-ννιφ-ος 'with much snow' (A 420, Σ 186, Epich.).

•DER 1. νιφ-άδες [f.pl.], also sing. νιφ-άς, -άδος 'snow-flake, snowstorm' (Il., Pi., trag.), also [adj.] 'rich in snow' (S.); 2. νιφ-ετός [m.] 'falling snow, snowstorm' (Il., Arist.) with νιφετ-ώδης 'connected with snow-fall' (Arist., Plb.); 3. νιφ-όεις 'snowy, rich in snow' (Il.).

•ETYM The full-grade thematic root present νείφει (νιφέμεν M 280 stands for νειφ-), from which the other Greek verbal forms arose, neatly corresponds with Av. *snaēža-* (e.g. subj. *snaēžāt*), OHG and OE *sniwan*, Lith. *sniēgti*, 3sg. *sniēga*, as well as perhaps Lat. *nīvit* 'it snows' (Pac.), from thematic PIE *\*sneig<sup>wh</sup>-e-* 'it snows'. A zero grade thematic present is found in OIr. *snigid* 'it drops, rains', and a nasal present in Lat. *ninguit*, Lith. *sniŋga*.

Deviating in meaning is the zero-grade *yod*-present Skt. *snihyati* 'to get wet, sticky', metaph. 'to find affection', with *sneha-* 'stickyness, affection, etc.', with a shift of meaning that has been ascribed to the mild climate, like in the Celtic word (see above). Comparable to this shift in Greek is e.g. Nonn. *D.* 22, 283 αίματι νείφεις of sticky blood, Lyc. 876 όμβρία νιφάς of a rain shower. It is also possible that 'to be sticky' is the original root meaning, as advocated by LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*sneig<sup>wh</sup>-*.

The root noun acc. νίφα (beside which as a nom. νιφετός, νιφάς, χιών) is identical with Lat. *nix*, *nivis* < IE *\*snig<sup>wh</sup>-* and is also continued in άγά-ννιφος < *\*-snig<sup>wh</sup>-*. νίβα· χιόνα 'winter' (H.) could also be included here as Illyrian (Krahe *IF* 58 (1942): 133). An *o*-stem *\*snoig<sup>wh</sup>o-* is found in Gm. (e.g. Go. *snaiws*, MoHG *Schnee*) and in Slavic (e.g. OCS *sněgъ*).

νεκρός [m.] 'corpse, dead' (Il.), plur. 'the dead' = 'inhabitants of the Underworld' (Od., Th., LXX, NT), also attributive and adjectival (-ά, -όν) 'dead' (Hell.); νεκρόν έππον (Pi. *Fr.* 203) is probably predicative. <IE *\*nek-(u-)* 'violent death, corpse'>

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. νεκρο-δέγμων 'receiving dead' (Αιδης, A. *Pr.* 153 [lyr.]); rarely as a second member, e.g. μυριό-νεκρος 'with uncountable casualties' (μάχη, Plu.).

•DER 1. Substantive: νεκρών, -ώνος [m.] (Tegea II<sup>a</sup>, AP), νεκρία [f.] 'place of the dead, graveyard' (Hell. pap.), on the unknown accent see Scheller 1951: 46. 2. Adjective:

νεκρ-μαῖος 'belonging to a corpse', τὸ νεκρ-μαῖον 'corpse' (LXX), after θνησιμαῖος, Chantraine 1933: 49; νεκρ-ικός 'regarding the dead', τὰ νεκρικά 'inheritance' (Luc., Vett. Val.); νεκρ-ώδης 'like a corpse' (Luc., Gal.). 3. Verb: νεκρόομαι, -όω 'to die, kill, enervate' (late) with νέκρωσις 'being dead, killing' (late), -ώσιμα [n.pl.] = νεκύσια (church-writers, gloss.), to θανάσιμος (Arbenz 1933: 93), -ώματα [pl.] 'dead bodies' (comm. Arist.), -ωτικός 'causing death' (Gal.).

In the same mg. νέκϋς (post-Hom. -ϋ-) [m.], also [adj.] 'dead' (epic poet Il., also Hdt. and Gortyn), νέκυρ· νεκρός. Λάκωνες (H.); some compounds, e.g. νεκυο-μαντήϊον, -εῖον 'oracle of the dead' (Hdt.), ισό-νεκϋς 'corpse-like' (E. Or. 200 [lyr.], after ισό-θεος, see on ἴσος). Thence: νέκϋια [f.] 'offer to the dead, so as to summon them' (D. S., Plu., Nic.), old abstract formation in -ιά instead of later -ιά (cf. ἀλήθεια beside -εία, etc., cf. Solmsen 1909: 248ff.); in the same mg. νεκϋϊσμός (Man.); on formations in -ισμός see Chantraine 1933: 142ff.; νεκύσια [n.pl.] 'feasts of the dead' (Hell. pap.), cf. θαλύσια, γενέσια, whence Νεκύσιος [m.] Cretan month-name (II<sup>a</sup>); νεκϋϊκός 'belonging to the dead' (Cyran.); νεκύα [f.] plantname = φλόμος (Cyran.), because of its use in the conjuration of the dead; after καρύα, σικύα, etc.; on ►νεκύδαλ(λ)ος see s.v.

Archaic is νέκες νεκροί (H.), note also νεκ-άς, -άδος [f.] 'heap of dead' (E 886, AP), like νιφάς, etc. (Bechtel 1914 s.v., Chantraine 1933: 352).

Unrelated is ►νῶκαρ, -αρος [n.].

•ETYM The monosyllabic stem of νέκες corresponds exactly to Lat. *nex*, *necis* [f.] 'violent death, murder' and OAv. *nas-* [f.] 'need, distress', from a root noun IE \**nek-*. The *u*-stem in νέκϋς also appears in Iranian, in Av. *nas*, gen. *nasāuuō* [f., m.] 'corpse'; originally, the Gr. *u* was short, corresponding to Iranian ablaut *u*: *āu* < \**u*: *ou*, as established in Beekes and Cuypers *Mnem.* 56 (2003): 485-491. Lat. *nequālia* 'detrimenta' is sometimes adduced, but rejected by De Vaan 2008 s.v. *nex*. The *ro*-formation in νεκρός has no parallel outside Greek.

The root was verbal in PIE, e.g. Skt. *náśyati*, ToA *nakāt* [3sg.pret.] 'to disappear, perish'; see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *nek-* for further forms.

Probably unrelated is ►νέκταρ.

**νεκταίρουσιν** [v.] · κολάζουσιν 'chastise'; νεκτάρας· μάστιξ 'whip'; νεκτάρθη· ἐξημιώθη 'was punished' [corr. for ἐξυμώθη] (all H.). ◀?▶

•ETYM Not related to ►νέκταρ. Unknown.

**νέκταρ, -αρος** [n.] 'nectar, drink of the gods' (Il.). ◀IE?, PG?▶

•COMP As a first member in νεκταρο-σταγής 'dripping nectar' (com.), etc.

•DER νεκτάρ-εος 'of nectar, smelling like nectar' (Il.), -ώδης 'nectar-like' (Gp.); νεκτάριον [n.] plantname = ἐλένιον (Dsc.), also name of a medicine and several eye-salves (Gal.), with νεκταρίτης (οῖνος) 'wine spiced with νεκτάριον' (Dsc., Plin.).

•ETYM In contrast with ἀμβροσία, which is of related meaning (see ►βροτός), νέκταρ does not have an ascertained etymology. Often considered to be a compound of the root noun \**nek-* 'death', found in νέκες (cf. ►νεκρός), Lat. *nex* 'murder', and the verbal root \**terh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to cross, overcome', found in Skt. *táratī*, the zero grade of which indeed occurs as a second member in Skt. *ap-túr* 'crossing the waters', *viśva-túr*

'overcoming everything', etc. (cf. on ►τέρμα). There is no reflex of word-final \**h<sub>2</sub>*, which may be assumed to have been lost in the oblique cases, e.g. \**nek-trh<sub>2</sub>-os* > νέκταρος. However, it seems unlikely that the latter stem form was introduced into the nom./acc., since these were much more frequent. We rather have to assume analogical reshaping of the nominative; cf. the discussion in Beekes 1969: 161.

If the etymology is correct, νέκταρ would be an element of IE poetic language (cf. Schmitt KZ 77 (1961): 88, who refers to Skt. *mṛtyúmāti tṛ* 'to overcome death' *odanénā* 'by rice-milk' (AV 4, 35), as well as R. Schmitt 1967: 38f., 155ff.). Various older speculations should definitely be rejected (e.g. νέκταρ would originally mean 'not being dead', belonging to the gloss κτέρες· νεκροί 'the dead' [H.]; cf. on ►κτέρας; see Frisk for references).

Meanwhile, different explanations have been suggested assuming non-Indo-European origin. Fur.: 320 compares νικάριον, an eye-salve. If this is correct, the word may be Pre-Greek. He also points to other Pre-Greek words in -αρ (op.cit. 134<sup>75</sup>), remarking that the traditional interpretation as a compound is too Indo-Iranian in character for a Greek word.

Drew Griffith *Glotta* 72 (1994): 20-3 explains the word as a loan from Egyptian *nṯrh* 'divine', a sodium carbonate used in mummification; in T 37, νέκταρ is dripped into the nostrils of Patroclus. The word is found as *nit(i)ru* in Akkadian, and as *nitri* in Hittite. Since these forms have no velar, the difficulty of explaining the Greek cluster -κτ- remains. It is suggested that it went via a Semitic form \**netkr*, but such a form is not attested. Drew Giffith further compares δάκτυλος 'date' from Eg. *dql*, but this form may have been influenced by the word for 'finger'. It cannot be assumed that the velar was introduced from νέκϋς, so the explanation cannot be maintained. The Egyptian word was later borrowed as ►νίτρον. Finally, Levin *SMEA* 13 (1971) derived the word from Semitic *nqṭr* 'to burn incense'.

**νεκύδαλ(λ)ος** [m.] 'the cocoon of the silkworm' (Arist., Ath., Clem. Alex.). On the mg. Immisch *Glotta* 6 (1915): 203ff. ◀PG(S)▶

•ETYM Formation like κορύ-δ-αλ(λ)ος 'crested lark' (see κόρυδος), "so probably derived from νέκϋς in view of the apparent lifelessness of the larva" (Frisk). According to Immisch *Glotta* 6 (1915): 203ff., the name is also connected with the view of the Seelenschmetterling (butterfly of the soul) and its symbolic views. Incorrectly, Güntert 1919: 220 f.: properly "deathworm", from νέκϋς and *del-* 'split' in δαιδάλλω, etc. The interpretation in Frisk seems most improbable. The word is clearly Pre-Greek (on -αλ(λ)ος, see Beekes 2008).

**νέκϋς** ⇒ νεκρός.

**νέμεσις, -εως** [f.] 'righteous anger, retribution' (Il.), also personified (Hes.); on the mg. below. ◀IE? \**nem-* 'attribute'▶

•DER Νεμέσια [n.pl.] 'festival of Nemesis' (D.), appellative νεμέσιον [n.] as a plantname = ὠκιμοειδής 'catchfly' (Ps.-Dsc.); Νεμεσεῖον (-ιον) 'temple of Nemesis' (Hell. inscr.); νεμεσίτης λίθος [m.] name of a magic stone (Cyran.).

Denominative verbs: 1. νεμεσ(σ)άομαι, -άω 'to become indignant, rage, get angry, resent' (Il.), aor. νεμεσ(σ)-ιθηῖναι, -ήσασθαι, -ῆσαι, verbal adj. -ιητός; analogical after

other verbs in -άομαι, -άω (cf. Chantraine 1942: 358, Schwyzler: 727), -σσ- beside -σ- is also analogical / metrical, as in νεμέσσι [dat.sg.] Z 335; νεμεσητικός 'prone to perturbation' (Arist.), νεμεσήμων 'unwilling, perturbed' (Call., Nonn.). 2. νεμεσίζομαι (only pres. and ipf.) 'id.' (Hom.).

•ETYM Formation in -τις (cf. γένεσις, Λάχεσις; see on ►λαγχάνω), often connected with ►νέμω. The proper meaning would be \*(just) assignment, attribution, *imputatio*; this perhaps still shines through in the usual epic expression οὐ νέμεσις (τινί), originally 'one cannot attribute (to sbd.)', i.e. 'one cannot blame sbd. for sth.' (cf. Bischoff *Gnomon* 15 (1939): 549').

**νέμος** [n.] 'grove, forest' (since Λ 480). <IE? \*nem- 'attribute', \*nem- 'bend'>

•DER Probably here Νεμέα, epic -είη [f.] valley and place in Argolis with a forest dedicated to Ζεὺς Νέμειος (since Hes.).

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *nemus* [n.] 'forest, (holy) wood'; also related is a Celtic word for '(holy) wood, sanctuary', in Gaul. *nemeton*, OIr. *nemed*. For IE \*nem-os- beside \*nemeto-, cf. τέλος : τελετή. Further combinations are hypothetical: connection with Skt. *nāmati* 'to bend' with *nāmas-* [n.] 'bow, adoration'; with ►νέμω, -ομαι in the sense 'to pasture'.

**νέμω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to allot, dispense, distribute, appropriate, possess; to inhabit, manage; to pasture, graze, consume' (Il.). <IE \*nem- 'dispense, distribute; take'>

•VAR Aor. νεῖμαι (Il.), -ασθαι, pass. νεμηθῆναι, fut. νεμῶ, -οῦμαι (Ion. -έομαι, late -ήσω, -ήσομαι), perf. νενέμηκα, -ημαι (Att., etc.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα-, προσ-.

•DER A. νομή [f.] 'pasture', metaph. 'spread', e.g. of an ulcer, 'distribution' (IA), 'possession' (Hell.). Also ἐπι-, προ-νομή, etc. from ἐπι-, προ-νέμειν, -εσθαι, etc. Also νομός [m.] 'pasture' (Il.), 'seat, residence' (Pi., Hdt., S.), 'province' (Hdt., D. S., Str.). From νομή or νομός (cannot always be determined with certainty): 1. νομάς, -άδος 'roaming the pasture', substantivized plur. 'pastoral people, nomads' (IA), as an EN 'Numidians' (Plb.); thence νομαδ-ικός 'roaming, belonging to pastoral peoples, Numidian' (Arist.), -ίτης 'id.' (Suid.), -ία [f.pl.] 'pastures' with -ιαῖος (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*). 2. νομεύς [m.] 'herdsman, shepherd' (Il.), also 'distributor' (Pl.), plur. 'ribs of a ship' (Hdt.); from this (or from νομός?) νομεύω [v.] 'to pasture' (Il.) with νόμευ-μα [n.] 'herd' (A.), -τικός 'belonging to pasturage' (Pl.); διανομ-εύς (to διανομή), προνομ-εύω (to προ-νομή), etc. 3. νόμιος 'regarding the pasture', also as an epithet of several gods (Pi., Ar., Call.); cf. on νόμος; νομαῖος 'id.' (Nic., Call.); νομώδης 'festering', of an ulcer (medic.). 4. νομάζω, -ομαι [v.] 'to pasture' (Nic.).

B. νόμος [m.] 'custom, usage, law; (musical) key, tone' (since Hes.), with several compounds, e.g. ἔννομος PN (Il.), εὖ-νομος 'equipped with good laws' (Pi.) with εὐνομ-ία, -ία 'lawful order' (since ρ 487). From νόμος: 1. adj. νόμιμος 'customary, lawful' (IA), with νομιότης [f.] (Iamb.); νομικός 'regarding the laws, juridical, jurisprudent' (Pl., Arist.); νόμαιος = νόμιμος (Ion. and late); νόμιος 'id.' (Locris; cf. on νομός). 2. Verb νομίζω 'to use customarily, be used to, observe (a custom), believe' (IA, Dor.), sporadically with prefix, e.g. συν-, κατα-; thence νόμισις [f.] 'belief' (Th.), νόμισμα [n.] 'custom, received or current institution, (valid) coin' (IA),

diminutive -άτιον (Poll.); νομιστός 'received' with νομιστεύομαι 'be received' (Plb.), also νομιτεύομαι 'id.' (Hell. and late inscr.), cf. θεμι(σ)τεύω.

C. νεμέτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'keeper (of justice), avenger' (A. *Th.* 485); νέμησις [f.], also ἀπο-, δια-, ἐπι-, etc., from ἀπο-νέμω, etc., 'distribution' (Is., Arist.); νεμ-ητής = νεμέτωρ (Poll.) with -ήτρια [f.] (inscr. Rome, IV<sup>p</sup>); uncertain Νεμήϊος epithet of Zeus (Archyt. *apud* Stob.); perhaps for Νέμειος (from Νεμέα). On ►νέμεσις, see s.v. D. Deverbatives: νεμέθω, -ομαι [v.] 'to pasture' (Λ 635, Nic.); νωμάω 'to distribute, maintain, observe' (Il., Hdt., Parm.), aor. -ῆσαι, also with ἐπι-, ἀμφι-, προσ-, whence νόμ-ησις (Pl. *Cra.* 411d), -ήτωρ 'distributor, etc.' (Man., Nonn.).

•ETYM The Greek system is built on the present νέμω. The disyllabic forms νεμέτωρ, νέμεσις, νέμησις must somehow be analogical after γενέτωρ, γένεσις, etc., as νεμ- had no final laryngeal. The ramification of the meanings found in νέμω and its derivations is problematic. Benveniste 1948: 79 stresses that the phenomenon of lawful and regular distribution that characterizes the verb νέμω. However, it may be asked whether more than one root is at the basis of νέμω.

Of the words outside Greek that are interesting for the etymology, the Germanic verb for 'take' agrees best with νέμω: Go. *niman*, etc.; further, Latv. *ņemt*, 1sg. *ņemu* 'to take'. A selection of nominal derivations: Av. *nāmah-* [n.] 'loan', Lat. *numerus* 'number, etc.', OIr. *nem* [f.] 'poison' (cf. Gr. δόσις, G *Gift*).

Connection with Skt. *nāmati* 'bow, bend' and ToB *nām-* 'id.', which are formally identical with νέμω, can be neither proven nor disproven. LIV<sup>2</sup> makes a division in 1. \*nem- 'zuteilen' (Gr., Gm. and Latv.) and 2. \*nem- 'sich neigen' (Ilr. and To.). See ►νέμος.

**νενίηλος** [adj.] 'unwise, blinded', acc. to H. = τυφλός, ἀπόπληκτος, ἀνόητος 'blind, senseless, stupid' (Call. *Jov.* 63). <PG?>

•DER Beside it ἐνίηλος (very doubtful, probably <ν>ε-) ἀνόητος; also νενός, εὐήθης 'simple, silly' (H.).

•ETYM Fur.: 392 compares νενός with ἐνεός 'stupid, dumb'; the v.l. <ν>ε- might also be an instance of this alternation.

**νέννος** [m.] '(maternal) uncle' (Thera, Poll., H., Eust.), 'maternal grandfather' (Poll.; v.l. νόννος); on the mg. cf. μήτρωρ. <ONOM?>

•DER νάνναν· τὸν τῆς μητρὸς ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφόν· οἱ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἀδελφήν. νάννη· μητρὸς ἀδελφή (H.). Cf. also νίν(ν)η [f.] 'grandmother, mother-in-law' vel sim.? (Thessalonica II<sup>p</sup>).

•ETYM Reduplicated *Lallwort* like e.g. Skt. *nanā* [f.] 'mother, mama', MoP *nana* 'id.', SCr. *nana* 'mother', Ru. *njánja* 'nurse'; Lat. *nonnus*, -a 'monk, nun', also 'nurse-maid' can probably also be adduced. On the Greek words, see Schwyzler: 315, 339, 423.

**νεογίλλος, -ιός** [adj.] 'newly born, young, small' vel sim. (μ 86, Is. *Fr.* 12, Theoc., late prose); cf. H. νεογίλης (μ 86)· νεογνής, νεαρᾶς, νέας, νεωστὶ γεννηθείσης; acc. to sch. ad loc. γάλακτι τρεφομένης 'fed by mother's breast'; besides perhaps νεογίλης in νεογηλέα, v.l. Anacr. 51 for νεοθηλέα. <IE? \*ǵeid- 'suck'>

•VAR Perhaps found in Myc. *ki-ra* = /gillā/, Chantraine 1968: 574.

•ETYM The second member is also seen in the PN Γίλλος, with Γιλίς, -ίων. The gemination, which is typical of pet names, does not necessarily belong to the adjective. However, if it is original, -γίλλος may stand for \*-γιδ-λος and belong together with Lith. *žisti*, 1sg. *žindū* 'to suck'; νεογίλλος may then originally mean "who started sucking recently".

νεογνός [adj.] 'newborn'. ⇒ γίγνομαι.

νεολαία [f.] 'group of young men, youth of a nation' (A. [lyr.], Ar. *Fr.* 67, Theoc., late prose), also adj. (E. *Alc.* 103 [lyr.]; correct?). <GR>

•ETYM Abstract compound from νέος and λαός with a suffix -ία-: \*νεο-λᾱφ-ία, properly "composition of young people". Cf. Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 172f.

νέομαι [v.] 'to reach some place, escape, return, get home' (Il.). <IE \*nes- 'return, heal'>

•VAR Contracted forms νεῦμαι, νεῖαι, νεῖται, etc., only present-stem. Further νίσομαι (-σσ-), only present stem except for uncertain or late attestations of a supposed aorist νίσ(σ)ασθαι, often with prefix. e.g. μετα-, ποτι-, ἀπο-, 'drive, go, come' (Il.).

•DIAL Myc. PN *Ne-ti-ja-no* /Nesti-anōr/, see Peters *Sprache* 32 (1986). It is compared with Thess. Νέσσανδρος (SEG 34, 530).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀπο-.

•DER 1. νόστος [m.] 'return, homecoming, (felicitous) journey' (Il.), also 'income, produce' (Trypho *apud* Ath. 14, 618d); ἄ-νοστος 'without yield' (Thphr.); hence νόστιμος 'belonging to the return' (Od.), also 'giving produce, fruitful, nutritious' (Call., Thphr., Plu.).

Denominative verb νοστέω 'to return, come home, travel' (epic poet. since Il., also Hdt.), also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ὑπο-, περι-; thence ἀπο-, ὑπο-, περι-νόστησις [f.] 'return, retreat, etc.' (late). 2. Νέστωρ, -ορος [m.] PN (Il.), whence Νεστόρεος (Il.), Aeol. for -ιος; -εῖος (Pi., E.), νεστορίς, -ίδος [f.] name of a cup (Ath. 11, 487f.).

•ETYM The thematic root present νέομαι < \*nes-e/o- corresponds formally with the Germanic group of Go. *ganisan* 'to recover, be saved', OE *genesan* 'to escape, be saved, survive', MoHG *genesen* 'to mend, recover', with a perfective prefix \*ga-. The semantic connection between these verbs is quite straightforward. Skt. *násate* 'to come near, approach, meet sbd., unite', which is semantically farther removed, is nevertheless formally identical; if *Násatyā* [m.du.], indicating the Ásvins, properly means "Healers, Saviors", it fits well with νέομαι, *ga-nisan* and the causatives Go. *nasjan* 'to save' and OHG *nerian* 'to save, heal, feed'.

The forms νίσομαι (also written νίσσομαι) are debated. Acc. to LIV<sup>2</sup>, we may explain them as \*ni-ns-e- > νίσε- (instead of sound-regular \*\*νῖνε-) by assuming an athematic 3sg. \*ni-ns-toi with preservation of *s* before *t*, and only later thematization (likewise, Pok. 766; differently, Peters *Sprache* 30 (1984): 86). The explanation as a desiderative \*ni-ns-s-e/o- is less likely in view of the formal match with Skt. *nímsate* < \*ni-ns-e/o-.

The comparison with ToA *nasam*, ToB *nesau* 'I am' < perf. \*nos- is accepted by some, doubted by others. See also on ► ναίω 'to live' and on ► ἄσμενος.

νεόπτραι [f.] · υἱῶν θυγατέρες 'daughters of sons' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Hypotheses by Latte and Benveniste 1969:1: 234.

νέος [adj.] 'new, young, youthful, unusual, unheard' (Il.). <IE \*neuo- 'new'>

•VAR Grades of comparison νεώτερος, -τατος (since Il.), also νέατος in the sense of 'the last one' (trag.), but perhaps contaminated with νείατος, see on ► νεῖός.

•DIAL Myc. *ne-wo*.

•COMP Very often as a first member, cf. νεο-γίλλος, νεο-γν-ός, νέ-ορτος (see ὄρνυμι), νεοχμός, etc.

•DER 1. νεαρός 'young, youthful, tender, fresh' (B 289; on the formation below) with νεάρωσις [f.] 'rejuvenation' (Poet. in *Pland.* 78, 13). 2. νεότης, -ητος (Dor. -τας) [f.] 'age of youth, youthful spirit, band of young men' (Il.), -τήσιος 'youthful' (Ps.-Phoc.). 3. νεοίη [f.] 'youthful thoughtlessness' (Ψ 604), νέοιαι· ἀφροσύναι 'id.' (H.); after ἀνοίη, ἄνοια. 4. νέᾱξ, -κος [m.] = νεανίας (Nicophon, Poll.); see Björck 1950: 264f. Adverbs: 5. νεωστί 'newly, fresh' (IA) from νέως + τι (Schwyzer: 624). 6. νεόθεν 'lately' (S. OC 1447 [lyr.]). Denominative verbs: 7. νεάζω 'to be or become young' (trag., com., Hdt., Hell.), also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, whence ἐκνεασμός 'innovation' (Simp.); on νεασμός 'labouring of a fallow land' (Gr.), from νεάω, see below and on ► νεῖός. 8. νεόω 'to make new' (A.), also = νεάω (LXX, Poll.) with νεώματα [pl.] 'laboured fallow land' (LXX). 9. νεάω [v.] 'to work fallow land' (Hes. Op. 462), cf. Lat. *novālis* (*ager, terra*) 'fallow land'; besides, derivation from ► νεῖός 'fallow land' is conceivable. 10. νεώσσω, -ττω [v.] 'to renew' (Hdn., H.). 11. νεωτερίζω [v.] 'to renew, innovate (in political organization)' (Att.) with νεωτερ-ισμός, -ισμα, -ις, -ιστής, -ικός. On ► νεᾱνίᾱς, see s.v.

•ETYM The form νέος < νέφος (cf. Myc. *ne-wo* and Cypr. νεφόστατος) is identical with Hitt. *neṃa-*, Skt. *náva-*, Lat. *novus*, OCS *novъ*, ToB *ñuwe*, ToA *ñu*, all from IE \*neuo- 'new'. There is also a derivative in -iō- in Skt. *nánva-*, Go. *niujis*, Gaul. *Novio-dūnum*, Lith. *naūjas*. Theoretically, νεῖός (only A. R. 1, 125, verse-initially) could agree with this, but it is rather due to metrical lengthening. An *r*-formation parallel to νεαρός is found in Arm. *nor* 'new' < \*neueró- vel sim.; cf. νηρός. The denominative verb νεάω agrees with Lat. *novāre* and Hitt. *neṃaḫḫ-* 'to renew', but they could be parallel innovations, like the correspondence of νεότης with Lat. *novitās*, and of νέᾱξ with CS *novakъ*. It is probable that the adjective \*neuo- derives from \*nu 'now'.

νεοσσός [m.] 'young bird, chick', also of other animals and of men (Il.), 'yolk of an egg' (Arist.). <IE \*neuo- + -tio- 'young'>

•VAR Also νοσσός (Schwyzer: 253 with lit.), Att. νεοττός.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ν(ε)οσσο-τροφέω (-ττ-) [v.] 'to rear young birds' (Ar.).

•DER 1. Diminutives: ν(ε)οσσίον, -ττ- 'chick', also metaph. 'yolk of an egg' (Ar., Arist., Thphr.); -σσίς, -τίς [f.] 'id.', also as a PN (com., Arist., AP), as a designation of a shoe (Herod. 7, 57; probably from the PN). 2. collective ν(ε)οσσίη (Ion.), -ττιά (Att.), νοσσιά (Hell.) 'brood', also 'den, lair' (Herod.), 'beehive' (LXX). 3.

Denominative verb ν(ε)οσσεύω, -ττεύω 'to breed, nestle' (IA) with νεοττεία, -ττεύσις 'breeding' (Arist.). 4. PN Νόσσοις, Νοσσώ, Νοσσικᾶς (inscr.).

•ETYM Formed from νέος, probably after the example of περισσός, ἔπισσαι, or μέτασσαί. These contain the adjectival suffix \*-tio- added to a preposition, as found also in e.g. Hitt. *appezziia-* 'backmost', Skt. *ápatya-* 'offspring' < \**Hop-e/o-ti-o-* and, within Greek, in the adverbs ὀπίσ(σ)ω, πρόσ(σ)ω.

**νεοχμός** [adj.] 'new, unusual, strange', almost only of objects (Ion. poet., Alcm.).

◀GR▶

•DER νεοχμία· κίνησις πρόσφατος 'recent movement' (H.) and denominative νεοχμός = νεωτερίζω 'to innovate (in the political system), to revolt' (Hdt., Th. 1, 12, Arist.) with νεόχμωσις [f.] 'innovation, unusual appearance' (Arist., Aret.); also νεοχι-έω (H., Suid.), -ίζω (H.) 'id.'.

•ETYM Derived from νέος, but with an unclear formation. It has been compared with ὀρροχμόν· ἔσχατον, ἄκρον 'topmost, highest' (H.), from ὀρρος. Wackernagel KZ 33 (1895): if. analyzes -χιμ- as the zero grade of χθών, χαμαί, so the compound would originally mean 'new in (this) land'; however, this has not been universally accepted.

**νέπετος** [?] = καλαμίνθη (Gal.). ▶PG?▶

•VAR Cf. νέπιτα· ἡ καλαμίνθη (H.).

•ETYM According to André 1956 s.v., νέπιτα was taken from Lat. *nepeta*. Fur.: 357 is probably right in considering the origin of the Latin word to be a Greek pre-form \**νεπετα*. Such a form points to Pre-Greek origin.

**νέποδες** [pl.] in νέποδες καλῆς Ἀλοσύδνης as a designation of the φῶκαι 'seals' (δ 404); differently interpreted by later poets: as ἀπόγονοι 'descendants' (Theoc. 17, 25, Call. Fr. 77; also Eust. 1502, 36); as νηξίποδες 'creatures with fins' (H.), referring to fishes (Call. Fr. 260, Nic., AP), as ἄποδες 'feetless' (Apion *apud* Apollon. Lex.). ▶?▶

•ETYM The exact meaning is uncertain, so the word remains etymologically unclear. The fact that Greek has no word-negation \*νε- 'not-, un-' is evidence against the interpretation 'footless'. The interpretation as 'ἀπόγονοι' identifies νέποδες with Lat. *nepōtes* = Skt. *nāpātah* [pl.] 'grandchild'; thus, the word would have been adapted in its inflection to πούς: ποδός.

**νέρθε(ν)** [adv.] '(from) below'. •VAR νέρτερος 'lower'. ⇒ἐνερθεν, ἐνέρτερος.

**νέτωπον** [n.] 'oil of bitter almonds' (Hp.), also νετώπιον (H.) and by folk-etymology μετώπιον (medic., H.); νίωπον (Hp. *apud* Erot.). ▶PG?, LW Sem.??

•ETYM Acc. to Lewy 1895: 39f., it is a Semitic loan; cf. Hebr. *nāṭāp*, Aram. *nāṭāpā*, *nāṭōpā* 'drip; dripping, odoriferous resin'. However, the variations dental/zero (Fur.: 391) and ε/ι could also point to a Pre-Greek word.

**νευρά** [f.] 'string of a bow, sinew' (Il., X., Arist.). ◀IE \**sneh-ur/n-* 'band, sinew'▶

•VAR Ion. -ή.

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. νευρό-σπαστος 'drawn by strings', substantivized [n.pl.] 'puppets' (Hdt., X.), with derivatives νευροσπάστ-ης, -ικός, -ία, -έω (Arist., Hell.).

•DER Diminutive νευρίον [n.] (AP). Lengthened form νευρειή (Theoc. 25, 213; verse-initial), cf. ἐγγεή: ἔγχος, etc.; oxytone accent after νευρή.

Also νεύρον [n.] 'sinew, string (of a bow, of an instrument), cord, penis', in plur. 'strength, power' (Il.).

Derivatives: 1. diminutive νευρίον (Hp.). 2. Plant name νευράς, -άδος [f.] = ποτίρριον (Dsc., Plin.), δορύκνιον (Plin.). 3. Adjective νευρ-ώδης 'sinewy' (IA), -ινος 'made from sinews' (Pl., Arist.), -ικός 'suffering from contraction of the sinews, concerning the sinews, etc.' (medic.). 4. Verb νευρόμαι, -ώω 'to be provided with sinews' (Ar., Ph., Gal.), also with prefix ἀπο-, ἐκ-, whence ἀπονεύρωσις [f.] 'end of the muscle, where it becomes tendinous' (Gal.).

•ETYM Greek νεύρον and Lat. *nervus* 'sinew, muscle, nerve' < \*(s)*neuro-* display a thematic enlargement of the *r*-stem seen in Av. *snāuuarə* [n.] 'sinew', ToB *šnāura* 'sinews, nerves', Arm. *neard* 'sinew, fiber' (with QIE \*-t). An alternating *n*-stem is found in Skt. *snāvan-* [n.] 'band, sinew'. The Greek and Latin thematizations probably originated in the collective (neuter plural).

We have to depart from IE \**sneh-ur/n-*, a derivative in *-uer/n-* from a root \**sneh-* 'to twist together (threads)', found in ►νέω 2 'to spin'. For the reconstruction, see Schrijver 1991: 269. Hitt. *išḫunaṣar* [n.] 'sinew' is unrelated, but derives from *išḫunaṣ-* 'upper arm' (cf. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.).

**νεύω** [v.] 'to incline, nod, beckon, grant' (Il.). ◀IE \**neu(H)-* 'nod, incline'▶

•VAR Aor. νεῦσαι, fut. νεύσω, -νεύσομαι (Il.), perf. νένευκα (E.) -νένευμαι (Ph.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐπι-, κατα-.

•DER νεῦσις [f.] 'nodding, inclination', also with ἐκ-, ἀνά-, etc. (Pl., LXX), νεῦμα [n.] 'beck, nod' (A., Th., X.), also with ἐπι-, ἐν-, συν-; thence νευμάτιον (Arr.); νευστικός 'inclining' (Ph.). Enlargement νευστάζω (rarely with ἐπι-) [v.] 'to nod, beckon' (Il.), cf. βασιτάζω, ῥυστάζω, etc.

•ETYM Frisk argued that the retention of the diphthong in νεύω as well as in νευστάζω pointed to a pre-form \**neus-e/o-* or \**neus-ie/o-*, comparing ►γεύομαι and ►εὔω. The late forms νένευκα, -νένευμαι are derived from νεύω. However, the obvious cognate Lat. *abnuō* 'to refuse, deny', *adnuō* 'to nod, permit' derives from \**-neue/o-*, which is why a root without *-s-* would be preferable. The form νεῦμα agrees with Lat. *nūmen* < \**neu(s)-mn*, but both forms are easily understood as independent innovations.

García Ramón MSS 54 (1993): 33-63 discusses the Aktionsart and aspect of \**neu(H)-* 'to make a sudden movement', and comes to the following conclusions: 1) Lat. *nūtus* does not prove a laryngeal. 2) Skt. *nāvate* 'to move' should not be included as evidence. 3) The Greek present may continue \**neu(H)-e/o-*. 4) The verb is non-momentative and non-durative. The original meaning is still preserved in Greek and Latin.

Further cognates include Lith. *niaūsti* 'to incline' and Mir. *a:t-noi* 'to entrust' (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**neu-*). The group of Ru. *núrit'*, which is semantically close, is difficult to connect because a *ro*-adjective is hard to imagine for this root. See ►νύσσω, ►νυστάζω.



**νεφέλη** [f.] 'cloud, mass of clouds' (epic poet. since Il., X., Arist.) also a cloud in urine and in the eye (medic.), metaph. 'fine bird-net' (Ar., Call., AP). <IE \**neb<sup>h</sup>-l-* 'cloud'>

•COMP νεφελ-ηγερέτα 'cloud-gatherer', epithet of Zeus, with voc. for nom., ἐπι-νέφελος 'clouded' (Hdt., Hp., Arist.).

•DER 1. Diminutive νεφέλιον [n.] (Arist., Thphr., medic.). 2. Adjectives: νεφελ-ώδης 'cloudy' (Arist.), -ωτός 'covered with clouds, consisting of clouds' (Luc.). 3. Verbs: νεφελ-όομαι (Eust.), -ίζομαι (sch.) 'to be(come) covered with clouds'.

•ETYM Both νέφος and νεφέλη are old inherited words with exact counterparts in several languages. The word νεφέλη corresponds to Lat. *nebula*, MW *nyfel* 'cloud', IE \**neb<sup>h</sup>-el-h<sub>2</sub>-*. Germanic has the same element *-l-*, but the ending and the medial vowel vary: e.g., ON *njól* [f.] 'darkness' < PGm. \**nebulā*, OHG *nebul* [m.] 'mist' < PGm. \**neb(V)la-*. Celtic forms like OIr. *nél* [m.] 'cloud, mist', gen. *nivil* are ambiguous.

Beside this *l*-stem, we find a neuter *s*-stem \**neb<sup>h</sup>-s-* in ► νέφος = Skt. *nábhas-* [n.] 'cloud, mist, haze', Hitt. *nepiš*, OCS *nebo*, gen. *nebes* 'heaven'. The word ► ὄμβρος is unrelated.

**νέφος** [n.] 'cloud, mass of clouds' (Il.). <IE \**neb<sup>h</sup>-s-* 'cloud'>

•COMP νεφο-ειδής 'cloud-like' (Epicur.), συν-νεφής 'surrounded by clouds, dark' (E., Arist.), ἐπι-νεφής 'cloudy, bringing clouds' (Arist., Thphr.) with the verbal formations (probably back-formations): συν-νέφει, -νένοφεν (Ar., E., Arist.), ἐπι-νέφει (Arist., Thphr.) 'is or makes cloudy', whence ἐπίνεψις [f.] 'cloudiness' (Arist.).

•DER 1. Diminutive νεφύδριον (Olymp. Phil.). 2. Adjective νεφώδης 'cloudlike, bringing clouds' (Arist., Str.). 3. Verb νεφόομαι (also with ἐκ-) 'become cloudy, be changed in a cloud' (Thphr., Ph.) with νέφωσις [f.] 'cloudiness' (Ph.).

•ETYM For cognates, see ► νεφέλη. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 1. \**neb<sup>h</sup>-* takes the impersonal verbs συννέφει, etc. as old.

**νεφροί** [m.pl.] 'kidneys' (IA). <IE \**neg<sup>wh</sup>-ro-* 'kidney'>

•VAR Also νεφρώ [du.] (Ar. *Ra.* 475), rarely sg. νεφρός.

•COMP As a second member in περί-νεφρος 'fat around the kidneys' (Arist.).

•DER νεφρία [n.pl.] 'id.' (pap. II-III<sup>p</sup>); νεφρ-ίτης σφόνδυλος 'first vertebra of the sacrum' (Poll.), -ίτης (νόσος) [f.] 'disease of the kidneys' (Hp., Th.) with -ιτικός 'suffering of νεφρίτις, healing the v.' (medic.); νεφρ-ώδης 'kidney-like' (Arist.), -αῖος 'ptng. to the kidneys' (Dsc.); hypostasis ἐπινεφρ-ίδιος 'on the kidneys', of δημός 'fat' (Φ 204).

•ETYM The word νεφροί has a counterpart in the glosses given by Festus: *nefrōnēs* (Praeneste), *nebrundinēs* (Lanuvium) 'kidneys'. The Germanic word for 'kidney', OHG *nioro*, ME *nēre* (also *kid-nēre* > E *kidney*), OSw. *niūre*, etc., which requires a pre-form \**neurān-*, points to IE \**neg<sup>wh</sup>-ro-*. Both ἀδήν 'gland', *inguen* 'groin' and Lat. *rēnēs*, OIr. *áru* 'kidney' must be kept separate.

**νέω** 1 [v.] 'to swim' (Il.). <IE \**sneh<sub>2</sub>-* 'swim'>

•VAR Ip. ἔ-ννεον (Φ 11), aor. νεῦσαι, perf. νένευκα (Att.), fut. νεύσομαι (H.), -σοῦμαι (v.l. X. *An.* 4, 3, 12).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐκ-, περι-.

•DER νεῦσις [f.] 'swimming' (Arist.), ἀνάνευ-σις properly "swimming upward", 'revival' (LXX).

Beside νέω stands νήχω, usually -ομαι 'to swim', Dor. (Ps.-Theoc.) νάχω, -ομαι, fut. νήξομαι (epic poet. Od.), aor. νήξασθαι (Plb., Lyc., AP), perf. med. νενήχθαι (Ath.), very often with prefix (mostly med.), e.g. παρα-, δια-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-. Thence νήξις [f.] 'swimming' (Batr., Plu., medic.), διάνηξ-ις 'swimming through' (Herm. *apud* Stob.), νηχαλέος 'swimming' (Xenocr.), after μυδαλέος, etc.

•ETYM The present νήχω, νάχω, whence νήξομαι, etc., contains a velar enlargement of IE \**sneh<sub>2</sub>-*, as seen in Skt. *snāti* 'to bathe', Lat. *nāre* 'to swim', OIr. *snāim* 'to swim, float, etc.'. For the root-extension -χ-, compare σμήν beside σμήχω 'to salve'.

Deviating from νήχω in their vocalism, νέω and νεῦσαι agree with πλέω : πλεῦσαι and could be rhyme-formations. Verbal nouns with *o*-ablaut are supposed in νόα-πηγή. Λάκωνες 'source (Lacon.)' (H.; corrected to νοά by Bechtel 1921, 2: 378) and in Νοῦς ποταμός (Arcadia, Asia Minor; cf. Schwyzler: 310); a zero grade aorist occurs in ἐννυθεν ἐκέχυντο (H.) (correct?).

Beside νήχω and νέω, there is ► νάω 'to bubble up, stream'.

**νέω** 2 [v.] 'to spin'. <IE \**sneh<sub>1</sub>-* 'spin'>

•VAR Present 3sg. νῆ (νῆ, νεῖ; Hes. *Op.* 777), 3pl. νῶσι (Ael., Poll.), ipf. ἔννη (Aeol.; Hdn., *EM*), inf. νῆν, ptc. νῶντα (H.), νώμενος (Poll.); also νήθω (Cratin., Pl., LXX); aor. νῆσαι, -ασθαι (since η 198); νῶσαι (Eup. 319, ptc.f.pl.(?); Meineke νῆσαι), pass. νηθῆναι and fut. νήσω (Att.), perf. med. νένησμαι (late).

•COMP Rarely with ἐπι-, δια-, συν-, κατα-.

•DER νῆμα [n.] 'thread, yarn' (Od.) with νηματ-ικός 'consisting of threads' (Ath. Mech.), -ώδης 'fibrous' (Plu.); νῆσις [f.] 'spinning' (Pl.); νῆτρον [n.] 'distaff' (Suid.); ► νήθουσα [f.] plant name.

•ETYM The dental enlargement in νήθω may be compared with κνήθω : κνήν, πλήθω : πλήτο (Schwyzler 703), and perhaps also κλώθω 'to spin' (Frisk).

Aeolic ἔννη and Homeric ἔν-ννητος 'well spun' point to original \**sn-*, which is etymologically expected on account of OIr. *snuid* 'spins, stitches'. The root is also found in Lat. *nēre* 'to spin' < \*(s)*neh<sub>1</sub>-*, and without *s*-mobile in Germanic, e.g. OHG *nāen* 'to sew'.

The question is what present formation PIE built on this root. The forms νῶσι, νῶντα, νώμενος are thematizations (from \**νηουσι*, \**νήοντα*, \**νήόμενος*) of the old athematic verb found in the ipf. ἔννη < \**e-sneh<sub>1</sub>-t*. However, there are also forms that point to an *i*-enlargement: e.g., Ru. *nit* 'thread', Lith. *nytis* 'warp thread' < \*(s)*nh<sub>1</sub>-i-ti-*. Lat. *neō* is ambiguous and could continue either a *yod*-present derived from this *i*-present, or an old athematic formation. Celtic points to a *yod*-present \**snīyo-*. Latv. *snāju*, *snāt* 'to wind together loosely' is perhaps related, but its apparent *o*-vocalism is unclear. The \**o* is also found in several nouns, e.g. OIr. *snáth* 'thread' (probably < \**snoh<sub>1</sub>-to-* rather than \**snh<sub>1</sub>-tó-*), OGutn. *snōp* 'cord' = OE *snōd* 'headband, snood', Latv. *snātene* 'linen shawl'.

An important derivative from \**sneh<sub>1</sub>-*, which became lexicalized already in PIE, is \**sneh<sub>1</sub>-ur/n-* 'cord, sinew, etc.'; see on ► νεῦπον.

**-νέω 3** [v.] 'to amass, pile up, load with sth.'. <?>

•VAR Aor. νῆσαι, -ασθαι, perf. med. νένι(σ)μαι, also with ἐπι-, περι-, συν-, etc. (IA), aor. pass. νησθῆναι (Arr.), fut. νήσω (Suid.), νησόμεθα· κορεσθισόμεθα 'will be stuffed' (H.); ipf. also νῆει, νήεον, aor. νῆσαι (epic Il.), νηήσατο (B. 3, 33), besides νήνεον (only v.l. Ψ 139), ἐπ-, παρ-ενήνεον (Hom.).

•COMP Present stem only with ἐπι-, περι- (Hdt.).

•DER νήησις [f.] 'heaping up' (sch. A. R. 1, 403).

•ETYM Hom. -ενήνεον does not have intensive reduplication with lengthened grade (such formations are not assumed anymore, since δηδέχεται has been explained differently). Most scholars assume that it is a mistake for -ενήεον, but an objection is that it occurs several times (DELG). Therefore, the form remains unexplained.

The present νῆει, posited on the basis of νῆει, νήεον, may have been formed from a non-presentic stem in -ιη, like aor. νῆσαι. Likewise, -νέω may have arisen from νῆσαι (which may in turn be a contracted form of νηήσαι). The gloss ὠντος· σωρεύοντος 'heaping up' (Phot.) can also be explained in various ways. In its entirety, then, the collection of forms remains unclear. There is no etymology.

**νεωλκέω** [v.] 'to haul the ship on land, bring the ship in dock' (Thphr., Plb., D. S.). <GR>

•DER Also νεωλκός = ὁ νεωλκῶν (Arist., Cos I<sup>a</sup>, Poll.), -ία [f.] 'docking' (Aen. Tact., Arist., Thphr.), -ια [n.pl.] 'docks' (App., H.).

•ETYM Synthetic compounds of ναῦς and ἔλκω. The forms νεωλκός < \*νηγ-ολκός and νεωλκ-ία, -ια may be back-formations from νεωλκέω (cf. δειροτομέω, πολιορκέω, etc.; Schwyzler: 726), but they may also be the basis of the latter.

**νεώρια** [n.pl.] 'dockyard, ship-arsenal' (Att.). <GR>

•VAR Also -ιον [sg.].

•DIAL Dor. ναώριον (Corc. II<sup>a</sup>).

•DER Diminutive νεωρίδιον (Delos; II<sup>a</sup>); νεωρός· νεωριοφύλαξ 'guard of the dockyard' (H.), -οί [pl.] = ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων (IG 1<sup>2</sup>, 74: 11 [V<sup>a</sup>]).

•ETYM From \*νηγο-φόρ-ια (perhaps with haplology), originally 'place where ships are surveyed', a compound of ►ναῦς and a verbal noun of ►όράω, extended with the suffix -ιο-. The rarer form νεωρός may be a back-formation from this (like e.g. θυρωρός; cf. Leumann 1950: 223<sup>20</sup>).

**νεώς** [m.] 'temple'. ⇒ναός.

**νέωτα** [adv.] 'next year' (Semon. 1, 9). <GR>

•VAR Elsewhere εἰς (ἐς) νέωτα (X., Thphr.), Delph. [ἐν ν]εω [τ]α (Del.<sup>3</sup> 323 A 12 [V-IV<sup>a</sup>]).

•DER In the same mg. ἐς νέω (Cyrene; also as a weakly attested v.l. in Theoc. 15, 143); unclear ἐς νέων (BGU 958 c 13 [III<sup>a</sup>]), see Maas *Riv. fil. class.* 56 (1928): 413f.

•ETYM Without a convincing explanation. The word νέωτα is traditionally analyzed as a compound of νέος and ἔτος 'year', but none of the advanced reconstructions (see Frisk) can explain the -ω-. DELG accepts the solution by Szemerényi 1969b: 233, who starts from the dative attestation in Semon. without the preposition ἐς,

assuming that νεω was abstracted from νεω(ι)ετει, and that adverbial -τα (as in ἔπειτα, etc.) was added later.

**νη-** privative prefix in νη-κερδής 'useless', νη-πενθής 'free of sorrows', etc. (Il.). <GR>

•VAR Dor. νᾱ-.

•ETYM Forms in νη-, νᾱ-, νω- arose from the IE negating prefix \*n- combined with a following sequence \*HC- (\*H = \*h<sub>1</sub>, \*h<sub>2</sub>, \*h<sub>3</sub>, respectively). After reanalysis of such forms, νη- spread as a separate prefix to words without original initial laryngeal. See Beekes 1969: 98-113, and cf. the privative prefixes ►ᾱ- and ►ν-, both from \*n-.

**νή** [pcl.] assertory particle. ⇒ναί.

**νηάς** [f.] a gigantic animal, the remains of which were seen on Samos (Euph. *apud* Ael. N.A. 17, 28). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**νηγάτεος** [adj.] epithet of χιτών (B 43), κρήδεμνον (Ξ 185), φᾶρος (h. Ap. 122), καλύβαι (A. R. 1, 775). <?>

•ETYM The similarity with MoGr. Macedonian ἀνήγατος 'not worn yet, new' cannot be accidental. However, the etymology is unknown. Fur.: 374 does not help.

**νήγρετος** [adj.] 'which cannot (or hardly) be woken' (Od., Alex. poets). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>ger- 'awake'>

•ETYM From \*n- and \*h<sub>2</sub>gr-eto- in ἔγρετο. See ►ἐγείρω.

**νήδυμος** [adj.] epithet of ὕπνος (Hom.), in late poets also of Μοῦσα, Ὀρφεύς, ὕδωρ, ἄνθος (h. Pan., APl., Nonn.). <GR>

•ETYM Reinterpretation of ἡδυμος 'sweet' (see ►ἡδύς) by taking the preceding epheletic ν to the next word. This ν had been introduced after the loss of the ϣ in order to remove the hiatus (e.g. ἔχεν ἡδυμος ὕπνος B 2). See Leumann 1950: 44f. and Chantraine 1942: 14.

**νηδύς, -ύος** [f.] 'abdominal cavity, abdomen' (Il.). <?>

•VAR -ῦς, secondarily -ῦς; see Schwyzler: 463f.

•DER With suffix -ιο-: νήδυια [n.pl.] 'intestines' (P 524, A. R., Nic.).

•ETYM Unexplained.

**νηέω** 'to heap (up)'. ⇒νέω 3.

**νήθουσα** [f.] plant name (PMag. Par.). <PG>

•ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek word; see Fur.: 197<sup>55</sup>. Details in Strömberg 1940: 106.

**νήθω** 'spin'. ⇒νέω 2.

**νήϊς, -ιδος, -ιδα** [adj.] 'unknowing, nescius' (since H 198, θ 179). <?>

•VAR Secondarily acc. -iv.

•ETYM Perhaps contains the prefix ►νη-, which arose by reanalysis of the original privative prefix \*n- (cf. νηκερδής) and a root noun \*uid-.

**νήκουστος** [adj.] 'who does not hear' (Emp.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>kou- 'hear'>

•ETYM From \**n-* and \**h<sub>2</sub>kous-*, as in ▶ ἀκούω.

**νηλ(ε)ής, -εές** [adj.] ‘without compassion, pitiless’ (epic poet. since Il.), also ‘unescapable, unavoidable’, in νηλεές ἥμαρ, etc. <IE \**n-h<sub>2</sub>leu-es-* ‘pitiless’, \**n-h<sub>2</sub>leu-* ‘unescapable’>

•VAR Metrically lengthened νηλειής, -ειές (Hes. *Th.* 770 and *h. Ven.* 245 [verse-initial], A. R. 4, 476); see Chantraine 1942: 74 and 101.

•COMP As a first member in νηλεό-ποινος ‘punishing without mercy’ (Hes.), etc.

•ETYM In the sense ‘without mercy’, from the negation \**h<sub>2</sub>-* and \**h<sub>2</sub>leu-o-* (as in ▶ ἔλεος, ἐλέω). In the sense ‘unescapable’, from the root \**h<sub>2</sub>leu-*, as in ἀλέομαι. The PN Νηλεύς (Hom.) could be related, but could also be Pre-Greek. See Beekes 1969: 109 and index.

**νηλίπους** [adj.] ‘without footwear, barefoot’. <GR>

•VAR Gen. -ποδος (S. OC 349), νήλιπος, -ον (A. R. 3, 646, Lyc. 635, Theoc. 4, 56, where v.l. ἀνήλιπος [-άλ-]).

•DER Cf. νηλίπεδοι ἢ νήλιποι· ἀνυπόδετοι ‘without shoes’ (H.).

•ETYM Acc. to sch. Theoc. 4, 56, it derives from an otherwise unknown and unexplained ἤλιψ (name of a Dorian shoe) and privative ν(η)-. If this is true, the oldest attestation νηλίπους may stand for \*νηλιπο-πους with syllabic dissimilation (cf. Schwyzler: 263), or be a reformation of νήλιπος after ποῦς.

**νήνεμος** [adj.] ‘without wind, calm’ (Hom.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>nh<sub>1</sub>-m-*>

•DER νηνεμία (Il.) ‘calm, lull’, νηνεμέω [v.] ‘to be still’ (Hp.).

•ETYM From \**n-* and the root of ▶ ἄνεμος in the zero grade.

**νηνέω** ‘to heap (up)’. ⇒ -νέω 3.

**νηνία** [f.] public eulogy, sometimes accompanied by the flute (Cic. *Leg.* 2, 24, 62). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. It is supposed to be the origin of Lat. *nēnia*. The word νηνιάτον is ascribed to Hipponax (*fr.* 163 Masson) by Poll. 4, 79. Cf. νηνιάτος (correction for νινιάτος)· νόμος παιδαριώδης καὶ φρύγιον μέλος ‘childish tune, Phrygian melody’ (H.).

**νηπελέω** ‘to be powerless’. ⇒ ὀλιγηπελέων.

**νήπιος** [adj.] ‘under-aged, young, feeble, childish, foolish’ (Il.). <?>

•COMP As a first member in νηπιό-φρων ‘puerile, thoughtless’ (Str.).

•DER νηπιέη [f.] ‘puerility, childish behaviour’ (Hom.) with Aeol. -έη for -ίη, probably after ἡνωρέη (Leumann 1950: 110<sup>72</sup>, Chantraine 1942: 83); hence νηπίος = νήπιος (Opp.); νηπιότης [f.] ‘puerility’ (Pl., Arist.); νηπιάζω [v.] ‘to be childish’ (Hp. *Ep.*, Erinn., 1 *Ep. Cor.* 14, 20, etc.).

Enlargements: 1. νηπίαχος ‘id.’ (Il.), whence -αχεύω [v.] ‘to be childish, play children’s plays’ (X 502, verse-final; metrically conditioned, Chantraine 1942: 95 and 368), -άχω ‘id.’ (A. R., Mosch., Opp.), probably after στενάχω, ἰάχω; see also Schwyzler: 722f. 2. νηπύτιος ‘id.’ (Il., Ar. *Nu.* 868, Orph.), with -ίη (A. R.), -ιεύομαι (AP).

•ETYM The most recent discussion by Kazansky 2005 is not convincing: he assumes a root \**h<sub>2</sub>ep-* ‘strength’ with an extension \**h<sub>2</sub>pel-* in ἀνηπελίη· ἀσθένεια ‘weakness’ (H.), ▶ ὀλιγηπελέων, etc. Since the root \**h<sub>2</sub>ep-* itself is not attested in the meaning ‘strength’, Van Beek (p.c.) suggests that it may be better to return to the proposal of Lacroix 1937: 261ff., who proposed that νήπιος consists of the negative prefix and ▶ ἥπιος. We may reconstruct \**h<sub>2</sub>ep-iō-*, with the root \**h<sub>2</sub>ep-* ‘join’ as found in Hitt. *happ<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to join’, Lat. *aptus* ‘fitting’ and Gr. ἄπτω ‘to attach, grasp’.

**νήρειον** [n.] the plant ‘dolphin-flower’ (Ps. Dsc. 3, 73). <?>

•DER νηρειάδιον (ib.).

•ETYM Neither νήριον nor Νηρεύς offers an etymology.

**Νηρεύς, -έως** [m.] sea god, son of Pontos and Gaia (*h. Ap.* 319, Hes. *Th.* 233 and 240).

<PG?>

•VAR Epic Ion. gen. -ῆος.

•DER Νηρεῖος in Νηρεῖα τέκνα = ‘fishes’ (Euphro 8, 2) and Νήρειον, -άδιον = δελφίνιον, a plant name (Ps.-Dsc.) perhaps referring to νηρόν ‘(fresh) water’? Besides Νηριῆς, -εῖς [f.], -ίδες [pl.] ‘Nereids, seanymphs’ (Il.).

•ETYM As Νηρεύς has relevance only as the father of the Nereids (see von Wilamowitz 1931: 219 and Nilsson 1941(1): 240; in Hom., he is probably mentioned as ἄλιος γέρων), we should consider whether the father was named after his daughters. He may also be called Πρωτεύς (West ad Hes. *Th.* 233). Not only Νηρεύς has been considered as a base form of Νηρι(φ)ίδ-, but other stems as well; cf. Schwyzler: 465 and Chantraine 1933: 345f. The glosses νηρίδας· τὰς κοίλας πέτρας ‘hollow rocks’ and νηρόν· τὸ ταπεινόν ‘low-lying’ (H.) are also worthy of consideration.

An IE etymology can hardly be expected. The word is probably Pre-Greek, as is suggested by the ending -εύς. See ▶ νάω.

**νήριον** [n.] name of a plant, ‘Nerium Oleander, oleander’ (Dsc. 4, 81, Plin.). <?>

•ETYM May belong to νηρόν ‘(fresh) water’ because of the characteristic property of this plant to follow the course of brooks (Strömberg 1940: 113).

**νήρις 1** [?] plant name, mostly taken as ‘savin, Juniperus Sabina’ (Nic. *Th.* 531), but sometimes identified with νήριον. <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**νήρις 2** νηρίδας· τὰς κοίλας πέτρας ‘hollow rocks’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. DELG connects the word with νηρόν, but this is not obvious.

**νηρίτης** [m.] several kinds of sea-snails (Arist.). <PG?>

•VAR Also written -εῖ-; besides we find ἀναρίτας (Ibyc., Epich.), ἀνηρίτης (Herod.).

•COMP νηριτοτρόφος (A. *Fr.* 312), but see Leumann 1950: 245.

•ETYM The more usual orthography with -εῖ- may be based on association with Νήρειος (from Νηρεύς); the connection with νηρόν ‘water’ (already improbable in itself) is refuted by the forms ἀναρ-, ἀνηρ- with vocalic anlaut. Fur.: 372 takes this initial variation as evidence for Pre-Greek origin. See Thompson 1947 s.v.

**νήριτος** [adj.] ‘uncountable’ (Hes. *Op.* 511, A. R.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ri-* ‘count’>

•COMP As a first member in νηριτόφυλλον· πολύφυλλον ‘with many leaves’ (H.), and in νηριτόμυθος (H.); cf. also νηρίται· μεγάλοι (H.), to be changed into νήριται· μεγάλοι.

•ETYM From \**h<sub>2</sub>ri-to-*, a compound of privative \**n-* (see ► νη-) and a verb ἀρι- ‘to count’ (seen in ► ἀριθμός) with a suffix -*to-*. It also occurs in εἰκοσιν-ήριτος ‘twentyfold’ (X 349, with compositional lengthening), Arc. Ἐπάριτοι = ἐπίλεκτοι ‘selected’, etc. Hence, probably through reinterpretation, the mountain name Νήριτον (B 632, Od.) and the PN Νήριτος (ρ 207); see Leumann 1950: 243ff., as well as Ruijgh 1957: 161f.

**νηρόν** [adj.] · τὸ ταπεινόν ‘low’ (H.). ◀?▶

•ETYM Unknown. The connection with ► νήρις 2 by DELG is not obvious.

**νηρός** [adj.] ‘fresh’, of fish, ἡμί-νηρος ‘lightly salted’; also of water: τὸ νηρόν (ὁ νηρός) ‘(fresh) water’ (Hell.), MoGr. νερό. ◀GR▶

•ETYM Contracted from νεαρός (Schwyzer: 250); see ► νέος and Kretschmer *Glotta* 15 (1927): 64.

**νησίγδα** [?] · ἐν Νυκτί (= Philem. 52) ἀποδιδόασι μάσημά τι ποιόν (H.), so a kind of dish. ◀?▶

•ETYM Unknown. The suffix -ίγδα points to Pre-Greek origin.

**νήσος** [f.] ‘island’ (Il.); also ‘(flooded) land near a river, alluvial land’ (*Tab. Heracl.*, pap.). ◀PG▶

•VAR Dor. νᾶσος (Rhod. νᾶσσοι *SGDI* 4123, 4 [I<sup>a</sup>]).

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. νησο-φύλαξ ‘guardian of the island’ (D. S.), νησί-αρχος, -άρχης ‘governor of the island’ (Antiph. com., Hell. inscr., etc.), after ταξι-, πολί-αρχος, etc.; not from νησίς or νησίον; χερσό-νησος, Att. χερρό-, Dor. -νασος [f.] ‘peninsula’; περίνησον ‘with a fringe’, of ἰμάτιον.

•DER 1. Diminutives: νησίς [f.] (Hdt., Th., Plb.), νησίδιον (Th., Arist., Str.), νησίον (Str.), νησίδριον (X., Isoc.). 2. Other nouns: νησιώτης, Dor. νασιώτας (-τις [f.]) ‘islander’, as an adjective ‘insular’ (Pi., Hdt., A.), after ιδιώτης, στρατιώτης, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 311); thence νησιωτικός ‘typical of an islander’ (Hdt., Th., Ar., E.); νησίτης [m.] ‘id.’ (St. Byz.), fem. νασίτης ‘forming an island’ (AP); νησαῖος ‘insular’ (E., Arat.), after λιμναῖος, etc.; Νησιάδεια [n.pl.] festival at Delos, -ειον [sg.] name of a fund (Delos III<sup>a</sup>), with -ι- like in νησί-αρχος, etc. 3. Verbs: νησίζω (Plb.), -ιάζω (Str., Ph.) ‘to form an island’; νησεύομαι ‘to form alluvial deposits’ (EM 25, 48).

•ETYM The interpretations as “swimmer”, derived from νήχω or the root \**sneh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to bathe’ (recently, Meier-Brügger *KZ* 106 (1993): 302, who follows Rix in assuming PGr. \**snākh<sub>2</sub>-iō-*), should be abandoned. As words for ‘island’ differ from language to language, νήσος is probably an Aegean loan (note that Lat. *insula* is also of unclear origin). Fur.: 387, who points to the variation between single σ and geminate, also assumes a Pre-Greek loan.

**νήσσα** [f.] ‘duck’ (IA). ◀IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>en<sub>2</sub>t-* ‘duck’, GR?▶

•DIAL Att. νήττα, Boeot. (Ar. *Ach.* 875) νᾶσσα [f.].

•DER Diminutive νηττάριον (Ar., Men.), νηττίον (Nicostr. Com.), νησσίον (pap. VI-VIII<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM A formation in -ια like μυῖα, κίσσα, and other animal names (Chantraine 1933: 98). The first question is whether the word is related to other words for ‘duck’ that go back to \**h<sub>2</sub>en<sub>2</sub>t-* (vel sim.). These are the following: an *i*-stem in Skt. *ātī-* [f.] and Balto-Slavic, e.g. Lith. *antis*, Bel. *úc* [f.] < PSl. \**otv* ‘duck’. In Slavic, there is also an *ū*-stem, e.g. ORu. *uty*, gen. *utve* (PSl. \**oty*). The various extensions go back to a *t*-stem, which was retained as such in Lat. *anas*, gen.sg. *anatis*, gen.pl. *anat(i)um*, and in some Germanic languages, e.g. OHG *anut* (*i*-stem in plur. *enti*), ON *endr* [pl.].

However, the stem \**h<sub>2</sub>en<sub>2</sub>H-t-* suggested by Lithuanian and Latin would yield \**áv-* in Greek, even in a zero grade root. No solution has been found for this problem. Rix *KZ* 104 (1991): 186-192 suggested a dissimilation of \**h<sub>2</sub> - h<sub>2</sub>* to \**s - h<sub>2</sub>*, with adaptation to the root of νήχω ‘to swim’. One may also envisage derivation within Greek from νηχ- ‘swim’ (thus Ruijgh, apud Schrijver 1991: 95). For older literature, see Hamp *KZ* 92 (1978): 29-31.

**νήστις, -ιος, -ιδος** [m., f.] ‘not eating, fasting, jejune’ (Il.); as a fem. subst. a part of the small intestine, ‘intestinum ieiunum’, as it was always found to be empty upon section (Hp., Arist.), see Strömberg 1944: 63. ◀IE \**n-h<sub>2</sub>d-ti-* ‘not eating, fasting, sober’▶

•VAR Dat. also -ει, nom.pl. also -εις. Secondary forms: νήστις [m.] (Semon., Arist.), νήστειρα [f.] (Nic. *Al.* 130), see Fraenkel 1910: 126<sup>2</sup>. With secondary ἀ-: ἀνηστις = ἄσιτος (A. *Fr.* 433 Mette, Cratin. 45).

•DER νηστεύω [v.] ‘to fast’, with νηστεία, -η [f.] ‘fast’ (IA) and the rare and late adjectives νήστ-ιμος (pap.), -ικός (Aët.) ‘ptng. to fast’.

•ETYM From the negation \**n-* and the verb for ‘eat’, to which a suffix -*ti-* was added. The origin of this element used to pose a problem, but it also appears in ► ἄγρωστις, which Meier-Brügger *KZ* 103 (1990): 33f. convincingly analyzed as \**h<sub>2</sub>eǵr-o-h<sub>2</sub>d-ti-* ‘field-fodder’. The synonym Arm. *nawt’i* ‘fasting’ (which also translates Gr. νήστις in the Gospels) may well be derived from the same pre-form \**n-h<sub>2</sub>d-ti-* (see the discussion in Clackson 1994: 154ff.), as proposed by Klingenschmitt, assuming a development \**-tt-* > Arm. *-wt’-*. Meier-Brügger l.c. also gives possible parallel formations \**-h<sub>2</sub>d-ti-* from Iranian and Luwian.

**νήτη** [f.] ‘the lowest (string)’. ⇒ νεῖός.

**νήφω** [v.] ‘to be sober’, often metaphorical. ◀IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eg<sup>wh</sup>-* ‘drink’, \**n(e)-h<sub>2</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>-* ‘sober’▶

•VAR Dor. νάφω. In the older language only present, mostly ptc. (IA, Thgn., Archil.); aor. νήψαι (J., 1 *Ep. Pet.* 4, 7).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐκ-.

•DER 1. νήφων, -ονος in νήφονες· νήφοντες (H.), dat.pl. νήφοσι (Thgn.); 2. νηφάλιος ‘without wine’, of libations, etc. (A.), later also of persons ‘sober’ (Ph., J.), whence νηφαλιεύω [v.] ‘to bring a libation without wine’ (Poll.), νηφαλίζω in νηφαλισμένον· ὕδατι, οὐκ οἶνω ἡγνισμένον ‘purified with water, not with wine’ (H.); besides νηφαλιεύς epithet of Apollo (AP 9, 525, 14, where -έα is a metrical enlargement in verse-final position, cf. Boßhardt 1942: 70); also νηφαλέος (Hdn. Gr., Ph.), after

αυαλέος, etc., and νηφαντικός 'sobering' (Pl. *Phlb.* 61, Porph.) as if from \*νηφαίνω; cf. e.g. σημαλέος: σημαντικός. Verbal noun νήψις [f.] 'soberness' (Plb., Str.).

•ETYM Arm. *nawt'i* is probably unrelated (see on ► νήστις); see the discussion in Clackson 1994: 154ff. In view of the predominance of nominal forms (including the ptc. νήφων) and of the meaning, it is conceivable that the relatively rare present νήφω (with secondary νήψαι) is denominative. This was already suggested by Frisk, and is elaborated by Weiss *KZ* 107 (1994): 91-98, who reconstructs \**h<sub>2</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>-on-* > νηφον-, from the root for 'drink' seen in Hitt. *eku<sup>zi</sup>* and in Lat. *ēbrius* < \**h<sub>2</sub>ēg<sup>wh</sup>-r-* (perhaps rather \**h<sub>2</sub>e-h<sub>2</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>-r-*). Weiss also makes it clear (ibid. 97) that νάφω is a hyperdorism, which may have been created by an ancient commentator.

OHG *nuoh-turn* 'sober', earlier considered to testify for \**nāg<sup>wh</sup>-*, is not related (it is rather a loan from Lat. *nocturnus*).

**νήχυτος** [adj.] 'streaming richly, overflowing', of ὕδωρ, ἄλμη, ἰδρώς, etc. (Hell. poetry). <GR>

•VAR On ἐπινήχυτος 'id.' (δῶρα, Orph. *A.* 39, 312) see below.

•ETYM Can hardly be separated from other frequent formations in -χυτος (from χέω), like ἀμφί-χυτος, ἀδιά-χυτος, οἰνό-χυτος; in this case, νη- must be secondary. However, since the compound ἐπινήχυτος clearly belongs to ἐπινήχομαι, the question arises whether νήχυτος was not secondarily connected with νήχομαι. This would agree better with the meaning. See ► νη-.

**νήχω, νήχομαι** [v.] 'to swim'. ⇒ νέω 1.

-νι ⇒ -νε.

**νιβατισμός** a Phrygian dance (Ath. 629d, H.). <?>

•ETYM Hypothesis by Haas 1966: 168; also, Haas *Acta Ant. Acad. Hungar.* 18 (1970): 57f.

**νίγλαρος** [m.] 'whistle' (Ar. Ach. 554), plur. 'trills, quavers' (Pherecr. 145), but a small flute acc. to Poll. 4, 82. <?>

•DER νιγλαρεύω [v.] 'to whistle' (Eup. 110); cf. νιγλαρεύων· τερετίζων 'humming' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown.

**νίδες** [?] · αἰδοῖα ἢ ὀρχίδια παιδίων 'private parts or testicles of children' (Phot.), who cites the word as Sicilian. H. has νίδες, which Latte corrects. <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**νίζω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to wash, bathe' (Il.). <IE \**neig<sup>w</sup>-* 'wash'>

•VAR Analogical νίπτω (Men., NT), -ομαι (v.l. σ 179, Hp.), aor. νίψαι, -ασθαι (Il.), pass. νιφθῆναι (Hp.). fut. νίψω, -ομαι (Od.), pass. νιφήσομαι (LXX), perf. med. νένιπτται (Ω 419), νένιμμαι (Ar.).

•COMP Also (in Att. prose always) with prefix, especially ἀπο- and ἐκ-.

•DER 1. νίπτρον (ἀπό-) [n.] (mostly plur.) 'water for washing' (trag., Ar.), ποδάνιπτρα [pl.] (-ον) by syllable-dissimilation from \*ποδ-απόνιπτρον, secondary ποδόνιπτρον, 'water for washing one's feet' (Od.); also ποδανιπτήρ [m.] (secondarily ποδο-) 'basin

for washing one's feet' (Stesich., Hdt., inscr.), νιπτήρ [m.] 'washing basin' (Ev. Jo.); 2. κατανίπτης [m.] 'washer', who washes the peplos of Athene Polias (AB, EM). 3. (ἀπό-, κατά-)νίμια [n.] 'washing water'; 4. (ἀπό-, ἐκ-)νίψις [f.] 'washing' (Plu., medic.). On ► χέρνιψ, see s.v.

•ETYM The word νίζω goes back to a zero grade *yod*-present IE \**nig<sup>w</sup>-ie/o-*, which is also retained in OIr. *nigim* 'to wash'. Skt. *nenikté* has intensive reduplication, but cf. also impv. *ninikta*; further, a sigmatic aorist *nikṣi* [1sg.inj.med.], *anaikṣīt* [3sg.act.] with regular lengthened grade, and a thematic aor. *anijam*, both perhaps going back to a root aorist (see LIV<sup>2</sup>). Greek generalized the zero grade in νίψω, νίμια, etc. Formal correspondences are found in the privative verbal adj. ἀνίπτος beside Skt. *niktá-* 'washed', OIr. *necht* 'pure'. An isolated verbal noun seems to have been preserved in Gm., e.g. OHG *nihhus*, *nichus* 'river-monster, water-spirit', fem. *nihhussa*, MoHG *Nix*, *Nixe*, PGm. \**nik-wes-*, \**nik-us-*. Lat. *pollingō* 'to wash corpses' probably does not belong here; it is connected by LIV<sup>2</sup> with \**uleik<sup>w</sup>-* 'to make wet'.

**νίκη** [f.] 'victory, upper hand', in a battle, in a contest, before court, etc. (Il.), Νίκη 'goddess of victory' (Hes.). <PG>

•VAR Dor. νικά.

•COMP νικη-φόρος (Dor. -ᾱ-) 'carrying away victory' (Pi., A.), νικό-βουλος 'who wins in the council' (Ar. *Eq.* 615; hidden PN, connected with νικάω), φιλό-νικος 'fond of triumph, emulating, pugnacious', whence -ία, -έω (Pi., Democr., Att.), often written with -ει- and associated with νεῖκος 'quarrel'; Ὀλυμπιο-νίκης, Dor. -ας [m.] 'victor in Olympia' (Pi., IA); many PNs, e.g. Νικό-δημος, Ἰππό-νικος.

•DER 1. From Νίκη: νικάς, -άδος [f.], νικ-ἄδιον, -ίδιον '(small) Nike-statue' (inscr.); 2. Adjective νικαῖος 'ptng. to victory' (Call., J.), νικάεις 'rich in victories' (AP); on νικη-τήριος, -τικός see below.

Probably denominative νικάω [v.] 'to vanquish, overcome, conquer', Ion. νικέω, Aeol. νίκημι, aor. νικήσαι, pass. νικ-ηθῆναι, fut. -ήσω (all Il.), perf. νενίκηκα (Att.), rarely with prefixes, e.g. ἐκ-, κατα-, προ-; on the epic use of νίκη and νικάω see Trümper 1950: 192ff.

From νικάω: 1. νικάτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'victor', epithet of the kings Seleucus and Demetrius of Syria (Hell. inscr.) with νικατόρειον 'tomb of Νικάτωρ' (App.), also PN with the patronymic Νικατορίδας (Rhodos), cf. Fraenkel 1910: 163', νικήτωρ 'id.' (D. C.). 2. νικατήρ, -ήρος [m.] 'victor' (Dreos III-II<sup>a</sup>), νικητής [m.] 'id.' (III-IV<sup>p</sup>). 3. νίκημα (Dor. -ᾱ-) [n.] 'prize of victory, victory' (Hell., Crete). 4. νικάθρον [n.] 'offering for victory' (Sparta), νικάστρον [n.] 'prize of victory' (Phot., H.); on the formation see Chantraine 1933: 373 and 333f. 5. νικητήριος, [n.] -ον 'ptng. to victory, prize of victory' (Att.) and νικητικός 'conducting to victory' (X., Hell.), both also connected with νίκη.

An innovation for νίκη is νίκος [n.] (Hell.), after κράτος (Fraenkel *Glotta* 4 (1913): 39ff., Wackernagel 1916: 81f.). Unclear is νικάριον [n.] name of an eye-salve (Alex. Trall.); cf. on ► νέκταρ.

•ETYM There is no good etymology. Skt. *nīca-* 'directed downwards', OCS *nicb* 'directed forward, on the face', Latv. *nīcām* 'down the stream', etc. are from \**ni-h<sub>2</sub>k<sup>w</sup>o-* and are unrelated, as this would have to yield a labial stop in Greek.

Connection with the root of νεῖκος and Lith. *ap-nikti* 'to attack' is semantically gratuitous. Klingenschmitt's analysis (Klingenschmitt 1975: 162<sup>22</sup>) as *\*ni-ih,k-eh<sub>2</sub>-* "Niederwerfung" is pure speculation, as the prefix *\*ni-* is not attested elsewhere in Greek. The word could be Pre-Greek (not in Fur.).

**νίκλον** · τὸ λίκνον 'winnowing fan' (H.). •VAR Also -εῖ-. ⇒ λικμῖάω, λίκνον.

**νικύλεον** [n.] 'a fig' in Crete (Hermonax *apud* Ath. 76e). <PG>

•ETYM See Neumann *Glotta* 36 (1957): 156 and Neumann *Glotta* 40 (1962): 51-4, as well as Ruijgh 1967a: §10. The Mycenaean sign <ni> looks like a fig-tree.

**νικύρτας** [m.] · δουλέκδουλος 'born slave' (H.); cf. Hippon. *fr.* 28 M. <?>

•ETYM See O. Masson 1962: 120f., as well as Haas 1966: 168.

**νιν** = αὐτόν, αὐτήν, etc. ⇒ μιν.

**νίννη** [f.] 'grandmother, mother-in-law(?)'. ⇒ νέννος.

**νίννιον** [n.] · *pupus* (gloss.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**νίννον** [?] · τὸν † καταβάλλην ἵππον (H.). <?>

•ETYM Perhaps a modification of ἵννον (DELG).

**νίσομαι** 'to travel, go, come'. ⇒ νέομαι.

**νίτρον** [n.] 'sodium carbonate, soda, natron' (Sapph., Ion., Arist., Hell.). <LW Eg>

•VAR With dissimilation ν - τ > λ - τ: λίτρον (Att., Hp.), cf. Solmsen 1909: 235.

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. δξύ-νίτρον 'mix of vinegar and natron' (Paul. Aeg.), λιτρο-πώλης 'natron-seller' (inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>).

•DER 1. νιτρώδης (also λ-) 'natronlike, containing natron' (Pl., Arist.), with -ωδία (medic.); 2. νίτρινος 'of natron' (Delos II<sup>a</sup>); 3. νιτρία [f.] 'natron-mine' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>, Str.), cf. Scheller 1951: 46, with νιτριώτης νομός name of an Egyptian province (Str.); 4. νιτρική [f.] and -κά [n.pl.] 'natron-taxes' (Hell. pap. and ostr.); 5. νιτρίτις [f.], of λίμνη, 'producing natron' (Str.); 6. νιτρόομαι [v.] 'to be washed with natron' (Sor.), with νίτρωμα [n.] 'sodium carbonate' (PHolm., H.); also 7. νίτρασμα [n.] 'soap' (Sor.) as if from \*νιτράζω.

•ETYM An Oriental loanword: Hebr. *neter*, Arab. *naṭrūn* > MoFr. *natron*, etc., and probably also Hitt. *nitri-* [n.], all from Eg. *nṯr(j)* 'natron'. See Lewy 1895: 53, Laroche BSL 51 (1955): xxxiif., Neumann 1961: 19, and WH s.v. *nitrum* (which is a Greek LW) for further considerations.

**νοά** [f.] · πηγὴ Λάκωνες 'source, running water' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown; reminiscent of ▶ νάω. Cf. Perpillou BSL 67 (1972): 109ff.

**νόθος** [m.] 'procreated out of wedlock by a known father, illegitimate, bastard' (Il.); opposite γνήσιος. <PG?>

•COMP νοθᾶ-γενής 'baseborn' (E.), with analogical ā (Dor.) for o (Schwyzer: 438).

•DER νοθεῖος 'ptng. to a νόθος' (Lys., Ar.), denominative νοθεύω [v.] 'to corrupt, adulterate' (LXX, J., Plu., Luc.), also with ὑπο-, with νοθεία [f.] 'birth out of wedlock'

(Plu.), (ὑπο-)νοθευτής [m.] 'adulterer' (Ptol.), (ὑπο-)νόθευσις [f.] 'corruption, adulteration' (inscr. Mylasa).

•ETYM Unexplained.

**νομή, νομός, νόμος** ⇒ νέμω.

**νόος** [m.] 'mind, sense, intellect, reason; purpose, aim' (Il., epic Ion.). <?>

•VAR Contracted νοῦς (Att., also κ 240, etc.), perhaps Aeol. gen. νῶ (Alc.), acc. νῶν (Sappho)?

•COMP Very frequent as a second member, e.g. εὖ-νοος, -νους 'well-minded', whence εὖνο-έω, -ίη, -ιά, etc. (IA); as a first member, e.g. in the compounds νου-θετ-έω [v.] 'to put in mind, remind of' (after νομοθετέω : νομοθέτης : νόμον θεῖναι, etc.), whence νουθέ-τησις, -τήμα, -σία, -τεία, etc. (IA); νουν-εχ-ής 'prudent', νουνεχ-ῶς, -όντως [adv.] (το νοῦν ἔχει, ἔχων).

•DER Nouns: 1. νοερός 'intellectual' (Heraclit., Arist.); 2. νοήρης 'prudent, capable' (Herod., H.); 3. νοότης, -ητος [f.] 'intellectuality' (Procl.); 4. νόαρ [n.] 'illusion, phantom' (Theognost.), archaizing innovation.

Verbs: A. νοέω 'to meditate, observe, think, devise, have in mind' (Il.), aor. νοῆσαι (contracted νῶσαι), etc., very frequent with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, προ-, μετα-, συν-; hence 1. νόημα [n.] 'thought, intelligence, decision' (Il.), -μάτιον (Arr.), -ματικός (late). -μων 'thoughtful, prudent' (Od., Hdt.); 2. νόη-σις (νῶσις) [f.] 'observation, understanding, thinking', also διανόη-σις, etc. (IA); 3. προ-νοία [f.] 'provision', δια-νοία, -νοιά 'meditation, thought, aim', etc. (IA); 4. νοη-τικός (also προ-, etc.) 'mental' (Pl.); 5. προ-, δια-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-νοητής [m.] 'director', etc. (late).

B. νόομαι 'to be converted into νόος' (Plot.).

•ETYM No doubt an old inherited verbal noun (cf. λόγος, φόρος, etc.), though there is no certain etymology. An old proposal compares the Germanic group of Go. *snutrs* 'wise, prudent', which is possible, but not compelling. Heubeck *Minos* 20-22 (1987): 237 defended the connection with νεύω (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*neū-*). Formally, connection with *\*nes-* (mentioned by LIV<sup>2</sup>) is also possible, but the semantics seem to be difficult.

**νορβεῖ** [v.] ἐνταμείται 'will engrave' (H.). <?>

•VAR νορβά· καλή (H.).

•ETYM Pok. 977 connects Go. *at-snarþjan* 'to touch', ON *snarpr* 'sharp, hard, uneven', *snerpa* 'to sharpen', MoDu. *snerpen* 'to bite (of wounds)', OHG *snerfan* 'draw together'. De Vries 1961 mentions Arm. *snerb* 'narrow'. The connections remain uncertain.

**νορύη** [f.] a plant, = στρύχνον (name of various plants), τιθύμαλλος 'spurge' (Thphr. *apud* Phot.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**νορύην** · [ὀρύειν] ἔστι δὲ εἶδος ὀσπρίου 'a kind of leguminous plant' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**νόσος** [f.] 'illness, disease; distress, need' (Il.). <?>

- VAR Epic Ion. νοῦσος (see below).
  - COMP νοσο-ποιέω [v.] 'to cause illness' (Hp.), ἐπί-νοσος 'prey to disease, unhealthy' (Hp., Arist.), Strömberg 1946: 85.
  - DER A. Adjective: 1. νοσερός 'ill, unhealthy' (Hp., E., Arist.); 2. νοσηρός 'id.' (Hp., X.), cf. ὑγιηρός (Pi., Ion.); thence νοσήριον (H. s.v. κηρέσιον), perhaps for νοσητήριον or νοσηρόν? 3. νοσηλός 'ill, sickly' (Hp.), from νοσέω, cf. Chantraine 1933: 241; thence νοσήλια [n.pl.] 'diet for ill persons' (Opp.), νοσηλεύω [v.] 'to care for a patient', med. -ομαι 'to be ill' (Isoc., J.), νοσηλεία [f.] 'nursing, morbidity' (S., J., Plu.); 4. νοσακερός 'id.' (Arist.); 5. νοσώδης 'ill, unhealthy' (Hp., Att.); 6. Νόσιος epithet of Ζεύς (Milete VI-V<sup>a</sup>).
  - B. Verbs: 1. νοσέω 'to be ill' (Att., also Ion.), whence νόσημα [n.] 'illness' (IA), diminutive νοσημάτιον (Ar.), -τικός, -τώδης 'sickly' (Arist.); 2. νοσεύομαι 'to be sickly', whence νόσευμα 'illness' (Hp.); 3. νοσάζ-ομαι 'to be ill', -ω 'to make ill', νοσίζω 'to make ill' (Arist., Gal.).
  - C. Substantives: 1. νόσανσις [f.] 'getting ill' (Arist.), cf. ὑγίανσις; 2. unclear νοσίμη (leg. -ήμη?) = νόσημα (Theognost.).
  - ETYM Since Herodotus has νοῦσος beside νοσέω (which is predominant in Ionic anyhow), it is thought that the former is a Homerism in Hdt. Mechanically, we have to reconstruct a pre-form \*νόσφος on the basis of our material, but as Wackernagel 1916: 86 suggested, epic νοῦσος could also be understood as a false rewriting of ΝΟΣΟΣ, which would represent \*νόσσος. The epic form must then have been taken over by Hdt. and Hp.
- There is no good etymology. Recently, an attempt was made by Willi JHS 128 (2008): 153-172, who reconstructs \**n-h<sub>2</sub>osu-o-*, starting from the adjective \**h<sub>2</sub>osu-* 'good, in good condition'. This is taken to be a *u*-stem of the root \**h<sub>2</sub>es-* 'be', and is supposed to be the same formation as found in Hitt. *āššu-* 'good, favorable' (cf., however, Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). Willi then posits a "regular" development of \**n-osuo-* to \**noswo-*, assuming that all instances of prevocalic *āv-* (the normal reflex) are analogical. In order to make this work, he assumes that intervocalic PIE *-su-* regularly yielded Gr. \**-σ-* (which is against the *communis opinio*). However, since this root (and all other roots which turn up with an initial vowel in Greek) started with a laryngeal, the regular outcome of \**n-h<sub>2</sub>osuo-* (and of all similar cases) is \**anoswo-*. This disproves the whole account.

νόστος ⇒ νέομαι.

- νόσφι(ν)** [adv., prep.] 'aside, far (from), without' (epic and lyr. since Il.). <?>
- DER νοσφίδιος 'situated aside, secretly' (Hes. Fr. 187), νοσφιδόν [adv.] 'secretly' (Eust.); verb νοσφίζομαι 'to turn away (intr.), remove (oneself), steal' (B 81 = Ω 222), act. 'turn away (trans.), remove', aor. νοσφίσ(σ)ασθαι, pass. νοσφισθῆναι (Od.), fut. νοσφίσ(σ)ομαι (A. R.), also act. νοσφίζω (h. Cer., Pi.); sometimes with prefix, especially ἀπο-; thence νόσφισμα [n.] 'pilfering' (pap.).
  - ETYM No etymology. Meier-Brügger MSS 48 (1987): 179-186 explains the form as containing \**nos* 'us', as seen in ἄμμε < \**us-me*, and assumes an original meaning 'away from us'; this is semantically doubtful. Heubeck KZ 98 (1985): 257-259 defends

Thieme's idea that the word is derived from the stem \**nos-* of the word for 'nose'; this is impossible, as the word for 'nose' was \**neh<sub>2</sub>-s-*, \**nh<sub>2</sub>(e)-s-* (see Beekes 1995: 180).

- Νότος** [m.] 'South(west) wind', which brings mist and wetness (Il.), 'the South, Southwest' (IA); on the mg. Nielsen *Class. et Med.* 7 (1945): 5ff. <PG?>
- COMP Some compounds, e.g. Εὐρό-νοτος [m.] 'Wind between Εὐρος and Νότος' (Arist.).
  - DER A. Subst.: 1. νοτία, -ίη [f.] 'wetness' (Θ 307, Arist., Thphr.; it could also be an abstract in -ία from νότιος, see Scheller 1951: 54 f.); from it νοτιώδης (Gal.) = νοτώδης (see below) and νοτιάω 'to be wet, drip', if not rather νοτ-ιάω (see below).
  - 2. νοτίς, -ίδος [f.] 'wetness' (E., Pl., Arist.).
  - B. Adjectives: 1. νότιος 'rainy, wet' (epic, Hp.), 'southern' (IA); on the retention of -τι- Schwyzer: 270; 2. νοτερός 'id.' (IA); 3. νότινος 'id.' (pap.); 4. νοτώδης 'id.' (Hp.); 5. νοτ-ιαῖος 'south(west)ern' (Herm. *apud* Stob.).
  - C. Verbs: 1. νοτίζομαι, -ίζω 'to become, be wet, make wet', also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ὑπο- (IA); hence νοτισμός 'wetness' (Sor.). 2. νοτέω (Hell.), νοτ-ιάω (Arist.; Schwyzer: 732; cf. above) 'to be wet, drip'.
  - ETYM Connection of νότος with νέω and νήχω 'to swim' leads nowhere, since these continue a root \**sneh<sub>2</sub>-*. A similar formation may be seen in Arm. *naγ* 'wet, fluid' < PArm. \**nato-* or \**noto-*. The form may instead be Pre-Greek.

νουθετέω 'to admonish, warn'. ⇒ νόος.

- νοῦθος** [adj.] only as an epithet of δοῦπος (Hes. Fr. 48), 'dull' vel sim. <IE? \**sneud<sup>h</sup>*- 'cloud, dark', PG?>
- ETYM Solmsen *Glotta* 2 (1910): 75f. adduces νυθόν- ἄφωνον, σκοτεινόν 'mute, dark', and νυθῶδες- σκοτεινῶδες (H.), comparing the IE word for 'cloud' in Av. *snaoda-*, Lat. *nūbēs*, etc.; cf. on ► νυστάζω. However, the two glosses adduced, together with νοῦθος, may also form a Pre-Greek etymon (thus Fur.: 120<sup>29</sup>). One might also think of comparing ► νόθης 'indolent, etc.'.

**νῦ** [n.] name of a letter (Achae. Trag., Pl., inscr., pap.). <LW Sem.>

- VAR Indeclinable.
- ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *nūn*. See Schwyzer: 140.

**νυ, νῦν** [pcl.] enclitic particle 'now', rarely adverbial. <IE \**nu, nuH* 'now'>

- VAR νῦν [adv.] 'now' (Il.); νῦν-ί (Att.), with deictic -ī like ὅδ-ί, etc.; on spread and use Ruijgh 1957: 57ff., also Risch *Gnomon* 30 (1958): 92.
- ETYM Old inherited adverb, retained in most branches: Skt. *nú, nū, nūn-ám*, Lat. *nu-diūs tertius* "now (is) the third day", *num, nun-c*, OHG *nū*, late MHG *nūn*, Lith. *nū, nū, nūn-ai*, Hitt. *nu* [pcl.], *ki-nun* 'now', etc. Gr. νῦν may have either old \**-m* (Lat. *num*) or \**-n* (Skt. *nūn-ám*).

νυθόν, νυθῶδες ⇒ νοῦθος.

**νυκτάλωψ, -ωπος** [m., f.] 'seeing in the night' = 'day-blind', as a msc. substantive 'day-blindness', secondary 'night-blind, night-blindness' (Hp., Arist., Gal.); cf. Gal. 14,



776: νυκτάλωπας δὲ λέγουσιν, ὅταν ἡμέρας μὲν βλέπωσιν ἀμεινότερον δυομένου δὲ ἡλίου λαμπρότερον, νυκτὸς δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον 'night-blind is called this, when people see less clearly at day, but more clearly when the sun sets, and even more clearly at night'. ἢ ὑπεναντίως, ἡμέρας μὲν ὀλίγα, ἑσπέρας δὲ ἢ νυκτὸς οὐδ' ὅλως 'or the opposite: at day they see only few things, while in the evening or at night they see nothing at all'; opposite ἡμεράλωψ (Gal. 14, 768e Dem. Ophth.). <PG>

•DER νυκταλωπ-ικά [n.pl.] 'attacks of night-blindness' (Hp.), -ιάω [v.] 'to suffer from v.' (Gal.), with -ιασις (Orib.).

•ETYM On the suffix -ωπ-, see ▶ ἀγχίλωψ (with a variant αἰγίλωψ), which is Pre-Greek. The connection with νύξ (for the formation, compare αἰμάλωψ to αἶμα, and αἰμαλέος and θυμάλωψ to θυμ-ιάω, θυμός) must be folk-etymological.

**νύμφη** [f.] 'bride, young lady', also appellation of a goddess of lower rank, 'nymph' (Il.); also metaph., e.g. 'pupa' (Arist.), see Gil Fernández 1959: 208 ff. <PG>

•VAR Dor. -ᾱ. Voc. -ᾱ (Γ 130; AP 14, 43).

•COMP νυμφό-ληπτος 'seized by the nymphs, raptured, delirious' (Pl., Arist.), μελλό-νυμφος 'about to be wedded', 'betrothed' (S., Lyc., D. C.).

•DER A. Nouns: 1. νύμφιος 'bridal' (Pi.), with different accentuation νυμφίος [m.] 'bridegroom' (Il.); 2. νυμφ-ιδιος 'bridal, wedding-' (E., Ar.), formation like κουρίδιος, see on ▶ κόρη; 3. -ικός 'id.' (trag., Pl. Lg.); 4. -εῖος, epic -ῆϊος 'bridal, belonging to the bride' (Simon., Pi., S., Call.), like κουρήϊος, γυναικεῖος, -ῆϊος, etc.; 5. -αῖος 'belonging or consecrated to the nymphs' (E., inscr.), -αία [f.] name of a water-lily (Thphr.); 6. νυμφάς, -άδος [f.] 'belonging to the nymphs' (πύλαι; Paus.); 7. νυμφίδες ὑποδήματα γυναικεῖα νυμφικά 'women's wedding-shoes' (H.); 8. νυμφών, -ῶνος [m.] 'bridal chamber' (LXX, Ev. Matth.); 9. νυμφάσματα [n.pl.] 'ornaments of the bride' (Orac.), after ὑφάσματα; 10. Νυμφασία [f.] name of an Arcadian well.

B. Verbs 1. νυμφεύω 'to give in marriage, to marry (of the groom)', pass. 'to marry (of the bride)' (Pi., S., E.) with νυμφεύματα [n.pl.] 'marriage' (S., E.), sing. 'bride' (S.), νύμφευσις [f.] 'marriage' (LXX); νυμφευ-τής [m.] 'bridegroom' (E.) 'groomsman' (Poll.), -τήρ 'bridegroom, husband' (Opp.), -τρια [f.] 'bridesmaid' (Ar., Plu.), -τήριος 'bridal', τὰ νυμφευτήρια 'marriage' (E.). 2. νυμφ-ιάω 'to be in a frenzy', of a mare (Arist.), after the verbs of disease in -ιάω.

•ETYM Compared with Lat. *nūbō* 'to get married', OCS *snubiti* 'to love, court', from IE *\*sneubh-*. This is still followed by LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*sneubh-*. However, the inner nasal in νύμφη remains unexplained this way. Therefore, νύμφη is rather a Pre-Greek word, perhaps containing a prenasalized stop. The voc. in -α may be the old nominative (cf. Pre-Greek endings). Note that Kretschmer *Glotta* 28 (1940): 273 also pleaded for substrate origin, comparing the source name Νυμφασία.

**νύναμαι** [v.]

•VAR νυνατός.

•ETYM Cret. for ▶ δύναμαι, δυνατός.

**νύννιον** [n.] · ἐπὶ τοῖς παιδίοις καταβαυκαλούμενόν φασι λέγεσθαι· ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ νύννιος 'in the case of children, they say that they are lulled to sleep; likewise νύννιος' (H.). <?>

•ETYM An onomatopoeic Lallwort; cf. MoGr. νανναρίζω, ναννουρίζω 'I lull asleep' and Oehl *IF* 57 (1940): 19.

**νύξ, νυκτός** [f.] 'night' (Il.). <IE *\*nekʷt-*, *nokʷt-* 'night', *\*negʷh-* 'become dark'>

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. νυκτο-μαχ-ία, -ίη [f.] abstract formation as if from *\*νυκτο-μάχος*; νυκτο-μαχέω (Plu.), νυκτί-πλαγκτος 'wandering at night' (A.), with locative first member, probably partly analogical; as a second member e.g. in ἄωρο-νυκτος 'at an untimely, nightly hour' (A. Ch. 34), μεσο-νύκτιος 'in the middle of the night' (Pi., Hp.), to μέσαι νύκτες; further -νυχ- in e.g. ἔν-νυχος, ἐν-νύχιος 'nightly, in the night' (Il.), νύχιος 'nightly' (Hes.), νυχεύω [v.] 'to wake all night long' (E., Nic.); cf. below.

•DER 1. νύκτωρ [adv.] 'at night' (Hes., Archil.); 2. νύκτερος 'nightly' (trag.) with νυκτερίς, -ίδος [f.] 'bat' (Od.), also as a fish-name (Opp.) and plant-name (Aët.), cf. Strömberg 1943: 111, see also Strömberg 1940: 74; νυκτερίτις, -ίδος [f.] 'ἀναγαλλίς ἡ κυανῇ' (Ps.-Dsc.), νυκτερεύω [v.] 'to pass the night, pass a sleepless night' (X.), also with δια-, ἐν-, etc., whence νυκτερ-εῖα [f.] 'hunting by night' (Pl.), -εσμα [n.] 'night-quarters' (Plb.), -ευτής [m.] 'who hunts by night' (Pl.), -ευστικός 'fit for hunting by night' (X.); 3. νυκτέριος 'nightly' (Aret., Luc.), τὰ νυκτέρεια = ἡ νυκτερεῖα (Eun.); 4. νυκτερινός 'id.' (IA) with νυκτερινία or -εῖα [f.] 'commander of the night watch' (Ephesus I<sup>o</sup>), spelled -ηα; 5. νυκτερήσιος 'id.' (Luc., S. E.), perhaps for -ίσιος (Fraenkel 1912: 151)? Rare νύκτιος 'nightly' (AP), νυκτῶν [n.] 'temple of the night' (Luc.), after μητρῶν, etc., Νυκτεύς [m.] PN (Apollod.).

Cf. also ▶ νυκτάλωψ. For νυκτέλιος epithet of Dionysus (AP, Plu., Paus.) haplogical for *\*νυκτι-τέλιος*, which is a hypostasis of νύξ and τέλος (τελέω), cf. νυκτελεῖν· ἐν νυκτὶ τελεῖν (H.).

•ETYM Old inherited word for 'night', retained in most IE languages: Lat. *nox*, gen.pl. *noctium*, Go. *nahts*, Skt. *nák*, acc. *náktam* (adverbial), Lith. *naktis*, gen.pl. *naktų*, OCS *noštъ*, etc., all from IE *\*nokt-*. The *i*-stem forms in Lat. *noctium*, Lith. *naktis*, OCS *noštъ*, etc. are innovations of the separate languages. The deviating *v* in νύξ is explained from *\*nokʷt-* by Cowgill's Law (extensive treatment in Vine 1999b).

The aspirated and *t*-less form in νύχα· νύκτωρ (H.), ἔννυχος, -ιος, εἰνάνυχες, νύχιος, etc., is attested only in Greek and in Anatolian (Hitt. *neku-<sup>zi</sup>* 'to become dark'). Schindler KZ 81 (1967): 290-303 reconstructed a static paradigm for a PIE root noun: nom. *nokʷt-s*, gen. *nekʷt-s*, because of Hitt. *nekuz mehur* 'at night', which contains an old genitive. However, acc. to Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *neku-<sup>zi</sup>*, the consistent non-geminate spelling in Hitt. *neku-<sup>zi</sup>* and the aspirate in Greek νυχ- both point to a root *\*negʷh-*, which was lost in PIE after Anatolian split off. Subsequently, *\*negʷh-* was assimilated to PIE *\*nekʷt-* (cf. Ilr. *\*nákt-*). On -νυχ- as a second member, see also Sommer 1948: 64f.

The *r*-stem in νύκτωρ, etc. is also found in Lat. *nocturnus* < *\*nokterino-*, although this may also be an independent formation. Otherwise, the formation of the adjectives is partly paralleled by derivatives of ▶ ἡμαρ, ▶ ἡμέρα: a) νυκτερινός : ἡμερινός, b) νυκτέριος : ἡμέριος, c) νυκτερήσιος : ἡμερήσιος, d) νυκτερεύω : ἡμερεύω.

**νυός** [f.] 'daughter-in-law' (Hom.), secondary 'bride' (Theoc.). <IE \**snuso-* 'saughter-in-law'>

- ETYM An old feminine *o*-stem, identical with Arm. *nu*, gen. *nuoy* 'id.', from IE \**snuso-* [f.]. Lat. *nurus* was transformed into a *u*-stem is (after *socrus*); Skt. *snusā*, to an *ā*-stem, as was the Germanic group of OHG *snur*, MoHG *Schnur*, and the Slavic one of CS *sněxa*. Alb. *nuse* 'bride' does not belong here. Connection to the group of νευρά, ►νεῦρον is impossible, as this word was \**sneh<sub>1</sub>-ur/n-* and contained a laryngeal.

**νυρίζει** [v.] · νυσσει, ξύει 'to prick, pierce; scratch' (H.). <?>

- VAR Also νυρῶν· νύσσων, ξύων (H.).

- ETYM Unknown. Perhaps related to ►νέω and ►νύσσω; cf. Pok. 767.

**νύσα** [f.] = δένδρον (Pherecyd. 178 J). <?>

- ETYM Unknown.

**νύσος** [adj.] = χωλός, a Syracusan word (Nonn. *D.* 9, 22; *EM* 280). <?>

- ETYM Unknown.

**νύσσα** [f.] 'turning post in the race-course, starting point and goal of the contest' (Il.).

<PG?>

- ETYM Without a good explanation. Compared with ►νύσσω as \*νύκ-ια "the thrusting one", which seems possible. Untenable Semitic etymology in Lewy *KZ* 55 (1928): 24ff.; acc. to Jüthner *Die Antike* 15 (1939): 251, the word is Aegean (i.e. Pre-Greek).

**νύσσω** [v.] 'to thrust, sting, pierce' (on the epic use Trümper 1950: 96f., 100ff.). <?>

- VAR Att. νύττω, aor. νύξαι (Il.), fut. νύξω, Hell. aor. pass. νυγῆναι, νυχθῆναι, perf. νένυγμαι.

- COMP Also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ὑπο-.

- DER 1. νύξις [f.] 'thrust, sting' (Dsc., Plu.), κατάνυξις 'stupefaction, bewilderment' to κατα-νύσσομαι 'to be stung in the heart, be stunned' (LXX, NT); 2. νύγμα (also -γμα) [n.] 'stab, prick' (Nic., Epicur., Gal.) with νυγμα-τικός 'fit for stabbing' (medic.), -τώδης 'punctuated' (Arist., medic.); 3. νυγ-μός [m.] (D. S., Plu.), -μή [f.] (Plu.) 'id.'; 4. νύγ-δην 'by pricking' (A. D.). Further νυκχάσας = νύξας (H.), expressive enlargement with geminate and aspiration.

- ETYM Without an exact correspondence outside Greek. A formal similarity exists with some WGM. and Slav. expressions for 'nod, etc.', e.g. MLG *nucken* 'to move the head menacingly', *nuck(e)* 'sudden thrust forward and upward of the head when frightened, etc.', OCS *nukati*, *njukati* 'to encourage', which are sometimes connected with νεύω, Lat. *nuō* (assuming a velar enlargement). Following Brugmann *IF* 13 (1902-1903): 153ff., νύσσω has been analyzed in the same way, which would, however, imply a basic meaning 'to pull, thrust' for the root of νεύω.

**νυστάζω** [v.] 'to slumber, be sleepy' (Hp., Att.). <IE? \**snud-* 'sleepy, slumber'>

- VAR Mostly present; aor. -άξαι (Thphr., LXX), -άσαι (Dionys. Com., AP).

- COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ὑπο-, ἐπι-.

- DER νυσταγμός [m.] 'drowsiness' (Hp., LXX), νύσταγμα [n.] 'nap, short sleep' (LXX), νύσταξις (H.) as an explanation of νῶκαρ; νυστακτής as an epithet of ὕπνος (Ar. *V.* 12, Alciphr.), -ακτικῶς 'in a sleepy way' (Gal.). Also νυσταλέος 'sleepy' (Aret., H.), after ὕπναλέος, skipping the presential suffix (Debrunner *IF* 23 (1908-1909): 18), νύσταλος (Com. *Adesp.*) with νυσταλωπιᾶν· νυστάζειν (H.).

- ETYM Some Baltic expressions for 'slumber, sleepy' are strongly reminiscent of νυστάζω, e.g. Lith. *snūsti*, 1sg. *snūdau* 'to slumber away', with *snudà*, *snūdis* 'sleeper, dreamer'; a different ablaut-grade appears in *snāudžiu*, *snāusti* 'to slumber', and (independent of Greek νυσταλέος) forms with an *l*-suffix: Lith. *snaudālius* 'sleepy man', Latv. *snaudule* 'sleepy-head'. Thus, -τάζω would be just a formal enlargement, as in κλαστάζω (from κλαστ-, κλαδ-), βαστάζω, etc. If this is correct, the old connection with νεύω 'nod' should be abandoned. It is doubtful that νυθόν and ►νουθος also belong here.

**νώ** [pron. nom./acc.du.] 'we two, both of us' (Att., also E 219 and o 475). <IE \**neh<sub>3</sub>* 'we two'>

- VAR Att. gen. and dat. νῶν.

- DIAL Nom., acc. νῶϊ, gen., dat. νῶϊν (Hom.); acc. νῶε (Antim., Corinn.).

- DER Possessive νῶϊτερος (O 39, μ 185).

- ETYM The old dual personal pronoun, identical with Av. *nā*, OCS *na*, from IE \**neh<sub>3</sub>*. Further, with an old long diphthong, there is Skt. *nau*. Lat. *nōs* also belongs here. The other case forms are Greek creations: νῶϊ, perhaps from \*νω-φι (?); νῶε, based on σφε or πόδε (Schwyzer: 602f.).

**νώγαλα** [n.pl.] 'dainties, candies' (com. IV<sup>a</sup>). <?>

- DER νωγαλέος = λαμπρός (Zonar.) and νωγαλίζω [v.] 'to chew candies' (com. IV<sup>a</sup>), with νωγαλίσματα [pl.] = νώγαλα (Poll.); also -εύω 'id.' (Suid.) with -εύματα [pl.] 'id.' (com. V-IV<sup>a</sup>).

- ETYM No good explanation. Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 1 (1951): 259 assumed dissimilation from \*λώγαλα, derived from λώγη.

**νωδός** [adj.] 'toothless' (com., Arist., Theoc.). <GR>

- COMP Determinative compound νωδο-γέρων 'toothless old man' (com.), see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 277.

- DER νωδότης [f.] 'toothlessness' (Porph.).

- ETYM From \**h<sub>3</sub>-h<sub>3</sub>d-*, consisting of privative \**n-* (see ►ἀ-) and the root of ὀδών (ὀδούς) < \**h<sub>3</sub>d-ont-*. The *o*-stem perhaps replaces older \**νῶδων* after the pattern of στράβων : στραβός, etc. (see Solmsen 1909: 29ff.). For the reconstruction of \**h<sub>3</sub>-*, see Beekes in Kortlandt 2003: 186.

**νώδυνος** [adj.] 'feeling no pain' (Pi.), 'alleviating pain' (S.). <GR>

- DER νωδυνία 'painlessness' (Pi., Theoc.).

- ETYM From privative \**n-* and ὀδύνη; see on ►νωδός.

**νωθής** [adj.] 'slow, indolent, stubborn' (Λ 559), see Bechtel 1921(3): 319 and Leumann 1950: 316. <?>

- DER Thence νώθεια [f.] 'indolence' (Pl., Luc.), νωθώδης 'lethargic' (Aret.).

More usual is νωθρός 'id.' (IA), whence νωθρ-ία, -ίη (Hp., Herod., pap.), -ότης [f.] (Hp., Arist., LXX) 'slowness, indifference'; -ώδης 'laming' (Hp.); fem. νωθράς, -άδος botanical name = βαλλωτή, also νωθουρίς (Ps.-Dsc.). Denominatives: 1. νωθρεύω, -ομαι [v.] 'to be slow, slack, indifferent' (Hp., Hyp., pap.), with νωθρεία 'slowness' (Erot.); 2. νωθρ-ιάω 'id.' (Dsc.).

•ETYM A number of etymologies has been proposed, none of which is really obvious: 1) from privative \*n- and the root of ὀθομαι, meaning 'who cares for nothing', with transformation of the second member after the s- and ro-stems; 2) from privative \*n- and the root of ►ώθέω, 'who does not let himself be pushed from his place'. 3) The old connection with Skt. *ādhra-* 'weak, poor', which presupposes PIE \*nh<sub>3</sub>d<sup>h</sup>-ro-, is again hesitatingly mentioned in Mayrhofer *EWAla*, but the meaning of the Sanskrit word, which is clearly derived from the root *nādh-* 'to be in need', is too remote. Alternatively, Fur.: 390 connects νωφάλης and νωφρύς, but a variation θ/φ is otherwise unknown.

**νῶκαρ, -αρος** [n.] 'lethargy, coma' (Nic., Hdn.); the latter explains it as στέρησις τῆς ψυχῆς 'absence of the soul'; it is also translated as νύσταξις 'slumbering'. ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR Also [adj.].

•DER νωκαρώδης 'slothful, sleepy' (Diph.).

•ETYM Frisk includes νῶκαρ under the derivatives of the root \*nek- 'disappear' in Greek, but a long vowel is entirely unmotivated in this formation. On the other hand, Fur.: 133 connects νῶκαρ with νωχελής, which fits well semantically (the translation 'Todesschlaf' by Frisk is inspired by a wrong etymology), and he denies that it has anything to do with ►νεκρός, ►νέκυς. For Pre-Greek words in -αρ, see Fur.: 134<sup>75</sup>.

**νωλεμές, -έως** [adv.] 'without pause, unceasingly' (Il.), usually verse-final with αἰεί; later 'firmly' (A. R.). ◀GR?▶

•ETYM Probably a compound of privative \*n- and a neuter \*ὄλεμος, which is rather hypothetically compared with a word for 'break, breakable' in Germanic, e.g. OHG *lam* 'crippled', which may further belong to OCS *lomiti* 'to break', Lith. *lėmti* 'to ordain', 1sg. *lemiù*, and perhaps OIr. *ro-laimethar* 'to dare' (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**lemH*-). The comparison with the Greek form presupposes, however, that the root reconstruction is \*h<sub>3</sub>lem(H)-.

**νωμάω** ⇒ νέμιω.

**νωπέομαι** [v.] 'to be downcast', = δυσωπεῖσθαι 'to shun, disapprove of' (Ion. Hist., Phot.). ◀?▶

•VAR νενώπηται· τεταπεινῶται, καταπέπληκται 'is humble, is struck with amazement' (H., Phot.).

•ETYM Cf. ►προνωπής. Alternatively, does it derive from νόψ· ἄσθενής τῇ ὄψει 'weak qua sight' (H.)?

**νωρεῖ** [v.]· ἐνεργεῖ 'is effective, operates' (H.). ◀IE? \*noHr-▶

•ETYM It has been compared with Lith. *nóras* 'will' and *nóriu*, *norėti* 'want'. This would point to \*noHr-, but a reconstruction that is only based on a gloss remains

doubtful. At any rate, it does not belong to \*h<sub>2</sub>ner-, which is impossible because of the acute vowel in Lithuanian.

**νώροψ** [adj.] mg. unknown. ◀PG?(S)▶

•VAR Only in νόρ-οπι, -οπα, as an epithet of χαλκῶ, -όν (Hom.); after this νόροπι πέπλω (Nonn.).

•ETYM Adjective of unknown meaning. Cf. νόροψ· λαμπρός, ὀξύφωνος, ἔνηχος 'bright, shrill, resounding'. ἢ ὅτι τὴν ὄψιν ἄσθενῆ ποιεῖ 'or that which weakens sight' (H.), which would imply a meaning 'blinding'. It has often been compared with ►ἀνήρ, but this has an initial laryngeal. Comparison with νωρεῖ· ἐνεργεῖ 'is active' (H.), Lith. *norėti*, 1sg. *nóriu* 'want', etc., which have incorrectly been compared with ἀνήρ, is perhaps possible, but gratuitous.

The suffix -οπι- may point to a Pre-Greek word. Kuiper *MKNAW* 14: 5 (1951): 5 suggested that it was taken from αἶθοπι.

**νῶτον** [n.] 'back' (Il.). ◀?▶

•VAR Secondary τὸν νῶτον and οἱ νῶτοι (Egli 1954: 84ff.).

•COMP νωτο-φόρος 'carrying on the back', 'bearer' [m.], 'beast of burden' [n.] (X., Hell.) with -έω, -ία (D. S.); ποικιλό-νωτος 'having a varicolored back' (Pi., E.).

•DER Adjectives: νωτ-ιαῖος (Hp., Pl., E.), see Chantraine 1933: 49, also -αῖος (Nic.), -ιος (Ti. Locr.) 'belonging to the back', fem. -ίας (Hp.).

Substantives: νωτιδανός [m.] 'kind of shark' (Arist.), on the formation see Schwyzler: 530; also ἐπινωτιδεύς 'id.' (Epaen. *apud* Ath. 7, 294d), explanation uncertain (see Thompson 1947 s.v.; different Strömberg 1943: 49f.; cf. also Boßhardt 1942: 86); νωτεύς [m.] 'beast of burden' (Poll., H.), see Boßhardt 1942: 86.

Verb νωτίζω 'to turn one's back, cover one's back, besmear, beat on the back' (trag., cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 5 (1914): 287), also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐπι-; thence νώτισμα [n.] 'cover of the back' = 'wing' (*Trag. Adesp.*).

•ETYM There are no obvious cognates. If connected with the Lat. *natis*, *natēs*, gen.pl. -ium [f.] 'the buttock', we may either assume an old root noun \*n(e)h<sub>3</sub>t- (Schrijver 1991: 169) or a root \*nh<sub>3</sub>t- (De Vaan 2008 s.v. *natis*), which became thematicized in Greek.

**νωχελής** [adj.] 'slow, dull, sluggish' (Hp., S., E., Hell. epic). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR Also νωχαλής (cod. νωφ-)· νωθρός 'id.' (H.), νωχαλίζει· βραδύνει 'to make slow, delay' (H.). MoGr. has ἀνώχαλος.

•DER νωχελίη, -ία [f.] 'slowness, laziness' (T 411), cf. Porzig 1942: 204 and Delebecque 1951: 156f., also -εια [f.] (Orib., H.); νωχελεύομαι 'to be slow, indolent' (Aq.).

The plantname νωχελίς, -ίδος [f.] = βαλλωτή (Ps.-Dsc.; cf. Strömberg 1940: 158) has a variant νωκελίς, and is therefore rather of Pre-Greek origin; note also νωφρύς (Fur.: 390).

•ETYM Fur.: 133 convincingly compares ►νῶκαρ 'lethargy', which points to Pre-Greek origin. The variant forms in -χαλ-, -κελ-, and the alternation χ/φ lead to the same conclusion (although there is no explanation for the latter).

## Ξ

**Ξαίνω** [v.] 'to card, comb wool', metaph. 'to scratch, mangle, lacerate' (ξ 423, IA). <IE?

\**ksn-ie/o-*>

•VAR Fut. ξανῶ, aor. ξῆναι (late ξᾶναι), pass. ξανθῆναι, perf. med. ἔξασμαι (Hell. also ἔξαμμαι).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially κατα- and δια.

•DER ξάντης [m.] 'wool-carder' (Pl.) with ξαντική (scil. τέχνη) [f.] 'the art of carding wool' (Pl.), fem. ξάντριαι (title of a drama by A.); ξάσμα [n.] 'carded wool' (S. Fr. 1073), also ξάμμα (H. s.v. πεῖκος), ἀναξασμός [m.] 'laceration' (med.), ξάνσις [f.] 'carding of wool' (gloss.), ξάνιον [n.] 'comb for carding' (Poll., AB, H.), also = ἐπί-ξηνον (Poll.), probably after κτένιον; ξανάω (Nic.) 'to work hard (carding wool)', -ῆσαι (S.Fr. 498), ἀποξανᾶν· κακοπαθεῖν 'to suffer' (H.); cf. ὑφανάω : ὑφαίνω and similar cases in Schwyzler: 700. Probably related is ►ἐπίξηνον 'chopping-block', with an unclear formation.

•ETYM Technical expression from the production of wool. Its formation may have been influenced by ὑφαίνω, which is semantically close. Probably somehow related to ►ξέω, ►ξύω, but the exact derivation is unknown. There are no correspondences outside Greek.

**ξανθός** [adj.] 'yellow, golden yellow, reddish, brownish, blond', of hairs (Il.), also of other things (post-Hom.); on the mg. Capelle *RhM* 101 (1958): 21f. <PG?>

•DIAL Myc. PN *ka-sa-to*, cf. Gallavotti *Par. del pass.* 12 (1957): 10f.

•COMP ξανθο-κόμης (also -ος) 'blond-haired' (Hes., Pi.), ἐπί-ξανθος 'almost yellow, yellowish' (X., Thphr.) beside ἐπι-ξανθίζομαι [v.] 'to become yellowish or brownish' (Pherecr.).

•DER 1. Ξάνθος [m.] name of a river, a town, a person, a horse (Il.), with oppositive accent; 2. ξάνθη [f.] name of a yellow stone (Thphr.); 3. ξάνθιον [n.] name of a plant used to bleach hairs (Dsc., Gal.); Strömberg 1940: 23; 4. ξανθότης, -ητος [f.] 'yellowness' (Str.); 5. Denominative verbs: a. ξανθίζω 'to make or be ξ.' (com., LXX) with ξάνθ-ις, -ισμός 'yellow-colored' (medic.), ξανθίσματα (κόμης, χαίτης) 'blond curls' (E. Fr. 322, AP); b. ξανθόομαι 'to become ξ.', -όω 'to paint ξ.' (Dsc.), whence ξάνθωσις (Ps.-Democr. Alch.); c. ξανθύνομαι 'id.' (Thphr.).

•ETYM Unexplained. A remote connection with Lat. *cānus* 'grey' has been supposed, but this remains gratuitous. The comparison with Etr. *zamθic*, supposedly 'of gold', has little value (Heubeck *Würzb. Jb.* 4:2 (1949-1950): 202 compares Σκάμανδρος as well). The word may be Pre-Greek; cf. ►ξουθός.

**ξεῖ** [n.] Name of the letter (Callias *apud* Ath. 10, 453d). <LW Sem.>

- VAR Indeclinable. Later ξῖ (Luc.).
- ETYM Formed after πεῖ = Sem. *pē*; see Schwyzler: 140.

**ξένος** [m.] 'foreigner, guest, host' (Il.), 'mercenary, soldier' (ξ 102, Att.); ξένη (scil. γυνή, γῆ) [f.] 'foreign woman, foreign country' (trag., X.); as an adjective 'foreign' (post-Hom.). <PG?>

- VAR Epic Ion. poet. ξείνος, Dor. ξένφος (in Cor. Ξενοκλῆς, Corc., El. Ξενφάρης), ξῆνος (Cyr. Φιλόξηνος), (hyper-)Aeol. ξέννος (Hdn.), cf. Schwyzler: 228.

- DIAL Myc. *ke-se-nu-wo* /ksenwos/, *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* /ksenwia/.

•COMP Many compounds like ξενο-, ξεινο-δόκος [m.] 'receiving foreigners or guests; host' (Il.), φιλό-ξε(ι)νος 'loving guests, hospitable' (Od.), πρόξενος, Corc. πρόξενφος [m.] 'public guest, deputy' (post-Hom.), see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 38f.; see ►Εὔξεινος πόντος.

•DER A. Adjectives: 1. ξένιος, ξείνιος 'regarding the foreigner', τὰ ξε(ι)νία 'friendly gifts' (Il.), = Myc. *ke-se-nu-wi-ja*. 2. younger ξε(ι)νικός 'id.' (IA); 3. ξεινήιος in τὰ ξεινήια (or τὸ ξεινήιον) = τὰ ξείνια (Hom.), after πρεσβήια; 4. ξενόεις 'full of foreigners' (E. [lyr.]).

B. Substantives: 1. ξε(ι)νίη, -ία [f.] 'guest-friendship, guest-right' (since ω); 2. ξεινοσύνη [f.] 'hospitality' (φ 35); 3. ξενών, -ώνος [m.] 'guestroom, -house' (E., Pl.); ξενῶνες οἱ ἀνδρῶνες ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν 'the men's apartments among the Phrygians' (H.); 4. ξενίς, -ίδος [f.] 'road leading into foreign countries' (Delph. II<sup>a</sup>); 5. ξενίδιον [n.] 'small guesthouse' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>); 6. ξεν-ύδριον (Men.), -ύλλιον (Plu.) depreciatory diminutive of ξένος (Chantraine 1933: 73f.).

C. Verbs. 1. ξε(ι)νίζω 'to entertain as a guest' (Il.), also 'to surprise' (Hell.), whence ξένις [f.] 'hospitality' (Th.), ξεινισμός [m.] 'id.' (Pl., inscr., Luc.), also 'strangeness, innovation' (Plb., D. S., Dsc.); ξεινιστής [m.] 'host' (sch.). 2. ξε(ι)νόομαι 'to enter into a treaty of hospitality; entertain sbd. as a guest, to be entertained' (Pi., IA), also 'to live in (or: emigrate to) a foreign country' (S., E.), -όω 'to deprive of, embezzle' (Hld.); ξένωσις [f.] 'stay abroad' (E. *HF* 965). 3. ξεινιτεύ-ομαι 'to serve abroad as a soldier' (Isoc., Antiph.), -ω 'to live abroad' (Timae. Hist., J.); after πολιτεύομαι, -ω to πολίτης and πόλις (Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 173); ξεινιτ-εία [f.] 'being a mercenary, life abroad' (Democr., LXX), -ευτής [m.] 'who lives abroad' (VI<sup>p</sup>).

•ETYM The semantic agreement with the old PIE word for 'foreigner, guest', seen in Lat. *hostis* [m.] 'foreigner, enemy', Go. *gasts* 'guest', OCS *gostъ* 'id.', IE \**ǵʰosti-*, has led to attempts to connect these with ξένος, assuming a root etymology \**ǵʰes-*. The word ξένος could be Pre-Greek.

**ξηρόν** [n.] 'the dry (land)' only in ποτὶ ξερὸν ἡπίριοιο (ε 402), ποτὶ ξερὸν (A. R. 3, 322, AP), ἐπὶ ξερὸν (Nic.). ⇒ξηρός.

**ξέστις** [m.] measure for fluid and dried things, = Lat. *sextarius* (Oropos [around 200<sup>a</sup>], J., AP), also 'pot, bottle' (Ev. Marc. 7, 4, pap.). <LW Lat.>

- DER ξεστῖον [n.] 'id.' (Ostr., Orib., Aet.); cf. ἀμνίον, λυχνίον, etc.; ξεστ-ιαῖος 'measuring a ξ.' (Gal.).

•ETYM Backformation from \*ξεστάριον, which was borrowed from *sextarius* with metathesis, under the assumption that this was a diminutive. The suffix is like in κοδράντης (= Lat. *quadrāns*), etc. The word ξέστρις κριθή· ἡ ἐξάστιχος. Κνίδιοι (H.) is probably similar.

**ξέω** [v.] 'to shave, carve, smooth, polish' (Il.). <IE? \**ks-es-* 'carve'>

- VAR Aor. ξέσ(σ)αι (Il.), pass. ξεσθῆναι, perf. med. ἔξεσμαι (IA), fut. ξέσω (Paul. Aeg.), perf. act. ἔξεκα (Choerob.), verbal adj. ξεστός (Il.).

- COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, κατα-, παρα-, περι-.

•DER 1. ξέσις (ἀπό-) [f.] 'planing' (Thphr., Delph. IV<sup>a</sup>); 2. ξέσματα [pl.] 'carving, chips, carved objects' (M. Ant., AP); 3. ξεμοῖς [dat.pl.] (H. as an explanation of σπαράγμασι 'pieces torn off'); 4. ξόανον [n.] '(carved) image of a god' (S., E., X.), also name of a musical instrument (S. Fr. 238); ξοάνων· προθύρων ἐξεσμένων 'carved doorways' (H.); acc. to Latte *Glotta* 32 (1953): 35, who reads ξοανῶν προθύρων· ἐξεσμένων, it is also an adjective; diminutive ξοάνιον (Anaphe II<sup>a</sup>). 5. ξοῖς, -ίδος [f.] 'chisel' (Hell. inscr.) with ξοῖδιον (pap. III<sup>p</sup>) and ξοῖτης [m.] name of a profession (Isauria; Redard 1949: 36); probably directly from ξέω after κοπῆς, δορῆς, etc.; ξοός· ξυσμός, ὁλκός 'scratch, furrow' (H.). 6. Of the prefixed forms: διαξοός [m.] 'sculptor' (Delph. 341<sup>a</sup>), ἀμφί-ξοος (-ους) 'smoothing all around' (AP); ἐπα-, κατα-, παρα-ξοή, -ά 'carving, planing, etc.' (inscr.). On ►ξώστρα, see s.v.

•ETYM Probably related to ►ξύω and ►ξαίνω, but without a close correspondence outside Greek. The stem ξεσ- (reconstructed from ξεστός, aor. ξέσ(σ)αι, etc.) is the basis of all forms cited. It has traditionally (Pok. 585f.) been interpreted as \**ks-es-*, the zero grade of the IE root \**kes-* 'to scratch, comb', with an enlargement -*es-* (cf. on ►τρέω). This root is seen in OCS *česati* 'to comb', Lith. *kāsti* 'to dig, scrape', etc.; ►κεάζω and cognates could be related as well.

The form ξόανον follows the model of ὄχανον : ἔχω, πλόκανον : πλέκω, etc. See also ►κέσκεον.

**ξηνός** [m.] · κορμός 'squared trunk, block' (Suid.). <?>

- ETYM Has been connected with ἐπιξινον 'chopping-block', but further details are obscure.

**ξηρός** [adj.] 'dry, arid' (IA). <IE? \**ksero-* 'dry'>

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. ξηρ-αλοιφέω [v.] 'to rub dry with oil' (Lex Solonis *apud* Plu. Sol. 1), composed of ξηρόν αλείφειν (to \*ξηρ-αλοιφός); ξηρόβηξ, -χος [m.] 'dry cough' (medic.), opposed to ὑγρό-βηξ (Strömberg 1944: 100); κατά-, ἐπί-ξηρος etc. (Hp., Arist.) beside κατα-, ἐπι-ξηραίνω.

•DER 1. ξηρότης, -ητος [f.] 'dryness' (Att., Arist.); 2. ξηρίον [n.], ξηράφιον [n.] 'desiccative powder' (medic., pap.); 3. ξηρώδης 'dryish' (EM beside πυρώδης). 4. ξηραίνω [v.] 'to make dry', -ομαι 'to dry up', fut. -ανῶ, -ανοῦμαι (IA), aor. ξηράναι (-ῆναι), -ανθῆναι (Il.), perf. med. ἐξήρασμαι (IA), -αμμαι (Hell.); often with prefixes like ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα-. Thence (ἀνα-)ξηράνσις [f.] (Thphr., Gal.), (ἀνα-, ἐπα-, ὑπερ-)ξηρασία, -ίη [f.] (Hp., Arist., Thphr.), on the formation see Chantraine 1933: 85; (ἀνα-)ξηρασμός [m.] (medic.) 'getting dry'; (ἀνα-)ξηραντικός 'getting dry' (Hp., Thphr.).

•ETYM The word ξηρός can hardly be separated from ►ξηρόν. If these belong together with Lat. *serēnus* 'bright, clear, dry' < \**kseres-no-*, *serēscō* 'to become dry', OHG *serawēn* 'id.', etc. (cf. Pok. 625), ξηρός must contain a lengthened grade, which is problematic. Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *kṣā* rejects the old connection with Skt. *kṣāra* 'burning, biting, sharp' and *kṣāyati* 'to burn'. Alternatively, for ξηρόν one might assume metathesis of σχερών 'id.', possibly influenced by ξηρός. See Janko *Glotta* 57 (1979): 20-23 on this problem.

ξιψ(ρ)α = σίδη.

ξίρις [f.] 'Iris foetidissima' (Thphr.). <PG>

•VAR Also ξίρις (Dsc. 4, 22); σίρις or σίρις (*EM* 209, 35); ξυρίς (Dsc., Plin. Gal.); ξειρίς (Ar., H.), all 'id.'.

•ETYM Frisk (s.v. ξυρόν, which is unrelated) asks whether the original form was ξιρ- or ξυρ-. Acc. to DELG, ξυρ- could be due to folk etymology (referring to Strömberg 1940: 44). Indeed, the form σίρις/σίρις suggests that ξιρ- is the oldest form. The variants point to Pre-Greek origin.

ξίφος [n.] 'sword with a straight, double-edged blade' (Il.); see Trümper 1950: 60ff.; metaph. of the ξίφος-like bone of the cuttle-fish (Arist.); as a plant name = ξιφίον (Thphr.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also σκίφος (sch., *EM*, H.).

•DIAL Myc. *qi-si-pe-e* /k<sup>w</sup>sip<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>e/ [du.].

•COMP As a first member in ξιφη-φόρος 'sword-bearing' (A., E.) with analogical -η- (Schwyzer: 440). On σκιφα-τόμος see below. As a second member in ἄ-ξιφος 'swordless' (Lyc., A. D.), ἀξιφ-εἶ [adv.] (Hdn.).

•DER 1. diminutive ξιφίδιον (Ar., Th.), also plant name = σπαργάνιον, 'swordgrass' (Ps.-Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 44; 2. ξιφύδριον (σκιφ- Epich.) name of a crustacean (medic., H.). 3. ξιφίας (σκιφ- Epich.) [m.] 'swordfish' (Arist.), also name of a comet (Plin.); 4. ξιφίον [n.] 'cornflag, Gladiolus segetum' (Thphr., Dsc.); 5. ξιφήρης 'armed with a sword' (E., late prose). 6. ξιφήν- ό φέρων ξίφος 'who bears a ξ.' (Suid.). 7. ξιφίνδα παίζειν = ξιφίζειν (Theognost.). 8. ξιφίζω [v.] 'to dance the sword-dance' (Cratin.), ἀποξιφίζειν- όρχεῖσθαι ποῖαν όρχησιν, σκιφίζει- ξιφίζει. ἔστι δὲ σχῆμα μαχαίρικῆς όρχήσεως (H.). Thence ξιφ-ισμός (Ath., D. C.), -ισμα (Choerob., H.) 'sword-dance', ξιφιστύς- μαχαίρομαχία, μάχη ἐκ χειρῶν 'battle with daggers' (H.); ξιφ-ιστήρ [m.] (pap., Plu.); -ιστής (H.) 'sword-belt' rather directly from ξίφος in view of the mg.; cf. κορυφιστήρ s.v. ►κορυφή. With prefix δια-ξιφίζομαι [v.] 'to fight with the sword' (Ar.), διαξιφισ-μός [m.] 'battle with swords' (Plu.). Two further glosses from H.: ξίφαι- τὰ ἐν ταῖς ῥυκάναις δρέπανα ἢ σιδήρια 'sickles or tools in planes' and (with metathesis) σκιφίνιον- πλέγμα ἐκ φοίνικος 'sth. plaited of date-palm' (after κοφίνιον, etc.); perhaps also σκιφα-τόμος, a profession (Sparta I<sup>a</sup>)? Cf. on ►κίφος.

•ETYM Oriental origin (Aram. *saḡfā*, Arab. *saifun*, Eg. *sēfet* 'sword') has been advocated by e.g. Lewy 1895: 176f.

Čop *KZ* 74 (1956): 231f. compared Oss. *æxsirf* 'sickle', assuming IE \**k<sup>w</sup>sib<sup>h</sup>ró-*. Such an isolated comparison, however, is highly unlikely.

The Myc. form clearly points to Pre-Greek origin because of the variation *k<sup>w</sup>-/k-*. Perhaps the forms with σκιφ- also point in this direction. It is unlikely that Myc. *qi-si-pe-e* lost its labiovelar through dissimilation with the following φ (as per Heubeck *Minos* 6 (1958): 55ff.). Pre-Greek also had labiovelars, which did not always share the fate of the inherited ones (see *Pre-Greek*).

ξουθός [adj.] mg. uncertain, 'resounding, trilling, quick, agile, yellow'(?), said of the wings of the Dioscuri (*h. Hom.* 33, 13), of an eagle (B.), a cicada (AP); of the nightingale and its γένος (A., E., Ar., Theoc.), of the swallow and other singing birds (Babr.), of bees (S. Fr. 398, 5, E.); also of the winds (Chaerem. Trag.), of ἀλκυόνες (AP), of the ἱππαλεκτρύων (A., Ar.); further of μέλι, αἶμα, λύκος (Emp., Opp.), with ξανθός as a v.l., probably referring to the color (cf. H. ξουθά- οὐ μόνον ξανθά, ἀλλὰ καὶ λευκά καὶ πυρρά 'not only ξ., but also white and tawny'). <?>

•DIAL Myc. PN *ko-so-u-to* (Gallavotti *Par. del pass.* 12 (1957): 6f.).

•COMP As a first member in ξουθό-πτερος, of μέλισσα (E., *Lyr. Alex. Adesp.*).

•ETYM On the meaning, see Leumann 1950: 215. The etymology is unknown. The general similarity with ξανθός has long been observed. Cf. Taillardat 1962: §266 and Duerbeck *MSS* 24 (1968): 9-32.

ξυλαμιάω [v.] 'to plant or sow green crops or fodder' (opposed to σπείρω), usually with dat. (χόρτω 'fodder'). <?>

•VAR Aor. -μήσαι.

•DER ξυλάμησις [f.], also the back-formation ξυλαμή [f.] 'sowing green crops', ξυλαμητής (also -ιστής) [f.] 'sower of green crops' (Hell., pap.; Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 127, 66 and 79).

•ETYM Technical word without etymology. Neither ξύλον nor ἀμάω (ἀμάομαι) seems to yield an acceptable connection.

ξύλον [n.] 'wood, timber, firewood, tree, beam, stick; wooden block put around the neck, gallows; bench, table' (Il.); also as a measure of length: 'the side of the ναύβιον' (Hero Geom., pap.). <Non-IE substrate?>

•COMP Very frequent in compounds, e.g. ξυουργός (-οργός, -εργός) [m.] 'carpenter', with -έω, -ία, -ικός (IA), cf. on δημιουργός; μονό-ξύλος 'made from one piece of wood', of πλοῖον, etc. (IA). On ►ξύλοχος, see s.v.

•DER 1. Diminutives: ξυλ-άριον 'small piece of wood' (LXX, pap., etc.), -ήφιον 'piece of wood' (Hp., Hell.), -άφιον 'id.' (Eust.); on -ήφιον, -άφιον see Wackernagel *Glotta* 4 (1913): 243f.; ξύλιον 'piece of wood' (pap. IV<sup>p</sup>).

Further substantives: 2. ξυλ-εύς [m.] 'woodcutter', name of a sacrificial attendant in Olympia (inscr. I<sup>a</sup>, Paus., H.), with -εύω, -εύομαι 'to fetch wood' (Hell. inscr., Men., H.), -εία [f.] 'fetching wood, stock of wood, timber' (Plb., Str., pap.). ξυλίτης- ιχθύς ποίος 'kind of fish' (H.), explanation in Strömberg 1943: 25; ξυλίτις (γῆ, χέρσος) [f.] 'bush' (pap.); 4. ξυλών, -ώνος [m.] 'place for wood' (Delos III-II<sup>a</sup>).

Adjectives: 1. ξύλ-ινος 'of wood, wooden' (Pi., B., IA), 2. -ικός 'id.' (Arist.) with -ικάριος 'woodseller' (?) (Corycos), from Lat. *-ārius*, 3. -ηρός 'regarding wood' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>), -ηρά [f.] 'woodmarket?' (pap. I<sup>p</sup>), 4. -ώδης 'woodlike, -colored' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.).

Verbs: 1. ξυλ-ίζομαι 'to fetch wood' (X., Plu.) with -ισμός 'fetching wood' (Str., D. H.), -ιστής 'who fetches wood' (sch.); 2. ξυλ-δομαι, -όω 'to turn into wood, make of wood' (Thphr., LXX) with -ωσις [f.] 'woodwork' (Th., Hell. inscr.), -ωμα, -ωμάτιον 'id.' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>, etc.); 3. ξυλ-εύω, see above on ξυλεύς.

•ETYM The word ξύλον appears as σύλον, σύλινος on younger Att. vases (see Schwyzler: 211). It seems to correspond with Lith. *šūlas* 'post, pole, stave' < IE \**ksulo-*, Ru. *šūlo* [n.] 'garden-pole', SCr. *šūlj* [m.] 'block' < IE \**kseulo-* (?). Germanic words like OHG *sūl* [f.] 'style, pole', Go. *sauls* 'pillar' have a similar appearance. The relation between the Slav., Balt., and Gm. words has been amply discussed, but hardly explained. Was the word taken from a non-IE substrate language? See Lehmann 1986 s.v. *sauls*. Original connection of ξύλον with ►ξύω is not probable, but secondary influence (Chantraine 1933: 240) is conceivable.

**ξύλοχος** [f.] 'λόχη, lair', also 'thicket, bush' (Hom., AP, *Anacreont.*, also late prose). <GR?>

•DER ξυλοχίζομαι (-ισδ-) probably = ξυλίζομαι (Theoc. 5,65; see ξύλον).

•ETYM Explained from \*ξύλό-λοχος with haplology, but the exact semantic interpretation remains uncertain; cf. Solmsen 1901: 97<sup>1</sup>. Because of the fem. gender (perhaps after λόχη?), Bechtel 1914 s.v. points to the possibility of adjectival origin: "having dry wood as a bed", of εὐνή?

**ξύν** [adj., prep.] 'with, together' (Il., especially OAtt.). <?>

•VAR With dat.; since II<sup>a</sup> sometimes with gen. after μετά. Younger form σύν (since Il.); on the distribution of the forms see Schwyzler 1950 487<sup>2</sup>. On the use in Plato see Kerschensteiner MSS 1 (1952): 29ff.

•DIAL Myc. *ku-su* /ksun/.

•ETYM No clear correspondences exist outside Greek. The appurtenance of BSL forms (Lith. *sū* 'with', OCS *съ*, Ru. *с(о)* 'together with, down from, etc.') is doubtful. Dunkel *Glotta* 60 (1982): 55-61 assumes that ξυν arose from \**som* with \**k-* (seen in \**kom*, Lat. *cum*) added before it (thus a contamination).

The word ξύν is probably also contained in μετάξυ (cf. on ►μετά). See ►ξυνός.

**ξυνός** [adj.] 'common, public, usual' (epic Ion., Il.), = κοινός. <GR>

•COMP Rarely in compounds, e.g. ἐπί-ξυνος = ἐπί-κοινος 'common' (M 422).

•DER 1. ξυνάων, -άν (Pi.), ξυνέων (Hes.), ξυνών (S.) [m.] = κοινάν, -ών 'comrade, companion', whence ξυνωνία (Archil.), ξυνωνός (Theognost.); see on κοινών, -νία, -νός (s.v. ►κοινός). 2. ξυνήϊα [n.pl.] 'common booty', i.e. not yet distributed (A 124, Ψ 809), after πρεσβήϊα, ξεινήϊα. 3. ξυνόομαι [v.] 'to have contact with' (Nearch., Man.), -όω 'to bring into contact with' (Nonn.).

•ETYM From \*ξυν-ιό-, derived from ξύν like ►κοινός from \*κομ-ιος < \*κόμι (\*κόν) = Lat. *cum*. On ξυνός: κοινός and their derivatives, see Leumann 1950: 224<sup>3</sup> and Björck 1950: 366f. See ►ξύν.

**ξυρόν** [n.] 'razor' (K 173). <IE \**ksuro-* 'razor'>

•VAR Also -ός [m.].

•COMP Rare as a first member, e.g. ξυρο-δόκη [f.] 'razor-case' (Ar.); as a second member with metrically conditioned enlargement in ὑπο-ξύριος (AP 6, 307; verse-final), "what is under the ξ.", whence 'on which the razor is whetted'. Backformation in ὑπό-ξυρος 'cut away as if by a razor', of the nose of an eagle, etc. (Hp.), ἀπό-ξυρος 'cut off, steep', of a rock (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*, Luc.), κατά-ξυρος epithet of θυρίδες 'loopholes' (Ph. Bel.), cf. ὑπο-, ἀπο-, κατα-ξυράω, -έω below.

•DER 1. Diminutives: ξύρ-ιον (Hell.), -άριον (Gal., sch.). 2. ξυρίας [m.] 'with a tonsure, clean-shaven man' (Poll., H.). 3. On ξυρίς, -ίδος [f.] see ►ξυρίς. 4. Denominative verbs: a. ξυρέω 'to shave clean' (Hdt., trag. and Att.), ξυράω, -άομαι (Hdt., Plu.), ξύρω, -ομαι, aor. ξύραι, -ασθαι (Hp., Hell.), also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ὑπο-, κατα-; thence ξυρίσις [f.] 'shaving' (LXX), -ήσιμος 'good for shaving' (Ael. Dion.), ξυρησιός [m.] 'id.' (Hdn.), ξυρητής [m.] 'barber' (pap.); b. ξυρίζω = -έω (sch.), whence ξυρίσμα [n.] 'shaving' (Tz.).

•ETYM An inherited word, identical with Skt. *kṣurá-* [m.] 'razor' < IE \**ksuró-*. For further connections, see ►ξύω.

**ξυστάδες** [f.] · αἱ πυκναὶ ἄμπελοι, ἅμεινον δὲ τὰς εἰκῇ καὶ μὴ κατὰ στοῖχον πεφυτευμένας ἀκούειν 'vines planted closely together, but it is better to understand the plants planted at random and not those planted in a row' (H.). => συστάς.

**ξυστίς, -ίδος** [f.] 1. 'robe of rich and soft material, worn with festive clothes as a robe of state' (com., Pl.), whence ξυστιδωτός (scil. χιτῶν) 'chiton like a robe of state' (Att. inscr.); 2. 'shaver, drawknife; currycomb' (Epich., Diph.). <GR>

•ETYM From ξυστός 'shaven clean, planed', probably a comic name: a cloth sweeping the ground (on the formation, see Chantraine 1933: 343f.), but also a "planing instrument" (Chantraine 1933: 338). See ►ξύω.

**ξυστόν 1** [n.] 'shaft of a spear', usually 'spear' (Il., Hdt., E., X.). <GR>

•ETYM From ►ξύω as "what has been smoothened; smoothened stick" (scil. δόρυ).

**ξυστός 2** [m.] 'walking place in a garden, a gymnasium, etc., covered colonnade where athletes exercise in winter' (X., Hell., inscr., Vitruv., Plu., Paus.). <GR>

•VAR Also -όν [n.].

•COMP As a first member in ξυστ-άρχης [m.] 'director of a ξυστός' with ξυσταρχ-έω, -ία (late inscr. and pap.).

•DER ξυστικός 'belonging to a ξ., who exercises in a ξ.' (late inscr. and pap., Gal.).

•ETYM Originally an adjective, ξυστός meant 'smoothened', of the floor of a promenade and a colonnade; thus still in ξυστός δρόμος (Aristias 5, V<sup>a</sup>). Cf. also ξύειν 'to smoothen', of δάπεδον (χ 456). The word ►ξυστάδες (beside which συστ-) is unrelated.

**ξύω** [v.] 'to shave, smooth, scratch' (Il.). <IE \**kseu-* 'shave, scratch'>

•VAR Aor. ξύσαι, pass. ξυσθῆναι, perf. pass. ἔξυσμαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα-, περι-.

•DER Action nouns: 1. ξύσις (ἀπό-) [f.] 'shaving, scratching, ulceration, erosion' (Hp., inscr.). 2. ξύσμα (ἀπό-) [n.] 'filings, chip, lint, etc.' (Hp., Arist.) with ξυσμά-τιον, -τώδης (medic.); -λιον [n.] 'erosive plaster' (Cyrano.). 3. ξυσμή [f.] 'scratching'



(Sophr.), plur. 'scribbles' (AP, D. T.). 4. ξυσμός [m.] 'itching, irritation' (Hp.). 5. κατα-ξυή [f.] 'smoothing' (Didyma II<sup>a</sup>).

Agent and instrument nouns: 6. ξυστήρ, -ῆρος (περι-) [m.] 'shaver, plane, rasp, file' (Hp., Hell. inscr.), ξυστ-ηρίδιον (Phryn.), -ήριος (Paul. Aeg.). 7. ξύστρα [f.] 'plane, curry-comb' (Hp., Hell. inscr. and pap.). 8. ξύστρον = -τήρ (Sparta II<sup>b</sup>), also 'sickle, scythe on a wagon' (D. S.); thence ξυστρίον (pap. II<sup>a</sup> Paul. Aeg.), ξυστρίς (H. s.v. στελγίς, = σπλεγγίς), ξυστρωτός 'fluted, chamfered' (LXX, Hero), ξυστρόομαι [v.] 'to flute' (Mylasa). 9. περι-ξύστης [m.] name of a surgical instrument (*Hermes* 38, 283). 10. ξυήλη (-άλη) [f.] 'planing iron' (X., H., Suid.). 11. ξυστάλλιον = ξύστρον (Delos III<sup>a</sup>).

Adjective ξυστικός 'ptng. to shaving, etc' (medic., etc.). See also ξυστίς, -όν, -ός and ►ξυρόν.

•ETYM There is no direct correspondence for the Greek system. An athematic lengthened grade present is found in Skt. *kṣhāuti* 'to grind, whet, rub', zero grade pres. ptc. *kṣhinvānā-*. If this contained a nasal infix, it is archaic, as is clear from Lat. *novācula* [f.] 'razor', a denominative or deverbative formation from *\*novāre* < *\*ksnovāre*. The nasal was also introduced in non-presentic forms, e.g. ptc.perf. *kṣhnutá-* (= Av. *hu-xšnuta-* 'well-sharpened'), verbal noun *kṣhótra-* [n.] 'whetstone'. One may further compare Lith. *skūsti*, 1sg. *skutù* 'to shave, plane, etc.', if somehow transformed from *\*ksu-*. See ►ξέω, ►ξαίνω.

ξώστρα [?] · ψυκτρίς, ψύκτρια (H.). <?>

•ETYM The gloss is probably corrupt, since ψυκτρ- is unknown. It has variously been corrected to ψηκτρίς, ψήκτρια, or the lemma changed to ξύστρα. The word is usually given under ξέω, but this need not be correct.

## O

ὀ- 1 copulative prefix. <IE *\*sem-* 'one'>

•VAR In ὀ-πατρος 'of the same paternal descent' (Λ 257, M 371), ὀπάτριος (Lyc.); in ὀ-τριχες ἵπποι 'horses with like manes' (B 765) and the glosses ὀγάστωρ· ὀμογάστωρ, ὀζυγες· ὀμόζυγες (H.); also in ►οιέτεας.

•ETYM Probably, Aeolic for copulative ►ἀ-. Semantically, it often comes close to ►ὀ- 2. See ►ὀπατρος.

ὀ- 2 'close by, near, with' vel sim. <?>

•ETYM Assumed to be a fossilized prefix cognate with Av. and Skt. *ā-* 'towards, away from' < *\*(H)ō-*, in order to explain ὀ- in ὀκέλλω 'to drive ashore' beside ►κέλλω, and further ὀτρύνω, ►ὄζος 1, ►ὄσχη, ►ὄψον; for further details, see the separate words. In view of the paucity of the examples, this analysis is probably wrong. More forms are mentioned in Pok. 280f., but almost all of these are now explained by an initial laryngeal.

ὀ [pron., art.] demonstrative 'this one, that one' (Il.), later article. <IE *\*so, to-* 'this one'>

•VAR Fem. ἡ, Dor. ἁ; the nom.pl. οἱ, fem. αἱ (epic, Att.) is analogical for τοί, ταί (epic, Dor.).

•DER Also substantivized ὅς, in καὶ ὅς, ἢ δ' ὅς 'said he', etc. (Il.).

•ETYM An old demonstrative, originally only nom.sg.msc. and fem., retained in several languages: e.g. Skt. *sá(h)*, fem. *sā*, Go. *sa*, fem. *so*, ToB *se*, fem. *sā*, and OLat. *sa-psa* 'ipsa' with innovated forms *sum*, *sam*, *sōs*, *sās* 'eum, eam, eos, eas'. All are from IE *\*so(s)*, *\*seh₂*.

ὀά [interj.] interjection of pain (A. Pers. 117 and 122 [lyr.]). <ONOM>

•VAR Also ὀᾶ.

•DER Besides οὐά, οὐᾶ interjection of admiration (Arr. Epict., D. C., Ev. Marc. 15, 29); οὐαί of pain, 'woe' (LXX, J., NT).

•ETYM Cf. Lat. *vāh*, interjection in various mgs., as well as *vae* utterance of pain, Go. *wai* 'woe'; further forms in Pok. 1110f. On ὀ-, οὐ- as a rendering of a *w*-sound, see Schwyzler: 313.

ὀά 1 [f.] 'elderberry tree, mountain ash, Sorbus domestica' (Thphr.). <IE *\*Hoi-ueh₂-* 'yew'>

•VAR Ion. ὀη, οἴη; variant οῦα. The fruit is called ὄον or οῦον [n.] 'elderberry' (Pl. *Smp.* 190d, Hp., Thphr., Dsc.).

•ETYM Words reminiscent in form and meaning of ῥα are found in many languages: Lat. *uva* [f.] 'grape', which may derive from IE *\*Hoiueh<sub>2</sub>*, like ῥα; a derivation *\*oiuiā-* is assumed in Arm. *aigi* 'vine'. Further, Lith. (*j*)*ievà*, Latv. *iēva* [f.] 'alder buckthorn', the Slavic group of Ru. *iva* [f.] 'willow', the Celto-Germanic word for 'yew', e.g. OIr. *eó* [m.], OHG *iwa* [f.], and OPr. *iuwis* 'yew'. It remains uncertain whether these words have a common origin, and/or whether we must reckon with old loans. Alb. *vo-dhë*, *va-dhë* 'rowan tree' were borrowed from Gr. ῥα, οῖη.

ῥα 2 'hem, border'. → ῥα.

ῥαρ, ῥαρος [f.] 'wife', only in ῥάρων [gen.pl.] (I 327); ῥρεσσιν [dat.pl.] (E 486); ῥαρας·γάμους. οἱ δὲ γυναῖκας 'wives, others: women' (H.). <PG?>

•DER Thence ῥαρίζω [v.] 'to have a private conversation, to consort with someone intimately, to chat' (Il., *h. Hom.*), only pres. and ipf.; ῥαρος, usually plur. -οι [m.] 'cosy intercourse or conversation', also 'ditty' (*h. Hom.*, Hes., Pi., Call.), probably a back-formation; also ῥαριστός [f.] (*Hom.*), later ῥαρισμός, usually plur. -οί [m.] (Hes., Call., Q. S.), ῥαρίσματα [pl.] (Opp.) 'intimate, close or colloquial conversation, billing and cooing'; ῥαριστής [m.] 'close friend' (τ 179, Timo); on mg. and use of the verbal nouns see Benveniste 1948: 70, Porzig 1942: 181f.

•ETYM Looking at the denominative ῥαρίζω, it is thought that ῥαρ originally meant 'confidential intercourse', whence 'confidential company, wife'. A good etymology has not been found. Several proposals have been made (see Frisk) where the initial ῥ would be either the Aeolic variant of copulative ▶ ᾶ- 'equal, together with', or ▶ ὀ- 2 'to, with'. Regarding the second member, these proposals do not convince, however. Ruijgh 1967a: 386f. supposes that the Linear B ideogram for 'woman' (MULIER) developed into the sign for *wo*, suggesting that there was a Pre-Greek word *\*woar* 'woman' (cf. ▶ δάμιαρ).

ῥβδην [adv.] 'in the face, overtly, public' (Call. *Fr.* 522, Lampsakos; A. D. *Adv.* 198,7 [where also ῥβδην]). <IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>*- 'face'>

•VAR Only in εἰς (ἐς) ῥβδην.

•ETYM Adverb in -δην from ὀπ-, the root found in ὀπή, ὄψομαι, etc., with εἰς like in ἐς ἄντα.

ὀβελός [m.] 'broach' (Il.), 'obelisk, bar of metal used as a coin or weight, obol' (= the sixth part of a drachme), 'obelus, horizontal line used as a diacritic'. <PG>

•VAR Att. ὀβολός, Dor. Arc. ὀδελός (also Nic.), Thess. ὀβελλός.

•COMP ὀβολο-στάτης [m.] 'obol weigher', i.e. 'petty usurer' (com.), τρι-ὀβολον, Dor. -ὠδελον [m.] (-ω- by compositional lengthening) 'coin worth three obols, amount of three obols = half a drachme' (Th., Ar.); also ὀδολκαί· ὀβολοί (H.) from *\*ὀδελ-ολκαί*?

•DER 1. Diminutive ὀβελίσκος [m.] '(little) spit, needle, obelisk, etc.' (Att., Hell.); 2. ὀβελίας (ἄρτος) 'bread roasted on a spit' (Hp., com.); 3. ὀβελίτης = -ίας (Poll.); 4. ὀβελεία (= ἰα) [f.] name of an iron object (Att. inscr.), -ία [f.] 'obol tax?' (Cos I<sup>a</sup>); 5. ὀβελ-ιαῖος 'like a broach' (medic.), ὀβολιαῖος 'worth an obol, weighing an obol'

(Arist.); 6. ὀβελίζω [v.] 'to mark with an obelus' (Cic., Hermog.) with ὀβελισμός [m.] 'marking with an obelus' (sch.); but ὀβολισμός [m.] 'carriage rate' vel sim. (pap. III<sup>p</sup>).

•ETYM The variation δ : β in ὀδελός : ὀβελός can seemingly be explained by assuming an original labiovelar *\*g<sup>w</sup>*, but a number of problems remain in the reconstruction of a pre-form: 1) non-Aeolic ὀβελός instead of expected ὀδελός cannot be easily explained by analogy, as e.g. Frisk s.v. states; 2) there is not enough evidence for early vowel assimilations in Greek, for which ὀβολός is taken to be one of the main examples (see Van Beek fthc.b). Thus, it was assumed (Schmidt KZ 32 (1893): 321ff.) that unaccented *\*e* regularly developed to *o* if accented *\*ó* followed in the next syllable, with at least one consonant separating the vowels. However, if ὀβολός would reflect such an old assimilation *ε* > *o*, then the vocalism of ὀβ/δελός in all other dialects would be hard to understand; 3) the geminate in Thess. ὀβελλός is unexplained; 4) the word was etymologically connected with βέλος 'missile', but the initial ὀ- cannot be accounted for (cf. ▶ ὀ- 2). Extensive discussion of the word (also in compounds) in Tod *Numismatic Chronicle* 7 (1947): 1-27. The word is clearly Pre-Greek (see Fur. 389).

ὀβρια [n.pl.] 'cubs of wild animals' (E. *Fr.* 616); cf. ἰβρίκαλοι· χοῖροι 'young pigs' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR ὀβρικάλοισι (A. Ag. 143 [lyr.]), ὀβρίχοισι (A. *Fr.* 474, 809 Mette).

•ETYM For ὀβριχα (perhaps -οι?), compare animal names and hypocoristic formations like ὀρτάλιχος, ὀσσίχος (Chantraine 1933: 403f.); ὀβρίκαλα (-οι?) seems to have a combination of suffixes -κ- and -λ-; further unclear. Vendryes *REGr.* 32 (1932): 496 supposes Sicilian origin. Fur.: 191<sup>37</sup>, on the other hand, assumes Pre-Greek origin with interchange ὀ-/ι-. Although this would be a rare interchange, the variation in the suffixes -κ- and -χ- seems to confirm this.

ὀβριμος [adj.] 'strong, mighty' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ὄμβριμος with prenasalization.

•COMP As a first member in ὀβριμο-πάτερη [f.], epithet of Athena and others, 'having a mighty father'.

•ETYM The word ὀβριμος is traditionally compared with words that have no initial ὀ- and a long stem vowel: βριμός· μέγας, χαλεπός 'huge, hard' (H.), βριμάομαι 'χαλεπαίνω, to be hard to deal with', Βριμώ [f.] epithet of Hecate, Persephone, and others (see ▶ βρίμη), all of which are probably related to βρίθω, βριαρός. The short ι in ὀβριμος may have been taken from ἄλκιμος and other near-synonyms, but the ὀ- yields serious problems: it is neither a prefix nor a prothetic vowel. The variation ὀβρι-/βρι- probably points to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 246, etc.), as does the prenasalization.

ὀβρυζα [f.] 'assaying of gold' (Just. *Edict.* 11). <?>

•DER ὀβρυζιακός and ὀβρυζος 'pure, i.e. having been assayed', of gold (pap. IV-VI<sup>p</sup>, sch.).

•ETYM A technical loanword, compared by Benveniste *RPh.* 79 (1953): 122ff. with Hitt. *huprušhi-* name of a pot, as the word originally indicated the pot in which the

gold was tested. Borrowed as Lat. *obrussa* (since Cic.), later *obryza*, *-iacus* (since IV<sup>p</sup>).

**ὄγδοος** [adj.] 'eighth' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>ekteh<sub>3</sub>* 'eight', \**h<sub>3</sub>ekth<sub>3</sub>-uo-* (?) 'eighth'>

•VAR ὀγδόατος (Il.); after τέτρατος, etc.

•COMP As a first member probably in ὀγδόδιον· θυσία παρ' Ἀθηναίους τελομένη Θησεῖ 'sacrifice brought to Theseus by the Athenians' (H.), probably of a sacrifice brought "on the eighth day"; cf. on ▶ αὐτόδιον.

•DER ὀγδοαῖος 'appearing on the eighth day' (Plb., Plu.). On ὀγδοάς, -ήκοντα, etc. see ▶ ὀκτώ.

•ETYM The Greek ordinal 'eighth' goes back to \*ὄγδοφος (cf. Old Corinth. [ὄγ]δόφα), which is an enigmatic form beside the cardinal ὀκτώ for at least two reasons: the voiced cluster -γδ- and the suffix -ow- that it seems to contain. It is possible that the voiced cluster is analogical after ἑβδομος from \**septm-o-*; Sommer 1950: 24f. even considered the possibility that the cluster in a pre-form \**oktu-o-* developed an anaptyctic -o-. However, nowadays one usually reconstructs \*(*h<sub>3</sub>*)*ek̥t(e)h<sub>3</sub>-uo-* with a suffix \*-uo- added to the form, seen in the cardinal \**h<sub>3</sub>ek̥teh<sub>3</sub>*. Rix 1976: 172 reconstructs \*(*h<sub>3</sub>*)*ek̥th<sub>3</sub>u-h<sub>2</sub>o-*, assuming voicing of the cluster by the \*-*h<sub>3</sub>-*, which was afterwards vocalized to yield -o-; this is an ad-hoc solution.

Another question is whether or not the -u- is part of the stem (cf. Skt. *aṣṭáu*). It is found in Go. *ahtuda* 'ὄγδοος', OHG *ahtowi* [pl.] 'eighth (as an office)', and in Lat. *octāvus* (with -ā- perhaps by dissimilation \*-*eh<sub>3</sub>uo-* > \*-*eh<sub>2</sub>uo-*; Schrijver 1991: 300).

**ὀγκάομαι** [v.] 'to cry, roar', of the ass (Theopomp. Com., Arist., Luc.). <IE? \**h<sub>1</sub>enk-* 'groan'>

•COMP Also with προ-, συν-.

•DER ὀγκησις [f.] (Corn., Ael.), -ηθμός [m.] (Luc., Nonn.), -ημα [n.] (gloss.) 'roaring, bellowing', also of oxen; -ηστής [m.] 'crier' (AP), -ηστικός 'inclined to crying' (sch.); ὀγκώδης 'id.' (Ael.).

•ETYM An intensive formation, like ▶ βοάω, ▶ γοάω, ▶ μυκάομαι, etc. A direct formal counterpart is Lat. *uncāre* 'to drone', of a bear (Suet.). An *e*-grade (IE \**h<sub>1</sub>enk-*) is found in Ru. *jačát*, 1sg. *jačú* 'to groan, call plaintively', Alb. *nëkon*, Gheg *angóĳ* 'to groan, sigh, lament'. Celtic and Germanic have various forms in the same meaning from IE \**h<sub>1</sub>ong-*, e.g. Mlr. *ong* 'groan, sigh, lament', MLG *anken* 'to groan, sigh'; further, Lith. *iñksti* 'to groan, sigh', *uñgti* 'id.', etc.

The word may have been onomatopoeic in origin. However, De Lamberterie *RPh* 73 (1999): 37f. now derives it from ὄγκος 'swelling'. Borrowed as Lat. *oncāre* 'to cry', of an ass (Suet.). See also ▶ ὀκνος 2 'bitter'.

**ὄγκιον** [n.] 'name of a chest for iron and bronze ware' (φ 61, Hermipp. 16). <?>

•VAR Also -ιον.

•ETYM Details unknown; in Poll. 10, 165 σκεῦος πλεκτόν, a plaited tool. It is therefore unclear whether it belongs to ▶ ὄγκος 1 (as a chest with hooks or handles) or to ▶ ὄγκος 2 (as a carrier).

**ὄγκος 1** [m.] 'barbs of an arrow, chock' (Il., Philostr. *Im.*, Moschio *apud* Ath. 5, 208b).

<IE \**h<sub>2</sub>onk-o-* 'curvature'>

•VAR Further ὄγκη· γωνία 'corner, angle' (H.).

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *uncus* [m.] 'hook', as an adjective 'curved'; Gr. ὄγκινος 'barbed hook' (Poll. 1, 137 v.l., sch.) comes from Lat. *uncinus* [m.] 'id.' (Vitr.). For further cognates (e.g. ἀγκάλη, ἀγκών), see on ▶ ἀγκύλος.

**ὄγκος 2** [m.] 'mass, burden, weight; dignity, pride, show-off', also as a notion of style (IA). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>onk-o-* 'curvature', ?\**h<sub>1</sub>onk-o-* 'burden'>

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. ὑπέρ-ογκος 'excessively large, exaggerated, haughty' (Pl., X.), rarely as a first member, e.g. ὀγκό-φωνος 'with a hollow and pompous tone' (of a trumpet; sch.).

•DER 1. Adjectives ὀγκ-ηρός 'bulky, extensive', mostly metaph. 'pompous' (Hp., X., Arist.); -ώδης 'bulky, bombastic' (Pl., X., Arist.); ὀγκύλον· σεμνόν, γαῦρον 'proud, haughty' (H.), together with (δι-)ὀγκύλλομαι, -υλόομαι [v.] 'to be swollen, be puffed up' (Hp., Ar.); compar. ὀγκότερος 'bulky' (Arist.), superl. -τατος (AP). 2. Verb ὀγκόομαι 'to be puffed up, swollen, elated', -όω 'to raise, exalt, etc.' (IA), also with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐξ-; thence (δι-, ἐξ-)ὄγκωσις 'swelling' (Arist., medic.), (ἐξ-)ὄγκωμα 'swelling' (Hp., E.). From H.: ὀγκία· θημῶνες, χώματα 'heaps, piles'; ὄγκη· μέγεθος 'magnitude' (cf. on ▶ ὄγκος 1).

•ETYM In the sense "what is carried, load, burden", taken to be an *o*-grade verbal noun to the root \**h<sub>1</sub>enk-* (seen in the reduplicated aorist ▶ ἐνεγκεῖν). A problem with this analysis is the Schwebeablaut that has to be assumed, as the root is rather \**h<sub>1</sub>nek-*. Jouanna CRAI (1985): 31-60 has claimed that the meaning 'burden' is not attested, and that all attestations can be understood from a meaning 'swelling', which may have developed from 'curvature' (and, like ▶ ὄγκος 1, be derived from \**h<sub>2</sub>onk-*).

**ὄγμος** [m.] 'furrow, swath, line of scythed grass or grain', also of the course of the moon and the sun, etc., 'strip of land, which is (or ought to be) scythed down or cultivated in another way', also as a field-measure (Il., pap. imperial period). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>og-mo-* 'trajectory'>

•DER ἐπόγμιος 'presiding over the ὄγμος', epithet of Demeter (AP); ὀγμεύω [v.] 'to form an ὄ, to move in an ὄ.' (X. *Cyr.* 2, 4, 20 of the drivers; S. *Ph.* 163 of the wounded Philoctetes), ἐπ-ογμεύω (κύκλον) [v.] 'to move in circles' (Tryph. 354); perhaps also Ὀγμος name of Heracles among the Celts (Luc. *Herc.* 1)?

•ETYM A term of agriculture. As a verbal noun to ἄγω (ὄγμον ἄγειν Theoc. 10, 2), ὄγμος may be identical in origin with Skt. *ájma-* [m.] 'trajectory, draught'. It is hard to imagine parallel innovations, since the suffix *-mo-* was not productive in Greek. This is one of the good examples showing that \**h<sub>2</sub>o* > Gr. *o*.

**ὄγχνη** [f.] 'pear tree, *Pirus communis*', also 'pear' (Od., Thphr.). <PG?>

•VAR Also ὄχνη (Theoc., Call., Nic.), ὄγχνια· ἄπιον 'pear (tree)' (H.).

•ETYM Hypothetically connected with ▶ ἔγχος 'lance', if this was originally a lance of pearwood. Of course, this remains a wild guess. Cf. ▶ ἀχράς and ▶ ἄχερδος, both 'pear (tree)'. Fur.: 131<sup>59</sup> connects κόγχναι· αἱ ὄγχναι (H.), and thinks the word is Pre-Greek, also on account of the by-form ὄχνη (ibid. 279).

**ὀδάξ** [adv.] 'with the teeth, clenching one's teeth' (ὀδάξ ἐν χεῖλεσι φύντες α 381 = σ 410 = υ 268; also com., e.g. Ar. V. 164 διατρῶξομαι τοῖνυν ὀδάξ τὸ δίκτυον); perhaps in different mgs. at three places in the Il. (e.g. Λ 749 ὀδάξ ἔλον οὔδας; cf. X 17, B 418).

◀PG▶

•DER Three verbs: 1. ὀδακ-τάζω (Call., A. R.), -τίζω (D. H.) 'to bite, gnaw' (cf. λακτίζω : λᾶξ); ἀδακτῶ-κνήθωμαι 'to itch' (H.). 2. ὀδάξ-ομαι, -ω 'to scratch (oneself), to itch, be scratchy, gnaw', also -άομαι (-έομαι), -άω; variant ἀδάξομαι, -άομαι; fut. -ήσομαι, perf. ptc. ὠδαγμένος (S.), aor. ὠδάξατο (AP); ὠδάγμην-ἐκνησάμην (H.); ὀδάξει-τοῖς ὀδοῦσι δάκνει 'bites with the teeth', folk-etymological explanation (H.); ὀδαγμός (ἀ-, S. Tr. 770), ὀδαξ-ημός (Hp., Ph., Plu.) 'itch', -ητικός (Poll.), -ώδης (Aret.) 'scratchy, causing itch'. 3. ἀδαχεῖ 'scratches, itches' (Ar. Fr. 410), ἀδαχᾶ-κνᾶ, κνήθῃ κεφαλῇ, ψηλαφᾶ 'scratches the head, touches' (H.).

•ETYM Both ὀδακ-τάζω, -τίζω and ὀδάξει in H. have been derived from ὀδάξ, which traditionally translated as 'with the teeth'. However, it is hard to derive ὀδάξ-ομαι, -άομαι, which is attested better and earlier, as well as ἀδαχ-εῖ, -ᾶ, if we start from such a meaning. For the oldest attestations of ὀδάξ (Il.), 'with the teeth' is not directly evident, although it seems possible. Bechtel 1914 rendered ὀδάξ in these places with 'itching, scratching' (after ὀδάξομαι). The later meaning 'with the teeth' would have arisen from a folk-etymological connection with ὀδών and δάκνω.

The forms with ἀ- have traditionally been explained by vowel assimilation (Schmidt KZ 32 (1893): 391f.), but this has now become doubtful (see Van Beek fthc.b); they rather point to Pre-Greek origin. It is also quite possible that the original reading was ἀδαγ-, and that this was replaced by ὀδ- at some point by folk etymology, as ἀδαγ- was less well-known. The aspiration in ἀδαχ-ᾶ, -εῖ does not have to be explained as analogical (Schmidt l.c.), but may be a variant of a Pre-Greek phoneme as well. The same holds for the interchange between -κτ- and -ξ- in the verbal forms. For all these reasons, the former derivation from a zero grade *\*h<sub>3</sub>d-nt-* must be dropped. See ▶ἀδαγμός.

**ὀδαχᾶς** [?] · καταπύγων. Ταραντῖνοι 'lecherous, lascivious (Tarentinian)' (H.). ◀?▶

•ETYM Unknown.

**ὀδμή** [f.] 'smell, scent'. ⇒ ὄζω.

**ὀδόλυνθοι** [m.]? · ἐρέβινθοι 'chick-peas' (H.). ▶PG(S)▶

•ETYM Clearly a Pre-Greek word; cf. ▶ὄλυνθος.

**ὀδός** 1 [f.] 'road, street, ride, journey, march' (Il.), metaph. 'way out, means' (Pi., IA).

◀IE *\*sod-* 'course'▶

•COMP Many compounds, like ὀδο-ποιέω [v.] 'to clear a path, pave the way' (Att.), with -ποιία [f.] 'road construction' (X.), -ποιός [m.] 'road worker' (X., Aeschin., Arist.); ὀδοι-πόρος [m.] 'traveller, wanderer' (Ω 375, trag., com.) with -πορία, -ίη 'journey (on land)' (h. Merc. 85, Hp., Hdt., X.), -πορέω [v.] 'to cover a distance, travel, cross' (Ion., trag.); ὀδοι-δόκος [m.] 'highwayman, robber' (Plb.); the first member retained a locative ending in order to avoid a sequence of three shorts. As a second member e.g. in εὖ-οδος 'well-roaded' with εὐοδ-ία, -έω, -όω (Att.), also in

εἶσ-, ἔξ-, μέθ-, σύν-οδος, etc. 'entrance, etc.' (since κ 90), used as verbal nouns of εἰσ-ίεναι.

•DER 1. ὀδιος (ἐν-, παρ-, ἐφ-, etc.) 'ptng. to the road' (Il.); 2. τὰ ὀδαῖα [n.pl.] 'goods traded along the way' (θ 163, ο 445; cf. ὀδάω below); 3. -οδικός, in e.g. μεθοδ-ικός 'methodical, systematic' (Hell.); 4. ὀδωτός 'equipped with roads, practicable, doable' (S. OC 495; cf. ὀδῶω); 5. ὀδίτης (παρ-, etc.) [m.] 'traveler, wanderer' (Il.); 6. ὀδισμα [n.] 'road construction' (A. Pers. 71 [lyr.]), cf. τείχισμα.

Denominative verbs: 7. ὀδεύω 'to travel by road, wander' (since Λ 569), very often with prefix, e.g. δι-, ἔξ-, μεθ-, παρ-, συν- (partly from δί-οδος, etc.); thence (-)ὀδευσίς (IA), etc.; 8. ὀδῶω 'to show the way, lead' (Hdt., A., E.); 9. ὀδάω (ἐξ-) 'to sell' (E. Cyc.); ὀδεῖν-πωλεῖν 'to sell' (H.).

•ETYM Traditionally, ὀδός is connected with a Slavic word for 'course', e.g. OCS *xodъ* [m.] 'βάδισμα, δρόμος', Ru. *xod* 'course, progress', which (like ὀδός) frequently occurs with a prefix, and may have its initial (x- instead of s-) from compounds with prefix (*pri-*, *u-*, *per-*). However, the absence of traces of Winter's Law in the Slavic word (lengthening of the preceding vowel by influence of the glottalic stop *\*d*) makes it probable that *xodъ* was borrowed from Iranian. A further connection has been proposed with Ilr. verbs like Skt. *ā-sad-* 'to tread on, go on', Av. *apa-had-* 'to go away, become weak'.

The relation between all forms mentioned and the root *\*sed-* 'sit' remains unclear. Thus, the Greek noun ὀδός remains isolated.

**ὀδός** 2 [m.] 'threshold'. ⇒ οὐδός.

**ὀδοὺς** [m.] 'tooth'. ⇒ ὀδών.

**ὀδύνη** [f.] 'pain, torment, harm, sorrow' (Il.). ◀IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>d-un-* 'pain'▶

•VAR Mostly plur. -αι.

•COMP As a second member in e.g. περι-ώδυνος 'very sore, painful' (Hp., Att.), -ω-compositional lengthening; thence περιωδυν-ία [f.] (Hp., Pl.), verbs -έω (medic.), -άω after ὀδυνάω; rarely as a first member, e.g. in ὀδυνή-φατος (ὀδυνήφατα φάρμακα E 401 = 900, also of ῥίζαν Λ 847; after this Orph. L. 345, 753) 'soothing, mitigating', an incidental poetical formation after ἀρηϊ-φατος, etc., but with remarkable active mg.

•DER ὀδυν-ηρός, Dor. -ᾱρός 'dolorous, painful' (Pi., Att.), -ωδώς [adv.] 'painfully' (Gal.), -αίτερος 'more painful' (Hp.) as if from *\*ὀδυναῖος* after σχολαίτερος, etc. (Schwyzer: 534); ὀδυνάω [v.] 'to hurt, grieve', -άομαι 'to be hurt, suffer pain' (IA), rarely with ἔξ-, κατ-; thence ὀδυνήματα [pl.] 'pains' (Hp.).

•ETYM Beside IA ὀδύνη stands Aeol. ἐδύνας [acc.pl.], cited in Greg. Cor. 597. On this basis, it was assumed that the vocalic interchange is due to vowel assimilation ε > ο before υ. However, this is improbable; as argued by Kortlandt 2003: 94 and 199, a form attested only in Gregory of Corinth (XII<sup>p</sup>) cannot be taken so seriously.

The form ὀδύνη was taken to be an enlargement in -ᾱ- of a verbal noun in -ur-, -uen-, -un- from the root *\*h<sub>3</sub>ed-* 'eat'. Semantic parallels were adduced by Frisk (Hor. *curae edaces*, Lith. *édžiótis* 'to trouble oneself' beside *édžióti* 'to devour, bite', from *ėsti* 'to eat'), and ▶ὀδύρομαι 'to wail' was compared as well. A further representative of

\**h<sub>3</sub>ed-ur, -un-* has been seen in Arm. *erkn*, gen. *erkan* 'birth-pain, heavy pain'. On the further basis of OIr. *idu* 'birthpangs', from which he derived from PCelt. \**edwon-*, Schindler KZ 89 (1975): 53-65 reconstructed an original feminine paradigm \**h<sub>3</sub>édwō(n)*, gen. *h<sub>3</sub>dun-és*, nom.pl. \**h<sub>3</sub>édwōn-es*.

However, the initial laryngeal was \**h<sub>3</sub>-*, like in ► ὀδών; cf. Kortlandt 2003: 94 and 199, where Schindler's analysis of the Irish and Greek words is criticized on good grounds. The comparison with Armenian is doubtful, because acc. to Kortlandt, a cluster \**dw* did not yield Arm. *rk* (ibid. 88ff.). He starts from a root \**h<sub>3</sub>ed-* 'to bite, sting' also seen in Lith. *úodas* 'gnat' < \**h<sub>3</sub>od-o-*. Van Beek (p.c.) suggests that this root is continued in the verbal roots meaning 'stink, smell' (Gr. ► ὀζω) and 'hate' (Lat. *ōdī*), on which see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.vv. 1. \**h<sub>3</sub>ed-* and 2. \**h<sub>3</sub>ēd-*, but that the original meaning was 'to sting'. Within Greek, ► ὠδός may also be related.

**ὀδύρομαι** [v.] 'to wail loudly, lament, grieve, mourn, bewail' (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>3</sub>d-ur, \*h<sub>3</sub>d-un-* 'pain'►

•VAR Non-presentic forms are rare: aor. ὀδύρασθαι, pass. ὠδύρθην, fut. ὀδυροῦμαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπ-, κατ-.

•DER ὀδυρμός [m.] (trag., Pl.), ὀδυρμα [n.] (trag.) 'wail, lamentation', ὀδύρ-τις [m.] 'who breaks out in lamentations' (Arist.), -τικός 'inclined to lament or to wail' (Arist., J. Plu.).

•ETYM Perhaps a denominative *yod*-present to the *r*-stem alternating with the *n*-stem in ► ὀδύνῃ, so originally 'to feel pain'. As a rhyme of μύρομαι, ► δύρομαι arose.

**ὀδύς(α)σθαι** [v.aor.] 'to be angry, grumble' (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>3</sub>ed-* 'hate'►

•VAR Perf. pass. ὀδώδυσται (ε 423), aor. pass. ὀδυσθῆναι (H.).

•ETYM Beside the aor. ὀδύς(α)σθαι (ὀδύσαντο Z 138, ὀδυσάμενος τ 407), we find οὐδύεται· ἐρίζει 'fights, quarrels' (H.), probably with metrical lengthening: a formation like ► ἡπύω, ἰδρύω, μεθύω, etc. If not analogical after other verbs denoting a state in -ύω, ὀδύομαι may derive from a *u*-stem noun \**odu-* (ὀδυσθῆναι, ὀδώδυσται may have a secondary -σ-). This has been compared with a verb for 'hate' seen in Lat. *ōdī*, *odium*, Arm. *ateam*, and with a Germanic adjective for 'dreadful': OS *atol*, ON *atall* (Hitt. *hatuki-* 'terrible, frightful' is unrelated; see on ► ἀτύζομαι 'to be terrified' and Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *hatuk-<sup>zi</sup>*).

**Ὀδυσσεύς** [m.] son of Laertes and Anticleia, king of the island Ithaca (Il.). <PG(V)►

•VAR Epic also Ὀδυσεύς (metrical shortening? Cf. on Ἀχιλλεύς). Several by-forms with λ (cf. Schwyzler: 209 and 333, Heubeck 1961: 24ff.): Ὀλυς(σ)εύς, Ὀλυτ(τ)εύς, Ὀλιεύς, etc. (vase-inscr.), Οὐλίξεύς (Hdn. Gr.), Lat. *Ulixēs*. The form with -δ- is only ascertained by epic literature.

•DER Ὀδυσῆϊος (σ 353); Ὀδύσσεια [f.] 'the Odyssey' (Hdt., Pl.) with Ὀδυσσειακός 'belonging to the Odyssey' (Hdn. Gr., sch.), τὰ Ὀδύσσεια 'Odyssean games' (Magn. Mae. III<sup>a</sup>); Ὀλίσ-σειδα [m.pl.] name of a family (φράτρα) in Thebes and Argos (inscr.).

•ETYM Connected by the epic poets (e.g. τ 407ff.) with ὀδύσσομαι, which is folk-etymological (Linde *Glotta* 13 (1924): 223, Risch 1947: 82f., Stanford *Class. Phil.* 47 (1952): 209ff.). Modern interpreters sought the origin of the name in the Greek West

or on the continent on the one hand, and in Asia Minor on the other. Those who argue for western, Illyrian-Epirotic origin are Helbig *Herm.* 11 (1876): 281 (doubts by Kretschmer 1896: 280ff. with Ed. Meyer), Krahe *IF* 49 (1931): 143, and van Windekens *Herm.* 86 (1958): 121 ff.; for continental origin, Boßhardt 1942: 138f. (also on the phonetics); for origin in Asia Minor, Hrozný *Arch. Orbis* 1 (1929): 338, Gemser *Archiv für Orientforschung* 3 (1926): 183 (from Babyl. Hitt. *Ul(l)uš?*; on this, see Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 215), and Kretschmer *Glotta* 28 (1940): 253 and 278 (Odysseus as an Anatolian hero, related to Hatt. Ἀύξης, Lyd. Λίξος). Doubtful attempts to connect the name Ὀδυσσεύς with the name of his maternal grandfather Ἀντόλυκος by Bolling *AmJPh.* 27 (1906): 65ff. and Bolling *Lang.* 29 (1953): 293f. However, the name is typically Pre-Greek (see Fur. index) on account of the many variants. Faure's connection with ὀλίγος (Faure 1980: 33) is therefore wrong.

**ὀδών** [m.] 'tooth' (Ion.). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>d-(o)nt-* 'tooth'►

•VAR ὀδοῦς (Arist., LXX); gen. ὀδόντος; Aeol. plur. ἔδοντες (only Procl., Greg. Cor.).

•COMP ὀδοντ-άγρα [f.] 'forceps for drawing teeth' (Hp., Arist.), χαυλι-όδων (Hes. Sc. 387, ntr. -όδον and -όδουν Arist.) 'with protruding teeth'.

•DER 1. ὀδοντάριον 'little cog' (Heliod. *apud* Orib.), ὀδοντ-ίς [f.] name of a fish (pap. III<sup>a</sup>), -ᾶς [m.] 'dentatus', -ίας [m.] 'dentiosus' (gloss.); *odontitis* [f.] 'toothwort, Dentaria' (Plin.). 2. Adjective ὀδοντ-ικός 'ptng. to the teeth' (medic.), -ωτός 'equipped with teeth' (Hero, Luc., Gal.), with ὀδοντόομαι [v.] 'to be equipped with teeth' (Poll.). 3. Verbs: ὀδοντ-ιάω 'to teethe' (Gal.) with -ιασις [f.] 'teething' (Dsc., Gal.), -ίζω 'to equip with teeth' (Orib.), 'to polish (with a tooth)' (pap.), together with -ισμός (Poll.), -ισμα (Eust.) 'the grinding of teeth'.

•ETYM The younger nom. ὀδοῦς for ὀδών is perhaps after διδούς. The form ὀδών, gen. ὀδόντος agrees with the old name of the tooth in Skt. *dán* [m.], Lith. *dantis* [m., f.], and OHG *zan(d)*, all from IE \**h<sub>3</sub>d-ont-*. A zero grade \**h<sub>3</sub>d-nt-* is found in Go. *tunþus* (unextended *tund-* still in Go. *aihvātundjai* 'horse's tooth'; cf. De Lamberterie *RPh.* 74 (2000): 278), Lat. *dēns*, etc. The original ablaut is still alive in Skt.: gen.sg. *datás* < \**h<sub>3</sub>d<sub>nt</sub>-ós* beside acc. *dántam*; cf. also the Germanic forms. The zero grade is assumed by some in Myc. *o-da-ke-we-ta, -tu-we-ta, -twe-ta* ('wheels) with teeth', but this is uncertain; see Aura Jorro 1985-1993 2, 16.

Aeol. ἔδοντες (with secondary barytonesis) was taken to suggest that ὀδόντ- stands for earlier \*ἔδόντ- with vowel assimilation. Therefore, one used to reconstruct \**h<sub>3</sub>d-ont-* as 'the eating one'. However, there are a couple of problems with this view. First of all, the attestation of the Aeolic form (twice in a late secondary source) is doubtful. Further, the initial ὀ- is neatly matched by Arm. *atamn* (Kortlandt 2003: index), which points to \**h<sub>3</sub>-*. It is further confirmed by νωδός, which requires \**h<sub>3</sub>d-o-* and can hardly be secondary. The root \**h<sub>3</sub>d-* means 'to bite' and is also seen in Lith. *úodas*, Latv. *uōds* 'gnat', both from \**h<sub>3</sub>od-o-* with long vowel by Winter's Law, and within Greek with ► ὀδύνῃ (see there for further suggestions). The Aeolic form can easily have ἔδ- after ἔδω. See ► νωδός, ► αἰμωδέω.

**ὄζος 1** [m.] 'branch, twig, bough, offshoot' (Il.), also 'knot or eye on a tree' (Thphr.).

◀ IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>esdo-*, *\*Hosdo-* 'branch' ▶

•VAR Aeol. ὕσδος (Sapph.).

•COMP As a second member in e.g. πέντ-οζος 'with five knots', as a name of the hand (Hes. *Op.* 742), πεντά-οζος 'with five knots' (Thphr.).

•DER ὄζ-ώδης 'branchy, having many knots' (Thphr., Dsc.), -ωτός 'branchy', -αλέος 'id.' (AP), after ἀζαλέος; ὀζόομαι [v.] 'to put forth branches' (Hp., Thphr.).

•ETYM Old inherited word for 'branch', identical with Arm. *ost*, gen. -*oy*, Go. *asts*, OHG *ast*, from IE *\*Hosdo-*. Beside these, we find OS and MLG *ōst* 'knot in wood, knarl' with deviating length. Traditionally analyzed as *\*o-sd-o-* 'sitting on (the stem)', containing a prefix ▶ ὀ- 2 and the zero grade of *\*sed-*; cf. on ἰζω (s.v. ▶ ἰζομαι). It has also been compared with Lat. *nīdus* 'nest' < *\*ni-sd-o-*.

However, Lubotsky draws attention to the fact that there are various words with similar formation and meaning: Skt. *ādga-* 'knot, sprout (of bamboo)', MP 'zg 'twig', and MoP *azg* 'twig' seem to reflect *\*Hodsg<sup>w</sup>o-*, and OIr. *odb* 'knot', MW *oddf* 'knot' go back to *\*osbo-* < *\*Hosg<sup>w</sup>o-*. Hitt. *hašduer-* can also be compared; see the discussion in Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. Taken together with Gr. ὄζος, Arm. *ost* and Go. *asts* 'branch' < *\*Hosdo-*, we seem to be dealing with a preform *\*Hodsg<sup>w</sup>o-* (that may have undergone metathesis to *\*Hodsg<sup>w</sup>o-* in Indo-Iranian). Lubotsky therefore assumes that the word was in fact an old compound with the first element *\*h<sub>3</sub>est(H)-* 'bone'.

**ὄζος 2** in ὄζος Ἄρηος, a nickname of brave heroes (Il.). ⇒ ἄοζος.

**ὄζω** [v.] 'to smell, scent' (IA). ▶ IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>ed-* 'smell' ▶

•VAR Also ὀσδω, -ομαι (Theoc., Xenoph.); aor. ὀζῆσαι, fut. ὀζήσω (Att.), also ὀζέσαι, -έσω (Hp. *Superf.*, Hell.), plpf. ὀδώδει (Od.), perf. ὀδωδα (Hell.).

•COMP Also with prefixes like ἀπ-, προσ-. As a first member in the governing compound ὀζό-στομος 'with smelling breath' (AP, M. Ant.), as a second member in plantnames like κυν-όζολον (Ps.-Dsc.).

•DER 1. ὀδμή [f.] 'odour, scent' (Il.), ὀσμή (Att., Hippon.); on σμ from δμ see below; as a second member e.g. in εὐ-οδμος, -οσμος 'sweet-smelling, odorous' (Pi.), also in ὄνοσμα [n.] plantname? (Dsc.); thence ὀδμ-αλέος (Hp.), -ήεις (Nic.), -ηνός (H.; cod. ὀδ-) 'strong-smelling'; ὀσμ-ώδης (Arist., Thphr.), -ηρός, -ήρης (Nic.) 'id.'; ὀσμύλ-η, -ος, -ιον 'strong-smelling octopus' (Ar., Arist.), ὀσμ-ίτης (gloss.), -ίτις (Ps.-Dsc.) plantname, -άς [f.] = ὄνοσμα (Dsc.); ὀδμ-, ὀσμ-άομαι [v.] 'to scent' (Ion., Arist.), with -ησις (Aret.).

2. From the present: ὄζ-αινα [f.] = ὀσμύλη (Call.), 'stinking adenoid' (Gal.) with -αινικός 'belonging to the ὄζαινα' (Ps.-Dsc.); ὄζολις [f.] = ὀσμώλη (Arist.); ὄζη [f.] 'malodorous breath' (Cels.), 'skin of the wild ass' (Suid.), because of the smell; ὀζηλίσ-ῃ βοτάνη (Theognost.); ὀζώδης = ὀδμώδης (EM, sch.); also Ὀζόλαι [m.pl.] name of a Locrian people (Hdt., Str., Plu.)? Lengthened present ὀζαίνομαι = ὄζω (Sophr.), after ὀσφραίνομαι. 3. From the perfect: ὀδωδή [f.] 'scent' (AP). 4. the suffix -ώδης in εὐ-ώδης 'sweet-smelling, odorous' (Il.), etc.; it became a highly productive suffix, but with a faded mg.

•ETYM Apart from the perfect ὀδωδα, all verbal forms are clearly innovations based on the present ὄζω. The derivations are largely based on this present, as well. The formation of ὀδωδή (derived from the perfect?), as well as of ὀδμή and -ώδης, is isolated within Greek. Both can be old: ὀδμή may match Alb. *amë* 'unpleasant smell' < IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>ed-mh<sub>2</sub>-*, and -ώδης may represent (with compositional lengthening) the *s*-stem of Lat. *odor*, OLat. *odōs*, probably also seen in Arm. *hot*, gen. -*oy* 'smell, odor' < IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>ed-os-*. The form ὀσμή rather derives from *\*od-s-mā* than phonetically from ὀδ-μή.

Both IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>ed-mh<sub>2</sub>-* and *\*h<sub>3</sub>ed-os-* presuppose a primary root present, which is continued in thematic form in Lat. *olō*, *olēre* (with *l* for *d*); beside this, we find the more common innovation *oleō*, *-ēre* (after the intransitive verbs). The *yod*-present ὄζω was first thought to differ in vocalic length from Baltic forms like Lith. *uodžiu* 'smell', but the formation is in fact identical, as it is now known that the Baltic vocalism is due to Winter's Law: lengthening before a glottalic (i.e. voiced non-aspirated) consonant. Arm. *hotim* 'to smell' is a denominative of *hot* (see above). The present Arm. *hototim* (with intensive reduplication) may present a formal parallel to the reduplicated perf. ὀδωδα. See ▶ ὀσφραίνομαι.

**ὀθιζα** · ἀπήνη ἡμιονική 'wagon drawn by mules' (H.). ▶ PG? ▶

•ETYM Lagercrantz KZ 35 (1899): 273 and Frisk 1966: 283 adduce ▶ ὀθομαι. Possibly Pre-Greek.

**ὀθνεῖος** [adj.] 'foreign, alien' (Democr., Att., Arist.), 'irregular' (Gal., Aret.).

•COMP ὀθν(ε)ῖο-θυμβος 'buried abroad' (Man.). ⇒ ἔθνος.

**ὀθομαι** [v.] 'to attend, turn to, take heed' vel sim., only with negation (Il., A. R.). ▶ ? ▶

•VAR Only presentstem, except ὀθεσαν· ἐπεστράφησαν 'turned around, paid attention to' (H.).

•DER From H.: ὀθέων· φροντίζων 'heeding', ὀθη· φροντίς, ὥρα, φόβος, λόγος 'thought, care, fear, mind (etc.)' and ὀθεσαν (see above).

•ETYM Not well explained; the *o*-vocalism is remarkable in a present. Several proposals have been made, but all at best hypothetical: a) connection to Go. *ga-widan*, etc.; b) to ὀθεύει· ἄγει, φροντίζει (H.), Lith. *vedù* 'to lead, bring', etc.; c) to ▶ ἔθων, ▶ ὠθέω, ▶ ἔθειρα (see Frisk s.v.). See ▶ νωθής.

**ὀθόνη** [f.] 'delicate cloth, linen, sheet, canvas' (Hom., Emp., Act. Ap., Luc., Gal., AP).

◀ LW Eg ▶

•VAR Usually plur. Also ὀθόνιον [n.], often plur. (Hp., Att., Hell.).

•COMP ὀθονιο-πώλης 'salesman of linen' (pap.).

•DER ὀθόνινος 'made of ὀ' (Pl. Com., Luc.). From ὀθόνιον: ὀθονι-ακός [m.] 'id.' (pap., inscr.), -ηρά [f.] 'linen tax' (pap., Ostr.); diminutive ὀθον-ίδιον (pap.).

•ETYM A culture word of foreign origin. Acc. to Lewy 1895: 124f., it is from Hebr. *'ēṭim* of uncertain meaning; however, Spiegelberg KZ 41 (1907): 129f. has proposed Egyptian origin for this word (Eg. *idmj* 'reddish linnen').

**ὁθόννα** [f.] 'greater celandine, *Chelidonium maius*', also of the sap of this and other plants (Dsc., Plin.); name of an Egyptian stone (Paul. Aeg.); as a botanical name also ὁθόν<ν>ιον (Dsc.). <LW Eg>

•ETYM Recalls ὁθόν-η, -ιον, and hardly accidentally. Acc. to Dsc. 2, 182, it originates ἐν τῇ κατ' Αἴγυπτον Ἀραβία, and acc. to Plin. *HN* 27, 12, it is Syrian.

**ὁθριξ** [adj.] 'with the same hair' (Il.). <GR>

•ETYM Composed of ► ὁ- 1 and ► θριξ.

**ὁθροον** [adj.] · ὁμόφωνος, σύμφωνος 'having the same voice' (H.). <GR>

•ETYM Composed of ► ὁ- 1 and a verbal noun of ► θρέομαι.

**Ὀθρυς, -υος** [f.] high chain of mountains in Thessaly (Hdt., Str.), also ὀθρυν· Κρητες τὸ ὄρος 'mountain (Cret.)' (H.). <PG>

•DER From it ὀθρυόεν· τραχύ, ὑλῶδες, δασύ, κρημνῶδες 'overgrown, forest-like, rough, steep' (H.).

•ETYM Acc. to Mahlow 1927: 497, it stands for ὀφρῦς, with variation θ : φ (cf. Schwyzler: 302f.). Fur.: 198 compares Myc. *o-du-ru-we*, -wo (cf. Ruijgh 1967a: 185<sup>439</sup>). The name is no doubt Pre-Greek.

**οἶ** [pcl.] onomatopoeic, expressing pain or suffering (trag.). <ONOM>

•VAR ὁί acc. to Ar. *Pax* 933. = οἷζυς, οἶμοι.

**οἶαξ, -ᾱκος** [m.] 'handle of the rudder, rudder' (trag., Pl.), οἶηκες [pl.] name of a device on the yoke (a handle? rings? Ω 269). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>(o)iH-s- 'pole, shaft'>

•VAR Ion. -ηξ, -ηκος.

•COMP As a first member in οἶακο-νόμος [m.] 'helmsman' (A. [lyr.]), cf. Sommer 1948: 166; as a second member perhaps in κερ-οἶακες (from κερα(ι)-οἶακες) [pl.] 'ropes belonging to the yard-arm' (Luc. *Nav.* 4).

•DER Diminutive οἶακιον (Eust.); οἶακ-ηδόν [adv.] 'in the manner of an οἶαξ' (A. D.); denominative οἶακ-ίζω (-η-) [v.] 'to pilot, steer' (IA), with -ισμα 'steering' (Trag. *Adesp.*), -ιστής (Suid.); οἶακ-ωσις 'steering' (Aq.). Also οἶήιον [n.] 'rudder' (Hom.).

•ETYM An instrument name, οἶαξ is formed like πόρπαξ 'handle of a shield', τρόπηξ 'handle of an oar', and οἶήιον like λαισήιον 'a kind of shield', ἐργαλήιον 'tool', etc. The base of the Greek words was an old *s*-stem PIE \*h<sub>2</sub>(o)iH-s-, reflected in thematicized Skt. *iṣā* [f.] 'pole, shaft' and Hitt. *hišša-* 'id.', which both point to a zero grade. The origin of the Greek *o*-grade is unclear. The *s*-stem is also found in Slavic, e.g. Sln. *ojē, ojēsa* [n.] 'thill'. The nautical usage is a Greek innovation; cf. on ► ιστός, which came to mean 'mast'. The IE noun is also preserved in Fi. *aisa* 'bar of the forked pole (thill)', probably from Baltic \**aisō* or \**aisa-*. According to H. Katz 2003: 252, the noun is preserved as an Ilr. loan in other Uralic languages too.

**οἶβος** [m.] 'back of the neck of a cow' (Luc. *Lex.* 3). <?>

•ETYM Does it occur in ὄχθοιβος?

**οἶγνυμι** [v.] 'to open' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>ueig- 'give way'>

•VAR Also οἶγω, Aeol. inf. οἶγειν (SGDI 214, 43), later also ἀν-οιγνύω (Demetr. *Eloc.*), ipf. ὠἶγνυντο (B 809, Θ 58), ἀνα-οίγεσκον (Ω 455), -ῶγον, -έφγον, aor. οἶξα

(ῶξε, ῶριξε Hom., ἀν-έφξε Hom., Att.), pass. οἰχθῆναι (Pi., Att.), fut. οἶξω, perf. ἀν-έφγα (intr., Hp. and late), with -έφχα, \*-έφγμα (Att.), ὠϊκται (Herod.), ἀν-ῶκται (Theoc.).

•COMP Mostly with prefix, especially ἀν- (to which ὑπ-, παρ-ανοίγνυμι, ὑπ-, συν-ανοίγω, etc.), with the secondary past tenses ἦνοιγον, ἦνοιξα, ἦνοιχθην, ἦνοιγην, ἦνέφξα, etc. (X., LXX).

•DER Few derivatives: ἀνοιξίς [f.] 'opening' (Th., Thphr.), ἀνοιγ-μα [n.] 'opening' (LXX), -εύς [m.] 'opener' (Dam. *Pr.*), ἐπανοίκ-τωρ (Man.), -της (Arg. Man.) [m.] 'who blows up'. As a second member in πιθ-οίγ-ια [n.pl.] 'opening of a barrel', opening of the Anthesteriae in Athens (Plu.).

•ETYM The judgment of these forms remains rather uncertain. The most recent discussion is by Forssman 2005. He concludes that on the basis of the Greek evidence, an ablauting root \*ὀφειγ-/ \*ὀφιγ- can be reconstructed. Starting from epigraphically attested οἶγειν < ὀφείγειν and the zero grade ὠ(φ)ίγνυντο (cf. ἴγνυντο-ἦνοιγνυντο [H.]), ἀναοίγεσκον, ἀνέφγε, ἀνέφξε in Homer can be replaced by earlier \*ἀν-οφείγεσκον, \*ἀν-ό(φ)ειγε, \*ἀν-ό(φ)ειξε. There is no certain etymology. The form ὀφιγ-, ὀφειγ- corresponds formally to Skt. *vijāte, vejate* 'to tremble; to shrink, start back', Skt. *vēga-* = Av. *vaēga-* [m.] 'violent movement, pressure, clash, blow' < IE \*h<sub>3</sub>uóigo-, etc. See ► ἐπώχατο.

**οἶδα** [v.] 'to know' (Il.). <IE \*ueid- 'see, look, know'>

•VAR 2sg. οἶσθα (Il.+), οἶσθας (com., Att.), οἶδας (Ion.); 1pl. ἴδμεν, Att. ἴσμεν after the 2pl. ἴστε. The initial *i-* in the 3pl. ἴσασι is measured both long and short in Homer; this is explained by assuming a pre-form \**uid-san*, with different dialectal developments, by Ringe (Jr.) *MSS* 50 (1989): 123-157. For the forms (e.g. subj. εἶδομεν, inf. εἰδέναι, ἴδμεναι, plpf. ἥδῃ) see Chantraine 1961: 189f.

•ETYM An old perfect, identical with Skt. *vēda* [1sg.], *vidmā* [1pl.], Go. *wait* [1sg.], *witum* [1pl.] 'know', from IE \**uóid-h<sub>2</sub>e* [1sg.], \**uid-mé* [1pl.]. Other cognates are OCS *vědě* 'I know' with middle inflection, formally = Lat. *vidi*. From the perfect arose the present Arm. *gitem* 'to know'. Other correspondences are, among others, 2sg.ipv. ἴσθι = Skt. *viddhī*, ptc. εἰδώς = Go. *weitwoþs* 'witness', fem. ἰδυῖα = Skt. *vidūṣi*. In Greek, ► ἰδεῖν 'to note, observe' is used as an aorist; cf. also ► νῆϊς.

De Lamberterie (in DELG *Supp.* s.v. οἶδα) wrongly assumes a root \**h<sub>2</sub>uid-* on account of νῆϊς (Call.), which is a late form and can easily be a secondary formation, while there are no forms with ἐ(φ)ιδ- or ἐ(φ)ειδ- (and cf. ἴδρις, ἰδμοσύνη, βιδυιοί). On the basis of Celtic evidence, Schrijver *KZ* 112 (1999): 264-272 argues that the plpf. ἥδῃ 'he knew' continues a stative stem \**ueid-eh<sub>1</sub>-*.

**οιδέω** [v.] 'to swell' (ε 455). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>oid-eie- 'swell'>

•VAR Also οιδάω (Plu., Luc.), οιδάινω (Hell. poet.); οιδάνομαι, -ω (I 646 and 554, Ar., A. R.), οιδίσκομαι (medic.), act. -ω 'to make swell', aor. οιδῆσαι (IA), οιδῆναι to οιδάινω (Q. S.), perf. ὠδήκα (Hp., Theoc.).

•COMP With prefix, especially ἀν-οιδέω, -οιδίσκομαι, -οιδάινω; also with δι-, ἐξ-.

•DER 1. οἶδμα [n.] 'flood of water' (Il.), after κῦμα; cf. κυέω : κῦμα, δοκέω : δόγμα (or from a lost primary verb); οἰδματόεις 'flowing' (A. *Fr.* 69 = 103 Mette, Opp.). 2. οἶδος



[n.] 'swelling' (Hp., Nic., Aret.); cf. κρατέω : κράτος. 3. οἶδ-ημία [n.] 'swelling' (Hp., D.) with -ημάτιον (Hp., Aët.), -ηματώδης (medic.); (ἀν-, δι-, ἐξ-, etc.)-οἰδησις [f.] 'bulge' (Pl., medic., Thphr.). 4. (ἐπ-, ὑπ-)οιδαλέος 'swollen' (Archil., Hp.), to οἰδαίνω like κερδαλέος : κερδαίνω. 5. οἶδαξ [m.] 'unripe fig' (Poll., Choerob.), from οἶδος or οἰδέω. 6. Backformations: ὑποιδος 'somewhat swollen' (Gal.), to ὑπ-οιδέω; ἐνοιδής 'swollen' (Nic.), to ἐν-οιδέω. See also ►Οιδίπους.

•ETYM Of the presentic forms, only οἰδέω could be old. The causative οἰδάνω arose by enlargement, together with the intr. οἰδάνομαι, and in the same way οἰδίσκομαι, -ω; οἰδαίνω would be analogical after κυμαίνω, ὀργαίνω, etc., or perhaps from οἰδῆσαι after κερδῆσαι : κερδαίνω, etc. The late and rare form οἰδάω was formed to οἰδῆσαι. Sometimes, οἰδέω is held to be an iterative-intensive formation, but a corresponding primary verb is not attested. A certain cognate is Arm. *aytnum* 'to swell' with the primary aor. *ayteay* and the noun *ayt* (*i*-stem) 'cheek' < IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>oidi-* or *\*h<sub>2</sub>eid-*; the *nu*-present is an Armenian innovation. Germanic presents a few isolated nouns, like OHG *eiz*, MoHG (dial.) *Eis* 'abscess, ulcer', from PGm. *\*aita-* < IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>e/oid-o-*, cf. formally close οἶδος [n.]; a suffix *-r-* is found in e.g. OHG *eittar* [n.] 'pus' < PGm. *\*aitra-* [n.], and perhaps also in HNs like *Eiter-bach*. Lat. *aemidus* is isolated as well (probably after synonymous *tumidus*), deviating from οἰδέω in vocalism, but in this way it proves that the root was *\*h<sub>2</sub>eid-*, not *\*h<sub>3</sub>eid-* (the other non-Greek forms may continue both IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>oi-* and *\*h<sub>2</sub>ei-*). The Slavic group of OCS *jadъ* 'poison' is open to more interpretations: they can also be derived from *\*h<sub>2</sub>ed-* 'eat'.

**Οιδίπους** [m.] king of Thebes, son of Laios, who unknowingly married his mother Iocaste after he had killed his father. <GR>

•VAR Also -πος (AP), -που, -πουν (Hdt., trag.), -ποδος (Apollod.), -ποδα (Plu.); besides, after the patronymics, the following metrical variants of \*Οιδιπόδᾱς, -ης: gen. -πόδαο, -πόδα, acc. -πόδᾱν (epic poet.), -πόδεω (Hdt.), etc.; see Schwyzler: 582, Fraenkel 1912: 163f., Sommer 1948: 38, Egli 1954: 14 and 17.

•DER Οιδιπόδεια [f.] 'the saga of Oedipus' (Arist.; after ἡ Ὀδύσσεια), also τὰ Οιδιπόδεια 'id.' (Paus.) from Οιδιπόδειος [adj.] (Plu., Paus.).

•ETYM Properly "with a swollen foot", with regular change *i* : *ro* in Οιδι- and IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>oid-ro-*, which is found in Gm., e.g. OHG *eittar* 'pus'; see ►οιδέω. Improbably, on the meaning of the first element, Schröder *Gymnasium* 63 (1956): 72 ff. (to ON *eista* 'testicle'); quite hypothetically, Kretschmer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 59f. (chthonic interpretation).

**οἰέτεας** [acc.pl.] 'of the same year, of the same age' (B 765). <IE *\*sm-* 'same' + *\*uet-s-* 'year'>

•ETYM For \*ὁ-έτεας (see ►ὁ- 1 and ►ἔτος 2) from \*ὀφέτης, with οἰ as a reversed notation for metrical lengthening. This notation can be understood in connection with the antevocalic change of οἰ to ο in Attic (e.g. ἐπόησε); it also occurred in Ionic.

**οἷζυς** [f.] 'bale, wailing, suffering' (Il.). <ONOM>

•VAR οἷζυς (trag., Herod.), -ύος.

•COMP πάν-οἷζυς 'consisting of nothing but misery' (A. [lyr.]).

•DER οἷζυ-ρός (also -ρώτερος, -ρώτατος metrical lengthening, see Chantraine 1942: 102 and 258), secondarily οἷζυρός 'woeful, miserable, poor' (epic Ion. since Il., Ar.); οἷζύω (ῥ) [v.] 'to wail, suffer', aor. -ῦσαι.

•ETYM An expressive word, ultimately derived from the interjection οἶ (Ion. οἶ after Ar. *Pax* 933), probably through a verb οἷζω, οἷζω (only A. D. *Adv* 128, 7ff.). See ►οἰμώζω, ►οἶκος.

**οἷη 1** [f.] 'elderberry tree'. = ὄα.

**οἷη 2** [f.] 'village' (Chios IV<sup>a</sup>, A. R., H., Theognost.); Att. deme name Ὀα (also Οἶα, Ὀη, Οἷη). <?>

•COMP Perhaps as a second member in Οἷονη.

•DER οἷηται [m.pl.] 'villagers' (S. *Fr.* 134), οἰατᾶν κωμητῶν 'villagers' (H.), Οἰᾶται [m.pl.] inhabitants of a deme in Tegea (Paus. 8, 45, 1; reading uncertain). Besides ὠβά [f.] name of a Spartan tribe (*IG* 5(1), 26: 11 [II-I<sup>a</sup>], Plu. *Lyc.* 6) with ὠβάτας τοὺς φυλῆτας 'tribal members' (H.), ὠβάξαι 'to divide into ὠβαί' (Plu. *ibid.*); also ὠγή (= ὠφή) κῶμη 'village' (H.), ὠάς (ὠας cod.) τὰς κώμας, οὐαί φυλαί 'tribes' (H.). Details in Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 466f.

•ETYM The word οἷη has been identified with ὠβά = \*ὠφά under a pre-form \*ὠφῖᾱ. Formerly derived from \*ὀφιᾱ and compared with Go. *gawi* 'χώρα, περίχωρος, district', which is interpreted as PGm. *\*ga-awja-* [n.]. This is unlikely, however; see Lehmann 1986 s.v. Further details are obscure.

**οἷήιον** = οἷαζ.

**οἶκος** [m.] 'house, dwelling of any kind, room, home, household, native land' (Il.). <IE *\*ueik-*, *uoik-* 'house'>

•VAR Dial. φοῖκος.

•DIAL Myc. *wo-i-ko-de* /*woikon-de*/ 'homeward'.

•COMP Very many compounds, e.g. οἶκο-νόμος [m.] 'housekeeper', with -νομέω, -νομία (Att.), compound of οἶκον νέμειν, -εσθαι; μέτ-οικος (IA), πεδά-φοικος (Arg.) 'sbd. living among others, small farmer, tenant'; ἐποίκ-ιον [n.] 'outbuilding, countryhouse, village' (*Tab. Heracl.*, LXX, pap.), hypostasis of ἐπ' οἴκου.

•DER A. Substantives: 1. τὰ οἰκία [pl.] (Il.), sing. τὸ οἰκίον (since LXX) 'residence, palace, nest'. 2. οἰκία, Ion. -ίη [f.] (post-Hom.), φοικία (Cret., Locr.) 'house, building' together with the diminutive οἰκίδιον [n.] (Ar., Lys.), οἰκή-της (Ion.), φοικιά-τας [m.] (Locr., Thess., Arc.) = οἰκέτης (see 5.), οἰκία-κός 'belonging to the house, housemate' (pap., *Ev. Matt.*). 3. Rare diminutives οἰκ-ίσκος [m.] 'little house, little room, bird cage' (D., Ar., inscr.), -άριον [n.] 'little house' (Lys.). 4. οἰκεύς (Il.), φοικεύς (Gort.) [m.] 'housemate, servant'; fem. φοικέα (Gort.). 5. οἰκέ-της (IA), Boeot. φυκέ-τας [m.] 'housemate, servant, domestic slave', fem. -τις (Hp., trag.), together with -τικός (Pl., Arist., inscr.), -τεία [f.] 'the whole of domestic servants, attendants' (Str., Aristeas, J., inscr.); οἰκετεύω [v.] 'to be a housemate, occupy' (only E. *Alc.* 437 [lyr.] and H.); compound πανοικεσία [adv.] 'with all οἰκέται, with the whole of attendants' (Att.).

B. Adjectives: 6. οἰκεῖος (Att.), οἰκήϊος (Ion. since Hes. *Op.* 457) 'belonging to the house, domestic, familiar' together with -ειότης (-ηϊότης), -ειώω (-ηϊώω), whence -είωμα, -είωσις, -ειωτι-κός. 7. οἰκίδιος 'id.' (Opp.); κατοικ-ίδιος (to κατ' οἶκον) 'indoors' (Hp., Ph.).

C. Verbs. 8. οἰκεω (Il.), φοικέω (Locr.) 'to live, reside', also 'to be located, occupy, manage', very often with prefix, e.g. ἀπ-, δι-, ἐν-, ἐπ-, κατ-, μετ-. Thence οἰκ-ησις (late also διοίκ-εσις), -ήσιμος, -ημα, -ηματιον, -ηματικός, -ητήρ, -ητήριον, -ήτωρ, -ητής, -ητικός. 9. οἰκίζω 'to found, settle' (since μ 135 ἀπώκισε), often with ἀπ-, δι-, κατ-, μετ-, συν-, etc., whence οἰκ-ισις, -ισία, -ισμός, -ιστής, -ιστήρ, -ιστικός.

Adverbs: 10. οἰκο-θεν (Il.), -θι (epic), -σε (A. D.) beside the fossilized locative οἰκ-οι (Il.), -ει (Men.), a recent formation? 11. οἰκα-δε 'homeward' (Il.), φοίκαδε (Delph.), probably from (f)οἶκα [n.pl.] like κέλευθα, κύκλα, etc.; οἰκα-δης (Meg.); further οἰκόν-δε (epic).

•ETYM Old name for 'abode, house', identical with Lat. *vīcus* [m.] 'group of houses, village, quarter', Skt. *véśa-* [m.] 'house', especially 'brothel'; IE \**uóik-*o- [m.]. Additionally, there is a zero grade root noun in Ilr. and Slav.: Skt. *viś-* [f.], acc. *viśam*, Av. *vīs-* [f.], acc. *viśam*, OP *viθam* 'abode, house, community', also 'house of kings' in Iranian; OCS *vsb* [f.] (secondary *i*-stem) 'village, field, piece of ground', Ru. *ves'* 'village', from IE \**uik-* [f.]. Next to these old root nouns, Ilr. has a verb Skt. *visāti*, Av. *visaiti*, IE \**uik-e/o-* meaning 'to sit down, settle, enter'. IE \**uóik-*o- must be derived from this verb, originally as an action noun, properly "settlement". Gr. τὰ οἰκία and Skt. *veśyā-* [n.] 'house, village', though formally identical, are separate innovations (Schindler *BSL* 67 (1972): 32). The word ▶τριχάικες is probably unrelated.

**οἶκτος** [m.] 'lamentation, compassion, pity' (Od.). ◀ONOM▶

•COMP Rarely as a second member, e.g. ἔπ-οικτος 'pitiable' (A.), ἄν-οικτος 'pitiless' (S., E.).

•DER Primary superlative οἰκτιστος (X 76), φιλ-οἰκτιστος 'loving pity the most' (S.) from φίλ-οικτος (A. [lyr.]); thus the rare οἰκτικός 'ptng. to lamentation, lamenting' (*An. Bachm.*) and οἰκτοσύνη [f.] = οἶκτος (Hdn. *Epim.*). Old is οἰκτρός 'woeful, wailing, deplorable' (Il.), as a first member e.g. in οἰκτρό-γος 'with woeful lamentation' (Pl. *Phdr.* 267c); probably (in spite of the difference in gender) to οἶκτος after αἰσχος : αἰσχρός, ἔχθος : ἐχθρός, etc., cf. also the pair οἰκτιστος : αἰσχιστος.

Denominative verbs: 1. From οἰκτρός: οἰκτίρω 'to pity, commiserate, bewail' (Il.), Aeol. οἰκτίρρω (Hdn. Gr.), aor. οἰκτίραι, fut. οἰκτιρῶ (Att. also -τερῶ after itacistic -τεῖραι, -τεῖρω) late -τ(ε)ρήσω (LXX, NT), also with κατ-, etc.; thence οἰκτιρ-μός [m.] 'compassion, pity' (Pi., LXX, NT), -μων 'compassionate, pitiful' (Gorg., Theoc., LXX) with -μοσύνη (Tz.); \*οἰκτιρ-ιω is supposed to continue \*οἰκτιρ-ιω with an *i*-colored *schwa secundum*. 2. From οἶκτος: οἰκτίζω, -ομαι 'id.' (trag., Th., Arist.), also with κατ-, etc., whence οἰκτ-ισμός [m.] 'bewailing' (A., X.), -ίσματα [n.pl.] 'id.' (E.), κατοικτ-ις [f.] 'wailing, compassion' (X.).

•ETYM Like οἶζυς with comparable meaning, οἶκτος probably also derives from the interjection οἶ via οἶζω; the close connection appears from the backformation

▶δυσοἶζω, from δύσ-οικτος. Comparable nouns from interjective verbs in -ζω are frequent, e.g. αἶγμα, αἰακτός (to αἰάζω, αἰαῖ), βάβαξ, βαβάκτης (from βαβάζω, βαβαί), etc. Doubtful non-Greek combinations, such as Go. *aihtron* 'beg' and Mlr. *éigid* 'screams', are given in Pok. 298. See ▶οἶζυς, ▶οἰμῶζω.

**οἶκυλα** [n.pl.] 'a kind of pulse' (Epic. in *Arch. Pap.* 7, 7). ◀?▶

•VAR οἶκελος ὁ πίσος (Theognost *Can.* 20.); οἶκυλος τὸ ὀσπρίον (ibid. 21).

•ETYM Recalls Lat. *vicia*.

**οἶμα** [n.] 'rush, attack, rage', of a lion and an eagle (Il.), of a snake (Q. S.). ◀IE? \**h<sub>3</sub>eis-* 'move quickly'▶

•DER Verbal forms: aor. οἰμήσαι 'to plunge, dash forth', said of birds of prey and of people compared to birds of prey (X 140, 308, 311, ω 538), fut. οἰμήσουσι (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 1, 62), of θύννοι, with οἶμῃμα· ὄρμημα 'rush, incitement' (H.). A supposed but unattested present \*οἰμάω seems, just like the o-vowel, to presuppose a noun \*οἶμος or \*οἶμη (beside an original ntr. \*εἶμα).

•ETYM Probably from \*οἶσμα, related to Av. *aēšma-* [m.] 'anger', which is compared with an Ilr. verb 'to put in quick movement, urge forward' (e.g. Skt. pres. *īṣyati*, Av. *išiiēiti*, perhaps related to ▶λαίνω) as a primary noun. Lat. *īra* 'anger' belongs to this group as well. See ▶δῖστος, ▶οἶστρος.

**οἶμη** [f.] 'song, chant, saga, tale' (Od., A. R., Call., etc.). ◀IE? \**soh<sub>2</sub>i-m-* 'song, spell'▶

•VAR In similar use also οἶμος ἀοιδῆς (*h. Merc.* 451), ἐπέων οἶμον (Pi. O. 9, 47), λύρης οἶμους (Call. *Iov.* 97).

•DER ἄομιον· ἄρητον 'unsaid' (H.), substantivized hypostasis προοίμιον (Pi., Att. prose), φροίμιον [n.] (trag.), properly "what stands πρὸ οἶμης or πρὸ οἶμου (older οἶμου, see οἶμος)", 'start of the song, introductory chant, introduction, preamble', borrowed as Lat. *prooemium*. Unclear is ▶παροιμία.

•ETYM Because of the occasional connection of msc. οἶμος with song and play, it has been thought obvious to connect οἶμη with ▶οἶμος 'path, way'. It is supposed, then, that the word acquired a special meaning in the language of the *aidoi*.

Alternatively, however, οἶμη and οἶμος 'song, chant' can be separated from οἶμος 'path, way' and connected with ON *seiðr* [m.] 'kind of sorcery', Skt. *sāman-* [n.] 'song', which would presuppose a root \**seh<sub>2</sub>-i-* 'bind' (also found in Gr. ▶ἱμάς), as was proposed by Bader *BSL* 85 (1990): 36. In this case, the connection with οἶμος 'road' is folk etymology. The form οἶμος cannot reflect \**sh<sub>2</sub>om-io-* (cf. Hitt. *išhamāi-* 'to sing' < \**sh<sub>2</sub>m-oi-*), as \*-*VmiV-* should have yielded Gr. -*VivV-*.

**οἶμοι** [excl.] exclamation of pain (Thgn., trag.). ⇒οἶζύς, οἶκτος.

**οἶμος** [m.] 'streak' (Λ 24 οἶμοι κυάνοιο, on a θώρηξ), 'path, road, track', also 'strip, tract of land' (Hes. *Op.* 290, Pi., trag., Pl., Call., Men.), also connected with song and play (see ▶οἶμη). ◀?▶

•VAR Also [f.] after ὁδός, etc.; also aspirated οἶμος, see below.

•COMP Few compounds: δύσ-οιμος (τύχα A. *Ch.* 945 [lyr.]); acc. to H. = ἐπὶ κακῷ ἦκουσα, δύσοδος; ἄοιμος· ἄπορος 'without way' and πάροιμος· ὁ γείτων 'neighbour' (H.). See also ▶παροιμία.

•ETYM Perhaps related to ►οἶμη. Since an aspirated form οἶμος is ascertained, e.g. by Hdn. Gr. 1, 546, and by φροίμιον (see on ►οἶμη) and ἄοιμος, a pre-form IE \**h<sub>1</sub>oi-mo-*, which is at the basis of Skt. *é-man-* [n.] 'path, walk', cannot be considered. Sommer 1905: 29 therefore proposed a modified reconstruction \**h<sub>1</sub>oi-s-mo-*. Osthoff BB 24 (1899): 168ff. earlier proposed a pre-form \**uoi-mo-*, belonging to ►ἵεμαι 'to pursue, hasten, desire'. Finally, Schulze 1933a: 665 connected ►οἰρών 'ἐὺθυωρία'. Λ 24 requires initial *h*-, and ἄοιμος ἄπορος (instead of \*\*ἄνοιμος) may also point to this, but Hes. Op. 290 does not have *h*-.

**οἰμῶζω** [v.] 'to wail loudly, cry, lament' (Il.). ◀ONOM▶

•VAR Aor. οἰμῶσαι (Il.), fut. οἰμῶξ-ομαι (Att.), ᾔω (Plu., AP).

•COMP Also with ἀν-, ἀπ-, etc.

•DER οἰμωγ-ή [f.] (Il.), -μα [n.] (A., E.), -μός [m.] (S.); privative adjective ἀν-οἰμωκ-τος 'not wailed for', adverb ἀν-οιμωκ-τί (-τεῖ) 'without lamentation' = 'unpunished' (S.). An innovation is οἰμῶττω 'id.' (Lib.).

•ETYM Derived from the interjection οἶμοι (οἶμοι) 'woe me'. See ►οἰζύς, ►οἶκος.

**οἶνῃ** [f.] 'the ace on a die' (Achae., Zen.). ◀IE \**Hoi-no-* 'one, only'▶

•VAR Also οἶνός [m.] (Poll.).

•DER οἶνίζειν· τὸ μονάζειν κατὰ γλῶσσαν 'be alone regarding speech', οἶνῶντα· μονήρη 'solitary' (H.).

•ETYM Old word for 'one, only', found as a numeral in several languages: Lat. *ūnus* (OLat. *oino*), OIr. *óin*, Go. *ains*, OPr. *ains*, IE \**Hoino-*. In Greek, ►εἷς was used in this meaning. The accentual variation οἶνῃ : οἶνός may be related to the substantival use of the former. A parallel formation is ►οἶος < \**Hoi-uo-*.

**οἶνος** [m.] 'wine' (Il.). ◀IE \**uoh<sub>1</sub>i-no-* 'wine', \**ueh<sub>1</sub>i-* 'turn, twist'▶

•VAR Dial. φοῖνος.

•COMP Very many compounds, e.g. οἶνο-χόος [m.] 'cupbearer', together with -χοέω [v.], aor. -χοῆσαι 'to be a cupbearer, pour wine' (Il.), epic also -χοεύω (only present), metrically conditioned (Chantraine 1942: 368); οἶν-άνθη [f.] 'fruit-bearing bud, blossom of the vine', also metaph. of the grape (since Pi., Thphr.), also name of a plant, 'meadowsweet, Spiraea flupendula', because of its smell (Cratin., Arist.), name of an unknown bird (Arist.); ἄ-οινος 'without wine' (IA), ἔξ-οινος 'drunk' (Alex., Plb.), back-formation from ἔξ-οινόομαι 'to get drunk' (E.). On Οἶνός cf. ►οἶη 2.

•DER A. Substantives: 1. Diminutives, mostly belittling: οἶν-άριον (D., Hell.), not from οἶναρον because of the mg. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 74); -ίσκος (Cratin., Eub.), -ίδιον (Apollod.); 2. οἶνῃ [f.] 'vine' (Hes.), like ἐλαία : ἔλαιον, etc.; οἶνάς [f.] 'id.' (AP, Nic.), also 'rock dove, Columba livia', after the color (Arist.); also adjectival 'belonging to the wine' (AP, APL). 3. οἶν-αρὸν [n.] 'vineleaf, grapevine' (X., Thphr.) with -αρίς, -αρία, -άρεος, -αρίζω (Ibyc., Ar., Hp., Thphr.). 4. οἶνουττα [f.] 'wine cake' (Ar.), also name of a plant with intoxicating effect (Arist.). 5. οἶνων, -ῶνος [m.] 'wine cellar' (X., Hell.). 6. φοινῶα [f.] 'vineyard?' (Thespieae), cf. προθυρῶα etc. in Hdn. Gr. 1, 303. 7. Some glosses in H.: οἶνωτρον· χάρακα, ἥ τὴν ἀμπελον ἰστάσι 'pole by which the grapevine is held upright', γοίνακες (= *h*-) βλαστοί 'sprouts', γοινέες· κόρακες 'ravens', cf. οἶνάς.

B. Adjectives: 8. οἶν-ιρός 'containing wine, abundant in wine' (Pi., Ion., Arist.); 9. -ώδης 'wine-like, redolent of wine' (Hp., Arist.); 10. -ικός 'ptng. to wine' (Hell., inscr. and pap.).

C. Verbs: 11. οἶν-ἴζομαι 'to furnish oneself with wine' (Il., late prose), -ίζω 'to resemble wine' (Thphr., Dsc.); with οἶν-ιστήρια [n.pl.] name of an Attic festival (Eup., H., Phot.); cf. Ἀνθεστήρια, χαριστήρια, etc. 12. οἶν-όομαι, -όω 'to intoxicate (oneself)' (Ion., Od., trag.) with -ωσις [f.] 'intoxication' (Stoic., Plu.). On the PN Οἶνεύς see Boßhardt 1942: 106f.; on the HN Οἶνοῦς [m.] (Laconia) and on Οἶνοῦσσα [f.pl.] (islands), see Krahe Beitr. z. Namenforsch. 2 (1950-1951): 233.

•ETYM Greek (F)οῖνος looks similar to other words for 'wine' in Southern European languages: Lat. *vinum* < \**uih<sub>1</sub>no-*, U *vinu*, etc., Arm. *gini* < \**uoin-iño-*, Alb. Gheg *vënë* < \**uoinā-*.

The IE word for 'wine' may be reconstructed from these forms; together with related ►ἴτυς 'willow', Lat. *vitis* 'vine', and various other words, it may be derived from the root \**ueh<sub>1</sub>-i-* 'turn, bend'. As the wild vine was indigenous in southern Russia and in certain parts of central Europe, this assumption is acceptable from a historical point of view. However, as the cultivation of the vine started in the Mediterranean region, in the Pontus area and in the south of the Caucasus, most scholars are inclined to look for the origin of the word in these countries. This would point to non-IE origin. However, if we put the homeland of viticulture in the Pontus and the northern Balkans, the word for 'wine' might come from there. In this case, not only would the words mentioned from Greek, Lat., Arm., and Alb. derive from this IE source, but also Hitt. *uijan(a)-*, HLuw. *wijan(i)-*, and the relevant Semitic words, like Arab. *wain*, Hebr. *jajin*. In Beekes MSS 48 (1987): 21-26, it was pointed out that the Hitt. form requires \**uih<sub>1</sub>-on-o-*; this is now accepted by Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. (with the modification that the Hittite form is not thematic).

The Celtic and Germanic words were borrowed from Lat. *vinum*, and from Germanic or Latin again the Slavic and Baltic words for 'wine'. From Arm. *gini* comes e.g. Georg. *gvino*.

**οἶομαι** [v.] 'to suspect, expect, think, believe, deem' (Od.). ◀IE \**h<sub>3</sub>uis-* 'suppose, assume', \**h<sub>3</sub>uis-* 'see clearly'▶

•VAR New presents: ὑπ-οίξεσθαι· ὑπονοεῖν 'to distrust' (H.), ὑπερ-οιάζομαι 'to be arrogant, conceited' (Phot., Suid.; also H.). By-forms οἶομαι (Hom.), οἶμαι (trag., Att.), also active οἶω, οἶω (Il.), οἶω (Lac. in Ar., etc.), aor. οἶσ(σ)ασθαι, οἶσθηναι (epic), οἶη-θῆναι (IA), -σασθαι (Arat.), fut. οἶή-σομαι (Att.), -θήσομαι (Gal.).

•COMP Sometimes with prefix, e.g. συν-.

•DER οἶη-σις [f.] (IA), -μα [n.] (Plu., D. C.) 'conceit, smugness, belief, opinion' with -ματίας [m.] 'prig' (Ptol., H., Suid.), -τικός 'arrogant' (Ph.); ἀν-ώϊσ-τος 'unimagined, unthought of' (epic since Φ 39), -τί [adv.] (δ 92).

•ETYM We may consider οἶομαι (ī) and οἶω (both ī and ī) to be the original forms, and thence οἶομαι, οἶω. Furthermore, οἶμαι arose in unstressed position, together with the ipf. ᾤμην (Ar.) beside ᾔομην. The oldest forms point to a reconstruction PGr. \**owis-je/o-*, which is supported by οἶσθηναι and ἀν-ώϊστος. Then, ὀ(φ)ιομαι developed into \*ὀ(φ)ιομαι > οἶομαι.

Etymological details are unclear. Beekes 1969: 58 assumes a root *\*h<sub>3</sub>uis-*. The comparison with Lat. *ōmen* 'portent' (OLat. *osmen*) from *\*ouis-men-* is dubious (see De Vaan 2008 s.v. for alternatives). It seems preferable to depart from an adverbial pre-form *\*h<sub>2</sub>ouis* directly comparable to Skt. *āviṣ* 'evidently, before the eyes'. Then, *οἶομαι* must be formed with the denominative suffix *-ie/o-* from this adverb. The root *\*h<sub>2</sub>euis* is also found in Gr. ► *αἰώ* 'to perceive' and with enlargement in ► *αἰσθάνομαι* 'id.'

**οἶος** [rel.pron.] 'of which quality' (Il.).

•VAR οἶα, οἶον.

•ETYM From the relative pronoun ► *ὅς*; see also ► *τοῖος*.

**οἶος** [adj.] 'alone, only, single' (= class. ► *μόνος*). <IE *\*Hoi-uo-* 'one, only'>

•VAR Fem. -α (-ῃ), ntr. -ον (Hom., Hes., Pi., A., S.); Cypr. οἶφος.

•DIAL Myc. *o-wo-we* /oiw-ōwes-/ 'with a single ear'.

•COMP As a first member in οἶο-πόλος 'wandering solely, alone' (Hom., Pi.), together with οἶοπολ-έω (E. [lyr.], AP).

•DER οἰόθεν 'all alone' (H 39, 226); explanation in Leumann 1950: 258ff.; denominative aor. οἰωθῆναι 'to be left alone' (Il., Q. S.). Details on the use of οἶος in Ruijgh 1957: 127f.

•ETYM Identical with Old Iranian words for 'alone, one': Av. *aēuua-*, OP *aiva-* from IE *\*Hoi-uo-*. Fomation like *\*μόνφος* > ► *μόνος*), *\*ὄλφος* > ► *ὄλος*. Beside it stands IE *\*Hoi-no-*; see ► *οἶνη*. Further connection with pronominal *\*h<sub>2</sub>ei-* is probable.

**οἶρῶν, -ῶνος** [m.] 'furrow of a plough, ἡ χάραξις τοῦ ἀρότρου' (Eratosth., Hdn.), 'straight line (in measuring fields), ἡ ἐκ τῆς καταμετρήσεως τῆς γῆς εὐθυωρία' (H.); probably also in Cypr. *i-to-i-ro-ni*, i.e. *iv* (= *έν*) τῷ οἶρῶνι 'in the region'. <IE? *\*soHi-r-* 'furrow, limit'>

•VAR Also οἶ-.

•ETYM Probably a derivative in -ῶν, which is often used to indicate places, from a noun *\*οἶρος* vel sim. Compared with Skt. *sītā-* [f.] 'furrow', *sīra-* [n.] 'plough', *simā* [f.] 'frontier' by Schulze 1933a: 665, which is semantically and formally quite possible. The relations between the Skt. words, however, are debated.

**οἶς** [m., f.] 'sheep' (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eui-* 'sheep'>

•VAR Hom. gen. οἶος, nom.pl. οἶες, etc.; Att. οἶς, gen. οἶός (also Hom.), nom.pl. οἶες; Arg. οἶς. Details on the inflexion in Schwyzler: 573, Chantraine 1942: 219. In prose, it was ousted by πρόβατον.

•COMP Rare compounds and derivatives: οἶο-πόλος 'herding sheep' (*h. Merc.*, Pi.), -νόμος 'id.' (Delphi IV<sup>a</sup>, AP, APl.). Diminutive οἶδιον (Theognost.); οἶεος 'of sheep' (Hdt., Cos), δέα· μηλωτή 'sheepskin'; οἶας (dialectal for -έας)· τῶν προβάτων τὰ σκεπαστήρια δέρματα 'the covering skins of sheep' (H.); also οἶα· διφθέραι, μηλωταί 'hides, sheepskins'; δα· μηλωτή (H.). Perhaps with lengthened grade (?) ῥα [f.] 'fleece of sheep' (com., Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>, Poll., H.). ► οἶσπῶτη and ► οἶσύπη are probably unrelated.

•ETYM Old name of the sheep, found in nearly all IE languages, e.g. Skt. *āvi-*, HLuw. *hawi-*, Lat. *ovis*, Go. *awistr* 'sheepfold', Lith. *avis*, all from IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>éui-* [m., f.]. The accusative οἶν matches Skt. *āvim*, while the gen. οἶος equals Skt. *āvyah*. Additionally, Gr. οἶεος corresponds to Skt. *āvy-aya-* (usually -*āya-*), but perhaps only as a parallel innovation (see recently Schmitt 1997).

We also find Lyc. *χawa-*, with transition to the *a*-declension (Melchert 1993: 66). This Lycian *χ-* can point to *\*h<sub>2</sub>e-*, contrary to what has often been assumed (see Klockhorst 2008 s.v. *hāui-*). The reconstruction *\*h<sub>2</sub>e-* is also backed by the absence of *ā* in Skt. (no reflex of Brugmann's Law).

**οἶσος** [m.] kind of wicker, 'chasteberry' (Thphr., Ael. Dion.). <IE *\*uoh<sub>2</sub>i-tu-* 'wind, bend', or PG?(S)>

•VAR Also -ός.

•COMP οἶσό-καρπον [n.] 'fruit of the οἶσος' (sch., Eust.), for the ntr. gender cf. on ► βούτυρον.

•DER οἶσον = σχοινίον 'cord, thread' (H.); οἶσαξ, -ακος [f.] kind of willow (Gp.); on the formation see Strömberg 1940: 78. Further οἶσύ-α, -ῃ [f.] 'λύγος, willow' (Poll.), οἶσúa ἀγρία = ἐλξίνη (Ps.-Dsc.), with οἶσουργός [m.] 'basket-maker' (Eup.), τὰ οἶσua [n.pl.] 'basket market' (Lycurg.), οἶσύ-ινος 'made of οἶσúa' (ε 256, Th.).

•ETYM The pre-forms *\*uoi-tu-o-* and *\*uoi-tu-ā* have been assumed, which would both be enlargements of *\*uoHi-tu-*, derived from the IE verbal root *\*ueh<sub>2</sub>i-* 'to wind, twist' with a suffix *\*-tu-* and an old *o*-grade. See on ► ἰτέα, ► ἴτυς. An enlargement is found in OCS *větvь* [f.] 'branch' < *\*uoHi-tu-i-*. However, the form in -úa does not look Indo-European; moreover, οἶσαξ has a Pre-Greek suffix. Is the word Pre-Greek?

**οἶσοφάγος** [m.] 'esophagus, upper opening of the stomach' (medic., Arist., Thphr.). <GR>

•ETYM A learned formation, created by a physician. There are hardly any good attestations of this purely scientific expression. Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 174 explains it as 'the one that carries what is eaten', from ► οἶσαιν and the common second member -φάγος. The formally much easier explanation as "οἶσος-eater" (Strömberg 1944: 61ff.) cannot be defended. A similar Semitic designation of the esophagus is Akk. *šērittu* "that which carries down"; cf. Mayrhofer *BiOrbis*. 18: 274<sup>19</sup>.

**οἶσπη** = οἶσύπη.

**οἶσπῶτη** [f.] 'greasy dirt of unshorn sheep's wool, especially on the buttocks', also 'sheep droppings' (Cratin., Ar., D.C., Poll.). <PG(S)>

•VAR -ωτή (Hdn. Gr. 1, 343, H.), like μηλ-, κηρ-ωτή, etc. Also οἶσπη (v.l. Hdt. 4, 187 [cf. οἶσύπη], Gal.), οἶσπαι· προβάτων κόπρος, ῥύπος 'sheep droppings, filth' (H.).

•ETYM Analyzed as *\*ὀφι-σπῶτη*, but with an unclear second member. Connection with the stem syllable of ► σπατίλη 'ordure, diarrhoea', etc. is uncertain, as the semantic function of σπα(τ)- is in need of explanation. The word is rather Pre-Greek; cf. the suffix -ωτ- in ἀσκαλαβώτης (s.v. ► ἀσκάλαβος). See Fur.: 188, 384, and further on ► οἶσύπη.

**οἶστος** [m., f.] 'arrow' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR οἰστός (Att.).

•COMP As a first member e.g. in οἶστο-δέγγμων 'holding arrows' (A. [lyr.]).

•DER οἶστεύω [v.] 'to shoot arrows' (Hom., Nonn., AP), also with δι-, ἀπ-; thence οἶστυ-τήρ (Nonn., AP), -τής (Call.) 'archer', -μα [n.] 'shot of an arrow' (Plu.).

•ETYM No convincing etymology. The traditional analysis (see Frisk) as a prefixed verbal adjective ὀ-ῖσ-τός, related to Skt. *isyati* 'to bring in quick movement' via a proper meaning "rushing on, flying towards" (or "urged on, sent off"), is extremely improbable. DELG correctly supposes this word to be of Pre-Greek origin (not in Fur.).

**οἶστρος** [m.] 'gadfly, *Tabanus bovinus*' (χ 300, A., Arist.), also of a water-insect and a bird (Arist., perhaps *Sylvia trochilus*), 'sting' (S., E.), 'rage, madness, fierce desire' (Hdt., Pl., S., E.). <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>eis- 'set in movement, irritate'>

•COMP οἶστρο-πλήξ, -γος 'stung by a gadfly, driven by rage' (trag., of Io, also of the Bacchantes).

•DER οἶστρο-ώδης 'enraged' (Pl., Epicur.), -ήεις 'full of stings, stinging, stung' (Opp., Nonn.), -ηδόν 'with rage' (Opp.); οἶστρο-άω 'to rouse, rage, roar' (trag., Pl., Arist.), also -έω (Theoc., Luc., Jul.), aor. -ῆσαι, also with ἀν-, ἐξ-, παρ-, δι-. Thence οἶστρο-ημα [n.] 'sting' (S., AP), (παρ-)οἶστρο-ησις [f.] 'rage, passion' (Corp. Herm., PMag. Par.); back-formation πάροιστρος 'enraged, mad' (Simp.).

•ETYM Agreeing in its barytonesis with κέστρος, χύτρος, etc., οἶστρος must originally be an instrument noun or an agent noun (which amounts to the same thing). If it is cognate with οἶμα < \*οἶσμα, and if (like the latter) it is derived from a verb 'to set in vehement movement, urge, irritate', the word originally meant "urger, irritator". The actual meanings 'gadfly', 'sting', 'anger' can be explained from this starting point. An identical formation, except for the gender, is Lith. *aistrà* [f.] 'vehement passion'; for further cognates, see on ►οἶμα. See also Gil Fernández 1959: 157. Fick KZ 43 (1909-1910): 136 compared ἰστυάξει ὀργίζεται 'rages' (H.) as a parallel zero grade *tu*-derivation \**His-tú-*, but Latte judges the gloss to be corrupt.

**οἶσῦα, -η** = οἶσος.

**οἶσῦπη** [f.] 'the greasy extract of sheep's wool' (Hdt. 4, 187, Hp.); cf. Dsc. 2, 74 with an extensive description of the preparation; acc. to H. it is ὁ τῆς οἶος ῥύπος 'sheep's ordure'. <PG>

•VAR οἶσῦπος [m.] (Dsc. 2, 74, Plin., H.); οἶσῦαι· προβάτων κόπρος, ῥύπος 'sheep's dung, ordure' (H.); οἶσπη (v.l. Hdt. 4, 187, Gal., Suid.).

•DER οἶσῦπ-ίς [f.] 'greasy flock of wool' (Hp.), -ηρός (Ar.), -όεις, -ώδης (Hp.) 'greasy' (of wool); -ον = λάδανον (Plin.); οἶσῦπειον· ἔριον ῥυπαρὸν προβάτων 'greasy wool of sheep' (H.).

•ETYM Explained as \*ὀφι-σύπη, like the synonym ►οἶσπώπη, with an unclear second member. There is clear evidence for the variant οἶσπη, but it is difficult to decide whether the form with υ or the form without it is secondary; cf. Fur.: 188<sup>22</sup> on θαλ(υ)π-. In any case, the word is most probably Pre-Greek (the meaning also speaks for this). One might think of a labialized s, thus \**ois<sup>w</sup>p-*.

**οἶσω, -ομαι** [v.] 'I will bear, bring' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>eit-s- 'fetch'>

•VAR Dor. οἰσῶ, -εῖται (Ar., Theoc., Archim.), pass. οἰσθήσομαι (E., D., Arist.), aor. inf. οἶσαι (Ph. 1, 116), ἀν-οἶσαι (Hdt. 1, 157; -ῶσαι codd.). Subj. ἐπ-οἶσε (Arc.), οἶσωμεν· κομίσωμεν 'transport' (H.); verbal adj. οἰστός 'bearable' (Th.), mostly with prefix, e.g. δύσ-οιστος 'hard to bear' (Hp., trag.), ἀν-ύπ-οιστος 'unbearable' (Timae., D. H.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀν-, ἀπ-, ἐπ-, συν-. As a first element perhaps in ►οἶσοφάγος 'esophagus', perhaps also in Οἶσε-ζέα (Lesbian fieldname), cf. Schwyzler: 442 and 445.

•ETYM Except for a few isolated aorist forms (see above) and for οἰστός, οἶσω is limited to the future tense (on οἶσε, οἰσέμεν(αι), etc., see Schwyzler: 788 and Chantraine 1942: 417f.). It stands in suppletion to the durative present φέρειν and to the perfective aorist ἐνεγκεῖν. The Boeot. PN Ἀνεμ-οίτας, adduced by Bechtel 1917a: 8f., supposedly meaning 'who carries the wind'(?), cannot be taken as a proof for οἶ-, nor can the other names in -οίτης, -οίτος (Bechtel 1917b: 346).

Until Tichy *Glotta* 78 (2002), there was no etymology for οἶσω. Tichy connects it with Lat. *ūtī* 'to use' from Plt. \**oit-*, and argues that the meaning may have developed from 'fetch (in one's own interest)' to 'use'. Greek οἶσ- < \**oiss-* is explained as an s-present \**oit-s-*. Melchert 2007 proposes to compare CLuw. *hizza(i)-* 'to fetch' < \**h<sub>3</sub>eit-s-e/o-* as well, which was previously translated as 'to bring', but rather means 'to fetch'.

**οἶτόν** ⇒ ὕδνον.

**οἶτος** [m.] 'fate of men, (unfortunate) destiny' (Il., trag. [lyr.]). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>oi-to- 'share'>

•COMP As a second member in μεγάλ-οιτος 'burdened with a heavy fate, unhappy' (Theoc.) and in PNs like Ἐχ-οίτης (Athens; Bechtel 1917b: 345); as a first member in Οἰτό-λινος [m.] "linos of fate" (Sapph. 140b, from Pamphos).

•ETYM The derivation of οἶτος from the root of ἰέναι 'to go' as \**h<sub>2</sub>oi-to-* is formally possible. An identical formation is supposed in the Celto-Germanic word for 'oath', OIr. *óeth*, Go. *aips*, OHG *eid*, if it originally denoted the walk to confirm an oath; cf. MoSw. *edgāng*. As an alternative, consider Av. *aēta-* [m.] 'punishment, guilt', which was identified with οἶτος by Bartholomae IF 12 (1901): 139 under an original meaning 'part, share'. It cannot be separated from ►αἶσα, ►αἶτιος, etc., and may reflect an ablaut \**h<sub>2</sub>ei* / \**h<sub>2</sub>oi*. Thus, οἶτος may rather derive from \**h<sub>2</sub>oi-to-*, originally 'what has been granted'; this is semantically much more convincing.

**οἶφω** [v.] 'futuo' (Thera, Gort., Plu. *Pyrrh.* 28). <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>iebh-, \*h<sub>3</sub>e-h<sub>3</sub>ibh- 'enter, copulate'>

•VAR Uncertain -έω (Mimn.).

•COMP As a second member in φιλ-οίφας [m.] (Theoc. 4, 62), Att. PN Κόρ-οίφος, also Κόρ-οίβος, for which Kretschmer *Glotta* 14 (1925): 199 suggested Phrygian origin.

•DER οἶφ-όλης [m.] 'fututor' (Naxos; H.), -όλις [f.] (H.).

•ETYM The synonym Skt. *yābhati*, OCS *jebǫ*, Ru. *jebú*, can hardly be separated from οἶφω. Moreover, ToB *yāp-* 'to enter' formally identical. It is supposed that Tocharian

preserves the original meaning, and that the other languages initially started to use the word as a euphemism, perhaps after the departure of the Tocharians. The comparison with ►ζόφος and ►Ζέφυρος is doubtful; see s.vv. LIV<sup>2</sup> reconstructs a prefix ὀ- added to a root *\*iebh-* to account for the Greek form, but it is better to assume a reduplicated present *\*h<sub>3</sub>e-h<sub>3</sub>ibh-*, as suggested by Cheung 2007: 175, since the prefix mentioned hardly occurs in Greek (see on ►ὀ- 2).

**οἰχμή** · δούλη, οἱ δε οἰχμᾶν (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**οἰχομαι** [v.] 'to go (away), leave, disappear, die' (Il.), mostly used in a situation with an accompanying or preceding action, which is expressed by a pres. ptc.: 'to be gone away, be vanished'. <?>

•VAR Fut. οἰχήσομαι (Att.), perf. ὤχωκα, οἶ- (K 252), ὤχηκα (K 252 v.l., Hell.), med. ὤχημαι, οἶ- (Ion.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπ-, ἐπ-, παρ-, δι-, μετ-.

•DER οἰχνέω [v.] 'to go, come, walk, approach', also with ἐξ-, εἰς-, etc. (Hom., Pi., trag.), also = οἰχομαι (S.).

•ETYM The pair οἰχομαι : οἰχνέω may be compared with ὑπ-ίσχομαι : ὑπ-ισχνέομαι. The perfect ὤχωκα, which is attested early, probably arose by analogy with some semantically close example (Frisk suggests μέμβλωκα).

The main problem with οἰχομαι is its curious meaning, which seems not to have been proper to οἰχνέω, which is durative. It is suggested in LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*h<sub>3</sub>eigh-* that οἰχομαι continues an old perfect.

An acceptable connection is provided by the nasal present Arm. *ijānem* 'to come down' (beside Gr. οἰχνέω, although both may be innovations), 3sg. aor. *ēj* < *\*oigh-* (*i*)e-t. On the Armenian verb, see Klingenschmitt 1982: 208f. Furthermore, ToB *yku* 'gone' [ppp.] is considered to be related; see Adams 1999: 61. A few isolated nouns are also adduced: OIr. *óegi* 'guest' < *\*oigh-ēt-*; Lith. *eigà* [f.] 'course', but the latter is rather directly derived from *\*h<sub>3</sub>ei-* 'go'. The analysis as an "extension" of the root *\*h<sub>3</sub>ei-* 'go' is gratuitous. See ►ἵχνος.

**οἰωνός** [m.] 'bird of prey, observed by the soothsayer' (Il.), 'prognosticating bird, omen' (Il., also in prose). <IE? *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-i-* 'bird'>

•VAR οἰωνός (Trypho; also Alcman. 60 B 6?).

•COMP As a first member in οἰωνο-πόλος [m.] 'interpreter of birds' (Il., Pi., A. [lyr.]); in D. H. = *augur*.

•DER οἰωνίζομαι [v.] 'to observe the prognosticating bird or the auspices, to deem an omen, tell fortunes' (X, D., Hell.), rarely with prefixes like μετ-, ἐξ-. Thence οἰωνο-ιστής [m.] 'interpreter of birds, augur' (Il., Hes. Sc., D. H.), -ιστικός 'belonging to the bird-interpreter or to soothsaying' (Pl., Arist.), -ισμα [n.] 'omen' (E., LXX), -ισμός [m.] 'id.' (LXX, Plu.), -ιστήριον [n.] 'omen' (X. Ap. 12), probably after τεκμήριον; 'place for observing birds, augurale' (D. H.); οἰωνευτής = οἰωνιστής (pap.).

•ETYM Explanation debated. Because of the comparable formation in οἰωνός (: οἰός, οἰός), it is probably best derived from a nominal basis. Therefore it is connected with the IE word for 'bird' seen in Lat. *avis*, Skt. *vih*, etc. (also reflected in Gr. ►αἰετός).

The initial ὀ- has been explained as a case of vowel assimilation since Schmidt KZ 32 (1893): 374, but this is unnecessary: one may assume an *o*-grade, as does Beekes *Sprache* 18 (1972): 21, who departs from a nominative *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou-i-ōn* that was subsequently thematicized. By others, it has been combined with ►οἶμα, ►οἶστρος, ►οἶστός and connected with the root *\*Heis-* 'to put in vehement motion', but this is doubtful. The connection with ὠόν 'egg' by Schmeja IF 68 (1963): 35f. was defended by Peters 1980a: 292-305.

**ὄκα, ὄκκα** = ὄτε.

**ὀκέλλω** = κέλλω.

**ὀκίστια** [n.pl.] 'harrow' (SEG 13, 13, 120, Athens). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ok-* 'sharp'>

•ETYM Cf. Lat. *occa* and Gr. ►ὀξίνα.

**ὄκκαβος** [?] 'bracelet', = κρίκος (EM 383, 21), = ψέλια (H.). <PG?>

•VAR Lat. inscr. *occabus*.

•ETYM Unknown. With a suffix -β- (Chantraine 1933: 262); Pre-Greek?

**ὀκιμβάζω** = σκιμβός.

**ὀκκῦλαι** · τὸ ὀκλάσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πτερ<ν>ῶν καθίζεσθαι 'to prostrate, sit down on one's heels' (H.). = ὀκλάζω.

**ὀκλάζω** [v.] 'to prostrate, crouch down, squat', metaph. 'to sink, abate', trans. 'to abate' (N 281, Hld.). <?>

•VAR Aor. ὀκλάσαι (S.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. μετ-, ὑπ-.

•DER ὀκλα-σις [f.] 'crouching' (Hp., Luc.), -σμα [n.] name of a Persian dance (Ar. Fr. 344b); also ὀκλα-δίας [m.] 'camp stool' (Att. inscr., Ar.), -δία = ὀκλασις (Suid.), -δόν (A. R., Nonn.), -δης (Hdn. Gr.), -διστί (Babr.) [adv.] 'crouchingly, squattingly, prostratingly'; ὀκλάξ [adv.] 'id.' (Hp., Pherecr.), after γνύξ, πύξ, etc.; Ὀκλασος [m.] PN (sch.), like Δάμασος, etc.

•ETYM A noun like *\*ὀκλος*, *\*ὀκλή*, or *\*ὀκλός*, but also a verb *\*ὀκλάω* (cf. δαμάω : δαμάζω), may have served as a basis of ὀκλάζω. Etymology unknown. Note the glosses κλωκυδά· τὸ καθῆσθαι ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις ποσίν 'sitting down on both feet', ὀκκῦλαι· τὸ ὀκλάσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πτερ<ν>ῶν καθίζεσθαι 'to prostrate, sit down on one's heels' (H.).

**ὄκνος 1** [m.] 'hesitation, doubt, shyness' (Il.). <?>

•COMP Also as a second member, e.g. ἄ-οκνος [adj.], -ως [adv.] 'without hesitation, determined' (IA, Hes.), with ἀοκν-ία [f.] 'determination' (Hp.).

•DER Adjective ὀκν-ηρός 'hesitant, doubtful, arousing doubt' (Pi., IA), whence -ηρία [f.] = ὀκνος (LXX, pap. VI<sup>p</sup>), -ηρεύω [v.] 'to inspire doubt' (LXX); in the same mg. also ὀκν-ηλός (Theognost.), -ώδης (Dionys. Av.), -αλέος (Nonn.). Denominative ὀκνέω (-εῖω E 255 is metrically conditioned) [v.] 'to hesitate, tarry, scruple, recoil' (Il.), also with ἀπ-, κατ-, δι-; thence (ἀπ-)ὀκνησις [f.] 'doubt, reluctance' (Th., Plu.).

•ETYM Hackstein 2002: 232 suggests the possibility of dissimilation from *\*h<sub>2</sub>onk-no-* (to ὄγκος 'hook'), comparing Lat. *cunctāri* 'to hang, tarry'.

**ὄκνος 2** [m.] name of a big bird, family of the heron, perhaps 'bittern' (Arist., Paus., Ael.). <?>

•ETYM Identical with ► ὄκνος 1? The name clearly refers to the motionlessness of the bird by day.

**ὄκορνός** = ἄκορνός.

**ὄκρις** [m.] 'top, protruding point, corner' (Hp.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ok-ri-* 'top, protruding'>

•COMP As a first member in ὀκρί-βας, -αντος [m.], properly "walking on the top", 'elevated place, stage, stand' (Pl.). Fur.: 217<sup>7</sup> takes this word as Pre-Greek, but without sufficient reason.

•DER ὀκρι-όεις 'sharp-edged, spiky' (Hom., A., Hell. poet.); ὀκρίς [f.] 'spiky', epithet of φάραγξ (A. Pr. 1016); ὀκρι-άομαι [v.] in ὀκριόωντο 'they incited themselves, they were fierce' (σ 33), ὀκριωμένος (Lyc. 545); ὀκρι-άζω [v.] 'to be brusque, be bitter' (S. Fr. 1075).

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *ocris* [m.] 'stony mountain', U *ukar*, gen. *ocrer* 'arx, mons', Mlr. *och(a)ir* 'edge, border', Skt. *ásri-* [f.] 'corner, sharp edge'; an *o*-grade with suffixal *-ri-* from *\*h<sub>2</sub>ek-* in ► ἄκρος, etc.

**ὀκρυόεις** [adj.] 'morbid, spooky, ghastly' (Z 344, I 64, A. R., AP). <GR>

•ETYM Arose from κρυόεις by false separation in the genitives ἐπιδημίου κρυόεντος (I 64) and κακομηχάνου κρυόεσης (Z 344); see Leumann 1950: 49f. The phonetically close ὀκριόεις may have been an influence (Ruijgh 1957: 103).

**ὀκτάδιον** [n.] · καλάθιον πρὸς ὀρνιθάρια 'basket for small birds' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**ὀκταλλος** = ὀφθαλμός.

**ὀκτώ** [num.] 'eight' (Hom.). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ekteh<sub>3</sub>* 'eight'>

•VAR Boeot. Lesb. ὀκτό like δύο, Heracl. ἡοκτώ after ἕξ, ἑπτά, El. ὀπτῶ after ἑπτά.

•COMP As a first element, we usually find ὀκτα- (after ἑπτα-, ἕξα-, etc.) in ὀκτακόσιοι 'eighthundred' and in many bahuvrihis like ὀκτά-μηνος 'eight months old, eight monthly' (Hp., X., Arist.). Besides, there is ὀκτω- in ὀκτω-καίδεκα, ὀκτωδάκτυλος 'with a breadth of eight fingers' (Hp., Ar.), etc.

•DER Further ὀγδοή-κοντα, which (like ἑβδομή-κοντα) may have started from the basic word, see ► ὀγδοος. A cross with ὀκτώ gave rise to ὀγδῶ-κοντα (B 568 = 652). After ὀγδοήκοντα the late ὀγδοάς [f.] 'group of eight' (Plu.) for ὀκτάς [f.] (Arist.). Further derivatives: ὀκτά-κι(ς), -κιν 'eight times' (Hdt.), ὀκτα-σός 'eightfold' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>), after δισός, etc., -ῶς 'in eight ways' (EM, comm. Arist.).

•ETYM Gr. ὀκτώ, Lat. *octō*, Skt. *aṣṭā(u)*, Go. *ahtau*, Lith. *aštuoni*, and other cognate forms go back to IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ekteh<sub>3</sub>(u)*. Arm. *ut* 'was reshaped after the word for 'seven', like El. ὀπτω. The IE word for 'eight' was clearly an old dual, but further analysis is quite uncertain.

**ὀκωχή** [f.] 'arrest, custody' (EM). <GR, IE *\*seg<sup>h</sup>-* 'hold'>

•DER ὀκώχ-ιμος 'answerable, liable' (Cyrene IV<sup>a</sup>; after ἀγώγιμος?), ὀκωχεύειν· ἔχειν, συνέχειν 'to hold (together)' (H., also S. Fr. 327). In literary sources (and perhaps originally) only with ἀν-, δι-, κατ-, etc. (from ἀν-έχω, etc.).

•ETYM Reduplicated formation from ► ἔχω; see also ► ἀνοκωχή and ► συνοκωχότε.

**ὀλαγμεύειν**, ὀλαμ- = οὐλαί.

**ὀλαί** [f.pl.] 'barley corn used at a sacrifice'. = οὐλαί.

**ὀλαιτοί** [m.pl.] · σπερμολόγοι 'gossip'. καὶ ὀλατοί (H.). <PG>

•VAR Also ὀλαιτος (Orus *apud* EM 622, 9).

•ETYM Clearly a Pre-Greek word on account of the variation α/ α. Fur.: 338 also connects λειτόν· βλάσφημον 'slandorous' (H.), which is not immediately evident.

**ὀλβάχιον** = οὐλαί.

**ὀλβος** [m.] 'prosperity, blessed state, wealth, happiness' (Il.). <PG>

•COMP ὀλβο-δότης, Dor. -δότας [m.], -δότειρα [f.] 'giver of wealth' (E. [lyr.], Hell.) ἄν-ολβος 'without prosperity, unhappy' (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 1, 85, trag.).

•DER 1. ὀλβιος 'blessed, well-to-do, happy' (Il.), voc. ὀλβιό-δαμνον (Γ 182), superl. ὀλβιστος (Hell.); 2. ὀλβήεις 'id.' (Man.); 3. ὀλβ-ία [f.] = ὀλβος (Phot.); 4. ὀλβίζω [v.] 'to bless (oneself)' (trag.), ἐπ- (Nonn.), with ὀλβιστήρ, -ῆρος 'blesser' (late).

•ETYM Various older hypotheses are found in Frisk s.v. Fur.: 155 connects ὀλπαχόνδρου τις ἔψησις. ἔδεσμά τι 'cooking of groats, kind of food'. ἢ ὀλβος (H.); if the gloss is cognate, it must be Pre-Greek, which is certainly a good possibility.

**ὀλεθρος** [m.] 'destruction'. = ὀλλυμι.

**ὀλέκρανον** [n.] 'point of the elbow'. = ὠλέκρανον.

**ὀλιβρόν** [adj.] · ὀλισθηρόν, λείον, ἐπισφαλές 'slippery, smooth, unstable' (H.), beside ὠλίβραξαν· ὠλισθον 'slipperiness' and, without ρ, ὀλιβάξαι· ὀλισθεῖν 'to slide' (H.). <IE? *\*h<sub>3</sub>lib-ro-* 'slippery, smooth'>

•ETYM May be cognate with OE *slipor*, OHG *sleffar* 'slippery, smooth' (with MoNw. *slipra* 'glide'), from *\*(s)lib-ro-*. Thence the primary verb OHG *slifan*, MLG *slipen* 'to slide', etc. Further cognates in Pok. 663 and 960. See also ► λίμβος and ► ὀλισθάνω. The problem of *\*s-* beside prothetic vowel has not been solved; see Beekes 1969: 82-87. Perhaps Germanic added the *s-* after the loss of the initial laryngeal.

**ὀλιγηπελέων** [adj., ptc.] 'weak, powerless' (O 24 and 245, ε 457), -έουσα (τ 356). <IE? *\*h<sub>2</sub>pel-* 'strength'>

•DER Metrically enlarged from ὀλιγ-ηπελής (AP, Opp.). Thence ὀλιγηπελ-ίη [f.] 'weakness, impotence' (ε 468); likewise εὐηπελ-ίη [f.] 'strength, thriving' (Call.), εὐηπελής (H.), opposite κακηπελ-ίη, -έων (Nic.); also ἀνηπελίη· ἀσθένεια 'weakness' (H.) and νηπελέω = ἀδυνατέω (Hp.).

•ETYM The form (ὀλιγ)-ηπελής is derived from a neuter *\*ἄπελος* 'strength' (with compositional lengthening), and is compared with the Germanic group of ON *afl*, OE *afol* [n.] 'strength'; the El. PN Τευτί-απλος (possibly Illyr.), Illyr. PN *Mag-*



*aplīnus*, etc. also belong here. However, since the Germanic words must be connected with Lat. *ops*, *opus*, etc. < \**h<sub>3</sub>ep-s-*, the Gr. ἄ- would be unclear in this comparison. We have to reconstruct \**h<sub>2</sub>pel-* (νηπελ-έω < \**η-h<sub>2</sub>pel-*), and the connection with Lat. *ops* may have to be abandoned. The denominative ἀν-απελάζω in ἀναπελάσας ἀναρρωσθεῖς ‘recuperated’ (H.) belongs here as well. Cf. also on ► νήπιος.

**ὀλιγος** [?] a kind of locust (Phot., Suid.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR ὀλίγιοι· εἶδος ἀκρίδων ‘id.’, τινές ρίζιον, ὅμοιον βολβῶ ‘a small root, like a bulb’ (H.); thus Latte, but the ms. has (unaccented) ὀλιγιοι. DELG thinks that the correct form should be ὀλιγγοι.

•ETYM Connection with λιγύς does not help (Frisk, DELG). In view of the prenasalization, the word may be Pre-Greek (not in Fur.). Cf. Gil Fernández 1959: 95. See ► ὀλίγος.

**ὀλίγος** [adj.] ‘small, inferior’ (Il.), ‘little, few’ (post-Hom.). <IE? \**h<sub>3</sub>lig-* ‘little’>

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. ὀλιγ-αρχ-ία [f.] ‘rule of the few, oligarchy’ (IA; after μοναρχία, see ► μόνος) together with ὀλιγαρχ-έω, -ικός (Att.); -ης [m.] (D. H.) On ► ὀλιγηπελέων, see s.v., on ὀλιγο-δρανέων see ► δράω, on ὀλιγ-ωρος see ► ὥρα.

•DER Grades of comparison: ὀλίγ-ιστος (Il.), ὀλίζων (Il.), ὀλείζων (Att. inscr.; after μείζων); ὀλιγότης, -ητος [f.] ‘small number’ (Pl., Arist.), ὀλιγόμαι, -όω ‘to become small or faint-hearted, to diminish’ (LXX); ὀλιγ-άκις ‘seldom’ (Ion.), -αχόθεν ‘from few places’ (Hdt., Arist.), -αχοῦ ‘in few places’ (Pl., Arist.). Perhaps also ὀλίγιοι· εἶδος ἀκρίδων. τινές ρίζιον, ὅμοιον βολβῶ (H.), see ► ὀλιγος.

•ETYM For ► ὀλιγος, connection with λιγύς does not help - perhaps the word is Pre-Greek? The adjective ὀλίγος may be identical with Arm. *alk’at* ‘poor’ < \**oliko-* < \**h<sub>3</sub>ligo-*. However, Alb. *lig* ‘angry, meager’ could rather belong to ► λοιγός ‘ruin’, which should not be connected with ὀλίγος. Less clear are OIr. *liach* ‘miserable, unhappy’ and OPr. *licuts* ‘small’ (which fits well semantically), which both derive from a root in \*-k-.

**ὀλινοί** [m.] · κριθῆς δεσμοί· καὶ λῖνος παρὰ Κυπρίους ‘sheaves of barley, also λ. (Cypr.)’ (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Fur.: 375 gives “λίνος (usually λίνον)”.

**ὀλινύω** = ἐλινύω.

**ὀλισβος** [m.] ‘penis coriaceus’, = ‘of leather’ (com., Herod.). <PG(S)>

•ETYM Obscene word with a suffix -β-. Chantraine (DELG) and others suggested that it was transformed from ὀλισθος after other familiar and vulgar words. However, as the suffix shows, the word is rather Pre-Greek.

**ὀλισθάνω** [v.] ‘to slide, slip, glide’ (Att.). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>lid<sup>h</sup>-*, \**h<sub>3</sub>slid<sup>h</sup>-* ‘glide’>

•VAR -αίνω (Arist., Hell.), aor. ὀλισθ-εῖν (Il.), -ῆσαι (Hp., Hell.), -ῆναι (Nic.), 2sg. ὤλισθας (epigr. I<sup>a</sup>-I<sup>p</sup>), fut. ὀλισθήσω (Hell.), perf. ὤλισθηκα (Hp.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπ-, δι-, ἐξ-, κατ-, ὑπ-.

•DER 1. Verbal nouns: ὀλίσθ-ημα [n.] ‘fall, sprain’ (Hp., Pl.), -ησις (also ἀπ-, κατ-, περι-) [f.] ‘slipping, spraining’ (medic., Plu.); back-formation ὀλισθος [m.] ‘lubricity’ (Hp., Hell.), also the name of a slippery fish (Opp.). 2. Verbal adjectives: ὀλισθ-ηρός ‘slippery’ (Pi., IA), -ήεις ‘id.’ (AP), -ανωτέρα ‘id.’ [nom.sg.f.] (Gal.), from \*ὀλισθανος, but which accentuation? Further ὀλισθός ‘id.’ (Hdn. Gr. 1, 147), probably from ὀλισθος with shift of accent, -ητικός ‘making slippery’ (Hp.). On its own stands ὀλισθράζω = ὀλισθάνω (Epich., Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 126) as if from \*ὀλισθρος, cf. ὀλιβ(ρ)άξαι from ► ὀλιβρός.

•ETYM All forms derive from the thematic root aorist ὀλισθεῖν. A present in -άνω (later -αίνω) arose from this, which recalls -δαρθεῖν : δαρθάνω, αἰσθέσθαι : αἰσθάνομαι, and may (like these two) contain an enlarging element IE \*-d<sup>h</sup>-, with Gr. -σθ- coming from \*-d<sup>h</sup>-d<sup>h</sup>-. An alternative is to assume metathesis \**h<sub>3</sub>slid<sup>h</sup>-* > \**h<sub>3</sub>lisd<sup>h</sup>-*; see Mayrhofer *EWAia*: II, 787. This pre-form may be compared with a verb for ‘glide, slide’ in Germanic and Baltic: e.g. OE *slīdan* (MoE *slide*), MHG *slīten*, Lith. *slýsti*, 1sg.pret. *slýdau* (with secondary *y* beside *slidūs* ‘smooth, slippery’). There are also some isolated nouns in Slavic and Celtic: OCS *slědъ*, Ru. *sled* [m.] ‘trace’ < IE \**sloid<sup>h</sup>-o-*, MoIr. *slaod* ‘gliding mass’. Skt. *srédhati* ‘to stumble, make a mistake’ vel sim. may also belong here. See also ► λοῖσθος 1.

**ὀλκή** [f.] ‘dragging, drawing, towing, inhalation, draught, drink, attraction, drawing down of the scales = weight’ (IA). <IE \**selk-* ‘draw’>

•VAR ὀλκός [m.] ‘drawer’, ‘machine for hauling ships on land, strap’ (Hdt., Th., S., E.), also ‘track, furrow, ditch; orbit, coil’ (E., Ar., Hell.), also the name of a spider (Dsc.); adjective ὀλκός ‘drawing to oneself, attracting’ (Pl., Arist.), ‘dragging on, leaning, tarrying’ (Ph., Hld.).

•DER From ὀλκή: 1. ὀλκάς, -άδος [f.] ‘towed ship, trading vessel’ (Pi., IA) with ὀλκαδι-κός (Arist.); 2. ὀλκεῖον (-ιον) [n.] ‘large bowl or basin, out of which water is drawn’ (com. and inscr. since IV<sup>a</sup>), after ἀγγεῖον, with ὀλκίδιον (pap. III<sup>p</sup>); 3. ὀλκεῖς· οἱ τὰ ἀμφίβληστρα ἐπισπῶνται ‘who draw the fishing nets towards themselves’ (H.); 4. ὀλκαῖος ‘ptng. to drawing, making a twist’ (Nic., Lyc.), -αῖον [n.] ‘stern(post)’ (A. R.), -αία, -αίη [f.] ‘tail’ (Nic., A. R.); 5. ὀλκ-ιμος ‘drawable, flexible, viscous’ (medic., Plu.), ‘useful for drawing’ (Paul. Aeg.), perhaps after στάσιμος; 6. -ήεις ‘weighty’ (Nic.); 7. -άζω ‘to draw’ (pap., H.).

•ETYM Verbal nouns from ἔλκω, built according to regular patterns. Lat. *sulcus* [m.] ‘furrow’ may be an old formal correspondence to ὀλκός, but it may also be a zero grade; cf. OE *sulh* [f.] ‘plough, furrow’ < IE \**slk-*. Further details s.v. ► ἔλκω.

**ὀλλιξ, -ικος** [f.] ‘wooden cup for drinking’ (Pamph. *apud* Ath. 11, 494f.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**ὄλλυμι, -μαι** [v.] ‘to ruin, destroy, lose’, intr. med. ‘to be ruined, be lost’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>elh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘destroy’>

•VAR Also -ύω, -ύομαι (Archil.), ὀλέκω, -ομαι (Il.); aor. ὀλέσαι, ὀλέσθαι (Il.), pass. ὀλεσθῆναι (LXX), fut. ὀλέσ(σ)ω (epic), ὀλέω (Ion.), ὀλῶ (Att.), ὀλέομαι, ὀλοῦμαι (Il.), perf. ὀλώλεκα (Att.), intr. ὄλωλα (Il.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, especially ἀπ- (thus exclusively in Att. prose), with ἐξαπ-, συναπ-, προσαπ-, etc.; also with δι-, ἐξ-, etc. As a simplex only epic.

•DER 1. ὀλεθρος [m.] 'destruction, ruin, loss, death' (Il.) with ὀλέθρ-ιος 'disastrous' (Il.), -ιάω 'to be on the verge of death' (Archig.), after other verbs of disease in -ιάω; (ἐξ-)ὀλεθρ-εὺω, assimilated (ἐξ-)ὀλοθρ-εὺω 'to destroy' (LXX), together with -ευσίς, -ευμα, -εία (beside -ία), -ευτής; MoGr. ξολοθρεύω. 2. ἀπόλε-σις [f.] 'loss' (Hippod. *apud* Stob.); as a first member e.g. in ὀλεσ-ήνωρ 'destroying men' (Thgn. [?], Nonn.), ὠλεσί-καρπος 'losing its fruit' (κ 510, etc.; ὦ- *metri causa*). 3. ὀλε-τήρ, -ήρος [m.] 'destroyer, murderer' (Σ 114, etc.), -τεῖρα [f.] (Batr.), ἀνδρ-ολέτειρα (Hes., A.), ὀλέ-της [m.] (*Epigr. Gr.*), ἀνδρ-ολέτης (poet. inscr.), ὀλετις [f.] (AP), παιδ-ολέτωρ, -ορος [m., f.] 'child-killer' (A. [lyr.]). On the PN Ὀλετᾶς (Halicarn., etc.; Carian?) see O. Masson *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 10 (1975): 163f.

•ETYM The disyllabic forms ὀλεθρος, ὀλέσαι, etc. at first sight point to a root *\*h<sub>3</sub>elh<sub>1</sub>-* (the commonly accepted reconstruction). The present ὄλλυμι derives from *\*ὄλνυμι*; for the pattern, compare στορέσαι: στόρνυμι. However, in view of the metathesis which regularly occurs in this type, we may also consider a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>elh<sub>3</sub>-*, and in this case, the Greek present is certainly recent. If athematic, ὀλέσθαι also reflects the root-final laryngeal, while ὀλόμην, etc. are thematized forms. For the enlargement in ὀλέκω, cf. ἐρύκω, etc. Within Greek, ►όλοός 'pernicious, fatal' is related as well. An obvious cognate of ὄλλυμι is Lat. *-oleō* (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*h<sub>3</sub>elh<sub>1</sub>-*) as found in *dēleō* and *ab-oleō*, which represents an iterative formation *\*-h<sub>3</sub>olh<sub>1</sub>-eie/o-*. Since Puhvel *HED*, *hallanna*<sup>-i</sup> 'to trample down, flatten (fields and plants)' is also compared, which may in principle derive from older *\*h<sub>2</sub>/elH-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 271), and would be in agreement with the reconstruction *\*h<sub>3</sub>elh<sub>1</sub>-* assumed for Greek and Latin. Hackstein 1995: 248ff. adduces ToB *alāṣṣām* 'is exhausted'. See recently Neri 2007 on the thesis that the root *\*h<sub>3</sub>elh<sub>1</sub>-* is also contained in verbs for 'fall', like Lith. *pūlti*, 3pres. *pūola*, and OHG *fallan* and cognates. We may note that the reconstruction *\*h<sub>1</sub>elh<sub>3</sub>-*, tentatively suggested above for the Greek forms, is possible for Latin (if we assume that the verbal suffix *\*-eie/o-* was restored), but not for Hittite. See ►όλοός.

**ὄλμος** [m.] 'mortar', metaph. of mortar-like, i.e. hollowed objects, e.g. 'mouthpiece of a flute, drinking cup, tripod of the Pythia' (Λ 147). <IE *\*uel-* 'turn'>

•VAR Psilotic ὄλμος.

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. ὀλμο-ποιός [m.] 'manufacturer of mortars' (Arist.), ὕφ-ὀλμ-ιον [n.] 'stand of an ὄλμος' (com., Poll.).

•DER Diminutive ὀλμίων [n.] (pap.), also ὀλμίσκος [m.] 'socket of a door hinge, of a tooth' (pap., S. E., Ruf., Poll.); ὀλμειός [m.] = ὄλμος (sch. Ar. V. 238), after στελε(ι)ός, etc.

•ETYM From *\*uol-mo-*, originally 'roll, cylinder', after the cylinder-like form of the mortar made of a hollowed tree (cf. Palmer *Eranos* 44 (1946): 54f.). Further related to ►εἰλέω 'to roll, turn'.

**ὀλόκληρος** 'entire'. = κλήρος.

**ὀλοκόττινος** [m.] name of a gold coin, Lat. *solidus* (pap. IV-VI<sup>p</sup>). <LW Lat.>

•VAR Also -ον [n.]. and ὀλοκότιον (BGU 1082).

•ETYM From ►όλος and Lat. (*aurum*) *coctum* = ὀλό-χρυσος 'consisting entirely of pure gold' (with *ct* borrowed as ττ); see Frisk.

**ὀλολύζω** [v.] 'to cry out loudly; to call, shout with joy, moan (to the gods)', especially of women (mostly poet.). <ONOM>

•VAR -ύττω (Men.), aor. ὀλολ-ύξαι (Od.), fut. -ύξομαι (E.), -ύξω (LXX).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀν-, ἐπ-.

•DER ὀλολυγ-ή [f.] (Z 301) with -αία [f.] epithet of the νυκτερίς (epitaph), -μός [m.] (A.), -μα (E.) 'loud outcry', mostly of women invoking a god; -ών, -όνος [f.] 'quacking of a frog, etc.' (Arist., Ael., Plu.), also name of an unknown animal (bird), Lat. *acredula* (Eub., Theoc., Arat.), see also Thompson 1895 s.v.; ὀλολύκ-τρια [f.] 'professional wailing woman' (Pergam. II<sup>a</sup>), -τόλης [m.] 'crier' (An. Ox.), cf. e.g. σκωπτόλης, ὑλακτέω. Backformations ὀλολοι [m.pl.] = δεισι-δαίμονες (Theopomp. Com., Men.), ὀλολυσ [m.] (acc. to Phot. = ὁ γυναικώδης καὶ κατάθεος καὶ βάκιλος 'woman-like, superstitious and womanish'; Anaxandr., Men.).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic reduplicated formation with the same ending as in ἰύζω, βαῦζω, etc. Similar formations, genetically cognate or of identical structure, are Lat. *ululāre* 'to howl', *ulula* [f.] 'owl', Skt. *ululī-* 'crying loudly', *ulūka-* [m.] 'owl', Lith. *ulula* (*bañgos*) '(the waves) howl', all with *u*. Beside these stands ὀλολύζω, with dissimilation o-u or perhaps ablauting to ►έλελεῦ; cf. Pok. 306 and 1105. See ►ὀλοφύρομαι.

**ὄλονθος** [m.] 'wild fig'. = ὄλυνθος.

**ὀλοότροχος** [m.] 'round piece of rock, boulder, large stone' (N 137, Democr. 162, Orac. *apud* Hdt. 5, 92 β). <IE *\*uel-* 'turn', *\*d<sup>h</sup>reg<sup>h</sup>-* 'run'>

•VAR Accent uncertain. Also ὀλοίτροχος (Hdt. 8, 52, Theoc. 22, 49), ὀλοίτροχος (X. An. 4, 2, 3).

•ETYM Probably properly 'circle-runner', a technical term for a round stone, which rolls downhill or is taken forth by a vehement stream. The first element belongs to ►εἰλέω 'to roll, turn' and looks like a locative; acc. to Bechtel 1914 s.v., it derives from a noun *\*φολοφο-* 'whirl, rotation', closely connected with ►εἰλεός; this is rejected by Shipp 1967: 49f. (who follows the ancients in connecting ὄλοός 'pernicious', assuming that -οι- is *metri causa*).

**ὄλοός** [adj.] 'destructive, sinister, ominous' (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>olh<sub>1</sub>-uo-* 'destructive'>

•VAR Also ὀλοιός (A 342, X 5, h. Ven. 224), ὀλώιος (Hes. Th. 591, Nonn.), οὐλοός (A. R.), vocative ὀλέ (Alcm. 55), ὀλόεις (S. Tr. 521 [lyr.]).

•COMP As a first member in ὀλοό-φρων 'with destructive intent', of ὕδρος, λέων, σῦς κάπρος (Il.), also 'crafty', of Ἄτλας, Αἰήτης, Μίνως (Od.); also ὀλο-εργός, -εργής 'having a destructive effect' (Nic., Man.) with loss of o (cf. Schwyzler: 252f.).

•ETYM Derived from the root of ὀλέσαι, ὀλεθρος, etc. (see ►ὄλλυμι), and traditionally explained as *\*ὀλο-φός* < *\*ὀλε-φός* with vowel assimilation (Schmidt KZ 32 (1893): 332f., 337). All formal variations are secondary: ὀλοιός with οι spelling lengthened o (Chantraine 1942: 168; cf. on ►οιέτεας); οὐλοός with metrical lengthening and/or after οὔλος; ὀλώιος after ὀλοφώιος acc. to Frisk, but corrected to

ὀλοῖος by Nauck; ὀλόεις with poetical enlargement (Schwyzer: 528 with lit.); voc. ὀλέ from \*ὀλοέ (or \*ὀλε[ε]?) with loss of vowel by hyphaeresis(?); cf. ὦ μέλε. Suggestions on the formation in Ruijgh *Minos* 20-22 (1987): 537 and García Ramón 2000: 69-71.

**ὀλόπτω** [v.] · λεπίζειν, τίλλειν, κολάπτειν 'to peel, pluck, peck' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Aor. ὀλόψαι (Call., Euph., Nic.) 'to strip off, tear off, pluck'.

•ETYM Can hardly be related to ►λέπω, ►λοπός, etc., but rather a Pre-Greek variant of ►ὀλούφω.

**ὅλος** [adj.] 'complete, whole' (ρ 343 and ω 118, Att., Hdt.), οὔλε [voc.] 'salve' (ω 402).

<IE \*sol(H)-uo- 'whole'>

•VAR οὔλος (epic Ion.).

•COMP Often as a first member, almost only Hell. and late (instead of παν-, see Leumann 1950: 105), e.g. ὀλό-κληρος (see ►κληρός), ὀλο-σχερής (see ►ἐπισχερώ), ►ὀλοκόττινος.

•DER ὀλό-της, -ητος [f.] 'wholeness' (Arist.), ὀλόομαι [v.] 'to be constituted as a whole' together with ὅλωσις [f.] (Dam.), οὔλέω in οὔλειοιεν· ἐν ὑγείᾳ φυλάσσοιεν 'may they keep watch in health' (H.). Besides ὀλοός = φρόνιμος καὶ ἀγαθός 'clever and able' (Suid., H.) with ὀλοεῖται· ὑγιαίνει 'is healthy' (H.). Uncertain Οὔλιος, Ionic epithet of Apollo, acc. to Str. 14, 635 and Suid. as a healing god; cf. ►οὔλος 3.

•ETYM Identical with Skt. *sárva-*, Av. *hauruuua-* 'whole', from IE \*sol(H)-uo-. For ὀλό-της, compare Av. *hauruuua-tāt-* and Skt. *sarvá-tāt(-i)-* [f.] 'wholeness, etc.', which are probably independent innovations. Beside the Indo-Iranian forms, we find Lat. *salvus* 'sound, safe' (on the *a*-vocalism, see Schrijver 1991: 294-297 and Nussbaum 1997: 186ff.) and, with disyllabic stem, Osc. *σαλας* 'id.', Pael. *Salavatur* 'Salvator', which points to an older ablauting *u*-stem \*slh<sub>2</sub>-eu-. Perhaps the Greek and Indo-Iranian forms derive from a thematization of a neuter \*solh<sub>2</sub>-u?

Other cognates are ToA *salu* 'complete', ToB *solme* 'id.' (with a different suffix), and Alb. *i gjallë* 'alive, lively'. A different suffix is found in OIr. *slán* 'healthy' < \*slh<sub>2</sub>-no-, perhaps Lat. *sollus* < \*sol(H)-no- and possibly in Hitt. *šalli-* / *šallai-* 'big, main, chief, etc.' < \*solh<sub>2</sub>-i- (Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). On the question whether the Saussure effect operated in this word (as advocated by Nussbaum 1997), see Pronk 2009.

**ὀλός** [m.] name for a bleary liquid, from the juice of squids (Hp., Phryn. PS, Phot.), for blood (AP 15, 25, 1. ὀλός λιβρὸς ἱρῶν). <PG?>

•ETYM Unclear. A cross between θολός and ὀρός, as assumed by Frisk, is improbable. A Pre-Greek word is possible.

**ὀλοσχερής** [adj.] 'complete, whole, general' (Hell.).

•DER ὀλοσχερεία [f.] (Phld. Rh., Str.). = ἐπισχερώ.

**ὀλουρίδας** [?] · εἶδος κόγχης 'kind of mussel' (H.). <?>

•VAR ὀλουροισιν· ἄνω τῆς θύρας στρόφιγγες 'pivot above the door' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown.

**ὀλούφω** [v.] = ὀλόπτω (Phot.), ὀλουφεῖν (ὀλούφειν Schmidt): τίλλειν 'to pluck hair', διολουφεῖν (-φειν Schm.): διατίλλειν ἢ διασιλλαίνειν 'to mock' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM The present etymon is evidently a variant of ►ὀλόπτω, with variations ο/ ου and φ/ πτ that point to a Pre-Greek word. The IE etymology proposed by Grošelj Živa Ant. 4 (1954): 173, which connected it with the IE word for 'bark, etc.' in Lat. *liber* [m.] 'bark, book' < \*luber, Ru. *lub* 'bark', can therefore be forgotten.

**ὀλοφυκτός** [f.] 'bladder, pustule with blood and water' (Hp.). <GR>

•VAR Also -φυκτός (H.); ὀλοφυγδών (Theoc. 9, 30) or -φύγγων (H.).

•ETYM From ὀλός and φυκτός; see ►φλύκταινα.

**ὀλοφύρομαι** [v.] 'to wail, lament, bewail, bemoan' (Il.). <IE? \*Holb<sup>h</sup>- 'cry, lament'>

•VAR Aeol. -ύρρω (Hdn. Gr.), aor. ὀλοφύρασθαι, ptc. pass. ὀλοφυρθείς (Th. 6, 78), fut. ὀλοφυρῶνται (Lys. 29, 4 codd.).

•COMP Often (especially in prose) with prefix, e.g. ἀν-, ἀπ-, κατ-.

•DER ὀλοφυρ-μός [m.] (Ar., Th., Pl.), -σις [f.] (Th., J.) 'lamentation, wail'; -τικός 'prone to wail' (Arist., J.). Further ὀλόφυς· οἶκτος, ἔλεος, θρήνος 'lamentation' (H., Sapph. 21, 3), Aeolic for \*ὀλοφύς acc. to Schulze KZ 52 (1924): 311, ὀλοφυδνός 'lamenting, wailing' (Hom., AP).

•ETYM The ending is also seen in synonymous ὀδύρομαι, μύρομαι, κινύρομαι, μινύρομαι; ὀλοφύρομαι may have been formed after them, and it is unnecessary to suppose a prior adjective \*ὀλοφυρός. The form ὀλοφυδνός may be an innovation as well, e.g. after ἀλαπαδνός, σμερνός, etc. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 194) and γοεδνός (Frisk). Likewise, was \*ὀλοφύς formed after οἷζύς?

In view of Arm. *olb*, gen. -oy 'lament', Lith. *ulbúoti* 'to call, sing', one might assume a pre-form \*ὀλφος (= Arm. *olb*) or \*ὀλφύς, which would have received an anaptyctic -o- from synonymous ►ὀλολύζω.

**ὀλοφώιος** [adj.] mg. uncertain. Hom. only ὀλοφώϊα [n.pl.], substantivized or as an epithet of δήνεα 'plans' (Od.); Hell. in sing. of λύκων ἔρνος (Theoc. 25, 185), and of ἰός 'poison' (Nic. Th. 327). <?>

•ETYM Formation like μητρώϊος, ἡρώϊος, λεχώϊος (Hell.), etc., so perhaps derived from a substantive in -ως or -ώ. By the ancients it was associated with ὀλλυμι and interpreted as 'pernicious' (H. ὀλοφώϊα· ὀλέθρια, οἶον ὀλοποιά, δεινὰ βουλευμάτα); it was connected with ἐλεφαίρομαι in Hom. in the sense of 'deceitful'.

**ὀλπη** [f.] 'oil flask'. = ἔλπιος.

**Ὀλυμπος** [m.] name of several mountain ranges in Greece and the Near East, especially at the borders of Thessaly and Macedonia; seat of Zeus and of the gods (Il.). <PG>

•VAR With metrical lengthening Οὔλ-. Ruijgh 1967a: 173 points to a variant Οὔλυμπ-, Myc. *u-ru-p-*.

•DER Ὀλύμπιος 'Olympic' (Il.), Ὀλυμπία [f.] region in Elis Pisatis with a famous temple of Zeus (Pi., IA; cf. von Wilamowitz 1931: 224).

•ETYM Probably originally an appellative 'mountain', and without a doubt Pre-Greek. Report of the discussion in van Windekens 1952: 66ff. (see also van

Windekens *BNF* 6 (1955): 117). Cf. also Nilsson 1941(1): 353f. Perhaps Myc. *u-ru-pi-ja-* (*jo-*) points to an original PG \**u-*, which is one of the phonemes that could be reflected as Gr. *o* (though the interpretation of the Myc. word is debated). Was the original word \**U lump*(-)?

**ὄλυνθος** [m.] 'wild, unripe fig' (Hes. *Fr.* 160, 1, Hdt. 1, 193, Hp., Thphr., LXX).

◀PG(V)▶

•VAR Also ὄλονθος.

•COMP As a first member in ὄλυνθο-φόρος 'bearing ὄλ.' (also ὄλονθο-, pap.), with -έω (Thphr.).

•DER ὀλύνθ-η [f.] 'wild fig-tree, ἐρινεός' (Paus.); -άζω [v.] 'to caprificate, ἐρινάζω' (Thphr.).

•ETYM A technical Pre-Greek word with a suffix -νθ-. Note *bolunda*- ὄλυνθος (*Corp. Gloss Lat.* 2, 517, 40), which points to original \**f-*, and cf. ▶μηλολόνη, ▶δόδολυνθος. As -ονθ- is very rare, the second -ο- in ὄλονθος could be due to assimilation from \*-υ-. Fur.: 358 further compares \**Ολομπος*.

**ὄλυνος** [?] · τὸ ἀπότριμμα καὶ ἀποκάθαρμα 'what is rubbed or cleansed off' (H.).

◀PG?▶

•ETYM Unknown. Is the word Pre-Greek?

**ὄλυνται** [f.pl.] kind of grain like ζειαί, usually translated as '(corn) of spelt', also as 'durra' (Egypt) (Il., Hdt., D., Thphr.). ▶PG(S)▶

•VAR Rarely sg.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ὄλυντο-κόπος [m.] 'ὄλυνται-beater, -baker' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>).

•DER ὀλύν-ινος 'containing ὄλυνται, made of ὄλυνται' (pap. III<sup>a</sup> Gal.), -ίτης (ἄρτος) [m.] 'bread made of ὄλυνται' (LXX).

•ETYM An isolated cultural term. By-forms like ▶ἐλυνμος 2, ▶ὄλυνθος, and ▶οὐλαί suggest that it is Pre-Greek. Cf. ▶ἄχυντα for the suffix.

**ὄμαδος** [m.] 'clamorous crowd, melee, turmoil, clash' (Il.). ▶?▶

•DER ὀμαδέω, -ῆσαι [v.] 'to clamor, speak or shout all at once' (Od., A. R.).

•ETYM For the formation, see perhaps κέλαδος, χρομίαδος, etc. Usually connected with Skt. *samád-* [f.] 'battle' and connected with ὁμός = Skt. *samá-*, but this is rather improbable: *samád-* should be interpreted differently as *sam-ad-* (Mayrhofer *EW Aia* 2: 703f.), and ὄμαδος could belong to ▶ὀμάζω (although DELG rejects this comparison because of the semantics).

**ὀμάζω** [v.] 'to growl, grumble', said of bears and panthers (Zenod.). ▶ONOM▶

•ETYM Probably onomatopoeic. Here also ▶ὄμαδος. See ▶ὁμός.

**ὀμαλός** [adj.] 'equal, level, smooth' (i 327). ▶IE \**semh<sub>2</sub>-l-* 'level, smooth'▶

•VAR Innovation ὀμαλής 'id.' (Pl., X., Arist.).

•COMP As a second member e.g. in ἀν-ώμαλος 'unequal' (IA), with compositional lengthening.

•DER ὀμαλ-ότης, -ητος [f.] 'equality, even surface' (Pl., Arist.), -εύς [m.] 'leveller' (who levels the soil, pap. III<sup>a</sup>). Denominative verbs: 1. ὀμαλ-ίζω 'to level, make even'

(X., Arist.), also with δι-, ἐξ-, etc. Thence ὀμαλ-ισμός [m.] 'leveling' (LXX, S. E.), -ιζις [f.] 'leveling' (Delph., Didyma), -ιστήρες [m.pl.] 'instruments for leveling' (gloss.), -ιστρον (H.); hardly to λίστρον. 2. ὀμαλ-ύνω [v.] 'to make equal, make even' (Hp., Pl., Arist.), also with δι-, προ-, συν-, -υντικός 'emollient' (Gal.). 3. \*ἀν-ομαλ-όω in ἀνομάλω-σις [f.] 'equalization' (Arist.).

•ETYM The formation is like that of Lat. *similis* 'like', OIr. *samail* < \**semh<sub>2</sub>-l-*. The *o*-grade of ὀμαλός is often thought to have been imported from ▶ὁμός. Cf. also the *l*-stem in Lat. *semel* 'once' < \**s(e)mli-*, Go. *simle* 'one time' = 'once'. Arm. *amol* 'harnessed pair of cows' is probably unrelated.

**ὀμαρτέω** [v.] 'to meet, join' (Hom.). ▶IE \**sm-* 'together' + \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* 'join'▶

•DER ὀμαρτή 'together', see ▶ἀμαρτή.

•ETYM The identification of the frozen instrumental ἀμαρτή (ὄμ-) with Skt. (Ved.) *sám-ṛtā* 'at the meeting, in battle' (e.g. Schwyzler: 433) is wrong, as the latter is the locative of *sám-ṛti-* 'coming together, battle'. The form with ἀμ(α)- must go back to \**sm-h<sub>2</sub>er-* containing the root \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* 'to join', while the probably more recent formation with ὄμ- derives from ▶ὁμός, ὁμοῦ. See ▶ὄμηρος.

**ὀμβρος** [m.] 'rain, shower, thunderstorm', also 'rainwater', metaph. 'water' (Il.).

◀PG?▶

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ὀμβρο-φόρος 'bringing rain' (A., Ar.); often as a second member, e.g. in ἔπ-, κάτ-ομβρος 'rainy, wet with rain' (Hp., Arist.).

•DER Adjectives: ὀμβρ-ιος 'ptng. to rain, like rain' (Pi., Ion.), -ηρός 'wet' (Hes.), -ηλός 'id.' (Theognost.), cf. ὑδρηλός; -ώδης 'abundant in rain' (Thphr.), -ικός 'id.' (Vett. Val.), -μιος = 'ptng. to rain, rainy' (Nic. *Th.* 388, v.l., *PMag. Lond.*); also ἀνομβρήεις 'abundant in rain' (Nic. *Al.* 288, of Ὀλυμπος), from ἀν-ομβρέω, cf. below.

Substantive ὀμβρία [f.] 'rain' (sch.); cf. ἀντλία, ὑετία.

Verbs: 1. ὀμβρέω 'to (make) rain, moisten' (Hes., LXX, A. R.), aor. -ῆσαι, also with ἀν-, ἐπ-, etc. Thence (ἐπ-)ὀμβρησις [f.] 'raining, etc.' (Suid., sch.), ὀμβρημα [n.] 'rainwater' (LXX); 2. ὀμβρίζω = -έω (Eust.); 3. ὀμβροῦται *imbricitur* (gloss.).

•ETYM Often compared with Lat. *imber*, -*ris* [n.] 'rain(shower)', with the same meaning, and with Skt. *abhrá-* [n.] 'cloud', with slightly deviating meaning (e.g. Pok. 315f.). An old *r*-stem was assumed for these words, beside which stood the *s*-stem in Skt. *ámphas-* [n.] 'water, rainwater'. However, the assumption that Gr. -β- could represent an IE aspirate in the position after nasal is wrong (pace Schwyzler: 333).

In an recent and yet unpublished talk, Kroonen started from the old paradigm \**neb<sup>h</sup>-s-*, gen. \**nb<sup>h</sup>-es-s* for Lat. *imber* and Skt. *abhrá-*, so from the root seen in Gr. ▶νέφος, ▶νεφέλη, etc. The locative \**nb<sup>h</sup>-es-i* gave rise to Lat. *imber-i* and (with revocalization and thematicization) to Skt. *ámphas-*.

In view of the \**-b<sup>h</sup>-*, ὀμβρος cannot belong to this group. For the same reason, Arm. *amb*, *amp*, gen. -*oy* 'cloud' must be kept separate from the Greek word. Thus, ὀμβρος has no good etymology. Szemerényi 1964: 241f., 249 assumes a loanword, so it is possibly a Pre-Greek word.

**ὀμείρομαι** [v.] 'to desire' (LXX, NT; inscr. Phrygia *JHS* 38 (1918) 157). ▶?▶

•VAR ὀμείρονται· ἐπιθυμοῦσιν 'they desire' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown.

**ομείχω** [v.] 'urinate' (Hes. *Op.* 727; codd. ομίχεῖν, see below.). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>meigʰ-* 'urinate'>

•VAR Aor. ομειῖται (Hippon. 55 A; codd. -ι- or -ιη-); ἀμειῖται οὐρήσαι 'to urinate' (H.).

•DER ομείχματα = οὐρήματα (A. *Fr.* 435 = 487 Mette; codd. -ι-).

•ETYM The persistent itacistic notation is probably due to the popular character of the word. The old thematic root present ομείχω, which was ousted by the more decent verb οὐρέω (after which ομιχέω arose), corresponds exactly to Skt. *méhati*, Av. *maēzaiti* and ON *míga* 'to urinate', while sigmatic ομειῖται recalls Lat. *mīxi*, perf. of *meiō* 'to urinate' < \**h<sub>3</sub>meigʰ-ie/o-*. Other present formations: Lat. *mingō* (innovation?), OLith. *minžu*, Arm. *mizem* (a denominative from *mēz* 'urine', where a reflex of the initial laryngeal is lacking, but see Martirosyan 2008: 542f.; alternatively, we are dealing with an Iranian loan), etc. Connection with ►μοιχός can be debated; the gloss with ἀμ- is unexplained.

**ομυγερός** [adj.] 'assembled' (Il., Pi.; v.l. -υρής). <GR>

•VAR Dor. ὀμάγ-.

•ETYM From ὁμοῦ and ἀγείρειν with formation of the second member after the adjectives in -ής. Thus also ὀμήγυρις [f.] 'meeting' (Y 142, Dor. ὀμάγ-) after the simplex ἄγυρις (see ►ἀγείρω) with contraction or compositional lengthening.

**ομήλιξ** [adj.] 'of the same age'. ⇒ήλιξ.

**ομیرهώ** [v.] only in ὀμήρησε 'met' (π 468) and in the ptc. ὀμηρεῦσαι [f.pl.] (= -οῦσαι) 'meeting, agreeing' (Hes. *Th.* 39). <GR>

•ETYM From ►ὄμηρος; cf. ὀμήρης 'united, (being) together' (Nic. *Al.* 70), after the *s*-stems.

**ὄμηρος** [m.] 'pledge, hostage, bail, warrant' (IA). <GR>

•VAR Plur. also -α.

•DER ὀμηρεύω [v.] 'to serve as a hostage, guarantee, take as a pledge, take hostage' (Att. *Rhet.*, E. *Rh.* 434, Antiph.), also with ἐξ-, συν-; thence ὀμηρ-εῖα [f.] (Pl., Th., Plb.), -εῦμα [n.] (Plu.) 'pledge, hostage', ἐξομήρευσις [f.] 'taking of hostages' (Plu.).

•ETYM Probably a compound of ὁμοῦ and ἀρ- in ἀραρεῖν, etc.: properly "joined together, sbd. who is forced to accompany", with a development of meaning similar to that in Lat. *obsēs* (: *obsideō*) 'hostage, bail'. The original meaning is still found in ►ὀμیرهώ and ὀμιρέταις ὁμοψήφοις, ὁμογνώμοσιν 'who have the same vote/opinion' (H.); cf. also ►ὀμαρτέω and ►ἀμαρτή. The word ὄμηρος = ὁ τυφλός (Lyc., H.) is probably an appellative use of the poet's name. On attempts to connect the name Ὀμηρος (Cret. Ὀμαρος) with the appellative, see the litt. in Frisk.

**ὄμιλος** [m.] 'throng, band of warriors, crowd, turmoil of battle' (Il.). <PG(s)>

•VAR Aeol. ὄμιλλος (EM) could be hyperdialectal.

•COMP As a second member in ἐξ-ὄμιλος 'standing beside the crowd, strange, uncommon' (S. [lyr.]), etc.

•DER Denominative ὀμιλέω (Aeol. pres. ὀμίλλει Alc.) [v.] 'to be together, associate with (friendly or adversely), keep company, converse' (Il.), also with prefixes like

καθ-, προσ-, ἐξ-; thence ὀμιλ-ία, -ίη [f.] 'company, intercourse, association, speech, sermon' (IA), formally from ὄμιλος; -ίημα [n.] 'association' (Pl., E.), -ιητής (συν-) [m.] 'companion, adherent, student' (X., Luc.), fem. -ιητρια (Philostr. VA), -ιητικός 'sociable, affable, talkative' (Isoc., Plu.). ὀμιλάδων [adv.] 'in bands' (Il.), -ιδόν Hes. Sc.), 'together with' (A. R., Opp.).

•ETYM Frisk argues for an analysis ὄμ-ιλο-ς (related to ὁμός, etc.) with the rare suffix -ιλο- (as in στρόβιλος, πέδιλον, etc.), taking ὄμιλλος, ὀμίλλει to be hyper-Aeolisms. However, it rather seems that the word is Pre-Greek. Suffixes with VC were frequent in Pre-Greek; the interchange -ιλο-/-ιλλο- may represent a suffix -ilʷ-o-. The form ὄμιλος recalls ►ἄμιλλα (which seems to be Pre-Greek, as well).

**ὀμιχέω** ⇒ομείχω.

**ὀμίχλη** [f.] 'fog' (Il., A., Ar., X.). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>migʰ-lh<sub>2</sub>-* 'fog'>

•VAR Att. ὀ- (secondary aspiration).

•COMP ἀν-ὀμιχλος 'without fog' (Arist.).

•DER ὀμιχλ-ώδης 'hazy' (Hell.), -ήεις 'id.' (Nonn.). Verbs -όομαι (Hell.), -αίνω (Lyd.) 'to vaporize'.

•ETYM Identical with a Balto-Slavic word for 'fog', e.g. Lith. *miglà*, OCS *mǫgla* [f.], from IE \**h<sub>3</sub>migʰ-lh<sub>2</sub>-* (suffixed like νεφέλη). Beside this old *l*-formation, to which MoDu. (dial.) *miggelen* 'to mizzle' also belongs, stands a zero grade root noun in Skt. *mih-* [f.] 'fog' on the one hand, and a full grade *o*-stem on the other, e.g. Skt. *meghā-* [m.] 'cloud' < \**h<sub>3</sub>moigʰ-o-*.

It is sometimes assumed that ►ομείχω 'to urinate' and cognates (IE \**h<sub>3</sub>meigʰ-*) are related, but this would mean that we have to reconstruct an original palatal for the current entry as well, which was then depalatalized before \**l* (cf. Lith. *klausyti* ~ Ru. *slúšat* 'to listen' < \**klouH-s-* < \**klouH-s-*, the *s-* in the latter going back on restored \**k̑*). This is a problematic assumption, however, since Ilr. \**Hmaiḡʰ-* seems to exclude a palatal.

Also probably related is Arm. *mēg* 'mist, fog' < \**h<sub>3</sub>meigʰ-o/h<sub>2</sub>-*, which acc. to Martirosyan 2008 shows regular loss of the reflex of initial laryngeal before *m* (cf. Arm. *magil* 'claw' with secondary *m* next to Gr. ὄνυξ 'nail'). Armenian dialectal material points to a verb \**mglim* 'to cloud', which parallels the formation of Gr. ὀμίχλη. On ►ἀμιχθαλόεσσα, see s.v. and also Ruijgh 1957: 145.

**ὄμμα, -ατος** [n.] 'eye; look, sight, face', metaph. 'sun, light' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>ekʷ-* 'see'>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ὀμματο-στερής 'depriving sbd. of eyesight' (A. [lyr.]), 'deprived of eyesight, blind' (S., E. [lyr.]); often as a second member, e.g. μελαν-όμματος 'with blackeyes' (Pl., Arist.).

•DER Diminutive ὀμμάτιον [n.] (Arist., AP), = MoGr. μάτι; further ὀμμάτειος 'belonging to the eyes' (S. *Fr.* 801), ὀμματώ [v.] 'to provide with eyes, enlighten' (A., D. S.), ἐξ- 'to deprive someone of his eyes' (E. *Fr.* 541), 'to open sbd.'s eyes, illuminate' (A., S., Ph., etc.), ἐν- 'to provide with eyes' (Ph.).

•ETYM The usual form is ὄμμα, but there are also the rare forms ὄππατα (Sapph.) and ὄθματα (Call., Nic., *Hymn. Is.*), which may, like ὄμμα, have arisen from \*ὄπμα by

progressive assimilation and by differentiation (Frisk), respectively. Or is ὄθματα rather an artificial reshaping with -θμα (Chantraine 1933: 175)?

If ὄμμα is a verbal noun in -μα from the root ὀπ- 'see' (► ὀπῶπα, ὄψομαι), it must originally have meant 'look, glance', but it may also be an enlargement of the root noun seen in the dual ὄσσε < \*h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>-ih<sub>1</sub>. The form ► ὄφθαλμός is unrelated. See further ► ὄσσε.

**ὄμνυμι, -μαι** [v.] 'to swear, affirm with an oath, take a vow' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>emh<sub>3</sub>- 'insist, urge'►

•VAR Also -ύω, -ύομαι, aor. ὀμό-σ(σ)αι, -σ(σ)ασθαι, fut. ὀμοῦμαι (Il.), perf. ὀμώμοκα, -(σ)μαι, aor. pass. ὀμο(σ)θῆναι (Att.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀπ-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, συν-, ὑπ-.

•DER ἀνώμοτος 'unsworn', together with -τί [adv.], further συνωμό-της [m.] 'confederate' together with -σία, etc. (IA); for ὀρκωμότης see ► ὄρκος.

•ETYM The aorist ὀμόσαι points to a root \*h<sub>3</sub>emh<sub>3</sub>- (cf. ἀρόσαι 'to plough' < \*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-); the future ὀμεῖται was created analogically for older \*ὀμοῦται. The present formation ὄμνυμι is reminiscent of ► ὄλλυμι, etc., and confirms that the root-final laryngeal was \*h<sub>3</sub>. The perfect is a clear innovation.

Traditionally, ὄμνυμι, ὀμόσαι are connected with the disyllabic athematic root-present Skt. *āmī-ti* 'to take hold of, swear'. Currently, Lat. *amāre* 'to love' is compared as well, and on this basis the root \*h<sub>3</sub>emh<sub>3</sub>- has been reconstructed (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.). A huge problem with this view is that one has to assume vowel assimilation ὀμο- < \*ἀμο- for Greek, which is certainly not regular (see Van Beek fthc.b). It is therefore best to assume a root PIE \*h<sub>3</sub>mh<sub>3</sub>- reflected as Plt. \*ama- in front of a vowel; cf. Schrijver 1991: 318. See ► ὀμοῖος, ► ὀμοκλή.

**ὀμόγνιος** 'of the same ancestry'. ► γίγνομαι.

**ὀμοῖος** [adj.] epithet of πόλεμος, νεῖκος, θάνατος, γῆρας (Hom.), traditionally (e.g. by H.) identified or connected with ὀμοῖος, and explained as 'common to all, equalizing, impartial', which is supported by synonymous ξυνὸς Ἐννάλιος (Σ 309). <?►

•VAR On -οῖος for -οῖος cf. γελοῖος (s.v. ► γελάω).

•ETYM Acc. to an alternative interpretation by Anon. *apud* Apollon. *Lex.*, however, it means κακός, for which an etymological argument has been raised: ὀμοῖος (with lenis) < \*ὀμοῖος from \*ὀμοι-ḡā, or rather for \*ὀμο-ḡιος from \*ὀμο-ḡā corresponding to Skt. *āmivā* [f.] 'misery, vexation, suffering', *āmīti* 'urge, press' (cf. on ► ὄμνυμι). Uncertain.

**ὀμοιος, ὀμοῖος** = ὀμός.

**ὀμοκλή** [f.] 'threatening cry, reprimand, command' (Hom., Hes. Sc.; also Emp. [-έων], Pi. [-αῖς], A. Fr. 57, 5 = 71, 5 [ἀν]); 'attack, onset' (Hell.), perhaps falsely deduced from Π 147? <IE? \*h<sub>3</sub>emh<sub>3</sub>- 'seize' + \*kleh<sub>1</sub>- 'call'►

•VAR Also ὀ-? See below.

•DER Further (probably as a denominative) the more usual ὀμοκλ-άω, -έω (also ὀ-) 'to cry threateningly, call, urge', in 3sg.ipf. ὀμόκλα (Σ 156, Ω 248), 3pl. ὀμόκλ-εον, 1pl.

-έομεν (O 658, etc., ω 173), aor. ὀμοκλήσαι (Hom., S. El. 712), iterative ipf. ὀμοκλήσασκε (B 199). Thence ὀμοκλη-τήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'shouter, warner' (M 273, Ψ 452), fem. -τεῖρα (Lyc. 1337).

•ETYM Since the elision in ὑπ' ὀμοκλής (e.g. Hes. Sc. 341), κέκλετ' ὀμοκλήσας (v.l. Y 365) points to original lenis, the connection with ὀμός, etc. was already doubted in antiquity. A counterpart for ὀμο- could be found in Skt. *āma-* [m.] 'violence, pressure, turbulence', Av. *ama-* [m.] 'attacking power, strength'; thus, ὀμο-κλή would originally be a determinative compound meaning 'attacking cry'.

The second member must belong to ► καλέω < \*klh<sub>1</sub>-eie/o- and may be a root-noun \*kleh<sub>1</sub>-, but it can also be explained as an abstract \*omo-klā- related to \*omo-klo- (cf. on ► μεσόδμη), with loss of laryngeal like in νεογνός. The former interpretation seems to be excluded by ὀμοκλάν (A.), but an artificial Dorism cannot be excluded.

On the variation -άω : -έω in the verb, see Chantraine 1942: 361.

**ὀμόργνυμι, -μαι** [v.] 'to wipe (oneself), dry (oneself)', med. with ἐξ- also 'to give sbd. a beating; to imprint'. <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>merǵ- 'wipe off'►

•VAR Aor. ὀμόρξαι, -ασθαι (Il.), fut. ὀμόρξω, -ομαι, pass. aor. ὀμορχθῆναι, perf. ὤμοργμαι (Att., Arist.).

•COMP In prose only with prefix, especially ἀπ-, ἐξ-.

•DER ἐξόμορξις [f.] 'stamp, imprint, impression' (Pl.), ἀπόμοργμα [n.] 'which is wiped off' (Eust.).

•ETYM The Greek aor. ὀμόρξαι is probably secondary (with vocalism from the present ὀμόργνυμι) for ὀμαρξον· ἀπόμαξον 'wiped off' (H.), which can be equated with the zero grade aor. Skt. *amrkṣat*. Further connection within Greek with ► ἀμέργω is conceivable (for the semantics, cf. Lat. *verro* 'to sweep' next to Hitt. *uārš-* 'to reap, harvest, wipe'), but the variation in the initial vowel is unexplained (there is no sufficient reason to assume vowel assimilation). The initial vowel is absent in the late forms μόρξ-αντο, -άμενοι (Q. S.), probably via reanalysis as ἀπο-μ-.

**ὀμός** [adj.] 'common, one and the same, equal, similar, level' (Il.). <IE \*som-h<sub>2</sub>-o- 'same, equal'►

•COMP Very often as a first member, e.g. ὀμό-φρων 'of similar character, like-minded' (X 263).

•DER ὀμ-όσε 'to one and the same place', -οῦ 'at the same place, together' (Il.), -όθεν 'from the same place' (ε 477); ὀμῶς 'equally, likewise' (Il.), ὀμῶς 'nevertheless, all the same' since M 393; ὀμοῖος (Il.), ὀμοιος (young Att.) 'like, similar, the same' (Il.), after ποῖος, τοῖος, etc., with ὀμοι-ότης, -ητος [f.] 'similarity' (IA), verb -ωθῆναι (Il.), -δομαι (IA), -όω (Th., E.) 'to equalize, unite, make the same'; further ὀμοί-ωμα, -ωσις, etc. See also ► ὀμαλός and perhaps ► ὀμίλος.

•ETYM Old word for 'one and the same, equal', identical with Skt. *samā-*, OP *hama-*, and Gm. words like ON *samr*, *sami*, Go. (*sa*) *sama* (secondary *n*-stem), etc., from IE \*somh<sub>2</sub>-ó- with root-final \*h<sub>2</sub>, because there is no reflex of Brugmann's Law in Skt. Other cognate formations are ► εἰς, ► ἕτερος, ► ἄμα, and ► ἄ- 1.

**ὄμπνη** [f.] 'food, corn', plur. 'cake of flour and honey, honeycombs' (Call., Nic., H., EM). <PG(V)►

•VAR Also ὀμπη.

•DER ὀμπν(ε)ῖος 'ptng. to corn, nutritious, fruitful' (S. Fr. 246, Hell. poet.), fem. Ὀμπνια epithet of Demeter (Call., Nonn.; after πότνια); ὀμπνείοχειρ· πλουσιόχειρ, πλούσιος 'with rich hand, rich' (H.); ὀμπνιακός 'id.' (AP); ὀμπνηρόν ὕδωρ· τρώριμον 'nutritious' (H.).

•ETYM Traditionally connected with Skt. *āpnas-* [n.] 'produce, property, possession', ON *efni* [n.] < PGm. \**afniia-* 'material, goods' (also ON *efna*, OE *æfnan* 'to carry out, work'), Hitt. *happin-ant-* 'rich'. The inner nasal in Greek was explained by anticipation of the suffix, and ὀμπη by dissimilation from this form. These assumptions are ad hoc and therefore doubtful.

Frisk further states that ὀμφύνειν· αὖξειν, σεμινύνειν, ἐντιμότερον ποιεῖν 'to strengthen, respect, honor' (H.) is unclear. However, acc. to Fur.: 161, it shows that we have a by-form ὀμφυν-, and a Pre-Greek word. The word ► ἄφενος is unrelated.

**ὀμφαλός** [m.] 'navel, navel string' (Il.), very often metaph. of navel-shaped elevations: 'knob of the shield or yoke' (Il.), 'centre' (α 50). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>enb<sup>h</sup>-*, \**h<sub>3</sub>mb<sup>h</sup>-*, \**h<sub>3</sub>neb<sup>h</sup>-* 'navel'►

•COMP Compounds like ὀμφαλη-τόμος [f.] 'cutter of the navel string, midwife' (Hippon., Hp.; on -η- see Schwyzler: 438f.), μεσ-ὀμφαλος 'in the middle of the navel', 'in the centre', especially of Delphi and its oracle (trag.), also 'having a navel (an elevation) in the center' (trag., com.); also with enlargement of the second member, e.g. ἐπ-ομφάλιος 'situated on the navel (the shield knob)' (H 267, Parth.), also 'equipped with a navel' (AP 6, 22).

•DER 1. Diminutive ὀμφάλιον [n.] (Arat., Nic.); 2. ὀμφαλῖς [f.] 'navel string' (Sor.); 3. ὀμφαλ-οίς 'equipped with an ὀ.' (Il.), -ωτός 'id.' (Pherecr., Plb.), -ώδης 'ὀ.-like' (Arist.), -ιος 'belonging to the ὀ.' (AP), -ικός 'id.' (Phan. Hist.); 4. ὀμφαλιστήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'knife used for cutting the navel string' (Poll., H.; cf. on βραχιονιστήρ).

•ETYM The old word for 'navel' closely corresponds to Lat. *umbilicus* (probably from \**umbilus* = ὀμφαλός), OIr. *imblíu* < PCl. \**imbilon-* < IE \**h<sub>3</sub>mb<sup>h</sup>-l-*. This originally athematic *l*-stem (perhaps retained in the Epirotic tribal name Ὀμφαλ-ος [gen. sg.], -ες [nom. pl.]; see Schwyzler: 484) alternates with an *n*-stem in Lat. *umbō*, -*ōnis* [m.] 'boss of a shield', probably also in a WGm. word for 'belly, abdomen': OHG *amban* (secondary *a*-stem), -*on* [m.], OS *ambon* [acc.pl.m.], PGm. \**amban-* < QIE \**Homb<sup>h</sup>on-* (cf. on ► ὀμφραξ). The variation *l* : *n* recalls ἀγκάλη : ἀγκών.

In the eastern languages, we find forms with a different ablaut grade, like Skt. *nābhi-* [f.] 'navel, nave', OPr. *nabis* 'id.', Latv. *naba* 'navel', but also Gm. forms like OHG *naba* [f.] 'nave of a wheel', *nabalo* [m.] 'navel' (suffix like in ὀμφαλός, etc.), all from IE \**h<sub>3</sub>neb<sup>h</sup>-*. The Schwebeablaut \**Homb<sup>h</sup>-* / *Hnob<sup>h</sup>-* is probably due to the development of the zero grade \**h<sub>3</sub>nb<sup>h</sup>-* in the western languages, so the original root shape was \**h<sub>3</sub>neb<sup>h</sup>-*, with ὀμφαλος continuing the zero grade \**h<sub>3</sub>nb<sup>h</sup>-l-* (with vocalization of the laryngeal according to the so-called Lex Rix).

**ὀμφαι** [pl.] barbaric word for the best quality of nard (Gal. 14, 74). <?►

•ETYM Unknown.

**ὀμφραξ, -ἄκος** [f.] 'unripe grape' (η 125), also of olives (Poll.); metaph. of a young girl, an undeveloped nipple, etc. (poet.). <PG(s,v)►

•VAR Late also [m.].

•DER 1. ὀμφάκιον [n.] 'juice of unripe grapes or olives' (Hp., pap.); 2. ὀμφακίς, -ίδος [f.] 'cup of a certain kind of oak' (Paul. Aeg.), because of the astringent taste; 3. ὀμφακ-ίας (οἶνος) [m.] 'wine of sour grapes' (Gal.), metaph. 'sour, unripe' (Ar., Luc.); -ίτης (οἶνος) [m.] 'id.', also name of a stone (Gal.; codd. -τίτης), -ίτις [f.] of ἐλαίη (Hp.), 'kind of oakapple' (Dsc., Gal.); 4. ὀμφακώδης 'ὀ.-like' (Hp., Arist.), -ίνος 'made of ὀ.' (Hp., pap.), -ηρά (ἀγγεῖα) [n.pl.] 'vessels for ὀ.' (medic., pap.); 5. ὀμφακίζω [v.] 'to be sour, unripe', also of other fruits (LXX, Dsc.), -ίζομαι 'to pick sour grapes' (Epich.).

•ETYM By itself, ὀμφραξ could derive from an unattested pre-form \*ὀμφων (= Lat. *umbō*, etc.; see on ► ὀμφαλός), but the semantic explanation as a navel-like knob is hardly convincing. Fur.: 341 connects ἀμφίας 'a bad Sicilian wine' and ἀμφής· οἴνου ἄνθος 'wine blossom'. οἱ δὲ μέλανα οἶνον 'red wine' (H.). The variation would point to Pre-Greek origin; note that the suffix -αξ is also typically Pre-Greek.

**ὀμφή 1** [f.] 'divine voice or revelation, oracle, emblem' (Il.), 'voice, speech' in general (Pi., trag.). <IE \**seng<sup>wh</sup>-* 'sing'►

•COMP Ὀμφο-κλέφης [m.] a Cyprian in Abydos, εὖ-ομφα ὀνόματα 'auspicious names' (H.); enlarged in παν-ομφαῖος 'sending all omens, witness of everything', epithet of Zeus (Θ 250, Simon., Orph.), also of Ἥλιος (Q. S.) and Ἥρα (EM), transformed into παν-ομφής (ὄνειροι, Orac. *apud* Porph.).

•DER ὀμφ-αῖος, -ήεις 'predicting' (Nonn.), Ὀμφαίη [f.] name of a goddess (Emp.), ὀμφητήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'prognosticator' (Tryph.), after νικη-τήρ : νικάω, etc. Cf. Ruijgh 1957: 134.

•ETYM An archaic inherited word, which is isolated in Greek and has cognates only in Germanic. Beside ὀμφή < IE \**song<sup>wh</sup>-eh<sub>2</sub>-* stands e.g. Go. *saggws* [m.] 'song, music, lecture' < IE \**song<sup>wh</sup>-o-*. The basic primary verb is retained only in Germanic, e.g. Go. *siggwan* 'to sing, lecture' < IE \**seng<sup>wh</sup>-e/o-*.

**ὀμφή 2** [f.] · πνοή 'breath' (H.). <?►

•VAR Also ὀμφά· ὀσμή. Λάκωνες 'scent (Laconian)' (H.).

•COMP As a second member in εὖ-ομφος = εὖοσμος (Arcad. acc. to Timachidas *apud* Ath.; codd. -φραλον).

•DER Verb πνέω· ὀμφρῇ προσόζει 'to smell, stink' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. It cannot be related to the group of ► νέφος, ► νεφέλη (thus Frisk, on which see the litt. s.v.), since that word had no initial laryngeal.

**ὀμφορα** [n.pl.] · ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκφέρεσθαι ὁ νόμος κωλύει 'what the law forbids to carry away from shrines' (H.). <GR►

•ETYM Latte notes: ἀνάφορα reportanda ad aram; thus it would have dialectal ὀν- for ἀνα-.

**ὀμωρος** [?] 'a Sicilian bread' (Epich. 52, Sophr. 27). <?►



•VAR Cf. ὄμουρα· σεμίδαλις ἐφθή, μέλι ἔχουσα καὶ σιγάμην 'cooked flour containing honey and sesame' (H.); also ὁμορίτας (Redard 1949: 90).

•ETYM Unknown.

**ὄναλα** [f.] = ἀνάλωμα, 'expenditure, cost' (Thess. III<sup>a</sup>). <GR?>

•ETYM Backformation from ἀναλώω, perhaps influenced by δαπάνη : δαπανάω (cf. also δαπαν-ούμενα, -ώσει after ἀναλ-ούμενα, -ώσει). See Fraenkel 1912: 88.

**ὄναρ** [n.] 'dream', especially 'fortune-telling dream, vision' (Il.), as an adverb 'in a dream' (trag., Att.). <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>en-r 'dream', \*h<sub>3</sub>ner-io->

•VAR Only nom. and acc.; further ὄνειρος [m.] 'god of dreams, dream' (Il.), -ον [n.]; other case forms are ὄνειρ-ατος, -ατι, -ατα, etc., 'vision, phantom' (Od.); thence the back-formation ὄνειαρ [n.] (Call., AP). Note Aeol. ὄνοιρος [m.] (Sapph.); Cret. ἄναιρον· ὄνειρον, ἄναρ· ὄναρ (H.).

•COMP E.g. ὄνειρο-πόλος [m.] 'interpreter of dreams' (Il.), εὐ-ὄνειρος 'having good dreams' (Str., Plu.).

•DER 1. Diminutive ὄνειρ-άτιον (sch.). 2. Adjectives ὄνειρ-εῖος (δ 809, Babr.), -ήεις (Orph.), -ατικός (comm. Arist.) 'concerning dreams, pertaining to dreams', -ώδης 'dream-like' (Philostr.). 3. Verbs: ὄνειρ-ώσσω, -ώττω (ἐξ-) 'to dream, have a seminal discharge while sleeping' (Hp., Pl., Arist.), with (ἐξ-)ονείρ-ωξίς [f.] (Pl., medic.), -ωγμός [m.] (Arist.), -ωκτικός (Arist., Thphr.); ἐξ-ονειρώ 'id.' (Hp.); \*ἐξονειρ-ιάζω in ἐξονειριασμός [m.] (Diocl. Med.).

•ETYM ὄναρ < \*h<sub>3</sub>en-r and Lesb. ὄνοιρος, Cret. ἄναιρον < \*h<sub>3</sub>n-r-io- show gradation with ὄνειρος < \*h<sub>3</sub>n-er-io- (with full grade of the suffix; for the addition of \*-io-, see ► ῥήλιος). The case forms ὄνειρ-ατος, -ατι, etc. probably arose by a cross of \*ὄνατος, etc. with ὄνειρος; from ὄνείρατ- in turn arose the late and rare form ὄνειαρ for ὄναρ. The neuter gender of ὄνειρον (for ὄνειρος) was influenced by εἰδωλον, ἐνύπνιον.

The word is limited to Greek and two neighbouring languages, in both of which it only occurs with a suffix -io-: Arm. *anurj* < \*onōr-io- (cf. τέκτωρ beside τέκμαρ; Arm. *a-* < *o-* is a regular development in a pretonic open syllable, like in *anun* to ὄνομα, etc.), and Alb. *ādërrë* (Gheg), *ëndërrë* (Tosk), the details of which are debated. Note also Cret. ἄναιρος, of which the α- is unexplained (cf. Beekes *Sprache* 18 (1972): 126).

Through the rise of ὄναρ and cognates, the meaning of old ► ὕπαρ shifted (s.v.).

**ὄνειαρ, -ατος** [n.] 'utility, value, help, refreshment'; plur. -ατα 'refreshments, foods, valuables, gifts' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>2</sub>- 'help, be useful'>

•ETYM False writing for ὄνη(φ)αρ < \*ὄνᾱ-φαρ, a verbal noun of ► ὀνίνημι; perhaps influenced by ἀλείατα (s.v. ► ἀλέω), εἶδαρ (s.v. ► ἔδω), etc.

**ὄνειδος** [n.] 'reproach, rebuke, abuse, disgrace' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>neid- 'revile'>

•DER Thence ὀνειδείη [f.] 'id.' (Nic.), cf. on ἐλεγχείη s.v. ► ἐλέγχω, ὀνειδεῖος 'baling, scolding' (Hom., AP), ὀνειδεῖω [v.] 'to blame' (Thebaïs Fr. 3) < \*-es-je/o-; mostly ὀνειδίζω 'to make reproaches, abuse, scold', also with prefixes like ἐξ-, προσ-, with several derivatives: ὀνειδ-ισμῖα [n.] 'reproach, abuse' (Hdt.), -ισμός (ἐξ-) [m.] 'id.' (D. H., J.), -ιστήρ (E.), also κατ- (Man.), -ιστής (Arist.) 'who reproaches',

(ἐξ-)ονειδιστικός 'abusive' (Hell.); on itself stands ἐπ-ονείδ-ιστος 'deserving a reproach, worthy of blame' (Att.), probably for \*ἐπ-ονειδής after other verbal adjectives in -ιστος.

•ETYM ὀνειδος is an old verbal noun, isolated in Greek. The basic primary verb, which was replaced by the denominative ὀνειδίζω in Greek, is retained in other languages: Skt. athem. *nīd-ānā-* 'reproved' [aor.ptc.], beside which stand the passive formation *nīdyā-māna-* 'id.' and the nasal present *nīndati* 'to reproach', Av. *nāis-mi* < \*nāid-s-mi 'I reproach', as well as Baltic forms like Lith. *nīdėti* 'to despise', Latv. *nīdēt*, 1sg. *nīdu* 'to squint at, exclude, hate', which derive from a stative \*h<sub>3</sub>neid-eh<sub>1</sub>-. Germanic has a secondary formation in Go. *ga-naitjan* 'to revile', etc. Especially interesting for Greek, because of its prothetic vowel, is Arm. *anicanem*, aor. *anici* < \*h<sub>3</sub>neid-s- (for Arm. *a-* < *o-* in pretonic open syllable, cf. on ► ὄναρ).

**ὄνθος** [m.] 'droppings, excrement of animals' (Ψ 775, 777, A. Fr. 275 [= 478 Mette]).

<?>

•VAR Late also fem. after κόπρος.

•COMP ὄνθο-φόρος 'dungbearer' (pap. IV<sup>p</sup>).

•ETYM Unexplained. For older lit., see Frisk s.v.

**ὀνθυλεύω** [v.] 'to stuff, pad, fill up with stuffing', of food (com. IV-III<sup>a</sup>). <PG?(v)>

•DER ὀνθυλεύσεις [pl.] 'stuffed foods' (com. IV-III<sup>a</sup>); further μονθυλεύω (rejected by Phryn. 334, sch.), μονθυλεύσεις (Poll. 6, 60) 'id.'

•ETYM Expression of culinary art without etymology. We may start from a noun \*ὀνθύλη, -ος like κορδύλη, κανθύλη, κρωβύλος, etc. Frisk suggests that the initial μ- in μονθυλεύω was perhaps taken from ► ματτύη (with related meaning) or from μολγός 'bag' (less probable). Fur.: 246 explains the variation μ/zero from initial f-. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

**ὀνιγλιν** [?] · εἶδος οἴνου 'kind of wine' (H.). <PG?(v)>

•VAR Ὀνογλιν (Alcm. 117 *apud* Ath. 1, 31d).

•ETYM Unknown.

**ὀνίνημι** [v.] 'to be of use, help, avail' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>2</sub>- 'help, be useful'>

•VAR Aor. ὀνήσαι, fut. ὀνήσω (Il.), Dor. ὀνασεῖ (Theoc.), med. ὀνίναμαι (Att.), aor. ὀνήσασθαι (late), ὀνήμην, opt. ὀναίμην, epic ἀπ-ονήμην, -όνιτω (Il.), ὀνάμην, inf. ὀνασθαι (E., Pl.), fut. ὀνήσομαι (Il.).

•DIAL Myc. *o-na-to* /onaton/, *o-na-te* /onatēr/.

•COMP Often with ἀπο- 'to benefit, gain, enjoy, relish'.

•DER 1. ὀνηαρ (written ► ὀνειαρ, s.v.); 2. ὀνησις [f.] (φ 402), ὀνασις (Dor., etc.) 'benefit, advantage, gain, enjoyment' with ὀνήσιμος 'useful, beneficial' (h. Merc.); 3. ὀνήτωρ, -ορος [m.] PN (Π 604, etc.), Dor. ὀνάτωρ (conj. Pi. O. 10, 9) 'helper', ὀνήτωρ name of a plaster (medic.); 4. ὀνήτης [m.] PN (Eretria IV<sup>a</sup>); for the PNs in ὀνησι-, etc. see Bechtel 1917b: 348ff.; 5. ὀνήμιων = ὀνήσιμος (Cat. Cod. Astr.). 6. Primary compar. forms: superl. ὀνήϊσ-τος 'most useful' (Ion., etc.), compar. ntr. ὀνήϊον (Nic.), Dor. ὀνάϊον (Dodona III<sup>a</sup>); reinterpreted as a positive, details in Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 7ff.

•ETYM The full-grade medial aorist forms ἀπ-ονήμην, -όνητο, -ονήμενος, etc. are noteworthy. They may have their vocalism from the *s*-aorist ὀνήσαι, as Kümmel remarks in LIV<sup>2</sup>. In Euripides, ὠνάτο, ὄνασθαι may have the old vocalism from *\*h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>2</sub>-*, or have their -ᾱ- from the present ὀνίναμαι, with productive short vowel (cf. ἴσταμαι : ἴστημι). The late present ὀνίσκω (Ath. 2, 35c) was formed from ὀνήσω after εὐρήσω : εὐρίσκω, etc.

There are no obvious cognates. Skt. *nāthā-* [n.] 'refuge, help' was compared by Wackernagel 1955(2): 946, and looks like a primary noun from a root *\*nā-*, but is further isolated (cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 33f.). LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>2</sub>-* compares ON *unnum* [1pl.] 'to love, grant' if from *\*h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>2</sub>-mh<sub>2</sub>*, but remarks that the -*ns*- in related forms like Go. *anst* 'favor' is difficult to explain with this reconstruction. Moreover, additional assumptions are needed to arrive from the assumed nasal present formation at Greek ὀνίναμαι.

ὄνιννος [m.] name of a parasite in seaweed, 'kind of centipede' (Thphr. *HP* 4, 6, 8).

◀PG?▶

•ETYM To be analyzed as ὄν-ιννος, acc. to Strömberg 1944: 11f., thus a compound from ▶ὄνος and ▶ἴννος 2; however, this is most improbable. Probably a Pre-Greek word (not in Fur.).

#### Ὀνογλιν

•ETYM See ▶ὄνιγλιν.

ὀνόγυρος ⇒ ἀνάγυρος.

ὀνοκίνδιος [m.] 'donkey-driver'. ⇒ κίνδαξ.

ὄνομα, -ατος [n.] 'name' (Il.), gramm. 'word' (Att.), as a part of speech = *nomen* (Arist.). ◀IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>-mn*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-men* 'name'▶

•VAR Epic (also Hdt.) οὐνομα (metrical lengthening), Aeol. Dor. ὄνυμα; Dor. also \*ἔνυμα if found in Ἐνυμα-κρατίδας, Ἐνυμαντιάδας (Lacon.), but the interpretation of these PNs is doubtful.

•COMP ὀνομά-κλυτος 'with a famous name' (X 51), ▶ἔξονομακλήδην; ὀνοματοποιέω [v.] 'to give a name, name' (Arist.), after other compounds with -ποιέω (ὀνοματοποιός Ath., Zos. Alch., -ποιία Str.); ὠνυμι(ν)ος 'nameless' (epic); more recent is ἄν-ὠνυμιος (Θ 552).

•DER A. Nouns: 1. Diminutive ὀνομάτιον (Arr., Longin.); 2. Adjectives ὀνοματ-ώδης 'having the nature of a name, concerning the name' (Arist.), -ικός 'ptng. to the ὄνομα' (D. H.).

B. Verbs: 1. ὀνομαίνω 'to call, proclaim', almost only aor. ὀνομήναι, also with ἐξ- (mostly epic Il.), fut. ο(ὕ)νομανέω (Hdt.), pres. (Dor.) ὀνυμαίνω (Gortyn, Ti. Locr.). 2. ὀνομάζω 'to call (by the name), name, enunciate', aor. ὀνομάσαι (Dor. Aeol. ὀνυμάζω, aor. ὀνυμάξαι) often with prefixes like ἐξ-, ἐπ-, κατ-, παρ-, μετ-. Thence ὀνομασία [f.] 'name, expression' (Hippias Soph., Pl., Arist.), ὀνομαστής [m.] = Lat. *nominator* (pap. III<sup>p</sup>), ὀνομ-αστί (-εῖ) 'by name' (IA), -αστικός 'ptng. to naming' (Pl.), ἡ ὀνομαστική (πτῶσις) 'casus nominativus' (Str., gramm.). 3. ὀνοματίζω [v.] 'to dispute about names' (Gal.), -ισμός [m.] 'list of names' (inscr. Thess.).

•ETYM Old word for 'name', directly comparable with Arm. *anun* < *\*onomn-* < *\*anomn-* (with *o* > *u* before *m* and *a* > *o* in pretonic open syllable); Arm. *anun* may represent both the zero grade *\*h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-mn-* (originally found in the oblique cases) and the full grade *\*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>-mn* from the nominative, but the Greek word must have the old zero grade. Further, OPhr. *onoman*, NPhr. *onoμαν* also have their initial *o-* from *\*h<sub>3</sub>-* (Kortlandt *SCauc.* 7 (1987): 63).

The *e* in other languages has a different origin: Alb. *emër* (Gheg), *ëmën* (Tosk) may be a loan from Latin *nōmen*, while in OPr. *emmens* [gen.sg.m.] < *\*h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-men-s*, the initial *e-* is the reflex of a vocalic nasal (cf. also the group of OCS *imę*). Celtic (e.g. OIr. *ainm*) is derived from *\*anmen-* < *\*h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-men-*, and ToB *ñem*, ToA *ñom* points to *\*nēm-*, which perhaps derives from a preform *\*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>1</sub>-m-* by dissimilation of the second *h<sub>3</sub>*. If the *e-* found in Laconian Ἐνυμακρατίδας belongs here at all, it is not well explained, but it need not be due to (incidental) vowel assimilation; it may also be due to dissimilation of the first laryngeal against the second (cf. on Tocharian).

The Greek *u*-vocalism in ὄνυμα, ὠνυμιος, etc. is due to Cowgill's Law (see Vine 1999b).

All languages have generalized one of the two ablaut grades: Lat. *nōmen* = Skt. *nāma* < IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>-mn*. In Germanic, Go. *namo* [n.], etc. < IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>mōn* goes back on a zero grade, while OFr. *nōmia*, MHG *be-nuomen*, MoDu. *noemen* have the old full grade *\*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>-*; see Beekes *Sprache* 33 (1987): 1ff. (against this, Stüber *Die Sprache* 39/1 (1997): 74-88, but unconvincing).

The Anatolian evidence is highly complicated (see Kloekhorst 2008): Hitt. *lāman-* [n.] < *\*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>-mn-* (like Latin), with regular loss of the *\*h<sub>3</sub>-* and then *\*n-* > *l-* by dissimilation; *lamniā-* [v.] 'name' from *\*h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-mn-*; but HLuw. *a-ta<sub>4/5</sub>-ma-za* (interpreted as /?lāman=t'a/ in Kloekhorst *KZ* 117 (2004)) preserves the reflex of initial *\*h<sub>3</sub>-*.

Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *hanna<sup>i</sup>* has also made it clear that the root of the word is *\*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>-*, as still preserved in the Hittite verb *hanna<sup>i</sup>* 'to sue, judge' and in Greek ▶ὄνομαι. A denominative *yod*-present like ὀνομαίνω is found in other branches, too: Go. *namnjan* 'to name', Hitt. *lamniā-*. The original *n*-stem is still clearly seen in ὠνυμν-ος < *\*h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-mn-*; ἄνῶνυμιος is younger.

ὄνομαι [v.] 'to scold, blame, insult' (Hom., also Hdt.). ◀IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>-* 'name'▶

•VAR Aor. ὀνόσ(σ)ασθαι (ὦνατο P 25; cf. below), fut. ὀνόσομαι, with κατα- in κατ-ὦνοντο, -ονοσθῆς (Hdt. 2, 172 and 136).

•DER Verbal adjective ὀνοτός (Pi., Call., A. R.), ὀνοστός (I 164, Lyc.) with analogical -σ-; dental formation in ὀνοτάζω = ὄνομαι (*h. Merc.*, Hes., A.); ὀνητά· μεμπτά 'reproached' (H.), probably after the oppositum ἀγητά 'admired'; ὄνοσις [f.] 'blame' (Eust.).

•ETYM All forms except ὦνατο (which is rather aor. then ipf.), ὄναται ἀτιμάζεται 'dishonors' (H.), and the debated form οὐνεσθε (Ω 241) are based on a root ὄνο-; thus, ὄνα- is not an old ablauting variant but a secondary deviation. The comparison with the Celtic group of Mlr. *on* 'shame', *anim* 'blemish, fault' remains highly hypothetical, while that with the unreliable ptc. (hapax) OAv. *nadant-* 'slandering, reviling' and with Skt. *nīndati* 'to blame, revile' (as *nī-nd-ati*; but rather *nī-n-d-ati*,

for which see ► ὄνειδος) is based on the wrong assumption that ὀνόσσ-ασθαι, -ομαι, and ὀνοστός go back to \*ὀνοδ-, instead of being analogical.

Kloekhorst 2008 has recently convincingly argued for connection with Hitt. *ḫanna-* 'to sue, judge' (3sg. *ḫannāi*, 3pl. *ḫannanzi*), which he retraces to \**h<sub>3</sub>e-h<sub>3</sub>nóh<sub>3</sub>-ei*, \**h<sub>3</sub>e-h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-énti* by regular sound laws. For the semantics of the Greek word, starting from the meaning 'to call, name', one may compare the English expression 'to call names'.

**ὄνος** [m., f.] 'ass, female ass' (Λ 558), often metaph., e.g. 'windlass, winch, the upper millstone' (ὄνος ἀλέτης), as a fishname (after the grey color, or after the large head as a sign of stupidity?), see Strömberg 1943: 100. <PG?>

•VAR Myc. *o-no /onos/*.

•COMP Very often as a first member, e.g. in plantnames like ὀνο-θήρα, -κάρδιον, -πορδον, ὀνοσμα (see Strömberg 1940: 138 and 61); on ► ὀνιννος, see s.v., on ὀναγρος = ὄνος ἄγριος 'wild ass' see Risch IF 59 (1949): 286f.; as a second member in ἡμί-ονος [f., m.] 'mule' (Il.), cf. Risch l.c. 22f.

•DER 1. Several diminutives, partly in metaph. mg.: ὀν-ίσκος [m.] (Hp., Ph. Bel.), -ιον (-ιον?) [n.] (pap.), -ίδιον (Ar.), -άριον (Diphil. Com.), -αρίδιον (pap.), -ῶδιον (?; pap. IV<sup>p</sup>). 2. Other substantives: ὄνις [f.] 'donkey droppings' (IA); ὀνίτις [f.] 'kind of marjoram, Origanum heracleoticum' (Nic., Dsc., Gal.); ὀνίας [m.] 'kind of σκάρος' (Ath.); ὀνεῖον [n.] 'donkey stable' (Suid.). 3. Adjectives: ὀν-ειος 'of a donkey' (Ar., Arist.), -ικός 'belonging to a donkey' (NT, pap., inscr.), -ώδης 'donkey-like' (Arist.). 4. ὀνεύω [v.] 'to draw with a windlass, draw up' (Th., Stratt.). On ► ὀνωις, see s.v.

•ETYM Doubtfully explained by Brugmann IF 22 (1907-1908): 197ff. from \**osonos* (which via \**ohonos* > \**hoonos* would have been reinterpreted as ὁ ὄνος), which together with Lat. *asinus* is supposed to be a loan from a South Pontic language. Arm. *ēš*, gen. *iš-oy* is rather from \**h<sub>3</sub>ekuo-*. Sum. *anšu* 'ass' was also compared (see Neumann IF 69 (1964): 61).

Not related to Lat. *onus* 'burden' (Grégoire *Byzantion* 13 (1938): 287ff.), nor to Hebr. *ātōn* 'female ass'. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

**ὄνυξ 1, -υχος** [m.] 'nail, claw, hoof, often metaph. in several mgs. (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>nog<sup>h</sup>-* 'nail'>

•DIAL Myc. *o-nu-ka /onuka/* or */onuks/*, cf. Guilleux *RPh* 75 (2001): 149.

•COMP ὄνυχο-γραφέομαι [v.] 'to be carved by a nail' (Hp.), γαμψ-ώνυξ and -ώνυχος 'with curved claws' (Il., also Arist.); on ► μώνυξ, see s.v.

•DER Diminutive ὀνύχιον [n.] (Arist., pap.); ὀνυχιστήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'hoof' (LXX), cf. on βραχιονιστήρ and ὀνυχίζομαι below; ὀνυχ-μαῖος 'of the size of nail-parings, tiny' (Com. *Adesp.*), -ιαῖος 'as broad as a nail' (Eust.); ὀνυχ-ίζομαι [v.] 'to cut one's nails' (Cratin., LXX) with -ισμός [m.] (Str.), -ιστήριον [n.] 'nail scissors' (Posidipp. Com.); -ίζω [v.] 'to test with one's nails' (Artem.); -όω [v.] 'to equip with claws, bend in a claw-like fashion' (Orib., sch.).

•ETYM Old name of the nail and the hoof, retained in most branches in various formations. Disyllabic ὄνυξ (ὀνυχ-) obtained its υ-vocalism from \**h<sub>3</sub>nog<sup>h</sup>-* by Cowgill's Law, which would require a neighboring Proto-Greek labiovelar (see Vine

1999b). Therefore, we may propose a *u*-stem \**h<sub>3</sub>nog<sup>h</sup>-u-* (for which OCS *nog<sup>h</sup>tv* 'hoof' < \**Hnog<sup>h</sup>u-ti-* has been compared), or reconstruct \**h<sub>3</sub>nog<sup>wh</sup>-*.

The Greek form agrees with Arm. *elungn* 'nail', which is a secondary *n*-stem like *ot-n* 'foot' < acc. \**pod-m* (see ► πούς). Kortlandt assumes that \**h<sub>3</sub>nog<sup>h</sup>-* / \**h<sub>3</sub>ng<sup>h</sup>-* yielded PArm. \**onog* / \**ong*, which were contaminated in \**onong*; this became \**enong* by dissimilation, which gave *elungn*, on which see Kortlandt 2003: 76. The other languages have a monosyllabic stem: either \**h<sub>3</sub>ng<sup>h</sup>-* (Lat. *unguis*, OIr. *ingen* [f.]) or \**h<sub>3</sub>nog<sup>h</sup>-* (OHG *nagal* [m.] 'nail', BSL., e.g. Lith. *nāgas* [m.] 'nail, claw'). IIr. has a voiceless aspirate, e.g. Skt. *nakhá-* [m., n.] 'id.'.

**ὄνυξ 2, -υχος** [m.] name of a precious stone, 'onyx' (Ctes., LXX). <?>

•COMP σαρδ-όνυξ 'sardonyx' (Philem. Com., J.); cf. σάρδιον.

•DER ὀνύχιον [n.] 'kind of onyx' (Thphr., LXX), -ιος [adj.] (Suid.), -ίτης [m.], -ίτις (λίθος) [f.] 'onyx-like stone' (Str., Dsc.), -ινος 'made of onyx, onyx-colored' (Hell.).

•ETYM Perhaps identical with ὄνυξ 'nail' because of its white glaze, like that of a fingernail; alternatively, is it just a foreign word reshaped by folk etymology? Untenable Semitic etymologies in Lewy 1895: 58.

**ὀνυρίζεται** [v.] ὀδύρεται 'laments' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Fur.: 356<sup>58</sup> mentions this form after ἰνύρετο· ἐμύρετο (H.).

**ὀνωις** [f.] plantname, 'restharrow, Ononis antiquorum' (Thphr.); cf. Strömberg 1940: 61, 155. <PG(V)>

•VAR Also -ίς.

•DER ὀνωιτίς [f.] 'id.' (Ps.-Dsc.).

•ETYM Fur.: 340f. compares ἄνωις (Dsc.), with variation α/ ο, thus it is probably a Pre-Greek word.

**ὄξαλις** ⇒ ἀναξυρίς.

**ὄξερίας** [m.] name of a Sicilian cheese (Com. *Adesp.* 880 from Poll. 6, 48), acc. to H. = τυρός ἀχρεῖος 'useless cheese'. <?>

•ETYM Formation like ὀπίας (from ὀπός) 'kind of cheese', ὀβελίας (from ὀβελός) 'kind of bread', and other names of victuals; thus perhaps from \*ὄξερός (from ὄξύς) like γλυκερός (from γλυκύς; Scheller MSS 6 (1955): 87). Acc. to Bolling *Lang.* 12 (1936): 220, it is incorrect for ὄξερίας (from ξερός, ξηρός) vel sim.; however, the article to be assumed creates difficulties.

**ὄξινα** [f.] ἔργαλειόν τι γεωργικόν, σιδηροῦς γόμφους ἔχον, ἐλκόμενον ὑπὸ βοῶν 'an agricultural tool having iron teeth, drawn by cows' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Probably connected with the IE word for 'harrow' seen in Lat. *occa*, W *oged*, OHG *egida*, Lith. *akčios* (also *ek-*), from IE \**h<sub>2</sub>ok-et-h<sub>2</sub>-*, although the Latin word is unclear (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). The Greek word was perhaps reshaped after ὄξύς and has an ending like ἄξινη 'axe', but the latter has a long ι, while here the length is unknown. Note that Pre-Greek has a suffix -ιν-.

**ὄξος** [n.] 'wine vinegar' (IA). <PG?>

•COMP ὄζο-πώλης [m.] 'vendor of wine vinegar' (Lib., Poll.), ὄξ-άλμη [f.] 'broth made of ὄζος and ἄλμη' (com.), κάτ-οζος 'drenched with wine vinegar' (Posidipp. Com.).

•DER 1. Substantives: diminutive ὄξιδιον [n.] (pap.); ὄξίς, -ίδος [f.] 'vinegar flask' (com., pap.); ὄξινος (οἶνος) [m.] 'sour wine', also metaph. and as an epithet of men: 'sour, ill-tempered' (Hp., Ar., Thphr.), cf. e.g. κεγχρίνης, ἐλαφίνης; ὄξαλός, -ίδος [f.] 'sorrel, Rumex' (Nic., Ps.-Dsc.) with ὄξάλ-ειος 'tartish' (Apollod. Car.), to \*ὄξαλος; ὄξηλός [f.] plant name (Theognost.).

2. Adjectives: ὄξ-ηρός 'relating to wine vinegar, acetic' (S., Ar., medic.), -ωτός 'in salt' (Ar. Fr. 130), -ώδης 'like wine vinegar, sour' (Gal.), -ῖτις [f.] 'tasting like wine vinegar' (PHolm.). 3. ὄξίζω [v.] 'to taste or smell like wine vinegar' (medic.).

•ETYM From ► ὄζύς, like ἡδός to ἡδύς, εὖρος to εὐρύς, etc.

**ὄζυα, -η** [f.] 'beech, *Fagus silvatica*' (Xanth., Thphr.), 'spear shaft (made of beech wood), spear' (Archil., E.). <?>

•VAR Secondarily ὄξέα, -εῖα (but cf. below).

•DER ὄζυ-οίς 'made of beechwood', of ἔγχος, δόρυ (Il.); hardly enlarged from ὄζύς, as per Bechtel 1914: 55; ὄζυ-ῖνος (-εῖνος) 'id.' (Thphr., Delos III<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM On the variation ὄζυα, -η, see Schwyzler: 189; late ὄξέα after ἰτέα, μηλέα, etc.; ὄξεῖα after the adjective.

Probably identical with the old IE word for 'ash', which got the meaning 'beech' in Albanian as well (cf. on ► φηγός). The Albanian, Armenian, and Germanic forms come closest to Greek: Alb. *ah* (from \*ask- or \*osk-), Arm. *hac'i* (from \*aski<sub>jo</sub>-?), ON *askr*, OHG *asc* (PGm. \*aska-, \*aski-). The suggestion that ὄζυη was reshaped after ὄζύς is not strong, and the assumption of an old metathesis like in ξύν, etc. is untenable (Sánchez Ruipérez *Emerita* 15 (1947): 67).

The other languages have a deviating stem formation: e.g., Lith. *úosis*, Ru. *jásen* < PIE \**Heh<sub>3</sub>s-* (see Derksen 2008 s.v. \**ásenb*). Other European forms have a short initial vowel, e.g. Lat. *ornus* [f.] 'mountain-ash' (if from \*os-Vn-o-), OIr. *uinnius* [m.] 'ash-tree' < \*osno-, and also the Gm., Arm., and Alb. forms mentioned above. This may be taken to point to ablaut \**Heh<sub>3</sub>s-* / \**Hh<sub>3</sub>-es-*.

The IE character of these words is far from sure, despite the tradition to compare them. The forms are unclear. The vocalic variation in Greek, which is not sufficiently explained by assuming the intervention of an adjective, may in principle also point to a Pre-Greek word. The word ► ἀχρωῖς is unrelated. Witczak *Linguistica Baltica* 1 (1992): 201-211 connects Arm. *hac'i* 'ash' with ἀκτέα, while he connects ► ὄζυα with Arm. *uši* and *hoši*.

**ὄξύγιον** [n.] 'lard' (Dsc., Orib.). <LW Lat.?>

•VAR Also ἄξουγγία = Lat. *axungia*, ἄξούγγιον, Lat. *oxingion* (gloss.).

•ETYM Borrowed from Lat. *axungia*. Fur.: 341 thinks that it is rather a loan, not a native Latin word.

**ὄξυρεγμία** [f.] 'sour eructation of the stomach'. <GR>

•VAR Also -ίη.

•COMP ὄξυρεγμ-ώδης, -άω (medic.), κρομμυ-οξυρεγμία (Ar. Pax 529).

•ETYM A compound of ὄζύς and ἐρυγμός with a suffix -ία-, so from \*ὄζυ-ερυγμ-ία with dissimilatory interchange of the vowels; cf. Strömberg 1944: 99.

**ὄξύς** [adj.] 'sharp, stinging'; 'sour, tartish' (of taste), 'shrill, loud' (of the voice), 'fierce, acute, rapid', of emotion and movement (Il.). <?>

•COMP Very often as a first member, also with prefix, e.g. ἄπ-οξύς 'pointed' (Hp., Dsc., Gal.), with back-formation from ἀπ-οξύνω.

•DER ► ὄζος [n.] 'wine vinegar'; ὄξύτης, -ητος [f.] 'sharpness, sourness, acuteness', gramm. 'high-tonedness' (IA); ὄξύς, -ύδος [f.] 'dock, Rumex' (Plin., Gal.), cf. ἐμύς, κροκύς.

Denominative verbs: 1. ὄξύνω 'to sharpen, whet, sour, heat' (IA), also with prefix (especially παρ-), whence ὄξυντρα [n.pl.] 'wages for sharpening tools' (Hell. inscr.), ὄξύσματα [n.pl.] 'whetting, sharpening' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>), παροξυσμός [m.] 'irritation, embitterment' (Hp., D.), -ντικός 'enlivening, irritating, embittering' (IA), -νταί [pl.] (H.; ὄξύντης Hdn. 1, 77, 25). 2. ἐξοξέω 'to sharpen' (inscr. Delos), cf. Hellmann 1992: 67.

•ETYM Without correspondences outside Greek. It has been compared with ► ὄκρις, which is an *o*-grade of the root of ► ἄκρος, but there are no further examples for *u*-stem adjectives with *o*-vocalism. Alternatively, Narten 1986 reconstructs a root \**h<sub>3</sub>ks-* on the strength of the comparison with Skt. *akṣṇoti* 'to mark the ear', but this is doubtful. See ► ὄξίνα.

**ὀπάζω** [v.] 'to chase, oppress; to make follow, give as a companion, provide with, grant', med. 'to take as a companion' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aor. ὀπάσ(σ)αι, -ασθαι, fut. ὀπάσ(σ)ω.

•COMP Rarely with κατα-, περι-, ἐπι-.

•ETYM From ► ἔπομαι (with epic Ionic psilosis), best taken as an iterative-intensive or causative with secondary dental inflection (\*ὀπάω : ὀπάζω). Derivation from a noun (\*ὀπός, \*ὀπή) is possible as well; see on ► ὀπάων, and cf. also ► ὀπηδός.

**ὀπάλλιος** 'opal' = Lat. *opalus* (late).

•ETYM See E-M.

**ὀπατρος** [adj.] Probably 'of the same paternal descent' (A 257, M 371). <GR>

•ETYM From copulative ► ὁ 1 and πάτηρ 'paternal descent' (see ► πατήρ). Wackernagel 1955(1): 491ff, however, thinks it is Aeolic for ὁ-πάτριος (Lyc. 452) 'having the same father', which is certainly possible.

**ὀπάων, -ονος** [m.] 'fellow, companion' (Il.). <GR, IE \*sek<sup>w</sup>- 'follow'>

•VAR ὀπέων, -ωνος (Hdt.).

•DIAL Myc. PN *o-qa-wo-ni* /<sup>h</sup>ok<sup>w</sup>āwōni/ (Lejeune 1964: 87, Ruijgh 1967a: 256<sup>113</sup>).

•ETYM The form \*ὀπά-ρων 'belonging to the retinue' is derived from \*ὀπά [f.] 'followers, retinue', a verbal noun from ► ἔπομαι. The psilosis is also found in ► ὀπάζω. Cf. synonymous κοινών, -άν < -άων. See Ruijgh *Minos* 9 (1968): 109-155.

**ὄπρας** [n.] 'awl' (Poll. 10, 141). <GR, IE \*h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>- 'see'>

•VAR Also v.l. -εαρ; dat.sg. ὑπέατι (Hdt. 4, 70); ὑπέατα· ὀπήτια (H., ὕπεα· τὰ ὀπίσθια cod.).

•DER Diminutives ὀπήτ-ιον [n.] (Hp., LXX; ὕπ- in gloss.), -ίδιον [n.] (Poll. 7, 83); unclear Nicoch. 9.

•ETYM Vine *Glotta* 72 (1994): 31-40 rejects Schwyzler's interpretation and assumes a stem in -ur/n-, also from \*opā- 'hole'; this gives a substantive \*opā-ur / \*opā-unt-. The word would properly mean 'hole-making thing' = 'awl', rather than 'provided with an eye'. The nominative would then yield ὀπεαρ, and was replaced by ὀπεας. The form \*ὀπηατ- > \*ὀπεατ- gives ὀπητ- by contraction. Vine adds a discussion of Mys. o-pa-wo-ta, ultimately rejecting the derivation from ὀπή.

The form with ὕπ- remains difficult; folk etymology was assumed, e.g. by Frisk, and dialectal origin (cf. Aeol. ὑπίσσω = ὀπίσσω) may also be considered.

ὀπή [f.] 'light opening, hatch, hole, hollow' (Ar., Arist.), 'sight' (Cerc. 4, 23; beside ἀκούα). <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>ekʷ- 'see'>

•VAR Dor. -α.

•COMP As a second member in στε(ι)ν-ωπός 'with a narrow opening, narrow' (Il.), πολυ-ωπός 'having many holes, mesh' (χ 386, etc.), ω analogical or metrical; also in ►ἐνόπαι, ►μετόπη, etc.; further also in ►ἀνόπαια?

•DER ὀπαῖος 'having an opening', of a tile (Diph. Com., Poll.), ὀπαῖον [n.] 'skylight, chimney-flue' (Att. inscr., Plu.), cf. Bérard *REGr.* 67 (1954): 4; ὀπήεις 'having a hole', of δίφρος (Hp.).

•ETYM If it is a verbal abstract from ὀπ- 'see', ὀπή must originally have meant 'sight' (thus as an incidental poetic formation in Cerc.; see above), whence 'that through which one sees'. It can, however, also be an extension from a root noun, thus an agent or instrument noun in origin. See ►ὄμμα.

ὀπηδός [m.] 'attendant, companion' (*h. Merc.* 450, late prose). <GR>

•VAR Dor. (also trag., etc.) ὀπαδός.

•DER ὀπηδέω, ὀπαδέω [v.] 'to attend, accompany' (Il.), -εύω (A. R.) with ὀπάδησις [f.] 'attendance' (Criton *apud* Stob.), ὀπηδητήρ· σύνοδος, ἀκόλουθος 'fellow, companion' (H.).

•ETYM On ὀπάων, ὀπαδός in tragedy, see Björck 1950: 109f. Since ὀπηδός can hardly be separated from synonymous ὀπάων, an analysis ὀπη-δός (ὀπ-ηδός?) has been considered. Such a formation is unknown, however, especially for an agent noun (but several in -ηδών do exist). Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 69 (1991): 171f. therefore derives the word from an adverb \*ὀπηδόν 'in company'; the substantive would have been derived from the verb ὀπηδέω.

The connection with Hitt. *ḫapati-* 'servant, etc.' must be abandoned (see Tischler 1983ff.: 163f.).

ὀπιτεύω [v.] 'to look after something, stare or peek at someone' (Il.). <IE \*opi-h<sub>3</sub>kʷ- 'look at'>

•VAR Aor. ὀπιτεῦσαι; the pres. ὀπιπτεύω arose after ὀπτεύω.

•COMP As a second member παρθεν-οπίπα [voc.] 'one who stares at maidens' (Λ 385), after which παιδ-οπίπαι [pl.] (Ath.), etc.

•DER ὀπιπευτήρ, -ήρος [m.] 'sbd. who stares' (Man., Nonn.), ὀπιπᾶ· ἐξαπατᾶ 'deceives' (H.).

•ETYM Because of the strong productivity of the verbs in -εύω, several nominal stems can be considered as a basis. A verbal noun \*ὀπιπή, like ὀπωπή and ►ἐνιπή, is most likely; thence the denominative ὀπιπᾶ and the second member -οπίπα in compounds. The stem consists of a preverb ὀπι- (see ►ὀπισθεν) and the zero grade of \*h<sub>3</sub>ekʷ-, giving \*opi-h<sub>3</sub>kʷ- > ὀπιπ-.

ὀπις [f.] 'revenge, punishment, retribution of the gods' (Hom., Hes.), 'help, assistance from the gods' (Pi. P. 8, 71); 'awe, obedience, solicitude' (Hdt., Pi., Mosch.). <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>ekʷ- 'see'>

•VAR Acc. -iv, -ιδα; dat. -i.

•DER ὀπιζομαι 'to awe, fear, shy' (Il.), also with ἐπι-, post-Hom. 'to worry about', e.g. ὀπιδδομαι (Lacon. epigram), late aor. ὠπίσατο (Q. S.); ὀπιδνός [adj.] 'awesome' (A. R. 2, 292), rather verbal than nominal, cf. Chantraine 1933: 193 and 195. PN Δηϊ-οπίτης, Ὀπίτης [m.] (Λ 420 and 301).

•ETYM The connection with ὀπ- in ὀψομαι, etc. can hardly be rejected. This implies an older meaning 'sight, look, glance', whence 'animadversion, punishment' on the one hand, 'consideration, respect, reverence' on the other. The development of meaning of the noun was partly influenced by ὀπιζομαι. Cf. on ►ἐνιπή.

ὀπισθεν [adv., prep.] '(from) behind, at the back, after(wards)' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>epi, \*h<sub>1</sub>opi 'close upon, at, behind'>

•VAR Also -ε (Ion. poet.); ὀπιθε(v) (Il.).

•COMP Many compounds like ὀπισθό-δομος [m.] 'backmost hall of the temple of Athena' (Att.); on ὀπισθέναρ see ►θέναρ. As a second member in μετ-ὀπισθε(v) 'behind, after' (Il.), etc.

•DER ὀπίσθ-ιος (IA), -ίδιος (Sophr., Call., AP) 'situated in the back'; grades of comparison ὀπίστατος (Θ 342, Λ 178), instead of \*ὀπίσθ-ατος(?), and thence -τερος (Arat., Nonn.) beside ὀπισθό-τερος (Arat.). Further ὀπίσ(σ)ω (Il.), Aeol. ὑπίσσω (Sapph.) 'backwards, afterwards' with ὀπισώ-τατος (Hell.); ἐξ-οπίσω 'id.' (Il.), etc.

•ETYM The old adverb/preposition ὀπι (Mys. o-pi) is retained in ὀπι-θεν. Later, ὀπισθεν was formed from this after πρόσ-θεν and ὀπίσ(σ)ω. The latter stands for \*opi-tiō-; cf. on εἶσω s.v. ►εις for the suffix. For connections outside Greek, see on ►ἔπι; the o-grade is also found in Lat. *ob*, etc.

ὀπιτίων [m.] a plant with a bulb, perhaps 'Bunium ferulaceum' (Thphr.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 240 compares οὔτιον 'an Egyptian truffle'; οὔτιον τὸ ὑπ' ἐνίων οἰτόν (H.) beside ἴτιον a Thracian mushroom (Ath. 2, 62a v.l. οἰτόν; *iton* Plin.), which he analyses as pointing to (ὀ)φίτιον. He further connects ὕδνον, οἶδνα. The variations point to a Pre-Greek word.

ὀπλή [f.] 'the unsplit hoof of a horse' (Λ 536 = Y 501), 'the split hoof of oxen, cattle' (*h. Merc.*, Hes., Pi., IA). <?>

•DER ὀπλή-εις 'with hooves' (Poeta *apud* D. Chr. 32, 85).

•ETYM Unexplained. The formally obvious connection with ὄπλον is semantically hard to explain. Connection with ἀπλή 'simple', with \*ση- > ὀ-, could be envisaged, although the conditions of this development would remain unclear.

**ὄπλις** [?] · Λοκροὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς συνελαύνοντες ἀριθμοῦσι τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα 'the Locrians thus call the places where they drive together their cattle and count it' (H.). <?>

•ETYM The thesaurus suggests that in these places many traces of hoofs were seen; hardly the correct solution.

**ὄπλον** [n.] 'implement, tool, instrument, marine instruments', notably 'tackle, (heavy) weapons' (Il.). <IE \*sep- 'care, prepare', \*sop-lō- 'instrument'>

•VAR Mostly ὄπλα [pl.].

•COMP ὄπλο-μάχ-ος 'who fights with heavy weapons', -έω, -ία (Att.). ἔν-οπλος 'under arms, armed' (Tyrnt., S., E.), enlarged ἐν-όπλιος 'id.', also substantivized (scil. ῥυθμός) as the name of a military rhythm (Pi.); on ►ὑπέροπλος, see s.v.

•DER 1. Diminutive ὀπλάριον (Hell.). 2. Ὀπλη-τες [pl.], gen. Ὀπλήθων name of one of the four oldest Ionian phylai (Hdt., Milete); -θ- after πλήθος, or by transfer of aspiration? 3. ὀπλί-της Dor. -τας [m.] 'heavily armed (warrior)' i.e. 'hoplite' (Pi., IA), fem. -τις (Poll.), together with -τικός, -τεύω, -τεία (Att.). 4. ὀπλ-ικός 'pertaining to arms' (Vett. Val.). 5. Ὀπλεὺς [m.] PN (Hes. Sc.). 6. Ὀπλό-σμιος [m.] epithet of Zeus in Arcadia (Arist., inscr. III<sup>a</sup>), -σμία [f.] epithet of Hera in Elis, etc. (Lyc.), -δμία [f.] name of a phyle in Mantinea (IV<sup>a</sup>); formation unclear. 7. ►ὄπλις: Λοκροὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς συνελαύνοντες ἀριθμοῦσι τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα (H.) is unclear. 8. ►ὀπλότερος. 9. Denominative verbs: a) ὀπλέω = ὀπλίζω only in ὤπλεον ζ 73; b) ὀπλίζω, -ομαι 'to prepare', of food and drinks, etc. (Hom.), 'to arm, equip (oneself)' (Il.), aor. ὀπλίσ(σ)αι, -ασθαι, -σθῆναι, late perf. ὤπλικα, often with prefix, e.g. ἔξ-, ἐφ-, καθ-. Thence ὀπλ-ισις [f.], -ισμός [m.] 'arming, armament, equipment, equipage' (Att.), -ισμα [n.] 'arm(s)' (E., Pl.), ἐξοπλίσ-ια [f.] 'equipment, position, muster, (military) review' (X., Ain. Tact., etc.), also ἐξοπλασία [f.] 'id.' (Arist., inscr.), probably after δοκιμασία, γυμνασία, etc.; ὀπλιότης, Dor. -τάς [m.] 'armed warrior', also attributive (Vett. Val., AP). c) ὀπλε-σθαι 'to prepare', of δεῖπνον (T 172, Ψ 159), formation after the thematic root-presents (Schwyzer: 722f.), if not simply a mistake of the tradition for ὀπλεῖσθαι, as per Solmsen 1901: 90. On the use of ὄπλον and derivatives in Hom. see Trümper 1950: 81ff.

•ETYM Greek formation with suffix -λ- and o-grade (Chantraine 1933: 240), from the inherited root of ►ἔπω 'to care for, perpetrate'.

**ὀπλότερος, -τατος** [adj.] 'junior, youngest' always of persons, also applied to women (Il.). <GR>

•ETYM Oppositional formation in -τερος, like κουρότερος, ἀγρότερος, and ὀρέστερος. According to a remarkable interpretation from antiquity, it properly means 'able to wear arms, sturdy', as opposed to the γέροντες. Extensive argumentation in Bechtel 1914 s.v.; cf. also Barone Boll. fil. class. 13 (1906-1907): 283.

**ὀποκάρπασον** ►κάρπασον.

**ὀπός** [m.] 'plant juice', especially 'juice of the fig-tree used to curdle milk, fig curd' (E 902). <IE \*sok<sup>w</sup>o- 'juice, resin'>

•COMP Some compounds like πολύ-οπος 'juicy', ὀπο-βάλσαμον [n.] 'the juice of a balm' (Thphr.) for ὀπός βαλσάμιος (alternative explanation by Risch IF 59 (1949): 287), likewise ὀπο-κάρπαθον (Plin.), -κάλπασον (Gal.), see Thiselton-Dyer Journal of Phil. 34 (1915): 305ff.

•DER 1. ὀπιον [n.] 'poppy juice, opium' (Diocl. Fr. 94), with ὀπικός 'made of opium' (pap. II-III<sup>p</sup>); 2. ὀπίας (τυρός) [m.] 'cheese made of milk, curdled with fig juice' (E., Ar.); 3. ὀπώδης (Hp., Arist.), ὀπόμες (Nic.) 'juicy'; 4. as a TN Ὀποῦς (< -όμες), -οῦντος [m.] capital of the eastern Locrians (Il., inscr.) with Ὀπο(ύ)ντιοι [m.pl.], ἡποντίων [gen.] (Th., inscr.); on the phonetics see Schwyzer: 253; also a HN, see Krahe Beitr. z. Namenforsch. 2 (1950-1951): 233; 5. ὀπίζω 'to press out the juice, curdle with ὀπός' (Arist., Thphr.), also with ἔξ-; thence ὀπισμός [m.] 'pressing out of juice' (Thphr., Hell. pap.), ὀπισμα [n.] 'pressed-out juice' (Dsc.).

•ETYM The form ὀπός, with Ionic psilosis for \*ὀπός (cf. ἡποντίων), matches with a Balto-Slavic word for 'plant juice, etc.', e.g. OCS sokъ 'juice', Lith. sakai [pl.] 'resin' < IE \*sok<sup>w</sup>o-. A by-form with initial \*sm- is Lith. svekas, Latv. svakas, sveki 'resin, rubber'. Perhaps Alb. gjak 'blood' is also related (Demiraj 1997 s.v.). Lat. sūcus, probably from \*souko- or \*seuko-, is clearly deviant.

**ὀπτάζομαι, ὀπτάνομαι, ὀπτός** ►ὀπωπα, ὄσσε.

**ὀπτάω** [v.] 'to fry, roast, bake' (Od.). <PG?(v)>

•VAR ὀπτεύμενος (Theoc.), aor. ὀπτῆσαι (Il.), ὀπτηθῆναι (Od.), perf. ὤπτηκα, -ημαι (Euphro or Ar.), fut. ὀπτήσομαι (Luc.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐπ-, ἔξ-, κατ-, παρ-.

•DER ὀπτησις [f.] 'frying' (Milete V<sup>a</sup>, Hp., Arist.), with ὀπτήσιμος 'fit for frying' (Eub.), ὀπτ-ήτειρα [f.] epithet of κάμνος (Call.), -ητήρια (H. as an explanation of ὠψά, alphabetically wrong, so very doubtful); also ὀπτευτήρ [m.] 'smith', of Hephaistos (Coluth. 54 V-VI<sup>p</sup>) as if from \*ὀπτεύω; cf. καμνευτήρ, etc. As a second member in γαστρ-όπτης, fem. -όπτis 'sausage fryer' (Delos IV-III<sup>a</sup>). Backformation ἔξ-οπτος 'well-done' (Hp.), from ἔξ-οπτάω (IA). Further ὀπτός 'fried, roasted, baked' (Od.); with ὀπτ-αλέος 'fried, roasted' (Hom., Ath.), enlarged from ὀπτός after αὐαλέος, etc.; ὀπτανός 'fried, fit for frying' (com., Arist.), formed like ἐψανός with related mg. From ὀπτανός further ὀπτάν-ιον 'kitchen' (com., inscr.), -ικός 'fit for frying' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>), -εὺς [m.] 'kitchen master' (pap.) with -εῖον (-ήϊον) 'kitchen' (Plu., Luc., Hdn. Gr.); ὀπτανάριος assator, coctarius (gloss.). Formally isolated is ὀπτασία [f.] 'roasting, kiln' vel sim. (PHolm. 9, 39 δὸς εἰς ὀπτασίαν ὀπτάσθαι), probably to ὀπτάω after θερμασία vel sim.

•ETYM As to its formation, ὀπτάω is a verb in -τάω like ἀρτάω, φοιτάω, οὐτάω, etc. It is commonly assumed that the verbal adjective ὀπτός (or rather τὰ ὀπτά) forms its basis. Etymology unclear. Fur.: 263 compares ὄψον 'any cooked dish' as a variant, which seems a good possibility; the variation is Pre-Greek.

**ὀπτίλ(λ)ος** ►ὀφθαλμός.

**ὀπυῖω** [v.] 'to marry, take as a wife', late also 'to have sexual intercourse with', pass. 'to get married', of women (Il., also Cret. and late prose). On the mg. see Ruijgh 1957: 107f. (against Leumann 1950: 284). <PG?>

•VAR Also ὀπύω (Arist., Cerc., Moer.), fut. ὀπύσω (Ar. Ach. 255).

•DER ὀπυστός [f.] 'marriage' (Cret.), with analogical -σ-; from the present stem ὀπυιηταί [pl.] 'spouses' (Herod.). ὀπυόλαι γεγαμηκότες 'married women' (H.); aor. subj. pass. ὀπυασθώμεθα (Lyr. Alex. Adesp. 1, 52) as if from \*ὀπυάζομαι.

•ETYM Hitt. *ḫapuš-* 'penis' is not related: it was cited in this form and compared with ὀπυῖω by Watkins 1982, but actually has a quite different form *ḫāpūša(šš)-*, and also a different meaning, viz. 'shaft, shin-bone'; see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. for details. The old comparison with Etr. *puia* 'wife' (Hammarström *Glotta* 11 (1921): 212) is tempting; if correct, it is probably a Pre-Greek Mediterranean word.

**ὀπωπα** [v.perf.] 'to watch, observe, view, contemplate' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>*- 'see'>

•VAR Innovated ipf. ὀπώπειον (Orph.) and aor. ὀπωπήσασθαι (Euph.). Further fut. ὀψομαι (Il.), which like the following forms often occurs with prefixes like ἀπ-, ἐπ(ι)-, κατ-, προ-, ὑπ-, ὑπερ-: aor. pass. ὀφθῆναι (IA) with fut. ὀφθήσομαι, perf. med. ὤμμαι (Att.). As a suppletive present to ὀπωπα, ► ὀράω is used.

•DER ὀπιωπή [f.] 'observation, view, eyeball', plur. 'eyes' (Od., A. R.), -ητήρ [m.] 'scout' (h. Merc. 15), -ια [n.pl.] (scil. ὀστέα) 'the bones of the eyes' (Hp.). Derivatives: 1. verbal adjective ὀπτός (Luc. Lex. 9, Ath.), earlier and more common as a derivation from prefixed verbs, e.g. ὑπ-, ἀπ-, κάτ-, πρό-οπτος (προϋπτος); thence ὑπ-, ἀπ-, κατ-οπτ-εύω, ὑποψ-ία, etc.; 2. agent and instrument nouns: a) ἐπ-, κατ- (h. Merc. 372), ὑπερ-, δι-όπτis, etc., also ἐπ-, κατ-, ὑπερ-, δι-οπτ-εύω (K 451), διοπτήρ (K 562); thence the simplex ὀπτεύω (Ar. Av. 1061); b) ὀπτήρ [m.] 'scout' (Od.), also with δι-, ἐπ-, κατ-; thence ὀπτήρ-ια [n.pl.] 'gifts upon seeing a person' (E., Call.); c) δί-, εἶσ-, ἔν-, κάτ-οπτρον [n.] (Alc., Pi., A.) with derivatives; 3. Adjectives: ὀπτ-ικός 'ptng. to sight', -ική [f.] 'optics' (Arist.), older (Pl.) συν-, ἐπ-, ὑπερ-οπτικός. 4. Action noun: ὄψ [f.], gen. ὀπός 'eye, face, look' (Emp. 88, Antim. 65), more frequent as a second member, e.g. οἶν-οψ 'wine-colored' (Hom.); ὄψis (ἐπ-, πρόσ-, σύν-) [f.] 'sight, vision, view, appearance' (Il.); ὄψανον [n.] 'appearance' (A. Ch. 534). 5. For ὀπτί(λ)ος [m.], see on ► ὀφθαλμός. 6. Verbs: ὀπτ-άνομαι (LXX, Hell.), -άζομαι (LXX) 'to appear, become visible', probably after αἰσθάνομαι and αὐγάζομαι; ὀπταίνω (Eust.), like παπταίνω, etc.

•ETYM The verbal root is also found in YAv. *aibii-āxšaiia-* 'to watch over' < \**h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>-s-* (other interpretations in LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>-*) and in Skt. *īkṣate* 'to perceive' < \**h<sub>3</sub>i-h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>-s-*, which (like the Greek future) are originally desideratives. The root is also contained in ► ὀπισ, ► ὄσσε, ► ὄμμα, and ► ὤψ.

**ὀπώρα** [f.] 'end of the summer, beginning of autumn' (Il.), 'harvest, fruit' (post-Hom.), cf. on θέρος s.v. ► θέρομαι. <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>opi* 'at, on' + \**h<sub>1</sub>os-r/n-* 'harvest-time, summer'>

•VAR Ion. -η. Also ὀπώρα; Lac. (Alcm.) ὀπάρα (see below).

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ὀπωρο-φύλαξ [m.] 'fruit watcher, garden watcher' (Arist.).

•DER 1. ὀπωρ-ινός 'belonging to ὀπ.' (Il.); 2. τὰ ὀπωρ-ιαία [n.pl.] 'fruits' (Thphr.); 3. -ιμος 'fructiferous' (Anon. *apud* Suid.), after κάρπιμος; 4. -ιμείος 'of fruit, belonging to fruit' (PLond.; uncertain); 5. -ικός 'belonging to ὀπ.', also name of a medicine against dysentery (Plin., Gr.); 6. Ὀπωρεύς [m.] epithet of Zeus in Akraiphia (inscr.); ἡοιορίς [f.] PN (Lacon. or Mess. inscr.), *Hopora* [f.] PN (Lat. inscr.). 7. ὀπωράριον = *pomarium* (gloss.). 8. Denominative verb ὀπωρ-ίζω 'to reap (fruit), harvest in autumn' (IA) with -ισμός [m.] 'vintage' (Aq.). Hypostasis μετ-ὀπωρον (μεθ-) 'what comes after ὀπώρα', φθιν-ὀπωρον 'when the ὀπ. ends', '(late) autumn' (IA), a verbal governing compound with them. enlargement. Thence μετ-, φθιν-οπωρ-ινός (IA), etc.

•ETYM The aspiration is not original and must have been taken from a word with closely related meaning, e.g. ὥρα. The form is a contraction from \**op-oharā*, yielding Lacon. ὀπάρα; it consists of the preposition ὀπι- (see on ► ἐπι and ► ὀπισθεν) and a heteroclitic neuter \**ohar* < \**h<sub>1</sub>os-r*. The Greek word properly means 'the time following summer'. The oblique form \**h<sub>1</sub>os-n-* is continued in Balto-Slavic and Germanic as an *n*-stem, e.g. CS *jesenb*, Ru. *ósen'* [f.] 'autumn', Go. *asans* [f.] 'harvest, summer', OHG *aran*, MoHG *Ernte* 'harvest'.

**ὀραυγέομαι** [v.] 'to inspect closely' (Aesar. *apud* Stob. 1, 49, 27). <GR>

•ETYM Verbal *dvandva*-compound from ὀράω and αὐγέομαι; cf. Wahrmann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 178. On the topic in general, see Schwyzler: 645.

**ὀράω** [v.] 'to look, perceive, contemplate, see' (Il.). <IE \**uer-* 'observe, note'>

•VAR Ion. also ὀρέω (Hdt.), also ὀρηαι (ξ 343), ὀρητο (A 56 and 198 acc. to Zenodotus, uncertain accent), ὀρήs, -ῆ, -ῆν (Hp., Democr., Herod.), Aeol. ὀρημ (Sapph.), ὀρη (Theoc.); ipf. ἑώρων (Att.), epic 3sg. ὄρα, Ion. ὥρα (Hdt.), etc.; present also ὀρονται (ξ 104) with -ντο (γ 471), ὀρει φυλάσσει 'guards, watches' (H.); innovated perf. act. ἑόρακα (Att., also ἑώρ-), Ion. ὀρώρηκα and ὠρηκα (Herod.), Dor. ptc. ὠρακῖα (Epid.), med. ἑώραμαι (late Att.), aor. pass. ὀραθῆναι (Arist., D. S.), plpf. also ὀρώρει (Ψ 112).

•COMP Highly frequent with prefix, e.g. ἐφ- (ἐπ-), καθ- (κατ-), παρ-, προ-, συν-, ὑπερ-.

•DER Almost all derivatives are Hell. and late, as opposed to the older ones which derive from primary ὀπ- (see ► ὀπωπα) and from ► ἰδεῖν: 1. ὀράτός 'visible' (Hp., Pl.), προ-ορατός 'which can be foreseen' (X. Cyr. 1, 6, 23) as against πρό-οπτος (προϋπτος) 'foreseen, apparent' (IA); 2. ὄραμα [n.] 'sight, spectacle, appearance' (X., Arist., LXX), also παρ- (Hell. and late), with ὀραματίζομαι (Aq.) against ► ὄμμα, ► εἶδος; 3. ὄρασις [f.], also with προ-, παρ-, ὑπερ-, etc., 'sight, face, look, apparition', plur. also 'eyes' (Demad., Arist., Men.) as opposed to ὄψis; ὑπόρασις 'suspicion' (Plb.) for older ὑποψία; 4. ὀρατής [m.] 'viewer' (LXX, Plu.) against ὀπτήρ 'scout'; ὀρατήρ (H. as an explanation of ὀπτήρ); 5. ὀρατικός 'able to see, provided with sight' (Arist., Ph.), with ἐφ- 'fit for oversight' (X.), as against ἐποπτικός 'belonging to the ἐπόπτης' (Pl.). 6. ὀρατίζω [v.] 'to catch sight of, aim for' (medic. IV<sup>p</sup>). 7. See ► οὔρος [m.] 'watcher' and ► ἐπίουρος.



•ETYM The ipf. ἑώρων < \*ἦ-φόρων, with aspiration after ὀρῶ, and the perf. ἐόρακα < \*φε-φόρακα, also ἑώρ- after the ipf., seem to point to an original ƒ-, which has left a trace neither in Homer nor epigraphically, and is also absent in Myc. *o-ro-me-no*. It remains uncertain whether the rough breathing is connected with the older ƒ-.

The presentic forms, from which all non-presentic forms are derived, including the verbal nouns, seem to require three different stems: 1. ƒorā- in ὀρά-ω, whence perhaps regularly Ion. ὀρέω; 2. ƒorh- in Aeol. ὀρημι, ὀρη, epic ὀρηαι, etc. (see above); 3. ƒor- in ὀρονται, -ντο, ὀρει.

Original \**worā-je/o-* can be either an iterative-intensive deverbative of the type ποτάομαι, which fits the meaning well, or be explained as a denominative from a feminine \**worā*, as found in φρουρά < \*πρῶ-ῥορά < \*προ-ƒορά, and in Germanic, e.g. OHG *wara* [f.] 'attentiveness', *wara neman* 'observe', ToA *war*, ToB *were* 'flavor'. The Germanic and Tocharian words are usually reconstructed as verbal nouns \**uor-eh₂-*, \**uor-o-*, respectively, but Hackstein 2002: 123-131 reconstructs the root as \**swerh₃-*, and connects it with ►ἔρμαι.

More difficult to judge, however, are Aeolic (ƒ)όρημι and other seemingly athematic verbal forms. The forms ὀρήϊς, -ῆ, -ῆν may have been transformed from this by thematization. One may compare Lat. *verēri* 'to venerate', though it has an ablauting stem vowel.

The primary thematic formation ὀρονται, -ντο, to which perhaps also belongs ὀρει (H.), is built on the root. It is attested in the formulaic expression ἐπὶ δ' ἀνέρες ἐσθλοὶ ὀρονται (-ντο), and modified in the plpf. ἐπὶ δ' ἀνὴρ ἐσθλὸς ὀρώρει. The *o*-vocalism is remarkable, though analogous cases can be found, e.g. ὀθομαι, οἶχομαι.

From the primary verb are derived both \*προ-ƒορ-ά in ►φρουρά (see above) and \*-ƒορός 'guardian', a form which occurs only as a second member in compounds, e.g. θυρ-, τιμ-ωρός, κηπουρός from θυρα-, τιμα-, κηπο-ƒορ-ός. Formally, we may compare Germanic adjectives like OS *war* 'attentive, cautious, aware', OHG *giwar* 'id.'

Further instances of a root \**uer-* include Latv. *veruōs*, *vērtiēs* 'to inspect, observe', ToA *wār*, ToB *wār-sk-* 'to smell'.

See ►οὔρος 2, ►ῶρα.

**ὀργάζω** [v.] 'to soften, mold, tan'. =ἐόργι.

**ὄργανον** [n.] 'implement, tool, instrument, sense organ, organ' (Hp., Ctes., Att., Arist.). <IE \**uerǵ-* 'work'>

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. ὄργανο-ποιός [m.] 'instrument maker' (D. S.).

•DER Diminutive ὀργάν-ιον (AP, M. Ant.), -ικός 'instrumental, operative, practical' (Arist.), -τής [m.] 'engineer' (pap. IV<sup>p</sup>), -ιστής [m.] 'engineer of waterworks' (pap. II<sup>p</sup>), unattested \*ὀργανίζω, but δι-, κατ-οργανίζω (AP, Alchem.); ὀργανάριος = *fistularius* (gloss.); ὀργαν-όμαι 'to be organized, be provided with organs' (S. E., Iamb.), also with δι-, whence (δι-)ὀργάν-ωσις [f.] 'organisation' (Iamb.). Ὀργάνη [f.] epithet of Athena (Thasos V<sup>a</sup>, Athens), cf. Ἐργάνη; as an adjective ὀργάνα 'operative, formative', of χεῖρ (E. Andr. 1014, not quite certain).

•ETYM Formation like ξόανον (from ξέω, -ξοος), ὄχανον (from ἔχω, ὄχος, -οχος), πλόκανον (from πλέκω, πλόκος), ὀρκάνη (from ὄρκος, ἔρκος), etc. (Chantraine 1933: 198, Schwyzler: 489f.); similarly, ὄργανον stands beside -οργός, ὄργια, ἔοργα, ἔργον. It is unclear whether it was derived directly from the verb or from -οργός or ἔργον. See ►ἔργον and ►ἔρδω.

**ὀργάς, -άδος** [f.] =ὀργή, ὀργάω.

**ὀργεών, -ώνος** [m.] =ὄργια.

**ὀργή 1** [f.] 'psychical drive, propensity, character, (strong) emotion, passion, wrath' (h. Cer. 205, Hes. Op. 304); on the mg. see Marg 1938: 13f., cf. Diller *Gnomon* 15 (1939): 597. <IE \**uerǵ-* 'swell of juice, strength, anger'>

•COMP As a second member in ἄν-, δύσ-, εὖ-οργος (Cratin., S.), analogically enlarged in ἄν-, δυσ-, εὖ-ὀργητος (Hp., Gorg., Th., cf. ἄνοος : ἀνόητος, etc.), with -ησία [f.] (Hp., E.); transformed into an *s*-stem, e.g. περι-οργής (Th.).

•DER ὀργ-ίλος 'irascible' (Hp., X., D., Arist.) with -ιότης [f.] (Arist., Plu.).

The verb ὀργάω 'to bristle, swell with nourishing liquids and juice' (of the earth and of fruits), 'to bristle with, be full of lust and desire' (of men), 'to desire strongly' (IA), rarely with ἔξ-, etc., is probably a denominative, and mostly presentic. Thence: 1. back-formation νέ-οργος 'freshened', of γῆ (Thphr.); 2. ἐξὀργησις [f.] 'strong desire' (Herm. in Phdr.); 3. ὀργητύς ὀργή (H.); 4. ὀργασμός [f.] 'orgasm' (sch. Hp.), after σπασμός, etc.

From ὀργή in the sense 'wrath': 1. ὀργίζομαι [v.] 'to be angry', also -ίζω 'to make angry', also with prefix, e.g. συν-, δι-, ἔξ-, παρ-, περι-, (Att.), with παροργ-ισμός [m.], -ισμα [n.] 'provocation, wrath' (LXX, Ep. Eph.); 2. ὀργαίνω [v.] 'to make wrathful, be wrathful' (S., E.).

From ὀργάω (if not from ὀργή or an older root-noun, see below) also ὀργάς, -άδος [f.] 'luxuriously fertile', of earth, marshes (Att.).

•ETYM ὀργή has a direct correspondence in Skt. *ūrjā* [f.] 'nourishment, strength', but the latter is an enlargement of older *ūrj-* 'id.', and the formal identity of ὀργή and *ūrjā* is secondary. At first sight, the Skt. form seems to require \**urHǵ-*, but the same problem occurs in Skt. *ūrdhvā-* beside ὀρθός, and there is yet no definite solution for this.

Semantically, *ūrj(ā)* fits much better with ὀργάω, which preserved the original concrete meaning. The transference to the psychological sphere in ὀργή is found in OIr. *ferc* [f.] 'rage' < IE \**uerǵ-h₂-*.

For semantic influence of ἔργον on ὀργή (S. Ant. 355) and ὀργάς, etc., see Tovar *Emerita* 10 (1942): 228ff.

**ὀργή 2** [f.] a difficult word in Herond. IV 46; perhaps an adjective opposed to βέβηλος. Cf. V. Schmidt 1968: 109-114, who thinks that the underlying substantive is γυνή rather than γῆ; it could mean 'initiated' and belong to ὄργια. <?>

•ETYM Uncertain.

**ὄργια** [n.pl.] 'secret religious customs, sacred secret service' (IA). <?>

•VAR Rarely -ιον [sg.].

•DER ὀργιάς, -άδος [f.] 'belonging to ὄ., orgiastic' (Man.), ὀργιάζω 'to celebrate ὄ., to initiate into the ὄ.' (E., Pl., Ph.), also with ἐξ-, συν-, etc., with ὀργιασμός [m.] 'celebration of the ὄ.', -τής [m.] 'participant in the ὄ.' (Str., Plu.); -τικός 'orgiastic, passionate' (Arist.).

ὀργεών, also -(ε)ίων, -ώνος [m.] 'member of a religious brotherhood' (h. Ap. 389, Att.), with ὀργεωνικός (inscr.), from ὄργια with suppression of -ια after other nouns in -εών (see on this topic Chantraine 1933: 163f., Schwyzler: 521); positing a pre-form \*ὄργος is unnecessary.

•ETYM Traditionally interpreted as a derivative from the root of ἔργον, ἔρδω, with o-vocalism like in ►ὄργανον, etc. Alternatively, is it related to ὀργή and ὀργάω? Chantraine 1933: 55 considers foreign origin because of the meaning. On history and meaning of ὄργια, see van den Burg 1939.

**ὄργια** [f.] 'fathom' (Ψ 327). ◀PG▶

•VAR Att. inscr. -ια, also ὀρόγια (Pi.), gen. -ᾶς, -ῆς, plur. αἱ (cf. below).

•COMP As a second member, beside regular and usual -όργιος (λ 312), also δεκ-ώρυγος 'ten fathoms long', etc. (X. Cyn. 2, 5) with compositional lengthening and remarkable u-vocalism, which can hardly be explained by Cowgill's Law.

•DER ὀργυι-αῖος (AP), -όεις (Nic.), 'a fathom long or wide', ὀργυι-όμαι in (δι-, περι-)ωργυιωμένος 'outstretched (a fathom wide)' (Ctes., Hipparch., Lyc.).

•ETYM Traditionally explained as a substantivized perf. ptc. fem. from ὀρέγω 'to stretch (the arms)' without reduplication, reminiscent of ἄγνια, ἄρπνια, etc.; see Beekes 1969: 27f. This explanation meets with semantic and formal difficulties: why use a feminine form to express this notion, and why a perfect? The supposed archaic ablaut ὄργια: ὀρόγια is problematic as well; one rather expects that the o was anaptyctic, as suggested by DELG s.v. Anaptyxis could also explain the variant \*-ορυγ-, seen in compounded -ωρυγ-.

Most problems have been solved by De Lamberterie *Die Sprache* 35 (1991-1993): 128-130, who assumes that the word originally occurred in a syntagm ὄργια χεῖρ, which was used in the dual; this presupposes an adjective \*ὀργύς. Further traces of a u-stem of the root \*h<sub>3</sub>reg- are found in Skt. *ṛjū-*, Av. *ərəzu-*, and especially in Ved. *ṛju-hásta-* 'with outstretched hands'. See ►ὀρέγω.

**ὀρδειλον** = τόρδῦλον.

**ὀρδ<η>μα** [n.] · ἡ τολύπη τῶν ἐρίων 'ball of wool', ὀρδικον· τὸν χιτωνίσκον. Πάριοι 'short frock' (H.). ◀?▶

•VAR Or <ι>, <ω>?

•ETYM Isolated in Greek. Taken as a verbal noun of Lat. *ordior* 'to begin a web, start', e.g. by Pok. 60, which seems doubtful. The form ὠρδουλευσάμην· ἐμόχθησα 'was weary, etc.' (H.) also belongs here, which is from ὀρδυλεύω, deriving from \*ὀρδυλος, -ύλη with a formation like in κόνδυλος, κορδύλη, etc.; cf. τολυπεύειν, which also means μοχθεῖν.

**ὀρεᾶνες** = ἄνδρες in the language of the Pythia (Plu. Mor. 406e). = ὀρε(ι)ᾶνες.

**ὀρέγω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to reach out (one's hand), hand over, stretch oneself, to stretch out for'. ◀IE \*h<sub>3</sub>reg- 'stretch, direct'▶

•VAR Aor. ὀρέξαι, -ασθαι, fut. ὀρέξω, -ομαι (Il.), perf. and plpf. med. 3pl. ὀρωρέχεται, -το (Il.), ὠρεγμαι (Hp.), aor. pass. ὀρεχθῆναι (E., X., Hp. Ep.). Other presentic forms: 1. ptc. ὀρεγ-νύς (A 351, X 37), -νύμενος (AP, Mosch.); 2. ὀριγ-νάομαι (Hes. Sc. 190, Herod., Theoc.), together with the innovated aor. ὠριγν-ήθην (Antipho Soph., Isoc.), fut. -ήσομαι (D. C.); for ι as a secondary prop vowel, cf. κίρνημι (s.v. ►κεράννυμι).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐπ-.

•DER 1. ὀρεκτός 'stretched out' (B 543, Str.), see Ammann 1956: 20, 'desired, longed for' (Arist.) with ὀρεκτεῖν· ἐπιθυμεῖν 'to desire', ὀρεκτιῶν· ἐπιθυμῶν (H.); ἄν-ὀρεκτος 'without desire for, undesired' (Arist.), with ἀνορ-εκτέω, -εξία (late). 2. ὀρεγμα [n.] 'stretching (e.g. of the hand, also of the foot), step', also as a measure of length (A., E., Arist., Tab. Heracl.). 3. ὀρεξίς [f.] 'desire, appetite' (Democr., Arist.) with ὀρεκτικός 'inclined to desire, pursuing' (Arist., Arr.), 'arousing appetite' (Dsc.). 4. ὀρέγδην 'by stretching out' (sch., H.). On ►ὄργια, see s.v.

•ETYM As a thematic root present, ὀρέγω agrees with Lat. *regō* 'to direct, lead, govern' and OIr. *rigim* 'to stretch out'; other Graeco-Latin correspondences are ὀρέξαι ~ *rēxī* and ὀρεκτός ~ *rēctus* (Lat. long *ē* is due to Lachmann's Law). Gm. words like Go. *raihts* 'straight, right' and Av. *rāšta-* 'directed, arranged, straight' also belong here. Independent formations are ὀρεγμα, Av. *rasman-* [m., n.] 'line of battle', and Lat. *regimen* [n.] 'leadership'. It is uncertain whether there is an old connection between the isolated ptc. ὀρεγ-νύς, -νύμενος and the Av. adjective *raš-nu-* 'straight'; the present ὀριγνάομαι, with suffixed nasal, is probably independent from Skt. *ṛñjāti* 'stretches itself, runs' with nasal infix.

**ὀρε(ι)ᾶνες** [m.pl.] acc. to Plu. 2, 406e = ἄνδρες in the language of the oracle of the Pythian Apollo; cf. ὀρεῖονες· ἄνδρες (H.). ◀?▶

•ETYM Formation like Ἀκαρνᾶνες, etc.; further unclear. Acc. to Güntert 1921: 122f., it belongs to ἄρσην, etc.

**ὀρεμπότης** name or epithet of rivers in the language of the Pythia (Plu. Mor. 406e). = Ὀρομπάτας.

**ὀρέοντο** [v.] 'they stirred, hurried' (B 398, Ψ 212). ◀?▶

•ETYM If not poetic licence for ὀροντο, it is best taken (with Bechtel 1914 s.v.) as an intensive of ἔρετο· ὠρμήθη 'was stirred' and the aor. ἔρση· ὀρμήση 'will move' (H.), from a root \*h<sub>3</sub>er- 'move'; see on ►ἐρέθω and ►ὀρνυμι.

**ὀρεσκῶς** [adj.] 'living in the mountains' (A 268, ι 155, Hes. Fr. 79, 5). ◀IE \*kei- 'lie'▶

•VAR ὀρεσκός (A., E.).

•ETYM Compound of ►ὄρος and ►κείμει with o-grade (cf. e.g. δορυ-σσοός to σείω); the irregular length (cf. Skt. -śay-ā- 'lying') is probably metrically conditioned, and the -ι- is analogical after κοῖτος, etc. Acc. to Bechtel 1914 s.v., we should write -οι- for -ω-. An innovation (after the adjectives in -ιος) is ὀρέσκιος epithet of Dionysus (AP); the same holds for ὀρεσκεύω 'to live in the mountains' (Nic.).

**ὄρεσχάς, -άδος** [f.] 'vine with grapes', = ὄσχη, -ος (Harp., H.). ◀PG(V)▶

•ETYM The word is evidently related to ▶ ἀρασχάδες, and as variants, both are of Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 348).

**ὄρεός** [m., f.] 'mule', replacing original Att. ἡμίονος (Il., Ar., Arist.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* 'go', \**h<sub>3</sub>er-* 'raise'>

•VAR Ion. οὐρεός.

•COMP As a first member in ὄρεω-κόμος [m.] 'mule driver' (Att.), etc. (perhaps for ὄρεο- with influence of the gen. ὄρεώς?).

•DER ὀρικός 'belonging to a mule' (Is., Aeschin.).

•ETYM Derived from ὄρος, Ion. οὖρος 'frontier', which originally means 'furrow'. Thus, ὄρεός would properly mean 'furrow-drawer'. The lack of aspiration in ὄρεός may be explained through secondary association with ὄρος; on the psilosis, see Chantraine 1942: 185.

**ὄρεχθέω** [v.] expressive epic poetic verb of unclear mg., in Hom. of βόες σφαζόμενοι (Ψ 30, traditionally explained as 'to rattle'), in Theoc. of the sea (θάλασσαν ... ὄρεχθεῖν 11, 43) 'to roar, surge', but in Ar. (Nu. 1368), A. R. (1, 275), Opp. (H. 2, 583) of the heart (καρδία, κέαρ), also of θυμός (A. R. 2, 49); after this in Nic. (Al. 340) of the κύστις and in the tragedian Aristias (6; V<sup>a</sup>) of πέδον, which is rather obscure. <?>

•ETYM The acoustic notion, which is undeniable in Theoc. and obvious in Homer, cannot possibly be assumed for the other attestations. Etymologically unclear. The ancient connection with ῥοχθέω 'to rustle, roar' is formally difficult, and does not explain all attestations; that with ὀρέγω (assuming an enlargement -θ-; cf. Schwyzler: 703) is gratuitous as long as the meaning is unclear. See DELG s.v. for interpretations from antiquity.

**ὀρθαγορίσκος** [m.] 'sucking-pig' (Ath., H.), also as a fish-name (Plin.), after its grunting sound, acc. to Strömberg 1943: 69. <GR>

•DER Further βορθαγορίσκια· χοίρεα κρέα. καὶ μικροὶ χοῖροι βορθαγορίσκοι (-θάκεοι cod.). Λάκωνες 'pig meat; also, small pigs are called β. (Laconian)' (H.).

•ETYM Acc. to several sources in Ath. 4, 140b, it stands for \*ὀρθαγορίσκος, "ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸν ὀρθρον πιπράσκονται", 'because they are sold at day-break'. Thus it would literally mean 'who has its market at day-break', a qualification which Bechtel 1921, 2: 328 rightly finds remarkable. Still, he considers it to be beyond doubt, and the name would then be a word of pleasantry. Acc. to Pisani *Paideia* 13 (1958): 143, it was created by the Lacedaemonians with unfriendly reference to Ὀρθαγόρας, the first tyrant of Sicyon, whence ὀρθρ- by folk etymology. The meaning was much discussed.

**(F)ορθαία** [f.] epithet of Artemis (Lacon. and Arc. inscr. since VI<sup>a</sup>, X., Plu.). <IE? \**uerd<sup>h</sup>-* 'grow'>

•VAR Also φωρ-, -θεια, -θεα, -θια.

•DER φορθασια (Lacon. and Arc. inscr. since V<sup>a</sup>), ὀρθωσία (Pi., Hdt., Meg. inscr.); doubtful explanation by Kretschmer *Glotta* 30 (1943): 155f., see Risch *Mus. Helv.* 11 (1954): 29<sup>41</sup>.

•ETYM Traditionally connected with ὀρθός, but this is doubtful, since the latter has no initial F-, and the semantic connection with Artemis is not clear either. Ruijgh 1967a: §130<sup>35</sup> has suggested that the epithet denotes Artemis as a goddess of growth and fertility; he derives (F)ορθαία from the IE root \**uerd<sup>h</sup>-*, Skt. *várdh-* 'to grow'.

**ὀρθός** [adj.] 'upright, straight, right, true' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>rd<sup>h</sup>uo-* 'high, upright'>

•DIAL Myc. *o-to-wo-*, *o-tu-wo-* and *o-two-wo-* point to /ort<sup>h</sup>wo-/.

•COMP As a first member in several compounds, e.g. ὀρθό-κραῖρα (see ▶ κραῖρα), ὀρθό-μαντις, -πολις (Pi.), ὀρθο-στάτης [m.] 'column standing upright, etc.' (Att. inscr., E.); rarely as a second member, e.g. ἔξ-ορθος 'upright' (Ath.), a back-formation from ἔξ-ορθόω (Pl.).

•DER 1. ὀρθ-ιος (-io- formal enlargement) 'upright, steep, going up, shrill, loud, arranged in columns' (Λ 11), on the difference of mg. against ὀρθός, see Chantraine 1933: 37; thence ὀρθ-ίαξ [m.] (-ίας H.) 'the lower part of the mast' (Epich.), -ιάζω [v.] 'to cry loudly' (A.), -ιάσματα [pl.] 'high pitch' (Ar.), also 'to raise' (APL), -ίαις [f.] 'erection' (medic.); -ιάω = -όω (gloss., sch.). 2. ὀρθ-ηλός 'tall, straight' (Hell. inscr.), after ὑψηλός; also -ηρός 'id.' (pap. I<sup>a</sup>). 3. ὀρθέσιον· ὀρθιον, μακρόν, ὀξύ, μέγα 'tall, sharp, large' (H.), cf. θεσπέσιος. 4. Ὀρθάννης (Pl. Com., inscr.), also single -ν- (Phot., H.) [m.] name of a Priapus-like demon (-vv- hypocoristic gemination; cf. Ἐργάνη, etc.). 5. ὀρθότης [f.] 'uprightness, straight position; correctness' (IA); -οσύνη [f.] 'uprightness' (Democr.). 6. Denominative verbs: a) ὀρθόω 'to raise, straighten, improve, succeed' (Il.), aor. -ῶσαι, often with prefix, especially δι-, κατ-, ἀν-. Thence (δι-, κατ-, ἀν-)ὀρθωσις [f.] 'raising, etc.' (Hp., Arist.), δι-, κατ-, ἀπ-ὀρθωμα [n.] '(implement for) raising, right act, etc.' (Hp., Arist.), δι-, κατ-ορθωτής [m.] 'improver, etc.' (LXX), ὀρθωτήρ [m.] 'raiser, upholder' (Pi.), δι-, κατ-ορθωτικός 'improving, successful' (Arist.); b) (δι-)ορθεύω = (δι-)ορθόω (E.).

•ETYM Traditionally, ὀρθός is identified with Skt. *ūrdhvá-* 'raised, high' and derived from \**uord<sup>h</sup>-uo-*; for the initial F-, the gloss βορσόν· σταυρόν. Ἥλειοι 'pole, stake (Elean)' (H.) is compared. The words are thought to derive from the verbal root \**uerd<sup>h</sup>-*, preserved in Skt. *várdhati* 'to raise, grow (trans.)' and in Av. *varəd-* 'id.'. However, it is highly awkward to disassociate ὀρθός and *ūrdhvá-* from the group of Lat. *arduus* 'steep, lofty', OIr. *ard* 'high, great', and especially Av. *arəduua-* 'high', etc. We have to leave the reflex of the initial in Skt. *ūrdhvá-* as an inner-Sanskrit problem. Note that a similar problem occurs in the correspondence between ὀργή 'impulse, drive' and Skt. *ūrj-* 'refreshment, strength'.

There is no evidence for initial w- in Mycenaean. This has been explained in a number of different ways, in order to maintain the connection with Skt. *várdhati*, e.g. the assumption that PGr. \**wo-* > \**o-* at an early date. See ▶ ὄρθρος and ▶ (F)ορθαία.

**ὀρθόκραῖρα** ⇒ κραῖρα.

**ὄρθρος** [m.] 'time before daybreak, time of the cock-crow, first dawn', later 'morning' (h. Merc. 98, Hes. Op. 577). <IE? \**h<sub>3</sub>r-d<sup>h</sup>ro-* 'sunrise'>

•COMP ὀρθρο-βόας [m.] name of the cock (AP), cf. ▶ ἡϊκανός; τὸ περί-ορθρον 'dawn' (Th., Hdn.).

•DER 1. Adjectives ὀρθρ-ιος 'belonging to dawn, happening at dawn' (*h. Merc.* 143), Ὀρθρία [f.] name of a goddess (Schwenn *RhM* 86 (1937): 298); -ινός 'id.' (Arat., LXX, AP), cf. ἔωθινός, etc.; -ίδιος 'id.' (AP), cf. ἄϊδιος, etc.; grades of comparison ὀρθρίαϊ-τερος, -τατος (Hdn.), adverbial also ὀρθρί-τερον (pap.) after πρωῒ-, ὀψί-τερον.

2. Verbs: a) ὀρθρ-εύω, -ομαι 'to be sleepless or awake in the early morning' (E., Theoc.), back-formation Ὀρθρος [m.] name of a mythical dog (Hes. *Th.* 309), see Kretschmer *Glotta* 13 (1924): 270, with ἐπ- also 'to be out of bed early' (D. Chr., Luc.); b) -ίζω 'id.' (LXX, *Ev. Luc.*) with (ἐπ-)ορθρισμός [m.] (Aq, Plu.).

•ETYM The best etymology proposes *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-d<sup>h</sup>ro-*, from the root *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-* 'to rise' also found in Lat. *ortus* 'rise of a star', *oriens* 'sunrise'. Acc. to Frisk, the meaning 'time before daybreak, first light of the morning' would seem to contradict this etymology, but it is unclear why. Frisk further adduced ▶ ὀρθραγορίσκος as proof for \*φορθρ-, but the relevance of this word for the present entry is doubtful. At any rate, a direct comparison between ὀρθρος and OCS *ranъ* 'ὀρθριος', Ru. *ráno* 'early' as *\*urōd<sup>h</sup>-no-* is useless, in view of the unmotivated lengthened grade in the reconstruction.

**ὀρίγανον** [n.] name of a sharp or bitter tasting herb, 'marjoram, organy, *origanum*' (Epich., Hp., Ar., Arist.). <?>

•VAR Also -ος [f.]; also written ὀρεί-; variant ἐριγ- (pap. II\*).

•COMP With determining first member: ἀγρι-ὀρίγανον (Dsc.), cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 257, τραγ-ὀρίγανον (Nic., Dsc.).

•DER ὀριγαν-ίς (-ίς) [f.] = μᾶρον, a kind of salve (Ps.-Dsc.), -ίτης (οἶνος) 'wine spiced with ὀ.' (Dsc.), -όεις 'belonging to ὀ.' (Nic.); -ών [m.] name of a frog (Batr.), -ίζω 'to be like ὀ.' (Dsc.).

•ETYM Unexplained word of foreign origin. Marjoram originates from Northern Africa. Was it folk-etymologically adapted to ὀρος and γάνος? Incorrectly, Carnoy *REGr.* 71 (1958): 97f.

**ὀρίνδης (ἄρτος)** [m.] 'bread made of rice flour' (S. Fr. 609 from Ath. 3, 110e, Poll. 6, 73). <LW Iran.>

•DER ὀρίνδιον σπέρμα (Poll.); ὀρίνδα· ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ ὀρυζαν καλοῦσι 'what most people call rice' (Phryn. *PS* 93).

•ETYM Acc. to Ath. and Poll. l.c., ὀρίνδης would be Ethiopian, but in fact it is an Iranian loan; cf. MoP *birinj* and Arm. *brinj* (from Iranian), and see the discussion in Brust 2005: 488ff. See ▶ ὀρυζα.

**ὀρίνω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to excite, stir' (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-i-* 'set in movement'>

•VAR Lesb. ὀρίνω (only-Hdn., -v- Alc.; see Hamm 1957: 36 and 131), aor. ὀρίναι, -ασθαι, pass. ὀρινθῆναι.

•COMP Also with συν-, ἐξ-, ἀν-.

•DER ὀρίντης [m.] 'exciter' (Theognost.). Uncertain is the appurtenance of the Corinthian horsename Ὀρίων (Fraenkel *Gnomon* 22 (1950): 238).

•ETYM The present ὀρίνω, whence the other forms derive, may either be from *\*ὀρι-v-ιω* (a *yod*-present built on a nasal present, like κλίνω) or from *\*ὀρι-vf-ω* (a thematicized *vu*-present).

Disyllabic *\*ori-* is found also in Arm. *ari* [ipv.] 'stand up', aor. *y-are-ay* (< *\*-ari-*) 'I stood up', as well as in Lat. *orior*. These derive from an earlier *i*-present which is found in Anatolian: Hitt. *arai-* / *ari-* 'to arise, raise' < *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-oi-*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-i-*; cf. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. This is an extension of the root *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-* 'rise' seen in ▶ ὀρνυμι.

**ὀρκάθους** · ἐφ' ὧν τὰ σῦκα ψύχουσιν 'on which figs are dried' (H.). <PG?(S)>

•ETYM Unknown. Probably Pre-Greek.

**ὀρκάνη** ⇒ ἔρκος.

**ὄρκος** [m.] 'oath' (Il.), 'object to swear by', originally of the water of the Styx (B 755, Hes., *h. Cer.* 259). <?>

•COMP ὀρκ-ωμότης [m.] 'who takes an oath' (Arc., Locr. inscr. VI-V<sup>a</sup>) with ὀρκωμοτ-έω [v.] 'to take an oath' (trag., etc.), a compound of ὄρκον ὁμῶσαι with a suffix -τη-; εὖ-ορκος 'faithful to one's oath' (Hes.) with εὖορκ-έω; ἔν-ορκος 'bound by oath' (Att.) with ἐνορκ-ίζομαι [v.] 'to bind by oath'; but ἔξορκος 'sworn' (Pi.) is a back-formation from ἐξ-ορκῶ, -ορκίζω; on ▶ ἐπίορκος, see s.v.; πεντορκ-ία [f.] 'taking of five oaths', 'oath by five gods' (Locr. V<sup>a</sup>), with a suffix -ία-.

•DER 1. ὄρκια [pl.], rarely -ιον [n.] 'objects to swear by, oath pledge, animals sacrificed for an oath, oath, solemn treaty' (Il.), ὄρκιος 'belonging to an oath, sworn by' (Att., *Leg. Gort.*). 2. ὄρκικός 'belonging to an oath' (Stoic.). 3. ὀρκῶ [v.] 'to make one swear, put under oath' (IA), aor. -ῶσαι, often with ἐξ-, whence ὀρκώματα [pl.] 'oath' (A.), ὀρκωτής [m.] 'who makes swear, who puts one under oath' (Att.), ἐξόρκω-σις [f.] 'swearing, adjuration' (Hdt., J.). 4. ὀρκίζω [v.] 'to make one swear, adjure, administer an oath' (Ion., X., D., Hell., also Dor.), aor. -ίσαι, Dor. fut. ὀρκίξω (Delph.), also with δι-, ἐξ-. Thence ὀρκίσματα [pl.] 'adjurations' (Megara I-II<sup>p</sup>), (δι-, ἐξ-)ὀρκισμός [m.] 'swearing, adjuration' (LXX, Plb.), ἐξορκισ-τής [m.] 'exorcist' (Act. Ap.). 5. ὀρκίλλομαι [v.] 'to swear in vain' (Phot.), as if from a pejorative diminutive *\*ὀρκίλος*. 6. -ορκέω only in derivatives from compounds, with analogical formations: εὖορκ-έω (with εὖορκ-ία) from εὖορκος (see above), ψευδορκ-έω from ψεύδ-ορκος (Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 258), with ἐμπεδ-, ἀληθ-, δυσ-, παρ-ορκέω, etc.; for ἐπιορκέω see on ▶ ἐπίορκος.

Isolated, with a different mg., ὀρκάνη [f.] 'enclosure' (A., E.) beside late ἐρκάνη, like Ὀργάνη : Ἐργάνη (see on ▶ ὄργανον and ▶ ἔργον); cf. also ΠΝ Ὀρκατος (Calymna II<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Formally, ὄρκος seems to be connected with ἔρκος 'fence' (thus already Eust. and EM), in which case it would properly denote the oath as the bounds that one assumes, a restriction, tie, or obligation. A meaning 'tie, bond' is indeed found in ὄρκοι· δεσμοὶ σφραγίδος 'bonds of a seal' (H.), perhaps to be corrected to *\*σφραγίδες*; cf. also ▶ ὀρκάνη. Discussion in Luther 1935: 90ff. and Luther 1954: 86ff., who assumes that ὄρκος is originally a magical power that fences in the swearer. Bollack *REGr.* 71 (1958): 1ff. and Hiersche *REGr.* 71 (1958): 35ff. identify ὄρκος with the Στύξ, by which the gods swear, and take it as the world-embracing fence (μέγας ὄρκος).

Criticism of these views by Benveniste 1969:2: 165ff., who thinks of ὄρκος as a sacralizing object, and refuses to give an etymology. Similarly, Leumann 1950: 91f.

proposed that ὀρκος = Lat. \**sorcus* or \**surcus* in *surculus* 'twig', in which case it could denote a staff which is raised when swearing; ὀρνυμι 'to swear' would then properly mean 'to grasp', and ὀρκον ὀμόσαι 'to grasp the staff' (cf. on ► ὀρνυμι). See ► ἔρκος.

**ὀρκύπτειν** · τὸ ὑπερκύπτειν <πρὸς τὸ> ἰδεῖν τι· τὸ ἐκτείνειν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐπ' ὀνύχων ἵστασθαι 'to raise one's head in order to see sth.; overstretch oneself and to stand on one's toe-nails' (H.). Cf. ὠρκυπτεν· ὑπερέκυπτεν ἐπαιρόμενος (Suid.), i.e. 'to stand on the tips of one's toes, in order to see over the heads of others'.

•ETYM Contains κύπτω; acc. to DELG, the first part is suggestive of ὀρνυμαι or ὀρθός, but the spiritus is unexplained.

**ὀρκῦς, -ῦνος** [m.] 'tuna' (middle com., Arist.). ◀PG(S)▶

•VAR Later ὀρκῦνος (Dorio and Hikes. [I<sup>a</sup>] in Ath.).

•DER ὀρκυνεῖον [n.] mg. uncertain (Halicarn. V<sup>a</sup>). On the stem-formation see Schwyzler: 458 and 488. Also ὀρκύαλος 'id.' (v.l. Xenocr. *apud* Orib.), like φύσαλος, etc. (Strömberg 1943: 127f.).

•ETYM Unexplained loanword; cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. Probably Pre-Greek; note the suffix and the meaning.

**ὀρμενος** [m.] 'shoot, stalk, stick, especially of cabbage and asparagus' (Diph. Siph. and Posidipp. [III<sup>a</sup>] in Ath.). ◀?▶

•VAR Plur. also -α; also ὄρ-.

•DER ὀρμενόεις 'having a (long) stalk' (Nic.); ἐξ-ορμενίζω 'ὀρμενα ἐκβάλλειν, to put forth shoots' (S. *Ichn.* 275 [uncertain], Nicostr. Com., Phryn., Poll.).

•ETYM Formally identical with the aor. ptc. of ὀρνυμι, which is semantically quite plausible. Cf. ► ἔρνος.

**ὀρμή** [f.] 'onset, assault, onrush, outset, effort' (Il.). ◀IE \**sor-meh₂-* 'flow, stream' or \**h₃(o)r-sm-* 'uprising'▶

•COMP As a second member in ἐφορμή 'onset, assault' (χ 130, Th.), ἀφορμή 'starting point, resource, etc.' (IA), but these are back-formations from ἐφ-, ἀφ-ορμάω (cf. Chantraine 1933: 149).

•DER Denominatives: 1. ὀρμαίνω [v.] 'to (re)consider, ponder' (Il.), aor. -ῆναι (rarely with ἐφ-, ὑπερ-); on the mg. as opposed to μερμηρίζω, etc. see Voigt 1934, later 'to put in violent motion, be eager' (A., Pi., B.); perhaps ὀρμανόν· ἀνεστητικός, χαλεπόν 'stirred up, troublesome' (H.); analogical ὀρμάστειρα [f.] 'she who urges on' (Orph. H.) like θερμάστρα, etc. beside θερμαίνω. 2. ὀρμάω [v.] 'to incite, excite', intr. (also midd.) 'to rise quickly, charge, begin' (Il.), aor. -ῆσαι, often with prefix, especially ἀφ-, ἐφ-, παρ-, ἐξ-. Thence ὀρμήματα [pl.] 'onrush' (B 356 = 590), (παρ-)ὀρμημα [n.] 'onset, incitement' (LXX, Epicur.), (παρ-, ἐφ-, ἐξ-)ὀρμησις [f.] 'incitement, onset, assault, eagerness' (X., Plb.); ὀρμ-ιγήριον, Dor. -ᾱτήριον [n.] '(operation) base' (Att., Cret. III-II<sup>a</sup>), -ιγής [m.] 'he who urges on' (Philostr. Iun.), -ιγίας [m.] 'id.' (Eust.), (ἐφ-, ἀφ-, παρ-, ἐξ-)ορμητικός 'offensive, desiring, eager, etc.' (Ti. Locr., Arist.); back-formation ἀφορμος 'setting off, leaving' (S.).

•ETYM Traditionally compared with Skt. *sárma-* [m.] 'flowing, streaming' (only RV 1, 80, 5), from a verbal root seen in Skt. *sí-sar-ti, sár-ati* 'to flow, stream', also 'to hurry, drive, etc.', which is formally excellent and semantically possible. However, within Greek one might also compare ὀρνυμι 'stir' and propose a pre-form \**or-smā-* (a similar formation is perhaps continued in ► ἄρμα). The form ἐρμή· ἔξοδος 'way out' (H.), with a variant ἐρίμη 'id.', is difficult to assess.

**ὄμικας** = μύμηξ.

**ὄρμινον** [n.] 'sage, Salvia Horminum' (Thphr.). ◀PG(S)▶

•VAR Also -ος [m.]; also -μῖν-.

•ETYM Formation like σέλινον, κύμινον, καρδαμίνη, βολβίνη, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 204, Schwyzler: 491). Frisk mentions three options: a loan (like the first two words), a derivative from ὄρμος (though the semantics would need further argumentation), or one from ὄρμη 'assault, onrush' (Strömberg 1940: 93), as the plant was used as an aphrodisiac. However, the word is no doubt Pre-Greek, just like the other words with a suffix -iv- (not in Fur.).

**ὄρμος 1** [m.] 'chain, necklace, lace' (Σ 401); name of a dance in a ring (Luc.). ◀IE \**sor-mo-* 'string'▶

•DER 1. Diminutive ὄρμ-ίσκος [m.] 'small necklace' (Att. inscr., LXX), 'signet-cord' (LXX, J.) together with -ίσκιον name of a precious stone (Plin.); 2. -ιά [f.] 'fishing-line' (Pl. Com., Antiph., Arist.), ὄρμια-τόνος [m.] 'angler' (E. *Hel.* 1615); 3. ὄρμ-αθος [m.] 'string, chain' (ω 8, Ar., Pl.), on the formation see Chantraine 1933: 367, although -αθος seems to be Pre-Greek, cf. ► γνάθος), with -άθιον (Gal.), -αθίζω [v.] 'to string' (H., Suid.). 4. ὑφ-ὄρμιον [n.] acc. to Ael. Dion. *Fr.* 417 παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρυσοῦν τι κοσμάριον 'among the ancients, a little golden ornament'.

•ETYM Old thematic derivative with a suffix -mo-, from the root seen in ► εἶρω 1 'string'. Martirosyan 2010 s.v. connects it with Arm. *orm* 'wall', which is formally impeccable.

**ὄρμος 2** [m.] 'anchorage, road(stead), harbour', also metaph. (Il.). ◀IE? \**sor-mo-* 'string'▶

•COMP ὄρμο-φύλαξ 'harbour-master' (pap.); often as a second member, e.g. πάν-ορμος 'offering anchorage to all (ships)' (Λιμένες, v 195), often as a PN (Sicily, etc.), δύσ-ορμος 'with a bad harbour, inhospitable' (A., X.); often with preposition, partly as back-formations from the relevant verbs: ἔξ-ορμος 'sailing out' (E.), to ἐξ-ορμέω, ὑφ-ορμος 'at anchor, fit for anchoring' (Ph., Str.), also [m.] 'anchorage' (Arist., Str.), to ὑφ-ορμέω, πρόσ-ορμος [m.] 'id.' (Str.), to πρόσ-ορμέω, -ορμίζω.

•DER Two denominatives: 1. ὀρμέω 'to be at anchor (in the harbour)' (IA), also with ἐφ-, ἐξ-, ὑφ-, etc., with ἐφόρμησις [f.] and (as a back-formation) ἐφορμος [m.] 'being at anchor, blockade' (Th.). 2. ὀρμίζω 'to bring to an anchorage or harbour', -ομαι 'to anchor, moor' (Il.), aor. -ίσαι, -ίσασθαι, often with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, προσ-, καθ-, μεθ-. Thence (προσ-, etc.)ὀρμισις [f.] 'anchoring' (Th.), (ἐν-)ὀρμισμα [n.] 'anchorage, anchoring' (App.), προσορμισμός [m.] 'anchoring' (sch.), προσορμιστήριον (H. as an

explanation of ἐπίνειον [cod. ἐπίνιον]), ὀρμιστήρια [f.] 'rope for anchoring, attaching' (Ph., D. S.), ὀρμιστήρια [f.] "the anchoress" epithet of Isis (pap. II<sup>p</sup>).

•ETYM No certain etymology. Often connected with ▶ ὄρμη 'impulse', but with various ways of argumentation for the semantics (details in Frisk). Connection with ▶ εἶρω 'to string' is more promising, starting from an original meaning 'attachment' and identity with ὄρμος 'chain'. Comparison with ▶ ἔρμα, in plur. 'supporting stones', has also been proposed (unclear).

**ὄρνειον** [n.] 'bird' (N 64). <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>er-n- 'bird'>

•VAR Also ὄρνις, -ίθος [m., f.] '(augural) bird' (Il.), in later Att. especially 'hen, cock', acc.sg. also -ιν, plur. also -εις, -ις (trag., D.), Dor. -ίχος, etc. (Pi., Alc., B., Theoc., Cyrene), dat.pl. -ίχουσι and -ιζι, whence nom.sg. -ιξ, gen.pl. -ίκων (Hell. pap.).

•COMP A few late compounds, e.g. ὀρνεο-θηρευτική [f.] 'the art of bird-catching' (Ath.). Often as a first member, e.g. ὀρνιθο-θήρας [m.] 'bird-catcher' (Ar., Arist.), ὀρνιχο-λόχος [m.] 'id.' (Pi.). Also as a second member, e.g. δύσ-ορνις 'with bad auspices' (A., E., Plu.), πολυ-ὀρνιθος 'rich of birds' (E.).

•DER A: From ὄρνειον: ὀρνε-ώδης 'bird-like' (Plu.), -ώτης [m.] 'bird-catcher' (Poll.), -ακός 'avian' (Tz.), -άζομαι 'to twitter' (Aq.), 'to hold one's head up high' ("watching the birds", Com. Adesp.).

B: From ὄρνις: 1. diminutives ὀρνίθιον (IA), -άριον (com., Arist.), also ὀρν-ύφιον (Thphr., Dsc.), rather from ὄρνειον. Substantives: 2. ὀρνιθ-ᾶς, -ᾶ [m.] 'poulterer' (pap. II-VI<sup>p</sup>); 3. -ῖαι [m.pl.] "bird-winds", which bring migratory birds (Ion., Arist.), χειμῶν ὀρνιθίας (Ar.); cf. ἐτησίαι, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 95); -ῖας [m.] 'bird-fancier' (Lib.); -ῖων [m.] PN (Att.); 4. ὀρνιθ-ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'henhouse' (inscr., pap.); 5. ὀρνιθία [f.] 'poisoning by bird dung' (Hippiatr.). Adjectives: 6. ὀρνίθιος 'of a bird, of a chicken' (Att.); 7. -ικός 'belonging to birds, hens' (Luc.); 8. τὰ ὀρνιθιακά name of a work on birds by D. P. (on the formation Schwyzer: 497 with lit.); 9. -ώδης 'bird-like' (Arist.). Verbs: 10. ὀρνιθ-εὔω 'to catch birds' (X.), -εὔομαι 'to watch the birds, auspiciari' (D. H.) together with -εῖα [f.] 'auspicium' (Plb.), -εὐτής [m.] 'bird-catcher' (Att.), -εὐτική [f.] 'the art of bird-catching' (Pl.); 11. ὀρνιθ-όομαι 'to be changed into a bird' (Philoch.); 12. ὀρνιθ-ιάζω 'to speak the language of birds' (sch. Ar. Av.).

Further ὄρνιος = ὀρνίθιος (AP), ὀρνίζω 'to twitter' (Aq.), uncertain; cf. ὀρνεάζομαι above. On itself stands ὀρναπέτιον [n.] (Boeot., Ar. Ach. 913), hypocoristic and contempting, with unclear α; cf. further κινώπετον, ἐριπετόν, etc., also Bechtel 1921, 1: 308. On the various formations see F. Robert 1944: 67ff.

•ETYM Both ὄρνειον and ὄρνις derive from an *n*-stem \*h<sub>3</sub>er-n-, which in ὄρνειον was enlarged with a suffix -ε(ι)ο-, probably marking gender (Chantraine 1933: 62). The more common form ὄρνις is originally a feminine derivative in \*-ih<sub>2</sub>, to which the suffixes -θη-, Dor. -χ- were later added.

The *n*-stem that must be assumed for Greek is also found in the Germanic and Anatolian words for 'eagle': Go. *ara*, gen. \**arins*, ON *ari*, and *orn* < \**arn-u-*, OE *earn*, etc., Hitt. *hāran-*. Balto-Slavic has an *l*-stem, e.g. Lith. *erēlis* from older *arēlis*, OCS *orvľъ*, Ru. *orēl* 'eagle'.

**ὄρνυμαι** [v.] 'to stir, rise, rush away, hurry' especially 'to excite, incite, revive' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>er- '(a)rise'>

•VAR Aor. ὠρόμην, -ετο, often older athem. ὠρτο, ptc. ὄρμενος, etc., fut. ὀρούμαι, ὀρεῖται, perf. ὄρωρα; act. ὄρνυμι, also -ύω, aor. ὠρσα, redupl. 3sg. ὠρορε, fut. ὄρσω, aor. pass. 3pl. ὠρθεν (Corinn.).

Further ὀρούω 'to rise quickly, rush away' (Il.), fut. ὀρούσω, in Hom. only aor. ὀρούσαι, often with prefix (e.g. ἐπ, ἀν-, ἐν-, ἐξ-).

•COMP Also with prefixes like ἐπ-, ὑπ-, ἀν-. As a first member in governing compounds, e.g. ὀρσο-τρίαινα [m.] 'wielder of the trident' (Pi.), ὀρσί-αλος 'stirring the sea' (B.), PNs like Ὀρσέ-λαος (Boeot.), Ὀρσί-λοχος (Il.) beside Ὀρτί-λοχος (Dor.); see Schwyzer: 442, Bechtel 1917b: 353f., Wackernagel 1916: 236<sup>1</sup>. As a second member in the compound κوني-ορτός (see ▶ κόνις), in verbal adjectives like θέ-ορτος 'sprung from the gods' (Pi., A.), νέ-ορτος 'newly arisen' (S.).

•DER Perhaps ▶ ὄρμη. Further only ὄρουνσις [f.] 'rise, ὄρμησις, ὄρμη' (Stoic.), ὀρούματα· ὄρμήματα, πηδήματα 'leaps' (H.); remarkable ὀρσότης, -ητος [f.] = ὄρμη (Critias), ὀρσίτης [m.] name of a Cretan dance (Ath.).

•ETYM The pervasive *o*-vocalism points to a reconstruction \*h<sub>3</sub>er-. Traces of an *e*-grade have been supposed in ἔρετο· ὠρμήθη 'was excited' (H.), etc. (see ▶ ἐρέθω), as well as in Λα-έρτης (related to ▶ λαός), but such forms can never derive directly from \*h<sub>3</sub>er-. It is best to derive these forms from the root \*h<sub>3</sub>er-, or to assume secondary ablaut in Greek.

Kümmel 2000a: 253-266 has found a distinction in Indo-Aryan between the roots 'ar- 'sich in Bewegung setzen' < \*h<sub>3</sub>er-, aor. *ārta* (= ὠρτο), pres. *irte*, and 'ar- 'treffen, stoßen auf, wohin gelangen' < \*h<sub>3</sub>er-, pres. *ṛcchati* (cf. ▶ ἔρχομαι). This gives a solid foundation to the formal distinction between PIE roots \*h<sub>3</sub>er- and \*h<sub>3</sub>er- on the basis of the root vocalism.

The presents ὄρνυμι, Skt. *ṛnōti*, and Hitt. *arnu-zi* 'to deport, etc.' may be old parallel formations (though Hitt. may rather derive from \*h<sub>3</sub>r-nu- as a productive causative formation).

An original form \*ἵρνυμι (i was assumed to be a *schwa secundum* like in κίρνημι; see on ▶ κεράννυμι) was formerly found in the epithet Ἐπιρνύτιος· Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ (H.), but the connection is arbitrary, and formally impossible in laryngealist terms (\*h<sub>3</sub>r- always gives Gr. ὄρ-). Under an analysis \*h<sub>3</sub>r-n-eu-, we may compare the aorist ὀρούσαι, whence later the rare present ὀρούω, as an *o*-colored full grade (cf. κρούω, κολούω) from an extended root \*h<sub>3</sub>r-u-; compare Lat. *ruō* 'to rush, collapse'. See ▶ ὀρίνω, ▶ ὄρος, ▶ οὖρος 1.

**ὄροβος** [m.] 'chickpea, Vicia Ervilia', plur. 'chickpea seeds' (Hp., D., Arist., Thphr.).

<PG(V)>

•COMP ὄροβ-άγχη [f.] name of a weed, "smotherer of the ὄροβος", 'Cuscuta' (Thphr., Dsc., Gr.); πεντ-όροβος (also -ώρ- with compositional lengthening) [m.] properly "with five ὄρ.", name of the γλυκυσίδη, usually metaph. of an architectural ornament (Hell. inscr., Dsc., Plin.).

•DER 1. Diminutives: ὀρόβιον [n.], also 'flour made of ὄρ.' (Hp., Ph., Dsc.), = χρυσοκόλλης εἶδος 'kind of dish of linseed and honey' (H.); -άδιον [n.] = ὀρόβαξ

(Ps.-Dsc.). 2. -ίας [m.] name of a kind of ἐρέβινθος and a kind of λίβανος (Thphr., Dsc.). 3. -ίτης [m.] (λίθος), name of an ὀροβος-like stone (D. S.), -ίτης [f.] 'prepared χρυσόκολλα' (Plin.). 4. -αξ [f.] = γλυκυσίδη (Ps.-Dsc.), -αχος σίδης [pl.] 'fruit of the pomegranate' (Nic.), -άκη· βοτάνη τις. οἱ δὲ τῆς ροιᾶς τοὺς καρπούς 'a plant; others: the fruit of the pomegranate tree' (H.). 5. -ηθρον [n.] plant name = ὑποκισθίς (Ps.-Dsc.), cf. θορύβ-, κόπ-ηθρον, etc., Chantraine 1933: 373f. 6. -ινος ἄλευρον 'meal of ὄ.' (Ph., Dsc.). 7. -ιαῖος 'of the size of a ὄρ.' (Dsc.). 8. ὠροβισμένοι· κεχορτασμένοι ἀπὸ τῶν βοῶν (leg. ὀρόβων?) 'fed, fattened, of cows' (H.).

•ETYM Like ἐρέβινθος, Lat. *ervum*, etc., an old substrate word, probably from the eastern Mediterranean area. In any case, ὀροβος need not have undergone assimilation from \*ἔροβος, as per Schmidt KZ 32 (1893): 325. For further details, see ► ἐρέβινθος.

**ὀρόδαμνος** [m.] 'branch, twig' (Thphr., Call., Nic., AP). ◀PG(V)▶

•DER Diminutive ὀροδαμνίς [f.] (Theoc.).

•ETYM Probably for Aeol. φρόδαμνος = ►ράδαμνος, with ὀ- as a graphic indication for Ϝ (cf. ►ὀρίνδης). The form ὀραμνος 'id.' (Nic., AP) is unclear; it is probably not a cross with ὄρμενος.

**ὀροθύνω** [v.] 'to excite, incite, revive' (Il., also A. Pr. 202). ◀GR?▶

•VAR Aor. ὀροθύναι.

•COMP Also with ἐξ-, ἀμφ-.

•ETYM Acc. to Frisk, a secondary formation from ►ἐρέθω, replacing earlier \*ὀροθέω (after θαρσύνω, ὀτρύνω, etc.), or directly from a lost noun \*ὀροθος. Not assimilated from \*ἔροθύνω; see Van Beek fthc.b.

**ὀρομαι** [v.] •VAR Only ὀρονται, -ντο (epic). ⇒ ὀράω.

**ὀρον** [?] · σκευὸς τι γεωργικὸν ὡς Ἰσαῖος (fr. 5) 'an agricultural tool acc. to I.' ... μήποτε μέντοι τὸ ὀρον παρὰ τε Αἰσχύλῳ καὶ παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ σημαίνει ᾧ τὴν πεπατημένην σταφύλιν πιέζουσι (Harp. 139) so the piece of wood with which bunches of grapes are crushed; also for olives (Poll. 7, 150); cf. SEG 11, 244. ◀?▶

•ETYM Unknown.

**ὀρόντιον** [n.] 'cuckoo-pint', name of a plant used as a remedy against jaundice (Archig. apud Gal.). ◀PG▶

•ETYM Acc. to Strömberg 1944: 51, from the PN Ὀρόντης; naming motive unknown. Fur.: 345 refers to Gams in DKP 1: 602f., who connects it with ἄρον 'Natterwurz', a kind of shore-weed.

**ὀρός** [m.] 'the watery part of curdled milk, whey', also metaph. of other liquids (Od., Hp., Pl., Arist.). ◀IE \*ser- 'flow', \*sor-o-▶

•COMP ὀρο-ποτέω [v.] 'to drink whey', with -ιη [f.] (Hp.).

•DER ὀρώδης 'whey-like' (Thphr.); ἐξορ-ίζω [v.] 'to press out the whey' (EM, H.).

•ETYM An oxytonized agent noun (like τροφός, etc.; see Chantraine 1933: 9f.) with Ionian psilosis, beside the action noun in Lat. *serum* [n.] 'id.', Skt. *sará-* 'flowing,

liquid', from the verbal root \*ser- 'run, flow' retained in Skt. *sísarti, sárati*, aor. *ásarat*.

**ὄρος** [m.] 'border, boundary mark (pole, column, stone), term, limit, mark, appointment, definition' (Att.). ◀IE? \*ueru- 'draw', \*uoru-o-▶

•VAR οὖρος (Il.).

•DIAL Myc. *wo-wo* /worwos/, Corc. ορφος, Cret., Arg. ὠρος, Heracl. ὄρος. Brixhe REGr. 109 (1996): 640 adds ὄρρος (Heracl. Pont.) < \*hóρφος, also ὄρρος (Chalcid., Megar.), cf. RPh. 71 (1997) 170.

•COMP As a first member, e.g. ὄρο-θεσία [f.] 'the fixing of boundaries' (Hell. inscr., Act. Ap., pap.), like νομο-θεσία, etc., formally from ὄρο-θέτης (gloss.), a composition of ὄρον θεῖναι with a suffix -τη-; often as a second member, e.g. δί-ωρος 'with two boundary stones' (Arc. IV<sup>a</sup>), ἀμφ-ούριον [n.] 'toll paid by the seller to the owner of the neighbouring estate as a fixation of the sale' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>, Rhod. inscr. II<sup>a</sup>), ἀμφοῦριασμός [m.] (\*ἀμφοῦρι-άζω); on ►εὐθυωρία, see s.v.

•DER 1. ὀρία [n.pl.] (rarely sg.) 'borderline, border areas, etc.' (Hp., Att., Arc.); 2. ὀρία [f.] 'border' (Att. inscr.); 3. ὀριος 'belonging to the border' (Ζεὺς ὄρ., Pl., D.) = Lat. *Terminus* (D. H., Plu.); 4. ὀρικός 'ptng. to definition' (Arist.); 5. ὄρ-αία τεκτονική = *gruma*, -ιαῖος λίθος (gloss.); 6. ὀρίζω (Ion. οὖρ-) [v.] 'to border, demarcate, separate, determine, define' (IA), aor. -ίσαι, often with prefix, e.g. δι- (ἐπι-δι-, etc.), ἀφ-, περι-, προσ-, with (ἀφ-, περι-, δι-) ὄρισμα (also οὖρ-) 'delimitation, border' (Hdt., E.), (ἀφ-, περι-, etc.) ὀρισμός 'delimitation, determination, etc.' (Att.), (δι-) ὄρισσις (Pl., Arist.), ὀρις-τής [m.] 'land surveyor' (Att., Tab. Heracl.), -τικός 'ptng. to delimitation or determination, limiting, defining' (Arist.). 7. On ►ὀρεύς, see s.v.

•ETYM In view of Mycenaean, all Greek forms must go back to φόρφος. This can be connected with Lat. *urvāre* (amb-) 'to mark out a boundary with a furrow' (Enn. apud Fest., Dig.); the basic noun is *urvum* 'curved part of a plough' (Varro) < \*u(o)ru-o-, which may in principle continue the same formation as \*φόρφος.

Within Greek, further connection with ►έρύω 'to draw' is probable. See ►οὔροί, ►οὔρον 2.

**ὄρος** [n.] 'mountain, height'; also (in Egypt) 'desert' in contrast to the cultivated plain (Il.). ◀IE \*h<sub>2</sub>er- 'rise', \*h<sub>2</sub>er-s-▶

•VAR With metrical lengthening οὔρ-εος, -εα, etc. (epic), also ὠρ-εος, -εα (Theoc.).

•DIAL Myc. *o-re-a<sub>2</sub>* /ore<sup>ba</sup>l/.

•COMP As a first member: 1. with unenlarged stem i.a. in ►ὄρεσκῶς; 2. thematically enlarged in ὄρεο-σέλινον [n.] 'mountain-parsley' (Thphr.); 3. often in loc.sg., e.g. ὄρει-δρόμος 'going through the mountains' (Pi., E., Nonn.); thence i.a. ὄρει-χαλκος [m.] 'mountain ore, brass' (h. Hom. 6, 9, Hes. Sc. 122), borrowed as Lat. *orichalcum*, folk-etymological *auri-*; also ὠρό-χαλκος (Peripl. M. Rubr., PGiss. 47, 6), perhaps ὠ- = Lat. *au-*; 4. in loc.pl., e.g. ὄρεσί-τροφος 'grown up in the mountains' (Hom.).

•DER 1. ὄρεσ-τερος 'living in the mountains, consisting of mountains' (X 93); 2. ὄρειος (epic lyr. οὔρ-) 'mountainous' (h. Merc. 244) < \*ores-jo-, fem. -ειάς (AP), as a substantive 'mountain-nymph' (Bion, Nonn.); 3. ὄρεινός < \*ores-no- 'id.' (IA); 4. Ὀρέσ-της [m.] PN (Il.), with Ὀρεστ-άδης, ὀρέστ(ε)ιον [n.] = ἐλένιον (Dsc., Plin.);



Ὀρέσ-ται [m.pl.] “highlanders”, name of an Epeirotic people (Th.); ὄρεστ-ιάδες νόμῳ (Z 420, *h. Hom.* 19, 19), metrical for \*ὄρεστ-άδ- (Schwyzer: 508); ὄρεστ-ίας [m.] ‘mountain wind’ (Call.), like Ὀλυμπίας, etc.; 5. ὀρώδης ‘mountainous’ (EM).

•ETYM The original meaning is “elevation”, a verbal noun \**h<sub>3</sub>er-s-* related to the root of ▶ ὀρνυμαι ‘to rise, etc.’. A further derivative of this *s*-stem may be found in Skt. *ṛśná-* ‘rising up, high’. See ▶ ὄρρος, ▶ ὀρσοθύρη.

όρούω = ὀρνυμαι.

όροφή, -φος = ἐρέφω.

ὄρπαξ [?] · θρασὺς ἄνεμος ‘rough wind’ (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Fur.: 327f. compares Ὀρπα· Ἐρινύς (H.) and Ὀρῖψα· Ἐρινύς (H.) with anaptyctic vowel, as well as ▶ ἀρπάζω. Probably Pre-Greek. Perhaps Ἀρπυια (Fur.: 327, 347) also belongs here?

ὄρπας [?] · τῆς ἀκρίδος ὁ γόνος, ἔνθεν γάρον ποιοῦσι ‘offspring of the locust, from which sauce is made’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

ὄρπη [f.] · σίδηρος ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἐλέφαντα τύπτουσι ‘metal in which ivory is beaten’ (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM DELG compares ▶ ἄρπη ‘elephant-goad’.

ὄρπηξ [m.] ‘sprig, twig, (shaft of a) spear’ (Φ 38, Hes. *Op.* 468). <PG(S)>

•VAR Also δ-; Dor. Aeol. -ᾱξ, -κος.

•COMP εὖ-ὄρπηξ ‘with fair twigs’ (Nonn.).

•ETYM Formation like σκώληξ, κάχληξ, νάρθηξ, etc. without a clear etymology. The comparison with Lith. *vārpa* ‘ear’ is not very illuminating; derivation from the root of Lat. *sarpō* ‘to trim the vines’, *sarmentum* ‘osiers’, ▶ ἄρπη ‘sickle’ is unlikely, as an o-grade of this root is not attested elsewhere. Frisk connects ἔρπω in the sense of a slow movement over the ground: “crawler, sneaker”.

It is rather a Pre-Greek word, given the suffix -ᾱκ-.

ὄρρος [m.] ‘rump, arse’ (Ar.), ‘end of the os sacrum’ (Gal.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>ers-*, \**h<sub>1</sub>ors-* ‘bottom, arse’>

•COMP As a first member in ὀρρο-πύγιον, Ion. ὀρρο-, see ▶ πυγή. As a second member in παλίν-ορρος ‘moving back’ (Γ 33, Emp.); -ρρ- (Ar. *Ach.* 1179); not in ▶ ἄσπορρος.

•DER ὀρρώδης ‘belonging to the rump’ (Hp., Gal.), ὀρροχμόν· ἔσχατον, ἄκρον ‘utmost, extremity’ (H.), perhaps after ▶ νεοχμός.

•ETYM Old inherited expression for ‘bottom, ass’, avoided by the epic because of its vulgar status, and identical with the Germanic group of OHG *ars*, MoE *arse*, Arm. *oř*, plur. *oř-k’* (*i*-stem), and Hitt. *arra-* ‘id.’, all pointing to IE \**Hors-o-*, \**Hors-i-*. Regarding the color of the laryngeal, OIr. *err* ‘tail’ seems to point to original \**h<sub>1</sub>ers-h<sub>2</sub>-* but, alternatively, the Celt. *e*-vocalism is a secondary development. In the latter case, the word could be understood as enlargement of an *s*-stem \**h<sub>3</sub>er-(o)s-* ‘elevation’, and would thus be closely related to ▶ ὄρος ‘mountain’.

The intervocalic sequence \*-*rs-* was probably retained in Greek when preceded by the accent (it subsequently became -ρρ- in Attic), but \**s* dropped with compensatory lengthening if the accent followed (cf. on ▶ οὐρά). See ▶ ὀρσοθύρη.

ὀρρωδέω [v.] ‘to shudder, fear, dread’ (Att.). <GR?>

•VAR Ion. ἄρρωδέω (Hp., Hdt.).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially κατ-.

•DER ὀρρωδία, ἄρρωδίη [f.] ‘fear, dread’ (Hdt., Th., E.).

•ETYM Not definitively explained. The proposal by Bréal *MSL* 8 (1894): 309 is semantically attractive: ὀρρωδέω comes from ὄρρος ‘ass’ through \*ὀρρώδης ‘afraid, anxious’, like in MoFr. *couard*, Ital. *codardo* from Lat. *coda*. However, this would amount to assuming that the Att. form with -ρρ- came into Ionic with substitution of ἄρρ- for ὀρρ- (perhaps after ἄρρωστέω, -ία?), which is hard to believe. Acc. to Schmidt *KZ* 25 (1881): 112, Att. ὀρρ- developed from older ἄρρ- by assimilation to the following ω; a better option seems folk-etymological influence of ὄρρος on original ἄρρ-.

Taillardat *RPh.* 71 (1997): 170 (also DELG *Supp.*) defends the old interpretation as τὸν ὄρρον ἰδροῦν ‘to shit in the pants’ vel sim. The ἄ- would be due to Ionic dissimilation of ὀ - ω.

Fur.: 342 considers the word to be Pre-Greek, which would make the variation ἄ-/ὀ- understandable.

ὀρσοδάκνη [f.] name of an insect which eats the buds of plants (Arist. *HA* 552a). <GR>

•ETYM See Gil Fernández 1959: 140. The word probably contains ▶ ὄρρος (-ρσ-) and ▶ δάκνω.

ὀρσοθύρη [f.] especially a side-door or side-opening at the back, leading from the men’s hall in the λαύρη to the rooms upstairs (χ 126, 132, 333); see Wace *JHS* 71 (1951): 203ff., Bérard *REGR.* 67 (1954): 18ff.; also sens. obs. (Semon. 17). <IE \**Hors-o-* ‘back’ + \**d<sup>h</sup>uer-* ‘door’>

•DER With ὄρσο-, we also find: ὀρσολόπος epithet of Ares, who cuts the enemy into pieces (Anacr. 70 = 393 P), ὀρσολοπεύω (metrical for -έω) [v.] ‘to attack, revile’ (*h. Merc.* 308, Max. 102), -έομαι ‘to be teased or disquieted’ (A. *Pers.* 10); ὀρσολόπος ‘attacker’ vel sim., properly = ὁ λέπων τὸν ὄρρον ‘who thrashes the back’, scil. τοῦ φυγόντος πολεμίου ‘of the fleeing enemy’, cf. Lasso de la Vega *Emerita* 23 (1955): 114f. Further ▶ ὀρσοδάκνη [f.] name of an insect that eats buds (Arist.); naming motive unknown.

•ETYM It is clear that the first element should be identified with ὄρρος, ὄρρος ‘back, ass’, for which we may compare παλίν-ορρος in Homer (but not ἄσπορρος). The word means ‘back door’, which is a very natural interpretation.

Following sources from antiquity, others explained it as a high door, connecting either Skt. *ṛśná-* ‘high’ or *varṣ-* in *várṣ-man-* [n.] ‘culmen’; cf. also εἰρεθύρη (H.) and ἔρθυρις (EM). See Risch *IF* 59 (1944): 20. In the same sphere belongs ὀρρόβηλος ὁδός (cod. ὁδ-). Ἰταλιῶται ‘threshold’ (H.).

However, there is no indication in our texts that the door is located above the ground, and the obscene use in Semon. (though in an unclear context) proves the connection with ὄρρος.

**ὄρσοι** [m.] · τῶν ἀρνῶν οἱ ἔσχατοι γενόμενοι (H.). <?>

•ETYM The word resembles ►έρσαι, with different vocalism and with different inflexion.

**ὄρταλις** [f.] 'hen' (Nic. *Al.* 294). <?>

•DER ὀρτάλιχος [m.] 'young bird' (A. *Ag.* 54, Ar. *Ach.* 871, *AP*, Opp.), 'young animal' (S. *Fr.* 793), 'chick' (Theoc.), -ιχεύς [m.] 'id.' (Nic. *Al.* 228: accus. -ῆα, metrical enlargement in verse-final position). Denominative ἀν-ορταλίζω [v.] 'to prance, clap the wings like a hen (cock)' vel sim. (Ar. *Eq.* 1344).

•ETYM Popular formations in -ίς and -ιχος (cf. ἀηδονίς, κόψιχος, etc.; see Chantraine 1933: 344 and 403), or perhaps rather with -αλίς like in συκ-αλίς, δορκ-αλίς (to δορκ-άς), etc. It is assumed to be derived from a noun \*ὀρτος of unknown meaning. The obvious connection with ὀρνυμαι 'rise, come into movement' (cf. κωνι-ορτός, θέ-ορτος) does not mean much semantically.

**ὄρτυξ** [m.] 'quail, *Coturnix vulgaris*' (Epich., IA); also as a plant-name = στελέφουρος, 'Plantago Lagopus' (Thphr.), cf. Strömberg 1937: 50. <IE? \*uort- 'quail'; PG?>

•VAR Fem. in Lyc. 401; γόρτυξ (i.e. φόρτυξ), -ύγος (H.), -υκος (Philem. 245).

•COMP As a first member in ὀρτυγο-μήτρα [f.] 'quail-mother', 'corncrake, *Rallux crex*' (Cratin., Arist., LXX), acc. to H. = ὄρτυξ ὑπερμεγέθης; as a second member in φιλ-όρτυξ 'quail-loving' (Pl. *Ly.* 212d).

•DER Diminutive ὀρτύγιον [n.] (com.); Ὀρτυγία, -ίη [f.] old name of the island Delos and other islands (Od., Str.), see Tréheux *BCH* 70 (1946): 560ff., thence epithet of Artemis (S.); patronymic Ὀρτυγιών (Euboea).

•ETYM Formed like the rare bird names ἴβυξ, βαῖβυξ; cf. also κόκκυξ, πτέρυξ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 397, Schwyzer: 498). Except for the ending, φόρτυξ corresponds to Skt. (Ved.) *vārtikā* [f.] 'quail', later attested as *vartaka-* [m.], with the highly productive suffixes -ikā- and -aka-. Note also MoP *vardij-* 'id.'. The original form of the word cannot be reconstructed. Fur.: 122 points out that both the suffix and the variation κ/γ point to a loan.

**ὄρυα 1** [f.] 'intestine' (Epich.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR In H. also -οῦα.

•ETYM Not certainly explained. The connection with Lat. *arvina* [f.] 'grease, fat, lard, especially around the intestines' is doubtful (see Pok. 782 and WH s.v.); E-M points out that the ending -īna recalls the Etr. ending -ēna, -in(n)a. The variation -va/ -ova might point to a Pre-Greek word.

**ὄρυα 2** [f.] name of an instrument used in a quarry (*PCair. Zen.* 759 [III<sup>a</sup>]).

•ETYM See ►ὀρύπτω.

**ὄρυζα** [f.] 'rice' (Aristobul. *Hist.*, Megasth., Str.). <LW Eastern Iran.>

•VAR ὄρυζον [n.] (Thphr.).

•COMP ὄρυζο-τροφέω [v.] 'to grow rice' (Str.).

•DER Diminutive ὀρύζιον [n.] (sch.), -ίτης πλακοῦς 'rice-cake' (Chrysipp. *Tyan.*).

•ETYM Eastern Iranian loan; cf. Afghan. *vrižē* [f.pl.] 'rice', as well as Skt. *vrihī-* [m.] 'id.'; earlier history unknown. See Brust 2005: 494ff., as well as on ►ὀρίνδης.

**ὄρυμαγδός** [m.] 'noise, din' (Il.). <?>

•VAR ὀρυγμάδες, θόρυβοι 'noise' (H.).

•ETYM Expressive word with the same ending as κέλαδος, χρώμαδος, ροῖβδος, etc., and with a comparable meaning. Cf. ►ώρυομαι and ὠρυγμός, as well as ἐρυγεῖν, ἐρύγηλος (Kretschmer *KZ* 38 (1905): 135); further details are unclear.

**ὄρυμος** · βωμός. οἱ δὲ ὄρυμβος 'altar; others: ὄ.' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Clearly a Pre-Greek word, due to the variations.

**ὀρύσσω** [v.] 'to dig (up, in, out), scrape, bury' (Hom.). <IE? \*h<sub>3</sub>reu-k- 'dig up, grub'>

•VAR Att. -ττω, late -χω (Arat.), ipv. ὀρυγε (Seriphos); aor. ὀρύξαι, fut. ὀρύξω (Hom.), pass. aor. ὀρυχθῆναι, fut. ὀρυχθήσομαι, perf. ὀρώρυγμα (IA), prefixed κατ-ώρυγμα, act. ὀρώρυχα (Att.), them. aor. ὀρυγεῖν, pass. ὀρυγῆναι (late).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. κατ-, δι-, ἀν-, περι-.

•DER 1. back-formation ὀρυξ, -υγος [m.] 'pickaxe' (AP), usually name of an Egyptian and Libyan (also Indian) gazelle or antelope (Arist., LXX), seemingly after the pointed horns, but rather a folk-etymologically transformed loan; also name of a large fish (Str.). Prefixed compounds, e.g. κατ-ώρυξ, -υγος 'buried, dug in, underground' (ω by compositional lengthening), as a fem. noun 'grave, crypt' (trag.); dat.pl. κατωρυχέσσι (Λάεσσι, λίθοισι ζ 267, ι 185), probably metrical enlargement; δι-ώρυξ, -υγος (late mostly -υγος) [f.] 'ditch, channel, mine' (Ion., Th., *Tab. Heracl.*, pap.). 2. (δι-, ὑπ-)όρυγμα [n.] 'hole, grave' (IA); 3. ὀρυγμός [m.] 'id.' (Priene). 4. (δι-)ορυχή [f.] (-ωρ-) 'digging' (D., Delos), also -γή (LXX). 5. (κατ-, ἐπ-, ὑπ-)όρυξ [f.] 'id.' (Arist.). 6. ὀρυκτή [f.] = ὀρυγμα (Ph.). 7. ὀρυκ-τήρ [m.] 'miner' (Zeno Stoic.), -της [m.] 'digger, tool for digging' (Aesop., Str.); (δι-)ορυκτρίς [f.] epithet of χελώνη 'mine protection roof' (Poliore.). 8. ὀρυγεύς *fossorium* (gloss.).

•ETYM The basis of all verbal forms and derived nouns seems to be a stem ὀρυχ-; the voiced stop in ὀρυγ- and the present ὀρύχω are secondary.

Thus, we can explain the primary *yod*-present ὀρύσσω from \*h<sub>3</sub>rug<sup>h</sup>-ie/o-. However, cognate forms appear to continue a root \*h<sub>3</sub>ruk-, e.g. the secondary nasal present Lat. *runcō*, -āre 'to weed out, root up', *runcō*, -ōnis [m.] 'weeding hook', Latv. *rūkēt* 'to dig, scrape', Skt. *luñcati* 'pluck off' (with *l-* for IE \*r).

Further cognates include Ir. *rucht* < \*ruk-tu- 'swine', Alb. *rrah* 'excavation, reclaimed land' < \*rouk-so- (Restelli *RILomb.* 91 (1957): 475). Therefore, we have to assume that the aspirated stop, which is seen only in Greek, is analogical.

It is possible that the root-final \*k is a root extension; a root \*h<sub>3</sub>reu- is perhaps found in ►οῦροι [m.pl.] 'trench'. Connection with ►ὄρος 'boundary' is impossible because of Myc. *wo-wo*, etc.

**ὄρφανός** [m.] 'orphaned, orphan', metaph. 'bereft, abandoned' (v 68). <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>orb<sup>h</sup>-o- 'orphaned, bereft'>

•COMP As a first member in ὄρφανο-δικασταί [m.pl.] ‘orphan-judge’ (*Leg. Gort.*).  
 •DER 1. Adj. ὄρφαν-ικός ‘belonging to ὄρφανοί’ (Il., Pl., Arist.), -ιος ‘abandoned, lonely’ (AP). 2. Substantive ὄρφαν-ία [f.] ‘orphanhood, bereavement’ (Pi., Att.), -ότης [f.] ‘id.’ (Cappadocia). 3. Verbs. a) ὄρφαν-ίζω (also ἀπ-) ‘to make an orphan, bereave of’ (Pi.); thence formally -ιστής [m.], but in the sense of ‘guardian’ (S. Ai. 512), also name of an official (Selymbria); b) -εὔω ‘to bring up orphans’, med. ‘to be orphaned’ (E.) with -εὔμα [n.] ‘orphanhood’ (E.), -εῖα [f.] (if not itacistic for -ία) ‘id.’ (pap.); c) -όμοι ‘to be bereft’ (AP, sch.).

•ETYM The glosses ὀροφοῖται· ἐπίτροποι ὀρφανῶν ‘guards of orphans’, ὀροφοῖται· ἐπίτροπὴ ‘guardianship’, and ὠρφωσεν· ὠρφάνισεν (H.) point to the previous existence of a noun \*ὄρφος. From this noun, ὄρφανός (with the same meaning) seems to be a purely formal enlargement after other adjectives in -ανός.

This pre-form \*ὄρφος agrees exactly with Arm. *orb*, -oy ‘orphan’, and Lat. *orbus* ‘orphaned, bereft’ < IE \**Horbʰo-*. A *io*-derivative is supposed in the Celtic and the Germanic word (perhaps a Celtic loan?) for ‘heritage’, e.g. OIr. *orb(b)e*, *orpe* [n.], Go. *arbi*, OHG *arbi*, *erbi* [n.]; thence ‘heir’, e.g. OIr. *orb(b)e* [m.], Go. *arbja*, OHG *arpeo*, *erbo* [m.].

Melchert fthc., for which see Kloekhorst 2008, argues that Hitt. *harp-<sup>ua(n)</sup>*, *harp-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to separate oneself and reassociate, change allegiance, join with’ (from an original middle \**h<sub>3</sub>erbʰ-to*) preserves the original verbal root, with a derivative \**h<sub>3</sub>orbʰ-o-* which developed a specialized meaning ‘bereft, orphan’ in some languages (Gr., Lat.) but a meaning ‘inheritance, heir’ in other (Celt., Gm.).

Compare loanwords into Uralic languages, e.g. Fi. *orbo*, *orvo* ‘orphan’.

ὄρφνη [f.] ‘dark(ness), murk, night’ (Thgn., Pi.). <?>

•VAR Dor. -ᾱ.

•DER ὄρφν-αῖος ‘dark, murky’ (Il.), -ώδης ‘id.’ (Hp.) and several expressions for ‘dark color, dark red’: ὄρφν-ινος (Pl., X.), -ιος ‘id.’ (Arist., Plu.), -ῆεις (Q. S., Man.), -ός (Nic.); unclear ὄρφν-ίτας [m.] (Dor.), epithet of τάλαρος (AP).

•ETYM The similarity with ἔρεβος has often been observed. If related to ὄρφνη, we would have to posit a basis \**h<sub>3</sub>rgʷ-sno-* (with the same suffix as in the opposite λύχνος < \**luk-sno-*) > PGr. \**erkʷhno-*, from which a feminine *orgʷhna-* was created, with secondary *o*-grade (Schwebeablaut with \**h<sub>3</sub>orgʷ-sno-* is unattractive).

Also compared with a Germanic adjective for dark shades of color, e.g. OHG *erpf* ‘fuscus’, OE *eorp*, *earp* ‘dark-colored, blackish’, from PGm. \**erpa-*; to this also belong names of the partridge (with different ablaut), e.g. OHG *repa-huon*, and Slavic words with nasal, e.g. Ru. *rjab* ‘motley’, CS *jerěbь* ‘partridge’.

Comparison with Arm. *arjn* ‘dark brown’ < QIE \**argʷhen-*, \**orgʷhen-* has been proposed as well (Scheftelowitz BB 29 (1905): 17). ToB *erkennt-*, ToA *arkant-* ‘black’ are unclear, as are ToB *orkamo* ‘dark’, ToA *orkām* ‘darkness’. All in all, neither comparison is convincing.

ὄρφως name of a large seafish of the genus of the perches, ‘Serranus gigas’ or ‘Polyprion cernum’ (com., Arist.). <?>

•VAR Also -ῶς, -ῷ, -ῶν; secondary ὄρφος or ὄρφος (Arist.); acc. to Hdn. Gr. 1, 224, ὄρφος κοινῶς, ὄρφῶς δὲ Ἀπτικῶς.

•DER ὄρφ-ίσκος [m.] = κίχλη as a fish name (Pancrat. Ep. *apud* Ath.), -ακίνης [m.] ‘young ὄρφῶς’ (Dorio *apud* Ath.), derived from \*ὄρφαξ (cf. δέλφαξ, etc.) with a suffix -ινη- like in δελφак-ίνη, ἐλαφ-ίνης, etc.; ὄρφ-εὺς [m.] = ὄρφῶς (Marc. Sid., Alex.), with allusion to the PN. Details in Thompson 1947 s.v. and Strömberg 1943: 21f.

•ETYM Formation like the fish names λαγῶς, -ός (originally a compound?), ἀχαρνῶς, etc. Often compared to ὄρφνη, with reference to the color (see Strömberg 1943: 21f.), but unclear in detail. Connected with ὄρφος in ὄρφο-βόται (see ▶ ὄρφανός) by Bechtel 1917a: 32, but without semantic argumentation; perhaps because of its solitary way of life (described by Arist. as μονήρης)? Borrowed as Lat. *orphus*, MoHG *Orf*.

ὄρχαμος [m.] only in the Homeric formulae ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν, ὄρχαμε λαῶν, later ὄρχαμος στρατοῦ (A. Pers. 129 [lyr.]), etc. <PG?>

•ETYM Etymology and meaning debated. Traditionally derived from ἄρχω with a superlative suffix -μο-, and interpreted as ‘leader’. If inherited, the *o*-vocalism must be due to ablaut (cf. ὄγμιος : ἄγω). Fur.: 342 thinks that ἀ-/ὀ- (in ἄρχω/ ὄρχαμος) points to a Pre-Greek word. However, Bechtel 1914 s.v. and others proposed to compare ὄρχατος ‘ordered plantation’ and cognates (see on ▶ ὄρχος) in the sense ‘protecting wall (of the men)’, like ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν; Wright *Class. Rev.* 29 (1915): 111f. compared ὄρχος ‘row of trees’.

ὄρχας 1 [f.] ‘kind of olive’ (Nic.). ⇒ ὄρχις.

ὄρχας 2 · περίβολος, αἵμασιὰ ‘enclosure, wall’ (H.). •VAR ὄρχατος. ⇒ ὄρχος.

ὄρχεομαι [v.] ‘to dance’, act. ‘to make dance’ (Il., Ion., trag.). <IE? \**h<sub>3</sub>ergʰ-* ‘mount(?)’>

•VAR Aor. ὀρχήσασθαι (Od.).

•COMP Also with prefixes like ὑπ-, κατ-, ἐξ-.

•DER 1. Action noun ὀρχ-ηθμός [m.] ‘dance’ (Hom., *h. Ap.*), -ησμός [m.] ‘id.’ (A.), -ηστύς [f.] ‘id.’ (Hom., E. *Cyc.* 171), like καθαριστύς; younger -ησις [f.] ‘id.’ (post-Hom.), -ημα (ὑπ-) [n.] ‘id.’ (Simon., S., Pl.). 2. Agent noun ὀρχ-ηστήρ (Il.), -ηστής, Dor. -ηστάς (Il., Thera, OAtt.) [m.] ‘dancer’ with fem. -ηστρίς (com., Pl.), -ήστρια (Moer.). 3. the *nomen loci* ὀρχ-ήστρα [f.] ‘dancing-room, orchestra’ (Pl., Arist.). 4. adjective -ηστικός ‘ptng. to dance(r)s, fit for dancing’ (Pl., Arist.).

•ETYM Taken by Frisk as an iterative-intensive formation from primary ▶ ἔρχομαι (but DELG finds this unconvincing, both formally and semantically). Skt. *ṛghāyāti* ‘to tremble, scream, rage’, which is traditionally compared (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 249), is indirectly connected at best. In inscriptions, ὀρχεομαι is often found in the meaning ‘to mount’ (Watkins *BSL* 70 (1975): 11-26, especially 18-19, and LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**h<sub>3</sub>ergʰ-*; the latter remarks that the semantic developments are unclear in detail). However, in view of the reconstruction given under ▶ ὄρχις, Watkins’s connection with the word for ‘testicle’ is dubious.

**ὄρχιλος** [m.] name of a small bird, probably 'wren' (Ar., Arist., Thphr.); details in Thompson 1895 s.v. <?>

•VAR On the accent Schwyzer: 485; also -ιλος (mss.).

•ETYM Formation like κορθ-, τροχ-ίλος, etc., perhaps from ὀρχέομαι because of the liveliness of the bird. Unclear.

**ὄρχις, -εως** [m.] 'testicles' (IA); also the plant name 'orchid' (Thphr., Dsc.), after the shape of the root, and a kind of olive (Colum.), after the shape of the fruit (see Strömberg 1940: 37 and 55). <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>(e/o)rǵʰ-i- 'testicle'>

•VAR Ion. gen. -ιος, plur. mostly -εις, -ιες.

•COMP ὄρχι-πεδα [n.pl.] 'scrota, testicles' (Ar.), whence ὄρχι-πεδίζω (Ar., H.); ἔν-ορχις 'provided with testicles, uncastrated' (Hdt., Luc.), also ἔν-ορχος (Ψ 147, Hp.), ἐν-όρχης also 'buck' (Ar., Arist., Theoc.), with substantivizing -ις (see Schwyzer: 451), -ής (Milete VI<sup>a</sup>), with shift to an s-stem (see Schwyzer: 513).

•DER Diminutives ὀρχίδια [pl.n.] (Dsc.) and ὀρχάς, -άδος [f.] 'kind of olive' (Nic., Verg.).

•ETYM An old inherited word, retained in several languages. Ignoring enlargements, ὄρχις agrees with Arm. *orjik* [pl.] 'testicles', gen. -woc' < IE \*h<sub>3</sub>(o)rǵʰ-i-*io-*, and with Alb. *herdhë* [f.] 'id.' < QIE \*h<sub>3</sub>erǵʰ-i<sub>h</sub>, [du.], Mlr. *uirgge* [f.] 'id.' < \*Horgʰi<sub>h</sub>ā-. Av. *arazi* [m.du.] 'id.' points to a zero grade IE \*Hrǵʰ-i-h<sub>1</sub>. Beside the inherited i-stem in Hitt. *arki-* [c.] 'testicle' < \*h<sub>3</sub>rǵʰ-i-, Hittite also has a verbal root *ark-<sup>a(r)</sup>*, *ār<sup>k</sup>-i* / *ark-* 'to mount, cover, copulate' < \*h<sub>3</sub>rǵʰ-, \*h<sub>3</sub>orǵʰ-, with loss of initial \*h<sub>3</sub> in front of \*r and of \*o (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.).

A derivative in -l- is found in Baltic, e.g. Lith. *eřžilas*, dial. *arž-* [m.] 'stallion', where the vocalism of the former can be explained to be secondary by Rozwadowski's change (a recent overview of this effect is found in Derksen *Baltu Filologija* 11 (2002): 5-12).

The material shows that we may safely reconstruct initial \*h<sub>3</sub>- for PIE, which is also what the o-vocalism in most languages points to. In our reconstruction \*h<sub>3</sub>(o)rǵʰ-i-, it is unknown what the exact original ablaut pattern looked like: Greek and Hittite may continue a zero grade, Avestan certainly attests to it, and Armenian may do so as well, if \*h<sub>3</sub>e- yields Arm. *ho-* as opposed to \*h<sub>3</sub>o- > o-, as per Kortlandt 2003: 42.

**ὄρχος** [m.] 'row of vines or fruit trees' (η 127, ω 341, Hes. Sc. 296, B., Ar., X., Thphr.). <PG(V)>

•VAR ὄρχος [m.] 'border of the eyelid, ταρσός' (Poll. 2, 69); ὄρχας περίβολος, αἰμασιά 'enclosure, wall' (H.), ὀρχάδος στέγης (S. Fr. 812); ὀρχηδόν (Hdt. 7, 144) is explained by H. as ἡβηδόν 'from youth upwards', but usually as 'in a row, general'.

•DER ὄρχατος [m.] 'ordered plantation, garden' (η 112, ω 222, AP), plur. 'rows of garden plants, fruit trees or vines' (Ξ 123, E. Fr. 896, 2, Moschio Trag. 6, 12), metaph. ὀδόντων, κίωνων ὄρχατος (AP, Ach. Tat.).

With a suffix -μ-: ὄρχιμαί, φραγμοί, καλαμώνες, φάραγγες, σπῆλυγξ 'fences, reed-beds, chasms, caves' (H.); ὄρχιμους, λοχιμῶδες καὶ ὄρειον χωρίον οὐκ ἐπεργαζόμενον 'bushy and mountaineous area, uncultivated land' (Lex.); in the same mg. ὀρχάμη (Poll. 7, 147).

•ETYM If the *hapax* ὀρχηδόν is correctly understood as 'following the row', the meaning 'row' has to be accepted for ὄρχος, as well. The word ὄρχατος was probably a collective abstract meaning 'order of rows (of plants)'. Thus, it seems hardly possible to combine the above words under a notion 'fence, enclosure', which hardly fits ὄρχος. Thus, the traditional connection with IE \*uerǵʰ- 'to turn, wind together, fence in' in Lith. *veržiù* 'to fence in, string', ON *virgill* 'snare', MoHG *er-würgen*, etc. becomes unlikely for semantic reasons; the same holds for the comparison with Lith. *sér̃gmi* 'to preserve, watch over' (Fraenkel KZ 72 (1955): 193ff.).

The connection of the TNs Ὀρχομενός (older Ἐρχ-; cf. Schwyzer: 255) and Illyrian Ὀργομεναί (Krahe ZNF 7 (1931): 25<sup>4</sup> and Krahe ZNF 11: 81) is commonly accepted.

As there is no IE etymology, it seems more probable that the word is Pre-Greek (note the agricultural meanings, and the name of the town with its variants). See ▶ εἶργω, ▶ ἔρχατος, and ▶ ὄρχαμιος.

**ὅς 1** [pron.rel.] 'who, which' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>i-o- 'which'>

•VAR ἦ, ὅ.

•DER ὅτερος 'who, which of the two' (Cret.), also ὅσ-τις, ὅ-τε, οἶος, ὅσος, etc.

•ETYM Inherited and identical with Skt. *yás*, *yā́*, *yád*, Av. *yō*, *yā*, *yať*, OPhr. *ios*, NPhr. *ios*, from IE \*Hi-o-s, *Hi-eh<sub>2</sub>*, *Hi-o-d*. Old too is ὅτερος = Skt. *yatará-*, Av. *yatāra-* 'id.'. The original function was not relative, but rather demonstrative (the pronominal stem \*h<sub>1</sub>i-); see Gonda *Lingua* 4 (1954-1955): 1ff., Gonda 1956: 96f., 126, and Monteil 1963: 1-17. Thus, in the framework of the development of initial \*i- versus \*H<sub>1</sub>i-, ὅς testifies to PIE \*H<sub>1</sub>i- > PGr. *j-*, PIE \*i- > Gr. *ζ-*.

**ὅς 2** [pron.demonstr.] •VAR in καὶ ὅς, etc. ⇒ ὅ.

**ὅς 3** [pron.poss.] 'suus'. ⇒ ἔ.

**ὀσιος** [adj.] 'sanctioned or permitted', by the gods or by nature, 'pleasing to the gods, just (= Lat. *fas*), devout, ritually pure' (Thgn., IA), cf. ὀσίη below. On the mg. of ὀσιος, -ίη, see on ▶ ἱερός and also Terstegen 1941, Jeanmaire *REGr.* 58 (1945): 66ff., van der Valk *REGr.* 64 (1951): 417ff. <?>

•VAR Substantivized τὸ ὀσιον, τὰ ὀσια.

•COMP As a second member in ἀν-όσιος (IA), probably a bahuvrīhi 'who is without τὸ ὀσιον, ἡ ὀσία' (Frisk 1941: 10f.), ἀφ-όσιος = ἀν-όσιος (Eg. inscr. I<sup>a</sup>), see Strömberg 1946: 41.

•DER ὀσία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'divine or natural law, law, holy custom, holy service' (Od.), probably for ὀσία (Frisk); ὀσιό-της [f.] 'divine obedience, piety' (Pl., X.).

Denominative ὀσιό-ομαι, -ω 'to purify (oneself), hallow' (IA), especially with ἀφ-, also with καθ- and ἐξ-. Thence (ἀφ-, καθ-)οσίωσις [f.] 'purification, hallowing' (D. H., Plu.), ἀφοσίωματα, καθάρματα, καθάρσια 'purifications' (H.), ὀσιωτήρ [m.] 'purificator', name of a sacrificial animal in Delphi (Plu.).

•ETYM There is no convincing etymology. Often explained as a derivative in -ιο- from a participial form \*s-o-to- beside alleged \*seto- in ἐτά- ἀληθῆ (see ▶ ἐτάζω). However, the root for 'to be' is now established as \*hes-, and the type of formation assumed is untenable. The older connection with Skt. *satyá-* 'true' < IE \*h<sub>1</sub>s-nt-io-

fails because there is no reflex of the laryngeal, and because of the vocalization \**u* > *o*, which is not found in this environment in any dialect.

The derivation from \**soto-* (from a different root \**set-*, seen in ►ἐτάζω and ►έτεός) is defended by Pinault 1996: 43f.: \**sotijo-* ‘conforme à l’ordre établi, pieux’. Cf. Benveniste 1969:2: 198-202. A recent attempt by Willi JHS (2008): 153-172 is unconvincing (see on ►νόσος).

ὄσμή = ὀδμή. ⇒ ὄζω.

ὄσος [pron.rel.] ‘how great’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>i-o-* ‘who’>

•VAR Epic ὄσος, -η, -ον.

•ETYM Derived from the relative ►ός; see s.v. and on ►τόσος.

ὄσπριον [n.]. ‘pulse, legumen’ (IA). <?>

•VAR Mostly plur.; late also -εον.

•COMP ὄσπριο-πώλης [m.] ‘pulse trader’ (Att. inscr.), ὄσπρ-ηγός < \*ὄσπρε-ηγός (Schulze 1933a: 430<sup>4</sup>) ‘transporter of ὄ.’ (Abydos V-VI<sup>p</sup>).

•DER ὄσπρι-ώδης ‘like a pulse’ (Aq., Orib.), -γίτης [m.] (-γ- spirantic indicator of hiatus) ‘pulse trader, pulse planter’ (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>); ὄσπρ-εῦω [v.] ‘to sow with ὄ.’ (Att. inscr.).

•ETYM No etymology; probably a loan (Chantraine 1933: 55). IE hypotheses (see Frisk s.v.): connection with σπείρον ‘cover’ or with σπείρω ‘to sow’, but these are impossible, since ὀ- is not a prothetic vowel.

ὄσσα [f.]. ‘(prognostic) voice, rumour’ (B 93). <IE \**uok<sup>w</sup>-ih<sub>2</sub>* ‘voice’>

•VAR Att. ὄττα.

•DER ὀττεύομαι [v.] ‘to wait for omens, interpret, predict’ (Ar., Plb., D. H., Plu.), ὀττεία [f.] ‘prediction’ (D. H.); probably after μαντεύομαι.

•ETYM Formation like γλώσσα (to γλῶχες), derived with a suffix -ια from ὀπ- ‘voice’, as seen in accus. ὀπα, etc. (see ►\*ὄψ 1).

ὄσσε [n.du.]. ‘both eyes’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>-* ‘see, face’>

•COMP As a second member in τρι-οττ-ίς [f.] ‘pendant provided with three eyes (eye-like ornaments)’ (cf. τρίγλημα ἔρματα) with the diminutive suffix -ιον (Hdn. Gr., Eust.); also -ης [m.] (Phot., EM).

•ETYM An inherited dual, from PGr. \**ok<sup>w</sup>ie* < \**h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>ih<sub>2</sub>*, identical with OCS *oči* ‘both eyes’, Arm. *ač’k’* [pl.] ‘eyes’. See Forssman MSS 25 (1969): 39f. See ►ὄμμα, ►ὄπωπα, and ►ὄσσομαι.

ὄσσομαι [v.]. ‘to look, forebode, presage’ (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>-* ‘see’>

•COMP Also with προτι-, ἐπι-, κατ-.

•ETYM An old *yod*-present from PIE \**h<sub>3</sub>k<sup>w</sup>-ie/o-*, from the root \**h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>-* ‘see, face’. The present ὄσσομαι had a semantic development different from the non-presentic forms ὄπωπα, ὄψομαι, etc.; cf. Treu 1955: 62f. Att. ὀττεύομαι is rather derived from ►ὄσσα. See ►ὄπωπα, ►ὄμμα, and ►ὄσσε.

ὄστακός ⇒ ἀστακός.

ὄσταφίς ⇒ ἀσταφίς.

ὄστέον [n.]. ‘bone’ (Il.), also ‘stone of a fruit’ (pap. III<sup>a</sup>), see below. <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>esth<sub>1</sub>-i-* ‘bone’>

•VAR Att. ὀστούν, Aeol. plur. -ια, Dor. (Theoc.) -ία.

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. ὀστ(ε)ο-κόπος [m.] name of a bone-disease (Hp., Thphr., Gal.), ὀλ-όστέον [n.] ‘Plantago Bellardi’, a substantivized bahuvrihi ‘consisting only of bones’, because of its healing power; cf. ὀστεο-κόλλος [f.] and Strömberg 1940: 88f. and 32.

•DER Diminutives: ὀστ-άριον [n.] (medic.), -αρίδιον [n.] (Pall.); adjectives -έϊνος (IA), -ίνοος (Ar. Ach. 863 [Boeot.], Arist.), -όϊνος (Aq.) ‘made of bone’, -ώδης (X., Arist.), -εώδης (Plu.) ‘bony’; -ίτης [m.] ‘ptng. to the bones’ (Ruf.).

•ETYM The PIE word for ‘bone’ was originally a neuter root noun, as evidenced by Av. *ast-* (e.g. gen. *astō*, acc. *asča* < \**ast-ča*) and by Lat. *os* < *oss* < \**ost*, gen. *ossis*.

It was transformed in various ways in other languages, e.g. Skt. *ásti-i* [nom.acc.], *asth-n-ás* [gen.] with interchange of *i* and *n*, and Hitt. *ḫaštāi* / *ḫašti-* with ablaut \**ōi* : *i*. The root shape must have been \**HestH-* (as shown by Skt. *-th-*). The initial laryngeal is shown to be \**h<sub>3</sub>-* by Lat. *os* (root nouns generally have *e*-vocalism), while Greek ὄστέον shows that root-finally we have \**-h<sub>1</sub>-*. The Greek ending -εον < \**-ei-o-* is probably a thematization of the full grade of the IE suffix \**-i-*, which also seems to be found in Skt. *hṛd-aya-* [n.] ‘heart’ beside *hṛd-i* ‘id.’ (cf. ►καρδία).

The words ►ὄστρακον, ►ἀστράγαλος, ►ἀστακός, ►ὄστρύα, and ►ὄσφύς are unrelated.

ὄστλιγξ, -ιγγος [f.]. ‘lock of hair, tendril, vine, curling flames, tentacle of an octopus’ (Thphr., Call., A. R., Nic., Hdn. Gr.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ἄστλ- (Hdn. Gr. 1,44).

•ETYM Formation like εἰλιγξ, στρόφιγξ, θῶμιγξ, πύλιγγες, etc., with comparable meanings (Chantraine 1933: 399f., Schwyzler: 498); otherwise obscure. The word is Pre-Greek, as is shown by the varying anlaut and the suffix -ιγγ-. Fur. 276 also refers to \*ὄστρυγξ in ὀστρύγγιον ἢ ἐπιφυλλίς ‘racemus’, ‘stalk of a bunch of berries’ (gloss.; not in LSJ). H. has ἄστλιγγας αὐγὰς ἢ ἄστριγγας; EM 159, 38 has ἄστριγγας.

ὄστρακον [n.]. ‘hard shell of snails, mussels, turtles, etc.’ (*h. Merc.*, A., Hp., Arist.), ‘earthen potsherd (for writing on, e.g. at a vote), earthen vessel’ (Hp., Att.). <PG(V)>

•COMP Few, e.g. ὀστρακό-δερμος ‘having a shell for skin, with a hard skin’ (Batr., Arist.), μαλακ-όστρακος ‘with a soft shell’ (Arist.).

•DER A. Substantives: 1. Diminutive ὀστράκ-ιον [n.] (Arist., Str.); 2. -ίς, -ίδος [f.] ‘pine-cone’ (Mnesith. *apud* Ath.); 3. -εύς [m.] ‘potter’ (APl.). 4. -ᾶς [m.] ‘id.’ (inscr. Corycos, Hdn. Gr.); 5. -ίτης [m.] name of a stone (Dsc., Plin.), of a kitchen (Ath.), fem. -ίτις ‘calamine’ (Dsc., Plin.); 6. -ίας [m.] name of a stone (Plin.).

B. Adjectives: 7. -ίνοος, 8. -ε(ι)ός, 9. -όεις (AP), -οῦς (Gal.) ‘earthen’; 10. -ώδης ‘shell- or sherd-like, full of sherds’ (Arist., LXX, pap.). 11. -ηρά [n.pl.] ‘crustaceans’ (Arist.).

C. Adverb: 12. -ίῳδα ‘played with potsherds’ (Ar.), see Taillardat REA 58 (1956): 189ff.

D. Verbs: 13. -ίζω ‘to write sbd.’s name on a potsherd and thus vote for his exile; to exile’ (At., Arist.) with -ισμός [m.] ‘ostracism’ (Arist.); 14. -όομαι ‘to crack into

pieces' (A.), 'to become covered with a shell' (Lyc., Gal.), -όω 'to turn into a shell, harden' (Arist.), 'to cover with sherds' (Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Traditionally (Schwyzer: 497, Chantraine 1933: 384), it was assumed to be a formation in -ακο- derived from an *r*-stem ὄστ-ρ-, seen also in ► ὄστρεον. This *r*-stem was assumed to interchange with the *i/n*-stem in Skt. *ásthi*, gen. *asthnás* (see ► ὀστέον). However, there is no alternation between *\*r/n* and *\*i* in IE, nor a suffix *\*-ηko-* (as per DELG) leading to Gr. -ακο-. Therefore, the word must be Pre-Greek (not in Fur.).

The suffix -ακο- is also seen in ► ἀστακός 'smooth lobster; hollow of the ear', which may be related as a Pre-Greek word, displaying typical variations. The same holds for ► ἀστράγαλος.

**ὄστρεον, -εον** [n.] 'oyster, mussel, sea-snail; purple dye' (A., Epich., Att.). ◀PG(S)▶

•COMP ὄστρειο-γραφής 'painted with purple' (Eleg. *apud* Plu.), λιμν-όστρεα [pl.] 'pond oysters' (Arist.).

•DER ὄστρ-εῖνος 'mussel-like, provided with a shell(?)' (Pl.), -ῖνος 'purple' (POxy. 109, 5; III-IV<sup>p</sup>), probably from Lat. *ostrinus* 'id.' (since Varro), cf. below; -ε(ι)ώδης 'oyster-like' (Arist., Str.), -εἰακός 'belonging to oysters' (Zonar.), -ίτης [m.] kind of stone (Orph. L.).

•ETYM The old etymology, which analyzes ὄστρε(ι)ον as a suffix -ε(ι)ο- added to a stem ὄστρ- 'bone', which is also assumed for ὄστρακον, is wrong, as there is no evidence for an Indo-European pre-form *\*ostr-* meaning 'bone' (see on ► ὄστρακον). Therefore, the word must be Pre-Greek. I assume that -ε(ι)- continues a Pre-Greek suffix *-ay-* (Pre-Greek: Suffixes s.v. -αι/-ε(ι)-). For a word with this meaning, substrate origin is most likely in any case.

It was borrowed as Lat. *ostreum* [n.], *ostre-* [f.] (from ὄστρεα [n.pl.]), together with *ostr-inus* (whence Gr. ὄστρινος; see above), -*eātus*, -*eārius*, etc.; thence MoHG *Auster*, etc.

**ὄστριμον** [n.] 'stable, fold' (Antim., H.), Ὀστρίμια [pl.] name of a mountain (Lyc.). ◀PG?▶

•ETYM Improbable hypothesis by Bezzenger BB 27 (1902): 174, who reconstructs *\*h<sub>2</sub>od<sup>h</sup>-tro-*, comparing the Germanic group of OS *edor* 'fence' < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ed<sup>h</sup>ro-* and the Slavic group of OCS *odrǫ* 'bed' < *\*h<sub>2</sub>od<sup>h</sup>ro-*: both the Greek suffixation and the formation in *\*-tro-* remain unexplained. Acc. to Frisk, ὄστριμον belongs to ► ὄστρακον, ► ὄστρεον, assuming a prior meaning *\*'protecting roof'*, for which he gives a parallel in Lat. *lestūdō* 'tortoise', also 'protecting roof'.

Since there is no IE etymology, the word may be Pre-Greek, although there appears no further indication for this.

**ὄστρῦα, -ύη** [f.] name of a tree with hard, white wood, 'hop hornbeam, Ostrya carpinifolia' (Thphr., Plin.). ◀PG▶

•VAR Also ὄστρύς, -ύος (or -υς, -υός?), and ὄστρυῖς, -ίδος.

•ETYM Frisk compares ► ὄστρεον, but the semantics are weak. The assumption of syllable dissimilation from *\*ὄστρο-δρυς* is extremely doubtful. Heubeck 1961: 37 and

Neumann Glotta 37 (1958): 106-112 consider ὄστρυς to be Pre-Greek. Indeed, the enlargements -ύς, -ύα, -ύίς are typical for an adapted foreign word. Not in Fur.

**ὄσφραίνομαι** [v.] 'to catch scent of, smell' (IA). ◀IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>ed-* 'smell' + *\*g<sup>wh</sup>reh<sub>1</sub>-*▶

•VAR Aor. ὄσφρ-έσθαι (Att.); ὠσφραντο (Hdt. 1, 80), fut. ὄσφρ-ήσομαι (Att.), also ὄσφραν-θῆναι (Hp., Arist.), -θήσομαι (LXX), younger present ὄσφρ-ᾶται (Paus., Luc.), aor. ὠσφρ-ήσαντο, -ήθη (Arat., Ael.). Rare and late causative ὄσφραίνω 'to give to smell, make smell' (Gal., Gr.), also with ἀπ-, συν-, παρ-, etc.

•COMP Rarely with περι-, ὑπ-, κατ-. Compound καπν-οσφράντης [m.] 'who smells smoke' (Com. Adesp., Alciph.).

•DER 1. ὄσφρ-ησις [f.] 'olfactory sense or organ' (Pl., Arist.), 2. -ασία [f.] 'smell, smelling' (LXX, Arr.), 3. -ανσις [f.] 'olfactory sense' (Clearch.). 4. back-formation ὄσφραι [f.pl.] 'flavours, smell' (Ach. Tat.) with ὄσφράδιον [n.] 'bunch of flowers' (Eust.). 5. ὄσφρ-αντήριος 'smelling, sniffing' (Ar.), 6. -αντικός 'smelling, able to smell' (Arist.), -ητικός 'id.' (Gal., D. L.); 7. -αντός (Arist.), -ητός (S. E., Gal.) 'smellable'.

•ETYM The triad ὄσφρέσθαι : ὄσφρήσομαι : ὄσφρητός corresponds to αἰσθέσθαι : αἰσθήσομαι : αἰσθητός, which is semantically related and much more frequent; ὄσφραίνομαι may have been built after this on the basis of examples like ἀλιτέσθαι : ἀλιταίνομαι, βήσομαι : βαίνω, πεφήσεται : φαίνω, etc.; ὄσφρανθῆναι possibly after εὐσφρανθῆναι, and ὠσφραντο (Hdt.) probably after ἡνείκαντο, etc.

It is widely agreed that the initial syllable contains a zero grade *s*-stem from the root *\*h<sub>3</sub>ed-* seen in ► ὄζω, ► ὀδμή, ► ὀσμή. This *s*-stem also occurs in the suffix -ώδης (s.v. ► ὄζω). Against further identification of ὄσφραίνομαι with ἀ-, εὐφραίνω (which belong to ► φρήν) speak the non-presentic forms ὄσφρέσθαι, -φρήσασθαι, for which no parallels exist in ἀ-, εὐφραίνω.

Brugmann's old connection (e.g. Brugmann IF 6 (1896): 100ff.) with Skt. *jighrati*, *ghrāti* 'to smell', *ghrāṇa-* [n.] 'scent, nose' is now followed by LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*g<sup>wh</sup>reh<sub>1</sub>-*. The verbal compound in Gr. ὄσφρη- < *\*h<sub>3</sub>eds-g<sup>wh</sup>reh<sub>1</sub>-* was compared with *\*mens-d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* in Ilr. *\*manz-d<sup>h</sup>ā-* by Schindler 1975: 266. Thus, all Greek forms derive from the future.

Seebold 1980: 482 also connected OE *bræð* 'smell, breath', etc.

**ὄσφυς, -ύος** [f.] 'hips, loin(s)' (IA). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR Accented thus in Hdn. Gr.; the codd. often have -ύς.

•COMP As a first element e.g. in ὄσφυ-αλγής (A. Fr. 361 = 111 M., Hp.) 'suffering from a hip-disease (lumbago)', with -έω, -ία (Hp.).

•DER Diminutive ὄσφύδιον [n.] (Theognost.).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. ἰξύς, νηδύς, etc. Often connected (but without serious argumentation) with ὄστ-έον, assuming different second members, e.g. φῦ- as in ἔφυν, or σφυ- as in σφυδών- ἰσχυρός ... 'strong' (H.). Fur.: 375 adduces φύς = ὄσφυς (AB 1096), with Doric loss of initial σ- before φ, pointing to a Pre-Greek prothetic vowel. He also accepts (op.cit. 393) the connection with ψύαι 'loin-muscles' and ► ψόαι, which was suggested already by Prellwitz and is too obvious to be discarded. Thus the word is clearly Pre-Greek.

**ὄσχη 1** [f.] 'scrotum' (Hp.). <PG?>

•VAR In the same mg. also ὄσχ-έα [f.], -εος [m.] (Arist.), -εον [n.] (Poll., H.). Also ὄσχεα· βαλλάντια, μαρσύπτια ἢ τὸ τῶν διδύμων ἀγγεῖον 'bags, purses or a sack of twins (sens. obsc.)' (H.).

•COMP ἀν-οσχὴν· ἀνανδρός 'unmanly' (H.).

•ETYM Explained by Frisk as a metaphorical use of ►ὄσχη 2. DELG considers this possible, but uncertain. Improbable is derivation from a prefix ὀ- (see ►ὀ- 2) and σχεῖν (suggestion by DELG). The word may well be Pre-Greek.

**ὄσχη 2** [f.] in ὄσχει· κλήματα βοτρῶν γέμοντα 'branches full of bunches of grapes' (H., similar Harp.; unclear Nic. *Al.* 109). <PG(ν)>

•VAR Also ὠσχη· κληματὶς 'vine-branch' (EM, Suid., H.); msc. plur. ὠσχοί· τὰ νέα κλήματα σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς βότρυσι 'young branches, with the bunches themselves' (H.); likewise, among others, EM 619, 32 with οἰ-, perhaps after οἶνος; sg. in Aristodem. *apud* Ath. 11, 495f.

•COMP Frequently in ὠσχο-φῶρια [n.pl.] name of an Athenian festive day, together with -φῶροι [m.pl.], -φορικός (since IV<sup>a</sup>); on the mg. see Rutgers van der Loeff *Mnem.* 43 (1915): 404ff.; codd. also ὀ- (cf. ὄσχος Ar. *Ach.* 997 as a conjecture). Hypostasis ἐπ-όσχιον [n.] 'offshoot of a vine' (Gal.).

•ETYM Scheftelowitz *IF* 33 (1913/1914): 141, 144f. hypothetically compares MP *azg* 'branch', MoP *azay* 'twig, bud', but this word is further isolated. Previously connected with σχεῖν 'to hold' with prefixed ὠ-, ὀ- (see Frisk for lit.), but this prefix does not exist in Greek (see ►ὀ- 2). The variation of the initial vowel rather shows that the word is Pre-Greek (not in Fur.).

**ὅτε** [conj.] 'when, as', mostly temporal (IA, Arc., Cypr.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>i-o-* 'if, when'>

•DIAL Myc. *o-te*, Aeol. ὅτα, Dor. ὅκα.

•ETYM Usually explained from the relative ὀ- < IE \**h<sub>1</sub>i-o-* and the particle -τε, -τα, -κα (cf. on ►εἶτα, ►ἡνίκα and Schwyzler: 629).

**ὄτλος** [m.] 'burden, load, suffering' (A. *Th.* 18, S. *Tr.* 7 sch.). <PG?>

•DER ὀτλ-έω (Call., A. R., Lyc.), -εύω (A. R., Babr.) [v.] 'to bear, undergo', -ημα [n.] 'distress' (H., Theognost.).

•ETYM Taken as a verbal noun to τλῆναι 'to bear, suffer', under the dubious assumption that the prothetic vowel ὀ- was rhythmically conditioned, or a prefix. However, this is no explanation, and moreover \**tlh<sub>2</sub>-o-* would give Gr. \*ταλο-, so the etymology is wrong. The word is probably Pre-Greek.

**ὄτοβος** [m.] 'noise, sharp sound' (Hes., A., S., Antim.). <ONOM, PG?>

•DER ὀτοβ-έω 'to produce noise' (A.).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic with a suffix -βο- like in θόρυβος, κόναβος, etc. Besides, there is the reduplicated interjection ὀτοτοῖ 'ah!, woe!' (trag.), with ὀτοτύζω 'to cry ὀτοτοῖ, lament' (A., Ar.); see Schwyzler: 716.

**ὀτόστυλλον** [n.] name of an unknown plant (Epich. 161 cited in Ath. 70f). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**ὀτραλέως** [adv.] 'swift, quick' (Γ 260, T 317, τ 100, Hes. Sc. 410, Sapph. 44, 11, A. R. 1, 1210). <?>

•VAR Also -λέος [adj.] 'id.' (Opp., Q. S.). Cf. ὀτρηρός 'id.' (Hom., Ar.).

•DER ὀτρύνω [v.] 'to encourage, urge, incite, stir up' (Il.), aor. ὀτρῦναι, fut. ὀτρυνῶ, also with prefix (always in prose), especially ἐπι-. Hence ὀτρυν-τύς, -ύν [f.] 'incitement' (T 234f., Antim. 91), -τικός 'inciting' (Eust.), -τεύς [m.] name of a Lydian, together with -τείδης (Υ 383f., 389); ἐργότρυς· κατάσκοπος ἔργων 'labour inspector' (H.), a back-formation.

•ETYM Like κλίνω < \*κλί-ν-ιω, ὀτρύνω < \*ὀτρυ-ν-ιω is an older nasal formation to which a presential *yod*-suffix was added. ὀτρηρός is undoubtedly a recent formation in -ηρός (on which, see Chantraine 1933: 231ff.); perhaps ὀτραλέος was formed to ὀτρύνω after the model θαρσαλέος : θαρσύνω.

The variation in ὀτρύνω : ὀτραλέως recalls that in τρυφάλεια : τράπεζα < \*(*k<sup>w</sup>*)*tyr-*. The form ὀτρύνω has therefore been analyzed as \*ὀ-τρῦ-ν-ιω, consisting of a prefix ὀ- and a zero grade IE \**tyr-* which metathesized to τρυ- (cf. on ►τρυφάλεια). In this way, connection with Skt. *tvárate* 'to hurry' and with the Germanic group of OHG *dweran* 'to turn round quickly' < IE \**tuer-* became possible. This analysis seems quite uncertain, however, since a prefix ὀ- probably did not exist in Greek; cf. ►ὀ- 2. See ►τορύνη 1.

**ὀτρίγη, -φάγος** ⇒ τρύγη.

**ὀτρύνω** ⇒ ὀτραλέως.

**ὀττεύομαι** ⇒ ὄσσα.

**οὐ** [pcl.] 'not' (Il.). <IE? \**h<sub>2</sub>eiu-* 'lifetime, long period'>

•VAR Antevocally οὐκ, οὐχ (Il.), οὐκί (epic), οὐχί (trag., also Hom. and Att. prose).

•DIAL Myc. *o-u-qe* 'and not'.

•ETYM Pre-Greek origin has been considered for a long time, until Cowgill *Lang.* 36 (1960): 347ff. connected the element with ►αἰών and cognates, assuming a basic expression \**ne h<sub>2</sub>oiu k<sup>w</sup>id*, where \**ne* is the sentence negative; it lost its meaning to the second element, a development which occurs more often. The syntagm would also explain Arm. *oč'* and Alb. *as* (cf. Kortlandt 2003: index).

The other Greek forms are easily explained in this way: Hom. οὐ-κί contains the IE indefinite pronoun \**k<sup>w</sup>id* and is the oldest form; thence οὐκ by elision and οὐχ with aspiration, if the latter was not elided from οὐ-χι, containing the stressing particle IE \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>i* (Pok. 417f.), like ναί-χι, ἦ-χι, etc. = Skt. *hí* (in *na-hí* 'since not', etc.), Av. *zi*.

From οὐδὲ εἰς arose οὐδεῖς, younger Att. and Koine οὐθεῖς 'nobody'; in the same way, οὐδ-αμοῦ, -αμοῖ, -αμῶς, -αμός, and -άμινος arose from ►\*άμιο-, ἄμια.

**οὐαί** [excl.] 'alas!' (LXX). <LW Sem.>

•ETYM A loan from Semitic; see Lowe *Hermathena* 105 (1967): 34-9.

**οὐγγία, οὐγκία** [f.] = Lat. *uncia*.

•VAR Also ὀγκία (Epich. 203).



•ETYM A loan from Latin by the Greeks of Sicily.

**οὐδας, -εος** [n.] 'ground, soil' (Il.). <PG?, ?>

•VAR Dat. -ει. On the inflexion see Chantraine 1942: 210f.

•DER οὐδαῖος 'on or under the ground' (Lyc., Orph., AP) and several hypostases: κατ-ουδαῖος 'subterranean' (Hes. Fr. 60, h. Merc., Call.), ὑπ-ουδαῖος 'id.' (Plu., Opp.), ἐπουδαῖοι· ἐπυχθόνιοι 'who dwell on the earth' (H.); προσ-ουδ-ίζω, -ίσαι [v.] 'to throw on the ground' (Hdt., Plu., D. C.), ἐποτούδιξε· κατέβαλεν ἐπὶ γῆν 'threw to the ground' (H.), containing the prefix ποτ-.

•ETYM There is no good etymology. Semantically attractive but phonetically difficult is the connection with Arm. *getin* 'bottom of the earth' < \**ueden-o-*, Hitt. *utnē* 'land' < \**ud-n-i-*, but then οὐ- remains unexplained; see ► οὐδός 'threshold' for details. See Peters 1980a: 57f. for a discussion of all possible reconstructions. One also compared ► ἔδαφος 'ground, bottom'.

**οὐδός** [m.] 'threshold' (Il.). <PG?, ?>

•VAR ὀδός (Att.), ὠδός (Cyrene, H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. A basis \*ὀδός enables connection with οὐδας, but only if one accepts that this is a generalized Ionic form (Att. \*ὀδας would be expected). The further connection of Arm. *getin* and Hitt. *utne* with οὐδας and οὐδός used to be justified by the assumption of a form \*ὀ-φοδ- besides ὀδός from \*φοδ-ός, but a prothetic vowel cannot be assumed anymore in an inherited word. In any case, \**h<sub>3</sub>uC-* did not give οὐC- (as per Peters 1980a: 72f.). In principle, οὐδός and οὐδας could be variants of the same Pre-Greek word. See ► οὐδας.

**οὐδών, -ῶνος** [m.] 'kind of felt-shoe made of goat hair' (Poll. 10, 50). <LW Asia Minor>

•DER Diminutive -ῶνιον (*Edict. Diocl.* [Asine]), -ωνάριον (Charis., gloss.).

•ETYM Borrowed as Lat. *ūdō*, -*ōnis* [m.], also *odō*. Acc. to Martialis 14, 140, the word is Cilician, thus a foreign word from Asia Minor; cf. WH s.v. and Neumann 1961: 33.

**οὐθαρ, -ατος** [n.] 'udder', also metaph. (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>e/ou(H)d<sup>h</sup>-r/n-* 'udder'>

•DER οὐθάτιος (AP), -όεις (Nic., Opp., Orph.) 'belonging to udders, fertile'.

•ETYM Old inherited word for 'udder', preserved in several languages. The original *r/n*-stem is also seen in Skt. *ūdhar*, gen. *ūdhnas*. In Lat. *ūber*, -*eris* [n.] (secondarily with adjectival mg. 'rich, fertile'), the *r*-stem was generalized, like in Germanic, e.g. MHG *üter*, ON *júgr* < \**jūdr* with deviating initial, and in Lith. *ūdr-óti*, 1sg. -*óju* 'to be pregnant', *pa-ūdróti* 'to get an ever larger udder', of pregnant swines and dogs. If the Germanic forms with initial \**e-* are not secondary, the root starts with \**h<sub>3</sub>-* and shows ablaut *e* / *o* / zero. Slavic rebuilt the word after the neuters in *-men*, e.g. SCr. *vīme*, Ru. *výmja* [n.].

The variations in anlaut seem to point to an old ablaut \**HeuHd<sup>h</sup>-*, *HouHd<sup>h</sup>-*, *HuHd<sup>h</sup>-*. Acc. to Schindler BSL 70 (1975): 7f., this reflects a PIE static heteroclitic formation. To explain the Greek form, the Saussure Effect is assumed: loss of the laryngeal after a root with *o*-grade and a resonant or semivowel. However, if the length in Skt. could

be explained in a different way, there is no need to reconstruct the internal laryngeal at all, since in Balto-Slavic, initial \**HuC-* merges with \**uHC-* (see Pronk fthc.c).

**οὐλαί** [f.pl.] '(unground) barley corns, roasted and sprinkled between the horns of the sacrificial animal' (Ion. since γ 441); Lat. *mola salsa*. <PG(V)>

•VAR ὀλαί (Att.), ὀλοαί (Arc. II<sup>a</sup>). Cf. ὀλπα· χόνδρου τις ἐψησις. ἔδεσμά τι 'cooking of groats, a dish'. ἦ ὀλβος 'wealth, blessed state' (H.).

•COMP As a first member in οὐλο-χύτας [acc.pl.f.] 'id.' (Hom.); οὐλόχυτα· τὰ κατάργματα 'first offerings' (H.); compounds of οὐλαί and ► χέω with a suffix -το- (cf. e.g. ἀκμό-θετον); οὐλο-χύτας took the gender of οὐλαί (but acc. to Schwyzler: 439, it stands for \*οὐλὰς χυτάς); thence οὐλοχυτ-έομαι [v.] 'to besprinkle with οὐ.' (Thphr. *apud* Porph.). Also οὐλο-χόιον (-χοῖον?)· ἀγγεῖον, εἰς ὃ αἱ ὀλαὶ ἐμβάλλονται πρὸς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν θυσῶν 'vessel in which the ὀ. are thrown at the beginning of sacrifices' (H.); as if from \*οὐλο-χόος, -χοέω.

•DER Also (with ὀλβ- = ὀλφ-) ὀλβ-άχιον [n.] 'basket for the ὀλαί' (EM 257, 53 [Syracuse]), ὀλβάχιον· κανοῦν. Δεινόλοχος (H.); ὀλβακήϊα 'id.' (Dor., acc. to H. s.v. εὐπλουτον κανοῦν); ὀλαγμεύειν· ὀλὰς βάλλειν 'to throw ὀ.' (Phot.) with ὀλαμεύς· ὁ (cod. τὸ) τὰς ὀλὰς βάλλων 'he who throws the ὀ.' (H.).

•ETYM The second o in Arc. ὀλοαί may stand for φ (cf. δοάν = δφάν, see ► δήν), from which we obtain a basic form ὀλφαί. The comparison with ὄλφραι and ► ἔλυμος 'barley' is hypothetical. In view of the gloss ὀλπα (H.), which Fur.: 155 and 240 connects with ► ὀλβος under an original meaning 'Nahrung, Getreide', it is probably Pre-Greek.

**οὐλαμός** [m.] 'throng, crowd' (Il.: οὐλαμός ἀνδρῶν); metaph. of bees (Nic.); technical usage 'troop of cavalry' (Plb., Plu.). <IE? \**uel-* 'press together'>

•COMP As a first member in οὐλαμη-φόρος, οὐλαμ-ώνυμος (Lyc.); details in Trümper 1950: 159.

•ETYM From γόλαμος (=φόλ-)· διωγμός 'pursuit' (H.), a pre-form (φ)ολαμός with metrical lengthening is deduced (cf. Chantraine 1942: 124f.). This is derived from ► εἰλέω 1 'to press together', with an *o*-grade root and suffixal -αμ-, like ποταμός, πλόκαμος.

**οὐλαφος** [m.]· νεκρός 'corpse' (H.). <PG(S)>

•DER Also in οὐλαφη-φόρος 'bearer of corpses' (Call. *Iamb.* 1, 234).

•ETYM Often connected with ► οὐλος 3 as containing a suffix -φο- (cf. Chantraine 1933: 263). However, it rather seems to be an independent Pre-Greek word.

**οὐλε** 'salve' (ω 402). = ὄλος.

**οὐλή** [f.] 'scarred wound, scar' (Od.). <IE \**uel-* 'draw, tear'>

•COMP οὐλο-πρόσωπος 'with scarred countenance' (Cat. Cod. Astr.).

•DER οὐλόομαι, -όω [v.] 'to scar, cause scars' (Arist.), with -ωσις (Gal.), -ωμα (Suid.) 'scarring'.

•ETYM From a pre-form \**wolnā-*, but without a direct counterpart outside Greek. Closest is Lat. *volnus* [n.] 'wound' < PIt. \**welanos-* < QIE \**uelh<sub>3</sub>-nos-*. Celtic words

like MW *gweli* [m.] 'wound', also 'blood' < \**ueliso-* (vel sim.), OIr. *fuil* [f.] 'blood' < \**uolH-i-* are root-related.

As a common basis for these nouns, the root \**uelh<sub>3</sub>-* 'to strike' must be assumed, as represented by Hitt. *uallh<sub>2</sub>-zi* 'to hit', Lat. *vellō* 'to pull out' and, within Greek (with change of meaning), ►ἀλίσκομαι 'to be caught'. The loss of laryngeal in \**uolH-neh<sub>2</sub>-* > PGr. *wolnā-* can be attributed to the Saussure Effect; for an alternative, see Van Beek 2009.

**οὔλιος** 'baneful'. ⇒ οὔλος 3.

**οὔλον** [n.] 'gums' (Hp., A., Pl., Arist.). ◀?▶

•VAR Mostly plur. -α.

•ETYM The basic form is uncertain: \*(f)όλσον, \*(f)όλνον, or even (if an Ion. loan into Att.) \*(f)όλφον? It is etymologically uncertain as well: both the connection with ειλέω, εἴλωμαι 'press together' (referring to the compact, massive structure of the gums) and that with ειλέω 'to turn, wind', ειλύω 'to envelop' (properly \*\*'tumor, envelopment'; Pok. 1141, WH s.v. *gingīva*) seem conceivable.

**οὔλος 1** 'whole, entire'. ⇒ ὅλος.

**οὔλος 2** [adj.] A. 'frizzy, shaggy, woolly, crinkly', of κόμη, λάχνη, χλαῖνα, τάπητες, etc. (Il.), as a first member in οὔλό-θριξ, -κάρινος, -κομος, etc. (Od., Hdt., Alex., Arist.); also of plants like ἔλιξ, σέλινον (Simon., Hdt.); B. Later, of ξύλον, δένδρον, etc. (Thphr.), also of the voice (Plu., AP), of movements (Call.) 'compact, dense, thick, πυκνός, συνεστραμμένος'. ◀IE? \**uol(H)-no-* 'wool'▶

•VAR Myc. *wo-ro-ne-ja* was interpreted as /wloneja/ with metathesis for /wolneja/ by Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 322; uncertain.

•DER From A. οὔλας [f.], of χαίτη (Nic.); from B. οὔλιος [adj.], of χλαμύς; οὔλας also as a substantive = πήρα, θύλακος (Call., AP, H.).

•ETYM In the meaning 'frizzy', οὔλος can be connected with ►ειλέω 2 'to roll, turn, wind' (Bechtel 1914). The later-attested meaning 'compact, thick, etc.' agrees better with ►ειλέω 1 'to press together', but we may also be dealing with a semantic shift 'twisted' > 'compact' (cf. ►συστρέφειν), and it is often difficult to separate the two verbs.

However, the morphology is difficult: a base form like \*fόλνος fits better with a substantive. A reduplicated \*fό-φλ-ος is improbable. If Myc. *wo-ro-ne-ja* stands for /wolneja/, we may reconstruct \**uol(H)-no-* 'wool', either from \**uel-* 'to twist' or \**uelH-* 'to pluck' (Lat. *vellō*). See ►ῖουλος.

**οὔλος 3** [adj.] 'baneful', epithet of Ares and Achilles, also of Ὀνειρος (Il.); of Eros (A. R.), also of χεῖμα (Bion), of στόμιον (Nic.); probably also in οὔλον κεκλήγοντες (P 756, 759; acc. to the sch. and McKenzie *Class. Quart.* 21 (1927): 206 'thick, loud, violent', to ►οὔλος 2). ◀IE \**h<sub>3</sub>lh<sub>1</sub>-u-* 'destructive'▶

•DER With a suffix -ιο- and in the same mg.: οὔλιος, said of ἀστήρ (Λ 62), of Ares, etc. (Hes. Sc., Pi., S.); also of Apollo and Artemis (Delos, Milete), probably originally as bringers of pest and death (= λοίμιος), later connected with Apollo as a healing

god and connected with ὄλος (whence Ἀπ. Ὀλιος in Lindos; cf. on ὄλος). On ►οὔλαφος, see s.v.

•ETYM Derived from the root \**h<sub>3</sub>elh<sub>1</sub>-* of ►ὄλλυμι, but the details of the derivation are disputed. It seems best to assume an original *u*-stem \**h<sub>3</sub>elh<sub>1</sub>-u-*, \**h<sub>3</sub>lh<sub>1</sub>-eu-*, which is probably continued in ὄλοός, as well.

As an epithet of Ὀνειρος, οὔλος was interpreted by Bechtel 1914: 259f. as 'deceiving' and connected with Lith. *vilti* 'to deceive', which Frisk calls "verlockend aber überflüssig".

**οὔλος 4** [m.] 'sheaf of corn', secondarily 'song to worship Demeter' (Ath. 14, 618d); οὔλοι· δράγματα 'sheaves' (H.). ◀?▶

•DER Οὔλῳ [f.] epithet of Demeter (Semus 19). Egetmeyer *Kadmos* 32 (1993): 35f. compares the Cyprian epithet of a goddess *wo-lo-we-a-i* /wolweai/ [dat.sg.f.].

•ETYM Unknown. Hardly the same word as ►ῖουλος, as assumed e.g. by Frisk.

**οὖν** [adv.pcl.] 'well, so', also (originally?) affirmative: 'in fact, indeed, certainly' (Hom., Att.). ◀?▶

•VAR Post-Hom. Ion. ὦν (also attested as οὖν), Lesb. Boeot. Dor. ὦν, Thess. οὖν (< ὦν?).

•ETYM The relation between οὖν and ὦν is unclear. Unconvincing explanations in Brugmann-Thumb 1913: 633 and in Schwyzler 1950: 586f. On οὖν in Homer, cf. Reynen *Glotta* 36 (1957): 1ff. and Reynen *Glotta* 37 (1958): 67ff.

**οὖνεκα, -κεν** [rel. adv., conj.] 'wherefore, because of which, for the reason that' (Il.), as a preposition 'because of' = ἔνεκα (mostly Att. poetry, Herod.). ◀GR▶

•ETYM As a relative, compounded from οὖ ἔνεκα; as a preposition, arisen from ἐκείνου ἔνεκα > ἐκεινούνεκα (vel sim.) by false division.

**οὔνον**

•VAR οὔνει.

•ETYM Acc. to Mayer *Acme* 14 (1961): 233ff., it was borrowed from Eg. *wny* (cf. Copt. ου(ε)ινι) 'to run'. See ►ἐριούνης.

**οὐρά** [f.] 'tail' (Il.), later often metaph. 'rear (guard)' (X., Plb.). ◀IE \**h<sub>1</sub>ers-* 'tail', PG?▶

•VAR Ion. -ή.

•COMP οὐρ-ἄγος [m.] 'leader of the rear guard', with -έω, -ία (X., Plb., LXX); on κόλουρος see ►κόλος; see also ►κόθουρος, ►πάγουρος.

•DER 1. Diminutive οὐράδιον (Gr.); 2. Adjectives οὐρ-αῖος 'belonging to the tail' (Ψ 520, Hp.) with -αία [f.] (like κεραία, etc.) 'tail' (Aret.), -αῖον [n.] 'id.' (E.). 3. οὐρ-αχός [m.] 'foetal organ, point, outer end', e.g. of the heart, of the eyebrows, of a stalk (medic., Ael.), -ίαχος [m.] 'lower end of a spear' (Il., A. R., AP; metrically conditioned?); cf. κύμβ-αχος, στόμ-αχος, etc. 4. οὐράωδης 'belonging to the tail' (Hp. v.l.). See also ►οὔραξ.

•ETYM The alternation between οὐρά and ὄρρος, -ορρος mirrors that between κουρά and κόρρη, κόρση. The cause for this alternation may have been the accent: \*ὄρσα gave οὐρά, while -ρσ- remained when the accent preceded: ὄρρος (> Att. ὄρρος). Note OIr. *err* [f.] 'tail' < IE \**h<sub>1</sub>ers-h<sub>2</sub>-*.

The form οὐραχός is remarkable, with a suffix that is probably Pre-Greek; here again there are the parallels with -αχ-, -ιχ-, -υχ- (cf. Chantraine 1933: 403). Even stranger is the form οὐρίαχος, which has been considered to be a metrical licence (there is no other word in -ιαχος). One might suppose, therefore, that the preceding consonant was palatalized, i.e. -rs'-; cf. Beekes 2008. This might lead to the conclusion that the word for 'tail' is Pre-Greek (unless one concludes that οὐρ(ι)αχός is not cognate with the tail-word). See ► ὄρρος.

**οὐρανός** [m.] 'heaven, sky' (Il.), also personified (Hes.). <PG?, IE? \*uors-o- 'rain'>

•VAR Dor. Boeot. ὠρανός, Aeol. ὠρανος, ὄρανος (both probably for ὄρρ-, see below).

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. οὐρανομήκης 'sky-high' (ε 239); in hypostases like ἐπ-οὐράνιος 'in the sky' (Il.).

•DER 1. Diminutive οὐρανίσκος [m.] 'tent-roof, palate' (Hell.), also name of a constellation (sch.); 2. οὐράν-ιος 'heavenly' (Pi., IA), -ίς [f.] (AP); -ία [f.] name of one of the Muses (Hes.); 3. Οὐραν-ῖνες (θεοί) [m.pl.] 'the heavenly (gods)' (Hom., Hes.), also 'the Titans' (E 898; from Οὐρανός); -ίδης, Dor. -ιδᾶς 'son of Ouranos', plur. 'the Titans', also 'the heavenly' (Hes., Pi.); 4. Οὐραν-ιάς [f.] 'game to worship Ourania' (Sparta); 5. οὐραν-ίζω or -ίζομαι 'to go up high' (A. Fr. 766 M.), -ιάζω 'to toss up high' (H. s.v. οὐρανίαν), -οῦσθαι 'to become deified' with -ωσις (Eust.).

•ETYM As the Aeolic variation ὠρ-, ὄρ- probably stands for geminated ὄρρ-, the basis is likely to have been \*(f)ορσανός, accented like ὄρφανός and perhaps an enlargement of a noun \*uorsó- = Skt. varṣá- [n., m.] 'rain'.

Alternatively, like e.g. ὄχανον : ἔχω, ξόανον : ξέω, it has been supposed that οὐρανός, as an agent noun, derives from a verbal root \*uers- as seen in Skt. várṣati 'to rain'; alternatively, that it derives from the iterative ► οὐρέω, in the way that Indo-Iranian nouns in -ana- are connected with verbs in -ayati (= Gr. -έω); it would then mean "rainmaker" or "moistener, impregnator". However, the identity of the suffixes Gr. -ανο- and IIr. -ana- can only be accepted under the doubtful assumption of PIE \*a. Specht KZ 66 (1939): 199ff., Fraenkel 1955 s.v. viršūs and others interpreted it as "der zur Höhe in Beziehung stehende", from the root of Skt. varṣman- [m., n.] 'height', Lith. viršūs 'upper, highest seat', to which Ἐρρος ὁ Ζεὺς (H.) has also been connected, so from IE \*uers-; however, this is not to be preferred, neither semantically nor formally.

The old identification with the theonym Skt. Váruṇa- is certainly wrong; see Mayrhofer EWAia s.v.

It has also been suggested that the word is of foreign, i.e. Pre-Greek, origin (DELG); note that -αν- is difficult to account for if the word represents an old IE formation.

**οὐραξ, -αγος** [f.] Att. name of the bird τέτριξ (Arist.). <PG>

•ETYM The suffix occurs in Pre-Greek, and it has parallels with three Pre-Greek vowels: -υγ- -ιγ- (with long vowel, as appears often in Pre-Greek); see Chantraine 1933: 397, and cf. ► λάταξ. This means that the word is Pre-Greek and probably has nothing to do with the word for 'tail'. Cf. ► οὐρά.

**οὐρέω** [v.] 'to urinate' (Hes., IA). <IE \*uers- 'urinate'>

•VAR Ipf. εούρουν, aor. ούρησαι, fut. -ήσω, -ήσομαι, perf. εούρηκα.

•COMP Also with prefixes like ἐν-, ἐξ-, προσ-, κατ-.

•DER (ἐξ-, ἀπ-)οὔρησις [f.] 'micturition', -ιτήρ [m.], -ήθρα, Ion. -ιή 'urethra', -ιμα [n.] 'urine', -ιτικός 'urinating frequently, promoting urine' (Hp., Arist.); also as back-formation οὔρον [n.] 'urine' (Hdt., Hp., Thphr.), together with δυσουρέω [v.] 'to have difficulties with micturition', -ία [f.] 'difficult micturition' (medic.) as if from \*δύσ-ουρος. From οὔρον or οὔρέω: οὔράνη [f.] 'chamber-pot' (A. Fr., S. Fr.) = οὔρητήρ (Poll.).

•ETYM Iterative formation \*uors-eie/o- from the primary root present seen in Skt. várṣati 'to rain' < IE \*uérse/o- and YAv. aiβi.varāšta- 'rained upon'. It is a euphemistic expression for ► οὔμείχω; cf. ► οὐρανός and ► ἔρση. The cluster -rs- lost its s with compensatory lengthening when followed by the accent.

Lat. ūrina goes back to \*uh<sub>1</sub>-r- (Skt. vār- [n.] 'water', ON úr [n.] 'drizzle'), and therefore cannot be connected. See CEG 1 (RPh. 70, 1996): 117f.

**οὔρια** [f.] name of a duck-like waterbird (Alex. Mynd. apud Ath. 9, 395e). <?>

•ETYM Unclear. It cannot be combined with the word for 'water' in Lat. ūrina, etc.; see on ► οὔρέω.

**οὔροι** [m.pl.] 'trench or keel-furrow, through which ships are pulled into the sea' (only B 153). <IE \*uoru-o- 'drawer', \*uerH-u- 'draw'>

•ETYM Formerly, words mentioned s.v. ► ὄρος 'frontier, etc.' were connected, but also ► ὀρύσσω 'to dig'. Recently, however, García Ramón 2004 (see also DELG Supp.) has analyzed οὔροι as an agent noun \*uoru-ó- built on the same root as ἐρύω 'to drag', illustrating the etymology with examples from Homeric phraseology.

**οὔρον 1** [n.] 'urine'. ⇒ οὔρέω.

**οὔρον 2** [n.] in οὔρον (-α) ἡμιόννοιον (-ων) (θ 124, K 351) and δίσκου οὔρα (Ψ 431, δίσκουρα Ψ 523) as a measure of length. <?>

•VAR Later only οὔρα (A. R. 2, 795).

•ETYM Because the concrete meaning is unknown, the word has no certain explanation. Wackernagel 1955(2): 1082 supposed that οὔρα was originally a collective plural of οὔρος 'frontier, furrow' (or to οὔροι?, Frisk adds), from which the singular οὔρον was an innovation. Details in Bechtel 1914: 261f.

**οὔρος 1** [m.] 'fair wind' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>er- 'arise'>

•DER οὔριος 'with a fair wind, favourable', also as an epithet of Zeus, ἡ οὔρια (sc. πνοή) = οὔρος (IA); οὔριζω 'to carry with a fair wind' (trag.), οὔριω 'id.' (AP); often in hypostases like ἐπουρ-ίζω 'id.', also intrans. 'to blow fairly, etc.' (Att.); cf. ἔπ-ουρος 'blowing fairly' (S.).

•ETYM May be derived from the root \*h<sub>3</sub>er-, extended \*h<sub>3</sub>er-u-, in ► ὄρνυμαι, ► ὀρούω starting from a pre-form \*orwo-. Att. οὔριος must then be a Homerism or Ionism.

**οὔρος 2** [m.] 'watcher, guard(ian)' (Il.); in Hom. almost only in οὔρος Ἀχαιῶν, epithet of Nestor. <IE \*uer- 'observe'>

•VAR Myc. wo-wo /worwos/.

•COMP Cret. οὐρεύω [v.] 'to watch, guard' with οὐρεῖα [n.pl.] 'fortress' (III<sup>a</sup>), ὠρεῖα (I<sup>a</sup>); ὀρεύειν· φυλάσσειν 'id.' (H.).

•ETYM Can hardly be separated from ► ὀράω, and probably derives from \*φόρφορ, which is attested in Mycenaean *wo-wo*. On the Cretan forms, see Bechtel 1921, 2: 691 and 791, as well as Thumb-Kieckers 1932: 153. See ► ἐπίουρος.

**οὖρος 3** [m.] 'border'. ⇒ ὄρος.

**οὖρος 4** [n.] 'mountain'. ⇒ ὄρος.

**οὖς** [n.] 'ear', metaph. 'handle' (Il., IA). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eus-*, \**h<sub>2</sub>e/ous-n-* 'ear'>

•VAR ὦς (Theoc., Hell.); gen. ὠτός (IA, with nom. acc. plur. ὠτα, etc.), also οὐατος, -ατα, etc. (Simon., with nom. acc. sing. οὐας); also the gloss ἄτα (cod. ἄτα)· ὠτα. Ταραντίνοι (H.); probably also sing. αὖς (Paul. Fest. 100, 4; see Wackernagel 1955(2): 1252ff.).

•DIAL Myc. *a-no-wo-to* /an-ōwotos/ 'without handles'; also *a-no-we* /anōwes-/ like ἄμφ-ώης 'with two ears or handles' (Theoc.), beside ἄμφ-ωτος (Od.).

•COMP ὠτ-ακουστέω [v.] 'to eavesdrop, listen, pay attention' (Hdt., X., D., Plb.), a compound built on ὠτὶ ἀκουστόν (opposite ἀν-ηκουστέω : οὐκ ἀκουστόν), with ὠτακουστής [m.] 'eavesdropper, listener' (Arist.); ἀν-οὔατος 'without ears, without handles' (Theoc.), ἄ-ωτος 'id.' (Philet., Plu.); μυόσ-ωτον (μύ-ωτον) [n.], μυοσωτίς [f.] 'mouse-ear', i.e. the plant 'madwort, Asperugo', from μυὸς ὠτα 'id.' (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 42. On ► λαγώς, see s.v.

•DER ὠτ-ίον [n.] 'handle, ear' (Theopomp. Com., LXX, NT), -ἄριον [n.] 'id.' (com. IV<sup>a</sup>); οὐατ-όεις 'with ears, handles' (Simon., Call.), which can also be reconstructed in Hom. and Hes. for ὠτώεις, acc. to Wackernagel 1916: 168f.; ὠτ-ικός 'belonging to the ear' (Gal., Dsc.). Also ὠτίς, -ίδος [f.] 'bustard' (X., Arist.), perhaps after the cheek-plumes or the tuft, Thompson 1895 s.v.; besides ὠτος [m.] 'eared owl' (Arist.), after the ear-plumes. See also on ► ἐνὶ ὠτίον, ► ἐνὶ ὠτίον.

•ETYM The nominatives οὖς, ὦς (cf. βοῦς, βῶς) can be derived from IE \**Hōus*. The color of the initial laryngeal is determined by Lat. *auris*, *aus-cultō*, etc., which must continue an *e*-grade \**h<sub>2</sub>eus-*. This *e*-grade may also be found in the gloss ἄτα, if from \**αὔσ-ατα*; see perhaps also on ► ἀάνθα; it is certainly found in ► παρειαί 'cheeks' < \**par-aus-(i)ai*. It has been supposed that the *o*-vocalism in οὖς was taken from the word for 'eye'.

OAtt. ΟΣ is noteworthy; it cannot contain an inherited diphthong \**ou-* and thus seems to point to a contraction from \**ōwo-*. An *s*-stem \**h<sub>2</sub>ous-os* was reconstructed on this basis, for which support was found in OCS *ucho* [n.] 'ear', gen. *ušese* < \**h<sub>2</sub>eus-os*, gen. \**h<sub>2</sub>eus-es-es*. However, it is also possible to interpret the OAtt. form as ὦς, analogical after ὠτός, etc. This would eliminate the problem that Homeric οὖς at Y 473 (there are also problems with Λ 109) contains a contraction which cannot be resolved. Cf. Fischer MSS 56 (1996): 42 and the discussion in Haug 2002: 85ff.

The other case forms can be derived from pre-forms \**h<sub>2</sub>ous-nt-* (see Kiparsky Lang. 43 (1967): 619-635), so it is no longer necessary to assume a lengthened root grade \**h<sub>2</sub>ōus-nt-*, as per Frisk. This gives Hom. (Aeol.) οὐατος, with a geminate as a reflex of the cluster \**-Rh-*, and IA \**ōwatos* with compensatory lengthening, contracting to

ὠτός. The *n*-stem continued by these forms is also found in Arm. *un-kn* (with *-kn* after *akn* 'eye'; cf. on the Greek vocalism above) and in Gm., e.g. Go. *auso*, *ausins*. However, *n*-stems were highly productive in Germanic, which excludes them as evidence for the original flexion.

To summarize, the Homeric instances may show a trace of an original root noun \**h<sub>2</sub>ōus* (represented in Lith. gen.pl. *ausų*), while the rest of the Greek forms (including OAtt. ΟΣ) may have been built on the *n*-stem \**h<sub>2</sub>ous-n-*, which need not be inherited (though note the Armenian parallel). Other notable forms are the old duals Av. *uši* < IE \**h<sub>2</sub>us-ih<sub>1</sub>*, with zero grade, OCS *uš-ī* < IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eus-ih<sub>1</sub>*.

On the reconstruction of the initial laryngeal, see Beekes *Sprache* 18 (1972): 123f.; extensive treatment of οὖς and derivative compounds in Szemerényi SMEA 3 (1967): 47-88. Perhaps related are ► ἀκούω, ► ἀκροάομαι.

**οὐσία** [f.] 'property, homestead; being, presence, existence, reality, substance' (Att.). <IE \**h<sub>1</sub>s-ont-* 'being'>

•VAR Ion. -ίη, Dor. ὠσία.

•COMP Often with prefix (from ἄπ-εμι, etc.), e.g. ἀπ-, ἐξ-, μετ-, παρ-, συν-ουσία, -ίη (mostly Att.). Compounds ἐξ-ούσιος 'bereft of property' (Ph.), ὑπερ-ούσιος 'above being', μετ-ούσιος 'below being' (Them., comm. Arist., etc.).

•DER οὐς-ίδιον [n.] 'small property', -ιότης [f.] 'nature'; -ιώδης 'substantial, real' (Epicur.), -ιακός 'belonging to property'; verbs συν-ουσιάζω [v.] 'to be together', ἐξ-ουσιάζω 'to have power' (since IV<sup>a</sup>; ουσιάζω only PMag. Lond.), whence συνουσι-αστής [m.] (Pl., X.), -αστικός (Ar.) etc.; οὐσι-όω, -όομαι 'to provide (be provided) with substance', συν- 'to be connected to something' with (συν-)ουσίωσις (late).

•ETYM Abstract formation in -ία from the ptc. ὄν, οὐσα, ὄν (cf. the pair γερονσία : γέρων). On this was modeled Dor. ὠσία, but also ἔσσια on Dor. Aeol. ἔσσια [f.], ἔντες [pl.] (Pl. Cra. 401c); see also ἔστω s.v. ► εἰμί. Suppositions on the formation in Collinge *Glotta* 49 (1971).

**οὐσον** [n.] 'ship's tackle, ropes' (Lyc. 20, Antim. 57 Wyss, H.), mostly plur. <?>

•ETYM von Wilamowitz *Herm.* 59 (1924): 273 compares σοῦσον (?).

**οὐτάω** [v.] 'to harm, wound' (Il., also trag.). <PG?>

•VAR Present only ipv. οὐταε (χ 356); 3sg. οὐτᾶ (A. Ch. 640 [lyr.] conj. Hermann); more frequent is the present οὐτάζω; aor. οὐτ-άσαι, -ῆσαι, -ιθῆναι, fut. -άσω, -ήσω, pret. 3sg. οὐτα, inf. οὐτ-άμεν(αι), ptc. -άμενος, perf. pass. οὐτασται.

•DER ἄ-ουτος, ἀν-ούτατος 'unwounded', νε-ούτατος 'newly wounded' (Il.), later also -ητος (Nic., Nonn.). ἀν-ουτητί [adv.] 'without wounding, without wounds' (X 371, Q. S.).

•ETYM Athematic οὐτ-α, -άμεν(αι), -άμενος, which certainly function as aorists, should probably be considered to be the common basis of the above forms. Thence οὐταε and (if correctly restored) οὐτᾶ, together with οὐτ-ῆσαι, -ιθῆναι, -ήσω on the one hand, and the *s*-aorist οὐτ-άσαι, whence in turn -άσω, -άζω, -ασται. See Chantraine 1942: 356, 380, 410f.; on the use in Hom., see Trümper 1950: 92ff.

Morphologically and etymologically unclear. Often connected with ► ὠτειλή (οὐταμένην ὠτειλήν Ξ 518, P 86) and with ► άάω. Already Meister 1921: 229 had

thought of Pre-Greek origin, which seems to be the best solution, by the interpretation of ὠτειλή as a variant. A root of the shape *\*h<sub>3</sub>u(a)th<sub>2</sub>-* (e.g. Peters 1980a: 60ff.) is impossible for PIE.

**οὐτιδανός** [adj.] 'worthless, insignificant' (Il., also A. Th. 361). <GR>

•ETYM Derivation from οὐτι like ἡπεδανός, πευκεδανός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 362), although the δ could also belong to original *\*oũ-tiδ* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>oiu k<sup>w</sup>id*; see on ►οὐ. See ►ἀλλοδαπός, ►ἡμεδαπός.

**οὗτος** [pron.dem.] 'this, this one, that one, iste' (Il.). <IE *\*so-* + *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-to-* 'that one'>

•VAR αὕτη [f.], τοῦτο [n.].

•ETYM The form οὗτος < *\*so/to-* + *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-to-* (Beekes 1995: 202), a univerbation of the *\*so/to-* pronoun with the stem that also figures in ►αὐτός. For the element *\*h<sub>2</sub>u* 'away, again' (Skt. *ava* 'away', Gr. αὐ) used in pronominal stems, cf. OCS *onъ* ... *onъ* 'the one ... the other'. This element is also found in Skt. *só* < *\*sá u* < *\*so h<sub>2</sub>u*, and perhaps also πάνυ (see on ►πᾶς)

**ὀφείλω** [v.] 'to owe, be obliged, be due' (IA, also Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>b<sup>h</sup>el-* 'owe, be obliged'>

•VAR ὀφέλλω (Aeol., Arc., also Hom.), ὀφίλω (Cret., Arc., Arg.), sigm. aor. ὀφείλῃσαι, pass. -ῃσθαι, fut. -ήσω (Hell. also -έσω), perf. ὠφείληκα (Att.), them. aor. ὠφελον, ὄφελον (Il., Att.).

Further ὀφλιस्कάνω 'to be guilty, incur punishment, be sentenced', fut. ὀφλ-ήσω, s-aor. -ῃσαι, perf. ὠφληκα (Att.), ptc. φοκληκόσι [dat.pl.], 3pl. [φο]φλέασι (Arc.), them. aor. ὀφλεῖν (IA), also with ἐπ-, προσ-.

•DIAL Myc. *o-pe-ro* 'deficit', etc.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. προσ-, προσ-.

•DER A. From the present ὀφείλω: ὀφείλ-έτης [m.], -έτις [f.] 'debtor' (S., Pl.) with -έσιον [n.] 'small debt' (Eust.), -ιμα [n.] (Th., Pl., Arist.); ὀφίλωμα (Cret.) after ἀνάλωμα; ὀφείλ-ησις [f.] (pap. III<sup>a</sup>) 'debt, indebted sum'; -ή [f.] 'debt, leasing' (pap., NT).

B. From the aorist ὀφλεῖν: ὀφλ-ημα [n.] (D., Arist., pap.), -ησις [f.] (LXX) 'penalty, fine'; -ητής [m.] 'debtor' (gloss.), ὀφλοί· ὀφειλέται, ὀφειλαί (H.).

•ETYM The system ὀφλεῖν : ὀφλιस्कάνω : ὀφλήσω : ὠφληκα neatly corresponds to εὐρεῖν : εὐρίσκω, εὐρήσω, εὐρηκα, except for the presentic enlargement -άνω (see Schwyzler: 700). The aorist ὀφλήσαι (Lys. and late) was built on the future. Arc. [φο]φλέ-ασι also has the same enlarged zero grade without secondary -κ-. This system was built on the zero grade thematic aorist; beside it stands another system, based on the full grade aorist ὠφελον, whence the nasal present *\*ὀφέλνω* was derived (like ἔτεμον : τέμνω), giving the various dialectal forms ὀφείλω, ὀφέλλω, ὀφίλω. As the formation of the present ὀφείλω became opaque by its phonetic development, it was able to become the basis of another system. The form ὀφείλω ~ ὄφελον was also separated from ὀφλεῖν semantically.

An old problem is φο-, which only appears in an Arcadian inscription. It cannot be a prefix, but it may be that φο- is a notation of (earlier) ὀ-. On the forms, see Hamp Glotta 60 (1982): 227f.

For references to attempts to connect ὀφείλω with ►ὀφέλλω 2 'to augment', see s.v.

**ὀφέλλω 1** 'to owe'. ⇒ ὀφείλω.

**ὀφέλλω 2** [v.] 'to increase, enlarge, augment, advance' (epic, Pi., A., Theoc.). <IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>b<sup>h</sup>el-* 'increase, augment'>

•VAR Aor. opt. ὀφέλλαιεν (Pi. 651, β 334), beside which the ambivalent forms ὀφέλλωσιν (A 510), ὄφελλε(ν) (B 420, Theoc. 25, 120), ὠφελλε (π 174).

•DIAL Myc. *no-pe-re-a<sub>2</sub>* /nōp<sup>h</sup>ele<sup>h</sup>a/ 'useless' [nom.pl.n.] < *\*h<sub>3</sub>b<sup>h</sup>el-es-h<sub>2</sub>*.

•COMP Also with ἐξ- (ο 18).

•DER ὄφελ-μα [n.] (S. Fr. 1079), -μός [m.] (inscr. Lydia) 'increase, advantage', -σιμος 'advantageous, useful' (Call., Orph., Opp.), after χρή-, ὀνή-σιμος; also ὀφέλλιμος 'id.' (Max.) with direct connection to ὀφέλλω.

ὄφελος [n.] 'promotion, use, advantage, gain' (Il.); as a second member in e.g. ἀνωφελής 'useless' (IA), replacing *\*νωφελής* seen in Myc. (see above); secondary simplex ὄφελής (pap. II<sup>p</sup>); Ὀφελέσ-της [m.] PN (Il.); Ὀφέλ-ανδρος [m.] (VI<sup>a</sup>) perhaps after Ἀλέξ-ανδρος (Sommer 1948: 198).

Denominative (with ὦ- from the compounds) ὠφελέω [v.] 'to be of use, help, support' (IA), whence -ίη, -ία, secondary -εα [f.] 'use, help' (IA), -ημα [n.] (trag.), -ησις [f.] (S.) 'benefit, use', -ήσιμος [adj.] 'useful' (S., Ar.); much more common is ὠφέλιμος 'id.' (Att.), probably from ὠφελέω, -ία. More details in Leumann 1950: 120ff. with an attempt to explain the lengthening of the initial vowel. Hamp Glotta 60 (1982): 229f. thinks that ὠφελέω was extracted from the negative compound Myc. *no-pe-re-a<sub>2</sub>* /nōp<sup>h</sup>ele<sup>h</sup>a/.

•ETYM The old verbal noun ὄφελος is widespread in Greek. Beside it stands a yod-present ὀφέλλω < *\*ὀφελ-ιω*, and an s-aorist ὀφέλλαιεν with Aeolic development of *\*ὀφελ-σ-*.

The form ὄφελος can be directly identified with Arm. *\*awel* in *awel-i* 'more' and the denominative *y-awel-um* 'to add to', in *aṛ-awel* 'more' and *aṛ-awel-um* 'to increase': all are from an IE root *\*h<sub>3</sub>b<sup>h</sup>el-*. It is mostly agreed that ►ὀφέλλω 3 contains the same root as the present lemma, since Armenian also has this meaning; various scholars also believe that ►ὀφείλω derives from the same root as well (see e.g. De Lamberterie 1992, of which a summary is found in DELG Supp.). However, opinions differ on the semantic scenario to be proposed for Greek (is 'increase' or 'sweep' primary?); see the discussion in Clackson 1994: 156-158.

**ὀφέλλω 3** [v.] 'to sweep, broom' (Hippon. 51). <IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>b<sup>h</sup>el-* 'sweep'>

•DER ὄφελμα [n.] 'broom' (ibid., Eust.), ὀφέλμασι· σαρώμασιν 'sweepings' (H.), ὄφελτρον· κάλλυντρον 'broom' (H.), whence ὄφελτρεύω (Lyc. 1165).

•ETYM Identical with Arm. *awelum* 'to sweep', *awel* 'broom', except for the formations. Doubts on the identity of the Greek and Armenian etyma were expressed by Jahukyan and Arutjunjan (see Clackson 1994: 158 with fn. 232), who assume borrowings from Near Eastern words. See ►ὀφέλλω 2.

**ὀφθαλμός** [m.] 'eye' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Boeot. ὀκταλλος, Epid. Lacon. ὀπτίλ(λ)ος.

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. μιν-ὄφθαλμιος (μουν-) 'with a single eye, one-eyed' (Hdt., Plb., Str.), ἑτερ-ὄφθαλμιος 'bereft of one eye' (D., Arist.); also as a first member, e.g. ὄφθαλμι-ωρύχος 'digging out the eyes' (A.).

•DER 1. Diminutive ὄφθαλμι-ίδιον [n.] (Ar.); 2. -ία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'eye-disease' together with -ιάω 'to suffer from an eye-disease' (IA), whence -ιάσις [f.] (Plu., H.); 3. -ίας [m.] name of a kind of eagle (Lyc.), also of a fish (Plaut.); because of the fixing glance, Strömberg 1943: 42; 4. -ικός 'ptng. to the eyes', msc. 'eye-doctor' (Gal., Dsc.); 5. -ηδόν 'like eyes' (gloss.).

6. Verbs ὀφθαλμιζομαι 'to be inoculated' (Thphr.), 'to suffer from ὀφθαλμία' (Plu.); with preposition ἐν-ὀφθαλμι-ίζω 'to inoculate' (Thphr.), -ίζομαι pass. (Delos) with -ισμός (Thphr.); also -ιάζομαι (Plu.); ἐξ-ὀφθαλμιάζω 'to disregard, disparage' (pap. IV<sup>p</sup>); ἐπ-ὀφθαλμι-ίζω (Pherecyd., Plu.), -ιάω (Plu., pap. III<sup>p</sup>), -έω (pap. IV<sup>p</sup>) 'to ogle, peep at'.

•ETYM Understandably, attempts have been made to derive the word from the root ὀπ- 'to see'. However, there are variants in Boeot. ὀκταλλος, Epid. Lacon. ὀπτίλ(λ)ος. This interchange κτ : πτ : φθ was interpreted by Frisk as follows: -κτ- is old, πτ is analogical and φθ is expressive. This κτ / πτ was then compared with group *kṣ* in Skt. *ākṣi* 'eye', and a correspondence between the suppletive *n*-stem in Skt. gen. *akṣhás* and a putative *l*-stem in ὀφθ-αλ-μός was assumed by Specht.

However, since an IE labiovelar became a labial before a consonant, the explanation that takes -κτ- as a regular reflex is just plain wrong. Also, expressive aspiration is a meaningless explanation for -φθ-. Moreover, the repeated attempts to explain ὀφθαλμός as a compound are all wrong (e.g., from θάλαμος 'bedroom' and θάλλω 'to flower'; for literature see Frisk s.v. ὀφθαλμός).

Finally, not only the variation cannot be explained from Indo-European; the rise of a suffix -αλ(λ)- would be incomprehensible as well. In Beekes 2008, it is shown that ὀκταλλος has a Pre-Greek suffix (thus already Beekes 1969: 193); it continues a palatalized *\*lʰ*, which was represented as a geminate. This leads to a PGr. reconstruction *\*okʷt-alʰ-(m)-*. Here the labiovelar could become a labial, but the labial element could also be ignored, which yielded ὀκτ-. Aspiration was not phonemic in Pre-Greek, hence the variant ὀφθ- is unproblematic on this account. In ὀπτίλ(λ)ος, *\*a* apparently became *i* by influence of the following palatalized consonant. The fact that PGr. *\*okʷt-* strongly resembles IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>ekʷ-* is a mere coincidence, and such accidents may be expected to occur every now and then.

By way of contrast, the gloss ὀκκον· ὀφθαλμόν (H.) may well be of IE origin (related to Arm. *aknʰ*). For words derived from the inherited root ὀπ- 'see', see ► ὄμμα, ► ὄσσε, ► ὄπωπα.

ὄφρις [m.] 'snake' (M 208). <IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>egʷhi-* 'snake'>

•VAR Gen. -ιος, -εος, -εως.

•COMP As a first member in the constellation name ὀφι-οὔχος [m.] 'snake-holder', Lat. *Angui-tenens* (Eudox., Arat.), see Scherer 1953: 184f.

•DER Diminutive ὀφ-ίδιον (i and ī) [n.] (Att. inscr., Arist.); -ιάσις [f.] (to *\*ὀφιάω*) 'snake-disease', name of a disease of the skin (Gal.); -ιώδης 'rich of snakes, snaky' (Pi., Arist.); -ιόεις 'rich of snakes' (Antim.), HN Ὀφιοῦς [m.], Ὀφιοῦσσα [f.] name of

several islands (Antim., Arist.), of a plant (Plin.); -ιακός 'belonging to snakes', τὰ ὄφιακά title of a work (sch. Nic.); -ιόνεος 'snaky' (Opp.), perhaps from *\*-ι-ίνεος* (Schwyzer: 491); -ίτης (λίθος) [m.], -ιήτις πέτρη [f.] 'serpentine' (Orph. L.), after the color, Redard 1949: 59, 'erysipelas' (Gal.); Redard 1949: 104.

•ETYM Probably identical with Skt. *āhi-*, Av. *aži-* [m.] 'snake' from IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>égʷhi-* (the absence of reflexes of Brugmann's Law points to IE *e*-vocalism). The traditional connection with Arm. *iž*, instr. *-iw* 'id.' is problematic, since it presupposes a preform *\*Hēgʷhi-* (with unexplainable lengthened grade). The appurtenance of the first member of the Germanic word for 'lizard' (OHG *egi-dehsa*, etc.) is unclear, since one expects *\*h<sub>3</sub>egʷhi-* to yield PGm. *\*awi-*. The lengthening of the *ō-* in M 208 (after which Hippon. 49, 6, etc.) is metrically conditioned; see O. Masson 1962: l.c. See on ► ἔχις and (unrelated) ► ἔγχελυς.

ὄφλισκάνω ⇒ ὀφείλω.

ὄφνις [?] · ὕννις, ἄροτρον 'ploughshare, plough' (H.). <IE *\*uogʷh-n-i-* (?) 'coultter, ploughshare'>

•ETYM Can be identified with OPr. *wagnis* 'coultter' < IE *\*uogʷhni-*. Beside this stands Lat. *vōmis* (-er), -eris [m.] 'ploughshare', from an unclear base form; see De Vaan 2008 s.v. It is probably that ὄφατα· δεσμοὶ ἄροτρων 'ties of the plough'. Ἀκαρνάνας (H.) also belongs here; see Bechtel 1921, 2: 76. See ► ὕνις.

ὄφρα [adv., conj.] 'so long as, until; in order that'; in correlation τόφρα 'so long as, meanwhile' (Il.); on the use in Hom. see Bolling *Lang.* 25 (1949): 379ff. <IE *\*-bʰr-*>

•ETYM From relative *ō-* and demonstrative *το-*, perhaps comparable to Arm. *erb* 'when?' (IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>e-bʰr-*), ToA *ku-pre* 'when', *tā-preṇ* 'so much', etc. Ehrenfellner KZ 107 (1994): 101-104 explains the second member as the zero grade of *\*bʰer-* 'to bear' as 'auf welches hinzielend'.

ὄφρυς, -ύος [f.] 'eyebrow', mostly plur.; metaph. 'elevated edge, brow of a hill' (Il.). <IE *\*h<sub>3</sub>bʰreuH-* 'eyebrow'>

•VAR Details on the inflexion in Schwyzer: 571.

•COMP As a second member in σύν-οφρυς 'with meeting eyebrows' (Arist.).

•DER Diminutive ὄφρύ-διον [n.] (H. s.v. ἐπισκύνιον, Theognost.), MoGr. (ὀ)φρύδι; ὄφρύν, -α 'elevation' (Hdt., Argos) like ἰχθύ-η, -α, etc.; -όεις 'situated on an edge, terraced' (X 411), -ώδης 'protrusive' (Gal.).

Denominative verbs: 1. ὀφρυ-δομαι [v.] 'to be haughty' (Timo, Luc.) with -ωσις [f.] 'elevation, edge' (Paul. Aeg.), older συν-οφρυδομαι [v.] 'to knit one's brows' (S., E.); with κατ- in κατωφρυωμένος 'to be provided with brows' (Philestr. VA, Luc.); 2. ὀφρυ-άζω 'to beckon with the eyebrows', also as an expression of pride (Amips. Com. V-IV<sup>a</sup>); 3. -άω 'to be hilly' (Str.); 4. ὀφρυγνᾶ· ὁμοίως (i.e. = -άζει). Βοιωτοί (H.); unclear, perhaps after ὀριγνάομαι.

•ETYM ὄφρυς continues an old root noun *\*h<sub>3</sub>bʰruH-*, identical with Skt. *bhrū-* [f.], acc. *bhrúvam*, and with forms from Celtic and Gm.: OIr. *for-bru* [acc.pl.], OS *brū*. The root noun is also visible in Balto-Slavic: OCS *brъnъ*, Lith. *brūvė*, dial. *-is*. The IE paradigm was nom. *\*h<sub>3</sub>bʰreuH-s*, gen. *\*h<sub>3</sub>bʰruH-os*, which explains the Gm. forms

OHG *brāwa* [f.] 'eyebrow', *wint-prāwa* 'eyelash', which belong with OS *brāha* 'id.' to OE *brāw* [m.] 'eyebrow', ON *brá* [f.] 'eyelash'.

The root noun was extended as an *n*-stem in ON *brún*, while ToB *pärwāne* [du.] may contain the regular dual ending in this language. An extension with dental is found in Av. *bruuat-biiqm* [dat.pl.f.], Mlr. *brúad* [gen.du.], and in ἀβροῦτες· ὀφρῦς· Μακεδόνες (H.).

**ὄχα** [adv.] 'by far', before ἄριστος (Hom.). <GR>

•ETYM Backformation from ἔξοχα 'id.' (ἔξοχος, ἐξέχω); see Leumann 1950: 133ff.

**ὄχάνη** •VAR ὄχανον, ὄχή, etc. ⇒ ἔχω.

**ὄχεή** [f.] 'cave, grotto' (Arat., Nic., Orph.). <GR>

•ETYM Hellenistic for ►χρηή after ►ὀκρυόεις for κρυόεις; perhaps through cross with semantically related ὄχετός.

**ὄχετός** ⇒ ὄχεώ.

**ὄχεύω** [v.] 'to cover, mount', med. 'to copulate' (IA). <GR>

•VAR Aor. -εῦσαι.

•COMP Also with ἐπ-, κατ-, παρ-, etc.

•DER ὄχ-εῖος 'serving as a cover' (Din.), -εῖον [n.] 'covering place, stallion' (Lycurg., Arist.); -εῖα [f.] (X., Arist., pap.), ὄχή [f.] (Arat.), -ευσίς [f.] (J.) 'covering, impregnation', -εσμα [n.] 'product of the body' (Arist.); -ευτής [m.] 'stallion' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>), -ευτικός 'ruttish' (Arist., Thphr.); -εὔτριαν (H. s.v. ψόαν). Also ὄχων· ὄχευτικῶς ἔχων (H.), ὄχέωνται (Arat. 1070 verse-final) = ὄχεύονται.

•ETYM Etymology debated. Acc. to older interpretations, it is related to ὀχεόμαι 'to drive, ride', in which case the ending -εύω and the active diathesis would be remarkable in ὄχεύω. Others connected ►ἔχω in the sense 'to overpower'. More attractive is the hypothesis by Boßhardt 1942: 30, who takes ὄχεύω as a denominative from ὀχεύς 'door-bolt, etc.' (which also derives from ἔχω); this was originally a wooden pin which was fitted in a hole in the wall to block the door. The *hapaxes* ὄχων, ὄχέωνται are secondary innovations.

**ὀχέω, -έομαι** [v.] 'to carry, bear, endure, sustain', 'to let mount or ride', 'to anchor' (Od., E. *Hel.* 277); more frequent in med. 'to drive, ride, swim, be at anchor' (Il.). <GR>

•VAR Aor. and fut. (not in Att. prose) act. ὀχῆ-σαι (Call.), -σω (A., E.), med. -σασθαι, -σομαι (Hom.), pass. -θῆναι (Hp.).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐπ-οχέομαι.

•DER 1. ὀχ-ετός [m.] (from ὄχος?) 'canal, furrow' (Pi., IA) together with -ετεύω 'to conduct by a canal', whence -ετεία, -έτευμα, etc.; ὀχετ-ηγός 'drawing a canal' (Φ 257); 2. ὀχετλα· ὀχήματα (H.); 3. ὄχ-ημα [n.] 'vehicle', also metaph. (Pi., IA) with -ηματικός; 4. -ησις [f.] 'driving, riding' (Hp., Pl.).

•ETYM The middle is an iterative of ►ἔχω 2 'to carry, offer' (Schwyzer: 717); the meaning 'to drive, ride, transport' is old; cf. especially Lat. *vehō*, etc. The rarer active forms can also be understood from this meaning, but in some instances, the

meaning of the active has shifted by influence of ►ἔχω 1 'to hold, possess, etc.': note ὀχέοντας οἰζύν (η 211) beside πόνον τ' ἐχέμεν καὶ οἰζύν (N 2, θ 529). See ►ὄχος, ►ὄχλος.

**ὀχθέω** [v.] 'to cherish resentment, get angry or wrathful'. <GR>

•VAR Only aor. ptc. ὀχθήσας and 3pl. ὤχθησαν (Hom.), fut. ὀχθήσω (Q. S.), ὀχθεῖ· στένει, στενάζει 'to wail, sigh, groan' (H.); cf. ὀχθαῖσθαι· ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀχθη. οἱ γὰρ στένοντες ἑαυτοὺς μετεωρίζουσιν 'from ὀχθη; for the wailing elevated themselves' (H.); enlarged ὀχθ-ίζω (Opp. H.), προσ-οχθ-ίζω, -ίσαι, -ιῶ, -ώχθικα (LXX).

•DER ὀχθησις· θόρυβος, τάραχος 'noise, agitation' (H.), προσόχθισμα [n.] 'displeasement, object of indignation' (LXX), προσόχθισμός· πρόσκρουσις, δεινοπάθεια 'offence, exaggerated complaint' (H.), etc.

•ETYM Probably a causative or iterative-intensive of ἔχθομαι, ἔχθω (see ►ἔχθος), like φοβέω : φέβομαι, σοβέω : σέβομαι, θροέω : θρέομαι; ποτάομαι : πέτομαι, etc. Connection with ►ἄχθος, -ομαι is phonetically less convincing.

**ὄχθη** [f.] 'high and rocky edge by the water, bank, shore' (Il.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR Usually plur. -αι.

•DER ὄχθος [m.] 'height, hill' (Ion. since *h. Ap.* 17), 'hunch, outgrowth, tubercle' (medic.) with ὄχθ-ηρός 'hilly' (Hell.), -ώδης 'full of outgrowth, tuberculous' (D. H., medic.).

•ETYM Seems to display a suffix like in μόχθος, βρόχθος, etc., but the connection with ἔχω 'to hold' is semantically unconvincing. Cf. further ►εὔοχθος, -έω. Fur.: 110, etc. compare ἀκτὴ 'promontory, edge', which would point to a Pre-Greek word with obvious variations.

**ὄχθιοβος** [m.] 'purple stripe or edge of a chiton' (Ar., Pherecr.); 'tuft neckband' (Att. inscr.); cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 16 (1928): 169. <PG>

•ETYM Technical word with a suffix -β- like in ►κόσσυμβος, ►κόλλαβος, etc. Connection with ὄχθη 'high edge' seems possible. Cf. also οἶβος (Luc. *Lex.* 3)?; acc. to Poll. τοῦ τραχήλου τοῦ βοῦς τὸ κάλλιστον 'the best part of the neck of a bovine'. No doubt a Pre-Greek word; cf. Fur.: 321.

**ὀχλεύς** •VAR -έω, -ίζω. ⇒ ὄχλος.

**ὄχλος** [m.] 1. '(orderless) crowd, multitude, throng', plur. 'crowd, people'; 2. 'disturbance, perturbation, annoyance' (Pi., IA). <IE \*uogh<sup>h</sup>-(s)lo-, \*uegh<sup>h</sup>- 'drive, ride, transport'>

•COMP ὄχλο-κρατία [f.] 'mob-rule' (Plb., Plu.), ἄ-οχλος 'without disturbances, not disturbing' (Hp.).

•DER Adjectives 1. ὄχλ-ηρός 'bothersome, annoying' (IA) with -ηρία [f.] (LXX); 2. -ικός 'belonging to the crowd, mobbish' (Hell.); 3. -ώδης 'annoying' (IA), 'popular, common' (Plu.).

Substantives 4. ὀχλεύς· μοχλός, στρόφιγξ, δεσμός 'bolt, pivot, tie' ... (H.); ἐποχλεύς [m.] 'brake shoe on a cart' (Ath.), probably for \*ἐποχεύς; ἐποχλίζομαι 'to be bolted' (Apollon. *Lex.*).



Denominative verbs 5. ὀχλέω 'to put in (rolling) motion, roll away' (Φ 261), 'to disturb, perturb, bother' (Ion., Hell.; with prefix, especially ἐν-, also Att.); ἀν-οχλέω = ἀν-οχλίζω (S. E.). Thence ὀχλ-ησις (ἐν-) [f.] 'bothering, interference, perturbation' (Democr., Hell.), (ἐν-)ὄχλ-ημα 'id.' (Epicur., medic.), ὀχλητι-κός = ὀχλικός (Procl.); 6. ὀχλεύονται = ὀχλεῦνται κυλινδοῦνται 'roll' (H.); 7. ὀχλ-ίζω 'to pull up or out of place' (Il.), also with μετ-, ἀν-, etc.; 8. ὀχλ-άζω 'to be disturbed or confused' (LXX).

•ETYM The original meaning of the verbal noun ὄχλος, which was concretized in the sense 'crowd', cannot be established with certainty; in the sense of 'perturbation, etc.', it may have been influenced by ὀχλέω.

Starting from \*uogh<sup>h</sup>-(s)lo- (on the lack of a f- in Homer, see Chantraine 1942: 125), ὄχλος corresponds with the well-known verb 'drive, carry' seen in φέχω (see ►έχω 2), ὀχέομαι, Lat. *vehō*, etc. Several possibilities exist for the semantic development: e.g. an agent noun \*'driving, carrying, moving', or an instrument noun \*'driver, carrier, mover'. ON *vagl* [m.] 'tiebeam, roost' (properly \*'bearing-bar, carrier') is formally identical. The primary nouns Lat. *vectis* and ON *vorg* < IE \*uogh<sup>h</sup>-h<sub>2</sub>- 'lever' agree semantically with the denominatives ὀχλ-ίζω 'to raise', ὀχλ-έω 'to roll away' (both by using a lever), and with ὀχλ-εύς 'bolt, etc.'. An original meaning 'drive' could easily develop into both 'stirred mass, mob' and 'spiritual excitement, unrest'; the same holds for the denominative ὀχλέω (cf. Lat. *turba*, -āre).

**ὄχμα** •VAR ὀχμάζω, ὄχμος. =έχω 1.

**ὄχος** [m.] 'cart, carriage, vehicle'. <IE \*uogh<sup>h</sup>-o-, \*uegh<sup>h</sup>- 'carry, drive'>

•VAR Gender: msc. (Pi. O. 6, 24 [ὄκχος, see below], Hdt., A., etc.), often plur. -οι (since *h. Cer.*); also ntr. plur. ὄχρα, -εσφι (Hom., Pi.).

•ETYM Old verbal noun from φέχω 'to carry' (see ►έχω 2), ὀχέομαι 'to drive', thus from \*φόχος (on the loss of the f- in Hom., see Chantraine 1942: 125), and identical with Slav. words like OCS *vozъ* [m.] 'wagon', IE \*uogh<sup>h</sup>-o-. The e-vocalism expected in an s-stem is preserved in ἔχεσφι ἄρμασιν 'with carts' (H.); ὄχρα is modeled on ὄχος, ὀχέομαι.

The forms \*φόχος and [f]όχρα correspond to Skt. *vāhas*- [n.] 'vessel' (metaph. for the song of praise), *vāhā*- [m.] 'draught animal', as well as 'vessel', Av. *vāza*- [m.] 'draught animal' (would be Gr. ὄχος). A derivation in -n- with the same meaning was formed in the Western languages: OIr. *fén* 'kind of wagon' < IE \*uegh<sup>h</sup>-no-, OHG *wagan* 'wagon' < IE \*uogh<sup>h</sup>-no-; a suffix \*-tlo- is used in Lat. *vehiculum* [n.] 'vessel', Skt. *vahi-tra*- [n.] 'ship', and appears also in ὀχετλα ὀχήματα (H.). The geminate in ὄκχος, ὀκχέω (Pi.) is unexplained. Cf. ►όχέω, ►όχλος, and ►γαιάοχος.

**ὄχνη** =ὄγχνη.

**ὄχυρός** =έχυρός.

\*ὄψ 1 [f.] 'voice, sound, word' (Il.). <IE \*uek<sup>w</sup>- 'speak'>

•VAR Only in ὄπα, -ός, -ί.

•COMP On ►εὐρύοπα, see s.v.

•DER On ►ὄσσα [f.], see s.v.

•ETYM A root noun from IE \*uok<sup>w</sup>-s. Lat. *vōx* has a long vowel, which must stem from the nom.sg. Skt. has *vāk*, acc. *vācam* pointing to a paradigm \*uōk<sup>w</sup>s, \*uok<sup>w</sup>-m. Besides these, there is an s-stem in ►έπος. Cf. ►ένοπή.

**ὄψ 2, ὀπός** [f.] 'eye, face'. =ὄπωπα.

**ὀψέ** [adv.] 'afterwards, after a long time, late (in the evening), too late' (Il.). <IE \*h<sub>1</sub>e/op- 'on'>

•VAR ὀψι (Aeol., *Lyr. Adesp.* 57).

•COMP Often ὀψι- as a first member (after ἀγχι-, ἥρι-, etc.), e.g. ὀψι-γονος 'late arrival, younger' (Il., Hdt., Arist.); also ὀψι-, e.g. ὀψι-αρό-της [m.] 'who ploughs late' (Hes. *Op.* 490). As a second member in ἀπ-οψέ (A. D.), κατ-οψέ (Alex. Trall.) 'late (at night)', cf. κατ-όπιν, ἀπο-πρό, etc.

•DER 1. ὀψι-αίτερος, -αίτατος (Att.), after παλαιότερος, etc. 2. ὀψι-ιος 'late' (Pi., Arist.) with ὀψιό-της [f.] (Thphr.), like πρώι-ος; -ιμος 'id.' (X., Hell.), like πρώι-μος (perhaps by reinterpretation of ὀψιμος 'visible' B 325); -ινός 'id.' (imperial period), after έωθι-νός, etc. 3. ὀψίχα ὀψέ. Βυζάντιοι (H.), diminutive like ὀσσ-ίχος, etc. 4. ὀψ-ία [f.] 'evening' (IA). 5. ὀψι-ίζω 'to be late, be overdue' (Lys., X.) with -ισμός [m.] 'delay' (D. H.).

•ETYM The final accented -έ in ὀψέ is unexplained. The form ὀψι recalls ὕψι 'in a high place', but it must in fact have spread from compounds with \*ὀψι-. We can therefore assume a basic form \*ὄψ, which recalls ►ἄψ and is identical with Lat. *ops*- 'towards' (beside *op*, *ob*), e.g. in *o(b)s-tendō*.

**ὀψιανός** [m.] of λίθος, a black stone (Peripl. M. Rubr. 5, Plin. *HN* 36, 196 ntr.pl. *obsiana*). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM Acc. to Pliny, it is named after a person called Obsius, who discovered it.

**ὀψείοντες** [m.pl.] 'wishing to see' (Ξ 37), desiderative ptc. to ὄπωπα, etc. <IE?>

•ETYM Hypothesis by Wackernagel KZ 28 (1887): 141ff.: from ὀψει ἰόντες, whence the Hom. ind. ὀψείω and the other post-Hom. desideratives in -σειώ; hardly probable, acc. to DELG. See Schwyzler: 789 and Chantraine 1942: 453; see also Lindeman *BSL* 60 (1965): 46f.

**ὄψις** •VAR ὄψομαι. =ὄπωπα.

**ὄψον** [n.] 'side-dish, especially meat'; in Athens and other places especially 'fish' (Il.). <GR, IE \*h<sub>1</sub>op-s>

•COMP ὄψο-ποιός [m.] 'cook' (IA), εὖ-οψος 'rich of side-food, especially fish' (middle com.). ὄψι-αρτυ-τής [m.] 'cook' with -τικός, -σία (com.), back-formation ὄψαρτύω (Hell.).

•DER Diminutive ὀψάριον [n.] (com., pap.), MoGr. ψάρι 'fish'; ὄψι-ών-ης [m.] 'buyer or trader of side-dishes' (Ar. *Fr.* 503) together with -ία, -έω (Critias, Ar.), -ιον [n.] 'meant for buying ὄψον', 'cash salary, wages' (Hell.) together with -ιάζω, etc.; borrowed as Lat. *opsōnium* [m.] 'side-food', *opsōnāre* (to ὀψωνέω) together with -ātor, re-borrowed as ὀψωνάτωρ, cf. WH s.v.

•ETYM Convincing analysis by Taillardat in DELG *Supp.*: thematicized from the adverb \*ὄψ, reconstructed for ὀψέ 'late' and ὄψη, and seen in Lat. *obs-*. The ὄψον was a supplementary dish, which was always eaten on top of e.g. grain or bread. This suggests the comparison with Myc. *o-pi*. Taillardat adduces other parallels from Greek for the use of a prefix ἐπι- with verbs for eating, expressing the same sense of a supplementary meal.

## Π

**πάγασα** [f.] · θύρα. καὶ παγασαί 'door' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM Fur.: 157<sup>57</sup> identifies the word with the town Παγασαί in Thessaly. Other place names in -ασα, such as Περγασα, are mentioned by Fur.: 64<sup>268</sup>. The word is Pre-Greek.

**πάγη** [f.] 'snare, trap' (IA). <IE \**peh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-* 'make fast, stiff'>

•COMP ἐπίπαγος [m.] 'hardened frozen crust' (Plu., medic.; back-formation to ἐπιπήγνυμι, -μαι).

•DER παγίς, -ίδος [f.] 'id.' (Ar. Fr. 666, Hell.), derivatives -ιδεύω, -ίδευμα (LXX).  
πάγος [m.] 1. 'pinnacle, cliff, hill' (epic Ionic since ε 405, 411); 2. 'ice, hoarfrost, frost' (A., S., Pl., Arist.), late also ntr. after ῥίγος, κρύος. Thence (or from παγῆναι, πήγνυμι) 1. παγετός [m.] = πάγος (Pi., IA), παγετώδης 'ice-like, iccold' (Hp., S., Arist.); 2. παγερός 'freezing, iccold' (D. Chr., Arist.; after κρυερός); 3. παγώδης = παγετώδης (Thphr.).

•ETYM Verbal nouns in \**ph<sub>2</sub>ǵ-h<sub>2</sub>/o/i-* of ▶πήγνυμι 'to fasten, attach'. See ▶πάξ, ▶πάσσαλος, and ▶πάχνη.

**πάγουρος** [m.] '(edible) crab, Cancer pagurus' (Ar., Arist.). <PG>

•ETYM Usually interpreted as "whose tail (οὐρά) consists of πάγος", due to the hard short back of the body (as opposed to the softer tail of other species). However, this traditional etymology is unconvincing; see σκίουρος for a similar case. More probably, πάγουρος is a Pre-Greek word. Fur.: 165 and 331 connects φάγρος, φάγωρος 'kind of fish' (H.); with secondary *r*, we find φαγώριος. The word was borrowed into Latin as *pagurus*, whence Middle French, MoFr. *pag(r)ure* 'Cancer pagurus'.

**πάγχυ** [adv.] 'altogether' (Il., Sappho, Hdt.). <GR>

•ETYM Derived from \*παντ- 'all' (ntr. *pān*), but -χυ is unclear. Most often considered to be a transformation of \*πάγ-χι (like ἦ-χι) et al. on the model of πάνυ 'altogether'. Others have suggested haplology from \*πὰν ἀγχύ (related to Skt. *amhú-* 'narrow'; see ▶ἄγχω and ▶ἄγχι), or a dissimilation from \*πάγχυ after πρόχυ (see Frisk s.v.). Meier-Brügger KZ 107 (1994): 87f. assumes a compound 'completely poured', with a second member \**k<sup>h</sup>u-t-* from χέω 'to pour'.

**πάθνη** [f.] 'crib'. ⇒φάτνη.

**πάθος** [n.] 'incident, experience, misfortune; emotion, passion; state, condition'.  
⇒πάσχω.

**παιάν, -ᾶνος** [m.] 'choral song, hymn', especially for Apollo, 'paean'; also personified as 'divine physician' (Hom.); epithet of Apollo, 'physician, savior'; also name of a foot (Arist., Heph.). <PG?>

•VAR παιήων, -ονος (Il.), παιών, -ῶνος (IA), πάων, -ονος (Aeol.); παιάν, -ᾶνος (Dor., trag., Hell.).

•DIAL Myc. *pa-ja-wo-ne* /Paiāwonei/ [dat.].

•DER 1. παιών-ιος 'belonging to a paean, healing, saving' (A., S., Ar.), fem. -ιάς (AP), -ίς (S. E.); also -ία [f.] epithet of Athena (Paus.), as a plant name 'reony' (Thphr., Ps.-Dsc.); παιανίδες [pl.] epithet of αἰοιδαί (Pi.); Παιηόνιος = Παιώνιος (APL); παιανίας [m.] 'paean-singer' (Sparta). 2. παιωνικός = παιώνιος (Plu., Gal.), παιανικός 'paean-like' (Ath.). 3. παιηοσύνη· ιατρεία 'medical treatment' (H.). 4. παιωνίζω (IA), -ανίζω (Dor.) 'to strike up a paean, to worship with a paean', παιωνισμός [m.] (Th., Str., D. H.), -ισται [m.pl.] 'guild of the paean-singers' (Rome, Piraeus, II-III<sup>p</sup>).

•ETYM Probably taken from the exclamation ιὴ παιήων, ιὼ παιάν (as the beginning of a song). The basis is \*παιά-(f)ων like Ιά(f)ονες, κοινά(f)ων (see ▶ Ἴωνες and ▶ κοινός), but is otherwise unclear. Perhaps 'who heals illnesses through magic (Apollo)', from \*παιῖα, \*παριᾶ 'blow', related to ▶ παίω 'beat'; otherwise, related to παύω? In origin, the word may well be Pre-Greek.

**παιπάλῃ** [f.] 1. 'fine flour, flour dust' (Ar. Nu. 262, Apollon. Med.), 2. 'shrewd person, crafty person' (Ar. Nu. 260). <?>

•COMP 1. δυσ-παίπαλος, epithet of a valley (Archil.), the waves (B.), Mount Othrus (Nic.), etc.; 2. δυσ-οδο-παίπαλα [n.pl.] 'difficult and rugged' (A. Eu. 387, reading uncertain); 3. πολυ-παίπαλος, of the Phoenicians (o 419), of the air (Call. Fr. anon. 225).

•DER Several formally close, but semantically doubtful formations: 1. παιπαλ-όεις [adj.] 'rugged', of islands, mountains, roads (Il., epic); 2. -ιμος [adj.] 'artful, shrewd' (Theognost., sch.); 3. -ώδης 'id.' (EM, Suid.); 4. -εος (meaning unknown) of πιπώ 'woodpecker' (Antim.). Verbs: 1. παιπαλᾶν· περισκοπεῖν, ἐρευνᾶν 'to look around, inquire' (H.), παιπάλῃμα [n.] (Ar., Aeschin.) = παιπάλῃ, probably enlargement; 2. παιπάλλειν· σείειν 'to shake' (H.); 3. παιπαλώσσω· τὸ παίζω καὶ τὸ παροινῶ 'to dance and act like a drunk' (Theognost.). παίπαλά τε κρημνούς τε (Call. Dian. 194) is probably a back-formation.

•ETYM The adjective παιπαλόεις, used by the epic poets as an epitheton ornans, is most often interpreted as 'raw, steep' or 'twisted'; hence δυσ-παίπαλος 'rough and steep'. In view of the glosses παιπάλλειν· σείειν 'to shake' (H.) and παιπαλώσσω (Theognost.), παι-παλ- could be an intensive reduplication of the root \*παλ- of ▶ πάλλω 'to swing, rock', thus 'be agitated' vel sim. Acc. to Tichy 1983: 306ff., meaning 1. is a ghost word.

**παῖς, παιδός** [m., f.] 'child, boy, son, slave, servant', more rarely 'girl, daughter' (Il.). <IE \*peh<sub>2</sub>-u- 'few, little'>

•VAR Also παῖς (epic Lesb., Boeot.).

•COMP παιδ-αγωγός [m.] 'children's attendant, schoolteacher', ἄ-παις 'childless' (IA), etc.

•DER A. Nouns. Several hypocoristic diminutives, partly replacing παῖς: 1. παιδ-ίον [n.] (IA), -ιώτης [f.] 'childhood' (Aq.), -ιώδης 'childish' (D. H.). 2. diminutive παιδ-ίσκος [m.], more usually -ίσκη [f.] (Att.), -ισκι-ωρός [m.] (Sparta) 'guard of girls?', -ισκάριον (Hell.), -ισκεῖος (IV<sup>a</sup>), -ισκεῖον 'brothel' (Ath.). 3. παιδ-άριον (Att.) 'little boy', -αρίσκος (Hld.), -αρίδιον (gloss.), -αριήματα· παιδάρια 'little boys' (H.), -αρίων (H.), -αριώδης 'childish' (Pl., Arist.), -αρικός 'belonging to slaves' (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>), -αριεύομαι [v.] 'to behave childishly' (Aristox.). 4. πάϊλλος 'male child' (Tanagra). 5. παιδ-ία 'childhood' (Hp.), -ιά 'child's play, pleasantries, pastime' (Att.); -ιώδης 'playful' (Ion Hist., Arist.). 6. παίγνιον [adj.] 'playful', -ίη [f.] 'play'.

B. Adjectives: 1. παιδ-νός 'in infancy, childish' (Od., epic). 2. παῖδ-ειος, -εῖος, -ήϊος 'childlike' (Pi., trag., Pl.); τὰ -ήϊα name of a festival (Delph. V--IV<sup>a</sup>). 3. παιδ-ικός 'concerning the child, childlike'; τὰ παιδικά 'dear' (B., Att.). 4. παιδοῦς, -οὔσσα 'having many children, pregnant' (Call., Hp.).

C. Verbs: 1. παίζω [v.] 'to behave like a child, play' (Od.), also with ἐν-, e.g. ἐμπαίκτης, -γμός, -γμονή (LXX, NT), κατα-, συν-, etc., aor. παῖσαι, analogically also παῖξαι (Crates Com., Ctes., Hell.), παῖγ-μα 'play' (E.), φιλο-παίγμων 'fond of playing' (ψ 134), -μοσύνα [pl.] 'id.' (Stesich.); παῖγ-νίη 'play' (Hdt.), -νιήμων 'playful' (Hdt.), -νιον (Att.), -χ-νιον (Erinna, Theoc. in pap. Antin., Call.) 'play, jest'. Probably, παῖγ-ν- for \*παῖδν- because of an early connection with παίζω. (συμ-)παίκτης 'player, team-mate' (AP), -τρια [f.] (Ant. Lib.), (συμ-)παίσ-της [m.] (Pl. Min., pap.), -τικός 'jocular' (Clearch.), -τηρ [f.] 'playground' (Herod.); συμπαίκτη-τωρ, -παίσ-τωρ (X., AP). 2. παιδ-εύω [v.] 'to raise, breed, educate' (also with ἐκ-, συν-, etc.) (IA), with παιδ-εία [f.] 'upbringing, education, breeding' (A., Democr., Att.), also 'childhood, youth'; -ευσίς [f.] 'upbringing, education' (Pi., trag., Pl.), -εσμα 'subject, outcome of the upbringing, pupil' (Att.), -ευτής 'instructor, teacher' (Pl.), -ευτικός 'belonging to the upbringing' (Pl., etc.), -ευτήριον 'school' (D. S., Str.). 3. \*παιδ-όω in παῖδ-ωσις [f.] 'adoption' (Elis).

•ETYM Disyllabic παῖς points to original \*παφ-ι-δ-. The unenlarged stem is still seen in Att. παῦς (vase inscr.) and in the Cypr. gen. Φιλό-παφ-ος; uncertain is Cypr. διπας, = δί-παις? A parallel enlargement occurs in ▶ παῦρος < \*peh<sub>2</sub>u-ro-, cf. Lat. parvus 'small'. Other cognates are Lat. paucus 'few' < \*peh<sub>2</sub>u-ko-, pau-per, if from \*peh<sub>2</sub>u-(o)p(o)rh<sub>3</sub>-o- 'providing little' (see de Vaan 2008 s.v.), and Go. fawai [pl.] 'few'. The appurtenance of Lat. puer < \*ph<sub>2</sub>u-ero- 'smaller' is not certain.

**παισά** [n.pl.]? · πλακούντια παρὰ Κώοις ('flat) cakes (Cos) (Iatrocl. apud Ath. 646f.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**παιφάσσω** [v.] mg. uncertain: 'to twitch, sway, move vehemently?'; πυκνά ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλον ὁρμᾶν, ἐνθουσιαστικῶς ἔχειν, σπεύδειν, θορυβεῖν, πηδᾶν 'to move often to another and from another, be inspired, hasten, make noise, leap' (H.), 'to flash, flicker?' (B 450, E 803, A. R., Q. S., Opp.); cf. παραιφάσσει· τινάσσει, πηδᾷ, παρακινεῖ

'shakes, leaps, stirs up', διαφάσσειν· διαφαίνειν 'to show through', παιπάσσουσα· παντί φαινομένη (B 450) 'completely clear' (H.). <?>

•VAR Only present stem.

•COMP Rarely with ἐκ-, περι-.

•ETYM Probably a reduplicated intensive present, but the uncertain meaning does not allow us to establish an etymology. See Tichy 1983: 309ff. for further suggestions.

**παίω** [v.] 'to strike, hew, thrust, hit, bump' (IA, Cret.; relatively rare in Attic prose).

<IE \*ph<sub>2</sub>u-ie/o->

•VAR Boeot. πήω (Hdn.), aor. παῖσαι, pass. παισθῆναι, fut. παίσω, -ήσω, perf. πέπαικα, -σμαι.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. παρα-, ἀντι-, ἐν-, συν-, ὑπερ-.

•DER παῖμα [n.] 'impression' (Crete), παραπαίσματα [pl.] 'attacks of madness' (Oenom.), παραπαίμα· παρακοπή 'frenzy' (H.); ἀνάπαι-στος 'struck back', [m.] 'anapest' (com., Arist.); ἔμπαι-στος 'embossed, coined', -σμα [n.] 'embossment' (Delos II<sup>a</sup>). -στική τέχνη 'the art of embossing' (Ath.); back-formations ἔμπαι-ος, πρόσπαι-ος (to ἐμ-, προσ-παίω) 'bursting in, suddenly' (A.).

•ETYM All Greek forms are based on the present παίω. Cognate forms: Lat. *paviō*, -ire 'to thump, pound, strike' (< \*ph<sub>2</sub>u-ie/o-), Lith. *pjáuti* 'to cut' (3s. *pjáuna*), Latv. *plāūt* 'to mow, harvest' < \*peh<sub>2</sub>u- (or \*pieh<sub>2</sub>u-). LIV<sup>2</sup> follows Hackstein 1992: 161 and reconstructs a pres. \*pi(e)h<sub>2</sub>u-ie/o-, which would have lost the first \*i due to dissimilation (LIV<sup>2</sup>) or simple phonetic loss (Hackstein). The development may have been \*pih<sub>2</sub>u-i- > \*ph<sub>2</sub>u-i-, the absence of laryngeal metathesis being due to the following \*i instead of a stop. Perhaps connected with the group of ToB *pyakar* [3pl.] 'they struck down', Gr. ▶πταίω 'to hit', ToAB *putk-* 'to divide', Lat. *putāre* 'to prune (trees)'.

**παλάθη** [f.] 'cake made of preserved fruits' (Hdt. 4, 23, Thphr., LXX). <PG(V)>

•DER Diminutive παλαθ-ίς [f.] (Ph. Bel., Str.), -ιον [n.] (Polem. Hist.), παλάσ-ιον (Ar. Pax 574; v.l. -θιον); adj. -ώδης (Dsc.).

•ETYM Has often been connected with ▶πλάσσω 'to knead' < \*πλαθ-, but the latter requires a preform in \*pld<sup>h</sup>-, whereas παλά-θη would have to reflect word-initial \*plh<sub>2</sub>-e-. If this line is followed, it can be compared with παλά-μη, παλα-στή, 'flat of the hand, etc.'; the word πέλα-νος 'dough, pulp' could show the full grade of the root in \*pelh<sub>2</sub>-n-, and the PIE root would be \*plh<sub>2</sub>- 'to hit', whence the roots \*plh<sub>2</sub>g/k- in LIV<sup>2</sup> may derive. However, the semantics of this etymology are not compelling, of course. Alternatively, παλάθη could reflect a loanword. Fur.: 259 cites παλάσια· τὰ συγκεκομμένα σῦκα. καὶ διὰ τοῦ θ παλάθια 'harvested figs, also παλάθια with -θ-' (H.); the variation θ/ σ could point to a Pre-Greek word.

**πάλαι** [adv.] 'of old, formerly, long ago, bygone, earlier' (Il.). <IE \*plh<sub>2</sub>- '?'>

•DIALMyc. pa-ra-jo /palaios/.

•COMP παλαι-γενής 'born long ago, of high age' (Il.), ἔκ-παλαι 'long since, long ago' (Hell.).

•DER παλαιός 'old, ancient, former' (Il.), παλαι-ότης 'age, antiquity' (Att.), -όμοι, -όω [v.] 'to grow old, make old, declare archaic' (Hp., Pl., Arist.); hence παλαί-ωσις

[f.] 'aging' (Hp., LXX, Str.), -ώματα [pl.] 'antiquity' (LXX). Compar. παλαί-τερος, -τατος (Pi.), also παλαιό-τερος (Ψ 788), -τατος (Pl.).

•ETYM Formation like χαμαί, παραί, except for the accent. A frozen case-form, perhaps originally a dative. The Mycenaean form precludes a labio-velar, and points to \*plh<sub>2</sub>-ei; see Chadwick *Glotta* 54 (1976): 68-70. Thus, the earlier connection with ▶τῆλε 'far away, far' < \*k<sup>w</sup>- must be abandoned.

**παλαίω** [v.] 'to wrestle, survive a wrestling match' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aeol. -αιμι, Boeot. -ήω (Hdn. Gr.); aor. -αῖσαι, -αισθῆναι, fut. -αίσω.

•COMP Also προσ-, κατα-, συν-.

•DER 1. Παλαίμων, -ονος [m.] 'wrestler', only as the name of a sea-god and an epithet of Heracles (E., Call., Lyc., inscr.); from 'wrestler' were derived παλαμιον-έω [v.] 'wrestle' (Pi.) and παλαι(σ)μο-σύνη 'art of wrestling' (Hom., Simon.). 2. πάλαι-σμα 'wrestling, bout in wrestling, trick' (IA), 3. -σις [f.] 'prize fight' (Ptol.); 4. -στής 'wrestler, fighter' (θ 246), -στικός 'belonging to wrestling, to the wrestler' (Arist.); 5. -στρά [f.] 'wrestling school, gymnasium, arena' (IA) with -στρίδιον, -στρίτης, -στρικός, -στριαῖος. The noun πάλη [f.] 'wrestling, wrestling match' (Il.) is a back-formation, hence ἀντί-παλος [m.] 'rival, opponent' (Pi., IA), δυσ-παλής 'hard to beat' (Pi.; with transition to the s-stems) et al. Similarly, διαπάλη [f.] (Pln.) from δια-παλαίω (Ar., Ph.).

•ETYM One could derive 'wrestle' from 'rock, sway', and connect παλαίω with ▶πάλλω, for which a root \*plh<sub>2</sub>- has been suggested. Gr. παλαίω may be a recent enlargement of a stem \*παλα- (cf. κεραίω : κερά-σαι), but there is no way to arrive at a sequence παλα- from a preform \*plh<sub>2</sub>-. Alternatively, one could connect πάλναμι 'to approach' < \*plh<sub>2</sub>- (semantics: 'to make close contact' > 'wrestle'), and posit a zero-grade verbal formation \*plh<sub>2</sub>-e- > παλα-. However, since no synchronic traces of such a verbal stem remain, this remains hypothetical.

**παλάμη** [f.] 'flat hand, device, means, function' (Il.). <IE \*plh<sub>2</sub>-(e)m- 'hand'>

•COMP δυσ-πάλαμος 'mischievous, helpless' (A. [Iyr.]).

•DER πάλαμις (cod. -ίς)· τεχνίτης παρὰ τοῖς Σαλαμίνιους 'craftsman (Salam.)' (H.), παλαμῖς [f.] 'mole' (Alex. Trall.). Denominative παλαμι-άομαι, -ήσασθαι 'to handle, perform, plan' (Alc., E., Ar., X.) also παλαμῆσας· τεχνάσας, ἐργάσας 'having wrought, produced' (H.), -ημα [n.] 'performance, plan' (Com. Aesp., Ael.). Furthermore ἀπάλαμιος (also ἀ-πάλαμιος) 'without hand', 'unadept, helpless, indeliberate, inconsiderate' (E 597); παλαμναῖος 'who does sth. with his own hand', euphemistically 'murderous, murderer' (trag.); both from \*πάλαμα [n.].

•ETYM Related to Lat. *palma* [f.] 'flat hand', OHG *folma*, OIr. *lám* 'hand', all with an old zero grade m-derivation (\*plh<sub>2</sub>-m-) of a lost verb for 'spread out'. Greek requires \*plh<sub>2</sub>-em-; cf. Beekes 1975: 10ff. Other derivations of the same verb have been suspected in ▶παλαστή and ▶πέλαγος; see also ▶πέλανος, ▶πλάσσω, and ▶πλανάω, as well as ▶ἐπιπολῆς.

**παλάσσομαι** [v.] 'to draw lots'. ⇒πάλλω.

**παλάσσω** [v.] 'to besprinkle, stain, taint' (Il.). <?>

- VAR Fut. inf. παλαξέμεν, perf. ptc. πεπαλαγμένος, plpf. πεπάλακτο.
- COMP ἐμ-παλάσσομαι 'to be tampered, be entangled' (Hdt., Th.), ἐμπαλάξαι-ἐμπλέξαι 'to entwine' (H.), with ἐμπαλάγματα [pl.] 'entanglements, embracements' (A. Supp. 296).
- DER πάλαξις [f.] 'sprinkling' = 'priming' (Epid. III<sup>a</sup>).
- ETYM Possibly connected with ►πάλλω 'to swing', though this verb itself has no certain etymology. One would have to posit a Proto-Greek root \*pal- with the suffix -άσσω, also found e.g. in ►σταλάσσω, αἰμάσσω, et al.

**παλαστή** [f.] 'surface of the hand, breadth of four fingers' (IA). <PG(V)>

- VAR -άστα (Aeol.), -αιστή (Hp., Arist., pap.; perhaps secondary after παλαίω?), also -αιστής [m.] (LXX, Hero); after μετρητής, etc.
- COMP τρι-πάλα(ι)στος 'measuring three handbreadths' (IA, Hell.).
- DER παλα(ι)στ-ιαῖος 'measuring a handbreadth' (IA, Hell.).
- ETYM Frisk derives this noun from the same verb for 'spread out' as ►παλάμη, with a suffix -st-. However, the word rather seems Pre-Greek, as is confirmed by the variation σ/ισ (which probably points to a palatal \*sʷ); cf. Fur.: 296.

**παλεύω** [v.] 'to act as a decoy, lure into, tempt' (Ar. Av., Ph., Plu.). <PG?>

- DER παλευταί· οἱ τὰ λῖνα ἰστώντες, οἷς τὰ θηρία παλεύεται 'those setting up the nets by which animals are trapped' (H.), -ευτικόν (cod. πατ-)· θηρευτικόν 'related to hunting' (H.), -ευτά· τὰ λῖνα οἷς τὰ θηρία ἀλίσκεται 'nets by which wild animals are caught' (Phot.), -εὔτρια [f.] 'decoy bird' (Eub., Arist.), -ευτρίς [f.] (Phot.), -εῦμα 'bait, lure' (anon. apud Greg. Cor., p. 1017 Schaefer).
- ETYM A technical word, probably Pre-Greek.

**παλέω** [v.] <PG?>

- VAR Only in the aor. opt. παλήσειε, said of a fleet which cannot fight (Hdt. 8,21), ind. ἐπάλησεν· ἐφθάρη 'to destroy' and perf. πεπαληκέναι· ἐκπεσεῖν 'to fall out', πεπαλημέναι· βεβλαμμέναι 'who are disabled or hindered' (H.); furthermore (as if from πάλλω) πεπαλμένος· βεβλαμμένος, ἔξαρθρος γεγυνώς 'disabled; who has got dislocated joints' (H.), πεπαλκέναι λέγεται τὸ ἐκπίπτειν τὰ πλοῖα 'suffer shipwreck' (Phot.).
- DER ἐκπαλῆς 'dislocated' (Hp., H.), ἐκπαλέω [v.] 'to dislocate, disjoint' (Hp.), ἐκπάλησις, -εία [f.] 'dislocation' (medic.).
- ETYM If Frisk's proposal is correct -- viz. that the rare simplex could be a backformation from ἐκπαλέω, a denominative of ἐκπαλῆς 'jumped out', which in turn was from from ἐκ-πάλλομαι 'to jut out' (see ►πάλλω 'to sway, rock') -- then this entire lemma is secondary. Only the forms πεπαλμένος and πεπαλκέναι must be older. Fur.: 149 connects these words with glosses in βαλ-, and with the root βλαβ-, which could show that the word is Pre-Greek.

**πάλη 1** [f.] 'wrestling match'. = παλαίω.

**πάλη 2** [f.] 'fine flour, fine dust' (Hp., medic., Pherecr.). <?>

- DER πάλημα [n.] 'id.' (Nic.), -ημάτιον (Ar. Fr. 682). Reduplicated ►παιπάλη; perhaps to παλάσσω and παλύνω.

- ETYM Has been derived from πάλλω 'to swing, rock' = 'to sieve flour', which is conceivable but not compelling. Alternatively, one could connect πάλη with Lat. *pollen* 'flour, powder' < \*pol(H)-, Gr. ►πόλτος, Lat. *puls*, -ltis 'kind of porridge' < \*polt-.

**πάλιν** [adv.] 'backwards, reverse; again; anew' (Il.). <IE \*k<sup>w</sup>lH-i- 'turn'>

- VAR Also πάλι (Hell. poet.).
- COMP As a second member in originally prepositional expressions like ἔμ-παλιν 'reversely, on the contrary', ἀνά-παλιν 'backwards, aback' with ἀναπαλεύω [v.] 'to take back, cancel' (pap.). Very often as a first member, e.g. παλιν-ορσος (see ►ὄρρος), παλῖωξις [f.] 'pursuit, counterattack' (Il., App.) < \*παλι-φίωξις, where παλι- was formed after other first members in -ι.
- ETYM Frozen accus. of a noun \*πάλις 'turning, turn' (from ►πέλομαι; see also ►πάλαι), which may first have been used as an accus. of content in cases like πάλιν ἰέναι, βαίνειν, διδόναι. See Dihle *Glotta* 83 (1985): 7-14 on the mg. of παλῖωξις; it may be a technical term used in chariot fighting during the second millennium, from πάλιν φιώκειν.

**παλίουρος** [m.] plant name, 'Christ's thorn, Paliurus australis' (Thphr., Theocr.).

<PG?>

- ETYM A connection with οὐρά 'tail' makes little sense, nor is it to be taken with οὔρον 'urine' (thus DELG). The word is most probably Pre-Greek (cf. Dihle *Glotta* 51 (1973): 270f.); see ►πάγουρος.

**παλλακή** [f.] 'concubine' (IA, Hell.). <PG?>

- VAR παλλακίς (Hom., X., Hell.).
- DER παλλακ-ίδιον (Plu.), -ῖνος [m.] 'son of a concubine' (Sophr.), -ία (also -εία to -εύω) 'concubinage' (Is., Str.); -εύομαι, -εύω [v.] 'to take as a concubine, be a concubine' (Hdt., Str., Plu.). A probable back-formation is πάλλαξ [f.], also [m.] 'youth' (gramm.), -άκιον = μειράκιον 'boy' (Pl. Com., Ael. Dion.), παλλακός· ἐρώμενος (ἐρρωμένος cod.) 'eromenos' (H.), Phot.; πάλληξ [m.] (Samos III--II<sup>a</sup>, Ar. Byz.), παλληκάριον (pap., written. -ι-), MoGr. παλληκάρι. A different suffix is found in πάλλας, -αντος [m.] 'youth' (Philistid.; after γίγας). Athena's epithet Παλλάς, -άδος [f.] (Il.) is isolated; among the Greeks in Thebes (Egypt), it functions as a sacral term for 'girl'; -άδιον 'statue of Pallas', originally 'doll, female idol' (Hdt., Ar., inscr.).
- ETYM The word may well be Pre-Greek, with a suffix -ακ-. Similarly, Levin *General Linguistics* 23 (1983): 191-197 regards Latin *paelex* 'mistress' as a loanword from a Mediterranean language, maybe a Semitic one, in view of Hebr. *plgš* /pi(y)leyeš/ 'concubine'. The remaining connections that have been proposed, particularly those with Ir. *airech*, gen. *airige* [f.] 'concubine', Avestan *pairikā* [f.] 'witch', MP *parik*, MoP *pari* < PIr. \**parikā*, should all be dismissed for formal or semantic reasons.

**παλλάντιον** [n.] kind of grass (Hippiatr. 66). <?>

- ETYM Fur.: 344 compares ἀπολάντιον 'id.', but the analysis of the latter is unknown.

**παλλιχίαρ** [n.]· πεμμάτιόν τι παρὰ Λάκωσι 'small cake (Lacon.)' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM DELG suggests a compound of *pān* and *λείχω* (after Bourguet 1927: 148'), but it may rather be a Pre-Greek word.

**παλλύτας** [ʔ] ὄργανον βασανιστήριον 'instrument of torture' (H.). <ʔ>

•ETYM From *pān* and ►λύω?

**πάλλω** [v.] 'to sway, rock, draw lots', med. 'to vault', also 'to jump, hop'. <ʔ>

•VAR Aor. πήλαι (Il.), med. πήλασθαι (Call.), πάλτο (άν-, κατ-έπαλτο), reduplicated ἀμι-πεπαλών (Hom.; see below on πεπάλ-εσθε, -έσθαι, if for -ασθε, -άσθαι or -αχθε, -άχθαι), aor. pass. ἀνα-παλείς (Str.), perf. med. πέπαλμαι (A.).

•COMP Also ἀνα- (ἀμι-). As a second member in ἐγγέσ-, σακέσ-παλος 'swaying the spear, shield' (Il.).

•DER 1. πάλος [m.] '(shaken) lot' (Sapph., Hdt., trag.), ἄμπαλος [m.] 'fresh casting' (of the lot, Pi.); ἀναπάλη [f.] name of a dance (Ath.); 2. παλτόν [n.] 'javelin' (A., X.), ἐπάλταξα 'threw the javelin' (H.), παλτός [adj.] (S.); 3. παλμός [m.] 'vibration, pulsation' (Hr., Arist., Epicur.), -ώδης 'full of vibrations' (Hr.); παλματίας σεισμός 'heavy earthquake' (Arist.); 4. πάλσις (ἀνά-, ἀπό-) [f.] 'pulsation, etc.' (Arist., Epicur.). Intensive verb παι-πάλλειν 'to shake' (H.). A velar enlargement seems to be present in \*παλάσσομαι, πεπάλαχθε, -άχθαι (H 171, ι 331); these difficult perfects must perhaps be read as reduplicated aor. -εσθε, -έσθαι.

•ETYM The forms πάλτο and back-formed πάλλομαι arose through metanalysis of the compounds κατ-επ-αλτο, αν-επ-αλτο, which belong to ἄλλομαι 'to jump', as containing augmented ἔ-παλτο. The remaining forms show a common basis παλ- (pres., reduplicated aor., etc.). In LIV<sup>2</sup>, Gr. παλ- 'to swing' is connected with Slavic material such as Sln. *pláti*, isg. *róljem* 'to surge, let seethe', as well as Gr. ►πελεμίζω and ►πόλεμος. The root would be PIE \**pelh<sub>2</sub>*-, whence a nasal present \**pl-n-h<sub>2</sub>-e/o-* > Gr. πάλλ-ε/ο- (with similar phonetics as in βάλλω), and a reduplicated aorist \**pe-plh<sub>2</sub>-e/o-* > πεπαλ-ε/ο-. This analysis is possible in theory, but note that there is no independent evidence for πάλλω continuing a nasal present. Thus, everything remains uncertain. Alternatively, we could be dealing with a different, Proto-Greek stem \**pal-*, to which παλύνω and παλάσσω could belong as well. The appurtenance of πόλεμος is semantically unconvincing. The noun πάλος is probably deverbal, as the meaning suggests. See ►παλαίω.

**πάλμυς, -υδος, -υν** [m.] 'king' (Hippon., A. Fr. 437 = 623 M., Lyc., AP 15, 25), also PN of a Trojan (N 792). <LW Lyd.>

•ETYM Originally a Lydian word (Lyd. *qalmlus*).

**πάλος** [m.] 'lot'. ⇒πάλλω.

**πᾶλος** [m.] 'gladiator'. <LW Lat.>

•ETYM From Lat. *pālus* 'stake', a gladiator's rank.

**παλύνω** [v.] 'to sprinkle flour; to besprinkle with flour, dust, snow, etc.' (Il.). <GR>

•VAR Aor. παλῦναι.

•COMP Rarely with ἀμιφι-, δια-, ὑπερ-.

•ETYM Either a direct derivative of ►πάλη 2 'fine flour' or from an unattested *u*-stem \**pal-u-* 'flour'.

**παμπήδην** [adv.] 'wholly, throughout', = πάμπαν (Thgn., A., S.). <GR>

•VAR -ηδόν, -ηδονίς (Theognost.).

•ETYM Transformation of πάμπαν after the adverbs in -ήδην, -ηδόν. See ►ἐμπης.

**παμφαίνω** [v.] 'to shine brightly, radiate' (Il., epic). <GR>

•VAR Only present; iterative παμφαίνεσκε (Eratosth.).

•DER παμφανώνων, -όωσα, -όωντα [ptc.], as if from \*παμφανάω.

•ETYM Reduplicated intensive of ►φαίνω.

**παμφαλάω** [v.] 'to gaze around in astonishment' (Hippon., Anacr., Herod.), ἐπαμφάλησεν· ἐθαύμασε, περιεβλέψατο 'wondered, gazed around' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Reduplicated intensive in -άω. Frisk assumes that it represents a dissimilation of \*φαλ-φαλ-άω, probably from φαλός 'white' (H.; see ►φαλακρός), with the same semantic development as assumed for λευκός 'white' > λεύσσω 'to look'. Fur. 161 equates παμφαλάω with παπταλάομαι 'to look around' (Lyc.), assuming Pre-Greek origin.

**πάμφι** [adv.] παντάπασι 'altogether' (H.). <GR>

•ETYM An instrumental in -φι, derived from *pān* [n.] 'all'?

**Πάν** [m.] pastoral god from Arcadia (h. Hom., Pi., Hdt.). <IE? \**peh<sub>2</sub>us*->

•VAR Case forms Πά-νός, -νί; Πάονι (Arc. VI<sup>a</sup>); plur. Πᾶνες (Ar.).

•DER 1. Diminutive Πανίσκος (Cic.); 2. Πάνιος 'belonging to Pan' (A. Fr. 98 = 143 M.), -ιον [n.] 'sanctuary of Pan' (Epid. III<sup>a</sup>), -ειον [n.] 'id.' (Str.), τὰ Πάνεια 'festival of Pan' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>), fem. Πανιάς (Nonn.); 3. Πανικός 'id.' (Hell.); 4. Πανιασταί [m.pl.] 'worshippers of Pan' (Rhod., Perg.; like Ἀπολλωνιασταί etc.; Πανισταί conj. in Men. Dysc. 230); 5. πανεύω 'to treat in the manner of Pan' (Heracl. Paradox.).

•ETYM Often identified with Skt. *Pūṣān-* [m.] 'god who protects and augments the herds', assuming an IE ablauting paradigm \**peh<sub>2</sub>us-* (> PGr. \**pauh-on-* > Πάν) / \**ph<sub>2</sub>us-* (> Skt. *Pūṣ-ān-*), derived from PIE root \**peh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to protect'. Doubts by Mayrhofer EWAia 2 s.v.

**πανδούρα, -δούρα** [f.] three-stringed lute (Euph. apud Ath. 183f., Poll.). <PG(V)>

•VAR πάνδουρος (Euph. l.c., inscr. Seleucia ad Calycadnum), φάνδουρος (Nicon. Harm. 4).

•DER -δούριον, -δουρίς (H.), -δουρίζω, -δουριστής.

•ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek word. Hübschmann 1897: 395 compares Arm. *p'andir*, Oss. *fændur*, and Georg. *panṭuri*.

**πάνθηρ, -ηρος** [m.] 'panther' (Hdt., X., Arist.). <LW Orient.>

•COMP λυκο-πάνθηρος [m.] 'wolf-panther' (Hdn. Epim.).

•DER Diminutive -ηρίσκος (Hero).

•ETYM Foreign word of Oriental origin. Compare Skt. (lex.) *puṇḍarīka-* [m.] 'tiger'; if connected with ►πάρδαλις, one might consider original \*πάρθηρ, which was

changed to πάνθηρ by folk-etymological association with πᾶν 'all' and θηράω 'to hunt'. See Fur.: 190<sup>33</sup>.

**πάνος** [m.] 'torch' (A. Ag. 284 [codd. φαν-], S. Fr. 184, E. Ion 195 and 1294 [codd. πταν-], Men.). <PG?(V)>

•ETYM Unexplained. Fur.: 318 thinks the word may be Pre-Greek because of the variant with πτ-.

**πανσῦδι (-εί)** [adv.] 'rushing in collectively or jointly, with the entire army' (Th., Pherecr., X.). <GR>

•VAR Also πασσ-.

•DER -δίη (Il., A. R.), -δία (E., X.) 'id.', also ἴν a great hurry', -δίην (EM, H.); -δόν 'together' (Nonn.); denominative πασ<σ>υδιάζω [v.] 'to assemble' (Cyme; imperial period).

•ETYM Compound of πᾶν and ▶σεύομαι (aor.3sg. σύτο), with the adverbial suffix -δί, etc.

**πάνυ** ⇒ πᾶς.

**πάξ** [adv.] 'enough, well' (Men., Diph., Herod.). <GR>

•ETYM Probably from ▶πήγνυμι, παγῆναι, with adverbial -s like in ▶ἄπαξ.

**παξαμᾶς** [m.] 'biscuit'. <?>

•DER παξαμίτης, παξαμίδιον (Gal.).

•ETYM Allegedly from the name of a baker, Πάξαμιος (Gal., Suid.).

**παπαῖ** [adv.] exclamation of pain and astonishment (IA). <ONOM>

•VAR On the accent see Hdn. Gr. 2, 933.

•DER παπαιάξ (Ar., E., Luc.); redupl. παπαπαπαῖ (Ar. Th. 1191).

•ETYM Nursery word.

**πάππᾶ** [m.voc.] 'papa!' (ζ 57, etc.) <ONOM>

•VAR Accus. -ᾶν.

•COMP πρό-παππος 'great-grandfather, proavus' (Att.), ἐπί-παππος 'great-grandfather, abavus, forebear in general' (Jul., Lib., Poll.).

•DER πάππος 'grandfather, ancestor' (IA), 'down (on seeds, on the chin)', name of an unknown bird; παππ-ῶς 'ancestral' (Ar.), -ικός 'id.' (pap. II<sup>p</sup>), -ώδης 'fluffy' (Thphr.). Denominatives παππ-άζω (E 408, Q. S.), -ίζω (Ar.) [v.] 'to say papa, call papa', -ασμός [m.] 'calling out "papa"' (Suid.); hypocoristic παππ-ῖᾱ, -ῖδιον (Ar.). Fully inflected: πάπας, -αν, -α (Hell.).

•ETYM Reduplicated nursery word

**πάπραξ, -ακος** [m., f.] name of a fish in the Thracian lake Prasias (Hdt. 5, 16). <PG?(S)>

•ETYM Has been connected with πέρκη 'perch', περκνός 'spotted', or explained as onomatopoeic after the supposed sound of the fish; cf. βαβράζειν 'to chirp'. The word may be Pre-Greek (suffix -ακ-).

**παπταίνω** [v.] 'to look around, glance at sth.' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Aor. παπτήναι, also -ᾶναι (Pi.), fut. -ανέω.

•COMP Rarely with ἀπο-, δια-, περι-.

•DER πεπτήνας περιβλεψάμενος 'looking around' (H.); παπταλόμενος (Lyc.).

•ETYM Intensive reduplicated formation πα-πτ-αίνω. Could be connected with πέτομαι 'to fly', assuming the image of a restless gaze, but this is hardly compelling. No good IE etymology. Other forms which have been connected: some Cypriot glosses from H., such as ἱπάταον· ἐμβλεψον. Πάφιοι 'looked at (Paph.)', ἱνκαπάταον· ἐγκατάβλεψον 'id.', etc. (see Frisk s.v.).

**πάπυρος** [m., f.] 'papyrus shrub, linen, paper' (Thphr., Dsc., pap.). <LW>

•DER Diminutive παπύρ-ιον [n.] (Dsc.), -(ε)ών [m.] 'bed of papyrus' (Aq., inscr.); -ινος [adj.] 'made of papyrus' (Delos II<sup>a</sup>, Plu., pap.), -ικός 'id.' (pap.), -ώδης (Gal., sch.).

•ETYM Loanword of unknown origin. Note that Pre-Greek has a suffix -ῦρ-.

**πάρα** [adv., prep.] 'besides, by; from, next to, alongside, against' (Il.). <IE \*prh<sub>2</sub>-, \*preh<sub>2</sub>- 'beside, by'>

•VAR With gen., dat., acc. Also παρά, epic also παραί (Παραί-βάτᾱς in dial. inscr.), non-IA mostly πάρ.

•DIAL Myc. pa-ro.

•ETYM Discussion by García Ramón 1997: 47-62. For Indo-European, he distinguishes \*prh<sub>2</sub>- 'at the front, beside', with a loc. \*preh<sub>2</sub>-i, also \*pr- 'id.' and \*pres- in πρέσβυς. Beside these, there is also a gen.-abl. \*prh<sub>2</sub>-es > πάρος, and finally, \*pro and \*pro-h, 'to the front'.

The words παραί, παρ, and παρά are synonymous; παραί may derive from \*preh<sub>2</sub>-i with analogical \*pr-. The word παρά lost the meaning 'forward' to πρό. See ▶πάρος, ▶πέρα, ▶πέρη, ▶πρίν, ▶πρό, and ▶πρός.

**παραγούδης** [m.] 'garment with purple border' (Lyd. Mag. 1, 17; 2, 4). <LW OP>

•VAR παραγώδας (cod. παραγωγής) 'a Parthian garment' (H.).

•DER παραγούδιον (POxy. 1026, 12; VP; Ed. Diocl.).

•ETYM A loanword from Old Persian; see R. Schmitt Glotta 49 (1971): 107-110.

**παράδεισος** [m.] 'enclosed park with animals' (X.), 'garden' (LXX, Hell., pap., inscr.), 'garden of Eden' (LXX), 'abode of the blessed, paradise' (NT). <LW Pers.>

•ETYM Loanword from Av. pairi-daēza- [m.] 'enclosure', MIran. \*pardēz, MoP pālēz 'garden'. Iranian \*daiža- is cognate with Gr. ▶τείχος, from the IE root \*d<sup>h</sup>eiǵh-.

**παρακλαυσίθυρον** 'lover's complaint sung at his mistresses's door, serenade' (Plu.). <GR>

•ETYM Univerbation of παρα-, κλαῦσις, and θύρα (Leroy 1969: 223-237).

**παρασάγγης** [m.] Persian length measure (Hdt., X.). <LW OP>

•ETYM From OP; cf. MP frasang, MoP farsang. The view that παρασάγγης was used in the meaning 'ἄγγελος' is probably due to a misunderstanding (Pearson on S. fr. 520).

**πάραυτα, -τά** [adv.] 'immediately' (Aesch., D).



•ETYM From παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα.

**παραψιδάζω** [v.] 'to spatter' (Hippon. 92 M.).

•ETYM Masson cites Coppola, who adduced ψίδες· ψιάδες, ψακάδες 'drops, drops of rain' (H.). See ►ψίζομαι.

**παρδακός** [adj.] 'wet, damp' (Archil., Semon., Ar. *Pax* 1148); πάρταξον (-ζον cod.)· ὕγρانون. Λάκωνες 'wetting' (?) (H.). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR V.II. πορ-, -δοκός.

•ETYM The variations α/o and δ/τ show that the word is Pre-Greek. Fur. 241 further adduces ἄρδω 'to irrigate' < \*ἀ-φάρδω (Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 29f, Neumann 1961: 91); he also compares Basque forms.

**πάρδαλις, -ιος, -εως** [f.] 'panther, leopard' (Il.); also name of a fish of prey (Ael., Opp.), of a bird, perhaps 'red-backed shrike, Lanius' (Arist. [-λος], H.). ◀LW?▶

•VAR Also πόρδ-.

•COMP παρδαλή-φορος 'borne by a panther' (S. *Fr.* 11), καμηλο-πάρδαλις [f.] 'giraffe' (Agatharch., LXX).

•DER παρδαλ-έη, -έα, -ῆ [f.] 'pelt of a panther' (Il.), -ια [n.pl.] 'panthers' (Arist.), -ιδεύς 'young panther' (Eust.), -ε(ι)ος 'belonging to the panther, panther-like' (Arist.), -ώδης (Ath.), -ωτός 'spotted like a panther' (Luc.); πάρδος [m.] 'panther' (Ael. *NA* 1,31 [v.l. πάρδαλος]); as a second member in ►λεόπαρδος.

•ETYM Loanword from an unknown Oriental source; compare several Iranian words for 'panther, leopard', e.g. Sogd. *pwrδnk*, Pashto *prāng*, MoP *palang*, and Skt. *prīdāku*- 'panther'. Gr. πάρδος might be a back-formation from Lat. *pardus* (Lucan). H.'s statement that πόρδαλις is male, πάρδαλις female probably represents a secondary distinction. For the suffix, compare δάμαλις and, more remotely, κνώδαλον, ἔταλον, ἵξαλος, et al. See ►πάνθηρ.

**παρειαί** [f.pl.] 'cheeks' (Il.). ◀IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eus*- 'ear'▶

•VAR Rarely sing. -ιά (trag.), for -ιά (cf. ἀγυιαί to sing. -ιά)? Aeol. παραῦαι [pl.] (Theoc. 30, 4 [cod. -αύλαις], Hdn.). Furthermore παρήϊον [n.] (also plur. -α) 'cheek(s), bridle' (Hom.; Ceos V<sup>a</sup>?).

•DIAL Μυσ. *pa-ra-wa-jo* [du.] 'bridle'?

•COMP καλλι-πάρηος (-ηρος, -ειος) 'having fair cheeks' (Il.), μαλο-πάρανος (Aeol.) = λευκο-πάρειος (Theoc., H.; literally 'having apple-colored cheeks'), εὐ-πάραιος = εὐ-πάρειος (Pi.).

•DER 1. παρήϊς, -ίδος (-ής, -ῆδος) [f.] 'cheek' (trag., AP); 2. παρειαίς (-ηϊάς), -άδος [f.] 'cheek, cheek band' (Hell. epic, medic.); 3. παρειαίς (ὄφις) [m.] 'kind of snake' (after the light spots on both sides of the neck; Att.); also παρούας (Apollod. *apud* Ael.; after οὖς).

•ETYM From PGr. \**par-aws-ā*, \**par-aws-iō*- 'that which is next to the ears', a compound of παρά and the (original) *e*-grade of οὖς, either with or without a suffix -ιο-. The Greek words present some phonetic problems; cf. the discussion in DELG, Forssman 1966: 153, Ruijgh 1967a: §32, and especially Peters 1980a: 295ff. on the question whether a separate form \**par-aws-ijā* should be assumed.

**παρήορος** [m.] '(horse) in the same harness' (Il.), metaph. 'walking beside the track, irrational', also 'outstretched, sprawling' (through false interpretation of Π 471?). ◀IE \**h<sub>2</sub>uer*- 'bind, connect, hang'▶

•VAR Also -άορος (A. *Pr.* 363; v.l. -ή-), -ᾶρος (Theoc. 15, 8), -ῶρος (Tryph., AP).

•DER A rhythmic byform is παρηόριος 'driven out of course', of a ship (A. R.), 'irrational' (AP). Thence παρηορίαί [f.pl.] 'side-traces' (Il.), metaphorically 'outlying reaches of a river' (Arat. 600); παρηρία (for -ηορία?)· μωρία 'folly' (H.).

•ETYM Verbal noun of παρ-αείρω; see ►αείρω 2.

**παρθένος** [f.] 'virgin, girl, young woman' (Il.). ◀IE? \**psteno*- 'breast'▶

•VAR Also παρσένος (Ar.).

•COMP παρθεν-οπίπα (Λ 385), see ►όπιπεύω; καλλι-πάρθενος 'having fair virgins, of a beautiful virgin' (E.).

•DER A. Nominal: 1. Diminutive παρθεν-ίσκη, -ισκάριον (Hdn. Gr., gloss.); 2. παρθένιος (analogical -ειος, -ήϊος) 'vestal' (Il.); 3. -ική [f.] 'maiden' (Il.), -ικός 'vestal' (LXX, D. S.); 4. -ιον, -ικόν, -ίς names of several plants, 'artemisia' et al. (Hp., Dsc.); 5. -ώδης 'vestal' (St. Byz.); 6. -ιανός 'born under the sign of Virgo' (Astr.); 7. -ίας [m.] 'son of a maiden' (Arist., Str.); 8. -ών (-εών AP, etc.), -ῶνος [m.] 'bower', usually the name of the temple of Athene παρθένος (Att.). 9. παρθενία (-εία), -ίη 'virginity' (Sapph., Pi.).

B. Verbs: 1. παρθευόμαι, -ω (also with ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-) [v.] 'to be a maiden, treat as a maiden' (Ion., A., E.), -εσμα [n.] 'maiden's work, son of a maiden' (E.), -ευσίς [f.] = -ία (Luc.), -εία 'id.' (E.). 2. ἀπο-παρθενόω [v.] 'to deflower' (LXX).

•ETYM Klingenschmitt 1974 proposed a reconstruction \**pr-steno*- 'having protruding breasts', with a development of \*-rst- to -ρθ-. The -σ- in Ar. is the Laconian development of θ. Though one might expect \**pro*- or \**pra*-, the development to PGr. \**parsteno*- is considered acceptable. For \**steno*-, cf. Skt. *stāna*-, Arm. *stin*; however, note that the original form was probably \**psteno*-, as proven by YAv. *fštāna*- 'breast', *araduuu-fšmī*- 'having firm breasts' < \**pstn-ih<sub>2</sub>*-.

**Παρνᾶσ(σ)ός** [m.] mountain chain in Phocis (Pi., Od., Hdt.). ◀PG(S,V)▶

•VAR Epic Ion. -ησ(σ)ός.

•ETYM Acc. to ancient sources (St. Byz., EM. sch. A. R.), the older name of the mountain was Λαρνασσός. It clearly contains a Pre-Greek suffix; note the interchange σσ/σ. Beekes *JIES* 37 (2009): 191-197 explains the phoneme σσ/ττ from Pre-Greek \**k*'.

**πάρνοψ** [m.] 'grasshopper' (Ar.). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR Aeol. Boeot. (Str. 13, 1, 64) πόρνοψ, also κόρνοψ (Str. l.c.), gen. -οπος. We also find the variants πρνώ· ἀκρίδος είδος 'kind of grasshopper', and κάρνος· μεγάλη ακρίς 'big grasshopper' (both H., see Fur.: 344, 388).

•DER Παρνόπιος (-πίων) Ἀπόλλων (Paus., Str.), who protects against grasshoppers; Κορνοπίων, gen. -ωνος, epithet of Heracles in Oitaia (Str.); thence the Aeolic month name Πορνόπιος, -πίων (Cyme, Str.). Also κορνώπιδες· κώνωπες 'gnats, mosquitos' (H.).

•ETYM The formation is reminiscent of δρύοψ, σκάλοψ, and other animal names; -οπ- is a Pre-Greek suffix. Given the vacillation in the form of the word, it is unlikely that π- and κ- are due to a simple dissimilation. Probably the word had an initial labiovelar stop in Pre-Greek, the labial element of which could have been lost before ο. The ο itself may reflect α after a labiovelar.

**παροιμία** [f.] 'proverb, saying' (Att., etc.), also 'incidental remark' (Herod. 2, 61), 'comparison' (Ev. Jo.). <GR>

•DER παροιμιώδης 'proverbial' (Plu.), -ιακός 'id.', also name of a meter (Plu., Heph.); -ιάζομαι, -ω [v.] 'to speak in proverbs' (Pl., Arist.).

•ETYM An abstract from πάρο-οιμος 'by the road, neighbor' or παρ' οἶμον, οἶμην; semantically unclear. Traditionally derived from οἶμος 'course, way', e.g. by H.: 'proverb which is spoken along the road' (cf. πάροιμος 'neighbor', παροιμώσαντες 'turned aside from the road'). Alternatively, one could derive it from ▶οἶμη 'song, tale'; see Frisk s.v.

**πάρος** [adv., prep.] 'before, sooner, previously'; prep. (+ gen.) 'before' (Il.). <IE \*prh<sub>2</sub>-os 'before, earlier'>

•DER πάροι-θε(ν) 'in front of, beforehand' (Il.), -τερος 'former, earlier' (Il.), -τατος (A. R.).

•ETYM An adverb that can be traced back to PIE, probably deriving from an earlier gen.sg. in \*-os. Cognates: Skt. *purás* 'in front of, before' (beside *purā* 'earlier'), Av. *parō* 'in front, earlier'. The forms in παροι- have a locative origin. See ▶πάρα, ▶πέρη, ▶πρό, ▶πρός, etc.

**παρώαι** [f.pl.] 'sorrel' (Phot., Arist.). <GR?, ?>

•VAR παρόαν, παρούαν, παραύαν [acc.sg.].

•COMP μαλο-παρούαν [adj.] 'white and sorrel-colored'.

•DER παρωαῖος [adj.] (Call. *Artemis* 91, if correct).

•ETYM It is assumed that the word is an Aeolism, and was derived from the snake name παρείας (s.v. ▶παρειαί); see Hoffmann & Debrunner 1954(2): §76. However, the variation of the vowels remains unexplained.

**πάρων, -ωνος** [m.] 'light ship' (Plb.). <?>

•VAR -ών LSJ.

•ETYM No etymology.

**πᾶς** [adj.] 'whole, all, every' (Il.). <IE \*ph<sub>2</sub>-ent- 'all'>

•VAR fem. πᾶσα (Cret. Thess. Arc. πάνσα, Aeol. παῖσα), ntr. πᾶν (Dor. Aeol. πᾶν), beside πᾶν-, ᾗ-πᾶν, etc.

•DIAL Myc. *pa-te* /pantes/ [nom.pl.], *pa-to* /pantos/ [gen.sg.], *pa-sa* /pansa/ [nom.sg.f.], *pa-si* /pansi/ [dat.pl.]; *ku-su-pa* /ksumpans/, *to-so-pa* /tosospans/.

•COMP Very often as a first member πᾶν-, e.g. παν-ἡμαρ 'all day' (v 31); more rarely παντο-, e.g. παντο-μυσής 'all-hateful' (A.), παντο-κράτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'the Almighty' (LXX; older παγ-κρατής, see on ▶κράτος).

•DER παντ-οῖος [adj.] 'various, manifold' (Il.), -οδαπός 'id.' (since *h. Cer.*); -οσε 'in all directions' (Il.), -οτε 'always' (Arist., Hell.), -αχῆ, -αχοῦ, -αχόθεν, -αχόσε, etc.

'(from) everywhere, every way' (IA). ▶πάγχυ, πάν-υ 'altogether, very' (Att., also Ion.).

•ETYM Gr. πᾶς < \*παντ-ς, with analogical πᾶν << πᾶν (< \*πάντ). Furthermore, we find ᾗ-πᾶς 'the whole' < \*sm-pant-. The Myc. forms prove initial \*p- (rather than \*k<sup>w</sup>-), and enable connection with ToA *puk*, *pont*-, ToB *po*, *pont*- 'all' (Adams 1999: 402). The -υ in ▶πάγχυ and πάνυ is unexplained.

**πάσασθαι** [v.aor.] 'to acquire'. •VAR πάσομαι [fut.]. ⇒πέπαμαι.

**πασπάλη** [f.] 'fine flour, etc.' = παιπάλη, πάλη (Ar. V. 91 [metaphor for a very small measure], H., Phot., Suid.). <?>

•COMP πασπαλη-φάγος 'eating πασπάλη' (Hippon.).

•DER πάσπαλος 'millet', πασπαλέτης 'grinding millet' (Gal.); PN Πασπαλάς.

•ETYM Formation and origin unknown. It seems obvious to connect παιπάλη, but the relation is unclear.

**πάσσαλος** [m.] 'plug, pin, peg' (Il.). <PG>

•VAR Att. πάτταλος.

•DER Diminutive πασσαλ-ίσκος (Hp.) and -ιον (H.); -εύω (often with προσ-, also with δια-, κατα-) [v.] 'to pin, hang up' (Hdt., Att.); instrument noun -εῖον (Plb., EM); -όμαι [v.] 'to be provided with a peg' (sch.), προσ-πασσαλώ [v.] 'to pin' (Thphr.). Gr. πάσσαλ-, ᾗ-κος [m.] 'πάσσαλος' (Megar., Ar. *Ach.* 763), with derivatives -άκιον, -ακίζω (H.); πασσάριος, σταυρός 'stake, pole' (H.).

•ETYM This word is usually derived from PIE \*ph<sub>2</sub>k- 'stiff, hard', but this is improbable: a pin has not become stiff (like a peg of ice); it has been fastened or fixed to a wall or a pillar. The suffix -αλ- is Pre-Greek and cannot be IE; the same goes for the suffix -ᾗκ-; cf. πόρπᾗξ, κνώδᾗξ, etc. Hence, πάσσαλος is probably Pre-Greek (\*pak<sup>w</sup>-al-).

**πάσσω** [v.] 'to strew, sprinkle' (Il.), also 'to weave' images 'into' a piece of cloth. <?>

•VAR Att. πάττω (Ar.), aor. πάσ-αι, -ασθαι, πασθῆναι (Att.), perf. med. πέπασμαι (LXX, A. R.).

•COMP Frequently with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ἐπι- (προ-επι-, παρ-επι-, προσ-επι-), ἐν- (συν-εν-, παρ-εν-, προσ-εν-).

•DER πασ-τός [adj.] 'strewn, sprinkled' (Hp.), χρυσό-παστος 'gold-stitched' (A.), κατά-παστος 'bestrewn, decorated (with figures)' (Ar.); παστός [m.] 'knitted curtain, blanket, bridal bed', also 'bridal chamber' (Hell.); παστόω 'to build a bridal chamber' (Aq.); (κατά-, ἐπί-, διά-, σύμ-)πάσμα [n.] '(medicinal) powder' (Thphr., medic.); πάστρια [f.] 'embroiderer' (sch.).

•ETYM With a similar form and meaning, we find πῆ- in πῆ καὶ πῆν ἐπὶ τοῦ κατάπασσε καὶ καταπάσσειν (H.); note especially ἐπιπῆν φάρμακον (inscr. Epid.) beside ἐπι ... φάρμακα πάσσειν (E 900).

Under a reconstruction \*k<sup>w</sup>h<sub>2</sub>t- (ignoring the \*ē to which the Epidauric form points), it would be possible to connect Lat. *quatiō* 'to shake' and PCl. \*k<sup>w</sup>ātī- 'chaff, husks', which is almost identical with the glosses πῆττα· πίτυρα 'husks of corn', πητῖται

πιτύρινοι ἄρτοι. Λάκωνες 'bran-like breads (Lacon.)' (H.). Perhaps related is Lat. *quālus* 'wicker basket', if from 'sieve'.

Semantically good, but phonetically very uncertain is the comparison with ToAB *kātā*- 'to strew' (which points to a root \**KeT*- and is usually connected with ►σκίδνῃμι).

**παστάς, -άδος** [f.], often [pl.] 'annex, porch, atrium', also 'inner room, bridal chamber' (through association with ►παστός 'bridal chamber'; Ion., Delph.). <GR>

•ETYM From \*παρ-στάς = παρα-στάς, pl. -άδες [f.] 'door-post, pillar, atrium, etc.', from παρα + \**sth₂*- 'stand'. With a different dissimilation, we find παρτάδες (-άδαι cod.)· ἄμπελοι 'grape-vine' (H.). A parallel development is shown by Lat. *postis* '(door)-post' < \**pr-sth₂-i*- 'standing forth' or \**ṛo-sth₂-i*- 'standing upright'.

**παστός** ⇒ πάσσω.

**πάσχω** [v.] 'to experience, undergo, suffer' (Il.). <IE \**bʰendʰ*- 'bind'>

•VAR fut. πείσομαι, aor. παθεῖν, perf. πέπονθα (πέποσχα Stesich., Epich., pap. III<sup>a</sup>).

•COMP Also with ἀντι-, συν-, προ-, etc.

•DER 1. πένθος [n.] 'sorrow, grief' (Il.), whence πενθέω [v.] 'to grieve, sorrow' (Il.), πένθ-ημα, -ήμων, -ητήρ, fem. -ήτρια, etc.; πένθ-ιμος [adj.] 'belonging to grief' (poet.; perhaps after θανάσιμος), -ικός 'id.' (X., LXX), -ηρός 'id.' (Anaxil.); PN Πενθεύς, reshaping of Τενθεύς. 2. πάθος [n.] 'experience, passion, suffering' (IA); πάθ-η [f.], -ημα [n.] 'id.', -ησις, -ητικός, -ικός, etc.; ἀντι-, συμ-παθής 'feeling repulsion' or 'sympathy', with derivatives -εια [f.], -έω [v.] (Ar., Hell.), to the verb ἀντι-, συμ-παθεῖν. Denominative παθ-αίνομαι, -αίνω 'to be filled with πάθος; to arouse πάθος' (Hell.). 3. πασχ-ητιάω 'to feel an (unnatural) lust', -ητιασμός (Luc.).

•ETYM On the semantic development of παθεῖν, see Dörrie 1956, and Boreham *Glotta* 49 (1971): 231-244. Old ablaut: zero grade in πάσχω (< \*πάθ-σκ-ω) and παθεῖν < PGr. \**pʰntʰ*-, *e*-grade in πείσομαι < \*πένθ-σ-ομαι) and πένθος, *o*-grade in πέ-πονθ-α. The further etymology is uncertain. LIV<sup>2</sup> supports the old connection with Lith. *kenčiū* 'to suffer, endure', OIr. *céss(a)im* 'id.', but a root \**kʷendʰ*- would violate the PIE root structure constraints. Alternatively, the Greek forms could belong to the root \**bʰendʰ*- 'bind' (see ►πενθερός), with a semantic shift in intransitive usage from 'be bound' to 'suffer'; thus Janda 2000: 128f. after E. Leumann *ZII* 6 (1928): 10 and Pedersen *REIE* 1 (1938): 192 ff. See ►πῆμα.

**πάταγος** [m.] 'clatter, crash, rattle' (Il.). <PG?>

•DER 1. παταγ-έω (also ἀντι-, ὑπο-, etc.) [v.] 'to make noise, splash, roar' (Alc. [πατάγεσκε]), -ή [f.] (D. P., Longos), -ημα [n.] (Men.) = πάταγος. 2. πατάσσω (aor. πατάξαι, also ἐκ-, συν-, etc.) [v.] 'to knock, beat, hurt' (Il.; Att. mostly as an aor. and fut.act. to the present τύπτω). 3. πατάξ [interj.] (Ar. *Av.* 1258). 4. κατατᾶ· κατακόψεις, Πάφιοι 'you break down (Paph.)' (H.).

•ETYM Possibly an onomatopoeic verb. On the derivation of παταγ-έω, compare Tucker 1990: 106. The suffix in -γ- is found in semantically close forms, such as λαλαγή, σμαραγέω (Σμάραγος), οἰμωγή, etc. Fur.: 279 compares σπαταγγίζειν· ταρασσειν 'to agitate, disturb' (H.); the word may be Pre-Greek.

**πατάνη** [f.] '(flat) dish' (Sophr. 13, Poll.). <PG?>

•VAR Dor. -ᾶ, ntr. -ον 'id.' (Poll. v.l., H.).

•COMP As a first member in πατάν-εψις, name of a (boiled) eel (Epich. 211).

•DER Diminutive -ιον [n.], -ίων [m.], name of a cock (com. IV<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek word, as per Fur.: 149, who connects πέταχνον/πάτ· 'broad flat cup'; also compare the suffix of λεκάνη 'dish, pot', οὐράνη 'chamber-pot', etc.

**πάτελλα** [f.] 'large cup' (Poll.). <LW Lat.>

•VAR βάτελλα.

•ETYM A loanword from Lat. *patella* (see E-M s.v. *patera*).

**πατέομαι** [v.] 'to dine, enjoy, eat and drink' (Hdt.). <IE \**ph₂t*- 'graze, feed'>

•VAR Aor. πάσ(σ)ασθαι and perf. med. πέπασμαι (Il.), fut. πάσομαι (A.).

•DER ᾶ-πασ-τος 'uneaten, sober' (Il.). Backformation πάτος = τροφή (sch.).

•ETYM Present stem with enlargement \*-t- from the PIE root \**peh₂*- 'to protect, graze'. In Germanic, we find Go. *fodjan* 'to feed' < \**peh₂t*-, a short vowel only in OHG *ka-vat-ōt* 'pastus'. See ►ποιμήν and ►πῶμα 1 for further derivatives of the root \**peh₂*-.

**πατέω** [v.] 'to step, tread, enter, tread underfoot', 'to despise' (poet. since Pi.), 'to tread grapes, grain' = 'to press, thresh' (LXX, pap.). <?>

•VAR Aor. πατήσαι, etc.

•COMP With prefix, especially περι-, κατα-, ἀπο-.

•DER From the verb: πατ-ησμός [m.] 'treading' (A.), 'threshing' (pap.); -ησις [f.] 'treading (of grapes)' (Corn.); -ημα 'refuse, sweepings, waste' (LXX); -ητής [m.] 'grape-treader' (pap.), -ητήριον 'treading place' (Mylasa); πατηνόν· πεπατημένον, κοινόν 'trodden, common' (H.). From περι-πατέω: περιπάτησις 'walk-around' (late), -ητικός name of a school of philosophers (Hell.). From κατα-πατέω: καταπάτησις 'treading' (LXX), 'tour, inspection' (pap.), -ημα 'that which is trodden underfoot' (LXX). From ἀπο-πατέω 'to retire' = 'to do one's needs' (IA): αποπάτημα, -ησις (com., Gal.), also -ος [m.] 'excrement, dung' (Hp., Ar.). From πηλοπατέω [v.] 'to tread in the mud' (pap., sch.): πηλοπατ-ίδες [f.pl.] 'mud-treaders' = kind of shoes (Hp.). πάτος [m.] 1. 'road, path' (Hom., A. R.), ἐκπάτιος 'astray, extraordinary' (A.); 2. 'treading, place where one treads, floor'; 'trampling, trampled matter, threshing, dust, dirt' (Hell.); περίπατος [m.] 'walk-around, place for walking, discussion', name of a philosophers' school (Att., etc.).

•ETYM The meaning 2. of πάτος shows that it is a back-formation from πατέω. In the meaning 'way, path', however, Frisk regards πάτος as a possible old variant of πόντος; πατέω could then be its denominative. Yet it is not evident that 'way, path' would yield 'to tread', an action which focuses on the individual movement of the legs. DELG doubts the connection with ►πόντος. If the latter is rejected, πατέω has no etymology.

**πατήρ** [m.] 'father' (Il.). <IE \**ph₂tēr* 'father'>

•VAR Gen. πατρός, acc. πατέρα (Il.).

•DIAL Mys. *pa-te*.

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. πατρο-φόνος 'parricidal, parricide' (trag., Pl.), acc. -ῆα (Od.); -φόντης [m., f.] 'id.', ἀ-πάτωρ 'fatherless' (trag., Pl.).

•DER 1. Diminutive πατρ-ίδιον (com.), also πατέρ-ιον (Luc.), -ίων [m.] (late; from voc. πάτερ). 2. πάτρα, Ion. -ῆ [f.] 'paternal ancestry, tribe; native city, country, homeland' (Il.). 3. πατριά, Ion. -ῆ [f.] 'paternal ancestry, lineage, family' (Hdt., El., Delph., LXX, NT), -ιώτης, Dor. -ιώτας, [f.] -ιώτις 'from the same lineage, native, fellow-countryman' (Att., Troezen, Delphi V<sup>a</sup>), -ιωτικός 'belonging to fellow-countrymen, homeland' (Delphi IV<sup>a</sup>, Arist.). 4. πάτριος 'paternal, hereditary, customary' (Pi., IA), fem. πατρ-ίς 'paternal, homeland' (Il.); younger πατρ-ικός 'paternal' (Democr., Att., Hell.). 5. πατρόθεν 'from one's father' (Il.). 6. εὐ-πατρίδης, Dor. -ίδας, fem. -ίς 'of a noble father, noble', usually as a name of the Old Attic aristocrats (trag., Att.), antonym κακο-πατρ-ίδας, fem. -ίς (Alc., Thgn.). 7. πάτρως, gen. -ωος and -ω [m.] 'male relative; father's brother, uncle' (Pi., Cret., IA); hence πατρώ-ιος, πατρώος 'belonging to the paternal clan, paternal' = πάτρως, πατρικός (Il.). 8. πατρῶς 'stepfather' (Hell.; formation unclear), also πατρυῖός. 9. Verbs: πατερίζω (Ar. V. 652) 'to call father' (from the voc.), -εὔω 'to hold the office of πατήρ πόλεως (πατερ-ία)' (Milete VI<sup>p</sup>); πατρώζω 'to take after one's father' (Philostr., Alciph., -ιάζω 'id.' (Poll.).

•ETYM Inherited word for 'father' (as the head of the family), preserved in most IE languages, e.g. Skt. *pítár-*, Lat. *pater*, Go. *fadar*. Skt. *pítṛiya* and Lat. *patrius* agree with πάτριος. Possible cognates of πάτρως, with formation like ►μήτρως, include Lat. *patrius* and Skt. *pitr̥yā-* 'id.'.

πάτος 1 [m.] 'road, path'. ⇒πατέω.

πάτος 2 'nourishment, τροφή'. ⇒πατέομαι.

πάτος 3 [n.]. ἔνδυμα τῆς Ἥρας 'garment of Hera' (Call. Fr. 495, H.). <IE? \*(s)pen- 'spin'>

•ETYM Has been connected with PIE \*(s)pen- 'to spin' (see on ►πένομαι), or explained as a back-formation of πατέω as 'what is tread' = 'long garment reaching to the feet, train'. Neither is convincing.

παῦνι [?] mg. uncertain (Hipp. 79 M.). <?>

•VAR παῦνι· μικρόν· οἱ δὲ μέγα· ἢ ἀγαθόν 'small', others say 'big' or 'good'; παῦνις· ἀποχρέως 'sufficient'; παῦνον· μέγα (all H.).

•ETYM If the explanation as 'small' is correct, one might connect it with παῦρος.

παῦρος [adj.]. 'small, little', plur. 'few' (Il.). <IE? \**peh<sub>2</sub>u-ro-*>

•VAR Fem. παυράς (Nic.).

•DER Adv. παυράκις· ὀλιγάκις 'seldom' (H.); παυρακίς· τὴν πέμπτην Σαμοθράκης καλοῦσιν 'the pinky finger (Samothr.)' (H.); diminutive παυρίδιος (Hes. Op. 133).

•ETYM Cognate with Lat. *parvus* 'small'. With different suffixes, Lat. *pau-cus* 'few', *paul(I)us* 'small, few' (basic form unclear). Without a suffix, we find Att. παῦ-ς = ►παῖς.

παύω, -ομαι [v.]. 'to withhold, hold back, arrest, stop (trans.)', med. 'to cease, stop, run out' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aor. παῦσαι, -ασθαι, etc.

•COMP Often with prefix, especially ἀνα-, κατα-.

•DER 1. ἀνά-, κατά-, διά-παυμα [n.] 'rest, ease, placation' (Il., Hes.), ἀνάπαυμα also 'fallow land', adj. -ματικός (pap.). 2. ἀνά-, κατά-, διά-παυσις [f.] 'rest, ease, relaxation' (Pi., IA), rare παῦσις (Hp., LXX). 3. παυσ-ωλή (μετα-) [f.] 'id.' (B 386, T 201), probably derived from the aor. παῦσαι. 4. παῦλα (ἀνά-) [f.] 'id.' (Hp., Att.). 5. παυστήρ, -ῆρος (S.), παύστωρ, -ορος (Isyll.) 'stopper, terminator', adj. παυστήριος 'ending' (S.), with ἀνα- 'fit for resting' (Hdt., X.). 6. ἀνα-, κατα-παυστικός 'giving rest, relaxing' (Phld., Ptol.). 7. παυσι- in governing compounds, e.g. παυσί-πονος 'ending pain' (E., Ar.), παυσ-άνემος 'calming the wind' (A.).

•ETYM Unexplained. The form would allow for a PIE reconstruction \**peh<sub>2</sub>u-*, as per LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v., but there are no certain cognates outside Greek.

παφλάζω [v.]. 'to bubble, boil' (N 798). <ONOM>

•VAR Aeol. -άσδω (Alc.).

•COMP Rarely with ἐκ-, ἐπι-, etc.

•DER παφλάσματα [n.pl.] 'bubbles, bombastic words' (Ar.), ἐκπαφλασμός [m.] 'boiling over' (Arist.).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic reduplicated formation like καχλάζω, βαβράζω, etc. With reduplication, we find the aor. φλαδεῖν 'to crush, tear up (intr.)' (A. Ch. 28 [lyr.]); with ε-vocalism, φλεδών, -όνος [f.] 'babble' (Plu.), φλέδων, -ονος 'babbling' (A., Timo); with long vowel, φληδώντα· ληροῦντα 'talking nonsense' (H.). A similar onomatopoeia is Lat. *blatiō*, -īre 'to babble, prate'. See ►φλέω and ►φλύω.

πάχνη [f.]. 'hoar-frost, rime', also metaphorically, e.g. of clotted blood (ξ 476). <IE \**peh<sub>2</sub>k/ǵ-* 'make compact, congeal'>

•DER παχν-ήεις (Nonn.), -ώδης (Gr., *Hymn. Is.*) 'frosty'; -όομαι (also with περι-) [v.] 'to become covered with rime', -όω 'to cover, (make) clot' (P 112).

•ETYM From earlier \*πάκ-σν-ā or \*πάγ-σν-ā, related to the root of ►πήγνυμι. A similar semantic development is shown by πάγος 'hill; ice, hoar-frost' (see ►πάγη). Compare νύξ ... πηγυλὶς 'icy-cold' beside πάχνη (ξ 475f.).

παχύς [adj.]. 'thick, fat, well-fed, dense, stout' (Il.). <IE \**b<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>-u-* 'dense, thick'>

•COMP παχυ-μερής 'consisting of thick parts, gross, massive' (Ti. Locr., Arist.); ὑπέρ-παχυσ 'too fat' (Hp.).

•DER 1. Compar. πάσσων, only acc. -ονα (Od.), superl. πάχ-ιστος (Il., Call.), -ίων (Arat.), -ύτερος, -ύτατος (IA). 2. πάχετος (rather -ετός [mss.]) = παχύς (θ 187, ψ 191, Hp.); also as a ntr. noun (Nic., Opp.); 3. πάχητες· πλούσιοι, παχείς 'wealthy, thick' (H., after πένητες); PN Πάχης, -ητος [m.] (Th.). 4. παχυλῶς 'in large draughts' (Arist.). 5. πάχος [n.] 'thickness, strength, force' (since ι 324). 6. παχύτης (-υτής?) 'thickness'. 7. Denominative παχύνω (sporadically with ἐπι-, ἐκ-, συν-, ὑπερ-) [v.] 'to fatten, batten' (IA), πάχυνσις [f.] 'thickening', -τικός 'fattening' (medic.), -υσμός [m.] (Hp.), -υσμα [n.] (Aët.). 8. παχῶσαι [aor.] 'to fatten' (medic., Herm. 33, 343).

•ETYM An old *u*-stem adjective, cognate with Skt. *bahú-* 'many, much, numerous', OAv. *bəzuuaitē* [dat.sg.m.] 'dense', Arm. *bazum* [adj.] 'much', Hitt. *panku-* [adj.] 'total'.

**πέαρ** [n.] · Γλαυκίας λιπαρόν 'radiant' (H.). <GR>

•ETYM A contamination of *πίαρ* and *στέαρ* 'fat', or the result of a phonetic development *ia* > *ea* in some dialect.

**πεδά** [prev.] 'after, with, amidst', = *μετά* (Aeol., Dor., Arc.). <IE \**ped-* 'foot'>

•COMP Πεδά-γείτνιος [m.], a month name (Rhodes, etc.) = Att. Μεταγειτνίων.

•ETYM Probably from \**ped-* 'foot, trace', as attested in *πούς*, ► *πέδον*; thus literally 'on the floor, in the tracks, vel sim.'. Compare Aṣm. *y-et*, *z-het* 'after' from *het* 'trace' (= *πέδον*). The rare form *πετά* is probably a contamination with *μετά*. For the ending -α, compare *μετά*, *ἀνά*, *διά*, etc.

**πέδη** [f.] 'shackle, fetter' (Il.). <IE \**ped-* 'foot'>

•VAR Dor. -α, mostly plur. -αι.

•COMP Often as a second member, especially in poetry and in late prose, e.g. *ἰστοπέδη* (see on ► *ἰστός*).

•DER Diminutive *πεδίσκη* [f.] (Thebes III<sup>a</sup>), -ιον (EM); *πεδήτης* [m.] 'fettered, prisoner' (com., Herod., LXX), *πέδων*, -ωνος [m.] 'id.' (Ar. Fr. 837); denominative *πεδάω* (rarely with *κατα-*, *ἀμφι-*, *συν-*) [v.] 'to fetter, bind, shackle' (especially poet. since Il.), to which *πεδα-τάς* [m.] (Dor.) 'fetterer' (AP).

•ETYM Derivative of PIE \**ped-* 'foot'; cf. ► *πέδον* and ► *πέζα*. The same semantics are found in Lat. *ped-ica* 'shackle', *im-ped-iō* 'to hinder', ON *fjǫturr* [m.] 'shackle' (< PGM. \**fetura-*).

**πέδιλον** [n.] 'sole under the foot, sandal', secondarily also of other footwear (Il.; also Hdt. and Plu.). <IE? \**ped-* 'foot'>

•VAR Mostly plur. -α.

•DIAL Myc. *pe-di-ro*.

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. *χρυσό-πέδιλος* 'with golden sandals' (Od.).

•ETYM Derived from \**ped-* 'foot' with a suffix -ίλο-. The suffix might be Pre-Greek.

**πέδον** [n.] 'soil, earth, ground' (Il.). <IE \**ped-o-* [n.] 'trace, footprint'>

•VAR *πέδον-δε* (N 796).

•COMP As a second member in *δά-πεδον*, *κράσ-πεδον*, etc.; *ἐμ-πεδος* 'standing on the ground, firm' (epic poet., late prose), whence *ἐμπεδώ* [v.] 'to confirm, consider inviolable' (Att., etc.); *ἄπεδος* 'flat' (Hdt., Th., X.) (< \**sm-pedo-* 'having one surface'); as a first member e.g. in *πεδο-βάμων* 'earth-walking' (A.). Adverbs *πεδ-όσε*, -όθεν, -οι (epic poet.).

•DER *πεδίον* [n.] 'surface, plain, field' (Il.); Cyp. *πεδίja* 'plain', fem. after *χώρα*, *γῆ*? Thence: 1. *πεδιάς*, -άδος [f.] 'flat, level, on the plain' (Pi., IA); 2. *πεδιινός* (also *πεδεινός*, -ινός) 'flat, level' (IA); 3. *πεδιακός* 'belonging to the plain', plur. 'inhabitants of the plain of Attica' (Lys. Fr. 238 S., Arist., pap.); 4. *πεδιεις* [m.pl.] 'id.' (Plu., D. L.); 5. *πεδιάσιος* 'on the plain' (Str., Dsc.); 6. *πεδιασμαῖος* = *campester* (gloss.); 7. *πεδιώδης* 'flat' (sch.); 8. *Πεδιώ* [f.] 'goddess of the plain' (Hera; Sicily).

•ETYM Derived from \**ped-* 'foot'. Cognate forms from PIE \**pedo-*: Hitt. *peda-* [n.] 'place', Skt. *padá-* [n.] 'footstep, piece of ground', OAv. *pada-*, YAv. *paða-* [n.] 'footstep', Lat. *oppidum* 'fort', U *peřum* 'ground, place', Arm. *het* 'footprint', OPr. *pedan* 'ploughshare', Lith. *pėdà*, (dial.) *pėdas* 'footprint', Latv. *pēda* 'foot-sole, footprint' < \**ped-o-*; ON *fet* 'step'.

**πέζα** [f.] 'instep', usually metaphorically 'foot-end, lower edge, border of a garment, coast, net, mountain range, etc.' (Ω 272, medic., Hell.). <IE \**ped-* 'foot'>

•DER Independently of the simplex: *ἀργυρό-πεζα* [adj.f.] 'with silver feet', said of Thetis, etc. (Il.), msc. -*πεζος* (AP). *πεζίς*, -ίδος [f.] 'seam' (Ar., Att. inscr.).

•ETYM Derived from \**ped-* 'foot' with a suffix -ια. A comparable form is found in PGM. \**fet-i* [f.] > ON *fit*, gen. *fit-jar* 'web', and perhaps also in OHG *fizza*, MoHG *Fitze* 'winding, thread'. See ► *τράπεζα*.

**πέζις** [m.] 'puffball, lycoperdacea' (Thphr. HP 1, 6, 5). <IE \**pesd-* 'break wind'>

•ETYM From \**pesd-*, the root of Lat. *pēdō*, Gr. *βδέω*; see Forssman MSS 29 (1971): 47-70.

**πεζός** [adj.] 'going on foot, living on the land', said of men and animals, 'walker, footsoldier', as a collective 'infantry, land-force' (Il.); metaphorically 'common, prosaic' (Hell. and late). <IE \**ped-* 'foot'>

•COMP Frequently, e.g. *πεζο-μάχας*, -ος 'fighting as a footsoldier' (Pi., IA).

•DER *πεζικός* 'of a πεζός' (Att., etc.), -ίτης [m.] = *πεζός* (Suid.: *ὀπλίτης*), -ότης, -ητος [f.] 'being πεζός' (comm. Arist.); *πεζεύω* [v.] 'to go on foot, be a pedestrian' (Att., Arist.), -ευτικός 'going on foot' (Arist.).

•ETYM Except for the accent, the word is formally identical to Skt. *pád-ya-* 'regarding the foot' < PIE \**ped-jo-*. See ► *πούς*.

**πεῖ** [n.] name of the letter. <LW Sem.>

•VAR Later *πί*.

•ETYM Indeclinable; equal to Semitic *pē*.

**πειθομαι** [v.] 'to trust, rely, obey, be persuaded' (Il.). <IE \**b<sup>h</sup>id<sup>h</sup>-* 'convince, trust'>

•VAR fut. *πείσομαι*, aor. *πιθέσθαι*, *πεπιθέσθαι*, perf. *πέποιθα* (all Il.), aor. pass. *πεισθῆναι*, fut. -*θήσομαι*, perf. *πέπεισ-μαι* (Att.), med. *πείσασθαι* (Hell.), aor. ptc. *πιθήσας* (Il.), fut. *πιθήσω* (φ 369); act. *πείθω*, *πείσω*, *πεπιθεῖν* with fut. *πεπιθήσω*, *πείσαι* (all Il.), *πιθεῖν* (Pi., A.), *πέπεικα* (young Att.) 'to convince, persuade'.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. *ἀνα-*, *ἐπι-*, *παρα-*, *συν-*. As a first member in governing compounds, e.g. *πειθαρχος* 'obedient to the authorities' (A.), PN Πεισιστρατος; as a second member in *ἀ-*, *εὐ-*π(ε)θής (Thgn., A., Att.), aor. *ἀπίθησε* (Il.), fut. *ἀπιθήσω* (K 129, Ω 300); thence *πιθήσας* and *πιθήσω*.

•DER A. From the root aorist: 1. *πιστός* 'faithful, reliable, credible' (Il.), *πιστό-της* 'faith' (IA), *πιστεύω* (*δια-*, *κατα-*, etc.) [v.] 'to rely, trust, believe, confide' (IA), whence *-ευμα*, *-ευσις*, *-ευτικός*; *πιστόμοι* (*κατα-*, *συν-*, *προ-*), -*ώ* [v.] 'to trust entirely, warrant, assure; to make reliable' (Il.), whence *-ωμα*, *-ωσις*, *-ωτής*, *-ωτικός*. 2. *πίστις* [f.] 'faith, trust, authentication, assurance' (IA), whence *πιστικός* 'faithful' (Plu., Vett. Val.; if not for *πειστικός*; see below). 3. *πιθανός* 'trustworthy, reliable,

believable, obedient' (IA), πιθαν-ότης, -όω (Pl., Arist.). 4. πίσυνος 'relying on somebody or something' (mostly epic poet. Il.), probably after θάρσυνος.

B. From the present: 1. Πειθώ [f.] 'goddess of persuasion, conviction, obedience' (Hes.), thence Boeot. aor. ἐπίθωσε, -σαν (III<sup>a</sup>)?; 2. πειθός 'persuading (easily), persuasive' (Ep. Cor.). 3. πειθήμων 'obedient, persuasive' (late epic).

C. From the present or *s*-aor. (more recently): 1. πείσα [f.] 'obedience', 2. -πειστος as a second member in εὖ-, δυσανά-, ἀμετά-πειστος etc. (Att.), as opposed to older ἄπιστος. 3. πειστικός 'fit for persuasion, convincing' (Pl., Arist.), -ήριος 'id.' (E.). 4. πείσμα [n.] 'conviction, confidence' (Plu., Arr., S. E.), -μονή [f.] 'id.' (Ep. Gal., pap.). 5. πείσις (παρά-, κατά-) [f.] 'conviction, etc.' (Plot., Hdn., sch.). 6. πειστήρ 'who obeys' (Suid.). 7. Πειστήχη epithet of Aphrodite (Delos).

D. From the perfect: πεποιθ-ίσις [f.] 'trust' (LXX, Phld.), -ίαν 'hope, expectation'.

•ETYM Present πειθομαι < PIE pres. or aor. subj. \*b<sup>h</sup>eid<sup>h</sup>-e/o-, aor. πιθ- < PIE aor. \*b<sup>h</sup>eid<sup>h</sup>-/\*b<sup>h</sup>id<sup>h</sup>-. Cognate with Lat. *fīdō*, -ere < IE \*b<sup>h</sup>eid<sup>h</sup>-e/o-, *fīdus* 'faithful, reliable', *fīdēs*, -ēi 'trust, guarantee', *foedus*, -eris [n.] 'treaty, agreement'; Alb. *bē* [f.] 'oath', *besē* [f.] 'faith', *bindem* 'to be convinced, believe'; OCS *běda* 'distress, necessity' < \*b<sup>h</sup>oid<sup>h</sup>-eh<sub>2</sub>, *běditi* 'to force, persuade', 1sg. *běždŏ* < \*b<sup>h</sup>oid<sup>h</sup>-eie-. Probably also related to Go. *beidan* 'to wait', *baidjan* 'to force', OE *bædan*, OHG *beitten* 'to demand'.

**πείνη** [f.] 'hunger, famine' (o 407, Pl.). <?>

•VAR More recent πείνα (Pl. Resp. 437d, Arist.).

•COMP γεω-πείνης 'hungry for land, without land' (Hdt.); with transition to the o-stems, ὀξύ-πεινος 'very hungry' (Arist.), πρόσ-πεινος 'hungry' (medic., Act. Ap. 10, 10).

•DER πειν-αλέος 'hungry' (com., Plu., AP; after διψαλέος et al.), -ώδης 'id.' (Gal.). Verbal forms: ptc. πεινῶν (Il.), inf. πεινήμεναι (v 137), πειν-ῆν, -ῆς, -ῆ (Ar., Pl.), fut. -ῆσω, aor. -ῆσαι, perf. πε-πείνηκα (Hdt., Att.) [v.] 'to hunger, be hungry'; later πεινᾶν, -ᾶ, -ᾶσω, -ᾶσαι (LXX); rarely with δια-, ὑπο-, ὑπερ-, ἀνα-. Gr. πείνη could be a back-formation to πεινῆν, like δίψα to διψῆν.

•ETYM Fur.: 339, 378 compares ἡ-παν-ᾶ, -εῖ 'flows off', which is rather doubtful. According to De Lamberterie *RPh.* 74 (2000): 280, πείνα may be the older form; in that case, short -α may be the Pre-Greek ending.

**πείρα** [f.] 'test, research, experience' (Alcm., Thgn., Pi., IA). <IE \*per- 'cross, pass'>

•COMP ἔμ-πειρος 'experienced'; ἵππο-πείρης [m.] 'horse specialist' (Anacr. 75, 6), μονο-πείραι (λύκοι) 'hunting alone' (Arist., Men.); ἀπείρων 'unexperienced' (S.). Backformations such as ἀνά-, ἀπό-, διά-πειρα (Pi., IA) from ἀνα-πειράομαι, etc.; ταλαπείριος 'who has suffered much'.

•DER Three denominatives: 1. πειράομαι (more rarely -άω, often with prefix like ἀνα-, δια-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-) [v.] 'to tempt, put to the test, try' (Il.). Thence πειράτης [m.] 'pirate' (Hell.), -τικός 'belonging to pirates' (Str., Ph.), -τεύω [v.] 'to act like a pirate' (LXX); πειρατήριον (Ion. -ητ-) [n.] '(juridical) trial' (Hp., E.). 'gang of pirates, pirates' nest' (LXX, Str.), πειρητήριος 'exploring, trying' (Hp.); πείρασις [f.] 'temptation, assault' (Th., D. C.; may also belong to 2.). 2. πειράζω, aor. -άσαι, -ασθῆναι (also with κατα-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-, etc.) [v.] 'to tempt, put to the test, assault' (Od., Arist., Hell.), fut. πειράζω

(Cret.), κατα-πειράσω (Lys.). Thence πειρ-ασμός [m.] 'temptation' (LXX, NT), -αστής [m.] 'tempter' (Ammon. Gramm.), -αστικός 'belonging to, fit for tempting, trying' (Arist.), ἀπείραστος 'unexperienced, untempted' (Hell.). 3. πειρητίζω (only present) [v.] 'to tempt, explore, assault' (Il.).

•ETYM From PGr. \*per-ia (Aeol. πέρρα acc. to Choerob. *An. Ox.* 2, 252), from the root \*per- 'to cross, pass'. See further ►πείρω and ►περάω.

**πείραρ, -ατος** [n.] 'end, boundary, outcome, goal, decision' (Il.); epic also 'rope, cable'.

<IE \*per-ur / \*per-u(e)n- 'ford, crossing'>

•VAR mostly plur. -ατα (περ(ρ)άτων Alc.), younger πείρας (Pi.), πέρας (Att.).

•COMP As a second member in ἄ-πείρων (Il.), remade into an o-stem ἄ-πειρος (Pi., Ion., trag., Pl., Arist.) 'endless, unlimited', also ἄ-πε(ι)ρατος 'id.' (Pi., Ph.); here also ἀπειρέσιος, ἀπείριτος; ἀπέρανα· πέρας μὴ ἔχοντα 'without boundary' (H.); πολυ-πείρων 'with many (wide) boundaries' (h. Cer. 296, Orph.).

•DER 1. πειραίνω (Hom.), περαίνω (Att.), aor. πειρήναι, περάναι (also with δια-, συν-, etc.) [v.] 'to bring to an end, finish, conclude', ἄ-πέραντος (-εί-) 'unlimited' (Pi., Att.), περαντικός 'conclusive' (Ar., Arist.), συμπέρασμα [n.] 'end, conclusion' (Arist.), -ματικός (Arist.). 2. περατόομαι, -όω (also with ἀπο-, συν-) [v.] 'to end, bring to an end, limit' (Arist.), ἀποπεράτ-ωσις (medic.). 3. ἀπο-περατίζω 'to end' (sch.). 4. περατεύει· ὀρίζει 'delimits' (H.). Also περάτη [f.] 'extremity of the heavens' (ψ 243, Arat., Call.), after the superlatives; περάτ-ηθεν 'from the boundary, from beyond' (A. R.).

•ETYM From a basic form \*πέρφαρ with PIE *r/n*-inflexion, from the root \*per- 'to cross, pass through'. From the *n*-stem, Greek derived ἄ-πείρων; πείρας, ►πέρας are remakes as well. Compare Skt. *pārur* [nom.acc.sg.n.], *pārvaṇas* [gen.abl.] 'knot, joint, section'. The mg. 'rope, cable' may derive from the use of ropes for measuring or delimiting a space. See further ►πείρω and ►περάω.

**πείρινθα** [acc.sg.f.] 'basket on a cart' (o 131, Ω 190). <PG(S)>

•VAR Gen.sg. -ινθος (A. R. 3, 873), nom.sg. πείρινς (gramm.).

•ETYM Like many words in -νθ-, this word is probably Pre-Greek. Several TNs have been connected with it: Πειρήνη, Πειραιεύς, etc.

**πείρω** [v.] 'to perforate, pierce, pervade' (Il.); as a simplex epic poet., with prefix also in (late) prose. <IE \*per- 'cross, pass'>

•VAR Aor. πείραι, perf. midd. πέπαρμαι, aor. pass. παρήναι (Hdt.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἀνα-, κατα-, περι-.

•DER A. With *e*-grade: 1. διαμπερ-ές [adv.] 'right through, continuously' (Il.). 2. περ-όνη [f.] 'brooch, buckle' (Il.), also -όνις, -όνιον, -ονίδιον, -ονάω, -όνημα, -ονητήρ, -ονητής.

B. With *o*-grade: 1a. πόρος [m.] 'passage, ford, narrowing, journey, road, way; means, way out', plur. 'earnings' (Il.), whence πορ-εύς, -μιος; b. πορεύομαι, -εύω [v.] 'to carry, provide' (IA), whence -εῖα, -εῖον, -ευμα, -ευσίς, -ευστικός; c. πορίζω, -ίζομαι 'to bring about, provide oneself' (IA), whence -ισμός, -ισμα, -ιστής, -ιστικός. As a second member in ἄ-πορος 'without escape, impassable, destitute' (Pi., IA), whence

ἀπορέω, -ία. 2. πορθμός [m.] 'ferry, strait, sound, etc.' (IA), whence -θμής, -θμιος, -θμικός, -θμεύς, -θμεύω, -θμεία, -θμεῖον, -θμευμα et al.

•ETYM Gr. πείρω < \**per-je/o-*, πόρος < \**por-o-*, πορ-θμός < \**por-d<sup>h</sup>mo-*. The old meaning 'to carry over, ferry over' is still found in Greek in πόρος, πορθμός. Cognates are Skt. *pīpartī* [3sg.act.pres.], aor. *pārṣ-* 'to bring across', Av. (*fra*)*frā* [1sg.subj.aor.act.] 'to cross', YAv. *pāraia-* 'to bring, lead'; Go. *faran* 'to wander', *farjan* 'to ferry over'; Lat. *portāre* 'to carry, transport' (denominative). See also ►πορεῖν and ►πέρνημι.

**πεισμα** [n.] 'rope, cable' (Il.). <IE \**b<sup>h</sup>end<sup>h</sup>-* 'bind'>

•DER πεισμάτιον 'navel-string' (sch.), -ιος 'concerning cables' (Orph.); also -ικός 'cable-like' = 'persistent, unaccommodating' (pap., Eust.);

•ETYM From \*πένθ-σμα, derived from the PIE verb 'to bind', which Greek may have retained in ►πάσχω, albeit in a totally different meaning. An isolated derivative is ►πενθερός; ►φάτνη is unrelated. The zero grade \**b<sup>h</sup>nd<sup>h</sup>-sm-* might be preserved in πάσμα· ὃ συνήρτηται πρὸς τὸ φυτὸν τὸ φύλλον 'by which the leaf is joined to the plant' (H.); a mixed form is πέσμα· ἢ πείσμα, ἢ μίσχος 'stalk, husk, shell'. ἔστι δὲ ἐξ οὗ τὸ φύλλον ἥρτηται 'by means of which the leaf is attached' (H.).

**πέκω** [v.]. 'to comb (oneself), card, shear' (Il.). <IE \**pek-* 'pluck, card'>

•VAR πείκετε (σ 316) and πείκειν (Hes. *Op.* 775) are metri causa; aor. πέζαι, -ασθαι.

•DIAL Mys. *po-ka* /*pokā*/ 'shorn wool'.

•COMP Also with ἀπο-. Furthermore πόκ-υφος [m.] 'wool weaver' (pap. II<sup>a</sup>); εἰροπόκος 'wool-fleeced', εὖ-ποκος 'with fair wool' (A.); νεόποκος 'newly shorn' (μαλλός, S.).

•DER 1. πόκος [m.] 'sheep's wool, fleece' (M 451, Hell.), ποκ-άριον (*Sammelb.* III-IV<sup>p</sup>), -άδες [f.pl.] 'lock or tuft of wool or hair' (Ar.), Πόκιος [m.] "shearing month", Locr. month name (inscr.); verbs: ποκίζομαι 'to shear wool' (Theoc.), whence -ισμός, -ιστί (pap.); -άζω 'id.' (sch., Suid.); -όομαι 'to be covered, as if with a fleece' (AP). 2. πόκτος [m.] = πόκος (*Lyr. Adesp.* 73, Hdn.). 3. πέκος [n.] 'id.' (*An. Ox.* 3, 358), πείκος· ἔριον, ξάμμα 'carded wool' (H.). 4. πεκτήρ (Suid.), ποκτήρ (pap. II<sup>p</sup>; after πόκος) [m.] 'shearer'. Enlarged verb πεκ-τέω 'to shear wool' (Ar.).

•ETYM Gr. πέκω < PIE \**pek-e/o-*; cf. Lith. *pešiū, pēšti* 'to pluck, pull out'; for πεκτ-έω < \**pek-t-*, cf. Lat. *pectō* 'to comb, card', OHG *fehtan* 'to battle' (if originally 'to pluck each other'). Gr. πέκος phonetically agrees with Lat. *pecus* [n.] '(small) cattle, sheep' < PIE \**pek-e/os-* [n.]; πόκος is probably an innovation. Latin has a present \**pekte/o-* and a noun *pecten*, with unknown quantity of the final vowel in the nom.sg. (Sommer in De Vaan 2008). Traditionally, a present with a suffix \*-t-e/o- is reconstructed on the basis of Lat. *pectō* and Gr. πεκτέω, but this formation is very rare in IE. The alternative reconstruction proposed by Pinault *MSS* 62 (2006) is therefore quite attractive: reduplicated \**pe-pk-* with dissimilation to \**petk-*, whence the *n*-stem \**petk-n-*, \**ptk-én-* 'comb'. A reduplicated present fits the repetitive meaning of 'to comb, pluck' very well. See also ►κτεῖς.

**πέλαγος** [n.] 'high seas, sea' (Il.). <PG?>

•COMP Late: πελαγο-δρόμος 'sailing on, flying over the sea' (Orph., *PMag. Par.*), εὐπελαγής 'lying by a fair sea' (Orph.).

•DER πελάγιος 'belonging to the sea' (trag., Th., X., Arist.; after ἄλ-ιος, θαλάσσιος), -ικός 'id.' (Plu.), -ίτις [f.] 'id.' (AP); -αῖος epithet of Poseidon (Paus.). Verbs: πελαγίζω (also with ἐν-) [v.] 'to form a sea, be flooded, be out in the open sea, sail the sea' (Hdt., X., Str.), -ισμοί [pl.] 'experiences at sea' vel sim. (Alciph.); -όομαι 'to form a sea, overflow' (Ach. Tat.).

•ETYM Frisk connects πέλαγος with ►πλάξ, -ακός [f.] 'plain, plain of the sea, etc.', πλάγιος 'athwart, transverse, sloping, curved', and ►πέλανος. However, nothing confirms a connection of πέλαγος with the root \**pelh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to spread out', and the connection with πλάγ/κ- is phonetically impossible. Thus, the word rather seems to be Pre-Greek.

**πέλανος** [m.] 'liquid flour dough, flour pulp, honey and oil', often presented as a sacrifice, 'sacificial cake' (A., E., Pl., Att. inscr., Herod.); name of a weight or coin (Delph., Arg. V--III<sup>a</sup>), = ὀβολός (Nic. *Al.* 488). <PG?>

•VAR Also -ός (Hdn. Gr. 1, 178).

•DER Cf. πέλανορ· τὸ τετράχαλκον 'a coin', πέλαινα· πόπανα, μελίγματα 'round cakes, propitiations' (H.). On πελάχιν· τρύβλιον ἐκπέταλον 'outspread cup or bowl' (H.) see πέταχον (s.v. ►πετάννυμι).

•ETYM The original meaning and etymology are uncertain. If the original mg. was 'flat cake, flat dough', which the coin name πέλανος in particular seems to evidence, πέλανος could be derived from PIE \**pelh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to be flat, level' as \**pelh<sub>2</sub>-no-*. Fur.: 338 compares πέλαινα, and concludes that it is a Pre-Greek word. The argument is uncertain, but the conclusion may well be correct.

**πελαργός** [m.] 'stork' (Ar., Pl. *Alc.* 1, 135d, Arist.); also = ἄγγος τι κεράμεον 'kind of earthen vessel' (H.), after the form? <?>

•VAR The length of the α is mentioned by Phrynichos 88.

•DER πελαργ-ιδεύς [m.] 'young stork' (Ar., Plu.), -ικός 'of a stork' (H., Suid.), -ώδης 'stork-like' (Str.), -ίτις [f.] 'kind of ἀναγαλλίς 'pimpernel' and γεράνιον 'crane' (Ps.-Dsc.). Denominative ἀντι-πελαργ-έω 'to show love in return (like storks do)' (Aristaenet., Iamb.); ἀντιπελαργ-ωσις, -ησις, -ία (*Com. Adesp.* 939, 1570). On Πελαργικόν (τεῖχος), see ►Πελαργοί.

•ETYM Uncertain. *EM* 659, 7 already connected the name with the black and white feathers of a stork; Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 294f. therefore analyses the word as \*πελαρ-αργός, from ἀργός 'white' and \*πελαρός 'blackish' (connected to Lith. *paĩvas* 'sallow', πελιός, etc.). This seems improbable.

**πέλας** [adv.] 'near, nearby' (Od.). <IE \**pelh<sub>2</sub>-* 'approach'>

•VAR ὁ πέλας 'next, nearest, neighbour' (IA).

•DER 1. πελά-της, Dor. -τας [m.] 'one who comes near, serf, jobber' (trag., Pl.), [f.] -τις (Plu.), with -τικός (D. H.); ἐμπελάτεια [f.] = πελάτις (Call., Euph.); 2. πέλασις [f.] (ἐμ-, προσ-) 'approach' (S. E., Procl.); 3. ἄ-πλητος (epic), ἄ-πλάτος (Dor., trag.) 'unapproachable, appalling'; 4. πλάτις, -ιδος [f.] 'wife' (Ar., Lyc.); 5. τειχεσι-πλήτα [voc.] epithet of Ares (E 31, 455); 6. πλήτης· πλησιαστής 'neighbour' (H.).



Adverb πλησίον (Il.), Aeol. πλάσιον, Dor. πλάτιον 'near', adjective πλησίος 'standing nearby, neighbouring' (Il., epic Ion.); πλησιόχωρος 'neighbouring' (IA), πλησιότης [f.] 'neighbourhood' (A. D.); πλησιάζω (Dor. πλάτι-) 'to approach, accompany, associate with' (Att.), whence -ασμός, -ασμα, -ασις (Arist.).

•ETYM Clearly related to the verbs meaning 'to approach' (see below), but the morphological analysis is unclear. Gr. πέλας has been explained as an old nom.sg. 'who is near'; the forms in πλη-, πλά- reflect the zero grade \*plh<sub>2</sub>-. See ▶ δασπλήτης, ▶ πίλναμαι, ▶ πλάθω, ▶ πλήν, and ▶ πλήσσω.

πέλεθος [m.] 'ordure'. ⇒ σπέλεθος.

πέλεθρον [n.] ⇒ πλέθρον.

πέλεια [f.] 'wild pigeon' (Il.). <IE \*pel- 'gray'>

•VAR πελειάς, gen. -άδος, mostly plur. -άδες [f.].

•COMP As a first member in πελειο-θρέμμων 'feeding pigeons' (A.); also metaphorically as a name of the priestesses of the sanctuary at Dodona (Hdt., S., Paus.).

•DER πελείους. Κῶοι καὶ οἱ Ἑπειῶται τοὺς γέροντας καὶ τὰς πρεσβύτιδας 'old men and women in Cos and Epirus' (H.).

•ETYM The msc. πελείους is a secondary innovation. The bird was clearly named after its color, like e.g. Lat. *palumbēs* 'dove', *palleō* 'to be pale'. It could reflect a *u*-stem \*πελύς 'grey', cognate with πελιός, πολιός, πελιτνός. The priestesses in Dodona (like the aged people in Cos and Epirus) were called "doves" because of the color of their hair. Cf. ▶ πελιδνός.

πελεκάν, -ἄνος [m.] 'pelican' (Anaxandr. Com., Arist.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Cf. πελεκανός 'fulica' (gloss.).

•DER πελεκᾶς, -ἄντος [m.] 'green woodpecker' (Ar. Av.); πελεκίνος [m.] 'pelican' (Ar. Av., Dionys. Av.); more usually as the name of several plants, "axeweed", especially 'Securigera Coronilla' (Hp., Thphr., Dsc.), and in the architectural technical expression 'dovetail' (Ph. Bel., Hero Bel.).

•ETYM Derived from πέλεκυς 'axe' because of the functional and/or formal similarity with an axe. For πελεκάν, compare especially the ethnonyms in -άν (Ἀκαρνάν, etc.). Fur. 320 compares σπέλεκτος· πελεκάν (H.).

πέλεκυς [m.] 'axe, double axe, hatchet' (Il.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Gen. -εως, Ion. -εος; also βέλεκκος, see below.

•DIAL Myc. *pe-re-ku-wa-na-ka* (?), Puhvel KZ 73, 221f.).

•COMP ἔξα-πέλεκυς = Lat. *sexfascalis* (Plb.), σφυρο-πέλεκυς 'hammer-axe' (Att. inscr.); ἡμι-πέλεκκον [n.] "half-axe", 'axe with one edge' (Ψ 851) (< adj. \*ἡμι-πέλεκφος 'consisting of half an axe').

•DER Diminutive πελέκ-ιον (Att. inscr.), πέλεκκον (-ος) 'axe-handle' (N 612, Poll., H.; from -κρ-ον), πελεκυ-νάριον 'id.' (Theo Sm.); πελεκᾶς, -ἄτος 'axe-smith' (Ostr. I<sup>a</sup>). Denominatives: 1. πελεκ-άω (-εκκάω ε 244 < \*εκφ-άω; rarely with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, κατα-) 'to cut with an axe' (ε 244), whence -ημία, -ησις, -ητής, -ήτωρ, -ητρίς, -ητός (Hell.); 2. πελεκίζω (ἀπο- AB) 'to chop off with an axe', especially 'to behead'

(Plb., Str.), whence -ισμός (D. S.). The gloss πέλεκρα· ἄξινη 'axe' is obscure and may be late. Gr. πέλυξ 'id.' (LXX, pap.) on the model of instrument names in -υξ, whence πελύκ-ιον (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*, pap.).

•ETYM Compare Skt. *paraśú-* [m.] 'axe, battle-axe', Oss. *færæt* 'axe' (from Iranian into Tocharian: ToA *porat*, ToB *peret* 'axe') < QPIE \**peleku-*. These words have long been identified with Akk. *pilakku*, which however never means 'axe', but rather 'spindle'. Thus, this comparison must be given up. Fur.: 150f. points to βέλεκκος· ὄσπριόν τι ἐμπερὲς λαθύρω μέγεθος ἐρεβίνθου ἔχον 'pulse resembling a λ. with the size of a chick-pea' (H.). Further, compare his notes 39 and 40. He also assumes that the -κκ- represents Pre-Greek gemination. πέλεκρα, too, may be a Pre-Greek formation, like πέλυξ.

πελεμίζω [v.] 'to vibrate, shake', pass. 'to tremble' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Aor. -ίζαι, -ιχθῆναι.

•ETYM Denominative formation in -ίζω, from an unknown noun, \*πέλεμα vel sim. Possible cognates are identified in Germanic, e.g. in the compounds Go. *us-film-a* 'frightened, appalled' (*usfilmei* 'fright, horror'), ON *felms-fullr* 'full of frightening', which would presuppose a noun PGm. \**felma-* 'fright'. If the suffix was \*-mo-, one could connect it to πάλλω 'to sway, rock'. Another cognate may be ▶ πόλεμος. Fur.: 151 calls πελεμ- "entschieden ungrisch"; the suffix -εμ- would be Pre-Greek.

πελιδνός [adj.] 'blue, dark color, pale, bloodshot' (Hp., Arist., Nic.; also Th. and com.?) <IE? \*peli- 'pale, grey'>

•VAR πελιτνός (Att. according to gramm.; perhaps to be restored in Th. 2, 49, Alex. 110, 17 et al.).

•DER πελιδν-ήεις (Marc. Sid.), -αῖος (Nonn.), whence -ότης [f.] 'blue stain' (Aret., Gal.), -όομαι [v.] 'to turn blue, etc.' (Hp., Arist.), whence -ωμα, -ωσις (medic.). Also πελιός 'blue, dark' (Hp., D., Thphr., Nic., etc.), πελι-ώδης (sch.), -ότης [f.] (medic.), -όομαι (Hellenic., Hp., LXX), whence -ωσις, -ωμα (medic., sch.), -αίνομαι (Hp.); πελλός (πέλλος?) 'dark-colored' (S. Fr.?, Arist., Theoc.), -ᾶς [m.] 'old person, very old man' (Hdn., H.). With *γ*-enlargement: πελιγόνες [m.pl.] = γέροντες (Lac., Massal.), = οἱ ἐν τιμαῖς (Macedonian acc. to Str. 7 Fr. 2); πελιγᾶνες· οἱ ἐνδοξοὶ παρὰ δὲ Σύροις οἱ βουλευταὶ 'esteemed ones, in Syrian councillors' (H.).

•ETYM Traditionally explained as an enlargement of πελιός, or a transformation of older πελι-τν-ός, which would have the same combination of suffixes as Skt. *páliknī* [f.] < \**pali-t-n-ī* 'grey' beside msc. *pali-t-á-* (would be Gr. \*πελιτός; thence perhaps πελιτ-νός after the fem.?). An *i*-stem has been assumed as the basic form, which may be retained in πελιός (probably for \*πελι-φό-ς), and perhaps also in πελλός (if from \*πελιός). See on ▶ πέλεια for a different formation. ▶ See also ▶ πολιός.

πέλλα 1 [f.] 'milk pail', also 'drinking bowl, goblet' (Π 642, Hippon., Theoc., Nic.). <PG? (S, V)>

•VAR Also -ή acc. to Arc. 108, 1.

•DER πελλίς, -ίδος [f.] 'id.' (Hippon., Hell. poetry); πέλιξ, -ικος [f.] = κύλιξ or προχοῖδιον (Cratin.); -ίκη, Aeol. -ίκα [f.] = χοῦς, λεκάνη 'a liquid measure = 12 κοτύλαι; dish, pot or pan' (Poll.); πελλίχνη [f.] = πέλλα (Alcm., Hell. poetry; after

κύλ-ιξ, -ίχνη; cf. further ἐλίκ-ιη from ἔλιξ). πελλητήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'milk pail, drinking bowl' (Hell. authors in Ath. 11, 495e), πελλαντήρα· ἀμολγέα 'milk pail' (H.) (to \*πελλαίνω).

•ETYM The comparison with Lat. *pēluis* [f.] 'bowl, dish' or Skt. *pālavi* [f.] 'kind of barrel, vessel', *pārī* [f.] 'milk-pail' is unconvincing, and does not lead to a PIE reconstruction. Fur.: 134 posits a Pre-Greek word because of the vacillation -ικ-, -υκ- (and -λ-, -λλ-).

**πέλλα 2** [f.] · λίθος 'stone' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Cf. φελλεύς below.

•ETYM Assuming PGr. \*πελσᾶ, it has been connected with OHG *felis* 'rock', Mlr. *all* 'crag' (< PCl. \**palso-*), Skt. *pāṣāṇā-* [m.] 'stone, rock', Psht. *parša* 'id.' (< IIr. \**pars-*, IE \**pels-*); however, the variation \**pelso-* / *peliso-* does not seem IE (cf. Fur.: 162<sup>27</sup>). The noun could be identical to the Macedonian town Πέλλα. Fur.: 161f. further compares φελλεύς 'stony ground', which shows a different anlauting consonant, and therefore points to Pre-Greek origin.

**πελλοράφος** [comp.] an artisan who sews together hides (gloss.). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM Hybrid form containing Lat. *pellis* 'hide' and ῥάπτω.

**πέλλυτρα** [n.pl.] 'foot-wrapper, foot bandage' (A. Fr. 259 = 435 M., S. Fr. 1080; H., who also gives the suspicious forms πελλασταί, πελλύτα and πελλύτεμα). <IE? \**ped-* 'foot'>

•ETYM Analyzed as \*πεδ-γλυ-τρα, a compound of πεδ- 'foot' (see ►πούς) and the root ειλύω 'to wrap', with a suffix -τρο-. Nevertheless, monosyllabic γλυ- and its length are surprising.

**πέλμα** [n.] 'sole of the foot or shoe' (Hippon., Hp., LXX, Hell.). <IE? \**pel-* 'hide'>

•COMP As a second member in βαθύ-, δί-, μονό-πελμος (AP, Edict. Diocl.).

•DER κατα-πελματόομαι 'to be soled' (LXX), πελματίζω 'to sole' (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>), 'to sleek the soles' (Anon. on EM 659, 43).

•ETYM For the formation PIE \**pel-mn* 'skin, hide', compare OS *filmen*, OFris. *filmene*, OS *æger-felma* 'pellicle of an egg'. With *n*-suffix: Lat. *pellis* < \**pel-n-i-* 'skin, hide', Lith. *plėnė* 'membrane', OPr. *pleynis* 'cerebral membrane', Ru. *plená* 'membrane' < \**pl-ēn(i)-ā-*; OCS *pelená* 'band for swathing children', Ru. *pelená* 'shroud, (dial.) nappy', Sl. *plěna* 'bandage' < \**pel-en-h-*, OHG *fel*, -lles, OE *fell*, ON *fjall* [n.] 'hide' < PGM. \**fel-n-*. Perhaps ►έρυσίπελας [n.] name of a skin-disease belongs here as well. There is no corresponding primary verb. See also ►πέλιτη, ►ἐπίπλοον, and ►σπολάς.

**πέλομαι** [v.] 'to stir' (in compounds), 'to become, take place, be' (Il.). <IE \**k<sup>w</sup>lh-* 'go round'>

•VAR More rarely πέλω, aor.med. 2sg. ἔπλεο, 3sg. -το, act. ἔπλε (M 11; v.l. ἤεν).

•COMP Also with prefix (especially in aor.ptc. περι-, ἐπι-πλόμενος).

•DER 1. πόλος [m.] 'axis, world axis, pole, vault of heaven, disc of the sundial, etc.' (IA); denominative ptc. ὁ πολεύων (Cod. Astr., PMag. et al.). 2. -πόλος in compounds like αἰ-πόλος, ►δικασπόλος, ἵπποπόλος 'horse-breeding' (Il.),

νυκτιπόλος 'travelling by night' (E. [Iyr.]); τρίπολος 'ploughed thrice' (Hom., Hes.); from the prefixed verbs are derived ἀμφίπολος (see s.v.), περίπολος, etc. 3. deverbatives: a. πολέω, -έομαι (often with prefix, e.g. ἀμφι-, ἀνα-, περι-, προσ-) [v.] 'to go about, wander around, take care of, etc.' (Pi., Att., etc.); also with nominal first member, e.g. πυρ-πολέω 'to watch a fire' (Od., X.), 'to ravage with fire, destroy' (IA); here belong, partly as back-formations: περί-, πρόσ-πολος, πυρ-πόλος, πύρ-πολος, etc.; trans. 'to turn (said of the earth), root up, plough' (Hes. Op. 462, Nik. Al. 245). b. πολεύω (χ 223, trans. S. [Iyr.]) 'id.', from ἀμφι-πολεύω (epic Od., Hdt.), metri causa for -έω; c. πωλέομαι (also with ἐπι-) [v.] 'to come or go frequently' (Il.) ἐπιπώλησις [f.] 'muster, review of the army' (name of Il. 4, 250ff. in gramm., Str., Plu.).

•ETYM Greek has a thematic present πέλομαι, -ω < PIE \**k<sup>w</sup>elh<sub>1</sub>-e/o-*, like Lat. *colō*, -ere (< \**k<sup>w</sup>el-e/o-*) 'to build upon, inhabit, attend, honor', Skt. *cārati* 'to move around, wander, drive (on the meadow), graze', Alb. *siell* 'to turn around, turn, bring'. The zero grade them. aor. ἔ-πλ-ετο has no counterpart. Because of π- before ε, πέλομαι must be an Aeolic form; the expected τ- of Ionic-Attic is seen in ►τέλομαι, ►τέλλομαι, τελέθω, ►τέλος. The PIE connotation of cattle-breeding and agriculture is preserved in compounds such as ►αἰπόλος, ►βουκόλος, τρί-πολος. The formal similarity of πωλέομαι and the Skt. causative *cārāyati* is secondary. Whereas πόλος may be a productive *o*-derivative from the verb, ►ἀμφίπολος (= Lat. *anculus*) and several words for 'car, wagon' (see ►κύκλος) may be inherited nominals. Note also περίπολος 'patrolling guardian' (Epich., Att.) = Skt. (Ved.) *paricarā-* [m.] 'servant'. See ►πάλιν, ►τήλε, ►ἐμπολή, and ►ἐπιπλά.

**πέλιτη** [f.] 'small light shield without an edge, mostly made of wattle-work, with a cover of leather' (Hdt., Tab. Heracl., Att.). <LW? Thrac.>

•DIAL Dor. -ᾱ.

•COMP As a first member in πελτο-φόρος (X., Plb.), Boeot. -φόρας, also -α-φόρας = πελταστής.

•DER Diminutive πελτ-ιον (Men.), -ίδιον (sch.), -άριον (Callix., Luc.). Denominative πελτάζω [v.] 'to bear a shield' (X., App.), πελτ-αστής 'shield-bearer, peltast, lightly-armed man' (Att.), -αστικός 'of a peltast' (Att.). A probable back-formation is κατα-πελτάζω 'to overpower with peltasts' (Ar. Ach. 160).

•ETYM Acc. to Hdt. 7, 75 and other sources, the πέλιτη was carried by the Thracians; thus perhaps it is a loanword. Usually connected with ►πέλημα, Lat. *pellis*, etc. as a derivation in -t-. Semantically, this is quite possible, but there are no good cognates with a *t*-suffix.

**πέλιτης** [m.] 'the pickled Nile fish κορακίνος' (Diph. Siph. apud Ath. 121b, H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. See Strömberg 1943: 131 and Thompson 1947 s.v.

**πέλτον** [n.] 'base of an altar, tomb' (inscr. Lycaonia). <LW Asia Minor>

•ETYM LW from Asia Minor, belonging to Hitt. *palzahha-* 'pedestal, base' (Haas *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung* 3 (1953): 132); accepted by Neumann 1961: 99f.

**πέλυξ** = ἐλέκυς and πέλλα 1.

**πέλωρ** [n.] 'monster, monstrosity' (Hom., Hes., h. Ap., Nonn.). <?>

•VAR Plur. πέλωρα beside sing. πέλωρον [n.].

•DER Adj. πέλωρ-ος (certainly first in Hes.), older and more usual -ιος (Il.), 'monstrous, enormous'. Diminutive πελωρ-ίς (Xenocr. Med.), -άς (Hell. and late poetry) [f.] 'kind of shell'.

•ETYM Old formation in -ωρ (to which perhaps the PN πελάρης [Styra] belongs). Hesychius gives the variants τέλωρ· πελώριον, μακρόν, μέγα 'long, big' and τελώριος· μέγας, πελώριος 'big, monstrous' (H., also grave inscr. Memphis I<sup>a</sup>). This suggests an original \*k<sup>w</sup>-, and Aeolic origin for πέλωρ. Frisk compares τέρας 'marvel, monster' and suggests that πέλωρ arose from dissimilation of \*k<sup>w</sup>erōr; however, the latter would not easily explain τέρας (from \*k<sup>w</sup>erh<sub>2</sub>-s?), so this word is better left aside. Thus, πέλωρ remains without etymology.

πέπελος [adj.] 'old, old man' (Lyc. 682, 826). Glossed by Gal. 6, 380 as παρὰ τὸ ἐκτέμπεσθαι εἰς Ἄιδου πομπήν 'after the sending of a procession to Hades', 'id.' in Suid.; H. gives στωμύλον, λάλον, οἱ δὲ λίαν γηραλέον 'wordy, loquacious; very old'. <?>

•ETYM Galen's explanation is a folk etymology based on the similarity with πέμπω. Blanc *RPh*. 72 (1998): 134 proposes reduplicated \*πελ-πελ- > πέπελος, from the root for 'grey' seen in πελιδνός, πελιός (see also Blanc *KZ* 110 (1997): 233f.).

πέμπω [v.] 'to send, dispatch, guide, accompany', med. (mostly with prefix) also 'to send for someone, fetch'. <?>

•VAR Aor. πέμψαι, fut. πέμψω (Hom.), aor. pass. πεμφθῆναι (Pi.), perf. πέπομφα (IA), med. πέπεμμαι (Att.).

•COMP Very often with different prefixes, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, μετα-, προ-.

•DER 1. πομπή (ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, προ-, etc.) [f.] 'conduct, escort, procession, *pompa*' (Il.). 2. πομπός [m.], also [f.] 'escort, messenger' (Il.), also adj. 'guiding, bringing a message' (A., Ael.); prefixed compounds, e.g. προπομπ-ός 'escort, escortess, guide (m./f.), guiding, escorting' (A., X.); as a second member in compounds, e.g. ψυχο-πομπ-ός 'guide of souls' (E.). From 1. or 2. (not always discernable): a. πομπ-αῖος 'guiding, leading' (Pi., trag.), ἀπο- (LXX, Ph.); b. -μιος 'id.' (Pi., trag.), 'sent off' (S.), also ἀνα-, δια-, etc. (D. S., Luc.); c. -ικός 'belonging to the procession' (X., Hell. and late); d. -ιος 'led' (Plot.); e. -ίλος [m.] name of a fish that accompanies ships, 'Naukrates ductor' (Erinna, A. R.); f. πομπεύω (προ-, συμ-, ἐπι-, δια-) [v.] 'to escort, guide, partake in a procession' (Il.); thence πόμπευ-σις, -τής, -τήριος, -τικός; -εῖα [pl.], -εῖα [f.]; probably also, as back-formation, πομπεύς 'escort, partaker of a procession' (Od., Att.). 3. πέμψις (mostly with ἀπό-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, μετά-, etc.) [f.] 'sending' (IA). 4. πεμπτήρ 'escort' (S. *Fr.* 142 II 10 [lyr.]); προπεμπτήρ-ιος 'escorting' (Philostr. VA), ἀπο-, προ-πεμπ-τικός (Men. Rh.); 5. ► εὐπέπελος.

•ETYM All forms belong to productive derivational patterns. The verb has no IE etymology, nor does it show characteristics of loanwords or Pre-Greek vocabulary.

πεμφηρίς [f.] a small fish mentioned by Numen. *apud* Ath. 309f. <?>

•ETYM Unknown. Cf. Thompson s.v.

\*πέμφιξ, -ίγος [f.] poetic word of unstable mg., partly due to the artificialities of Hell. poets: 'bubble of air or water' (secondarily of the soul), 'blister on the skin, drop (of water or blood), drizzle, spraying spark, also said of the sunlight' (Ibyc., trag., Hell. poetry). <PG?>

•DER πεμφιγώδης 'full of vesications' (Hp.). πεμφίς, only attested in the gen.pl. -ίδων (Lyc. 686; v.l. -ίγων). With o-grade: πομφός [m.] 'blister on the skin' (Hp.); more often with λ-suffix in πομφολύζω (-ύσσω?), only aor. 3pl. πομφόλυξαν 'sprang up' (of tears; Pi.), and πομφόλυξ, -ύγος [f.], also [m.], 'bubble' (Hp., Pl., Arist., Thphr.), metaphorically of a female hair ornament (Ar., Att. inscr.), of an architectural ornament (Att. inscr.), of shield-knobs (H.), of a zinc oxyde (medic.). As a first member in πομφολυγο-παφλάσματα [pl.] jocular formation (Ar. *Ra.* 249). Thence πομφολυγ-ωτός 'provided with bosses' (Ph. *Bel.*), -ώδης 'like bubbles', -ιήρον [n.] 'plaster with zinc oxyde' (medic.), -όω [v.] 'to make bubbles' (Arist.), -όομοι, -ίζω 'to bubble' (medic.).

•ETYM Possibly Pre-Greek words. They might be onomatopoeic in origin; compare similar expressions for 'swelling, etc.' in Baltic: Lith. *pañpti* 'to swell', *pempūs* 'fat-bodied', *pumpūlis* 'roundish, thick-bellied thing', also *buñbalas* 'knob, bladder'. Cf.

► βέμβιξ and ► βόμβος.

πεμφρηδών, -όνος [f.] 'kind of wasp, tree wasp' (Nic.). <PG?>

•ETYM The suffix is the same as in the synonyms ► τενηρηδών, ► ανθηρηδών. The base was probably onomatopoeic, and possibly Pre-Greek: compare words for 'humming, buzzing', such as SCr. *būmbar* 'bumble-bee', Skt. (lex.) *bambhara-* [m.] 'bee', Arm. *boř*, -oy 'bumble-bee, hornet'; also, Skt. *bhramarā-* 'bee', OHG *bremen* 'to hum', Latin *fremō* 'to roar' < \*b<sup>h</sup>rm-, etc. Cf. Kuiper 1956: 222 and Fur.: 222.

πενέσται [m.pl.] name of the serf population of Thessalia; as an appellative 'slaves, servants, poor farm laborers' (Att., Arist.). <LW? Illyr. >

•VAR Rarely sing.

•DER πενεστ-ικός 'belonging to the *penestai*' (Pl.), -εῖα [f.] 'the class of *penestai*' (Arist.).

•ETYM Possibly identical with the Illyrian PN *Penestae* (cf. also the *Apenestae* in Apulia). The ancients connected πενέσται with πένης 'poor', πένομαι 'to toil', which in itself is possible (from \*pen-e/os- [n.]).

πένης, -ητος [adj.] 'poor'; as a msc. subst. 'poor man'.

•DER πενία 'poverty'. = πένομαι.

πενθερός [m.] 'father-in-law = father of the wife' (cf. ἐκυρός), also 'brother-in-law, son-in-law' (Il.). <IE \*b<sup>h</sup>end<sup>h</sup>- 'bind' >

•DER πενθερά, Ion. -ή [f.] 'mother-in-law' (D., Call.), -ιδεύς 'son-in-law' (inscr. Asia Minor, imper. time.), -ίδης 'id.' (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>; Schwyzler 510); -ιος (Arat.), -ικός (Man.) 'belonging to the πενθερός'.

•ETYM Inherited kinship term \*b<sup>h</sup>end<sup>h</sup>-er-o-, formally almost completely agreeing with Lith. *beñdras* 'participant, sharer'; compare Skt. *bāndh-u-* [m.] 'relative'.

Derived from 'to bind', hence literally "ally". The oxytone accentuation of πενθερός is after ►έκυρος. See ►πεῖσμα.

**πένθος** [n.] 'sorrow'. ►πάσχω.

**πένομαι** [v.] 'to exert oneself, toil, work, prepare, provide' (Il.), 'to exert oneself, (have to) do hard labor, be poor, lack sth.' (Sol., trag., Pl.). <IE \*(s)penh<sub>1</sub>->

•VAR Only pres. and ipf.

•COMP Often with ἀμφι-, also συν-.

•DER 1. πενία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'poverty, lack' (ξ 157); 2. πενιχρ-ός 'poor, devoid of sth.' (γ 348; cf. μελιχρός s.v. ►μέλι), -ότης [f.] (S. E.), -αλέος 'id.' (AP). 3. πένης, -ητος [m.] (fem. πένησσα· πτωχή 'beggary' [H.]) 'who has to live from the labor of his hands, needy, poor', πενέσ-τερος, -τατος (X., D.); thence πενιτ-εύω 'to be poor' (Emp.), -υλίδας [m.] "son of poverty" (Cerc.), which presupposes a hypocoristic \*Πενιτ-ύλος. 4. πόνος [m.] '(hard) labor, effort, struggle, sorrow, pain' (Il.); also as a second member, e.g. παυσί-πονος 'ending pain' (E., Ar. [lyr.]); but ματαιο-πόνος et al. to πονέομαι. Thence πον-ηρός 'toilsome, useless, bad, evil' (IA), whence -ηρία, -ηρεύομαι, -ήρευμα; πονόεις 'id.' (Man.). 5. Iterative deverbative πονέομαι (also with ἀμφι-, δια-, etc.) [v.] 'to exert oneself, provide, suffer' (Il., mostly in the older language), and active πονέω (also with δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-, etc.) also trans. 'to cause pain' (post-Hom.). As a second member in ματαιο-πονέω [v.] 'to labor in vain' (Democr.), whence -πονία (Str.), -πόνημα (Iamb.), -πόνος (Plu., Gal.). Deverbative πόν-ημα (δια-) [n.] 'labor, work' (Pl., E.), -ησις (δια-, κατα-) 'labor, effort' (Plu., D. L.); as a back-formation e.g. διάπον-ος 'working hard, weary' (Plu.) from δια-πονέω. 6. πονάω only in ἐπονάθη (Pi.) and ἐπόνασαν (Theoc.).

•ETYM A primary formation is the present πένομαι; iterative πονέομαι, -έω and the noun πόνος may be productive derivatives. The only viable cognates are words for 'to stretch, twist, weave' in PIE \*(s)penh<sub>1</sub>-, e.g. Lith. *pinti* 'twist', OCS *peti* 'stretch', Arm. *hanum* and *henum* 'weave', Go. *spinnan*, etc. Greek would then have undergone a semantic shift from 'to stretch' > 'tense, strain' > 'exert oneself'.

**πέντε** [num.] 'five' (Il.). <IE \*penk<sup>w</sup>e 'five'>

•VAR Aeol. πέμπε, Pamph. πέ(ν)δε.

•COMP As a first member, beside πεντε- and πεμπε-, we mostly find πεντα- (Il.), after έπτα-, δεκα-, τετρα-, etc.

•DER Ordinal πέμπτος 'fifth', Arc. πέμποτος (after δέκοτος), Gortyn πέντος, whence πεμπταῖος 'belonging to the fifth (day), happening on the fifth (day)' (ξ 257); πεντάκις [adv.] (Pi.) beside πενπάκι (Sparta), πεμπτάκις (D. S.) 'five times'; collective πεμπάς [f.] 'quintet' (Pl., X.) besides πεμπτάς (Pl. *Phd.* 104a), πεντάς (Arist.), whence πεντάδ-ιον [n.] 'quintet' (pap. II-III<sup>p</sup>), πεμπαδ-ικός 'fivefold' (Dam.). Adverb πέντα-χα (M 87), -χοῦ, -χῆ, -χῶς; adjective πενταξός 'fivefold' (Arist.); noun πεντάχα· ἡ χεῖρ 'the hand' (H.), cf. MoGr. Lac. πεντόχτη 'hand' (Κουκουλές Αρχ. 27, 61 ff.). A denominative verb, probably from πεμπάς, is πεμπάζομαι, -ω [v.] 'to count (by the five, with the five fingers)' (δ 412, A.), with ἀνα- 'to estimate, calculate, think over' (Pl., Plu.) with πεμπαστάς [m.] (Dor.) 'the counting one' (A. [lyr.]). From πεντήκοντα 'fifty': πεντηκοσ-τός [f.] 'body of fifty', part of a Spartan λόχος (Th., X.),

πεντηκοστήρ, sec. -κοντήρ [m.] 'commander of a πεντηκοστής' (Cos, Th., X., Att. inscr.).

•ETYM Non-Aeolic πέντε, whence Pamph. πέ(ν)δε, Aeol. πέμπε and the other IE words for 'five', e.g. Skt. *pāñca*, Lat. *quīnque*, Lith. *penkī*, Go. *fimf*, all go back to IE \*pénk<sup>w</sup>e. Similarly, Gr. πέμπτος < \*penk<sup>w</sup>-to-, like Lat. *quīntus*, Lith. *peñktas*, Go. *fimfta*. The lengthening in πεντή-κοντα (PGr. \*ē) not only appears in Skt. *pāñcā-śāt*-[f.], but also in Arm. *yi-sun* (i < \*ē); the lengthening was caused by the glottal feature which resulted from the loss of \*d in \*dkomt- (see ►έκατον; Kortlandt MSS 42 (1983): 97-104). A parallel development is found in Lat. *quīnquā-gintā* 'fifty' (after *quadrā-gintā* 'forty').

**πέος** [n.] 'penis' (Ar. Ach.). <IE \*pes-os- n. 'penis'>

•DER πειόδης 'with a swollen member' (Com. Adesp.), also πειώδης 'id.' (Luc. Lex.).

•ETYM Identical with Skt. *pāsas-* [n.] 'id.', cognate with Hitt. \*pešan- / pešn- / pišen- 'man, male' [c.] < \*pés-ōn, \*pes-(e)n-, Lat. *pēnis* 'tail, penis' < \*pes-n-is. See ►πόσθη.

**πέπαμαι** [v.] 'to possess, acquire' (Argos V<sup>a</sup>). <IE \*kueh<sub>2</sub>- (?)>

•VAR Aor. πάσασθαι, fut. πάσομαι (Dor., Arc., poet. since Pi., Sol.); pres. ἐμ-πιπάσκομαι 'to acquire'.

•DER 1. πᾶμα [n.] (Arc., Arg., Cret.), ἔππαμα (< ἐμ-π-; Boeot.) 'possession'. Derivations: πολυ-πᾶμων 'wealthy' (Δ 433), ἐχέ-πᾶμον (γένος) 'having possessions, inheritor' (Locr.), ἐκ-παμον· ἀκλήρωτον 'without lot' (H.); with transition to the o-stems: ἐμ-πᾶμω (cod. ἐμπαμῶ)· πατρώχῳ 'heiress'; ἐπι-<πα>ματ-ίδα· τὴν ἐπίκληρον 'heiress' (H.); παμῶχος· ὁ κύριος 'lord' (H.), whence παμωχέω 'to possess' (Tab. Heracl.). 2. ἐμπᾶσις (Corc., Meg.), ἱνπᾶσις (Arc.), ἔππᾶσις (Boeot.) [f.] 'acquisition', πᾶσις· κτήσις 'possession' (H.). 3. παμ-πιησία [f.] 'full possession' (A., E., Ar.). 4. πάτορες· κτήτορες 'possessors' (Phot.), πᾶτήρ 'possessor' (Critias). 5. With analogical -σ-: πάστας [m.] 'possessor, lord' (Gort.); also PN Εὐ-παστος (Argiv.), Γυνο-, Θιό-παστος (Boeot.), probably also πέπασται (Thgn. 663).

•ETYM The forms τὰ πᾶματα (Boeot.), Γυνό-παστος, etc., with geminate ππ, show a trace of the original cluster \*kū (cf. ἵππος). Thus, πέ-πᾶ-μαι, πᾶ-σασθαι, πᾶ-σομαι continue a monosyllabic full grade. A connection with PIE 'to swell' \*kueh<sub>2</sub>- is impossible because of the different laryngeal. There is no exact correspondence outside Greek. The zero grade \*kuh<sub>2</sub>-, which corresponds with IE \*kueh<sub>2</sub>-, is found in ἄ-κῦ-ρ-ος, ►κύριος 'lord, possessor'.

**πεπαρεῖν** [v.aor.inf.] 'to demonstrate, show', acc. to H. = ἐνδείξει, σημῆναι (Pi. P. 2, 57; v.l. πεπορεῖν). <IE \*prh<sub>3</sub>- 'give, provide'>

•VAR πεπαρεῦσιμον· εὐφραστον, σαφές 'easy to make intelligible, wise' (H.).

•ETYM Floyd *Am/Ph.* 92 (1971): 676-9 demonstrated that the word contains the root \*prh<sub>3</sub>- of πορεῖν, with -παρ- < \*prh<sub>3</sub>-V-; for the development, we may compare ἀλίσκομαι with φαλ- < \*ulh<sub>3</sub>-V- (see Beekes, in: Bammesberger 1988: 75). Cf. ►πορεῖν.

**πέπερι** [n.] 'pepper' (Eub., Antiph., Arist.). <LW Orient.>

•VAR Gen. -ιος, -εως; also -ις, -ιδος [m.]. Rarely πί-.

- COMP πιπερό-γαρον [n.] 'peppered fish broth', μακρο-πέπερι [n.] 'long pepper' (medic.).
- DER -ις, -ιδος [f.] 'pepper tree' (Philostr. VA). Thence πιπερίτις [f.] plant name 'siliquastrum' (Plin., etc.); πεπερίζω [v.] 'to taste like pepper' (Dsc.).
- ETYM Oriental LW, first from MInd. *pīpparī* (Skt. [epic cl.] -*li*), further of unknown origin.

**πέπλος** [m.] 'woven cloth, blanket' (Hom., trag.), usually 'female or male garment, women's skirt' (Il.). <IE? \**pel-* 'fold'>

- COMP e.g. εὔ-πεπλος (εὔ- epic) 'having a beautiful garment' (Il.).
- DER πέπλωμα [n.] 'robe, garment' (trag.).
- ETYM In theory, it could be a reduplicated formation πέ-πλ-ος of the root PIE \**pl(H)-* 'to fold', found e.g. in Gr. ἀ-πλ-ός, ▶ ἀπλόος 'single, simple', διπλόος, διπλοῦς 'double, twofold', OIr. *díabul* 'double'. Alternatively, the root might be \**pl-* 'skin, hide'; see ▶ πέλημα. Neither solution is compelling.

**πέπνυμαι** [v.perf.] 'to be prudent, clever, clear-minded', very often in ptc. πεπνυμένος 'to be prudent, clever, clear-minded' (Il., also late prose); also aor. pass. opt. 2sg. πνυθείης (Nic.). <IE? \**pneuH-*>

- COMP ἄμ-πνυτο 'regained consciousness'.
- ETYM The verb is generally derived from the root \**pneu-* of ▶ πνέω 'to blow', but LIV<sup>2</sup> posits a separate root \**pneuH-* to explain the length of πνυ-. The appurtenance of Hitt. *punušzi*, *punuššanzi* 'to ask' < \**pnuH-s-*, however, is difficult for reasons of both phonetics and semantics (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.).

**πέπρωται** 'it is destined by fate'. ⇒ πορεῖν.

**πεπρίλος** ⇒ πέρδομαι.

**πεπρωίων** [gen.pl.] perhaps the name of a phratry or deme (Erythrae, IV<sup>a</sup>). <?>

- ETYM Unknown.

**πέπων, -ονος** [adj.] 'ripe', metaphorically 'soft, mild' (IA). <IE \**pek<sup>w</sup>-* 'cook'>

- VAR Hom. only voc. πέπον. πέπων is used for msc. and fem., but fem. also πέπειρα (Anacr., Hp., S., Ar.), new msc. πέπειρος (Hp., Thphr., LXX); compar. πεπαί-τερος, superl. -τατος (after πεπαίνω?), also πεπειρό-τερος, -τατος.
- DER πεπαίνω (aor. πεπᾶν-αι, -θῆναι with -θήσομαι, perf. inf. πεπάνθαι (Arist.), also with ἐκ-, κατα-, ὑπερ-) [v.] 'to make ripe, ripen', metaphorically 'to mollify, mellow, soothe' (IA), whence πέπαν-σις [f.] 'ripening' (Arist.), -τικός 'making ripe' (Hp., Dsc.); back-formation πέπαν-ος (-ός) 'ripe' (Paus., Artem.); πέπανας· πλακούντια 'flat cakes' (H.) (= πόπανα, see ▶ πέσσω).
- ETYM A derivative PIE \**pek<sup>w</sup>-on-* from the root \**pek<sup>w</sup>-* 'to cook, ripen'. The verb πεπαίνω < \**pe-ran-je/o-* continues \**pek<sup>w</sup>-n-je/o-* with the zero grade of the suffix.

**περ** [pcl.] enclitic pcl. of emphasis (Il.). <IE \**per* 'going through?'>

- ETYM Identical in form and function with Lat. *-per* in *nu-per*, *parum-per*, etc.; see ▶ πέρι.

**πέρᾱ** [adv.], also [prep.] + gen. 'beyond, further, longer, more, past' (Att.). <IE \**per* 'beyond, across'>

- COMP compar. περαι-τέρω (Att.), -τερον; adj. -τερος (Pi.).
- DER πέρᾱν, Ion. -ην [adv., prep.] + gen. 'over, across, beyond, opposite to' (Il.). adj. περαιός 'ulterior', especially ἡ περαία (χώρα, γῆ) 'the country on the other side', also PN (Hdt., A. R., Plb., Str.). Thence 1. Περαιίτης [m.] 'inhabitant of the Περαιά' (J.); 2. περαιόθεν 'from the other side' (A. R., Arat.); 3. περαιόομαι, -όω (also with δια-, etc.) 'to cross over, bring over' (since ω 437), 'to accomplish' (Gort.), 'to end' (medic.), περαιώσεις [f.] 'crossing' (Str., Plu.). Denominative verb περάω (aor. -ᾱσαι, Ion. -ῆσαι, also with prefix, especially δια- and ἐκ-) [v.] 'to pass through, go beyond, reach the end' (Il.), (δια-)πέρ-αμα [n.] 'crossing' (Str.), ἐκπέραμα 'coming out' (A.), πέρ-ασις [f.] 'stepping through' (S.), -άσιμος 'crossable, passable' (E., Str.); -ατός, Ion. -ιτός 'id.' (Pi., Hdt.); -ατής 'ferryman' (Suid., Procl.), also 'stranger, emigrant' (LXX; probably from πέρᾱ); περᾱ-τικός 'foreign', and -τός 'id.' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>). Often with intensifying ἀντι-: ἀντιπέραια [n.pl.] 'the stretches of coast on the opposite side' (B 635), -αία [f.sg.] (A. R., Nonn.); ἀντιπέρας 'opposite' (Th., X.), -πέραν, -ην (Hell.), -πέρᾱ (Ev. Luc.) 'id.'; -πέρηθε(ν) 'from the opposite coast' (A. R., AP).
- ETYM Gr. πέρᾱ and πέρᾱν are petrified case forms of a noun 'other side': the latter continues the acc.sg. of a noun \**per-h<sub>2</sub>-* [f.], while the former allows for several interpretations (instr.sg.fem. or nom.pl.ntr.?). See ▶ πέρι and ▶ πάρος.

**πέρας, -ατος** [n.] 'end, boundary'. ⇒ πεῖραρ.

**πέργυλος** ⇒ σποργίλος.

**πέρδιξ, -ῖκος** [m., f.] 'partridge' (Archil., Epich., S., Ar., X.). <PG>

- VAR Cret. πήριξ (H.), with -ιρ- < -ερδ-.
- COMP e.g. περδικο-θήρας [m.] 'partridge-hunter', kind of hawk, συρο-πέρδιξ = Σύρος πέρδιξ (Ael.).
- DER Diminutive περδίκ-ιον (com.), -ιδεύς [m.] 'young partridge' (Eust.), adjective -ειος 'of the partridge' (Poll.), -ιάς, -ιάδος [f.] (Gal.), -ίτης [m.] name of a stone (Alex. Trall.).
- ETYM Frisk explains the word as a derivative in -ικ- from ▶ πέρδομαι 'to fart', due to the droning sound when partridges take the air.

**πέρδομαι** [v.] 'to fart' (Ar.). <IE \**perd-* 'fart'>

- VAR Perf. πέπορδα (with resultative mg.), aor. -παρδεῖν, fut. -παρδήσομαι.
- COMP Also with ἀπο-, κατα-, προσ-, ὑπο-.
- DER 1. πορδή [f.] 'fart' (Ar.), whence πόρδων, -ωνος [m.] nickname of the cynics (Arr.); 2. πράδησις [f.] 'farting' (Hp.); 3. πραδίλη [f.] 'id.' (Theognost.); reduplicated πεπραδίλαι [pl.] 'id.', also name of a fish (H., Phot.), equally πεπρίλος· ιχθύς ποιός 'kind of fish' (H., after the sound it produces). 4. with additional suffix πήραξον· ἀφόδευσον 'they shitted' (H.), Cret. for \*πέρδαξον as if from \*περδ-άζομαι; furthermore ἀποπαρδακᾶ (-κα?)· τοῦτο εἴρηται παρὰ τὸ ἀποπαρδεῖν (H.).

•ETYM A thematic present *\*perd-e/o-* from the root *\*perd-* ‘to fart’ of Skt. *pardate*, OHG *ferzan*, Lith. *pérsti*, 1sg. *pérđziū*, Ru. *perdet’*, Alb. *pjerdh*. See ►σιληπορδέω and ►πέρδιξ.

**πέρθω** [v.] ‘to destroy, devastate’ (Il.). <IE? *\*b<sup>h</sup>erd<sup>h</sup>-*>

•VAR Aor. *πέρσαι*, *πραθεῖν*, fut. *πέρσω* (Il.). Inf. pass. *πέρθαι* (Π 708; aor. *\*περθ-σ-*, or with haplology from *\*πέρθεσθαι*); unclear is *πέρθετο* (M 15, etc.), semantically aoristic.

•COMP Also with *δια-*, *ἐκ-*, *συν-*. As a first member in governing compounds *περσέ-π(τ)ολις* ‘destroying cities’ (A. [lyr.]); second member in *πτολί-πορθος* ‘id.’ (Il.), also *-ιος* (ι 504), *-ης* (A. [lyr.]). *πέρσις* [f.] ‘destruction’, title of several poems (Arist., Paus.).

•DER Deverbative *πορθέω* (aor. *πορθῆσαι*, also *δια-*, *ἐκ-*, etc.) [v.] ‘to destroy, devastate, pillage’ (Il.), whence (*ἐκ-*)-*πόρθησις* (D.), *-ημα* (Pl.), (*ἐκ-*)-*ήτωρ* (A., E.), *-ιτής* (E.), *\*-ιτήριος* (Tz.), *-ητικός* (H.).

•ETYM Without a convincing etymology. Janda 2000: 240-242 and LIV<sup>2</sup> propose a PIE root *\*b<sup>h</sup>erd<sup>h</sup>-* < *\*b<sup>h</sup>er-* + *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-* ‘Beute machen’ = ‘capture’.

**πέρρι** [adv.] ‘around, round; excessively, quite; by, at, concerning’ (Il.). <IE *\*per-* ‘cross, pass’>

•VAR Prep. *περί* (dial. also *πέρ*), + gen., dat., acc.

•DIAL Myc. *pe-ri-*, as a first element in compounds.

•DER Adv. *πέρριξ* (suffix *-k-*), also prep. ‘around, round’ (mostly Ion. poet.), + *\*-io-* in *περι-σός*, *-ττός* ‘excessive, extraordinary, superfluous’, whence *-σσεύω*, *-ττεύω*, etc. (Hes.).

•ETYM From a PIE loc.sg. *\*per-i* ‘in crossing, in passing’ > Skt. *pári*, Av. *pairi* ‘around, about, among, etc.’; Lat. *per* ‘through, across’, *per-* ‘very’, *-per* ‘through, during’, Ven. *per* ‘for’ < *\*peri*, Lith. *peĩ* [prep.] ‘over, around, through’, OCS *prě-*, Ru. *pére-* ‘over, through, very, exceedingly’ < *\*per*; OCS *prědъ* ‘in front’, Ru. *před(o)* ‘before, in front of’ [prep.] < *\*per-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-om*; Go. *fairra* ‘far’. See ►περ.

**περιάγνυται** [v.] Meaning uncertain. Used of ὄψ ‘voice’ (Π 78), thence of ἡχώ ‘echo’ (Hes. Sc. 279). <GR>

•ETYM The allegedly late occurrence in Π 78 is about a voice which is broken. Thus is it derived from ἄγνυμι ‘to break’ as ‘is broken on all sides’? Or is it cognate with Skt. *vagnú-* [m.] ‘sound, call, invocation’, Lat. *vāgiō* ‘to lament’?

**περιβάριδες** [f.pl.] ‘kind of women’s shoes’ (com.). <?>

•VAR Also *περίβαρα* [n.pl.] ‘id.’ (Poll., H., Phot.).

•ETYM Formation like *περισκελίδες* ‘foot-clasps, -rings’, but further unclear. Jocular derivation of *βάρις*, Egyptian name of a ship?

**περιημεκτέω** [v.] ‘to be very reluctant, be upset’ (Hdt.). <?>

•VAR Thence *ἡμεκτεῖ* *δυσφορεῖ* ‘is angry’ (H.).

•ETYM The formation is reminiscent of synonymous ►ἀγανακτέω and of ὑλακτέω, but the origin is unclear. Frisk hesitatingly suggests *\*περι-εμέω* ‘to vomit’, with compositional lengthening as in *εὐ-ημέτης*.

**περίναιος (-εος)** [m.] ‘perinaeum, the space between the anus and the scrotum’ (medic., Arist.), plur. ‘male genitals’ (Arist.). <?>

•VAR Also *-ον* [n.]. Doubtful by-forms are: *περινῶ*, *περινέω* Gal.; *περίνα* (for *πηρίνα*?) *περίναιον*. τὸ αἰδοῖον ‘rudenda’ and *περίνος* τὸ αἰδοῖον ... ἢ τὸ τῶν διδύμων δέρμα, ἡγουν ὁ ταῦρος ‘rudenda; the skin of the testicles or male rudenda’ (H.).

•ETYM Body part derived from *περί* and *ινάω*, *-έω* ‘to empty’, with a suffix *-ιο-* (*-εο-*), thus literally ‘empty region’. See ►πήρα.

**περίνεως, -ω** [adj.] ‘exceeding the ship (the equipment of the ship, its crew)’, so ‘surplus’; as a msc. subst. ‘fellow passenger, passenger’ (Att. inscr., Th.). <GR>

•ETYM A hypostasis from *περί* *\*nāfós*, with *περί* ‘over, in excess’.

**περιρρηδής** [adj.] Uncertain. Usually explained as ‘falling over, tumbling away’ (χ 84, A. R. 1, 431), ‘bent, misplaced’ (Hp. Art. 16, *Mul.* 2, 158). <?>

•DER *περιρρήδην* (A. R. 4, 1581).

•ETYM Formation like *περι-καλλής* ‘very beautiful’, thus probably from a noun *\*ῥῆδος*. The root etymology is unknown. It has been connected with ►*ῥαδινός* ‘flexible’, ►*ῥάδαμις* ‘branch’; hence, *\*ureh<sub>2</sub>d-* has been proposed.

**περισκελής 1** [adj.] ‘very rough, very hard, inflexible’ (S., Hp., Thphr.). <GR>

•DER *περισκέλ-εια*, *-ία* [f.] ‘harshness, roughness’ (Arist., Porph.), *-ασία* ‘id.’ (Orib.); same extension as in *θερμασία*, *φλεγμασία*, etc.

•ETYM Probably literally ‘completely dried’ (cf. ►*σκληρός*; from *\*σκέλος* ‘barrenness’) > ‘dry all around’. The same is also supposed for ►*ἀσκελής*. See ►*σκέλλω*.

**περισκελής 2** [adj.] 1. ‘going around the legs’, in τὰ περισκελή ‘trousers’, sing. τὸ -ές (LXX). 2. ‘with the legs around’, i.e. ‘with the legs put apart’ (sch.). <GR>

•DER From 1. is derived *περισκελής* [f.] ‘leg-band, -ring’ (Hell.), with *-ίδιον* (Delos II<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM From ►*σκέλος* ‘leg’.

**περισσός, -ττός** = *πέρρι*.

**περιστέρα** [f.] ‘pigeon’ (IA). <?>

•VAR Secondary *-ός* [m.] ‘cock pigeon’ (com.).

•COMP *περιστερο-πώλης* ‘pigeon-vendor’ (Hell. pap.).

•DER Diminutive *περιστερ-ίς* [f.] and *-ιον* [n.] (also used as decoration of women), *-ίδιον* (com., pap.), *-ιδεύς* (Hell. pap.); *-(ε)ών* [m.] ‘pigeonry’ (Pl., pap.). Gr. *περιστερ-ιον*, *-εών* also occur as a plant-name for ‘*Verbena officinalis*, *supina*’ (Dsc, Ps.-Dsc.), which are visited by pigeons.

•ETYM Not certainly explained. Perhaps from *πελιός* ‘dark, blue’, *πέλεια* ‘wild pigeon’, by a wrong restitution of earlier *\*πελιστερά* (cf. MoGr. *πελιστέρι*).

**περιώσιον, -ια** [adv.] ‘excessive, immoderate’, also + gen. (Il., Pi.). <GR>

•DER Adj. *-ιος* ‘id.’, also ‘extraordinary’ (Sol. and Emp.); *περώσιον* *μέγα* ‘big’ (H.).

•ETYM From *πέρι*, with the same suffix as *ἐτώσιος* 'fruitless', perhaps created after the latter. An intermediate form *\*περι-ο-* can hardly be justified. Hence *ὑπερώσιος* 'id.' (EM 665, 29).

**περκνός** [adj.] 'spotted, having dark spots', also the name of a kind of eagle (Ω 316, Hp., Arist.). <IE *\*perk-* 'variegated, motley'>

•DER *ἐπί-περκνός* 'somewhat spotted' (X.). *πέρκος* [m.] 'kind of eagle' (Arist.), *πέρκη* [f.] 'redfin perch, *Perca fluviatilis*' (Emp., com., Arist.), -ίς, -ίον, -ίδιον (com., pap., Dsc.); *περκάς* [adj. f.], attribute of *κίχλη*, probably as a fish name (Eratosth.). Denominatives: a. *περκάζω*, -ομαι (also with *ὑπο-*, *ἐπι-*, *ἐν-*) [v.] 'to get dark spots, start ripening', act. also 'to darken' (η 126, Thphr., LXX); b. *περκαίνω*, -ομαι (ἐμ-) [v.] 'id.' (E., H.); c. *ἀπο-περκόομαι* [v.] 'to become dark', of ripening grapes (S. Fr. 255, 6). Here *περκώματα*· τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου ποικίλματα 'spots on the face' (H.). Furthermore: 1. with zero grade: *πρακνόν· μέλανα* 'black' (H.); 2. with different full grade, probably secondary: *πρεκνόν· ποικιλόχροον ἔλαφον* 'deer with various colors' (H.), to which belongs 3. with *ο-*ablaut ► *πρόξ*, -κός [f.] and *προκάς* [f.] 'deer- or roe-like animal', *Γρόκνη* PN 'Nightingale' or 'Swallow'; 4. with lengthened grade ► *πρώξ*, -κός [f.] 'dewdrop'.

•ETYM An adj. *\*περκός* lies at the basis of the nouns *πέρκος*, *περκάς*, the adj. *περκνός*, and the verbs *περκ-άζω*, -αίνω, -όομαι. Compare MGr. *erc* (W *erch*) 'spotted, dark-red', 'salmon, trout', also 'cow, lizard'. The form *πρακνόν* is from a zero grade *\*prk-n-*; cf. Skt. *pṛśni-* 'spotted, variegated', OHG *forhana* 'trout', OE *forn(e)* [f.]; further cognate forms are MoSw. *färna* fish name < *\*perk-n-*; OHG *faro*, *farawa* 'variegated' < IE *\*pork-uó-*. Perhaps Lat. *pulc(h)er* 'beautiful' < *\*pelk-ro-* for *\*perk-ro-* belongs here too?

**πέρνᾱ, -ης** [f.] 'ham' (Str., pap. II<sup>o</sup>, Ath.). <LW Lat.>

•VAR By epic influence, or as an error of transmission, also *πτέρνα* (Batr., Poll. 2, 193).

•ETYM Loanword from Lat. *perna* 'id.'. See also ► *πτέρνη*.

**πέρναξ** = *θρίδαξ*.

**πέρνημι** [v.] 'to sell' (Il.). <IE *\*perh₂-* 'sell'>

•VAR *πέρναμαι* (Il.), aor. *περασ(σ)αι* (Il., also Aeol. and Ion. inscr.), fut. inf. *περάαν* (Φ 454), pass. *πράθηναι*, Ion. *πρηθ-*, with fut. -ήσομαι, perf. med. *πέπρᾱμαι*, -ημαι (IA), fut. *πεπράσομαι* (Ar., X.); recent Att. innovations are act. *πέπρᾱκα* and pres. *πιπράσκομαι*, later -ω (Thphr. [?], Luc., Plu.), -ήσκω (Call.). Further forms: *ἐπρησα* (Samos VI<sup>a</sup>; to *ἐπρήθην*), *πέρνησον· πώλησον* 'sell!' (H., from the present); *πεπερημένος* (Φ 58; for *πεπρημένος* after *περάσαι*).

•COMP Also with *ἀπο-*, *παρᾱ-*, *συν-*, etc.

•DER 1. *πράσις*, Ion. *πρήσις* (διά, ἀπό, etc.) 'sale' (IA), *πράσιμος* 'for sale' (Pl., X.). 2. *ἀπόπραμα* [n.] 'subletting' (Hell. pap.). 3. *πρατήρ*, Ion. *πρη-* 'salesman' (IA), -ήριον [n.] 'selling point, market' (Hdt.; Hell.); also *πράτωρ*, -ορος 'salesman' (Hell. inscr. and pap.; also with *προ-*, Din. and Is. in Poll.), *πρατορεύω* [v.] 'to act as a salesman' (Tenos III<sup>a</sup>). 4. *πράτης*, -ου 'salesman' (also *συμ-*, *προ-*; Att. orators in Poll., pap.); in

late papyri, often in compounds like *ἐλαιο-*, *οἶνο-πρά-της*. 5. adj. *πρατικός* in -ή 'sales tax', -όν 'sale on commission' (pap.).

•ETYM The system *περάσαι*, *πέπρᾱμαι*, *πράθηναι* points to a root *\*prh₂-*, with a root aorist and a nasal present *\*pr-n(e)-h₂-* (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup>). The forms *πέρνημι*, *περναμαι* must have analogical *ε* for the original zero grade, which is preserved in *πορνάμεν· πωλεῖν* 'to sell', *πορνάμεναι· πωλούμεναι* 'selling' (H.), which are probably Aeolic. There are no certain cognates of *\*perh₂-* outside Greek, since OIr. *renaid*, -*ren* 'to sell' may belong to a root *\*h₂reiH-* 'to count' (Schumacher 2004: 551f.). See ► *πόρνη*.

**περόνη** = *πείρω*.

**πέρπερος** [m.] 'dandy, boaster'; as an adj. 'vain, boastful' (Plb., Arr., S. E.). <LW Lat.>

•DER *περπερ-ότης* [f.] 'boasting' (Chrysost.), -εύομαι [v.] 'to be a windbag, boast' (1 Ep. Cor. 13, 4, M. Ant.); also *ἐμ-* (Arr.); -εία [f.] (Clem. Al.); *ῥωπο-περπερ-ήθρα* [f.] 'empty boasting' (Com. Adesp.).

•ETYM A loanword from Lat. *perperus* 'perverse, wrong-headed', attested since Hellenistic times.

**περσέα** (-αία, -ία, -είη) [f.] name of an Egyptian tree, 'Cordia myxa', which originated from Persia (Hp., Hell.). <GR>

•DER *περσεῖνος* 'belonging to the persea tree' (pap.), *πέρσ(ε)ιον* [n.] 'its fruit' (Thphr.); diminutive -ίδιον (pap.).

•ETYM Named after its Persian origin; suffix like in *μηλέα*, etc.

**περσεύς** [m.] name of an unknown fish from the Red Sea (Ael. NA 3, 28). <?>

•VAR Also *πέρσος* 'id.' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown.

**Περσεφόνη** [f.] spouse of Hades (Pluto), queen of the underworld; as a daughter of Demeter, identified as *Κόρη* (Ion. since *h. Cer.* and Hes.). <IE *\*perso-g<sup>wh</sup>n-t-ih₂* 'threshing'>

•VAR Also *Περσε-φόνεια* (Il., Od.). Several by-forms are found: *Φερσε-φόνια* (Simon., Pi., Thess.), -φόνεια (H.), *Πηριφόνια* (Locr.), *Πηρεφόνεια* (Lac. acc. to H.); with a different ending: *Περσέ-φασσα* (A.), *Φερσέ-φασσα* (S., E.), *Φερρέ-φαττα* (Pl., Ar., Att. inscr.) etc., *περσό-φαττα* (Att. inscr.), name of the sanctuary *Φερ(ρ)εφάττιον* [n.] (D., AB).

•DER Plant name *Περσεφόνιον*, *Φερ-* (Ps.-Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 100.

•ETYM It was long thought that the original form of the first member was *Φερσε-*, whence the various other forms would have arisen by dissimilation of aspiration, compositional lengthening, etc. The name was always considered obscure until Wachter *Kratylos* 51 (2006): 139-144: the original form is *περσόφαττα*, as found in eight attestations, seven of which are on 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC Attic vases (by seven different painters). Note that the form *περσόφαττα* was not even mentioned by Frisk. It should be analyzed as containing a first member *\*perso-*, cognate with Skt. *parśá-* [m.] 'sheaf of corn' (following a suggestion by Weiss, Wachter l.c. also mentions the possibility that Lat. *porrum* 'leek' and *πράσον* 'id.' are related, perhaps implying a meaning 'ear of corn' for *Περσο-* and Skt. *parśá-*). The second member is derived



from *\*-g<sup>wh</sup>n-t-ih<sub>2</sub>* (to *\*g<sup>wh</sup>en-* 'to hit, strike'). Thus, the name refers to a female thresher of corn.

The forms in -φόνεια beside -φόνη (cf. Πηνελόπεια beside -η) may be folk-etymological; Περσε-, etc. too, after πέρθω.

**πέρυσσι(ν)** [adv.] 'last year' (IA). <IE *\*per*, *\*uet-* 'year'>

- VAR Dor. πέρυτι(ς).
- DIAL Mys. *pe-ru-si-nu-wo*.
- DER περυσινός 'from last year' (Att.).
- ETYM PIE adverb of time *\*per-ut-i*, literally 'on the other side of a year', a loc.sg. of a compound of *\*per* and *\*uet-* 'year'. Cognate forms: Arm. *heru*, ON *í fjǫrð*, MHG *vert* 'id.', OIr. *ónn-urid* 'ab anno priore' < *\*peruti*. Without final *\*-i* in Skt. *parút* 'last year'. See ▶ έτος.

**πέσκος** [n.] 'skin, rind' (Nic. *Th.* 549); πεσκέων· δερμάτων 'hides' (H.); ἀ-πεσκής 'without a cover' (of τόξα; S. *Fr.* 626; not quite certain). <?>

- ETYM The word rhymes with ▶ μέσκος 'skin, fleece'. Perhaps from *\*πέκ-σκ-ο-*, from *\*pek-* 'to comb' (cf. πόκος 'fleece')? Rejected by Frisk.

**πεσσός** [m.] 'the oval stone in board games', mostly plur. 'gaming piece, board game, checkers', often metaphorically in several mgs. (α 107). <PG?>

- VAR Att. πεττός.
- COMP As a first member in πεσσο-νομέω 'to arrange the gaming pieces', also metaphorically (A., com.).
- DER πεσσάριον [n.] 'pessary' (medic.); πεσσικός, -ττ- 'belonging to board games' (Arion); -εύω (rarely with δια-, μετα-) [v.] 'to play on a board with pieces' (IA), whence -εία, -ευτής, -ευτικός, -ευτήριο (Pl., pap.).
- ETYM Loanword of unknown origin. A Semitic etymology (belonging to Aramaic *pīs(s)ā* 'stone, small table') has been proposed. Fur.: 270 cites Hitt. *piššu* [n.] 'rock, block of stone' (without conclusion). The word may well be Pre-Greek (perhaps *\*pek'-*).

**πέσσω** [v.] 'to ripen, bake, cook, digest' (Il.). <IE *\*pek<sup>w</sup>-* 'cook'>

- VAR Att. πέττω, aor. πέψαι (Il.), fut. πέψω (Ar.), pass. perf. πέπεμ-μαι, aor. πεφθῆναι with πεφθήσομαι (Hp., Att.). The pres. πέπτω (Arist.) is an innovation.
- COMP Also with κατα-, περι-, συν-. Nominal: ἄρτο-κόπος (Hdt.), Mys. *a-to-po-qo* /artopok<sup>os</sup>/ 'baker', δρυ-πεπ-ής 'ripening on the tree' (com., AP).
- DER 1. πέμμα [n.] 'pastry, cake' (IA), whence -άτιον (Ath.); 2. πέψις [f.] 'digestion, cooking, ripening' (Hp., Arist.). 3. πεπτός (E. *Fr.* 467, 4, pap., Plu.), more usually in compounds, e.g. ἄ-, δύσ-πεπτος 'indigested, hard to digest' (Hp., Arist.), whence ἀ-, δυσ-πεψ-ία [f.] (Arist., Hell.); 4. πεπτ-ικός 'fit for digestion' (Arist.), -ήριος 'id.' (Aret.). 5. πέπτρια [f.] 'bakeress' (H.). With *o*-grade: 6. πόπανον [n.] 'pastry' (Att., Hell.), whence -ώδης 'like pastry' (H.), -ευμα [n.] 'id.' -εῖον *panificium* (gloss.). 7. ποπάς, -άδος [f.] 'id.' (AP).
- ETYM Gr. πέσσω is from PIE *\*pek<sup>w</sup>-io/e-*, like Skt. *pácyate* [3sg.med.] 'ripens'. Other cognate forms: thematic root present *\*pek<sup>w</sup>-o/e-* > Skt. *pácati*, Lat. *coquō*, W *pob-*,

OCS *pekъ*, Lith. *kepù* (with metathesis), Alb. *pjek* 'to cook, bake'. Nominal formations: πέμμα < *\*pek<sup>w</sup>-mn*, ἄρτο-κόπος < *\*-rok<sup>w</sup>-o-* with metathesis; πέπτρια presupposes a msc. *\*pek<sup>w</sup>-tr-* 'baker'. See ▶ πέπων.

**πετάννυμι**, -ύω [v.] 'to spread out, unfold, open' (Att.). <IE *\*peth<sub>2</sub>-* 'spread out'>

- VAR πίτνημι, -άω (Il.; ἔπιτνον Hes. *Sc.* 291), πετ-άζω (LXX), -άω (Luc.), aor. πετά-σ(σ)αι. Pass. -σθῆναι, perf. med. πέπταμαι (all Il.), πεπέτασμαι (Orac. *apud* Hdt., D. S.), act. πεπέτακα (D. S.), fut. πετ-άσω (E. [Iyr.]), -άσω (Nonn.), -ῶ (Men.).
- COMP Often with prefix, especially ἐκ-, ἀνα-, κατα-.
- DER 1. πέταλον [n.] 'leaf' (Il.), 'metal or gold plating' (Att. inscr.); also -ηλα [pl.] (Hes. *Sc.*; metri causa); πετάλ-ιον, -ια, -ίς, -ειον, -ίτις, -ώδης, -όω, -ωσις, -ίζω, -ισμός; hypostasis ἐμπεταλ-ίς· ἔδεσμα διὰ τυροῦ σκευαζόμενον 'a dish prepared from cheese' (H.). 2. πέτασος [m., f.] 'broad-brimmed hat', also metaphorically (Hell.), whence πετάσ-ιον, -ώδης, -ών, -ίτις. 3. πέτασμα (also with κατα-, παρα-, ὑπο-, etc.) [n.] 'blanket, curtain, etc.' (IA). 4. ἐκπέτασις [f.] 'spreading out' (Plu.). 5. πετασμός [m.] 'id.' (LXX). 6. πέταχον [n.] 'drinking bowl' (Alex.), -ακνον (H.). 7. πέτηλος (-λός) 'grown onto' (μόσχος, βοῦς; Ath., H.), "ἀναπεπταμένα τὰ κέρατα ἔχων", 'having the horns spread out'. 8. ἀναπετ-ής 'spread out', whence -εια [f.] 'spreading out' (medic.). 9. ἐκπέτα-λος 'open, flat' (Mosch., ἀγγεῖον). With unclear semantics: πετήλας· τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ θαμνώδεις φοίνικας 'small and shrubby date-palms'; πετηλὶς· ἀκρίς 'top, peak' (H.); πετηλίας καρκίνος (Ael.).
- ETYM The forms πετά-σαι, πίτ-νη-μι, πέ-πτα-μαι point to a root *\*p(e)th<sub>2</sub>-*; the present πετά-ννυμι was formed analogically after the aor. πετά-σαι, etc. The old nasal present πίτνημι has a secondary *-i-* introduced in earlier zero grade *\*pt-neh<sub>2</sub>-*. Cognate verbal forms are found in Lat. *patēre* 'to be open' < *\*pt-ē-*, with *patulus* 'spread out broadly', and the nasal present Lat. *pandō* 'spread out', Osc. *patensins* [3pl.ipf.subj.] 'to open' < *\*patn-* < *\*pt-n-h<sub>2</sub>-*. With an *l*-suffix like πέταλον, we find OHG *fedel-gold* [n.] 'leaf-gold'.

**πέτευρον** [n.] 'hen-roost, acrobat's bar or framework, high platform, public noticeboard' (Ar. *Fr.* 839, inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>, Hell.). <PG(V)>

- VAR Also -αυρον, πέντευρον, see below
- DER πετεῦρ-ιον [n.] 'small noticeboard' (Erythrae IV<sup>a</sup>), -ίζομαι [v.] 'to act as an acrobat' (Phld.), whence -ισμός, -ιστής, -ιστήρ (Plu., Man.).
- ETYM Technical expression with vacillation between ευ and αυ, and between πετ- and πεντ-. No good IE etymology is available. Thus, it is probably a Pre-Greek word; cf. Fur.: 291, 353.

**πέτομαι** [v.] 'to fly' (Il.). <IE *\*pet-* 'fall'>

- VAR Aor. πτάσθαι, πτέσθαι (all Il.), with pres. πέταμαι (poet. since Sapph., Arist.), aor. πετασθῆναι (Arist., LXX), ἵπταμαι (late; s.v.); aor. act. πτήναι, ptc. πτάς, etc. (poet. Hes., also Hell. prose); fut. πτήσομαι (IA), πετήσομαι (Ar.), perf. κατ-έπτηκα (Men.).
- COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, εισ-, ἐκ-, κατα-, ὑπερ-. Compounds: a. -πέτης, Dor. -πέτας [m.], e.g. ὑψι-πέτης, -ας 'flying high' (Hom., Pi.), enlarged -ήεις (Hom.); b. -πετής, e.g. ὑπερπετής 'flying over' (Hell.); c. ἐκπετ-ήσιμος

'ready to fly' (Ar.); d. ἀερσι-πότης and -πότη-τος 'flying high' (Hes., AP, Norm.), from ποτάομαι.

•DER 1. ποτή [f.] 'flying, flight' (ε 337, *h. Merc.* 544 [v.l. πετέρυγεςσι]); 2. πτήσις [f.] 'id.' (A., Arist.), whence πτήσιμος (Jul.); πτήμα [n.] 'id.' (Suid.). 3. Adj. in -no-: a. πτηνός, Dor. πτᾱνός 'winged' (Pi., trag., Pl.); b. πετεινός, -ηνός 'id.' (Thgn.; Πιετήνη Att. ship's name [inscr.]; from πέτομαι); c. πετε-ηνός, -εινός 'id.' (Il.), with diectasis; d. ποτᾱνός 'id.' (Pi., Epich., trag. [lyr.]; -ηνός epic poetry in Pl. *Phdr.* 252b), probably modelled on ποτάομαι. 4. Deverbative: ποτάομαι, -έομαι (also with ἀμφι-, περι-, ἐκ-, etc.) 'to fly, flap' (Il.); πωτάομαι (also with ἐκ-, ἐπι-, ὑπερ-) 'id.' (M 287, *h. Ap.* 442, etc.); thence πωτήεις 'flapping' (Nonn.), also πωτήματα [pl.] 'flight' (A. *Eu.* 250; usually corrected to ποτ-).

•ETYM The Greek root aorist πτά-σθαι, ἔ-πτα-το, πτά-μενος, with full grade in πτή-ναι, ἔ-πτᾱ-ν, πτή-σομαι, seems to require a root *\*peth₂-*, whereas most of the cognates in the other IE languages (Lat. *petō* 'to make for, reach', MW *ehedec* 'to fly' < PCl. *\*fet-e/o-*, OIr. *én*, W *edn* 'bird' < *\*fetno-* [m.]; Hitt. *pattai-* / *patti-* 'to run, fly, flee', <sup>10</sup>*patteiant-* 'fugitive', Skt. *pátati* 'to fly, fall', Av. *auuapasti-* 'falling', *pata-* 'to fly', *hqm.pata-* 'to fall down', OP *ud-pata-* 'to fall down, become unfaithful') can or should be explained on the basis of *\*pet-*. Hackstein 2002b: 140-143 argues that the root was originally *\*pet-* in Greek as well. The pres. πέτα-μαι may be analogical to πτά-σθαι, after πτέσθαι next to πέτομαι. Gr. ποτέομαι and Skt. *patáyati* 'fly, hurry' agree in their formation, but πωτάομαι is independent. See ►πετρόν and ►πτέρυξ.

πέτρᾱ, -ῆ [f.] 'rock, rocky mountain range, cliff, ridge; rock cavern, cave' (Il.), 'boulder, stone' (Hell.). <PG>

•COMP πετρ-ηρεφής 'covered with rocks' (A., E.), πετρο-βόλος 'throwing rocks', whence -ία (X., Plb.); ὑπό-πετρος 'rocky' (Hdt., Thphr.).

•DER πέτρος [m., f.] 'boulder, stone' (Il.). Several adjectives in the meaning 'rocky, stony': πετρ-αῖος (poet. since μ 231), also as an epithet of Poseidon (Pi.), -ήεις (Il.), -ινος (Ion. poet.), -ώδης (IA), -ήρης (S.), -ώεις (Marc. Sid.). Diminutive -ίδιον (Arist.); adverb -ηδόν (Luc.). πετρών, -ώνος [m.] 'rocky place' (Priene II<sup>a</sup>). Denominative πετρόομαι, -όω (also with κατα-, ὑπο-) [v.] 'to be stoned to death, turn / be turned into stone' (E., X., Lyc.), πέτρωμα [n.] 'stoning' (E.), also 'heap of stones' (Paus.). Several plant names: πετρ-ίνη, -αία, -αῖον, -ώνιον, -ίς, ἐπί-πετρον, etc.

•ETYM We find πέτρος 'stone' and its collective, πέτρα. There is no etymology. The suggestion by Meier-Brügger KZ 94 (1980): 122ff. that πέτρος derives from *\*per-tro-* 'Instrument zum Hindurchkommen' is improbable. The word is probably Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 272 etc.

πεύθομαι ⇒ πυνθάνομαι.

πέυκη [f.] 'pine', especially 'Pinus Laricio' (Il.), metaphorically 'torch' (trag.). <IE *\*peuk-* 'sting'>

•DER πευκ-ήεις, Dor. -άεις 'made of pine, belonging to the torch, stinging, sharp' (trag. [lyr.], D. P., Opp.); -ινος 'made of pine' (S., E., Plb.); -ών, -ώνος [m.] 'pine forest' (Hdn. Gr.); -ία [f.] 'taste of pitch' (Tz.). πευκάλμιος, epithet of φρένες (Il.),

also of πραπίδες, μήδεα (Orac. *apud* D. L., inscr.); πευκεδανός, epithet of πόλεμος (K 8), of βέλεμνα, ἀσπίς (Orph.), of θάλασσα (Opp.); with oppositional accent, we find πευκέδανον, the name of a bitter umbelliferous plant, 'sulphur weed' (Thphr.).

•ETYM Similar names of pine and fir-trees are found in Baltic, Germanic, and Celtic: OPr. *peuse* [f.] (< PIE *\*peuk-*), Lith. *pušis* (< *\*puḱ-*), OHG *fiuhta*, MIr. *ochtach* [f.] (< *\*peuk-t-*, *\*puḱ-t-*). A by-form is found in ►πυγμή. If πέυκη has the same origin as the second member of ἔχε-πενκῆς, περι-πενκῆς 'stinging, sharp', it can be derived from an adj. *\*πευκός* 'sharp, stinging'. Gr. ἔχε-πενκῆς may contain an s-stem *\*πεῦκος* [n.] 'stinging, point'. From the same basis, we find the adjectives πευκάλμιος and πευκεδανός, for which a meaning 'sharp, intrusive, stinging, bitter' must be posited. The λ-suffix also occurs in πευκαλέον- ξηρόν 'dry', πευκαλεῖται- ξηραίνεται 'dries up' (H.). For Indo-Iranian cognates, see Morgenstierne NTS 13 (1942): 229 and Turner 1966 No. 8407 *\*rōśi*.

πεφνεῖν ⇒ θείνω.

πήγανον [n.] 'rue, Ruta graveolens' (Diocl. Gr., com., Thphr.). <PG(V)>

•VAR φαίκανον- πήγανον 'id.' (H.).

•COMP ἀγριο-πήγανον 'Syrian rue' (H., Aët.), πηγαν-έλαιον 'rue oil' (medic.).

•DER πηγάν-ιον [n.] 'rue' (Thphr., Nic.); adj. -ινος, -ειος (Gal.), -όεις (Nic.) 'belonging to the rue', -ώδης 'rue-like' (Thphr.); -ίτης οἶνος (Gr.), -ίτης χολή (Sopat.); -ηρά [f.], -ηρόν [n.] 'rue plaster' (medic.); -ίζω [v.] 'to be like a rue' (Dsc., Gal.).

•ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek word; note the formal variation in φαίκανον (Fur.: 162). The suffix recalls other plant names, such as λάχανον, βάκανον, πλάτανος, and ράφανος.

Πήγασος [m.] name of the mythical horse, that Poseidon conceived with Medusa (Hes.). <LW Anat.>

•VAR Dor. Πάγ-.

•DER Πηγάσ-ειος, fem. -ίς 'belonging to Pegasus' (Ar., Mosch., AP).

•ETYM It is now agreed upon that Pegasus derives from the first element of *pihaššašši-*, an epithet of the Hittite and Luwian Storm-God (Starke 1990: 103-6). The adjective *pihaššašši-* is to be regarded as a Luwian genitival adjective of a stem *\*pihašš-*, which is attested in HLuw. *pihas-*. Acc. to Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *piha-*, the meaning of this onomastic element in Anatolian is 'strong' vel sim., and not 'lightning'. Based on the latter translation, which has been current for some time, scholars have proposed a formation *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh₂-o-* to *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh₂-* 'shine', but Kloekhorst argues that this unappealing reconstruction (unmotivated lengthened grade) should be abandoned.

πηγή [f.] 'well, hot spring', also plur. 'waters, stream' (Il.). <GR?, PG?>

•VAR Dor. παγά.

•DER Diminutive πηγ-ίον (pap. II<sup>a</sup>), -ίδιον (Suid.); adj. -αῖος 'belonging to a well' (IA), -μαῖος 'id.' (Hdn. *Epim.*); -άζω (also with ἀνα-, κατα-) [v.] 'to spring up' (Ph., AP), παγάσασθαι [aor.inf.] 'to bathe in a well' (Dodona; late.).

•ETYM Since 'wells' are often denominated as being 'cold' (e.g. OCS *studentъ* : *studentъ*, Lith. *šaltinis* : *šaltas*, Gr. νίβα [= νίφα]· χιόνα, καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως καὶ κρήνη ἐν Θράκῃ 'snow, also the word for "source" in Thracia' [Phot.]), a derivation from the root of πήγνυμι 'to get stiff' has been proposed; cf. πηγυλὶς 'ice-cold', παγετώδης 'ice-cold', παγετός 'ice'. While theoretically possible, we have no further evidence for this suggestion. Alternatively, we could be dealing with a Pre-Greek word.

**πήγνυμι** [v.] 'to fix, stick, join, congeal or coagulate' (Il.). <IE \**peh₂g-* 'coagulate, fix'>

•VAR Dor. Aeol. πάγ-, also -ύω (X., Arist.), πήσσω, -ττω (Hell.), aor. πήξα (ἐπικτο Λ 378), pass. παγῆναι, πηγθῆ-ναι, fut. πήξω, πεῖξ, act. intr. πέπηγα (all Il.), trans. πλρφ. ἐπεπήχεσαν (D. C.), med. πέπηγμα (D. H., Arr.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, συν-, κατα-, παρα-. Compounds: πηγεσί-μαλλος 'having dense wool' (Γ 197); -πηξ, e.g. in ἀντί-πηξ, -γος [f.] 'kind of chest' (E.); ναυ-πηγ-ός [m.] 'shipbuilder' (Att., etc.); -πηγ-ής and -παγ-ής, e.g. εὐπηγής, εὐπαγής 'well built' (φ 334, Pl.), περιπηγής 'frozen around' (Nic.); συμπαγής 'put together' (Pl.).

•DER A. From the full grade: 1. πηγός 'solid, dense, strong', originally 'attaching'; in late poetry 'white', also 'black'. 2. πηγάς, -άδος [f.] 'hoar-frost, rime' (Hes.); 3. πηγυλὶς [f.] 'frosty, iccold' (ξ 476, A. R.), 'hoar-frost, rime' (AP et al.). 3. πῆγμα (διά-, παρά-, σύμ-, πρόσ-, etc.) [n.] 'joint together, stage, scaffold, etc.' (Hp., Hell.; conjecture *apud* A. Ag. 1198), -μάτιον (Ph., Procl.); 4. πῆξις (σύμ-, ἔκ-, ἔμ-, etc.) 'fixing, fastening, coagulation' (Hp., Arist.); πήγνυσις 'id.' (Ps.-Thales). 5. πικτός, Dor. πᾶκ- (κατά-, σύμ-, εὐ-, etc.) 'solid, etc.' (in Att.); πικτή [f.] 'net, framework' (Ar., Arist.), πακτά [f.] 'fresh cheese' (Theoc.); ἐμπήκτης [m.] 'who posts up' (Arist.); πικτίς (Dor. Aeol. πακ-), -ίδος [f.] name of a Lydian harp (IA); πικτικός (ἐκ-) 'coagulating' (Thphr., Dsc.). 6. παγετός [m.] = παγ- (D. P.).

B. From the zero grade: πάγος, -ετός, -ερός, ▶πάγη, ▶πάξ, ▶πάχνη; also πάγιος 'stout, solid' (Pl., Arist.), παγεύς [m.] 'pedestal' (Hero). Further also πᾶκ-τός in καταπακ-τός, (Hdt.) and πακτό-ω (ἐπι-, ἐμ-) 'to fix' (IA; πακτός for traditional πικτός in Hom.?).

•ETYM From PIE \**peh₂g-* 'to coagulate, become fixed' > πηγ-, zero grade \**ph₂g-* > παγ-. Cognate verbal forms in other IE languages: Lat. *pangō*, -ere 'to insert firmly, fix' < \**ph₂n-g-*, Skt. *pajrá-* 'solid, firm' with loss of the laryngeal by Lubotsky's Law (Lubotsky MSS 40 (1981): 133-138), *pājas-* [n.] 'side, surface?', Khot. *pāysa-* 'surface', Lat. *compāgēs* 'joint' (etc.), *pāgus* 'district', *pāgina* 'column'.

**πηδάω** [v.] 'to leap, jump; to beat' (of the heart or pulse) (Il.). <IE \**ped-* 'foot'>

•VAR Hyperdoric παδ-; aor. πηδῆσαι.

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-.

•DER (ἀνα-, ἐκ-)πήδ-ημα [n.] 'leap' (trag.), -ησις (ἀνα-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-, etc.) 'jumping, leaping' (IA), -ηθμός [m.] 'pulse beat' (Hp.), -ητής (ἐπ-εισ-) [m.] 'leaper' (Ptol., gloss.), -ητικός (ἐκ-) 'fit for jumping' (Arist.). Backformation τρί-πηδος or -ον 'three-jump', 'trot' (Hippiatr.).

•ETYM Deverbative or denominative formation on the basis of a form \**pēd-*, which could be the lengthened grade of the root \**ped-* 'to tread, fall', whence \**ped-* 'foot' and several verbal forms derive, such as Skt. *pád-ya-te* 'falls, treads', OE *fetan* 'to fall'. The Greek verbal stem suggests a denominal formation, thus from a noun \**pēd-o-*; see ▶πηδόν 'blade of an oar'.

**πηδόν** [n.] 'blade of an oar' (Od., Hell. epic). <IE \**ped-* 'foot'>

•DER πηδάλιον [n.] 'rudder, fin-rudder' (Od.), πηδαλι-ώδης 'like a fin-rudder', -ωτός 'equipped with a rudder' (Arist.), -όμοι [v.] 'to be equipped with a rudder' (Simp.).

•ETYM From a preform \**pēd-o-* 'sole' or 'footstep'. Often compared with Lith. *pėdà*, dial. also *pėdas*, 'sole of the foot', but these have acute long *é* from \**e* before \**d*, according to Winter's Law. Thus, the long vowel in Greek was taken from the root noun \**ped-*, \**pēd-*. Semantically, the use of 'foot' for 'rudder' can be explained by the flat form and low position of a ship's rudder. The verb πηδάω must have been formed before \**pēd-o-* 'sole' or 'footstep' acquired its nautical meaning.

**πηδός** [m.] name of an unknown tree (Thphr. HP 5, 7, 6, EM 669, 40). <?>

•VAR Also πῆδος.

•DER πῆδινος, old v.l. for φήγινος (E 838, acc. to Eust., EM, H.); perhaps also πηδήεσσα (v.l. Λ 183 for πῆδ-); πάδος tree name (Thphr. HP 4, 1, 3).

•ETYM Etymology unknown. Pliny HN 3, 16 mentions *padus* as a Gaulish word for 'pine'.

**πηῖσκος** [m.] 'offspring, son' (Crete V<sup>a</sup>). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained.

**πηκτίς** ⇒ πῆγνυμι.

**πηλαμός, -ύδος** [f.] '(young) tuna' (S. Fr. 503, Phryn. Com., Arist.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also παλαμὶς (Cyrano.).

•DER -υδεία [f.] 'catching tuna', -υδείον [n.] 'site for catching tuna' (Str.).

•ETYM Strömberg 1943: 79ff. (also 128ff.) extensively argues for derivation from πηλός 'mud', after the habitat of the fish. Nevertheless, this is improbable; the word is no doubt Pre-Greek.

**πήληξ, -ηκος** [f.] 'helmet' (Il.). <PG(S)>

•ETYM Like so many other expressions for weapons and armor, it is probably a loanword or a Pre-Greek word; note the suffix -ηξ < -ᾱξ, which often occurs in Pre-Greek words.

**πηλίκος** [pron.adj.] 'how big?, how old?' (IA). <IE \**kʷo-* 'how'>

•ETYM An interrogative adjective \**kʷeh₂l-i-*, derived from the interrogative pronoun \**kʷo-* 'which'. Compare demonstrative ▶τηλίκος (Dor. τάλ-) 'this big, this old', and relative ▶ηλίκος 'how great, how old'. An identical formation (without a suffix \*-ko-) is found in Lat. *quālis* 'what kind of', *tālis* 'such' and, with short initial vowel, OCS *kolikъ* 'how much'. The element \**kʷeh₂-* 'to what extent' may continue the PIE nom.acc.pl.ntr. of the pronoun. See ▶πόθεν.

**πηλός** [m.] 'loam, clay, mud, dung, bog' (IA). <PG?>

•VAR Dor. πᾶλός (Sophr., inscr.).

•COMP e.g. πηλο-φορέω [v.] 'to carry clay' (Ar.), ἀκρό-πηλος 'with mud on top' (Plb.).

•DER πῆλ-ινος 'made of clay' (D., Arist.), -αῖος 'made of clay; living in mud' (Man., Paus.), -ώδης 'loamy, muddy' (IA), -ώεις 'id.' (Opp.); -όομαι, -όω (rarely with περι-, etc.) [v.] 'to be covered with loam, burden with clay' (late), -ωσις [f.] 'besmearing', -ωμα [n.] 'mud' (Charis.). Denominative προ-πηλακίζω [v.], literally 'to tread in the mud in front of oneself' = 'to taunt, insult' (Att.), probably formed directly from πηλός after other verbs in -ακ-ίζω; thence -ισμός [m.] 'dishonor, reproach' (IA), -ισις [f.] 'insulting' (Po.).

•ETYM Without a convincing etymology. Pre-Greek?

**πῆλυξ** [?] · ῥαγάς 'fissure in the soil, crevice' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM See ►σπήλαιον.

**πῆμα** [n.] 'disaster, sorrow, distress' (Il.). <IE? \**peh<sub>1</sub>*->

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. ἀ-πήμων 'without disaster, undamaged' (Il.); thence πῆμων 'baleful' (Orph.). Denominative πημαίνω [v.] 'to do harm, damage' (Il.).

•DER πημον-ή [f.] 'id.' (trag., treaty in Th. 5, 18), πημο-σύνη [f.] 'id.' (A., E., Orph.), ἀπημο-σύνη [f.] 'freedom from worries' (Thgn.) = ἀπημον-ίη [f.] (Call.).

•ETYM Primary verbal noun in \**pē-*, as suggested by the vocalism of πῆμα in Pi. and S. [lyr.]. Within Greek, it could be related to ►ταλαίπωρος 'enduring hardship'; see s.v. In Indo-Iranian, Av. *pāman-* [n.] name of a skin disease, Skt. *pāmān-* [m.] 'kind of skin disease, scratch' could reflect \**peh<sub>1</sub>-mn-*. Formally, these forms could be connected with the root \**peh<sub>1</sub>-i-* 'to taunt', as reconstructed by LIV<sup>2</sup> for Skt. *pīyati* 'to taunt, scold'.

**πῆ, πῆν** 'to sprinkle'. ⇒πάσσω.

**πηνέλοψ, -οπος** [m.] 'duck or wild goose with colored neck' (Alc., Ibyc., Ar., Arist.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Aeol., Dor. πᾶν-.

•ETYM Formation like other animal names in -οψ, such as δρύοψ, κέρκοψ, πάρνοψ et al. The bird may have served as the base for the PN ►Πηνελόπεια. The stem is also found in Πηνέλ-εως [m.], name of a Boeotian leader (Il.). Because of its suffix, the word may be Pre-Greek in origin.

**πήνη** [f.] 'the thread of the woof, wound around the bobbin; woof' (E., AP). <?>

•VAR πῆνος· ὕφασμα 'woven robe, web' (H.).

•DER πηνίον, Dor. πᾶν- [n.] 'spool with thread' (Ψ 762, Thphr., AP), also metaphorically of a kind of puppet (Ar. Fr. 377, Arist.); Πηνίτις (Πᾶν-), -ίτιδος [f.] "weaveress", epithet of Athena (Ael., AP), Πανίτης [m.], PN of a Messenian (Hdt.). πηνίζομαι (Dor. πανί-σδομαι (Theoc.); also with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-) [v.] 'to reel (off)' (com., Arist., Thphr.), whence πήνισμα [n.] 'reeled wool' (Ar. Ra. 1315 [parody of A.], AP).

•ETYM Has been connected with the verb ►πένομαι 'to spin', but this is impossible because of Doric -ā-. Lat. *pannus* 'piece of cloth, rag', Go. *fana* [m.] 'cloth, towel', OHG *fano* 'cloth', MoHG *Fahne*, OE *fana* 'banner' < \**fan-ōn* have a different meaning and short \*-a- (and no PIE etymology).

**πηνήκη** [f.] 'false hair, wig' (Luc. Dial. Mer. 5, 3, etc., Phot., Poll.). <GR>

•DER πηνηκίζειν· ἀπατᾶν 'deceive' (H., Cratin. 319), also with δια- (Cratin. 282); πηνηκισμάτων· φενακισμάτων 'cheatings' (H.).

•ETYM As a wig may seem a bobbin of threads, the word has probably been derived from πήνη on the model of φενάκη 'wig'.

**πηνίκα** [adv.] 'when?' (Att.). <IE \**k<sup>w</sup>o-* 'who?'>

•ETYM Formed from the interrogative pronoun, on the model of ἡνίκα 'when'.

**πῆός** [m.] 'kinsman by alliance' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Dor. Aeol. πᾶός.

•DER παῶται· συγγενεῖς, οἰκεῖοι. Λάκωνες 'kinsmen, relatives (Lac.)' (H.), perhaps after πατριῶται. Also in the patronym Πολυ-παΐδης (Thgn.). Denominative παόομαι [v.] 'to become a kinsman' in παώθεις (Alc.). Abstract πηοσύνη [f.] (A. R.).

•ETYM Kinship term without certain connection. As PGr. \**pāso-* it has often been connected with Lat. *pār, paris* 'equal, matching' (perhaps from \**parVs*, \**pās-i-*), but this is formally not compelling; also, the etymology of the Latin word is disputed. Unrelated to ►πηῖσκος 'son, offspring'.

**πήρα** [f.] 'leather bag, knapsack' (Od., Ar.). <PG?>

•VAR Ion. -ή.

•COMP πηρό-δετος (ἰμάς) 'binding a knapsack' or 'bound around the knapsack' (AP).

•DER Diminutive πηρίδιον [n.] (Ar., Men.); πηρ-ίς or -ίν, gen. -ίνος [f.] 'scrotum' (Nic.); enlarged -ίνα [f.] (Gal.) = περί-ναιον.

•ETYM Unexplained; cf. on ►θύλακος and ►σάκκος. Fur. 152 compares βηρίδες· ὑποδήματα, ἃ ἡμεῖς ἐμβάδες λέγομεν 'sandals, which we call ἐμβάδες' (H.) and περι-βᾶρίδες 'womens shoes'; he further mentions Lat. *perō* 'soldiers shoes' and pre-Romance \**barr-* 'small vase'.

**πηρία** [f.] · Ἀ<σ>πένδιοι τὴν χώραν τοῦ ἀγροῦ 'region of the field (Aspendos)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM The connection with Go. *fera*, OHG *fiara* [f.] 'side, region' is very doubtful. It is unknown whether the Thess. PN Πηρείη (B 766) belongs here.

**πηρός** [adj.] 'infirm, invalid', of the eyes 'blind', of the limbs 'lame', etc. (B 599, Semon., Hp., Luc.). <?>

•VAR Att. πῆρος acc. to Hdn. Gr. 1, 190.

•COMP πηρο-μελής 'crippled' (AP), ἄ-πηρος 'unmaimed' (Hdt.), ἔμ-πηρος 'maimed, crippled' (Hdt., Hp.), ἔμπαρος· ἔμπληκτος 'stunned' (H.); s-stem ἀπηρής (A. R.), ἀπαρές· ὑγιές, ἀπῆρωτον 'healthy, unimpaired' (H.).

•DER πηρώδης (H. s.v. γυῖός), beside νοσώδης. Denominative πηρόομαι, -όω (Dor. πᾶρ-) [v.] 'to be maimed, maim' (IA, Gortyn), whence πῆρ-ωσις [f.] 'maiming' (IA),

-ωμα [n.] 'id.', also 'maimed animal' (Arist., Gal.). Backformation πᾶρος [n.] 'infirmity' (Alc.; uncertain).

•ETYM Isolated. Cannot be connected with πῆμα 'sorrow' because of the \*ā, as shown by Doric πᾶρ-.

**πῆχυς** [m.] 'forearm, arm', as a measure 'cubit', and other metaphorical mgs. (Il.). <IE \*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>h</sup>-u- 'lower arm, elbow'>

•VAR Dor. Aeol. πᾶχυς, gen. -εος, -εως.

•COMP δι-πῆχυς 'two cubits long' (IA).

•DER 1. diminutive πηχίσκος [m.] (Anon. *apud* Suid.); 2. adjectives πηχυ-αῖος (IA, παχυ- Epich.), -ιος (Mimn., A. R.) 'one cubit long'; 3. verbs: πηχίζω [v.] 'to measure by the cubit' (LXX), whence πηχ-ισμός [m.] 'measuring by the cubit' (LXX, pap.), -ισμα [n.] 'cubit-measure' (Sm.); πηχύνω (περι-) [v.] 'to embrace' (Hell. and late epic).

•ETYM PIE word for 'arm'. Cognates: Skt. *bāhū-*, Av. *bāzu-* [m.] 'lower arm, arm, foreleg of an animal', ON *bógr*, OHG *buog* [m.] 'the upper part of the foreleg, bow', ToA *poke*, ToB *pokai* [obl.] 'arm'.

**πῖαρ** [n.] 'fat, tallow' (epic Ion. Il.). <IE \*piH-uer- 'fat'>

•DIAL Myc. PN *pi-we-ri-di*, -si (?)

•DER Adjective πίων [m.], πῖον [n.], πείρα [f.] 'fat, fertile, rich' (Il.), whence πειρός, πιαρός 'id.' (Hp., Arist.); grades of comparison πῖο-τατος, -τερος (Hom.), new positive πῖος (Epich., Nic.); πῖότης [f.] 'fatness' (Hp., Arist.). Poetic πῖεις 'id.' (AP). Denominative verb πιαίνω (aor. πᾶναι, also with δια-, κατα-, etc.) 'to make fat, fatten, enrich' (Pi., IA), πία-σμα [n.] 'fattening food' (A.), ποτι-πίαμμα [n.] 'remaining fat (on the altar)' (Cyrene), -σμός [m.] 'fattening' (Ael.); -ντήριος (Hp.), -ντικός (Apoll. *Lex.*) 'making fat, fattening'. With λ-suffix: πιαλέος 'fat' (Ion. poet.), rarely πίαλος 'id.' (probably reshaped after σίαλος [Hp.]).

Isolated: πιμελ-ή [f.] 'fat, lard' (IA), whence -ώδης 'fatty' (Hp., Arist.), -ής 'id.' (Aq., Luc.).

•ETYM Gr. πῖαρ derives from PIE \*piH-ur̥ [n.] 'fat'; the adjective πίων, πείρα presupposes \*πίφων, \*πίφερ-ια from PIE \*piH-uōn, fem. -uer-ih<sub>2</sub> 'fat', which corresponds precisely to Skt. *pīvan-*, fem. *pīvarī-* 'fat, swelling'. Further cognate forms: Skt. *pīvas-*, Av. *pīuuah-* [n.] 'fat'. Gr. πῖμελή presupposes an earlier *m(o)*-stem \*piH-m(o)- 'fat'; a cognate formation may be Av. *paēman-* 'mother's milk' [n.] < \*pe/oīH-mn-.

**πίγγαλος** [adj.] · σαῦρος ὁ καλούμενος χαλκίς 'horse-mackerel' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Has been compared with Skt. *piṅgalá-* 'reddish, brown-yellow', with a variant *piṅjára-*. Also in the gloss πιγγανέοσιον. Ἀμερίας γλαυκόν (which one corrects into πῖγγαν· νεόσιον)? Uncompelling.

**πίδαξ**, -ᾰκος [m.] 'eruption, geyser' (epic Ion. poet. II 825). <PG?>

•COMP πολυ-πίδαξ 'having many springs' (Il.).

•DER πιδάκ-ιτις [f.] 'belonging to a spring' (Hp. *Ep.*), -όεις 'rich in springs' (E.), -ώδης 'id.' (Plu.). Also πιδήσσσα [f.] 'id.' (of Ἰδη, Δ 183); πιδυλῖς (cod. πηδ-)· πέτρα,

ἐξ ἧς ὕδωρ ῥέει 'a rock from which water flows' (H.). Verbs: πιδάω (also with δια-) [v.] 'to spring, spout up' (Arist.); πιδύω (also with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-) 'id.' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.); πίδυσις [f.] 'trickling through' (Hp.).

•ETYM For πίδαξ, πιδάω, and -ήσσσα, one might assume a noun \*πίδ-ā-, but πιδ-ύω and -υλῖς point to an u-stem \*πίδus. No certain cognates outside Greek. The word could well be Pre-Greek (Fur.: 259). See ►πίσσα and ►πίτυς.

**πιέζω** [v.] 'to press, push, beset' (Il.). <?>

•VAR -έω (v.l. in Hom.; Hp., Herod., Plb.), aor. πιέσαι (IA), pass. πιεσθῆναι (θ 336), also πι-έξαι, -εχθῆναι (Hp., Epidaur.); fut. πιέσω, perf. med. πεπίεσμαι (Arist.; -ιγμαι Hp.), act. πεπίεκα; also πιάζω (Alcm., Alc., Hell.), πιάσαι (-άξαι Theoc.), πιασθῆναι, πεπίασμαι (Hell.).

•COMP Often with συν-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-, etc.

•DER 1. πίε-σις (συν-, ἀπο-; also (-)πία-) [f.] 'pressing, pressure' (Pl., Arist.); 2. -σμός (ἐκ-, συν-, etc.) [m.] 'id.' (Hp., Arist.); 3. -σμα (ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc.) [n.] 'pressure, compressed mass' (Hp., Eub.); 4. -στήρ [m.] 'presser, press' (Att. inscr., medic.), whence -στήριος 'pressing', ntr. 'press' (Dsc.); 5. -στρον [n.] 'id.' (Hp., Gal.).

•ETYM The variant πιάζω is an innovation after the verbs in -άζω, or by phonetic development from πιέζω. The etymology is uncertain. Skt. *pīḍāyati* 'to squeeze, press, hurt' < \*pisd- is very similar both in phonetics and semantics. If from \*pisd-, πιέζω might be connected with Gr. πτίσσω 'to bruise, to husk', Latin *pīnsō* 'to crush', Skt. *pināsti* 'id.' < PIE \*pis-. However, \*pis-d- would be a unique kind of enlargement in PIE. Also, the passage of alleged \*πίζω to πιέζω would remain unexplained. Katz *Glotta* 72 (1994): 151-168 assumes a compound \*h<sub>1</sub>pi-sd- with loss of the laryngeal in composition, which is an improbable rule.

**πίθηκος** [m.] 'monkey' (IA since Archil.). <PG?>

•VAR Dor. -ᾰκος (Ar. *Ach.*, Eg. inscr.).

•COMP πιθηκο-φαγέω [v.] 'to eat monkey(-meat)' (Hdt.), χοιρο-πίθηκος [m.] "pig-monkey", 'monkey with a pig's nose' (Arist.).

•DER 1. Diminutives: πιθήκ-ιον [n.] (Plaut.), also as a plant name (Ps.-Apul.), and as a designation of a weight hung between two warships (Ath. *Mech.*); -ιδεύς [m.] (Ael.). 2. Adjectives: -ώδης 'monkey-like' (Arist., Ael.), -ειος 'belonging to monkeys, monkey-' (Gal.); -όεις, fem. -όεσσα in Πιθηκούσσαι νῆσοι [f.pl.] 'the Monkey Islands', off the coast of Campania (Arist., Str.). 3. Verb -ίζω (also with ὑπο-, δια-) 'to play the ape', whence -ισμός [m.] 'monkey-trick' (Ar.). Metaphorically πιθήκη [f.] = ψύλλα, 'flea' (Ael.); consonant stem πίθηξ, -ηκος (Aesop.). Isolated is πίθων, -ωνος [m.] 'small monkey' (Pi., Babr.), probably a hypocoristic.

•ETYM The same suffix can be found e.g. in ιέρᾱξ, μύρμηξ, thematicized also in ψιττακός. A loanword from an unknown language.

**πίθος** [m.] 'large, mostly earthen vessel for storing wine, which is open at the top' (Il.).

<PG(V)>

•DIAL Myc. *qe-to*.

•COMP πιθ-οίγ-ια [n.] 'ceremony for the opening of vessels' (Plu.).

•DER *πιθάκνη* (Thasos V<sup>a</sup>), also in Att. mss., beside *φιθάκνη* (A., D., Thphr., Moer.), Dor. *πισάκνα* [f.] (H.); *πιθάκνιον* [n.] (Eub., Hyp., Luc.), -νίς [f.], *φιδ-* (Poll.). Other derivations: 1. diminutives *πιθ-ίσκος* [m.] (Plu. *Cam.* 20), -άριον [n.] (H., *EM*); 2. *πιθ-(ε)ών*, -ώνος [m.] 'cellar' (com., inscr. IV--III<sup>a</sup>); 3. -ίας [m.] 'jar-shaped comet' (Seneca); 4. -ίτις, -ιδος [f.] 'kind of poppy' (Dsc.); 5. -ώδης 'like a jar' (Arist.).

•ETYM The word displays vowel variation *e* : *i* (see the Myc. form), and consonant variation in *πιθ-* vs. *φιδ-*. Thus, probably Pre-Greek.

**πικέριον** [n.] = βούτυρον 'butter' (Hp.). <?>

•ETYM Phrygian, according to Erotian. 73,13.

**πικρός** [adj.] 'sharp, pointed, piercing, bitter, painful' (Il.), on the meaning see Treu 1955: 78 and 273. <IE \**pik-ro-* 'motley, painted'>

•COMP *πικρό-χολος* 'full of bitter gall' (Hp.), *γλυκύ-πικρος* 'bittersweet' (Sapph.), see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 32.

•DER 1. Abstract: *πικρ-ότης* [f.] 'sharpness, bitterness, etc.' (IA), -ία [f.] 'id.' (D., Arist., Hell.). 2. plant name: *πικρ-άς*, -ίς, -ίδιον (Arist., Thphr., Ps.-Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 63; -άς [f.] also of the soil 'acid' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>); -ίδιος as an adjective 'somewhat bitter' (Ath.). 3. Verbs: *πικρ-αίνομαι* 'to become bitter, embitter', -αίνω 'to make bitter' (IA), also with *ἐκ-*, *ἐν-*, *παρα-*, etc.; thence -ασμός (*παρα-*) [m.] 'embitterment' (LXX, *Ep. Hebr.*), -αντικῶς [adv.] 'in an embittering way' (S. E.); *πικρ-όμαι* 'id.' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.), almost only with *ἐκ-*, with -ωσις [f.] (Gal.); back-formation *ἔκπικρος* 'very bitter' (Arist.), see Strömberg 1946: 73; cf. *πικρ-άζομαι*, -άζω 'id.' (S. E.), also with *ἐκ-*. 4. Substantivization *πίκρα* [f.] name of an antidote (Alex. Trall.). 5. PN *Πρίκων* [m.] (Eretria, Tanagra) with metathesis as in MoGr. *πρικός* (Kretschmer *Glotta* 6 (1915): 304).

•ETYM Formally identical to a Slavic word for 'motley', e.g. CS *pъstrъ* < IE \**pikro-*, derived from a verb 'to sting, cut, embroider, paint'; cf. Skt. *piṃśāti* 'to carve, cut to measure, ornament', OCS *pъsati* 'to write'; further cognates under ► *ποικίλος*. The adjective *πικρός* has also been compared to Skt. *śilprá-* 'motley' (if metathesized from \**piślá-*).

**πίλα** [f.] 'mortar' (POxy. 1890, 12). <LW Lat.>

•DER *πιλάριον* (medic.) 'eye-salve'.

•ETYM Loanword from Lat. *pila*.

**πίλναμαι** ⇒ πέλας.

**πίλος** [m.] · κοχλιός 'screw' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**πίλος** [m.] 'felt, felt hat', also 'felt shoe, felt blanket, etc.' (K 265); as a plant name 'touchwood, Polyporus igniarius', also 'lotus bud' (Thphr.). <?>

•COMP *κραταί-πίλος* 'with hard felt' (A. Fr. 430 = 624 M.).

•DER 1. Diminutives: *πιλ-ιον* (Arist., Hell.), -ίδιον (Att.), -άριον (medic.), -ίσκος (Dsc.). 2. Adj. -ινος 'made of felt' (Andania I<sup>a</sup>, Poll.) -ωτός 'id.' (Str.), -ώδης 'felt-like, pressed together' (Ptol.). 3. Verbs: *πιλέω* 'to felt, press together, make dense, knead'

(Att., Hell.), also with prefix, especially *συν-*; thence *πίλ-ησις* [f.] 'felting, densening, concentration by cold' (Pl., Thphr.), -ημα [n.] 'felting, felted fabric' (Arist.), -ητικός, -ή (τέχνη) 'belonging to felting, the art of felting' (Pl., Arist.); *πιλ-όομαι* 'to concentrate, contract (oneself)' (Thphr.), trans. -όω, also with *συν-*, *προσ-*; thence -ωσις (v.l. of -ησις, Thphr.).

•ETYM Formally similar words for 'felt' are found in Latin, Germanic and Slavic: Lat. *pilleus*, -eum 'feltcap', OHG *filz* [m.], OE *felt* [m., n.], ORu. *pъlstъ* [f.] 'feltcover', Ru. *polst'* [f.] 'cover, carpet, felt'. The Germanic words go back to a PGm. *s*-stem \**filtiz-*, \**feltaz-*, ostensibly from IE \**peld-os-* / \**pildos-* [n.]. If, however, the Germanic words were derived from OHG and MoHG *falzen* [v.] 'to connect, put on, in' (etc.), they can be dismissed. The Slavic words are ambiguous because the -*ti-* suffix may have been preceded by either *d* or *s*. Lat. *pilleus*, too, is ambiguous: it can be linked with Gr. *πίλος* on the one hand, or with Lat. *pilus* 'hair' on the other. Schmidt KZ 32 (1893): 387f. reconstructed \**pil-s-*, which could be a zero grade of the IE *s*-stem \**pilos-* [n.] beside \**pilo-* [m.] 'hair'. This solution seems no longer convincing. More probably, we here have an old culture word of unknown origin (cf. Ernout BSL 30 (1930): 115). On the phonetic developments, see Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 243.

**πιμελή** ⇒ πῖαρ.

**πίμπλημι, -αμαι** [v.] 'to fill, make full', intr. 'to fill oneself, become or be full' (Il.). <IE \**pleh-* 'fill'>

•VAR -άνεται [3sg.] (I 679), rare -άω, -έω (Hp.), also *πλήθω* (intr., late also tr.; Il., epic poet.). Aor. *πλή-σαι*, -σασθαι, -σθῆναι, (Il.), intr. *πλή-το*, -ντο (epic), *ἐν-έπλιτο*, etc. (Att.), fut. *πλή-σω*, -σομαι (Od.), -σθήσομαι (Att.), perf. med. *πέπλησμαι* (IA), act. *πέπληκα* (Att.), intr. *πέπληθα* (poet.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. *ἀνα-* (*συν-ανα-*, *προσ-ανα-*, etc.), *ἐν-* (*ἀντ-εν-*, *παρ-εν-*, etc.). As a first member in some governing compounds, e.g. *πλησίσιος* 'filling the sail' (Od., E.), 'with full sails' (Ph., Plu.).

•DER 1. *πλέως*, Ion. *πλέος*, epic *πλείος* (for \**πλήος*), ntr. *πλέον* 'full' (Il.), also with *ἐν-*, *ἀνα-*, *ἐκ-*, etc. from the compounded verbs. For the comparison of ► *πλείων* with the superl. *πλείστος*. 2. *πλή-μη* [f.] 'high tide, flood' (Plb., Str.), -σμη [f.] 'id.' (Hes. Fr. 217), *πλήμια*· *πλήρωμα* 'complement' (H.), -σμία [n.] 'fertilization' (Arist.); -σμιος 'saturating, causing tedium' (Epicur., medic.); -σμονή [f.] 'fullness, congestion, (over)saturation' (IA), see Chantraine 1933: 207, with -σμονώδης (Hp., Gal.), -σμονικός (Pythag. *Ep.*) '(over)saturating'. On ► *πλήμνη*, see s.v. 3. *πλή-ρης* 'full' (IA); as a first member in e.g. *πληρο-φορέω* [v.] 'to fulfill' (Ctes., LXX, NT, pap.); *πληρό-της* [f.] 'fullness' (Plu.), *πληρ-όω* 'to make full, (ful)fill, finish, pay entirely' (IA), often with prefix, e.g. *ἀνα-*, *ἐκ-*, *ἀπο-*, *συν-*; thence -ωμια (*ἀνα-*, *συν-*, etc.) [n.] 'filling, filling piece, full number, full payment, (full) crew' (IA), also -ωσις (*ἀνα-*, *ἐκ-*, etc.) [f.] 'accomplishment, complement, satisfaction' (IA), -ωτής (*ἐκ-*, *ἀπο-*) [m.] 'finisher, executor, collector' (Att.), -ωτικός (*ἀνα-*, *συν-*, etc.) 'fulfilling, completing' (Epicur., medic. et al.). 4. *πλή-θος* [n.] 'fullness, mass (of people), herd' (Il., Dor., Arc.); often as a second member, e.g. *παμ-πληθής* 'consisting of a whole mass, very numerous' (Att.); -θά [f.] 'id.' (Locr., Boeot.); -θύς, -θύος [f.] 'id.' (Ion., Cret., Locr.,

Hell.); see Ruijgh 1957: 110; thence πλη-θύω [v.] 'to be full, become full, increase', -θύνομαι, -θύνω 'to belong to the mass, agree with it, augment oneself; to make full, augment' (A., Arist., LXX, NT); hence -θυσμός [m.] 'increase' (Procl., Simp.), -θυστικός 'plural' (gramm.); 5. πληθ-ώρα, Ion. -η [f.] 'fullness', medic. 'plethora, full-blooded' (Ion. Hell.); on the secondary barytonesis see Wackernagel and Debrunner *Phil.* 95 (1942): 181f. Thence πληθ-ωριάω [v.] 'to suffer from π.', -ωρικός 'plethoric' (Gal.), -ωρέω 'to be full' (Suid.).

•ETYM The conjugation has parallels in e.g. Indo-Iranian, viz. 3sg. aor. ἔ-πλησ-ε = Skt. *á-prās* < \**é-pleh<sub>1</sub>-s-t*; 3sg. pres. πίμ-πλη-σι = Av. *ham-pā-frāi-ti* 'fills up' < \**pe/i-pleh<sub>1</sub>-ti*, but the zero grade 1pl. pres. πίμ-πλα-μεν cannot regularly be from IE \**pi-plh<sub>1</sub>-mé*, because this should have become \*\*πίμπλημεν (the ablaut was restored). Some nominal suffixations can be dated back to the parent language: e.g. πλη-ρης, Arm. *lir* 'fullness', Lat. *plērus* 'for the greater part', *plērī-que* 'most' < \**pleh<sub>1</sub>-r-*; πλημα < \**pleh<sub>1</sub>-mn* is echoed by the Lat. gloss *plēminābantur replēbantur*. The theta as a suffix occurs in a number of presumably young formations, viz. πλη-θος, πλη-θ-ω, πέ-πλη-θα (cf. βρή-θος : βρή-θω : βέ-βρή-θα), but πληθύς is comparable with Lat. *plēbēs* < \**pleh<sub>1</sub>-d<sup>uh</sup><sub>1</sub>-* (on the original inflection, see Pok. 799f., Schrijver 1991: 380f., Kortlandt 1997b: 160, and De Vaan 2008: 471). See ► πολύς.

πίμπρημι [v.] 'to blow (up), fan, kindle, burn up' (Il.). <IE \**prh<sub>1</sub>-* 'blow, blaze'>

•VAR Inf. -άναι (IA), also -άω (X., Plb.), ipf. ἐν-έπρηθον (*I* 589), fut. πρήσω, aor. πρήσαι (Il.), pass. aor. πρησθῆναι, perf. πέπρησμαι, -ημαι (IA, also Epid.), perf. act. πέπρηκα (Hp.).

•COMP Often with prefix, especially ἐν-.

•DER 1. πρηστήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'heavy gale, hurricane accompanied by a stroke of lightning' (Hes.), also 'bellows, jugular' and name of a snake that causes inflammation (Arist., Ds.), with πρηστηριάζω [v.] 'to ignite as if by lightning' (Hdn. *Epim.*); ἐμπρηστής [m.] 'incendiary' (Aq., Ptol.). 2. πρήσις (mostly ἔμ-) [f.] 'blowing up, ignition, inflammation' (IA, Aret.); 3. ἐμπρησμός [m.] 'ignition, inflammation' (Hell.); 4. πρήσιμα [n.], -μονή [f.] 'id.' (Gal., Hippiatr.); παραπρή(σ)ματα [n.pl.] 'inflammations on the legs of horses' (pap.). 5. πρηστικός 'blowing up' (Hp. *apud* Gal.). Also 6. πρηδών, -όνος [f.] 'inflammatory swelling' (Nic., Aret.) and, with a suffix -μ-, πρημαίνω [v.] 'to blow intensively' (Ar. *Nu.* 336 [lyr.], Herod.), πρημονάω 'to snore, roar' vel sim. (Herod.), as if from \*πρήμα, \*πρημονή. As a second member in βού-πρηστις, gen. -ιδος or -εως [f.] 'inflammatrix of cows', name of a poisonous insect (Hp.); for the formation cf. on βού-βρωστις.

•ETYM The verb πίμπρημι, πιμπράναι, πρήσω, πρήσαι, πρησθῆναι, also πρήθω forms a sub-class with ► πίμπλημι, πιμπλάναι, etc. It seems to have been heavily influenced by it. Directly related is Hitt. *parai-* 'to blow, inflate, ignite' < \**prh<sub>1</sub>-(o)i-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 631), but it is hardly related to Skt. *próthati* 'to cough, sneeze', *pruṣhóti* 'to sprinkle', ON *frúsa*, *frysa*, etc. (see Pok. 809).

πίναξ, -ακος [m.] 'wooden plank, dish, writing table, public statement, chart, painting' (Il.). <PG(S)>

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. πινακο-θήκη [f.] 'collection of paintings' (Str.), λειχο-πίναξ [m.] 'dish-licker' as a jocular name (Batr.).

•DER Diminutives: πινάκ-ιον (Att.), -ίς (com.), -ίδιον (Hp., Arist.), -ίσκος (com.), -ίσκιον (Antiph.). Other derivatives: πινακ-ι-κός 'belonging to the board' (Vett. Val.), -ιαῖος 'as thick (large) as a πίναξ' (Hippiatr.), -ωοις [f.] 'timber-, tablework' (Plu.); -ιδ-ᾶς [m.] 'salesman of πινακίδες' (Hdn. Gr.); -ηδόν 'like planks' (Ar.).

•ETYM The word belongs in technical contexts, like other formations with the productive -ακ- suffix; cf. κάμαξ, κλίμαξ, στύραξ, πύνδαξ (Chantraine 1933: 377f.). It may perhaps be akin to the Slavic group of CS *рѣнь*, Ru. *pen'* [m.] 'tree-stump, bobbin, stem' (but doubts in Derksen 2008: 427). The parallel suffixation of Skt. *prínāka-* [n.] 'staff, stick' is coincidental in any case. The word is probably Pre-Greek, in view of the suffix.

πίνη [f.] 'pen shell', late also 'pearl shell, pearl' (com., Arist., pap.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Younger πίνα (codd. predominantly have -vv- instead of -v- in pap. and inscr.).

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. πινο-τήρης [m.] 'pen shell guard', name of a kind of crayfish (S., Ar., Arist.), ἀληθινό-πινος 'consisting of real pearls' (pap. II<sup>p</sup>).

•DER πιν-άριον 'pearl shell, pearl' (pap.), -ικόν 'pearl' with -ίκιος 'of pearls' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*), -ινος 'belonging to the πίνη' with λίθος = 'pearlshell' (LXX), -ώτιον 'earring made of pearls' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>); probably haplological for \*πιν-[-εν]ώτιον.

•ETYM Perhaps from Hebr. *pēnin* 'coral' (Lewy KZ 55 (1928): 28), but in view of the variation v/vv, it is more probably Pre-Greek (not in Fur.).

πίνων [n.] 'beer' (Arist.). <PG?>

•ETYM Probably a foreign word, perhaps adapted to πίνω (cf. Schwyzler: 693<sup>8</sup>).

πίνος [m.] 'dirt', on clothes, on the body, in the hair, 'grease in wool' (trag., Paul. Aeg.), 'coating, patina on bronze or metals', metaph. of archaic style (D. H., Plu.).

<IE? \**k<sup>w</sup>in-* 'dirt', PG?>

•COMP As a second member (with transition to the s-stems) in ἀ-πινής 'without dirt, clean' (Ath.), δυσ-, κακο-πινής 'badly begrimed' (S., Ar.); opposite εὖ-πινής 'neat, beautiful, plain' (Cratin., E., Cic.).

•DER πιναρός 'dirty' (com., E., inscr. Delos), πιναρ-ότης [f.] (Eust.), -όομαι in πεπιναρωμένα (Suid.); πιν-ηρός (Hp. *apud* Erot.), -όεις (Hp., A. R., AP), -ώδης (Hp., E., Lyc.) with -ωδία- ἀκαθαρσία 'uncleanness' (H.). Denominative: πιν-όομαι in πεπινω-μένος 'dirty, etc.' (Hell. poet., D. H., Cic., Plu.), ἀ<πο>πινούται 'is cleaned' (H.); -άω in πινών (Ar. *Lys.* 279), after ῥυπών.

•ETYM The connection with Lat. *caenum* 'mud' is phonetically impossible (De Vaan 2008: 81), but the linkage with Lat. *inquināre* 'to soil' and Latv. *svīnīt* 'id.' < \**k<sup>w</sup>ein-* (?) seems tenable. Further, hardly related to MoSw. dial. *hven* [f.] 'swamp' < \**hwainō-* (cf. Nw. dial. *kvein* 'blade of grass').

πινύσκω, πινυτή ⇒ πινυτός.

πινυτός [adj.] 'intelligent, sensible, reasonable, prudent, rational' (Od.). <PG(V)>



•VAR Variant forms are πυντός· ἔμφρων, σώφρων 'sensible, reasonable' (H.), frequent in Cypr. PN, e.g. Πυντ-αγόρας (O. Masson *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 7 (1956): 238ff.).

•DER πιν-ύσσω (late epic) from \**pinut-y-*, aor. ind. ἐπίνυσσεν (Ξ 249), ptc. pass. πινυσθείς (Pythag.) 'to make deliberate, warn to be clear-minded' with πινυ-τή [f.] 'prudence' (H 289, v 71 and 228, Hp. *Ep.*), -τότης [f.] (Eust.); further -τάς, -τᾶτος [f.] (Dor., AP), after ταχυ-τής etc. (Schwyzer: 529); πίνυσις· σύννεσις 'comprehension', πινυμένην· συνετήν 'wise' (H.). Also ἀπινύσσω 'to be thoughtless, rash' (O 10, ε 342 = ζ 258), = ἀπινυτέω (Apollon. *Lex.*), from \*ἀ-πίνυτος; adverb ἀπινύτως (H.), see ▶ἀπινύσσων. Also pres. πινύσκω, -ομαι (Simon., A., Call., Orph.); probably from \*πινυτ-σκ-.

•ETYM The relation between the relevant forms has not been satisfactorily explained thus far. Older explanations take πινυτός to have somehow developed out of a full grade form \**penu-* with ε raised to ι (Schulze 1892: 323<sup>3</sup>, Frisk *Eranos* 43 (1945): 215ff., Nehring *Class. Phil.* 42 (1947): 108ff.), so as to connect the word with Lat. *putāre* 'to prune, estimate, consider', OCS *pytati* 'to examine, scrutinize' < \**p(e)ut-*. These attempts must be rejected for a number of reasons. First, a form *penu-* is not attested. Secondly, the change ε to ι is not systematic. Third, the alternation πινυτός ~ πινυτός is unexpected. The last variation is, however, known from Pre-Greek, and must reflect the varying rendering of a palatalized cluster, viz. \**p<sup>h</sup>nut-* (cf. Beekes 2008: 51). The etymon has nothing to do with πνέω.

πίνω [v.] 'to drink' (Il.). <IE \**peh<sub>3</sub>-*, *ph<sub>3</sub>-i-* 'drink'>

•VAR Pres. Aeol. and Dor. (Call. *Cer.* 95) πώνω, fut. πίομαι, aor. ἔπιον, πειῖν (all Hom.; later πείν), ipv. πίθι (com. et al.), Aeol. πῶθι, pass. ἐπόθην with fut. ποθήσομαι, perf. act. πέπωκα (all Att.), med. πέπομαι (Od.); also causat. πιπίσκω, fut. πίσω, aor. πίσαι, πισθῆναι, also with προ-, ἐν-, συν- et al. 'to give to drink, water' (Pi., Hp., Nic.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ἐκ-, προ-, ὑπο-, ἐν-.

•DER A. From the zero grade πο-, mostly with suffix -τ-: 1. ποτόν [n.] 'beverage' (Il.), ποτός 'drinkable' (trag., Th.), ἔμποτος 'id.' (Aret.), πότος [m.] 'drinking, beverage' (Att., Theoc.); from this πότ-ιμος 'drinkable, fresh, pleasant' (IA), -ικός 'inclined towards drinking, etc.' (Alc. com., Plu.), most with συμ- 'belonging to the bacchanalia, pot companion' (Att.), see on ▶συμπότης, -σιον; ποτ-ίζω, Dor. -ίσδω 'to make drink, drench' (IA, Theoc.), also with προ- et al., with -ισμός, -ισμα, -ιστές, -ιστήριον, -ιστρίς, -ίστρα.

2. ποτή [f.] 'drink, draught' (pap.), gen. and acc. -ῆτος, -ῆτα (Hom.), metrically enlarged, originally at verse end (Schwyzer: 529), not haplological from \*ποτο-τι-τος, -τι-τα (as per Fraenkel *Gnomon* 21 (1949): 40 et al.); πότ-ιμα [n.] 'medical drink' (medic.), on the enlargement see Chantraine 1933: 178. 3. πόσις [f.] (also with προ-, κατα- etc. in different senses) 'drinking, drink, bacchanalia' (Il.), πόσιμος 'drinkable' (pap. IV<sup>p</sup>, Ps.-Callisth.), cf. πότιμος above; on ▶πόμα see s.v. 4. ποτήρ [m.] 'drinking cup' (E.), -ήριον [n.] 'id.' (Aeol., IA); πότης [m.] 'drinker' (only in πότης λύχνος Ar. *Nu.* 57), fem. πότις (com.); did both arise by decomposition from frequent compounds like συμπότης (Pi.), οἰνοπότης, -τις (Anacr., etc.), as supposed

by Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 12? Superl. ποτίστατος (Ar. et al.); to this derivatives like συμπόσιον 'bacchanalia' (Pi., Alc.), καταπόσιον 'pill' (medic.), καταπότης 'throat' (H., Suid.); οἰνοποτ-άζω 'to drink wine' (Hom.). 5. καταπό-θρα [f.] 'region of the throat' (Paul. Aeg.).

B. From the full grade: πῶμα [n.] 'draught, drink, beverage' (Att.), ἔκπω-μα [n.] 'drinking ware' (IA), beside πόμα (also πρό-, κατά-, ἐκ-) [n.] 'id.' (Pi., Ion. Hell.); ἔκπωτις = ἄμπωτις (Cat. *Cod. Astr.*); εὐπωνος ὄμβρος· εὐποτος 'easy to drink' (H.), γακον-πώνης· ἡδυπότης 'fond of drinking' (H.).

C. From the zero grade πῖ-: 1. πίστρα [f.], πίστρα [n.pl.] 'drinks' (E. *Cyc.*, Str.), also πισμός, πιστήρ, πιστήριον (H.); the -σ- is analogical, like in 2. πιστός 'drinkable, fluid' (A.), after χριστός acc. to Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 14 (1957): 79, and in πιστικός 'id.' (Ev. *Marc.*, Ev. *Io.*); 3. Boeot. πιτεύω [v.] 'to drench, give water' with ἀ-πίτευτος 'unwatered' (Thespiae III<sup>a</sup>), from a noun \*πίτ(ο)-; cf. below. Cf. Benveniste *BSL* 51 (1955): 29f. with litt.

•ETYM The *n*-presents πίνω and πώνω have no counterparts in other IE languages, and therefore seem to be innovations within Greek. An archaic formation is the reduplicated present \**pi-ph<sub>3</sub>-eti*; cf. Skt. *pibāti*, Lat. *bibō*, OIr. *ibid* (with the change of initial \**b-* to \**p-* or medial \**-ph<sub>3</sub>-* to \**-b-*), but it is absent from Greek. The root also had an aorist; cf. Skt. 1sg. *ā-pā-m* < \**h<sub>1</sub>e-peh<sub>3</sub>-m*, and especially the imperative πῶ-θι (beside πῖ-θι; see below) = Skt. *pā-hí* < \**peh<sub>3</sub>-d<sup>hi</sup>*. This aorist may have served as a basis for the *n*-present πώνω. The perf. act. πέ-πω-κα corresponds to Skt. *pa-páu* < \**pe-poh<sub>3</sub>-*, but may also have been created within Greek on the basis of πώνω (if not the other way around).

In addition, the widespread variation between \**p(e)h<sub>3</sub>-* and \**p(e)h<sub>3</sub>i-* presupposes the existence of an old *i*-present \**ph<sub>3</sub>-(e)i-*; cf. OCS *piti* < \**ph<sub>3</sub>-i-*, Skt. *pītá-* 'drunk' < \**ph<sub>3</sub>i-to-*, and further the Skt. causative *pāyāyati* < \**poh<sub>3</sub>i-éie/o-*. In Greek, this secondary root gave rise to the *n*-present πίνω (< \**ph<sub>3</sub>i-n-(i)e/o-*), the factitive ἔ-πι-σα 'I gave to drink' (modeled after ἔ-στιν-ν : ἔ-στιν-σα, ἔ-φυν : ἔ-φυν-σα, etc.) and the reduplicated present πι-πί-σκω, while the primary \**p(e)h<sub>3</sub>-* is still found in πώνω and in nominal formations such as ποτός 'drinkable', πῶμα 'drink', etc. (cf. Skt. *pā-tár* 'drinker' < \**peh<sub>3</sub>-ter-*, *pā-na-* [n.] 'drink' < \**peh<sub>3</sub>-no-*, Lat. *pōculum* 'cup' < \**peh<sub>3</sub>-tlo-*, etc.). It is mostly assumed that Hitt. *pāš-i* / *paš-* 'to swallow' derives from \**poh<sub>3</sub>-s-ei* [3sg.]; see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. See ▶ἄμπωτις and ▶πίνον.

πιπαλῖς [f.] · ἡ παρά τισι χαλκίς, παρ' ἐνίοις δὲ σαῦρα 'a migratory fish, horse-mackerel' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

πιπ(π)ίζω [v.] 'to beep' (Ar. *Av.* 306). <ONOM>

•ETYM An onomatopoeia, like MoE *beep*. See ▶πιπώ.

πιπράσκομαι, -ω ⇒πέρνιμι.

πίπτω [v.] 'to fall (off), drop down, fall out' (Il.). <IE \**petH-* 'fly, fall'>

•VAR Fut. πεσέομαι (epic Ion.), -οῦμαι (Att.), aor. πετεῖν, ἔπετον (Dor. Aeol.), πεσεῖν, ἔπεσον (IA), perf. ptc. acc. πεπτ-εῶτ', -εῶτας (epic), nom. -ήως (Ion.), which may also be from πτήσω, πεπτ-ώς (trag.); ind. πέπτωκα, ptc. -ωκώς (Att.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. εἰσ-, ἐκ-, ἐμ-, ἐπι-, κατα-, μετα-, περι-, προ-, συμ-, ὑπο-.

•DER 1. πότ-μος [m.] 'fate, destiny, (fate of) death' (Il., epic poet.). 2. πῶ-μα [n.], often prefixed (σύμ-, etc.) in different senses, 'fall, which has fallen, corpse' (Att. A., Hell.), whence diminutive -μάτιον (inscr. Asia Minor), -ματίς [f.] 'tumbling cup' (Mosch. *apud* Ath.), -ματικός 'inclined towards falling, etc.' (Hell.), -ματίζω 'to bring down' (Hell.) with -ματισμός [m.] 'falling sickness' (Ptol.). 3. πῶ-σις (σύμ-, etc.) [f.] 'fall' (Hp., Att.), i.a. 'throw of the die', whence as a grammatical term '(in)flexional form, case form' (Arist.), with -σιμος 'brought down' (A.), perhaps after ἀλώσιμος; -τικός (μετα-, etc.) 'inflectable' (gramm.). 4. πέσ-ος [n.] 'corpse' (E. [lyr.]), -ημα [n.] 'fall, which has fallen down, corpse' (trag.), see Chantraine 1933: 184; -ωμα [n.] 'plunge' (vase inscr.), after πῶμα. 5. -πετής i.a. in περι-πετής 'falling down, blundering into something', προ-πετής 'ready, rash', with περι-, προ-πέτ-εια [f.] (IA); also in compounds like εὐ-πετής 'turning out well, convenient, fortunate', with -εια [f.] (IA); ► δι-πετής s.v. 6. -πτώς in ἀ-πτώς, -ῶτος 'not falling' (Pi., Pl.); also -πτῆς in ἀπτῆς (inscr. Olympia)? On ► ποταμός, see s.v.

•ETYM The derivational history of the different formations poses many problems. The formation πίπτω represents PIE \**pi-pt-e/o-* or \**pi-ptḥ-e/o-* (latter form in LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**peth<sub>1</sub>-*), but the origin of the vowel length (noted by Hdn. Gr. 2, 377) is unclear. Influence from ῥίπτω is usually assumed. The Schwebeablaut of πετ- with the roots πτω-, πτη- in πέ-πτω-κα, πῶ-μα, -σις, πε-πτη-ώς (\**peth<sub>1</sub>-* : \**pte/oh<sub>1</sub>-*?) is problematic, but does not have to be old; it may be a secondary innovation within Greek. The same is probably true for the *n*-present πίτ-νω (also -νῶ), which has an anaptyctic ι, like other *n*-presents (e.g. ► πίτνημι). The -σ- in the IA aorist and future is unexpected, and its origin is unclear.

The whole system seems to be a specific Greek development of the old IE verb also found in πέτομαι 'to fly', Skt. *pātati* 'to fly, fall'. Further details s.v. ► πέτομαι; cf. also ► πτήσω and ► πτύλος (the latter hardly belongs here).

πίπῳ, -οῦς [f.] 'woodpecker, *Picus maior* and *minor*' (Arist. [v.ll. πίπος, πίπρα, etc.], Lyc.). ◀PG?▶

•ETYM Formation like ἀηδῶ, τυτῶ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 115f.), probably onomatopoeic like ► πιπίζω, Skt. *pīppakā* [f.] name of a bird. A similar bird name πίππος or πίπος is supposed by Ath. 9, 368f. for ἵππους. The name may well be Pre-Greek; cf. ► πίφιγξ.

πισάκιον [n.] 'περιστόμιον 'mouth of a vessel' (H.). ◀?▶

•ETYM See Schmidt's edition of Hesychius.

πισγίς, -ίδος [f.] ~ = πύξις 'box, of box-wood' (IG 11(2), 287: B 50; 54 [Delos III<sup>a</sup>]). ◀?▶

•ETYM The word is phonetically incompatible with πύξις within the Indo-European framework. The variation of \**pisg-* with \**puks-* (\**pugs-*?) could point to a Pre-Greek substrate word.

πίσα [n.pl.] 'humid prairies' (Il.). ◀?▶

•DER πισεύς 'inhabitant of low terrains' (Theocr. 25, 201).

•ETYM Has been compared with Steph. Byz. Πίσα· πόλις καὶ κρήνη τῆς Ὀλυμπίας. Chadwick *Minos* 9 (1968): 64 reconstructs \*Πίσα on the basis of Mycenaean facts.

πίσος [m.] 'pea, *Pisum arvense*' (com., Thphr.). ◀LW?▶

•VAR Also -ον [n.].

•DER πίσινος 'made out of peas' (Ar.).

•ETYM LW from an unknown source. Lat. *pisum* is identical, probably as a loan from Greek (cf. WH s.v.).

πίσος [n.] 'meadows, pastures' (Y 9 = ζ 124, Call. *Fr.* anon. 57, A. R. 1, 1266). ◀PG?▶

•VAR Only plur. ► πίσα.

•ETYM No certain etymology. Traditionally analyzed as \*πῖδ-σος, related to ► πίδαξ, ► πιδύω, etc.; this is rejected by Fur.: 260<sup>48</sup> and 254<sup>27</sup>, who takes the alternation δ/σ to point to Pre-Greek origin.

πίσσα [f.] 'pitch' (Il.). ◀IE? \**pik-* 'pitch, resin'▶

•VAR Att. πίττα.

•COMP E.g. πισσο-, πιττο-κοπέω 'to besmear, depilate with pitch' (Att. inscr., com., Thphr.), κηρό-πισσος [f.] 'mix of wax and pitch' (Hp.).

•DER 1. Diminutive πισσάριον [n.] (medic.); 2. Several adj. (Att. forms are not separately indicated): πισσ-ηρός (Hp.), -ήρης (A.), -ινος (Att.), -ήεις (Nic.) 'pitchy'; -ώδης 'pitch-like' (Arist., Thphr.); -ίτης (οἶνος) 'tasting like pitch' (Str.); 3. Verbs πισσ-όω, πιττ-όω, -όομαι 'to besmear, depilate (oneself) with pitch' (since IV<sup>a</sup>), whence -ωσις, -ωτής, -ωτός (Hell.); also -ίζω [v.] 'to taste like pitch' (sch.); \**-άω* in πίσσασις [f.] 'a pitching over' (Epid. IV<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Old designation of pitch and resin, an inherited word also retained in Lat. and in Slav. The oldest form is Lat. *pix*, *pic-is* [f.] < IE \**pik-*; thence, Greek derived πίσσα with a suffix ια, like in νήσσα, μυῖα, etc. Slavic shows a suffix -l-, e.g. CS *prchlъ*, OCS *prchlъ* [m.]. As a loan, the word has spread further: from Lat. *pix* to Germanic, e.g. OHG *peh*, from Gm. to Lith. *pikis*, Ru. *pek*, etc. (Pok. 794). Another option is to connect ► πτύς.

πιστάκη [f.] 'pistachio tree' (Alciph.). ◀LW Iran.▶

•DER πιστάκιον (also βιστ-, ψιττ-, φιττ-) [n.] 'pistachio' (Nic., Posidon., Dsc.).

•ETYM Foreign word of Oriental origin; cf. MoP *pista* 'pistachio (nut)'. On the suffix -(α)κ-, see Chantraine 1933: 376.

πίστις, πιστός ⇒ πειθομαι.

πίσυγγος [m.] 'shoemaker' (Sapph., Alex. Aet., Herod., com. *apud* Poll.). ◀PG(S)▶

•VAR Also -σος-. See below on πεσσ-/ττ-.

•DER -ύγγιον [n.] 'shoemaking' (com. *apud* Poll., Hdn. Gr.). Besides πέσσυμπτον-σκυτεῖον 'shoemaker's workshop' and πεσσόπτῃ-σκυτεύ<τ>ρια 'female shoemaker' (H.). Cf. πεττύκια [n. pl.] 'small pieces of leather' (Moer.).

•ETYM A Pre-Greek word (Fur.: 357), as revealed by the suffix -υγγ-.

πίσυνος ⇒ πείθομαι.

πίσυρες ⇒ τέσσαρες.

πιτεύω 'to drench, give water'. ⇒ πίνω.

πιττάκιον [n.] 'writing table, leaflet, note, letter, label, etc.', also 'list of members, society' (Dinol., Plb., Hell., pap. and inscr.). <LW Thrac.??>

•COMP πιττακι-άρχης [m.] 'chairman of the society'.

•DER Diminutive -ίδιον [n.] and -ίζω 'to label' (pap.).

•ETYM Origin unknown; Friedmann 1937: 51ff. assumes that the word came from Thracia via Lesbos (cf. Πίττακος). Both πίσσα (Bq) and πεττύκια (s.v.) are unrelated. Borrowed as Lat. *pittacium*.

πίτυλος [m.] 'stroke of an oar', metaph. 'rhythmical, heavy beat, attack, etc.' (trag.). <?>

•DER πιτυλεύω [v.] 'to make a stroke with an oar', also metaph. (Ar. V. 678, *Com. Adesp.* 3 D.), -ίζω 'id.' (Gal.).

•ETYM No etymology. The connection with πίπτω, πέτομαι (favored by DELG) does not convince. Cf. on ►πίτυρα.

πίτυρα [n.pl.] 'husks of corn, bran', also metaph. = 'bran-like rash, sediment' (Hp., D., Thphr.). <PG? (S, V)>

•VAR Rarely -ον [sg.].

•DER πιτύρ-ίς (also -ίς) [f.] 'bran-colored olive' (Call.), -ίας [m.] 'bread baked of bran' (Gal., Poll.), -ίτης (ἄρτος) 'id.' (Philem. gloss. *apud* Ath., Gal.), -ώδης 'bran-like' (Hp., Thphr.), -όομαι [v.] 'to suffer from pituriasis' (Hp.), -ίζω [v.] 'to have bran on oneself' (pap.), with -ισμα [n.] 'scab' (Hdn. Gr.); -ίας [f.] 'bran, scab' (medic.), from \*-ιάω, cf. ψωρίασις etc. On the PN Πιτυρεύς see Boßhardt 1942: 119.

•ETYM Formation like λέπυρον, but without a certain explanation. Dissimilation from \*πύτυρον has been assumed (cf. Schwyzer: 258, Specht KZ 61 (1934): 277 ff.), with a root etymology connecting Lat. *putus* 'clean', *putāre* 'to purify, etc.', Skt. *pānate* 'to purify', of grain and other things, *pāvana-* [n.] 'winnow, sieve'; this is highly unlikely. In favor of connection with πίτυλος, Thumb KZ 36 (1900): 180 adduced semantic parallels. Note the synonymous glosses πήτεια· πίτυρα, πητῖται· πιτύρι<v>οι ἄρτοι (H.), which are connected with πῆν, ►πάσσω. Because of its -ι-, πίτυρα cannot be combined with these, unless we assume substrate origin. The same is suggested by the suffix -ῦρ- (Fur.: 262). Cf. ►πύον.

πίτυς, -υος [f.] 'pine, fir, spruce' (Hom., Hdt., Thphr.). <PG?>

•VAR Epic dat.pl. -υσσιν.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. πιτυο-κάμπη [f.] 'pine caterpillar' (Dsc.), χαμαί-πιτυς [f.] plant name (Nic., Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 61f., 109.

•DER Diminutive πιτύδιον [n.] (Plin., Theognost.), πιτυ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'pine seed' (Dsc.), -ινος 'made of pinewood' (Hp. Thphr.), -ώδης 'rich in pines' (Alcm., Str.); -ουσα (v.l. -οῦσα) [f.] 'kind of milkweed, Euphorbia' (Dsc.), on the formation see Strömberg 1940: 43; -οῦσαι [f.pl.] name of a group of islands on the Spanish coast;

-οῦς, -οῦντος [m.] name of a town on the Black Sea (Str.), -εια [f.] town in Mysia (B 829), -ασσος [f.] town in Pisidia (Str.); cf. von Blumenthal ZONF 13 (1937): 155 and 158.

•ETYM πίτυς resembles Lat. *pīnus* [f.] 'fir, pine' and Alb. *pishë* 'fir, pine', both with an unclear basis and, on the other hand, Skt. *pītudāru-*, *pūtūdru-* [m.] tree name (extensive treatment in Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 137f.). Benveniste *BSL* 51 (1955): 29ff. argued against the procedure of collecting all kinds of phonetically similar forms that should be kept separate semantically (e.g. ►πίων, ►πίνω, ►πίτυς, etc.). Fur.: 260 compares the toponyms Πισύη = Πιτύη (St. Byz.) and concludes that the word is Pre-Greek; not very certain.

πιφαύσκω ⇒ φάος.

πίφιγξ [?] name of an unknown bird (Arist., Ant. Lib., *EM*), acc. to H. = κορυδαλλός 'lark'; also πιφαλλίς (after κορυ-δαλλίς?) (H.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Also -φιξ, -φηξ.

•ETYM Probably an onomatopoeia, and as such comparable to ►πιπ(π)ίζω, ►πιπώ; the suffixation is reminiscent of instances such as σάλλιγξ, πέριδιξ, etc., and the morphological variation between -ιξ and -ιγξ strongly points to Pre-Greek origin. For further details, cf. Chantraine 1933: 397ff., 382 and Thompson 1895 s.v. ►πιφαλλίς.

πίφρημι [v.] 'to let in, bring in, out, or through', intr. 'to intrude, come in, etc.' (com., E., also Th., D., Arist., Plb.). <GR>

•VAR Only inf. ἐσ-πιφράναι (Arist.), beside -φρέω in εἰς-ἐφρουν (D.), -εφρούμην (E.). Otherwise only future and aorist forms, always with prefix, especially εἰσ- (ἐπ-εἰσ-, etc.) and ἐκ-, but also δια- and ἀπο-: εἰσ-, ἐκ-, δια-φρήσω; ἀπο-, εἰσ-, ἐξ-ἐφρησα, ἐκ-φρησθῆναι; also (ἐπ-)εἰσ-, ἐξ-ἐφρηκα with subj. ἐπ-εσ-φρῶ, ptc. ἐπ-εἰσ-φρείς, inf. εἰσ-φρῆναι (for -φρεῖναι? H.), ipv. ἔκ-φρες (Ar. V. 162 with Buttmann; codd. ἔκφερε); to this ipf. ἐξ-εφρίομεν (Ar. V. 125), for -εφρίεμεν?

•ETYM The verb primarily occurs in the future and aorist, presentic formations being scant and secondary. Thus, εἰσ-ἐφρουν, -εφρούμην is modeled after the type ἐφίλουν, the hapax ἐσ-πιφράναι after ἰσάναι, πι(μ)πλάναι, etc. This infinitive, then, can hardly be based on a conjectured 1pl. \*πί-φρα-μεν corresponding to Skt. *bibhgmás* (pace e.g. Pok. 128). Most probably, the verb is to be analyzed as from \*προ-ῖνμι, the aspiration being taken on by the initial π after the loss of ο (cf. on ►φροῦρος). This process probably took place in the aorist forms: -φρήσω, -ἐ-φρηκα continuing -πρ(ο)-ῖσσω, -πρ(ο)-ῖκα. Hence, the reduplicated present developed.

πίων •VAR Fem. πείρα. ⇒ πῖαρ.

πλάγγος [m.] name of a kind of eagle (Arist.; v.l. πλάνος), *plancus* (Plin.). <PG?>

•ETYM Frisk assumes derivation from πλάζομαι 'to wander about', which is not evident. The word may well be Pre-Greek (Fur.: 122).

πλαγγών [f.] 'wax figure, wax doll' (Call. *Cer.* 91). <?>

•DER πλαγγόνιον [n.] 'kind of ointment' (Polem. Hist. *apud* Ath. 15, 690e, Sosib., Poll.).

•ETYM Etymology unknown. According to Polem., πλαγγόνιον was named after the discoverer Πλαγγών; Frisk wonders whether the noun πλαγγών has the same origin, but on the whole, the semantic gap between 'wax figure' and 'salve' is hardly big enough to justify etymological separation of the two words.

πλάγιος [adj.] 'oblique, athwart, sloping; crooked', τὰ πλάγια 'the sides, flanks' (Pi., IA). The sense 'horizontal', misleadingly given as the first mg. by Frisk, must derive from 'transverse'. <PG?>

•COMP E.g. πλαγιό-καυλος 'with side stalks' (Thphr.), see Strömberg 1937: 108f., παρα-πλάγιος 'sideways, oblique' (Thphr.).

•DER πλαγι-άζω [v.] 'to turn amiss, sideward; to lead astray' (LXX, Ph., Plu.) with -ασμός [m.] 'lateral direction, aberrance' (Epicur.); -όω 'id.' (X.), with -ωσις (H.) as an explanation of λόξωσις; further also πλάγος [n.] 'side' (Tab. Heracl.).

•ETYM Ostensibly from QIE \**plg-iHo-*, but the non-laryngeal root of this reconstruction is incompatible with supposed cognates like ►πέλαγος 'sea' < \**pelh<sub>2</sub>g-o-* (should this word be related). In view of Gm. correspondences such as OHG *flah* 'flat', OS *flaka* [f.] 'sole of the foot' (further cf. ON *flóki* [m.], OE *flōc* [n.] 'flounder'), presupposing \**plog-* or \**plag-*, it may be proposed to reconstruct πλάγιος as \**plag-*. Since PIE did not have a phoneme \**a*, the word may be from a European substrate. The variant ►πλάξ, -ακός [f.], too, can be understood from this perspective. However, unlike for ►πλάξ, the semantic side of this connection is not evident.

As Van Beek suggests (p.c.), a semantically better connection would be that with ►πλάζω 'to lead astray' and perhaps ►ἀμπλακίσκω 'id.', in which case the group may be from Pre-Greek \*(*a*)<sup>m</sup>*pla*<sup>n</sup>*k-*. Cf. on ►πλήσσω and ►πλάζω.

πλαδαρός [adj.] 'damp, watery, spongy, soft, flaccid, tasteless' (Hp., A. R., Dsc.). <PG?>

•DER πλαδαρ-ότης [f.] 'flaccidity' (Epicur.), -όμαι [v.] 'to become soft' (Aq.), -ωσις [f.] (medic.), -ωμα [n.] (Suid.). Further πλαδάω [v.] 'to be watery, soft' (Hp., Arist., Ph.) with -ησις [f.] (Sor.); also -ωσις [f.] (Aët.), as if from \*-όω; πλάδος [m.] 'dampness, sponginess' with -ώδης (Hp.), -όεις (sch.); πλάδι [f.] 'id.' (Emp.), perhaps a back-formation from πλαδάω.

•ETYM Unclear word, found especially in medical literature; an apparent derivational pattern emerges from πλαδ-αρός : -άω : -ος and the semantically close rhyming words κλαδ-αρός : -άω : -ος, μαδ-αρός : -άω : -ος; also ρυτ-αρός : -άω : -ος (see Chantraine 1933: 227). Clearly, several words that were originally more dissimilar influenced each other formally, semantically, or both. As a result, it is risky to reconstruct the original form of πλαδ-αρός. Lith. *peldėti* 'to swim' (cf. Fraenkel 1955: 565) < IE \**peld-* comes into consideration, but hardly Lith. *pilti* 'to pour' < \**plh<sub>2</sub>-*, ►πλέω, or even ►πολύς. Alternatively, we may consider a Pre-Greek origin for the word.

πλαδδιάω [v.] 'to babble' vel sim. (Lacon.); cf. πλαδ<δ>ιῆ ματαῖζει, σοβαρεύεται 'to speak folly, act pompous' (H.). <?>

•VAR Only inf. πλαδδιῆν and ipv. πλαδδίη (Ar. *Lys.* 171 and 990).

•ETYM Perhaps modeled after verbs in -ιάω designating diseases (Schwyzer: 732), but at any rate onomatopoeic; cf. MLG *pladderen* 'to babble'.

πλάζω, -ομαι [v.] 'to make devious, repel, dissuade from the right path, bewilder', med.pass. 'to become devious, go astray, wander about' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Aor. πλάγξαι, pass. πλαγχθῆναι, fut. πλάγξομαι.

•COMP Also with παρα-, απο-, etc.

•DER πλαγκτός 'devious, mad, bewildered' (φ 363, epic poet.), Πλαγκταί [f.pl.] (scil. πέτραι) (μ 61, etc.), meaning not quite clear; πλαγκτο-σύνη [f.] 'wandering about' (ο 343, Nonn.); πλαγκ-τύς, -ύος [f.] 'id.' (Call.); -τήρ [m.] epithet of Dionysus (AP), 'confuser' or 'wanderer?', -τεῖρα ἀτραπιτός 'zodiac' (*Hymn. Is.*). Appurtenance of ►πλάγγος is uncertain.

•ETYM Usually connected as \**plang-ie/o-* with Lat. *plangō* 'to hit', Go. *faiþlokun* 'ἐκόπτοντο' (cf. Pok. 832-833) < IE \**pleh<sub>2</sub>g-*. The shortness of the α is unexpected, however, as \**plh<sub>2</sub>g-* should have given \*\*πληγ-; in principle, it is conceivable that it spread from forms with a nasal infix by Osthoff's law, i.e. \**plāγγ-* > \**plāγγ-*. Frisk points at the formal agreement between πλάγξαι, πλαγκτός, and Lat. *plānxi*, *plānctus*.

However, the semantics of the Latin verb are different, 'to beat (the breast)' > 'to bewail', and it is probably rather related to ►πλήσσω. It is not evident at all that the meaning 'to drive off course' derives from 'to beat'; rather, πλήσσω and πλάζω influenced each other both semantically and formally. Van Beek (p.c.) suggests that πλάζω is related to ἀμπλακίσκω as a Pre-Greek word \*(*a*)<sup>m</sup>*pla*<sup>n</sup>*k-*, to which πλάγιος may perhaps also be connected.

πλαθάνον [n.] 'cake mold or form' (Theoc., Nic.). <PG>

•COMP Synthetic compounds like κορο-πλάθος [m.] 'one who forms feminine figures, doll modeller' (Pl., Isoc.).

•DER πλαθανίτας ἄμυλος 'cake baked in a mold' (Philox. 3, 17; not quite certain); πλαθά [f.] 'image, εἰκών' (Dor. in Plu.).

•ETYM See ►πλάσσω.

πλάθω 'to approach' (Dor.).

•ETYM See ►πέλας.

πλάσιον [n.] 'long quadrangle, rectangle, rectangular frame' (Att.). <LW Lyd>

•DER πλασιόομαι [v.] 'to be put into a πλάσιον' (Delos).

•ETYM No relation with the synonymous πλιν-θιον (pace Frisk), but a direct loan from Lyd. *blaso* /pl<sup>h</sup>as'o/ 'socle'. This word is related to Hitt. *palzaḥ(h)a-*, *palzašha-* 'pedestal, a flat base for statues', which Kloekhorst 2008: 623 reconstructs as \**plh<sub>2</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>o-* (cf. Gr. πλατύς). Fur.: 260 also appropriately adduces πλάτας 'basis of a tomb' (inscr. Patara), which is very likely to be of Anatolian origin.

πλανάομαι, -άω [v.] 'to go astray, wander, go about, sway'; 'to lead astray, lead around, deceive' (Ψ 321). <?>

•VAR Fut. πλανήσομαι, -ηθήσομαι, aor. -ηθῆναι, perf. πεπλάνημαι.

•COMP Also with περι-, απο-, etc.

•DER 1. πλάνημα [n.] 'straying, going astray' (A., S.), -ησις [f.] 'leading astray, suggesting' (Th.), απο- 'wandering' (Pl., LXX); a very common back-formation is 2. πλάνη [f.] 'extravagating, (pointless) wandering about, odyssey, mistake' (IA); 3. πλάνης, -ητος [m.] 'who wanders around, wanderer', also 'wandering star, planet' (Scherer 1953: 40f.), medic. 'unstable temperature', [adj.] 'wandering' (IA); thence enlarged πλαν-ήτης, Dor. -άτας [m.] 'id.' (trag., etc.), -ήτις [f.] (Lyc.) with -ητικός 'infiltrating, misleading' (Str., sch.), -ητεύω [v.] 'to wander about' (AB).

From πλανάω probably also the back-formation 4. πλάνος [m.] = πλάνη, also 'tramp, vagabond, deceiver', as an adjective 'errant, misleading' (trag., Pl.), with πλαν-ώδης 'inconstant, irregular, sliding away' (medic.), -ιος 'wandering about' (AP); also ἀπόπλαν-ος, -ίας; περιπλάν-ιος, -ίη (AP et al.).

5. Opaque formation πλαν-ύττω 'to wander about' (Ar. Av. 3); 6. As a second member very often -πλανής and -πλανος, -πλάνος, e.g. ἀ-πλανής (ἀστήρ) 'fixed star' (Pl., Arist.), ἀλί-πλανος 'wandering the sea' (Opp.), λαο-πλάνος 'leading the people astray' (J.).

•ETYM Uncertain etymology. Perhaps a thematization of a nasal present \**pl-néh₂-ti*, \**pl-nh₂-énti* > \*\*πλανᾶσι, \*\*πλανάσι, corresponding to the IE root \**pleh₂-* 'broad, flat' (cf. Lat. *plānus*), but the semantics are highly problematic. Borrowed as Lat. *planus* [m.] 'tramp', *planētae* [f.pl.] 'planets, etc.', *implanō*, -āre 'to seduce' (= πλανάω). The meaning strongly recalls ►πλάζω, but it is hard to think of a formal connection.

**πλάξ, -ακός** [f.] 'plane, plain, surface of a sea, a mountain' (Pi., trag.), 'flat stone, board, table' (Hell.). <?>

•COMP As a second member probably in ►δίπλαξ (see s.v. and Fraenkel 1910: 374), and τρί-πλαξ.

•DER 1. Diminutive πλακ-ίον [n.] (Troezen IV\*), -ίς κλινίδιον 'small couch' (H.). 2. -άς [f.] 'floor of a wine cellar' (pap. II<sup>p</sup>). 3. -ίτας ἄρτος 'flat cake' (Sophr.), -ίτις [f.] 'kind of calamine or alum' (Gal.). 4. Adjective -ερός 'flat' (Theoc.), -όεις 'id.' (D. P.), -ινος 'made of marble slabs' (inscr.), -ώδης 'overdrawn with panes, a crust' (Arist.). 5. πλακ-οῦς, -οῦντος (from -όεις) [m.] '(flat) cake' (com., etc.), with -οῦντ-ιον, -ικός, -ινος, -ᾶς, etc. 6. πλακ-όω [v.] 'to cover with slabs of marble' (Syria), with -ωσις [f.] (Asia Minor), -ωτή [f.] 'kind of calamine' (Dsc.). 7. TN: Πλάκος [m.] part of Mount Ida (Il.), with ὑποπλάκ-ιος (Z 397), -ος (Str.); Πλακίη [f.] name of a Pelasgian colony on the Propontis (Hdt.), with πλακιανόν [n.] a kind of eyesalve (Aët.).

•ETYM Apparently from a root noun \**plk-s*; cf. (with different vocalism) Latv. *plakt* 'to become flat', *plaka* [f.] 'low lying place, plain', ON *flaga* [f.] 'thin layer, flatness' < \**plok-eh₂-*; possibly directly related to a Germanic root noun with lengthened grade: ON *fló*, pl. *flær* [f.] 'layer, stratum' < \**plōk-s*, \**plōk-es*; perhaps also OHG *fluoh*, MoHG *Flüche*, Swi. *Fluh* [f.] 'rockwall'. From πλακοῦς, -οῦντος came Lat. *placenta* 'a kind of flat cake' (phonetic details unclear). Beside \**plk-*, we also find \**plg-* in ►πλάγιος, \**pld<sup>h</sup>-* in ►πλάσσω, and \**plh₂-* in ►παλάμη. It is uncertain whether any of these is related. The connection with ►πέλαγος is doubtful.

-πλάσιος •VAR in δι-, τρι-, πολλα-πλάσιος etc., late Att. Hell. -πλασίων. →διπλάσιος.

**πλάσσω** [v.] 'to knead, form, mold, shape (a soft mass); to think up, imagine, pretend' (Hes.). <PG?>

•VAR Att. -ττω, fut. πλάσω, aor. πλάσ(σ)αι (Hes.), pass. πλασθῆναι, perf. πέπλασμαι (IA), act. πέπλακα (Hell.).

•COMP Very often with prefix in different senses, e.g. κατα-πλάσσω 'to spread, besmear', ἐμ-πλάσσω 'to smear, stop up' (cf. below).

•DER Action nouns: 1. πλάσμα [n.] 'forming, formation, fiction' (IA) with -ματίας [m.] 'fictional', -ματώδης 'id.' (Arist.), -ματικός 'id.' (S. E.); ἐμ-, ἐπί-, κατά-πλασμα [n.] 'plaster' (medic.). 2. πλάσις (ἀνά-, κατά-, etc.) [f.] 'forming, formation, figuration' (Hp., Arist.). 3. ἀνα-πλασμός [m.] 'figuration' (Plu.), μετα-πλασμός [m.] 'transformation' (gramm.), etc. 4. κατα-πλαστής [f.] 'besmearing' (Hdt. 4, 175).

Agent and instrument nouns: 5. πλάστης [m.] 'former, molder, maker' (Pl.), often in synthetic compounds, e.g. κηρο-πλάστης [m.] 'modeller in wax' (Pl.), with -έω (Hp.), etc.; πλάσ-τις (Ael.), -τειρα (Orph., APl.), -τρια (Theol.Ar.). 6. πλάστρον [n.] 'earring' (Att. inscr., etc.), ἐμπλαστρον [n.], -τρος [f.] 'ointment' or 'plaster' (Dsc., Gal., pap.).

Adjectives: 7. πλαστός 'formed, shaped, thought up' (Hes.), ἐμπλασ-τον [n.], -τος [f.] 'ointment, plaster' (Hp.); πλαστή [f.] 'clay wall' (pap.) with περι-, συμ-πλαστεύω [v.] 'to surround, construct with π.', πλαστευτής [m.] 'builder of a π.' (pap.). 8. πλαστικός (προσ-, ἐν-, ἀνα-) 'suitable for forming, plastic' (Pl.).

Directly from the verbal root 9. πλάθ-ανον [n.] 'cake mold or form' (Theoc., Nic.), πλάθανίτας ἄμυλος 'cake baked in a mold' (Philox. 3, 17; not quite certain); πλαθά [f.] 'image, εἰκών' (Dor. in Plu.); synthetic compounds like κορο-πλάθος [m.] 'one who forms feminine figures, doll modeller' (Pl., Isoc.).

•ETYM From \*πλαθ-ιω < QIE \**pld<sup>h</sup>-ie/o-*. The stem \**pld<sup>h</sup>-* cannot be Indo-European, however, because roots with both plain stops and voiced aspirates were not allowed. It has been considered an inner-Greek innovation, comparable to formations such as πλῆ-θω, βρί-θω, etc. (Schwyzer: 703). However, since the verb shows no traces of a laryngeal, it cannot be (directly) related to the group of \**pelh₂-* 'broad', e.g. παλάμη, OHG *folma* 'palm of the hand' < \**pélh₂-m*, \**plh₂-m-ós*, \**plh₂-ém-m*, Lat. *plānus* 'flat' < \**plh₂-no-*, etc. (pace e.g. Pok. 805ff.). Perhaps, however, this root became conflated with that of Gr. πλατύς, Skt. *prthú-* 'flat' < \**plth₂-u-*. From ἐμπλαστρον was borrowed Lat. *emplastrum*, whence MoFr. *emplâtre*, etc.; also, MLat. *plastrum* 'plaster', MoFr. *plâtre*, OHG *pflastar*, etc.

The word may well be Pre-Greek, both due to the lack of etymology and in view of the anomalous root structure.

**πλάστιγξ, -ιγγος** [f.] 'scales' (Att.), also 'disk of the kottabos-standard' (Critias, Hermipp.), metaph. 'oyster shell' (Opp.), 'horse-collar', which hangs from the wood of the yoke, like the scales from the weigh-bridge (E. Rh. 303), also (plur.) 'surgical splints' (Hippiatr.). <PG(S)>

•VAR πλῆστιγγες [pl.] 'id.' (Hp. apud Gal. 19, 131).

•ETYM From a stem πλαστ- (the hapax πλήστιγ-γες points to a root variant \*πλᾶστ- with a long vowel, but the evidentiality of this form is limited) plus the suffix -ιγγ- (Chantraine 1933: 398ff., Schwyzler: 498). The etymological base of the word is not clear. Formally there is no reason to disconnect the word from ►πλάσσω 'to knead, mold' < \*pld<sup>h</sup>-ie/o-, but this linkage is not evident on the semantic side. The same holds true for the connection with IE \*plth<sub>2</sub>- as in πλατύς 'flat'. In view of the suffix -ιγγ-, it therefore seems better to assume a Pre-Greek origin (not in Furnée).

**πλαταγέω, -ῆσαι** [v.] 'to rattle, crash, clap (one's hands)' (Ψ 102 συμπλατάγησεν [v.l. -πατ-], Hell. poet.). <PG?>

•COMP Also with συν-, ὑπο-, etc.

•DER πλατάγ-ημα [n.] 'bang' (Theoc.). Also πλαταγ-ή [f.] 'rattle, steed' (Hellanic., Pherecyd., Arist., A. R.), -ών 'id.' (sch. Theoc.), -ώνιον [n.] 'broad petal of the poppy or anemone' (Theoc.), -ωνίσας ἀποληκυθίσας καὶ ψοφήσας 'having declaimed in a hollow voice, made a noise' (H.). Cf. πλατάσσω = -αγέω (Suid.).

•ETYM It has been suggested that the verb (onomatopoeia?) is a conflation of ►παταγέω and πλήσσω (Güntert 1914: 120f.), but this is questionable. The word may well be Pre-Greek (not in Fur.). See ►πλατυγίζω.

**πλάτανος** [f.] 'plane tree' (Ar., Pl., Thphr.). <PG?>

•VAR Lat. *platanista* [m.] name of a great dolphin in the Ganges (Plin.); cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. πλατανιστής.

•DER πλαταν-ών, -ώνος [m.] 'plane grove' (Dsc.), -ιον [n.] 'kind of apple, like the plane's fruit' (Diph. Siph.). Also early πλατάνιστος [f.] 'id.' (B 307 and 310, Hdt., Theoc.) with -ιστοῦς, -ούντος [m.] 'plane grove' (Thgn.), Lacon. -ιστάς (-ιστᾶς?), dat. -ιστᾶ 'id.' (Paus.), -ιστινός attribute of an apple (Gal.).

•ETYM The word has been derived from ►πλατύς (etc.), under the assumption that the tree was named after its broad leaves or flat patches of bark (Strömberg 1940: 39, Chantraine 1933: 199f.). This etymology must be rejected in view of the opaque derivation of the oldest attested form πλατάνιστος. Instead, we may assume that the name of this Asiatic and South-East European tree was borrowed from Pre-Greek, and only secondarily became associated with ►πλατύς.

**πλάταξ, -ακος** [m.] Alexandrian name of the fish κορακίνος, 'Sciaena nigra, brown meagre' (Ath. 7, 309a). <PG>

•DER πλατάκιον [n.] 'id.' (pap. II-III<sup>p</sup>).

•ETYM Frisk refers to Athenaeus's comment that the fish was named after its considerable size, i.e. "ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος", and therefore connects it to ►πλατύς. Since, however, -ακ- is one of the most common Pre-Greek suffixes, the word is probably Pre-Greek as well. Furthermore, there is πλατίστακος (-κός) [m.], according to Dorio *apud* Ath. 3, 118c the greatest kind of the fish called μύλλος; however, according to Parmeno ibd. 7: 308f., it is synonymous with σαπέρδης and κορακίνος; metaph. = τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον (H., Phot.).

**πλάτις, -ιδος** [f.] 'wife' (Ar., Lyc.). ⇒πέλας, πελάζω.

**πλατυγίζω** [v.] 'to slosh the water with one's wings; to splash', also metaphorically of idle noise (A., Eub.). <PG>

•ETYM Distortion of πλαταγέω (\*-γίζω) under the influence of πλατύς or otherwise περυγίζω.

**πλατύς 1** [adj.] 'wide, broad, flat, level' (Il.). <IE \*pleth<sub>2</sub>- 'broad'>

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. πλατύ-φυλλος 'broad-leaved' (Arist., Thphr.).

•DER πλατύτης [f.] 'width, breadth' (Hp., X.); πλατύνω [v.] 'to widen, make broad' (X., Arist.), also with δια-, ἐν- etc., with πλάτ-υσμα (-υμμα) [n.] 'dish, brick, etc.' (Herod., Hero, pap.), -υσμός [m.] 'broadening' (Arist., LXX). Also πλατεῖον [n.] 'board, table' (Plb.), after the instrument nouns in -εῖον; from πλατεῖα (χείρ, φωνή etc.): πλατειάζω [v.] 'to blow with the flat of the hand' (Pherecr.), 'to pronounce broadly' (Theoc.).

Several additional formations: πλάτος [n.] 'width, breadth, size' (Simon., Emp., Hdt., Ar.) with ἀ-πλατής 'without breadth' (Arist.); πλατ-ικός (v.l. -υκός) 'concerning the width, breadth, exhaustive, extensive' (Vett. Val., comm. Arist.); cf. γεν-ικός to γένος.

πλαταμών, -ῶνος [m.] 'flat stone, ledge of rock, flat beach, etc.' (h. Merc. 128, Hell.), with -αμώδης 'flat' (Arist.). πλάτη [f.] 'blade of an oar, oar', metonymic 'ship', also 'shoulder blade' (trag., Arist.), usually ὦμο-πλάτη (Hp.); πλάτης, Dor. -ᾱς [m.] 'pedestal of a gravestone' (inscr. Asia Minor, cf. γύης, πόρκης); πλάτιγξ· τῆς κώπης τὸ ἄκρον 'the end of a handle' (H.). TN Πλάταια (B 504 et al.), usually plur. -αῖ [f.] (IA) town in Boeotia, with -αῖς, -αῖεις, etc.; change of accent like in ►ἄγνια : -αῖ.

•ETYM Identical to Skt. *pr̥thú-*, Av. *pr̥θu-* 'wide, broad' < PIE \*plth<sub>2</sub>-u- (for πλάτος, cf. βάρος vs. ►βαρύς); πλαταμών corresponds to Skt. *prathi-mán-* [m.] 'extension, breadth' < \*pl(e)th<sub>2</sub>-mon-; notably, the TN Πλάταια matches Skt. *pr̥thivī-* [f.] 'earth', W Llydau 'Brittany' < \*plth<sub>2</sub>-u-ih<sub>2</sub>. Other relevant formations outside Greek are Arm. *lain*, OIr. *lethan*, MW *llydan* 'broad' < \*plth<sub>2</sub>-no-, and the verb Skt. *práthati* 'to extend' < \*pléth<sub>2</sub>-eti.

**πλατύς 2** [adj.] 'salty' (Hdt. 2, 108 [πόματα], Arist. *Mete.* 358f. [ὑδωρ, ὑδατα]). <GR>

•ETYM No doubt due to erroneous interpretation of πλατύς Ἑλλήσποντος (Hom.; cf. A. Pers. 875) the 'broad Hellespont' as the 'salty Hellespont', because the epithet 'broad' was perceived as inappropriate. In Hdt. 7, 35, the Hellespont is characterized as θολερός τε καὶ ἄλμυρός ποταμός 'muddy and salty river' (Heubeck *Glotta* 37 (1958): 258ff.).

**πλέθρον** [n.] measure of length of 100 feet, square measure of 10000 square feet (IA); later (Plu.) = Lat. *iugerum*; also 'race-track' (Syrac.). <PG>

•VAR πέλεθρον (Hom., also Delph. and Corc.).

•COMP As a second member in e.g. ἀ-πέλεθρος 'immeasurable' (Hom., Nonn.), δι-πλεθρος 'measuring two πλ.', -ον [n.] 'length or area of a πλ.' (Hell.). -ία [f.] 'id.' (Corc.).

•DER πλεθρ-ιαῖος 'measuring one πλ.' (X., Pl.). -ιον [n.] designation of part of the Gymnasia in Olympia (Paus., Luc.), -ίζω [v.] 'to measure, spread oneself over sth.' vel sim. (Thphr. *Char.* 23, 2), also ἐκ- (Gal.), with -ισμα = δρόμημα (H., Phot.).



•ETYM Etymology unclear, in spite of attempts to derive the word from πίμπλημι 'to fill' or πέλωμαι 'to turn'. On the variation πέλεθρον : πλέθρον, cf. Schwyzler: 259 and Szemerényi 1964: 214f., who takes πλέθρον as a Greek syncope of πέλεθρον. Fur.: 152 adduces βλέθρον (inscr. Thespieae, LSJ 1414), a form that further complicates the issue. In all likelihood, a foreign word (Hermann *IF* 34: 340).

**πλείων** [adj.] compar. 'more, longer, larger' (Hom.). <IE \*pleh<sub>1</sub>- 'full'>

•VAR Also πλέων, ntr. πλείον, πλέον (Il.), epic. Aeol. plur. also πλέες, Cret. πλίες, etc. (additional forms in Seiler 1950: 113, Schwyzler: 537<sup>6</sup>; cf. also below); superl. πλείστος (Il.) 'most, the longest, the greatest'.

•COMP As a first member in e.g. the compounds πλεον-εξ-ία [f.] 'greed, benefit', πλεον-εκτέω, with -έκτημα, -έκτης, -εκτικός (IA), from πλέον ἔχειν, cf. εὐεξία etc. (▶ ἔχω 1); πλειστό-μβροτος 'very rich in people' (Pi.).

•DER From πλε(ί)ων, πλέον: πλειότης [f.] 'plurality' (*Theol. Ar.*), πλειονότης [f.] 'the superior length of the chord' (Nicom. *Harm.*); πλεον-άκις 'more often' (IA), -αχός, -αχώς 'multiple, in multiple ways' (Arist.), -αχῆ 'in more respects' (Pl.); -άζω [v.] 'to have an abundance, be excessive, grow in number, increase' (IA), with -ασμός, -ασμα, -ασις (Arist., Hell.).

From πλείστος: πλειστ-άκις 'most often, very often' (IA), -αχόθεν 'from the most (or: very many) places' (Ar.), -ήρης 'the most (χρόνος), the longest' (A. *Eu.* 763), -ηρίζομαι [v.] 'to appoint someone as the highest authority', vel sim. (A. *Ch.* 1029), -ηριάζω [v.] 'to bid the highest price (in auctions), outbid' (Lys., Pl. *Com.*, *Them.*), with -ηριασμός: υπερθεματισμός 'overbidding' (H.).

•ETYM The comparative πλέων and superlative πλείστος are to be reconstructed as PGr. \*pleihōn, \*pleisto- from PIE \*pleh<sub>1</sub>-is-on-, \*pleh<sub>1</sub>-is-to-; cf. ON fleiri 'more', fleistr 'most', Av. fraēštām 'mostly' (also Skt. prāyah, Av. frāīyah- 'more, much, many' < \*pleh<sub>1</sub>-io-); πλείων is analogical to πλείστος (cf. also μείων).

The seemingly archaic forms πλέες, πλίες (see Schwyzler: 537<sup>6</sup>) are best taken as innovations from πλέον, plur. πλέα (see Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 1f.). Att. πλείν = πλέον and Arc. πλος (πλως?) 'more' is unclear; see Schwyzler: 537 and Leumann l.c. The sporadic attestations with η, e.g. πλῆον (Milete, etc.), Πλήστ-αρχος (Tegea) can hardly be interpreted as testimonies of an older situation (see Seiler 1950: 113).

From the same root as ▶ πολύς < \*polh<sub>1</sub>-u- and ▶ πίμπλημι < \*pi-pleh<sub>1</sub>-mi.

**πλείων, -ῶνος** [m.] used by hellenistic poets in the sense of 'year' (cf. H.: πλειών· ὁ ἐνιαυτός, ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντας τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς συμπληροῦσθαι 'year, from its getting full with all the fruits of the earth'); the meaning in Hes. is unclear, cf. Troxler 1964: 186f. (Hes. *Op.* 617, Call. *Jov.* 89, Lyc. 201, AP 6, 93, IG 9(1), 880: 16 verse inscr.). <GR>

•ETYM Most probably with an original meaning "full period", thence to be connected with πλέω, epic πλείος 'full'. The suffix -ών- is reminiscent of the formation αἰών (cf. Schwyzler: 488).

**πλέκω** [v.] 'to braid, knit, wind, twine' (Il.). <IE \*plek<sub>1</sub>- 'twine'>

•VAR pres.ptc. πλεγνύμενος (Opp.), aor. πλέξα (Il.), pass. πλεχθῆναι (Od.), πλακῆναι (IA), innovation πλεκῆναι (Tim. *Pers.*), fut. πλέξω, pass. πλεχθήσομαι,

πλακῆσομαι, perf. πέπλοχα (Hp., Att.), also πέπλεχα (Hp.), -εκα (Call.), med.-pass. πέπλεγμα (IA).

•COMP Often with prefix, especially περι-, ἐν(i)-, συν-.

•DER A. With e-grade: 1. πλεκτός (σύμ-, εὐ-, etc.) 'braided, knit' (Il.). 2. πλεκτή [f.] 'winding, knitwear, rope, fish trap' (A., E., Pl.). 3. πλεκτάνη [f.] 'wattling, sling, winding' (IA); enlargement of πλεκτή after δρεπάνη, etc., like βοτάνη to βοτόν (Schwyzler: 490), with -άνιον (Eub.), denominative verbs -ανάομαι (A.), -ανόομαι (Hp.) 'to be twined around'. 4. πλέγμα (ἔμ-, σύμ-, etc.) [n.] 'plait, wattling, etc.' (IA) with -μάτιον (Arist.), -ματεύεσθαι, ἐμπλέκεσθαι (H.). 5. πλέκος [n.] 'wattling, basketwork' (Ar.). 6. πλέξις (περί-, ἔμ-, σύμ-) [f.] 'braiding, twining around, etc.' (Pl., Arist.) with -εἰδιον (Suid.), (περι-, συμ-)πλεκτικός 'belonging to braiding, etc.' (Pl.). 7. πλέκτρα [n.pl.] 'wattling' (Samos IV<sup>a</sup>). 8. πλέκωμα = δράγμα (sch.). 9. ἐμπλέκ-της, [f.] -τρια 'braider [m./f.] of hair' (gloss., EM). 10. (περι-, ἔμ-)πλέγδην 'entwined, interwoven' (Hell.). 11. ἀμφι-, περι-, συμ-πλεκ-ής 'id.' (Nonn., Orph.), a verbal adj. after the s-stems, with περιπλέκ-εια [f.] (Jamb.). 12. Desiderative πλεξείω (Hdn. *Epim.*).

B. With o-grade: 1. πλόκος [m.] 'twine, lock, wreath, collar' (Pi., trag.); adjectives διά-, σύμ- (AP, Nonn.) from δια-, συμ-πλέκω; πλόκιον [n.] 'necklace' (Hell. inscr. et al.), ἔμ- 'hair-slide, etc.' (Hell.), also plur. = ἐορτή παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις 'festival (Athenian)' (H.); πλόκ-μιος 'suited for braiding' (Thphr.), see Strömberg 1937: 171, διαπλόκ-ινος 'braided' (Str.), περιπλόκ-άδην 'in a close embrace' (AP); πλοκ-ίζομαι [v.] 'to let one's hair be braided' (Hp.). 2. πλοκή [f.] (Epich., Arist.) 'plait, fabric, intertwining, complication, etc.', very frequently from prefixed compounds (περι-, ἔμ-, κατα-, συμ-, etc.) in different senses (IA). From πλοκή or πλόκος: πλοκάς [f.] 'hair plait, lock' (Pherecr.), after γενειάς, etc.; πλοκεύς [m.] 'hair braider' (Epich., Hp.). 3. πλόκαμος [m.] 'lock of hair' (epic poet. since E176) with -ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'id.' (Hell.), perhaps by decomposition from ἐνπλοκάμιδες Ἀχαιοί (Od.) after ἐνκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί beside κνημῖς (Leumann 1950: 122f.); πλόκαμα· τὰ περιστέα νεῦρα 'the sinews around the bones' (H.), -ώδεα· τὸν οὐλον βόστρυχον 'the curling lock of hair' (H.). 4. πλόκανον [n.] 'braiding, knitwear, etc.' (Pl., X.); after ξόανον, ὄργανον, etc. 5. πλοχμός, mostly plur. -οί [m.] 'locks of hair' (P 52, A. R., AP), with a suffix -smo- (Schwyzler: 493).

•ETYM The thematic root present πλέκω < \*plek<sub>1</sub>-e/o- has no parallels in other IE languages, where we usually find the extended root \*plek<sub>1</sub>-t-; cf. Lat. plectō = OHG flehtan 'to braid', OCS plesti 'συρράπτειν', Ru. plesti 'to twine'. The original root is still found in isolated formations, e.g. Skt. praśna- [m.] 'turban, headband' < \*ploḱ-no-, OHG flahs, OE fleax [n.] 'flax' < \*ploḱ-so- (parallelism with the rare s-stem πλέκος is probably coincidental).

**πλεονεκτέω, πλεονεξία, etc.** ⇒ πλείων.

**πλεύμων, -ονος** [m.] 'lung(s)' (Il.), metaph. 'jellyfish' (Pl., Arist.). <IE \*pleu-mon- 'lung'>

•VAR Mostly plur. Secondarily πνεύμων after πνέω, πνεῦμα.



•COMP Isolated compounds, e.g. πλευμο-ρρωγής 'with a rupture in the lung' (Hp.), ἀλι-πλεύμων [m.] 'jellyfish' (Marcell. Sid.).

•DER πλευμιον-ώδης (also πν-) 'lung-like' (Arist.), -ία [f.] 'inflammation of the lungs, pneumonia' (Com. Adesp., medic.), much more common is the hypostasis περι-πλευμιον-ία, -ίη 'id.' (IA), πλευμιον-ίς [f.] 'id.' (Hp.). Professional short-form πλευῖμος [m.] 'lung-sickness', with πλευμι-άω, v.l. -όω 'to suffer from lung-sickness' (Hp., Gal.).

•ETYM Gr. πλευῖμων is closely related to Skt. *klomán-* [m., n.] 'the right lung', [pl.] 'the lungs' < \**k<sup>(w)</sup>leu-mon-*, Lat. *pulmō* 'lung' < \**pul-mon-* (with metathesis), but the correspondences all contain minor irregularities. The root \**pleu-* must be the starting point, as it reappears in OCS *pljušta*, Lith. *plaūčiai* [pl.] 'lungs' < \**pleu-t-ieh<sub>2</sub>*, and seems to be old. Perhaps related to ►πλέω.

**πλευρά** [f.] 'rib(s), side of the body', metaph. 'side of an area, of a geometrical figure, flank of an army' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Usually plur. -αί; also -όν [n.], usually plur. -ά.

•COMP Very often as a second member, e.g. περί-πλευρος 'going around the ribs, covering the sides' (E. [lyr.]).

•DER Diminutive πλευρ-ία [pl.] (Hp., Delph. inscr.), -ιάς [f.] 'side of an area' (Tab. Heracl.), after πεδι-άς, etc.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 354; -ιαῖος 'situated at the sides' (Boeot. inscr.), -ικός 'belonging to the ribs' (sch.); -ίτης [m.] 'connected to the ribs', designation of a bone of the spine (Poll.), -ίτις (νόσος) [f.] 'pleurisy' (Hp., Ar.), also as a plant name = σκόρδιον (Ps.-Dsc.), because of its effects, cf. Redard 1949: 75; -ώματα [n.pl.] = πλευρά (A.), a poetic enlargement, see Chantraine 1933: 186; -ισμός [m.] meaning unclear, 'dam?' (pap.); πλευρ-ών, -ώνος [m.] Aetol. TN (B.639, etc.), see Krahe ZNF 8 (1932): 159. Hypostasis παρα-πλευρ-ίδια [n.pl.] 'side armors' (X., Arr.).

•ETYM No clear etymology. Hardly related to πλάξ < \**plk-* (pace Benveniste 1935: 112f.) or παλάμη < \**plh<sub>2</sub>-em-eh<sub>2</sub>* via \**πλη-φαρ* (pace Frisk 2, 559).

**πλέω** [v.] 'to travel by sea, sail, navigate', with prefix also 'to swim, flow' (Il.). <IE \**pleu-* 'sail, flow'>

•VAR Aor. πλεῦσαι (Att.), fut. πλεύ-σομαι (Il.), -σοῦμαι (Att.), -σω (Hell.), perf. πέπλευκα (S.), pass. πέπλευσμαι (later Att.), πλευ-σθῆναι, -σθήσομαι (Arr.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐπι-.

•DER πλόος, contracted πλοῦς (ἀνά-, ἐπί-, περί-, etc.) [m.] 'navigation, seafaring', also 'traveling time, traveling wind' (IA); compounds, e.g. εὖ-πλοος 'good for sailing, having a fair voyage' (Erinn., Theoc.) with -ίη, -ια [f.] (Il., epic poet.), περί-πλους [adj.] 'possible to sail around' (Th.), 'sailing around' (AP), also 'encasing' (Hp.; cf. ἐπίπλοον).

From πλόος: 1. the old inherited *jo*-derivative πλοῖον [n.] 'craft, ship' (IA), with πλοῖ-άριον (Ar., X.), -αρίδιον (pap.); 2. πλόϊμος 'navigable' (Att.), often written πλώϊμος after πλώω, etc. (cf. Arbenz 48f.); 3. πλωώδης 'swimming, flowing', i.e. 'not fixed, mobile' (Hp.), see Strömberg 1944: 25. 4. πλοϊκός 'id.' (Suid.); but 5. πλοῖζω [v.] 'to commit navigation' (Hell.) rather for older deverbative πλωῖζω (see ►πλώω).

From πλέω stems the rare form πλεῦσις (simplex only in H. s.v. νεῦσις), i.e. in ἐπίπλευσις [f.] 'attack at sea' (Th. 7, 36 beside ἀνάκρουσις; otherwise ἐπίπλους). On► ►πλοῦτος s.v.

•ETYM The primary thematic root present πλέ(φ)ω is a PIE formation; cf. Skt. *plávate* 'to swim, flow', OCS *pluti* 'to flow, sail', Lat. *pluit* 'it rains', etc. < \**pleu-e/o-*. The future πλεύσομαι also has parallels outside Greek, such as Skt. *plasyati* and OIr. *luíd*, -lú 'to drink' < \**pleu-s-*; further, πλοῖον (< \*πλόφιον) matches ON *fley* [n.] 'ship' < \**flauja-* < \**plou-io-*, and πλόος, πλοῦς corresponds to Ru. *plov* 'ship, barge', ToB *plewe* [m.] 'ship' < \**plouo-*. See also ►πλύνω.

**πλέων** 'more'. =>πλείων.

**πλέως** 'full'. •VAR πλήθος 'multitude'. =>πίμπλημι.

**πληγή** =>πλήσσω.

**πλημμελής** [adj.] 'out of tune, faulty' (Democr., Att.). <GR>

•DER πλημμελ-έω [v.] 'to fail, commit an offense', -εῖα [f.] 'fault, offense, mistake' (Att.).

•ETYM Compound of πλήν 'without' and μέλος 'tune', the opposite of ἐμμελής. Cf. ►πλήν and ►μέλος.

**πλήμνη** [f.] 'nave, drum' (Il., Hes. Sc., Hp., A. R.). <GR>

•COMP πλημνός-δετον [n.] 'hoop with which the spokes are attached to the nave' (Poll.).

•ETYM Traditionally associated with πίμπλημι (cf. H. "ἀπὸ τοῦ πληροῦσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄξονος"), but this is popular etymology. Preferably derived from \**k<sup>w</sup>lh<sub>1</sub>-mneh<sub>2</sub>* 'part that turns about the axle' (Waanders 1992: 594), i.e. from the root of ►πέλομαι.

**πλημῦρίς, -ίδος** [f.] 'rise of the sea, flood' (1486, Ion. poet., Hell.). <PG? (S, V)>

•VAR Acc. also -ιν (cf. below); -μυ- (mss.).

•DER πλημῦρ-ω [v.] 'to overflow, make flow' (Archil., B., Call.) with πλήμυρα [f.] = πλημυρίς (Hell.); byform πλημῦρ-έω 'id.' (Hp., Plu.), like κύρ-ω beside -έω, etc. (Schwyzer: 721); thence -ίη, -ία [f.] (Aret., sch.).

•ETYM Πλημῦρίς may have been derived from πλήμη 'flood-tide', like ἀλμῦρίς from ἄλμη, whence the *yod*-present πλημῦρ with additional derivatives; the vowel length of this verb could have spread back to the primary noun πλημῦρίς. Note, however, that the forms with double -μ- are problematic. This, in combination with occurrence of the suffix -υρ-, may point to Pre-Greek origin.

**πλήν** [prep.] with gen. 'except', adv. and conj. 'except, aside from, save that, however' (θ 207). <IE \**pelh<sub>2</sub>-* 'near'>

•VAR Dor. Aeol. πλάν.

•ETYM Like the antonym ►δήν, the frozen accus. from a root noun \**plh<sub>2</sub>-s*, \**plh<sub>2</sub>-m*, related to ►πέλας and cognates. Probably originally 'close, near', then 'aside, except' (see Schwyzler 1950: 542f.).

**πλήρης** 'full'. =>πίμπλημι.

πλησίον 'near'. ⇒πέλας.

πλήσσω [v.] 'to strike, slap, thrust, hit', pass. 'to be beaten, thrust, hit, struck' (ἐκ- 'to startle', ἐπι- usually 'to criticize, scold', παρα- in pass. 'to become crazy', etc.). <IE \*pleh<sub>2</sub>k/g- 'beat'>

•VAR In the older language, the pres. is always prefixed. Att. -ττω (ἐκ-πλήγνυμαι Th.), aor. πλήξαι (Il.), Dor. πλάξαι, redupl. (ἐ-)πέπληγον (Hom.), pass. πληγῆναι (Il.), Dor. Aeol. πλάγῃναι, with prefix -πλάγῃναι (IA), πληχθῆναι (E., late), fut. πλήξω (Il.), pass. πληγήσομαι, -πλάγήσομαι (Att.), perf. πέπληγα (Il.: πεπληγώς), πέπληχα (Hell.), pass. πέπληγμαι (IA).

•COMP Often prefixed in various senses, e.g. \*with ἐκ-, ἐπι-, κατα-, παρα-. As a first member in governing compounds, e.g. πλήξ-ιππος 'flogging horses' (Il., epic poet.).

•DER Action nouns: 1. πληγή, Dor. πλαγά [f.] 'hit, wound, etc.' (Il.). 2. πλήγανον-βακτηρία 'staff', πληγός, δρέπανον 'curved sword' (H.). 3. πληγ-μα [n.] = πληγή (S., E., Arist.), -μός [m.] 'id.' (medic.), κατά- (LXX). 4. ἀπό-, ἔκ-, ἔμ-, ἐπί-, κατά-πληξίς [f.] 'apoplexy, concussion, etc.' (IA); πληξίς, Dor. πλάξις [f.] 'striking' (Ti. Locr.).

Agent and instrument nouns: 5. πληκτρον, Dor. πλάκτρον [n.] 'instrument for striking, mallet' (h. Hom., Pi.). 6. πληκτήρ [m.] 'id.' (Hdn. Gr.); πλακτήρ· τὸ τοῦ ἀλεκτρούονος πληκτρον 'cock's spur' (H.); πλάκτωρ [m.] (Dor.) 'striker' (AP), πλήκτης [m.] 'id.' (Hp., Arist.), ἐπι- 'blamer, castigator' (gloss.), -πλήκτηρα [f.] 'id.' (AP).

Adjectives, mostly as a second member: 7. -πληξ, e.g. παραπλήξ, -γος 'stricken sideways' (ε 418), 'crazy' (IA), 'paralyzed' (Hp.) with -ηγία, -ηγικός (Hp.), οἰστροπλήξ 'stung by a gadfly' (trag.); πλήξ as a simplex only as a designation of a bandage (Sor.); 8. -πληκτος, e.g. ἀπόπληκτος 'stirred by strikes' with -ηξίη, -ία (IA); 9. ἐκ-, κατα-πλαγής 'startled' (Plb., Luc.). 10. πληκτικός 'striking, hitting' (Pl.), ἐκπληκτικός (Th.), etc.

Verb: 11. πληκτίζομαι 'to fight' (Φ 499 et al.), mostly 'to dally' (Ar., Herod.), with -ισμός [m.] (AP), probably an enlargement of the primary verb (cf. λακτίζω and Schwyzler: 706) rather than from a nominal τ-derivative.

•ETYM The verb πλήσσω ostensibly continues \*plāk-je/o-, but the kappa probably arose secondarily in the verb; cf. πληγή. Therefore rather PIE \*plh<sub>2</sub>g-ie/o- than \*plh<sub>2</sub>k-ie/o-, although both variants have correspondences in other Indo-European languages; cf. \*pleh<sub>2</sub>k-ie/o- in OCS plačr 'to lament' (if from "to beat one's chest"), with which agrees Lith. plókis [m.] 'blow, stroke', as opposed to \*pleh<sub>2</sub>g- in Lat. plangō 'to beat, bewail' < \*pl(e)h<sub>2</sub>ng- with a nasal infix, and the Gm. group of Go. fai-flokun 'ἐκόπτοντο', OE flōcan 'to slap'. Lith. plakti 'to beat, chastise' (would be IE \*plok-) can only be indirectly related, via secondary ablaut.

As Van Beek suggests (p.c.), it is doubtful that ►πλάζω is related. Semantically, it may have influenced πλήσσω, but the formal connection is problematic, and πλάζω seems to be semantically closer to ►ἀμπλακίσκω, etc.

πλίκιον [n.] 'kind of tart, pie' (Chrysipp. Tyan. apud Ath. 647e). <PG?>

•ETYM No etymology; maybe Pre-Greek.

πλίνθος [f.] 'brick, air-brick', metaph. 'square building-stone, metal ingot, abacus' (IA). <PG>

•COMP E.g. πλινθο-φόρος 'bearing bricks, brick-bearer' (Ar.), ἡμι-πλίνθιον [n.] 'ingot in the shape of a half-brick' (Hdt., Att. inscr.).

•DER 1. Diminutive: πλινθ-ιον (Att.), -ίς [f.] (Hell.), both predominantly in metaph. use; -άριον (LXX), -ίδιον (Iamb.). 2. Adjectives: πλινθ-ινος 'made of bricks, of brick' (IA), -ικός 'id.' (pap.), -ιακός 'busy with bricks' (D. L.), after βιβλι-ακός, θηρι-ακός, etc.; -ωτός 'brick-shaped' (Paul. Aeg.). 3. Substantive: πλινθ-ίτις [f.] 'kind of στυπτηρία' (Gal.). 4. Adverb: -ηδόν 'shaped like a roofing tile' (Hdt.). 5. Verbs: πλινθ-εύω [v.] 'to cut out bricks, make bricks' (IA) with -εία, -εῖον, -ευσίς, -ευμα, -ευτής (Hell.); -όομαι 'to cover with bricks' (AP).

•ETYM The semantic field (architecture), as well as the presence of the notoriously foreign element -ινθ-, suggest that the word is a loan from Pre-Greek; see Chantraine 1933: 371.

πλίσσομαι [v.] 'to cross the legs' (ζ 318). <?>

•VAR Aor. ἀπεπλίξατο 'trotted off' (Ar.), πλίξαντα· διαναβάντα (H.), perf. διαπεπλιγμένος 'with legs spread out' (Archil.), περι- 'with legs laid around' (Stratt.), περιπεπλιχθαι· διηλλαχέναι τὰ σκέλη ἀσχημόνως 'interchange the legs indecorously' (H.), act. δια-πεπλιχός (στόμα) 'standing open' (Hp.), fut. pass. καταπλιγῆσει (Ar. Fr. 198, 3), according to H. = κατακρατηθήση.

•COMP ἐκ-πλίσσομαι 'to gape', of a wound, etc. (Hp.), ἀμφι-πλίσσω (Poll.), διαπλίσσοντες (v.l. Ψ 120).

•DER πλιξ = βῆμα (sch.; Dor.), πλιχ-άς, -άδος [f.] 'perineum, inside of the thighs' (medic.), πλιγμα [n.] 'sprawling, perineum' (Hp., H., EM); ἀμφι-πλιξ [adv.] 'with sprawled legs' (S. Fr. 596), περι-πλιξ· περιειληφώς 'holding embraced' (H.), περιπλιγδην· περιβάδην 'astride' (H.).

•ETYM Uncertain etymology. Perhaps related to OIr. sliassait [f.] 'shank' < \*spleigh-s-ont-ih<sub>2</sub>- or (without s) Skt. plehate 'to go' < \*pleigh-e/o- (Pok. 1000). Not related to OCS plęsati, Ru. pljasát' 'to dance' < (?) \*plenk-e/o- (pace Pisani 1938: 181ff.).

πλοῖον, πλόος, πλοῦς ⇒πλέω.

πλόκαμος ⇒πλέκω.

πλούτος [m.] 'riches, wealth' (Il.), also personified (Hes.), cf. Πλούτων below. <IE \*pleu- 'run, flow, swim'>

•VAR Late also [n.], see Schwyzler 512.

•DIAL Myc. po-ro-u-te-u /Plouteus/.

•COMP E.g. πλουτο-δότης [m.] 'who spends riches' (Hes.), καλλί-πλουτος 'with beautiful riches' (Pi.).

•DER 1. πλούσιος, Lac. πλούσιος (EM) 'rich' (Hes., h. Merc.), with -ιακός 'belonging to the rich' (Alex. Com.), -ιάω = πλουτέω (Alex. Aphr.). 2. πλουτ-ηρός 'bringing riches' (X.); -ᾱξ, -ᾱκος [m.] 'a rich fool' (com.). 3. πλουτ-ίνδην [adv.] 'acc. to property' (Arist.). 4. πλουτ-έω [v.] 'to be rich' (Hes.); -ίζω 'to make rich, enrich' (trag., X.; with κατα- Hdt.), with -ιστής, -ιστήριος, ισμός (late). 5. Πλούτων, -ωνος

[m.] god of riches, i.e. of the corn provisions buried in the earth (trag.); on the motive of designation see Nilsson 1941(1): 471ff.; according to H. εὐπλοῦτον κανοῦν-πλοῦτον γὰρ ἔλεγον τὴν ἐκ τῶν κριθῶν καὶ τῶν πυρῶν περιουσίαν, 'πλ. was called the surplus of barley and wheat'. 6. Πλουτεὺς 'id.' (Mosch., AP).

•ETYM Derivative from πλέω, i.e. \**plou-to-* 'flow, multitude', with the suffix *-to-* as in e.g. βίωτος, νόστος, etc.

**πλύνω** [v.] 'to wash, clean' (cf. ► λούω, ► νίζω). <IE \**pleu-* 'flow, swim'>

•VAR Iter. πλύνεσκον (X 155), aor. πλύναι (Od.), fut. πλύν-έω (epic Ion.), -ῶ (Att.), pass. perf. πέπλυμαι (IA), aor. πλυθῆναι (Hell.), fut. -θήσομαι (Com. Adesp.).

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, κατα-, etc.

•DER Adjectives: 1. νεό-, ἐκ-πλυ-τος 'newly washed, washed out' (ζ 64, A., Pl.), πλυτός 'washed' (Hp.); 2. ἐϋ-πλυν-ής 'washed well' (Od.); 3. πλυν-τικός 'belonging to washing' (Pl., Arist.), πλυ-τικός 'id.' (Alex. Aphr.).

Substantives: 4. πλυνοί [m. pl.] 'washing pits, troughs or sites' (Hom., Hell.), with the diminutive πλύνιον [n.] (inscr. Sicily); with barytonesis 5. πλύνος [m.] 'laundry' (pap., ostr.), see Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3, 3; unclear in Ar. Pl. 1061; with πλυνεύς [m.] 'washer' (Att. inscr., Poll.).

Action nouns: 6. πλύσις (περί-, κατά-, ἀπό-) [f.] 'washing' (IA), late ἀπόπλυν-σις (Sophon.); πλύσιμος 'belonging to laundry' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>); 7. πλύμα (ἀπό-, περί-, also πλύσμα Phot., also mss.) [n.] 'washing water, swilling water, swill' (Hp., Pl. Com., Arist., pap.); 8. πλυσμός, πλυτήρ 'washing' (H.).

Agent and instrument nouns: 9. πλύν-τρια [f.] 'washer' (Att. inscr., Poll.), -τρίς [f.] 'id.' (Ar.), also 'fuller's earth' (botanics in Thphr., see Capelle *RhM* 104 (1961): 58), msc. πλύν-της (Poll.), πλύ-της (EM, Choerob.); also πλυτήρ (H.; see above) and \*πλυν-τήρ in Πλυν-τήρ-ια [n. pl.] name of a purification festival (Att. inscr., X.) with -ίων, -ίωνος [m.] month name (Thasos), if not rather analogical after other nouns in -τήρια, -τήριον (see Chantraine 1933: 63f.); likewise κατα-πλυντηρ-ίζω 'to shower with abusive words', properly perhaps 'to immerse in swilling water, to drench with swilling water'? 10. πλύν-τρον [n.] = πλύμα (Arist.) [pl.] 'payment for washing' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>, Poll.).

•ETYM The vowel length of πλύνω points to a thematicized nasal present \*πλύ-ν-ιω (cf. κρίνω from \*κρί-ν-ιω). The formation must be an inner-Greek creation from the IE root \**plu-* (which gave πλέω < \**pleu-e/o-*), but a nasal present with the same meaning is also found in Armenian, viz. *lua-na-m* 'to wash, bathe'. See ► πλέω and ► πλώω.

**πλώσσειν** [v.] · φθειρεσθαι 'to be destroyed' (H.). <?>

•ETYM DELG suggests a connection with πλώω, but the gloss may be corrupt.

**πλώω** [v.] 'to swim' (Il., epic Ion.), aor. also 'to sail, go by sea', beside πλέω as a pres.; on πλώω beside πλέω see Bechtel 1921(3): 196ff., 208. <IE \**pleu-* or \**pleh<sub>3</sub>-*>

•VAR Aor. πλώ-ναι (ἐπ-έπλων, etc., Hom., Hes.), πλώσαι (Γ 47 ptc. ἐπ-πλώσας; Hdt., Arr.), fut. πλώσ-ομαι (Hdt.), -ω (Lyc.), perf. πέπλωκα (Hdt., Lyc.; also E. *Hel.* 532 and Ar. *Th.* 878 [parody]).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, ἐκ-, κατα-, παρα-.

•DER Probably, all derivatives are Ionic (cf. Fraenkel 1912: 3f.).

Adjectives: 1. πλω-τός (πρόσ-, ἐκ-) 'swimming, navigable' (κ 3, Hp., Hdt., Arist.) with -τής [f.] 'raft' vel sim. (Demetr. Astrol.), -τεύομαι [v.] 'to be navigated, cruised' (Plb.); 2. πλω-τικός 'seafaring' (Hell.); 3. -σιμος 'navigable, seaworthy' (S., Diogenian.), rather from πλώσαι than from \*πλώσις; likewise πλώϊμος alongside πλόϊμος.

Substantives: 4. κατάπλωσις [f.] 'home-coming by sea' (Herod.); 5. πλωτήρ [m.] 'sailor' (rare in E., Ar., Pl., often in Arist., etc.), 'swimmer' (Opp., Nonn.); 6. πλω-άδες, -ϊάδες (Thphr.), -ίδες (A. R.) [f. pl.] 'swimming, flowing'; also 7. πλώς, pl. πλώτες name of a fish, = κεστρεύς (but cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. πλώτα); but δακρυπλώειν (τ 122) is not a denominative from \*δακρυ-πλώς, but modeled after δάκρυ χέων, χέουσα and built as a univerbation; cf. Leumann 1950: 36.

Verb: 8. πλω-ίζω (-ώζω) 'to go by sea' (Hes., Th.), with -ϊσις [f.] 'seafaring' (Just.).

•ETYM Within Greek, the derivation of πλώω, with its -ω-, is not clear, but etymological separation from πλέω < \**pleu-e/o-* seems unattractive. The formation has a close parallel in Germanic, e.g. ON *flóa*, OE *flōwan* 'to flow' < PGm. \**flōan-* < PIE \**plōu-* (with \**-ōu-* > \**-ō-* like in Go. *sauil* [sōil] 'sun' < \**seh<sub>2</sub>u-el-*), whence Go. *flodus* [m.] 'river' (etc.). The apparent lengthened grade is also found in Slavic, e.g. OCS *plavati*, Ru. *plávat* 'to swim (to and fro)'. See ► πλέω and ► πλύνω.

**πνεύμων** 'lung'. ⇒ πλεύμων.

**πνέω** [v.] 'to blow, breathe, respire, smell' (Il.). <IE? \**pneu-* 'breathe, cough, smell'>

•VAR Epic πνέω, aor. πνεῦσαι (Il.), ipv. ἄμπνεε, med. -ὔτο, -ὔ(ν)θη (Hom.), fut. πνεύ-σομαι (IA), -σοῦμαι (Ar., Arist.), -σω (Hell.), perf. πέπνευκα (Att.), pass. πνευσ-θῆναι (Thphr.), -θήσομαι (Aret.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀπο-, εἰς-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, προσ-.

•DER 1. πνοή, Dor. πνο(ι)ά, epic πνοή [f.] 'wind, breeze, breath' (Il.), also ἀνα-, δια-, ἐκ-, etc., etc. Epic -οι- metrically conditioned after πνέω, see Wyatt 1969: 166-168. Very often as a second member, e.g. ἡδύ- (ἀδύ-)πνοος, -πνοος 'with a pleasant wind, breath' (Pi., S., E.), ἐπί-πνοος, -πνοος 'inspired' with ἐπίπνοια [f.] 'inspiration' (A., Pl.); -πνοια also beside -πνοή in ἀνά-, ἀπό-, διά- etc.; also ἀναπνόϊκος 'concerning breathing' (Ptol.).

2. πνεῦμα (ἄμ-, πρόσ-) [n.] 'wind, breeze, breath, ghost' (Pi., IA) with πνευμιά-τιον (Hell.), -τικός 'concerning the wind, etc.' (Arist.), -τιος 'bringing wind' (Arat.), -τώδης 'like wind or breath, windy' (Hp., Arist.), -τίας [m.] 'asthmatic' (Hp.) with -τιάω [v.] 'to gasp' (sch.); πνευμα-τόω, -τόομαι [v.] 'to blow up, (cause to) vaporize' (Anaxipp., Arist.) with -τωσις, -τωτικός; πνευμα-τίζω (ἀπο-) [v.] 'to fan by blowing' (Antig., H.) with -τισμός.

3. πνεῦσις [f.] 'blowing', more usual in compounds, e.g. ἀνάπνευ-σις 'inhalation, respite' (Il.). 4. With secondary -σ-, and a suffix -τ- like in ἄ-πνευσ-τος, -τί, -τία: πνευσ-τικός 'belonging to breathing' (Gal.), more generally ἀνα- (Arist.) etc.; -πιάω 'to gasp' (Hp., Arist.). 5. εἰσπν-ηλος, -ήλας 'loving, lover' (Call., Theoc., EM), from εἰσ-πνέω 'to inspire (love)', with analogical -ηλος; cf. Chantraine 1933: 242.

•ETYM The verb and its derivatives appear to have been regularized to a large extent. The only isolated forms are epic ἄμπνυε, etc. 'take breath' = 'recover from'. The appurtenance of the perfect πέπνυμαι, -μένος 'to be mentally active, animated, be sedate' is doubtful, and ►πινυτός and cognates are certainly unrelated. Schulze 1892: 322ff. also separated ἄμπνυε and πέπνυμαι from πνέω.

From other languages, only some Germanic formations can be compared: ON *fnýsa* 'to sniff', OE *fnēosan* 'to sneeze', which may go back on IE \*-eu-; however, beside them stand several variants, e.g. ON *fnasa*, OHG *fnehan*, and the whole group may be onomatopoeic in origin.

Cf. also ►ποιπνύω and ►πνίγω.

**πνίγω** [v.] 'to limit one's breath, asphyxiate by squeezing, water or vapor, to choke, drown, be drowned', also 'to muffle, smother' (Epich., Sophr., IA); on the meaning 'to drown, be drowned' see Schulze *Berl.Ak.Sb.* 1918: 320ff. ◀PG?►

•VAR Aor. πνίξαι, intr. and pass. πνίγ-ῆναι with fut. -ήσομαι, late πνιχθῆναι, perf. med. πέπνυμαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀπο- and κατα-.

•DER Action nouns: 1. πνίγος [n.] 'stifling heat' (IA), opposite ῥίγος; 2. πνίγ-μα [n.] 'suffocating' (Hp.), -μός [m.] 'id.' (Hp., X., Arist.) with -μώδης 'suffocating' (Hp.), -μονή [f.] 'id.' (Hdn. *Epim.*), cf. φλεγμονή, πημιονή; 3. πνίξις (κατά-) [f.] 'choking, asphyxiation' (Arist., Thphr.), 'drowning' (*PMag.Par.*); 4. πνίξ, -γός [f.] 'choking, asphyxiation' (Hp., Dsc.), like φρίξ (Chantraine 1933: 2f.); 5. πνιγετός [m.] = πνίγος (Ptol.; H. s.v. ἀγχόνη), like πυρετός, παγετός; 6. περιπνιγή [f.] 'suffocation' (Vett. Val.).

Agent nouns: 6. πνίγεύς [m.] 'suffocator', 'cover for extinguishing coals' (Ar., Arist.), 'air chamber' (Hero, Ph. *Bel.*), 'muzzle' (com.), probably by analogy of πνίγω, πνίγῆναι with τρίβω, τρίβ-ῆναι, -ή, -εύς, etc. (Boßhardt 1942: 48); 7. πνικτήρ [m.] 'choker, choking' (Nonn.). 8. πνιγ-ίτις (scil. γῆ) 'kind of clay' (Dsc., Plin.); 9. -αλίων, -ωνος [m.] 'nightmare, incubus' (medic.), like αἰθαλ-ίων beside αἰθ-άλη, αἶθω; 10. πνι-γῆρός 'choking', especially 'stifling hot' (Hp., Att.), from πνίγος or πνίγω; 11. πνιγόεις 'id.' (Nic., AP), ἱ metrically conditioned; 12. περι-, συμ-πνίγ-ής 'suffocated' (Nic., J., D. S., after πνίγ-ῆναι); 13. πνικτός 'steamed, smothered' (com.), 'airtight' (Hero), 'suffocated, choked' (*Act. Ap.*); 14. enlarged πνιγ-ίζω [v.] 'to choke, strangle' (AP), influenced by πνυ-ίζω.

•ETYM No clear etymology. Earlier attempts to analyze the formation as a conflation of several different verbs are unconvincing. Rather onomatopoeic or, given its onset in πν-, sound-symbolic. A Pre-Greek origin cannot be excluded.

**πόα** [f.] 'grass, herb, grass plot', late also '(time of the) hay harvest, summer' (Il., Att.).

◀IE \**poiH-ueh*<sub>2</sub> 'grass, meadow'►

•VAR Epic Ion. ποίη (Il.), Dor. (Pi.) ποία.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ποιο-νόμος 'feeding on grass', ποιο-νόμος 'having grassy pastures' (A. [Iyr.]), λεχε-ποιός (see ►λέχος).

•DER 1. Diminutive πο-άριον (ποι-) [n.] (Thphr.); 2. ποι-ήεις, Dor. -άεις 'rich in grass' (Hom., Pi., S. [Iyr.]); -ηρός 'id.' (E. [Iyr.]); 3. ποι-άζω [v.] 'to be rich in grass, bear

grass' (Str.); 4. -ασμός [m.] 'weeding, clearing of weeds' (Thphr.), -άστρια [f.] 'weeder (fem.)' (Archipp.), -άστριον [n.] 'weeding tool' (Poll.), from ποάζω = 'to weed, clear of weeds' (only as a conj. in Philem. Com. 116, 4). On supposed Boeot. \*πύας 'meadow', see Finley *Glotta* 33 (1954): 311.

•ETYM PGr. \**poiwā*- is formally identical to Lith. *píeva* [f.] 'meadow' < \**poiH-ueh*<sub>2</sub>- or \**poHi-ueh*<sub>2</sub>-. Connection with the root of ποιμήν cannot be shown. The deviating ποινά· ποία. Λάκωνες (H.) may be due to conflation with κοινά· χόρτος (H.).

**ποδαπός** [adj.] 'native of where?, whence?' (Hdt., Att.); also 'of what sort?' (D.); in this meaning Hell. ποταπός (with τ from πότερος, πότε, etc.). ◀IE \**kʷo*- 'who?'►

•ETYM Formation like ►ἀλλοδαπός, etc. The first member is from IE \**kʷod* = Lat. *quod* (see on ►πόθεν and ►τίς), if not analogical after ἡμεδ-απός, etc. (Schwyzer: 604'). The form (ό)ποδαπός in Hdt. as opposed to (ό)κότερος is unclear; cf. Wackernagel 1916: 35².

**ποδάρκης** [adj.] epithet of Achilles, in ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς (Il.), also of Hermes (B.), of δρόμοι and ἡμέρα (Pi.); also epithet of a remedy against gout (Gal.). ◀GR►

•ETYM A compound from πούς and ἀρκέω 'to keep off, aid, suffice'; cf. ποδώκης 'quick-footed', also 'helping the feet' (Gal.). On ποδάρκης beside ποδώκης and πόδας ὠκύς, see Treu 1955: 6.

**ποδηνεκής** 'stretching to the feet' (Il., epic, Hdt.).

•ETYM Compound from πούς and ἐνεγκεῖν; see ►διηνεκής and ►ἐνεγκεῖν with references.

**ποδοκάκη** [f.] 'foot block'. =κάκαλα.

**πόθεν** [interr.adv.] 'whence, from where?' (Il.). ◀IE \**kʷo*- 'who?'►

•DER Indefinite ποθέν 'from somewhere' (Il.), Ion. κόθεν (Hdt.). Also πόθι, ποθί 'where?', 'somewhere' (Il., epic); ποῦ, που (Att.), Ion. κοῦ, κου 'id.'; ποῖ, ποι 'whither?', 'to somewhere' (Att.), πόσε 'whither?' (Hom.).

•ETYM Formations from the pronominal stem πο-, Ion. κο-, from IE \**kʷo*- with representatives in most IE languages, e.g. Skt. *kás* 'who?', Go. *hwas* 'id.', Lat. *quod* 'what?'. Cf. ►ποῖος, ►πόσος, ►πότε, and ►πότερος; see also ►τίς. On the adverbial endings -θεν, -θι, -σε, see Schwyzer: 628f.; on the petrified case forms ποῦ (gen.) and ποῖ (loc.), op.cit. 621f.

**ποθέω** [v.] 'to desire, long for, miss' (Il.). ◀IE \**gʷʰedʰ*- 'long for, desire, pray'►

•VAR Inf. -ήμεναι (Od.), ind. -ήω (Sapph.), aor. ποθ-έσαι (Il.), -ῆσαι (IA), fut. -έσομαι (Att.), -ήσω (IA), perf. πεπόθ-ηκα, -ημαι (late).

•COMP Rarely with prefix, especially ἐπι-.

•DER (ἐπι-)πόθ-ησις, -ημα (Aq., Ep. Cor., et al.), ἐπιποθ-ία (Ep. Rom.) 'longing'; also ποθ-ητύς [f.] 'id.' (Opp.), -ήτωρ [m.] 'desirous person' (Man.).

Furthermore πόθος [m.] 'desire, longing, love' (Il.), also a plant name (Thphr.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 107, ποθή [f.] 'id.' (Hom., late prose), ποθεινός 'longed for' (Lyr., trag., also Att. prose), after ἀλγεινός etc.; ποθινός 'id.' (AP).

•ETYM Formally, ποθέω directly corresponds to OIr. *guidid* 'to pray' = PIE *\*g<sup>wh</sup>od<sup>h</sup>-éie-*, which is an iterative formation. Additionally, Balto-Slavic has a nasal present in Lith. *pa-si-gendù*, *-gèsti* 'to long for, miss', OCS *žedati* 'to desire, long for' < *\*g<sup>wh</sup>end<sup>h</sup>-*. The related aorist ►θέσασθαι can be compared to the OIr. *s*-subj. 1pl. *-gessam* < *\*g<sup>wh</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>-s-*. In Indo-Iranian, the root is found in YAv. *jaidiemi* 'to ask for'. The development *\*g<sup>wh</sup>-* > *b-*, needed to account for the Gm. group of Go. *bidjan* 'to pray', is controversial. On the concept of πόθος, see now Weiss *HSPH* 98 (1998): 31-61.

ποι [prep.]

•DIAL Arg., Phoc., Locr.

•ETYM See ►ποτί.

ποιέω [v.] 'to do, make, produce (also of poetry), act', med. also 'to choose, deem, appraise' (Il.). <IE *\*k<sup>w</sup>i-eu-*, *\*k<sup>w</sup>ei-u-* 'gather, deem'>

•VAR Aor. ποιῆσαι, fut. ποιήσω, perf. med. πεποίημαι (all Il.), act. πεποίηκα, aor. pass. ποιηθῆναι (IA), fut. ποιηθήσομαι (D.), πεποιήσομαι (Hp.).

•COMP Often prefixed in different senses, e.g. with ἀντι-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, περι-, προσ-. As a second member -ποιός in productive compounds, e.g. λογοποιός [m.] 'historian, fabulist, newsmonger' (IA) with λογοποι-έω, -ία, -ικός, -ημα.

•DER 1. ποίημα (προσ-, περι-) [n.] 'production, work, poem' (IA) with -ημάτιον (Plu.), -ηματικός 'poetic' (Plu.); 2. ποίησις (προσ-, περι-, ἐκ- etc.) [f.] 'creation, production, poetry' (IA); on the meaning of ποί-ημα, -ησις see Ardzizoni *Riv. fil. class.* 90 (1962): 225ff., Chantraine 1933: 287. 3. ποιητός (προσ-, ἐκ-, etc.) 'made, produced' (Il.), also 'made artificially, not by nature' = 'adopted' (Pl., Arist.). 4. ποιητής [m.] (IA), fem. -ήτρια (Hell.) 'creator, producer, poet', especially of Homer, with -ητικός 'creating, poetic', ή -ητική (τέχνη) 'the art of poetry' (Pl., Arist.), -ητικεύομαι 'to speak poetically, etc.' (Eust., sch.). 5. desiderative ποιησεῖω 'to wish to do' (Hdn.).

•ETYM The verbal root must have contained a *ř*; cf. Arg. ποιφέσανς, έποιφέθε, έποιφέθε, Boeot. έποιφέσε, pres. opt. El. [πο]ιφέοι (beside repeated ποίεοι), which derive from *\*ποιφεjw*. Usually derived from a stem *\*k<sup>w</sup>ei-u-*, akin to Skt. *cinóti* 'to pile, arrange, erect', Av. *cinuuaiti* 'to select' < *\*k<sup>w</sup>i-n(e)u-ti* (Pok. 637-638), but the exact derivation is unclear. It has often been argued that the verb is derived from a noun *\*ποιφος* (Schwyzer: 450, 726'), but this only occurs in compounds from the V<sup>th</sup> c. onwards. The alternative view that it continues a root *\*k<sup>w</sup>eiu-*, abstracted from the *nu*-present *\*k<sup>w</sup>ineuti* > Skt. *cinóti* (Frisk, DELG), is rejected by LIV<sup>2</sup>. On the meaning of ποίεω and other *verba faciendi*, see Braun *Stud. ital. fil. class.* N. S. 15 (1938): 243ff.; also, Valesio *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Glottologia* (Bologna) 5 (1960): 97ff.

ποικίλος [adj.] 'varicolored, wrought in many colors (stitched, knitted, woven), manifold, versatile, cunning' (Il.). <IE *\*peik-* 'stitch, paint'>

•DIAL Myc. *po-ki-ro-nu-ka* /poikil-ōnuk<sup>a</sup>/ [n.pl.].

•COMP E.g. ποικιλό-θρονος (see θρόνα and Bolling *AmJPh* 79 (1958): 275ff.), πολυ-ποίκιλος 'much variegated' (E.).

•DER 1. ποικιλ-ία [f.] 'variegation, diversity, embroidering' (IA); 2. -ίας [m.] fish name (Paus.), see Strömberg 1943: 25, Thompson 1947 s.v., -ίς [f.] name of a bird that eats

the lark's eggs (Arist.), Thompson 1895 s.v.; 3. -εύς [m.] 'embroiderer, stitcher' (Alex. Com.).

4. Denominative verb ποικ-ίλλω 'to make varicolored, work artfully, etc.', also with δια-, κατα- etc., whence -ιλμα [n.] 'varicolored work, stitching, etc.' (Il.), -λμός [m.] 'elaboration, decoration' (Epicur., Plu.), -λσις [f.] 'id.' (Pl.); -ιλτής [m.] 'embroiderer, stitcher' (Aeschin., Arist.), fem. -ίλτρια (Str.), -ιλτικός 'belonging to stitching' (LXX, etc.); ποικ-ιλόω [v.] 'to stitch' (A. Fr. 304 = 609 Mette); -ιλεύομαι [v.] 'to be artful, versatile' (Vett. Val.).

•ETYM The suffixation -ίλος (cf. κόίλος, ναυτίλος, όργίλος, etc.) implies a root *\*ποικ-*, which is directly comparable to Skt. *pésa-* [m.] 'ornament', Av. *paēsa-* [m.] 'leprosy', Lith. *paĩšas* [m.] 'smut, dust-spot' < PIE *\*poik-o-*; the same formation (also as an adjective) occurs in Skt. *puru-pésa-*, Av. *paēsa-* 'leprous', Go. *filu-faihs* 'πολυποίκιλος'.

These derive from the verbal root *\*pik-*, seen in OCS *pvsati* 'to write', *n*-present Skt. *pimśati* 'to carve, cut, ornament', Lat. *pingō* 'to stitch with a needle, paint' (through nasalized coda *\*pi<sup>n</sup>g<sup>n</sup>-* from *\*pik-n-*). Cf. ►πικρός 'cutting in, stitching'. The forms πεικόν- πικρόν, πευκεδανόν (H.) and ►πίγγαλος are uncertain.

ποιμήν, -ένος [m.] 'herdsman, shepherd', metaph. 'guardian, leader, master' (Il.). <IE *\*peh<sub>2</sub>-(i)-* 'protect'>

•DIAL Myc. *po-me* /poimēn/.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ποιμ-άνωρ = ποιμήν άνδρών with ποιμανόρ-ιον [n.] 'herd, troop of men' (A. Pers. 241 and 74); φυτυ-ποίμην 'guardian of plants' (A. Eu. 911).

•DER ποιμέν-ιος (AP, APL), earlier and more often attested is -ικός (Pl., Hell. poet.) 'belonging to herdsmen'; -ισσα [f.] 'shepherdess' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>); ποίμν-η [f.] 'herd, flock of sheep' (ι 122) with -ιον [n.] 'id.' (IA); -ένιον (Opp.), -ιος 'belonging to herds' (E.), -ήϊος (B 470, Hes.), -ικός (pap. III<sup>p</sup>), -ίτης (E., Poll.), -ιώτης (sch.) 'id.'; -ηθεν [adv.] 'of the herd' (A. R.).

Denominative verb ποιμαίνω 'to be a herdsman, to herd, pasture', med. 'to graze', of the herd (Il.), rarely with δια-, συν-; thence ποιμαν-τήρ = ποιμήν (S.), -τικός = ποιμενικός (Gal., H.), ποιμασία [f.] 'the grazing' (Ph.). Also πῶν, -εος [n.] 'flock of sheep' (epic, Il.).

•ETYM Formally, ποιμήν has an exact correspondence with Lith. *piemuō*, gen. *piemeñs* 'herdsman' = PIE *\*poh<sub>2</sub>i-mōn*, *\*poh<sub>2</sub>i-mén-s*; the neuter πῶν < *\*poh<sub>2</sub>i-u*, *\*poh<sub>2</sub>i-eu-(o)s* is formally close to Skt. *pāyú-*, Av. *pāiiu-* [m.] 'herdsman, protector' < nom. *\*poh<sub>2</sub>i-u-s*, gen. *\*poh<sub>2</sub>i-u-os*; all are from the primary verb *\*peh<sub>2</sub>-ti* > Skt. *pāti* 'to keep, protect', whence also *go-pā-* [m.] 'cowherd'. The frequent *i*-extension seems to imply the pre-existence of an *i*-present, 3sg. *\*ph<sub>2</sub>-éi-ti*, 3pl. *\*ph<sub>2</sub>-i-énti*; from this verb probably derives Skt. *ṛi-pāy-(i)ya-* 'protecting men', *ṛi-pī-ti-* [f.] 'protection of men'. Cf. ►πῶμα 1.

ποινή [f.] 'ransom, fine, penalty, vengeance' (Il., epic poet.). <IE *\*k<sup>w</sup>oi-neh<sub>2</sub>* 'punishment, vengeance'>

•COMP E.g. ποιν-ηλατέω 'to pursue with vengeance' (see ►ἐλαύνω), νή-ποινος 'unpunished, unavenged' (Od.); on ►ἄποινα s.v.

•DER 1. ποι[ν]ίον [n.] = ποινή (Delph. IV<sup>a</sup>), like πεδ-ίον, χωρ-ίον, etc.; 2. adjectives ποίν-ιμος 'avenging' (S.), -αῖος 'punishing, avenging' (late); 3. verbs ποιν-άομαι 'to avenge oneself' (E.) with -άτωρ (A., E.), -ήτωρ (Nonn.), -ητήρ (Opp.) 'avenger'; fem. -ήτις 'avengeress' (AP); -ίζομαι in aor. -ίξασθαι 'to exact a penalty' (Arc. VI<sup>a</sup>). 4. ποινώματα· τιμωρήματα 'vengeances' (H.), after μίσθωμα, κεφάλωμα, μηχανώμα, etc. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 187).

•ETYM Identical with Av. *kaēnā* [f.] 'punishment, vengeance', Lith. *káina* [f.] 'price, utility', OCS *cěna* [f.] 'τιμή', Ru. *cená* [f.] 'price, value' < \**k<sup>w</sup>oi-neh<sub>2</sub>*-, from the verbal root \**k<sup>w</sup>ei-* seen in Skt. *cáyate* 'to avenge, punish' (cf. ἀπότισις, τίσις beside *ára-citi*-[f.] 'revenge'), Av. *kaii-* 'to atone, make pay'. Within Greek, this root is continued in ►τίνω, etc. Borrowed as Lat. *poena* >> MoE *pain*.

**ποῖος** [interrog. pron.] 'of what kind?' (Il.). <IE \**k<sup>w</sup>o-* 'who?'>

•VAR Ion. κοῖος.

•ETYM From interrogative \**k<sup>w</sup>o-* 'who?' (see ►πόθεν) with suffixal -οῖος; see ►τοῖος.

**ποιπνύω** [v.] 'to snort, pant, bustle about panting, be bustling' (epic since Il.). <GR>

•VAR Thence aor. ποιπνύσαι.

•DER Dat.pl. [π]οιπνυτ[ο]ισι (Antim. in *PMilan*. 17, 43 in unknown meaning, cf. ed. ad loc.); explained by H. as σπουδαῖος 'earnest'. In ποιπνυός· θεράπων 'attendant' (H.), the ending is corrupt.

•ETYM Reduplicated intensive formation ποι-πνύω (Schwyzer: 647) from ►πνέω, ►πέπνυμαι. Cf. ►ποιφύσσω.

**ποιφύσσω** [v.] 'to snort, hiss, puff, blow' (Hell. poet., title in Sophr.), ποιφύξαι· ἐκφοβῆσαι 'to alarm' (H.). <GR>

•VAR Dor. fut. -φυξω.

•DER ποίφυγμα [n.] 'the blowing' (A. *Th*. 280), ποιφύγδην [adv.] 'hissing' (Nic.); the sch. on Nic. has a pres. ποιφύζειν.

•ETYM Reduplicated intensive formation of onomatopoeic character; see on ►φῦσα.

**πόκος** = πέκω.

**πόλεμος** [m.] 'battle, war' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Epic also πτόλεμος.

•DIAL Myc. *e-u-ru-po-to-re-mo-jo* /Euru-ptolemoio/.

•COMP E.g. πολέμ-αρχος [m.] 'warlord', name of an official (IA, Dor.), φιλο-π(τ)όλεμος 'friend of battles, warlike' (Il.).

•DER A. Adjectives: 1. πολέμ-ιος 'militant, hostile', as a substantive 'enemy' (Pi., IA); 2. -ήιος 'belonging to battle, war' (Il., epic); metrically conditioned, probably after Ἀρήιος (Trümpy 1950: 134); 3. -ικός 'belonging to war, militant, hostile' (Hdt. 3, 4 as a v.l., Att.); 4. -ώδης 'id.' (Olymp. in *Grg*).

B. Verbs: 1. πολεμ-έω 'to battle, fight a war' (IA), often with prefix, e.g. δια-, κατα-, ἐκ-; thence -ήτωρ (Antioch. Astr.), -ητής (Gytheion III<sup>p</sup>) [m.] 'warrior', -ητήριον [n.] 'military base, operation base, headquarters' (Plb.); διαπολέμησις [f.] 'ending of the

war' (Th.). 2. πολεμίζω (also πολ-ε-) 'to fight' (Il., epic), metrical for -έω, see Chantraine 1942: 95; thence -ιστής [m.] 'fighter, warrior' (Il., epic), fem. -ίστρια (Heraclit. *Ep*.), -ιστρίς (Tz.), -ιστήριος 'belonging to warriors' (IA). 3. πολεμ-όομαι 'to become enemies' (Hdt., Th., X.), also with ἐκ-, etc., whence ἐκπολέμ-ωσις [f.] 'becoming of enemies' (Plu.). 4. Desiderative πολεμῆσέω 'to wish for war' (Th., D. C.).

PNs, e.g. Πολέμων, whence the plantname πολεμώνιον (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 135; Πτολεμαῖος.

•ETYM The alternation between initial πτ- and π- (see Schwyzer: 325 with literature, as well as Trümpy 1950: 131 ff., Ruijgh 1957: 75f., and Merlingen 1956: 55f.), although echoed by ►πόλις < PIE \**tpolh<sub>1</sub>-i-*, must have been adopted from Pre-Greek (Fur.: 317). Formally, the word has been linked with πελεμίζω 'to shake, tremble', and more distantly to πάλλω, but this is semantically unattractive.

**πολιός** [adj.] 'whitish-grey', especially of hair, also of foaming seas (Il., epic, also Hell.). <IE? \**pol-io-* 'grey'>

•COMP E.g. πολιο-κρόταφος 'with grey temples' (Θ 518 et al.), ὑπο-, ἐπι-πόλιος 'grizzled, mixed with grey' (Anacr., D.), probably back-formations (cf. ἐπιπολιόομαι below), see Strömberg 1946: 101ff.; on μεσαι-πόλιος see ►μέσος.

•DER 1. Fem. πολιάς (Luc. *Lex*.); 2. πόλιον [n.] 'Teucrium polium or creticum' (Thphr., Nic., Dsc.), named after the color of the flower (Dsc. 3, 1 10); 3. πολιότης [f.] 'greyness' (Arist.), πολιά (from πολι-ιά) [f.] 'id.', also as a disease (Arist.); 4. denominative πολι-αίνομαι 'to become whitish', of the sea (A. *Pers*. 109 [lyr.]); -όομαι 'to become grey', -όω 'to make grey' (Arist.), also with ἐπι-, προ-, whence -ωσις [f.] 'becoming grey' (Arist.), -ωμα [n.] 'greyness' (Eust.); -άζω 'to become grey' (sch.).

•ETYM The formation πολιός has been reconstructed as from \**πολιφο-* on the basis of Myc. *po-ri-wa* and the link with Skt. *palitá*- 'grey', but the appurtenance of the Myc. word is quite uncertain, and the Sanskrit word may contain a suffix -ita-. Since, furthermore, the reconstruction \**pol-i-uo-* with its double suffixation is *a priori* improbable, the original form must rather be set to \**pol-io-*; cf. Arm. *alik* 'pl.' 'wave's crests, white tuft, beard' < \**pl-io-es*. With the suffix -uo- for color designations, we find the related formations Lith. *pal̃vas* 'light yellow, straw-colored', OCS *plavъ* 'white', ON *fǫlr* 'pale' < \**pol-uo-*. Cf. ►πελιός.

**πόλις** [f.] 'citadel, fort, city, city community, state' (Il.), on the meaning in Hom. Hoffmann 1956: 153ff. <IE \**tpelH-* 'fortification' from \**pelH-* 'pout'?>

•VAR Ion. -ιος, -ηος, also πτόλις, -εως (epic, Cypr., Thess., Arc.).

•DIAL Myc. *po-to-ri-jo* has been interpreted as \*Πτολίων.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in πτολί-πορθος (-πόρθιος, -πόρθης) 'sacking cities, destroyer of cities' (Il., epic); enlarged in IA πολιοῦχος (from -ιο-ουχ.); Dor. πολι-ἄ-οχος, -ιᾶχος, epic πολι-ή-οχος 'ruling a city, city protector'; unexplained is πολιισσο- in πολιισσοῦχος, πολιισσο-νομέω (A.). Very frequent as a second member, e.g. ἀκρο-πολις = πόλις ἄκρη 'upper town, citadel' (Od.); on this and related compounds, see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 261ff.

•DER 1. With a secondary suffix πτολί-εθρον [n.] (epic Il.); cf. μέλαθρον, θέμεθλα, ἔδεθλον (Schwyzer: 533). 2. Diminutive πολίχνη [f.], often as a TN (IA), with -ίχνιον (Att.); πολίδιον (ī) [n.] (Str.). 3. Πολιεύς (-ηύς) [m.] 'city guardian' (Thera before V<sup>a</sup>, Arist., Hell.); fem. Πολιάς (IA, Arg.). 4. πολίτης (epic, Sapph., Att.) 'citizen, townsman', πολι-ᾶ-τας, -ή-της [m.] (Dor. Aeol., B 806, Ion.), after οἰκιά-τας, -ιή-της, etc., fem. -ίτις (S., E., Pl.); hence πολιτ-ικός 'civic, political' (Hdt. 7, 103, Att.); -εύομαι, -εύω [v.] 'to be a citizen, take part in state affairs' (Att., etc.), πολιатеύω (Gortyn), whence -εία, Ion. -ιή, -ευμα (Hdt., Att.); also πολιτισμός 'administration' (D. L.), see Chantraine 1933: 143. 5. Denominative πολίζω 'to found (a city), cultivate a place by founding a city' (epic Ion., X.), aor. -ίσ(σ)αι, also prefixed (rare and late) with ἐν-, συν-, etc. Thence πόλ-ισμα 'foundation (of a city)' (Ion. poet., Th.), -ισμάτιον (Hell.), -ισμός 'foundation of a city' (D. H., Lyd.), -ιστής 'founder of a city' (rejected in Poll. 9, 6).

•ETYM Together with the variant πτόλις (= Arc. Πτόλις, name of the castle in Mantinea; Thess. οἱ ττολιάρχαι with assimilation) from PIE *\*tpolH-*, to which correspond the zero-grades Skt. *pūr*, gen. *purah* [f.], Lith. *pilis* [f.] < *\*plH-*. The two forms suggest that PIE had an ablauting root noun (cf. Pok. 798-801). Original meaning 'hill top'; cf. the *s*-stem *\*pélH-s*, *\*plH-és-os* supported by OIr. *all* [n.] 'cliff', ON *fall* [n.] 'mountain'.

πόλος [m.] ⇒ πέλομαι.

πόλτος [m.] 'flour porridge' (Alcm., Epich., Plu.). <?>

•COMP πολτο-ποιέω 'to make into π.' (Orib.).

•DER Diminutive πολτάριον [n.] (Dsc.), adjective πολτώδης 'porridge-like' (Erot.).

•ETYM The form *\*pol-to-* is reminiscent of ▶πάλη 'fine flour' < *\*plH-eh<sub>2</sub>-* and ▶πέλανος 'liquid substance (of flour)' < *\*pelh<sub>2</sub>-no-*. Outside Greek, it has been compared with Lat. *puls*, -tis [f.], which is reconstructed as *\*pol(H)-t-* with the Saussure Effect, and sometimes with *pollen* [n.] 'flour, powder' < *\*polH-n-* (cf. De Vaan 2008: 474). The Saussure Effect would need to be invoked in order to connect the Greek as *\*pol(h<sub>2</sub>)-to-*. The situation is obscured, however, because the nominal formations may have been derived relatively recently from the verb ▶παλλω. A final alternative would be that πόλτος is a substrate word, related to e.g. παλάθη 'cake of conserved fruits' and πλάθανον 'cake mold' (suggested by Van Beek 2009).

πολύς [adj.] 'much, many, often' (Il.). <IE *\*p(e)lh<sub>1</sub>-u-* 'many'>

•VAR πολλή, πολύ, Ion. poet. also πολλός, πολλόν.

•COMP Highly productive as a first member, e.g. πολύ-τροπος 'much-wandering, much-turned, wily', of Odysseus, Hermes and others (Od., *h. Merc.*), 'many-shaped' (Th.). On the Homeric compounds in πολυ- see Stanford *Class. Phil.* 45 (1950): 108ff. Beside this, we rarely find πολλα-, e.g. πολλα-πλάσιος, -πλήσιος 'manifold' (IA), like δεκα-πλάσιος, πολλά-κις etc.; see also δι-πλάσιος. Compar. and superl. ▶πλείων, πλέων, πλείστος (from *\*pleh<sub>1</sub>-is-to-*), s.v.; innovation πόλιστος (*Tab. Heracl.*), see Seiler 1950: 61.

•DER πολλότης [f.] 'plurality' (Damasc.), πολλ-οστός 'the manieth', 'one of many, small' (Att.), after εἰκοστός etc.; -άκις 'often' (Il.), epic and lyr. also -κι; after δεκά-κις etc.; explanation uncertain.

•ETYM The *o*-grade in πολύς, -ύ < *\*polh<sub>1</sub>-u-* is flanked by a zero grade in Skt. *purú-* 'many' < IE *\*plh<sub>1</sub>-u-* and an *e*-grade in e.g. OIr. *il*, Go. *filu* 'many' < *\*pelh<sub>1</sub>-u-*. The geminated stem πολλο- is not certainly explained; it is mostly assumed that it contains the same suffix as in μεγαλ-. The adjective is an old derivative of the verbal root 'to fill' as in ▶κίμπλημι.

πολφοί [m.pl.] farinaceous food, 'wire noodles' (com.). <?>

•VAR Also sg. -ός.

•COMP πολφο-φάκη [f.] 'dish of wire noodles and lentils' (Poll. 6, 61).

•ETYM Of unknown origin. Perhaps somehow connected with πλεφίς σησαμίς (H.).

πομπή ⇒ πέμπω.

πομφόλυξ, πομφός ⇒ πέμφιξ.

πονέομαι, πόνος ⇒ πένομαι.

πόντος [m.] 'sea' (Il., epic), often in names, e.g. ὁ Εὐξεινος πόντος 'the Black Sea', for which also (ὁ) Πόντος (IA), also as a name of the southern coast of the Black Sea and a state in that area (App. et al.). <IE *\*pont-eh<sub>1</sub>-*, *\*pnt-h<sub>1</sub>-* 'path'>

•COMP E.g. ποντο-πόρος 'crossing the sea' (Il., epic), with ποντοπορ-έω, -εύω [v.] 'to cross the sea' (Od.), on the formation see Chantraine 1942: 62, 95 and 368); on ▶Ἑλλήσποντος see s.v.

•DER 1. πόντ-ιος 'belonging to the sea' (*h. Hom.*, Pi.), fem. -ιάς (Pi.); 2. -ικός 'from Pontos' (IA); 3. -ίλος [m.] name of a mollusc (Arist.), cf. ναυτ-ίλος; 4. -εύς [m.] name of a Phaeacian (θ 113); 5. ποντ-ίζω [v.] (A., S.), elsewhere with κατα- (Att., NT) 'to sink into the sea', whence ποντίσματα [n.pl.] 'oblations sunk into the sea' (E.), καταποντ-ισμός [m.] 'the drowning' (Isoc., LXX), -ιστής [m.] 'one who throws into the sea, who lets drown' (Att.); 6. κατα-ποντ-όω 'id.' (IA); ποντ-όομαι 'to form a sea' (Q. S.), -όω = -ίζω (Nic. Dam.), with -ωσις [f.] (Tz.).

•ETYM Together with ▶πάτος, πόντος represents an old IE *\*h<sub>1</sub>-*stem with ablaut of the root, viz. *\*pont-éh<sub>1</sub>-s*, gen. *\*pnt-h<sub>1</sub>-ós*; cf. Skt. *pánthāh*, gen. *pathah*, Av. *pantā*, gen. *paθō*, Lat. *pōns*, gen. *pontis* [m.] 'bridge, passage', Arm. *hun* 'ford', OCS *putb* [m.] 'road', OPr. *pintis* 'id.', etc. In Germanic, the root is mainly verbal; cf. Go. *finþan* 'to find', etc. < *\*pent-e/o-*. See ▶πατέω.

πόπανον ⇒ πέσσω.

πόποι interjection of surprise, disagreement, etc. (Il., epic). <PG>

•VAR Epic ὦ πόποι. Also πόπαξ (A. *Eu.* 143).

•ETYM Creation like ▶παπαῖ, ▶βαβαί, -άξ. On the reinterpretation of ὦ πόποι (also ὦ) as 'oh gods!' in Lycophr. and Euphr., see Leumann 1950: 33 and Ruijgh 1957: 101.

ποπύζω [v.] 'to click with the tongue', as a calling signal, etc. (com., Thphr., Theoc.).

<PG>



•VAR Dor. -ύσδω.

•DER ποπι-υσμός [m.] (X., Plu.), -υσμα [n.], (Dexipp. *in Cat.*, Juv.) 'the clicking'; enlarged in ποπι-υλάσδω 'id.' (Theoc.), cf. βομβυλιάζω (see βόμβος).

•ETYM Onomatopoeia with reduplication.

**πορεῖν** [aor.] 'to provide, donate, offer, grant' (Il., epic). <IE \**perh<sub>3</sub>*- 'give'>

•VAR πέπρωται [perf.] 'it is given or decided (by fate)', ptc. πεπρωμένος (Il., epic); ptc. πρωτός (Hdn. Gr.).

•ETYM Morphologically similar to e.g. μολεῖν : μέμβλωκα < \**melh<sub>3</sub>*-. The verb is derived from the root \**perh<sub>3</sub>*-, which is also found in Skt. *pūr-dhi* [ipv.] 'give!' < \**prh<sub>3</sub>-d<sup>hi</sup>*. Because of the color of the laryngeal, the verb cannot be related to περάω, πείρω 'to penetrate' < \**perh<sub>2</sub>-(i)e/o-*, nor to πέρνημι 'to sell' < \**pr-neh<sub>2</sub>-mi*.

**πορθέω** ⇒ πέρθω.

**πορθμός** ⇒ πείρω.

**πόρις, -ιος** [f.] 'calf, heifer', metaph. 'young girl' (epic since κ 410); also πόρταξ [f.] 'id.' (P 4) modeled after δέλφαξ, σκύλαξ, etc. <?>

•VAR More common is πόρις, -ιος (epic since E 162).

•DIAL Myc. *po-ti-pi* /portip<sup>hi</sup>/ [instr.pl.].

•DER πορτι-τρόφος 'feeding calves' (h. Ap., B.); glosses πορτάκινον (or -ιον?)· μοσχίον 'young calf', πορτάζει (or -ακίζει?)· δαμαλίζεται 'is subdued' (H.).

•ETYM Presupposes IE \**por-i-*, an *i*-stem beside e.g. ON *farri*, OHG *far(ro)* 'bull' < \**por-só(n)-* / \**por-nó(n)-*, MHG *verse*, MoHG *Färse* [f.] 'young cow' < \**por-s-ih<sub>2</sub>-*. Perhaps from a verb \**prH-e/o-* as in Lat. *pariō* 'to mate' (Lith. *perėti* 'to brood, sit on eggs', however, has no laryngeal in the root, and therefore cannot be related).

**πόρκης** [m.] 'ring around the shaft of a spear, holding the metal spearhead' (Z 320 = Θ 495). <?>

•DER πορκώδης 'like a π.' (Eust.).

•ETYM Suffixation like in γύης, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 30, Schwyzer: 461), but no further etymology. Cf. ► πόρκος and ► πόρπη.

**πόρκος** [m.] 'kind of fishing-net' (Pl., com.) <?>

•DER πορκεύς [m.] 'net-fisher' (Lyc.).

•ETYM Etymology uncertain: if connected with Arm. *ors* 'hunting, hunting-booty', it derives from PIE \**por<sup>k</sup>-o-* (Patrubány KZ 37 (1904): 428). Doubts on the meaning of the Arm. word in Clackson 1994: 164. Cf. ► πόρκης.

**πόρνη** [f.] 'prostitute, whore' (IA). <IE \**perh<sub>2</sub>*- 'sell'>

•COMP E.g. πορνο-βοσκός [m.] 'procurer', with -έω, -ία, -εῖον (Herod., Att.); πορνο-λύτας [m.] (inscr. Tarentum), see Parlangeli *Glotta* 40 (1962): 50.

•DER 1. Diminutive πορν-ίδιον [n.] (com.); 2. -ικός 'belonging to harlots' (Aesch., LXX); 3. -εῖον [n.] 'brothel' (Ar., Antipho), 4. -οσύνη [f.] 'prostitution' (Man.); 5. -εύομαι, -εύω [v.] 'to live like a harlot; to prostitute', also metaph. 'to practise idolatry' (NT), with -εῖα, -ευσίς, -εσμα, -εύτρια (IA). From πόρνη also πόρνος [m.] 'lover-boy, lover' (Att., LXX, NT).

•ETYM Linked to ► πέρνημι 'to sell', and hence derived from \**porh<sub>2</sub>-neh<sub>2</sub>-*. The loss of laryngeal is mostly ascribed to Saussure's Law (loss of laryngeal after *o*-grade); for a different interpretation (loss between liquid and nasal), see Van Beek 2009.

**πόρος** [m.] ⇒ πείρω.

**πόρπη** [f.] 'clasp' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•DER πορπίον, -άω, -ημα, -όομαι, -ωμα; with a suffix -ᾱκ-: πόρπαξ, -ᾱκος [m.] 'ring or loop on the inner (bulging) side of a shield' (B., S., E. Ar.), 'part of the headgear of a horse' (E. Rh. 385) with -ᾱκίζομαι (Ar.); originally a Doric expression, see Chantraine 1933: 381, Björck 1950: 296f.

•ETYM Neither a reduplicated formation from πείρω, nor a creation \**pork-ueh<sub>2</sub>-* from πόρκης makes sense (pace e.g. WP 2, 39). Fur.: 163 connects πορφίτω· περόνη 'buckle' (H.), and concludes that the word is Pre-Greek on account of the variation π/φ.

**πόρσω** [adv.] 'forward, beyond, far away from something, away' (Pi., trag. [lyr.]). <IE \**per*, or \**preti*, *proti* 'forward'>

•VAR πόρρω (Att.). Compar. and superl. πόρσ-ιον, -ιστα (Pi.), see Seiler 1950: 106f.; πορρω-τέρω, -τάτω (Att.). Adverb πόρσω-θεν (Archyt.), πόρρω-θεν (Att.) 'from far'.

•DER Denominatives 1. πορσ-ύνω [v.] 'to accomplish, provide' (epic Ion., also X.), also with ἐπι-, συν-, originally 'to bring forth' (cf. Lat. *producere*, MoHG *hervorbringen*); 2. πορσαίνω 'id.' (Hom. v.l., h. Cer., Pi.), rejected by Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 261.

•ETYM May be identical to Lat. *porrō*, Praen. *porod* 'forward' if < \**p(o)rsō(d)*, with an ending like in ἄνω, κάτω, etc. DELG, however, prefers to derive πόρσω from πρόσω (< \**πορσι* + -ω) with metathesis (comparing ► πρότι beside πόρτι), because both words share the same sense. See ► πρόσω.

**πορφύρα** [f.] 'purple dye, purple snail, purple clothes' (Sapph., Hdt., A.). <PG?>

•VAR Ion. -ρη.

•COMP E.g. πορφυρό-ζωνος 'with a purple girdle' (B.), παμ-πόρφυρος 'consisting only of purple, all-purple' (Pi.), ἐπι-, ὑπο-πόρφυρος 'something purple' (Thphr., Arist.), see Strömberg 1946: 104f., 138; also ἁλι-πόρφυρος 'of sea purple, dyed with real purple, purple-red' (Od.); different Marzullo *Maia* 3 (1950): 132ff., Marzullo 1970: 255.

•DER 1. πορφύρεος (Att. -οῦς, Aeol. -ιος) 'purple, purple dye', of cloth(e)s, also of blood, etc. (Il.), cf. on ► πορφύρω. 2. πορφυρ-εύς [m.] 'purple snail fisher' (Hdt., Arist.), with -ευτικός 'belonging to the πορφυρεύς (-ευτής?)' (E., Poll.), probably after ἁλιευ-τικός, cf. Fraenkel 1912: 63, Chantraine 1956a: 119; πορφυρ-εῦω [v.] 'to fish for purple snails' (Philostr.), -ευτής [m.] = -εύς (Poll.). 3. πορφυρ-ίς [f.] 'purple garment' (X.), also name of a bird (Ibyc.), see Thompson 1895 s.v. 4. diminutive πορφύριον [n.] (Arist.), also 'purpur cloth' (pap.). 5. -εῖον [n.] 'purple dye house' (Str.). 6. -ίτης (λίθος), fem. -ίτις 'like porphyry, containing porphyry' (Plin., inscr., ostr.), -ιτικός 'containing porphyry' (pap.). 7. πορφυρ-ίων [m.] 'purple coot, Fulica porphyron' (Ar., Arist.), see Thompson 1895 s.v., Chantraine 1933: 165. 8. -ικῆ [f.]

'purple taxes (pap. II<sup>a</sup>). 9. πορφυρώματα· τῶν ταῖς θεαῖς τυθέντων χοίρων τὰ κρέα 'the meat of pigs offered to the gods' (H.). 10. πορφυρ-ίζω 'to make purple' (Arist., Thphr.), also with ἐπι-, ὑπο-. 11. TNs like Πορφυρ-ίς, -εών.

•ETYM There are no Indo-European connections; probably a loanword from a Mediterranean language. On πορφύρα, -ύρεος, -ύρω, see Vieillefond *REGr.* 51 (1938): 403ff.; further, Castrignanò *Maia* 5 (1952): 18ff., Gipper *Glotta* 42 (1964): 39ff., and Tichy 1983: 280ff. Borrowed as Lat. *purpura*, whence MoE *purple*, etc.

**πορφύρω** [v.] 1. 'to surge, boil', of the sea (Ξ 16, Arat., A. R.), metaph. of the heart (Od., A. R., Q. S.); 2. 'to dye purple, redden' (Hell.), 'to paint red' (Nonn.). <?>

•VAR Only pres. and ipf.

•COMP With περι- (Man.).

•DER πορφύρεος (Aeol. -ιος) 'boiling, whirly', of the sea (Hom., Alc.); to be kept apart from πορφύρεος 'purple'.

•ETYM Reduplicated formation like ►μορμύρω (s.v. with lit.); for πορφύρεος, cf. μαρμάρεος from ►μαρμαίρω. Traditionally compared to Skt. *jár-bhurīti* 'to have convulsions, sprawl' from the primary verb *bhurāti* 'id.' (see further on ►φύρω). In the sense 'to dye purple', πορφύρω was adapted to πορφύρα. Discussion in Tichy 1983: 280ff.

**πός** [prep.] = ►ποτί, ►πρός. <IE \**pos* 'near, after', \**poti*>

•VAR Before vowel also πο- (Arc. Cypr., Phr., Pisid.).

•ETYM Traditionally thought to be identical in origin with Lith. *pàs* 'by, near', OCS *po* 'behind, after' < \**pos*, which would also be present in Lat. *post* < \**posti*, Alb. *pas* 'behind, after', etc. However, DELG is quite explicit in its rejection of this comparison, arguing that all Greek variants πότ-, πός, πο- must be explained from \**poti* > Myc. *po-si*.

**πόσθη** [f.] 'penis' (Ar. *Nu.* 1014), also 'foreskin' (medic.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Cf. ἀκροβυστία below.

•DER Diminutive πόσθιον [n.] (Hp., Ar.); -ία [f.] 'foreskin' (Ph.), metaph. 'stye on the eyelid' (medic.); perhaps shortened from ἀκρο-ποσθ-ία (Scheller 1951: 43<sup>2</sup>); -ων, -ωνος [m.] 'provided with a π.', vulgar designation of a boy (Ar. *Pax* 1300; meaning unclear in Luc. *Lex.* 12); also PNs like -ίων, -ύλος; perhaps also Βόσθων (Halicarn.), O. Masson *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 10 (1975): 162.

Furthermore ποσθ-αλίων (Dor. inscr. around 200<sup>a</sup>), with a familiar enlargement -λ-; see Taillardat *RPh.* 87 (1961): 249f.; -αλίσκος = -ων (Ar. *Th.* 291; conj. Dindorf, accepted by Taillardat l.c.).

Compound ἀκρο-ποσθ-ία [f.] (Hp., Arist.) -ιον [n.] (Poll., Ruf.) 'foreskin'; for this ἀκροβυστία [f.] 'id.', coll. 'the uncircumcized people' = 'heathendom' (LXX, NT), formerly assumed to contain a folk-etymological euphemism after βύω (*EM* 53, 47, Blass & Debrunner 1959 §120, 4).

•ETYM Traditionally connected with ►πέος < \**peso-*, but the required derivation \**pos-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-o-* is rather artificial. If ἀκρο-βυστία is not analogical, the word must be Pre-Greek in view of the variation. This explanation is increasingly attractive in view of the semantic field. Note that the derivation from \**g<sup>wh</sup>osd<sup>h</sup>-eh<sub>2</sub>-* (Szemerényi *Archiv.*

*Linguist.* 5 (1953): 13ff.) is wrong, because root was \**g<sup>wh</sup>osd-*; cf. OSw. *kvaster* [m.] 'twig, brush', OIr. *bot* [m.] 'tail, penis' < \**g<sup>wh</sup>osd-o-*.

**πόσις 1, -ιος** [m.] 'husband, spouse, consort' (Il., epic poet.), cf. Chantraine *REGr.* 59-60 (1946-1947): 219ff.). <IE \**poti-* 'lord (of the house), husband'>

•ETYM Old and widespread designation of the lord of the house and the husband: Skt. *pāti-*, Av. *paiti-* 'lord, ruler, husband', Lith. *pàts* 'husband' (for older *patis*), ToA *pats*, ToB *petso* [obl.] 'husband', Lat. *potis* 'capable, powerful', all from IE \**póti-*. The word is often used as a second member of a compound or with a gen., e.g. ►δεσπότης, Skt. *viś-pāti-* 'lord of the house', Lith. *vieš-pats* 'Lord-(god)' (cf. on ►οἶκος), Lat. *hos-pes* 'guest, host', Ru. *gos-pód* 'Lord, god', Go. *brub-faþs* 'bridegroom'.

The meaning 'lord, husband' is usually explained (see Benveniste *Word* 10 (1954): 256, following Pedersen) from an older meaning 'self' in Lith. *pàts* (and in Av. \**x<sup>aē</sup>-paiti-*) and in the particle Lith. *pāt* 'self, even', Hitt. =*pat* 'the same, also, even, etc.'; however, the Hittite particle probably derives from \**-b<sup>h</sup>od* (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). This interpretation is extensively criticized and rejected by Szemerényi 1964: 337ff. See ►πότνια and ►Ποσειδών.

**πόσις 2** 'drink, beverage'. = πίνω.

**πόσος** [interr. pron.] 'how great?, how much?, how many?' (Att.). <IE \**k<sup>w</sup>oti-* 'how much'>

•VAR Ion. (Hdt.) κόσος.

•COMP Epic ποσσ-ἡμαρ 'in how many days?' (Ω 657).

•DER ποσό-της [f.] 'quantity' (Arist.), ποσ-ώδης 'quantitative' (comm. Arist.), -ίνδα [adv.] (X.), see Schwyzler: 627, -άκι(ς) 'how often?' (Pl., Call.), -όω [v.] 'to calculate the quantity, to count up' (Thphr.); also πόστος 'the how-manieth?' (ω 288, Att.), dissimilated from \*ποσ(σ)ο-στός, and accented after πόσος; hence ποστ-αῖος 'on what day?' (X.), after δευτερ-αῖος, etc. Indefinite ποσός (Att., Hell.), ποστός (late).

•ETYM From \*πότι-ος, an adjective formed from IE \**k<sup>w</sup>óti*, found in Skt. *káti*, Lat. *quot* 'how many?'. See further on ►πόθεν and ►τόσος.

**ποταίνιος** [adj.] 'new, fresh, unexpected, unheard of' (Pi., B., trag., also Hp.), acc. to Eust. and Phot., Doric for πρόσφατος. <GR>

•VAR ποταίνι = προσφάτως (Zonar.).

•ETYM Can hardly be separated from προταίνιον· πρὸ μυκοῦ, παλαιόν (H.) and ►προταίνι 'in front' (E. *Rh.* 523), Boeot. προτηνί 'earlier'. As this stands for πρὸ ταινί (scil. ἡμέραι), ποταίνι, -νιος must go back to an adverbial \*ποτι ταινι with haplogy.

**ποταμός** [m.] 'river' (Il.). <?>

•COMP E.g. ποταμο-φύλαξ [m.] 'river-guard' (pap.), καλλι-πόταμος 'with fair rivers' (E. [lyr.]).

•DER 1. Diminutives ποτάμι-ον [n.] (com., Str.), -ίσκος [m.] (Str.). Further substantives: 2. ποταμ-εὺς [m.] designation of the east wind in Tripolis (Arist.), 3. -ίτης [m.] 'river-worker' (pap.). Adjectives: 4. -ιος 'belonging to the river' (Pi., Hdt., trag., etc.), -αῖος 'id.' (Arist. [v.l. -ιος], Ruf.); -ήϊος (Nonn.), fem. -ήϊς (A. R., Nic.)

'id.', both metrically conditioned. 5. -ώδης 'river-like' (Eun.); 6. -ηνή [f.] epithet of Μήτηρ, the river goddess (inscr. Pisidia), cf. Schwyzler: 490. 7. Adverb -ιδόν 'like a river, in streams' (Luc., Aret.); 8. Verb -όομαι 'to form a river' (Aq.). 9. nickname Ποτάμλλα [m.] (Sophr.), see Schwyzler: 561.

•ETYM Formation like οὐλαμός, πλόκαμος, etc. Combined with πίπτω, ἔπετον 'to fall' in previous centuries, thus originally "waterfall" vel sim., referring to a river sweeping away things in a mountainous area. Etymological comparison with the epithet διυπετής (II 174, δ 477) is difficult. The analysis faces the problem that the root-final laryngeal was \*h<sub>1</sub>, and thus cannot explain the suffix vocalism -αμ-.

Others have connected ποταμός to πετάννυμι in the sense of "extension", and supposed identity with the Germanic group of OS *fathmos*, OE *fæðm* 'extension (of the arms), embrace, fathom' (OE *flōdes fæðm*). A final option, formally more attractive and semantically possible, is a relation with \**peth<sub>2</sub>*- 'to fly', as evidenced by Gr. ἔπτατο. Connection with Lith. *tekù* 'run', assuming metathesis from \*τοπαμός (Pisani *RILomb.* 73 (1939-40): 502f.), should be rejected.

In sum, the etymology remains uncertain. In principle, the word could be Pre-Greek.

ποτανός, ποτάομαι, ποτέομαι ⇒ πέτομαι.

πότε [interr. adv.] 'when?', indefinite ποτε, ποτέ 'at some time' (Il., Att., Arc., Cypr.). <IE \*k<sup>w</sup>o- 'which?'>

•VAR Ion. κότε, Aeol. πότα, Dor. πόκα.

•ETYM From the pronominal stem πο- with various particles added; see ► πόθεν and ► ὅτε. Formerly, ► τίπτε was also assumed to contain πότε, but this is now unlikely.

πότερος [pron. adj.] 'who or which of either?' (Il.). <IE \*k<sup>w</sup>o- 'which?'>

•VAR Ion. κότερος.

•ETYM Old pronoun, identical with Skt. *katará-*, Go. *hvaþar*, Lith. *katràs*, etc., IE \*k<sup>w</sup>o-tero- (cf. on ► πόθεν); on the varying accentuation, see Schwyzler: 381.

πоти [prev., prep.] 'towards, by' (Il., epic poet., Dor.). <IE \**poti* 'against'>

•VAR ποτ' before vowel.

•DIAL Myc. *po-si-*.

•ETYM Identical with Av. *paiti*, OP *patiy* 'against, by'. Beside it stand ► πρότι, ► πρόσ, and ► πός.

πότμος ⇒ πίπτω.

πότνια [f.] 'lady, mistress', especially of goddesses (Il., epic poet.). <IE \**pot-ni<sub>h</sub>*, 'lady'>

•VAR On disyllabic πότνια for older πότνια (Od. et al.), originally only in the voc. πότνια θεά, which may have been an Aeolic syntagm, see Peters 1980a: 213ff.

•DIAL Myc. *po-ti-ni-ja*. On the Myc. adjective *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* see Lejeune *Par. del pass.* 17 (1962): 401ff.

•DER ποτνιαδες [pl.] 'id.' (E.), after μαινάδες etc., see Chantraine 1933: 355 and 357; ποτνι-άομαι [v.] 'to beseech (a goddess); to wail, lament', especially of women (late prose), on the mg. see *Mras Glotta* 12 (1923): 67f. Thence -ασμοί [pl.] (Str.), -ασίς [f.]

(Poll.) 'wail', -αστής [m.] 'lamerter' (Phld.); also -άζομαι in ποτνιαζου. εὔχου, παρακάλει 'pray, call' (H.). TN Ποτνιαί [f.pl.] Boeotian town name (Paus.), called after the Πότνια (Demeter and Kore); hence the adjective Ποτνι-ιάς (A. et al.) and the PN -εύς (Paus.).

•ETYM Identical with Skt. *pátñi* [f.] 'mistress, goddess', Av. *paθñi-* [f.] 'mistress', OLith. *vieš-patni* [f.] 'lady, mistress': IE \**pótñih<sub>2</sub>*. This is the old feminine of IE \**póti-* 'lord, husband' in πόσις 'husband'; πότνια 'mistress, goddess' became isolated from it.

ποῦ ⇒ πόθεν.

πουκρίς [f.] 'river perch, *Perca fluviatilis*' (inscr. Acraiphia before 224-210 BC). <IE \**perk-* 'motley'>

•ETYM Acc. to Taillardat (see DELG *Supp.*), the same word as περκίς [f.] 'small perch' (Dsc.). The word would be a metathesized form of \**πρυκ-ιδ-* < \**pr<sub>1</sub>k-*, with *py* from *r*, written πουκρίδ- in Boeotian. It would then be cognate with πρακνόν, πρεκνός, etc.; see on ► πρόξ and ► περκνός.

πούπος [m.] 'hoopoe' (Cyran. 20). <ONOM>

•ETYM The word is onomatopoeic; cf. ► ἔποψ 'id.'

πούριον [n.] 'kind of tart' (Chrysipp. Tyan. *apud* Ath. 14, 647d). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

πούρος ⇒ πῶρος.

πούς, ποδός [m.] 'foot', also metaph. in several mgs. (Il.). <IE \**pod-* 'foot'>

•VAR Dor. πῶς, πός; see below.

•DIAL Myc. *po-da-ko* /podargos/ [n.] name of an ox (Chantraine *RPh.* 89 (1963): 13), *ti-ri-po* /tripod-/ etc.

•COMP Very frequent in compounds, e.g. Πόδ-αργος [m.] name of a horse (Il.), also as an appellative 'swift- or white-footed' (Lyc.), cf. ἀργί-πους s.v. ► ἀργός; τρί-πους (-πος) 'three-footed', msc. 'tripod' (Il.), cf. Myc. *ti-ri-po*. Extensive discussion on ποδ- as a second member in Sommer 1948: 28ff. Hypostases with a suffix -ιο-, e.g. ἐμ-πόδ-ιος 'at one's feet, in the way, obstructive' (IA), ὑπο-πόδ-ιον [n.] 'footstool' (LXX, Hell. inscr. and pap.).

•DER 1. Diminutives πόδ-ιον [n.] (Epich., Hp.), -άριον [n.] (com.), -ίσκος [m.] (Herod.), cf. Myc. *ti-ri-po-di-ko*.

Further substantives: 2. ποδ-εῖα [n.pl.] designation of a foot covering, 'leggings' vel sim. (Critias, com.); 3. -εών, -εῶνος [m.] 'foot-end of an animal skin, strip or sheet' (Ion., Theoc.); 4. -ία [f.] 'sail sheet' (gloss., Serv. ad Verg.); 5. -ίδες [f.pl.] designation of a foot covering (Poll.); 6. -ότης [f.] 'the property of being provided with feet' (Arist.); 7. -ωμα [n.] 'floor, base' (pap.).

Adjectives: 8. ποδ-ιαῖος 'measuring one foot' (IA); -ικός 'concerning a metrical foot' (Aristid. Quint.).

Verbs 9. ποδ-ίζομαι 'to be bound by the feet' (S., X.), also (metrical) 'to divide in feet, scan' (Eust.), with -ισμός [m.] 'measuring by feet' (late), -ίστρα [f.] 'foot-trap' (AP);

also with prefix, e.g. ἐμ-ποδ-ίζω 'to bind the feet' (Hdt., A.), but usually 'to hinder, obstruct' (Att.), from ►ἐμποδών, ἐμπόδιος (see above); ἀνα-ποδ-ίζω 'to make to step back, to call back, go back' (IA); 10. ποδ-όω, -όομαι 'to tighten the sail sheet, be provided with feet' (Lyc. et al.), whence -ωτός.

•ETYM The old word for 'foot' was a consonant stem \**pod-*. In most languages, it was either preserved as such, or enlarged: e.g. Arm. *ot-k'* [pl.] = πόδες, *otn* [nom.acc.sg.] = acc. πόδα < IE \**pód-η*. The *o*-grade appears also in Hitt. *pāt-* / *pat-*, CLuw. *pāta/i-* 'foot'. A lengthened grade is found in Gm., e.g. ON *fótr*, OE *fēt* [pl.] < PGm. \**fōt-iz* < IE \**pód-es*. An innovation after the *u*-stems is Go. *fōtus*, acc. *fōtu* < IE \**pód-η*. An *e*-grade is attested in Lat. *pēs*, *ped-is*, while the original color of Skt. *pāt*, acc. *pād-am*, gen. *pād-ās* cannot be deduced.

ToA *pe*, ToB *paiyye* 'foot' contain an enlargement, but are difficult to analyze precisely (see Adams 1999 s.v. *paiyye*). The appurtenance of Lith. *pādas* 'sole of the foot, threshing-floor, etc.', Ru. *pod* 'bottom, ground, plank-bed' is hardly possible in view of Winter's Law (see Derksen 2008 s.v. *podъ*).

All this seems to point to old static ablaut IE \**ped-* : *pod-*. In Greek, the *e*-grade is retained in a series of derivations: ►πέδι, ►πέξα, ►πεζός, ►πέδον, ►πέδιλον, ►πεδά; further, an old zero grade is found in ►ἐπιβδα.

The originally lengthened grade of the nom.sg. is found in Greek only in πώς (Dor. *apud* H.). It was replaced by Dor. πός, Hom. τρί-πος after the oblique forms; Att. πούς recalls δούς, etc., but has no certain explanation.

πραγορίτης [m.] 'kind of wine' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

πράμος [adj.] = πρόμος (Ar. *Th.* 50). <?>

•ETYM If the tradition is correct, it could contain a zero grade form of ►πρόμος, but a form \**pr-* beside *pro* is improbable. The form is most often corrected to πρόμος.

πράμνιος [adj.] 'qualification of wine' (Hom.). <?>

•VAR -ιος (Hp.).

•ETYM Cf. the note of J. André *ad* Plin. 14, §54. H. has πράμνι- δίκηλα ἄμπελος; also, Poll. 7, 150 πράμνιμα = vine branch of Pramnos.

πρανής ⇒ πρινης.

πρανώ [?] · ἀκρίδος εἶδος 'kind of locust' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM Gil Fernández 1959 adduces πάρονψ. This means that the word is Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 344, 392.

πῶος, -ον [adj.] 'soft, gentle, mild' (Pi., Att.). <?>

•VAR πῶος, πριῦς (epic Ion., Iyr., Hell.). Grades of comp. πῶο-τερος (also πῶο-, πριῦ-), πῶο-τατος (πῶο-στος Phrygia); adverb πῶως, rarely -έως; also πῶο-νως (Ar., Lys.), acc. to Frisk after εὐδαμώνως, but acc. to DELG adverb to a compar. πῶων.

•DIAL Att. fem. -εῖα, plur. -έων, -έσι.

•COMP Also as a first member (mostly late), e.g. πῶο-μητις 'mild-tempered' (Pi.); on ►πρεμινής see s.v.

•DER πῶο-ότης (Att.), -ύτης (LXX) [f.] 'mild temper'; πῶο-ν, Ion. πριῦ-ν 'to make mild, soothe' (Hes., *h. Merc.* 417), also with κατα- (rarely ἀπο-, δια-, etc.); thence πῶο-νσις [f.] (πρή-), πῶο-σμός [m.] 'the soothing', -υντικός 'soothing' (Arist., medic.), -υντής [m.] (EM).

•ETYM The *o*-stem πῶος may have developed from the older *u*-stem πῶος, probably through the adv. πῶως, which was contracted from πῶεως, belonging to πῶος; extensive treatment in Egli 1954: 100ff. The subscript *i* in πῶος is secondary, probably from ῥάων. The form πῶος is regularly derived from \**pr(e)h<sub>2</sub>-i-u-* by Hamp MSS 43 (1984): 52f.; see Pok. 844.

πραπίδες [f.pl.] 'midriff', mostly as a seat of intelligence and of emotions, 'sense, mind' (Il., epic poet.). <IE? \**prep-* 'appear', \**k<sup>w</sup>rp-* 'body, shape'>

•VAR Rarely sg. -ίς.

•COMP No compounds or derivatives.

•ETYM Formation in -ίς (like παριῖς, σανίς, ἐλπίς, φροντίς), probably from the root \**k<sup>w</sup>rp-* which may also be seen in ►πρέπω 'to be conspicuous' (but see the comments there). From this root derive words for 'body, shape', like OHG (*h*)*rēf*, OE *hrif* 'body, abdomen, belly', Lat. *corpus*, Skt. *kṛp-ā* [instr.] 'shape, beauty'. In the OE compound *mid-hrif* 'midriff, the meaning (which agrees with πραπίδες) may depend on the first member *mid-*.

πράσον [n.] 'leek, Allium porrum', also of a kind of seaweed, like leek (com., Thphr.).

<PG?, IE? \**prs-o-* 'leek'>

•COMP E.g. πρασο-ειδής 'leek-like', from the color (Hp., Arist.), θαλασσό-πρασον [n.] of a seaweed (Ath. Mech.).

•DER 1. πῶο-ιος (Pl.), -ινος (Arist., LXX), -ιανός (M. Ant.), -ώδης (Thphr.) 'leek-color, blue-green'; 2. -ίτις [f.] name of a stone, after the color (Thphr.); 3. -ιον [n.] plant name 'horehound, Marrubium, etc.' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.); 4. πρασιά, Ion. -ιή [f.] 'garden-bed' (Od., Hell.), mostly plur. -αί, also Att. deme name and a town in Laconia (Th.). Thence πρασ-ιάζομαι, -ιόομαι 'to be divided into beds' (Aq.); see Scheller 1951: 67; 5. πρασίζω [v.] 'to be leek-colored' (Dsc.); 6. Πρασσαῖος [m.] nickname of a frog (Batr.).

•ETYM The traditional identification with Lat. *porrum* leads to a reconstruction IE \**prso-*. The maintenance of -σ- between resonant and vowel recalls ►δασύς beside Lat. *densus* < \**dns-u-*. It could be argued that the meaning points to substrate origin for this word. If the word is Pre-Greek, this would explain the -σ-.

πράσσω [v.] 'to pass through, travel' (only epic), 'to finish, accomplish, do, exact', intr. 'to come to an end, succeed, act' (IA, etc.). <IE \**per(h<sub>2</sub>)-* 'go through, cross'>

•VAR Att. -ττω, Cret. -δδω; epic Ion. πρήσσω, fut. πῶξω, Ion. -ήξω, aor. πῶξαι, -ήξαι (all since Il.), pass. πραχθῆναι (S., Th.), perf. πέπῶγα, -ηγα (Pi., Hdt.), -ἄχα, -ηχα (Att., Hdt.), pass. πέπραγμαi (A.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. δια-, εἰσ-, κατα-, συν-. Compounds: e.g. εὐ-πῶγ-ία [f.] 'prosperity, success', κακο-πῶγ-ία 'accident, misfortune' (Pi., Att.), whence εὐ-,

κακο-πράγ-έω (Att.); analogical δυσ-, κακο-πράγῃς (Vett. Val., H.), not from πράγος; also εὐ-πραξ-ία, Ion. -πρηξ-ίη [f.], after πράξις, πράξαι.

•DER Action nouns: 1. πράξις, πρηξίς (also with δια-, κατα-, etc.) [f.] 'realization, accomplishment, advancement, act, exaction' (Il.), with πραξ-είδιον [n.] diminutive (EM), -μιος 'realizable' (Cyprus II-III<sup>p</sup>), 'recoverable' (Delos I-II<sup>p</sup>), also πράκτιμος (from Dor. \*πράκτις or after πρακτι-κός?) 'liable to a monetary penalty' (Delphi II<sup>a</sup>). Further compounds προ-πραξ-ία [f.] 'precedence in negotiation' (Acarnan. inscr. V-IV\*), ὑπερ-πράξ-ιον [n.] 'over-exaction, blackmailing' (Mylasa V<sup>p</sup>), cf. also 10. below. 2. πρᾶγμα (post-Hom.), Ion. πρηγμα (< -κσι-; inscr.), πρηγμα (Hdt.) [n.] 'performed act, fact, business', plur. 'facts, affairs of state, etc.'; as a second member in ἀ-, πολυ-πράγιων, etc.; hence πραγιά-τιον, -τικός, -τίδς, -τᾶς, -τῶδης, -τεύομαι, with -τευμα, -τεία, -τειώδης, -τευτής, -τευ-τικός.

3. πρᾶγος [n.] poetic replacement for the worn-out word πρᾶγμα (Pi., trag.). 4. πρακτύς (Dor.) = πράξις (EM).

Agent nouns: 5. πρακτήρ, πρηκτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'executor, tradesman' (Hom.), 'exactor' (Hell.) with -τήριος 'effective, decisive' (A.). 6. πράκτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'executor, avenger' (A., S., Antiph.), 'exactor, tax official' (Att., pap.) with -τορ-ικός, -ειος, -εύω with -εῖον, -εῖα (-ία?). 7. εἰσ-, ἐκ-πράκτης [m.] 'collector, tax official' (Aq.). 8. πρηξίων = ἀγοραῖος, i.e. 'notary' (Sicil.; Theognost.); probably from πρηξίς (Schwyzer: 517). 9. Adjective πρακτικός 'concerning action, skilled, practical' (Att.).

•ETYM All forms go back to a common stem πρᾶκ- or πρᾶγ-, which is a κ-enlargement of a zero grade πρᾶ- (DELG compares ἐρύ-κ-ω). Frisk connected this with the root \*perh<sub>2</sub>- 'to sell' in πέπρᾶμαι, πιπράσκομαι (see ►πέρνημι), but semantically, connection with ►πέρᾶ, ►πεῖρω (root \*per-) is much more likely, given the oldest meaning 'to travel, fare', etc. Further details are obscure.

For the function of the velar, πλήσσω : πληγή, τιμήγω : τέμνω, etc. have been adduced. It is designated as terminative by Schwyzer: 702<sup>5</sup>.

**πρατήνιον** [n.] designation of goats of a certain age (Ar. Byz., H., Phot.). <?>

•VAR Also προ-, and πρητήν, επιπρητήν -ῆνος [m.].

•ETYM Unknown. Anatolian, acc. to Solmsen 1909: 140f.

**πρέμνον** [n.] 'tree-stump, trunk, stub', also 'bole', metaph. of a column, etc. (h. Merc.). On the mg. see Strömberg 1937: 98f. <PG?(V)>

•VAR Also -ος [m.].

•COMP As a second member i.a. in αὐτό-πρεμνος 'together with the trunk, root and branch, entirely' (A., S.).

•DER πρέμνια· τὰ πάχος ἔχοντα ξύλα 'wood having thickness' (H.); πρεμν-ώδης 'stump-like' (Thphr.), -ίζω [v.] 'to pull up, remove the stump' (Test. apud D. et al.), ἐκ- (D. et al.), -ιάσαι· ἐκριζῶσαι 'to root out' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Fur.: 65 assumes that it is a variant of ►πρυμνός, and considers the words to be Pre-Greek.

**πρέπω** [v.] 'to draw attention, be conspicuous, distinguish oneself, excel', also (mostly impersonal) πρέπει 'it is fitting, appropriate' (Il.+). <IE \*prep- 'be conspicuous, appear' or \*k<sup>w</sup>rep->

•VAR Rare fut. and aor. πρέψ-ω, -αι (A., Pl.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. δια-, μετα-, ἐν-, ἐπι-.

•DER πρεπ-ώδης (Att.), -όντως (Pi., Att.) 'fitting, appropriate', πρεπ-τός (also εὐ-) 'drawing attention' (A. et al.); often from the prefixed compounds, e.g. μετα-, δια-, ἐκ-πρεπ-ής, also εὐ-, ἀρι-πρεπ-ής 'striking, excelling, pre-eminent, etc.' (Il.), whence εὐπρέπ-εια (Att.), -έω, -ίζω (Aq.), etc. Further πρέπων, -οντος [m.] name of a fish (Opp., Ael.), properly 'fit (for eating)' (Strömberg 1943: 33)? On ►θεοπρόπος, see s.v.

•ETYM Identical with Arm. *erewim* 'become visible, appear', traditionally reconstructed as \*prep-. An old independent formation is Arm. *eres*, plur. *eres-k'* 'face, appearance' < IE \*prep-s-. Celtic too seems to have maintained a derivation from this verb in OIr. *richt* 'form, shape', W *rhith* 'species' < IE \*prp-tu-. The connection of OHG *furben* 'to purify, clean' is quite uncertain.

For Armenian *erewim* etc., a reconstruction \*k<sup>w</sup>rep- is just as possible as \*prep- (Clackson 1994: 165f.), and it has been argued that there was in fact one root \*k<sup>w</sup>rep-, not two roots \*krp- and \*prep- (cf. Schindler BSL 67 (1972): 67, DELG Supp.). This would mean that the group of Skt. *kṛpā* [ins.] 'beauty', Lat. *corpus* 'body', etc. is related to Gr. πρέπω.

**πρέσβυς** [m.] 'old man, elder' (poet. Pi., trag.), 'president' (Sparta); plur. πρέσβεις mostly 'ambassador, messenger' (Att., Dor. inscr.); further πρεσβ-ῆες (Hes. Sc. 245), -εὔσιν (Lyc.), dual -ῆ (Att.); cf. below on πρεσβεύω. <IE \*pres-g<sup>w</sup>eu-, \*preis-g<sup>w</sup>eu- 'who goes in front'>

•VAR Gen. (rare) -εως, -εος, acc. -υν, voc. -υ.

•DIAL Myc. *pe-re-ku-ta* (PY An 172.2) /presgu-/ or /prei(s)gu-/ , *pe-re-ku-wa-na-ka* (PY Va 15.2) /preigu-wanaks/ (cf. Hackstein 2002: 109).

•COMP As a first member in πρεσβυ-γενής 'first-born' (Il.), etc.

•DER 1. Grades of comparison: πρεσβύ-τερος 'old, venerable', -τατος 'the oldest, most venerable' (Il.), also -τέριον 'council of elders' (NT); also πρεσβίστος 'most venerable' (h. Hom., A., S., etc.) after κράτιστος, κύδιστος, with a cross πρεσβίστατος (Nic.). 2. Feminines: πρέσβα (θεά) 'the venerable', of Hera and others (Il., epic), reminding of πότνα (θεά); πρέσβεα μήτηρ (poetic inscr. Caria II-I<sup>a</sup>), metrically conditioned; πρέσβειρα, of θεῶν, etc. (h. Ven., etc.), after πείρα, -άνειρα, etc.; πρεσβῆϊς, of τιμή (h. Hom.), after βασιλῆϊς, etc., cf. πρεσβῆες above.

3. πρεσβ-ήϊον [n.] 'gift of honor' (Θ 289), -εῖον 'privilege (of age)' (Att., Hell.). 4. -εῖα [f.] 'right, privilege (of age)' (A., Pl.), usually 'embassy' (Att.), to πρεσβεύω. 5. πρεσβύτης [m.] 'the old, aged one' (IA), enlargement of πρέσβυς after πολίτης, etc., with fem. -ῦτις, -υτικός [adj.] 'senile' (Att., etc.). 6. πρεσβύτης, -ητος [f.], Dor. -τας, -τατος '(higher) age' (inscr. Messene I<sup>a</sup>, etc.), after νεότης. 7. πρέσβις [f.] 'age, rank', only in κατὰ πρέσβιν (h. Merc., Pl., etc.); after κατὰ τάξιν, etc. 8. πρέσβος [n.] '(object of) veneration', after κύδος, κράτος, etc. 9. πρεσβ-εύω [v.] 'to be the eldest, have precedence, be ambassador', trans. 'to attend, venerate like a πρέσβυς', med. 'to send ambassadors', also with παρα-, συν-, ἀπο-, etc. Thence -ευτής [m.] 'ambassador, messenger' (Att.), singulative to πρέσβεις. Also πρεσβ-ευτικός, -εύτεira, -ευτεύω, -ευμα, -ευσις; partly also πρεσβεῖα (see 4. above) and, as a back-

formation, πρεσβεῦσιν [dat.pl.] (Lyc.). 10. Shortened names like Πρέσβων (to πρέσβειρα, perhaps after πέπειρα : πέπων), Πρέσβος, etc., see Bechtel 1917b: 385. On the different spellings and formations see Lejeune 1955-1996: 239ff.

•ETYM Beside the above forms, Doric (especially Cretan) and NWGr. have several by-forms with γ instead of β and with a different initial syllable: Cret. πρεῖγυς, πρέιγιστος with compar. πρέιγων, also πρειγ-εὔω, whence -εὐτάς, -ήϊα, -εῖα; also, Locr. πρέιγα [f.] 'council of elders'; πρεσγευτάς, πρεγγ-; later πρήγιστος with -ιστεύω (Cos); πρεσγέα = πρεσβεία (Argos); πρισγε(ι)ες (Boeot.) is perhaps itacistic for πρεισ-; also σπέργυς· πρέσβυς and πέργουν· πρέσβεις (H.). See García Ramón *Emerita* 53 (1985): 51-80 for a discussion of all dialectal forms.

The common basis is probably πρεσγ- (with voiced σ; cf. Delph. πρεῖβευτάς); thence the other forms arose, but the phonetic developments are uncertain in detail. The interchange β : γ may point to an original IE labiovelar \*gʷ. The preceding syllable, which should probably be taken as the first member of a compound, is generally assumed to contain a frozen adverb πρές 'in front' (see ► πρός). The origin of the final syllable is debated. It has been compared with Skt. *puro-gavā* 'leader', of which the second member is derived from a root \*gʷeu- 'go' (a variant of \*gʷem-), so it originally means "who goes in front". Some recognize this root variant in Lith. *žmogùs* 'man' < "going on the earth" (Fraenkel). The connection with the Arm. *u*-stem *erēc*, gen. *eric'-u* 'elder, priest' is tempting. It may derive from \*preisgʷu-, and is usually connected with Lat. *priscus* 'ancient, of old'. It may also be assumed that πρεισ- is an old element, identical in origin with Lat. \*pris, in *primus* < \*pris-mo- and in *pris-tinus*.

De Lamberterie 1990: 909ff. comments extensively on the formation, meaning, and use of the Greek term. Clackson 1994: 165 is critical about the formal side of the Greco-Armenian comparison (claiming that \*-sgʷ- would have to give Arm. -c- instead of -c'-). See ► μεσ(σ)ηγύς(ς).

**πρευμενής** [adj.] 'gentle, merciful, pleasing, welcome' (A., E.). <GR>

•DER πρευμένεια [f.] 'gentleness' (A., E.).

•ETYM Probably from \*πρηῦ-μενής, with diphthongization and shortening of the long diphthong. Thus, it would be an Ionism in the language of the tragedians. On this ground, DELG criticizes the etymology, and instead posits \*προ-ευμενής; this poses other formal problems, however. The form προευμενής (SEG 18, 592, Soloi [Cyprus]) may support the latter view, but may also be a reinterpretation of the opaque word πρευμενής, acc. to Brixhe and Hodot 1988: 147f.

**πρηγορεών, -ώνος** [m.] 'crop of a bird' (Ar., H., Poll.). <GR>

•ETYM Originally means "body part where the food is collected", ἔνθα προαθροίζεται ἡ τροφή (Poll.), is a formation in -εών like ἀνθερέων, κενεών, and other designations of places and parts of the body (Chantraine 1933: 164f., Schwyzer: 488): thus from \*προ-άγορος (on the compositional vowel, see Schwyzer: 398 and 402), or directly from προ-αγειρεν.

**πρηδών** •VAR πρήθω (ἐν-ἐπρηθον), πρηστήρ etc. ⇒ πίμπρημι.

**πρήθμα** [n.] · πολύποδος κεφαλή ἔνιοι πλεκτάνη 'tentacled head of an octopus' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**πρημαδίη** [f.] name of a kind of olive (Nic. *Al.* 87). <?>

•ETYM Formation in -άδιος, as if from \*πρημάς (cf. ἐρινάς, κοτινάς, ἰσχάς, etc.). For further connection with \*πρήμα, πρημαίνω, πίμπρημι, there is no indication. Cf. also ► πρημάς.

**πρημάς, πρημνάς** [f.] name of a (young) tunny-fish (Pl. *Com.*, *Nicoch.*, *Opp.*). <PG?>

•VAR Also πριμάδες, -άδια (Arist.), πρήμναι (H.) [pl.].

•ETYM Strömberg 1943: 126ff. discusses the many names for 'tunny'; see also Thompson 1947 s.v. *Fur.*: 245 considers the variation v/zero to be a Pre-Greek phenomenon.

**πρηνής** [adj.] 'leaning forward, headlong, inclined, steep' (Il., epic Ion. poet., Arist.).

<IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>en-os- 'face'>

•VAR πρᾶνής (X. et al.).

•COMP Also κατα-, προ-, ἐπι- (cf. Leumann 1950: 77ff.).

•DER πρην-ίζω 'to throw head over heels, throw down, destroy' (Hell.), aor. -ίζαι, also with ἀπο-, κατα-; rarely πρην-όω 'id.' (AP, H.), also with κατα-; to this belongs (back-formation?) πρανόν· τὸ κατωφερές, πρανές 'leaning down, face-down or head-first' (H.).

•ETYM Cannot be separated from ἀπ-, προσ-ιγής, so it may contain a substantive \*ēnos- or \*ānos- [n.] 'face'; see ► ἀπηνής for the etymology, which is rather doubtful.

**πρητήν** ⇒ παρτήνιον.

**πρηών** ⇒ πρών.

**πρίασθαι** [v.] 'to buy' (Od.). <IE \*kʷreih<sub>2</sub>- 'buy'>

•VAR Ptc. πριάμενος, finite forms ἐπριάμην, πρίωμαι, πριαίμην, ἱπν. πρίασο (-ίω, -ιά).

•COMP Rarely with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-, συν-.

•DER Negative verbal adj. ἀ-πρία-τος in ἀπριάτην [acc.sg.f.] 'unbought, without ransom' (A 99, *h. Cer.* 132), as an adv. 'gratuitous' (ξ 317, Agath. 4, 22), plur. ἀπριάτας (Pi. *Fr.* 169, 8); PN Ἀπριάτης; cf. Leumann 1950: 167f.

•ETYM An old aorist, exclusively attested in Greek. A comparable formation is OIr. *ni-cria* [subj.] 'emat' < PIE \*kʷreih<sub>2</sub>-t. Greek does not have the nasal present that is found in Sanskrit, Celtic, and Slavic, viz. Skt. *kriṇāti* (for older \**kriṇāti*), OIr. *ni* [subj.], ORu. *kṛnūti* 'to buy'. It is possible that the expected Greek reflex \*πρίνημι had become awkward because of its resemblance to the antonym πέρνημι, Aeol. πορνάμεν 'to sell' (Meillet *BSL* 26 (1925): 14). The verbal adj. ἀ-πρίατος is close to Skt. *kṛitá* 'bought' < \*kʷreih<sub>2</sub>-to-, but Greek may also continue \*n-kʷreih<sub>2</sub>-eto-.

Numerous post-Indo-European formations are found in the various branches, e.g. Skt. *kṛayá* [m.] 'purchase (price)' < \*kʷroih<sub>2</sub>-o-, OIr. *crith* 'payment, purchase', OLith. *krienas* 'price', ToB *karyor*, ToA *kuryar* 'purchase, trade'.

**πρίν** [adv., conj.] 'before, previously' (Il.). <IE \*prei 'earlier, before'>

•VAR Rarely as a prep. with gen.; Hom. also πρίν, Gort. πρην (once beside frequent πριν), Locr. φριν.

•ETYM With final -ν like in νῦν, νύν, πάλιν, etc. Clearly related to ►πρό < \**pr-o-*, with ι as in Lat. *prior*, *priscus*, etc. The base form may have been the old locative \**pr-i*. The *e*-vocalism in Cret. πρην and perhaps in Hom. πρίν (if itacistic) could be mirrored by Lith. *priē* < \**prei*.

**πρίνος** [f., m.] 'holm-oak, kermes oak, Quercus ilex, coccifera' (Hes.). <EUR?>

•VAR πρίνη [f.] 'id.' (Eup.).

•DER Diminutive πριν-ίδιον [n.] (Ar., Ael.), -εύς [m.] 'oak grove' (Erythrae IV<sup>a</sup>), -ινος 'made of π., hard, tough' (Hes.), -ώδης 'π.-like, hard' (Ar.); Πρινόεσσα [f.] name of an island (Epirus).

•ETYM No Indo-European etymology. The Carian TN Πρινασσός points to an Anatolian origin (Carnoy *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* N.F. 10 (1975): 222). Machek *Ling. Posn.* 2 (1950): 155 compares Slav. *brinǔ* 'larch', assuming a loan from a common source. Fur.: 165 assumes a Pre-Roman(ce) \**brin* 'Pinus mugus' (Machek), which would make the Greek dendronym a European loanword.

**πρίω** [v.] 'to saw', medic. 'to trephine', ὀδόντας πρίειν 'to gnash one's teeth', (ὀδᾶξ) πρίειν 'to bite (with one's teeth), grasp', pass. metaph. 'to experience a biting pain' (IA). <?>

•VAR Rare and late -ίζω, aor. πρίσαι, pass. πρισθῆναι, perf. med. πέπρισμαι (all IA), act. πέπρικα (D. S.).

•DIAL Perhaps Myc. *pi-ri-(je-)te-(re)*, see Aura Jorro 2, 124.

•COMP Also with δια-, ἐν-, ἀπο-, etc.

•DER 1. πρίων, -ονος [m.] 'saw' (IA) with πριόν-ιον [n.] (Ph. *Bel.*), -ίτις [f.] plant name (Aret. et al.), Redard 1949: 76; -ωτός (Ar., Arist.), -ώδης (Thphr.) 'saw-shaped, jagged'. 2. πρίσμα (παρά-, ἔκ-) [n.] 'anything sawn, sawdust' (Hp., Thphr.), 'trilateral column, prism' (Euc.), with -μάτιον (Procl.); πρισμοῖς ταῖς βιαίσις κατοχαῖς 'in forced detention' (H.). 3. πρίσις (ἀνά-, ἔκ-, ἀπό-) [f.] 'the sawing' (Hp., Arist.). 4. πρίστης [m.] 'sawer, saw' (Att. and Hell. inscr. and pap., Poll.), with fem. πρίστις 'sawfish' (Epich., Arist.), see Strömberg 1943: 44; also an instrument (Att. and Epid. inscr.), etc. 5. πριστήρ [m.] 'saw, sawer' (LXX). 6. πριστός 'sawn' (Od.), Ammann 1956: 16; εὖ-, δύσ-πριστος (Thphr.). 7. πριστικός 'belonging to sawing' (Hero). Some forms were enlarged with ω: πε-πριω-μένος, ἄ-, δια-πρίω-τος (Hp.), (δια-)πρίω-σις [f.] (Delph., Epid.), πριώμασι- πρίσμασι 'sawdust' (H.), with fut. πριωσεί and subj. pres. πριῶ (*Tab. Heracl.*).

•ETYM πρίω seems to point to a stem \**pris-*, perhaps older \**pri-*. It may correlate with πείρω 'to pierce' < \**per-ie/o-*, for which Frisk compared \**tri-* in Lat. *trivī*, *tritum*, and perhaps τρίβω 'to rub (down)' < \**trh<sub>1</sub>-i-* beside Lat. *terō* and τείρω 'to rub (open)' < \**terh<sub>1</sub>-ie/o-*, as well as \**skī-* in Lat. *scivī*, *scitum* 'to decide' beside *secō* 'to cut'. The value of this comparison is yet unclear.

Further etymological comparison has proven fruitless; the link with Alb. *prish* 'to spoil, break, destroy' (Meyer 1891: 353) is uncertain. WP 2, 89 assumes that πρίω is

onomatopoeic. The ω-forms are probably due to contamination, perhaps by τετρωμένος, ἄτρωτος, τρώω, τρώμα.

**πρό** [adv., prefix, prep.] 'forth, forward, before, for' (Il.). <IE \**pro* 'forward'>

•VAR With gen.

•DIAL Myc. *po-ro-*.

•ETYM Allative formation in \*-o-, with ending like ἀπό, ὑπό. A common IE adverb; cf. Hitt. *parā* 'forward', Skt. *prá*, Av. and OP *fra-*, Lat. *pro-*, OIr. *ro-*, Go. *fra-*, Lith. *pra-*, OCS *pro-*, Ru. *pro*, from IE \**pro*. A lengthened grade \**prō* is found in πρωῒ, etc. Cf. also ►πρόκα, ►πρόμος, and ►πρότερος. Other old case forms of the same element \**pr* are found in πρίν and πρὸς < \**proti*. More remotely related are ►πάρα, ►πάρος, ►πέρα(ν), ►πέρι, etc. On Gr. πρό beside παρά and related forms in Latin, see García Ramón 1997.

**προαλής** [adj.] of a terrain (χῶρος), over which the water flows down quickly, 'sloping, sudden' vel sim. (Φ 262), of water (ῥόδωρ) itself, 'breaking forth, streaming down' vel sim. (A. R. 3, 73); metaph. 'rash, heedless' (LXX, Str., A. D.); προαλεστάτην- προπετεστάτην, προχειροτάτην 'most hasty, most ready or accessible' (H.). <GR>

•ETYM From προ-άλλομαι, with a formation like προ-πετής.

**πρόαρον** [n.] 'large wooden mixing bowl' (Pamphil. *apud* Ath. 11, 495a). <?>

•ETYM Usually explained as a compound of πρό and ἀρύειν 'to draw water'. This is not especially illuminating for a vessel from which wine was poured into the drinking cups. See ►ἀρύω.

**πρόβατα** [n. pl.] 'cattle, herd, flock' (Il.), 'small cattle'; -ον [sg.] mostly 'sheep' (Att., Gort., etc.); also name of an unknown fish (Opp., Ael.), because of the similarity of the head, acc. to Strömberg 1943: 102. <IE \**pro-g<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-* 'go'>

•COMP προβατο-γνώμων [m.] 'knower of herds' (A.), πολυ-πρόβατος 'rich of cattle, sheep' (Hdt., X.).

•DER 1. Diminutive προβάτ-ιον [n.] (Att.). 2. Adj. προβάτ-ειος (Arist.), -ικός (LXX, N.T.) 'belonging to sheep (small cattle)', -ώδης 'sheep-like' (late). 3. -ών (-εών Hdn.), -ῶνος [m.] 'sheepfold' (Hell. inscr. and pap.). 4. -ήματα- πρόβατα 'cattle' (H.) (after κτήματα, βοσκήματα, etc.; Chantraine 1933: 178). 5. -εύς [m.] 'shepherd' (title of a com. of Antiph.). 6. -εῦω [v.] 'to keep, tend cattle or sheep' (D. H., App.) with -ευτικός, -ευσίμος, -ευτής, -εία. 7. Plant names: -ειον, -ειος, -αία (Ps.-Dsc.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 137. On πρόβειος, a rhythmical shortening of προβάτειος (An. Ox., et al.) see Palmer *Class. Quart.* 33 (1939): 31ff.

•ETYM The verbal abstract πρόβασις is found once in the same sense as πρόβατα, in β 75 κειμήλιά τε πρόβασίν τε, where it designates movable cattle as opposed to immovable property. For the semantic development, cf. ON *ganganda fē* 'going cattle' = 'living stock' beside *liggjanda fē* 'κειμήλια', or Hitt. *iḡant-* 'the going', 'sheep' ptc. of *iḡa-* 'to go'. It is plausible, therefore, that πρόβατα was derived from προβαίνειν. Cf. Benveniste *BSL* 45 (1949): 91 ff. with extensive treatment and



criticism of diverging views. In the secondary sense of 'sheep', πρόβατον has replaced older οἷς.

In view of the dat.pl. πρόβασι (Hdn.) instead of προβατοῖς (Hes.), the plural πρόβατα is considered to be old (Risch 1937: 196, Benveniste *BSL* 45 (1949): 91ff., Egli 1954: 41ff.); Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 178ff. opposes this idea, and remarks that participles in -το- do not necessarily have a passive sense in Greek (στατός, πλωτός). Note, however, that the attestation of πρόβασι is very weak.

**προβοσκίς, -ίδος** [f.] 'elephant's trunk' (Arist., Hell.), also metaph. of the proboscis of an insect and of the two tentacles of the ten-armed squid (Arist.). <GR>

•ETYM Formation like ἀγκαλίσ, ἐπιγουνίς, κοίξ, and other names of body parts and instruments, probably directly from βόσκω rather than from the rare form βοσκός (cf. Chantraine 1933: 338). For the use of the prefix, compare πρό-δομος 'front room', etc. With a different accentuation, there is also προβοσκός (-ος) [m.] 'assistant herdsman' (Hdt. 1, 113); cf. πρόδουλος. Borrowed as Lat. *proboscis*, *promuscis*.

**πρόδανις** [adv.] · πρότερον 'before' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**προηρόσιος** [adj.] name of a festival before ploughing (Att.). <GR>

•VAR In Προηροσία (scil. ἑορτή, θυσία) [f.], -ία (ιερά) [n.pl.].

•DIAL Epid. Πιράρατιος (inscr.), also -τριος.

•DER προηρόσιοι θεοί, -ία Δημήτηρ (Plu.).

•ETYM Hypostatic formation from πρό ἄροτου (with compositional lengthening). With crasis and dissimilation: πληροσία [f.] (Att. inscr.); see Schwyzler: 258 and 402, Lejeune 1972: 323<sup>2</sup>.

**προϊκτης** ⇒ προίξ.

**προίξ, προικός** [f.] 'gift, present' (v 15, p 413, both gen., on which see below), 'dowry' (Att.), see Sommer 1948: 94; also late pap. as an archaizing term in juridical jargon. <IE \*seiHk- 'stretch forth the hand'>

•VAR Used adverbially: acc. προίκα 'gratuitous, for free' (Att.), probably also gen. προικός (v 15).

•COMP ἄ-προικός 'without dowry' (Att.); see Sommer l.c.

•DER Diminutive προικ-ίδιον [n.] (Plu.); adj. -ίδιος 'forming a gift' (Ph.), -μαῖος 'id.' (pap. VIP), 'gratuitous' (D. C.), -ιος 'gratuitous' (AP); verb -ίζω 'to provide with a dowry' (D. S., Ph. et al.). Also προ-ϊκτης [m.] 'beggar' (p 352 and 449), -ῖσσομαι 'to ask, beg for a gift' (Archil. 130). Cf. also the fut. κατα-προῖξομαι in οὐ καταπροῖξεται 'he will not get away unpunished', etc. (IA com.).

•ETYM An archaic word that became extinct, but was later revived. Formation like πρόσ-φυξ, so πρό-ιξ (πρόϊκα with dieresis is Ion., acc. to EM 495, 33), from a prefixed verb which is also the basis of προϊκτης. The yod-present προ-ῖσσομαι can be either primary or denominative from προίξ.

Original mg.: "reaching out (of the hand), presentation", related to Lith. *siekti*, 1sg. *siekiu* 'to reach out, etc.'; προϊκ-της originally means 'who reaches out his hand'; cf.

προτείνω χεῖρα καὶ προῖσσομαι (Archil. 130). See further ► ἴκω and LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*seik- for further cognates from Baltic, Tocharian, and Umbrian.

**πρόκα** [adv.] 'instantly, suddenly' (Hp., A. R.). <IE \*pro-k- 'in front'>

•VAR πρότε (Hdt., Call.).

•ETYM Temporal formation like αὐτίκα, τηνίκα, τόκα; clearly derived from ► πρό '(be)fore, forward'. The velar suffix has correspondences in OCS *prokъ* 'remaining', Lat. *reci-procus* 'returning on the same road' from \*'directed backward and forward', *proc-erēs* 'chiefs, nobles', *procul* 'far away'. The final -α is ambiguous: perhaps after ἄμα, τάχα, etc. or the ntr.pl. ending? The suffixation with -τε is paralleled by ἐπίτε, αὔτε, etc.

**προκώνια** [n.pl.] with or without ἄλφιτα, flour of barley (Hp., Att. inscr.); see the TLG. <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**προμάλαγγες** [m. pl.] a group of flatterers and spies on Cyprus (Clearch. fr. 19 Wehrli). <?>

•ETYM Indigenous term without etymology. The association with μαλάσσω points to folk etymology (DELG).

**προμηθής** [adj.] 'forethinking, cautious' (IA). <IE? \*men(s)-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>- 'direct the mind to'>

•DER 1. προμήθ-εια (Att.), also -ία (trag.), Ion. -ίη, Dor. -μάθεια [f.] 'caution, foresight'; 2. Προμηθ-εύς, Dor. -μάθ-, [m.] "the forethinking one", 'Prometheus' (Hes., Pi.), secondary appellative (A.); to this as an opposite Ἐπιμηθεύς (cf. Boßhardt 1942: 95f.); with -ειος 'belonging to Pr.' (Nic., AP), τὰ Προμήθ-εια 'festival of Pr.' (Att.), -ικῶς 'in a way worthy of Pr.' (Ar.), at the same time connected with προμηθής; 3. προμηθ-έομαι 'to be forethinking, cautious' (IA), also -εύομαι 'id.' (Alex. Aphr.) with -ευτικός = προμηθής (Eust.); on προμήθεσαι (ipv. aor.?, Archil.?) see Maas KZ 60 (1932): 286.

•ETYM From πρό and \*μήθος, \*μάθος, which may be semantically associated with μαθεῖν. Since the latter is compared with μενθήρη and Go. *mundon sis*, etc., analogical ablaut must be assumed for προμηθής, perhaps after μήδομαι or μήτις. This remains a bit doubtful.

**προμνηστῖνοι** [adj.] 'one by one, one after another' (φ 230), -αι (λ 233). <GR>

•ETYM Formation like ἀγχιστ-ῖνος (from ἄγχιστα), ἔνδῖνα (from ἔνδον); see Méid IF 62 (1956): 274<sup>13</sup>. From a noun like \*πρόμνηστις 'wooing' (from προ-μνάομαι 'woo for sbd.'), thus the original meaning is 'belonging to wooing', after the ancient custom to present several women one after another. See Hoffmann *RhM* 56 (1901): 474f. The hypothesis of Forssman KZ 79 (1965): 26ff. is to be rejected (cf. on ► πρυμνός).

**πρόμος** [m.] 'protagonist' (Hom.), 'leader, commander' (trag.). <IE \*promo- 'first'>

•ETYM Usually connected with U *promom* 'primum', Go. and ON *fram* 'forward', and identified as an old superlative of IE \*pro in πρό, etc. The hapax ► πράμος, if not corrupt, has been compared to Go. *fruma* 'first'. Since the word only means 'champion' in Hom., we have to consider the possibility that πρόμος was shortened

from πρόμαχος (already suggested by Aristarchus); the meaning 'leader' would be due to a misunderstanding of the epic word. The *harpax* ἀγοὶ πρόμνοι (A. *Supp.* 904 [lyr.]) presents metrical difficulties, but may be due to an error in the tradition; differently, Forssman *KZ* 79 (1965): 11ff. (see on ►πρυμνός).

**προνωπής** [adj.] 'inclined, stooping, downcast, weak' (A., E.), on the mg. Muller *Mnem.* 55 (1927): 101ff. <?>

•DER προνώπιος 'outside, in front of the house', τὰ προνώπια, τὸ προνώπιον 'front, facade of a house' (E.), ἥρωες προνώπιοι 'Lares compitales' (D. H.); see on ►νωπέομαι with νενώπηται.

•ETYM Formally, νωπέομαι is comparable to *deverbatives* such as πωλέομαι, ὠθέω. It may have given rise to προνωπής, προνώπιος, but προνώπια is also reminiscent of the synonym ἐνώπια; therefore, it has been suggested (Eust., Bechtel 1914 s.v. νάπη) that προνώπια is from \*προ-ενώπια. At any rate, προνωπής and νωπέομαι cannot be connected with νάπη 'woodland, glen' (Bechtel l.c.) with ablaut as in κώπη: κάπτω, as suggested by Frisk.

**πρόξ, προκός** [f.] 'roe- or deer-like animal' (ρ 295, Archil., Arist. et al.). <IE \*perk- 'spotted, motley'>

•VAR Also προκάς, -άδος [f.] (h. *Ven.* 71), like δορκάς, κεμάς.

•ETYM Animal names of the same type as γλαῦξ, γύψ, αἴξ, etc.; see ►περκνός.

**προοίμιον** ⇒ οἴμη.

**προπηλακίζω** ⇒ πηλός.

**πρός** [adv., prep.] 'furthermore, thereto; from, by, at, to, towards, in face of' (epic IA, Aeol.). <IE \*proti 'against'>

•VAR With gen. (abl.), dat. (loc.), acc. Epic also πρότι, προτί, with metathesis πορτί (Cret.), with *e*-vocalism περτ' (Pamph.), πρές (Aeol. acc. to gramm.), see also on ►πρέσβυς.

•ETYM The form πρότι is identical to Skt. *prāti* 'to, against', except for the missing effect of Brugmann's Law. This points to \**preti*, which is perhaps found in Pamph. περτ'. See also Lat. *pretium* 'price, worth' < \**préti-o*, 'the opposite equivalent', OCS *protivъ* 'against' < IE \**proti*-.

The usual forms πρόσ (and πρές) have arisen by assimilation of \*-tī- in antevocalic position; note that final -ος is also found in πάρος and πός. An older form *pres* is found in Messap. *prespolis* (Pisani *Sprache* 7 (1961): 103; meaning unknown; acc. to Pisani 'lord of the house, (house) priest'). Beside προτί/ πρόσ, Greek has ►ποτί, ►πός. Further connection with πρό is conceivable; cf. on ►πρόσω.

**προσάντης** [adj.] 'ascending steeply, inclined, craggy, rough, adverse, hostile' (Pi., IA). <GR>

•ETYM Adjectival hypostasis of the adverb πρόσ-αντα (Dicaearch.). 'upwards, up the mountain'; like ἔν-αντα from a noun 'front', which is also seen in the frozen case forms ►άντα, ►άντι, ►άντην. Likewise in ἄν-αντα 'up a mountain', with ἀνάντης 'uphill', and κάτωαντα 'downwards, downhill', with κατάντης 'going down'.

**προσηνής** [adj.] 'favorable, gentile, sweet' (Emp., Anacr.). <IE? \*h<sub>2</sub>en-os- 'face'>

•DIAL Dor. προσάνης.

•DER προσήνεια (Hp.), προσηγένεομαι = σαίνω 'to flatter' (H.).

•ETYM Like ►ἀπηγής and ►πρηγής, derived from a word for 'face', which itself is of uncertain etymology.

**πρόσθε(ν)** [adv., prep.] 'ahead, before, formerly, yore; in front of' (Il., IA) <IE, GR>

•VAR With gen.; also πρόσθα (Dor. Aeol.), which gave πρόθθα (Cret.); πρόστα (Delph.).

•COMP Also combined with other adverbs or prepositions, e.g. ἔμ-πρόσθε(ν) 'in front (of), before' (IA), -θα (Dor., Aeol.), with ἐμπρόσθ-ιος 'in the front', especially of body parts (Hdt., Att., Arist.), -ιδιος 'id.' (A. D., pap.), ἐπί-πρόσθεν 'close before, near' Att., Hell.) with ἐπιπροσθ-έω [v.] 'to be in the way, in front of it, to hinder, to cover' (Hp., Hell.), ὑπό-πρόσθε 'just before' (Hp.) with ὑπαπροσθ-ιδιος 'older inhabitant' (Locr.).

•DER πρόσθ-ιος 'in the front', especially of body parts (Hdt. v.l., trag., Arist.; cf. ἐμπρόσθιος above), -ιδιος 'id.' (Nonn.), προστ-ίς = προσθ-ιδιος 'earlier, the former' (El.).

•ETYM Formation in -θε(ν), -θα, which in view of the meaning and spread can hardly be derived from πρόσ (Kretschmer *Glotta* 1 (1909): 55), but rather from πρό with analogical -σ- (πρό-θεν, however, only in Greg. Cor.). The example cannot have been ὀπισθεν, as this stands for earlier ὀπιθεν itself, and probably took -σ- from πρόσθεν. Therefore, more probably after ἔκτοσ-θε(ν), ἔντοσ-θε(ν), or from πρόσ(σ)ω? Extensive discussion in Lejeune 1939: 333ff.

**προσκηδής** ⇒ κήδος.

**πρόσφατος** [adj.] 'undecomposed', of a corpse (Ω 757 ἐρσήεις καὶ π., Hdt.), 'fresh', of plants, victuals, water etc. (Hp., Arist., Hell.), metaph. 'fresh' = 'which happened lately, recently; following immediately', of actions, emotions, etc. (A. [lyr.], Lys., D., Arist.). <GR>

•ETYM Acc. to Phot., it means νεωστὶ ἀνηρημένος 'recently deceased', an interpretation which seems to give the best solution: the second member belongs to πεφνεῖν, φόνος, ►θείνω 'to hit, kill', with the same second member as in Ἀρηί-, ἀρεί-φατος, μυλή-φατος, ὀδυνή-φατος. DELG observes that it may have been a hunting or fishing term, as it is used for flesh in Hp. *Acut.* 49 and in Men. 397. The development of meaning to 'recent' became possible after the second member had become opaque (cf. ἀρεί-φατος, which also means 'martial' in trag.). The first element cannot be a verbal prefix (as if from \*προσ-θείνω), and has not received a good explanation yet (Frisk's suggestion 'close to' does not really make sense).

**πρόσω** [adv.] 'forward, onward, further', etc (Il.). <IE \*pro-ti-o- 'against'>

•VAR Epic also πρόσσω. Compar. προσω-τέρω, -τάτω, adv. πρόσω-θεν 'from far away' (Ion. poet.), πρόσσοθεν (Ψ 533), after other adverbs in -οθεν (epic Ion. poet.).

•ETYM Contains the same formation as ὀπίσ(σ)ω, derived from \**pro* with a suffix \*-tīo-, or perhaps a thematic extension of \**proti* > πρότι. See also ►πόρσω, ►πόρρω.

**πρόσωπον** [n.] 'face, countenance, mask, role, person' (Il.). <IE \**proti* 'against' + \**h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>* 'see'>

•VAR Epic pl. also -πατα, dat. -ασι, which can easily be explained as an enlargement favoured by the metre (Schwyzer: 515<sup>3</sup>).

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. προσωπο-λήπτης [m.] 'who respects persons, who is partial' with -ληπτέω, -ληψία (NT). Very often as a second member, mostly late, e.g. μικρο-πρόσωπος 'small-faced' (Arist.).

•DER Diminutives προσωπ-ίδιον (Ar.), -εῖον (-ιον) [n.] 'mask' (Thphr., LXX), the plant name -ιον, -ίς, -ιάς, -ίτις (Dsc. et al.; probably after the form of the flower; Strömberg 1940: 47), -οὔττα [f.] 'face-shaped vessel', 'face-urn' (Polem. Hist., Poll.).

•ETYM Similar to ►μέτωπον 'forehead', πρόσωπον is also a hypostatic form, i.e. from \**proti-wp-on* 'what is opposite to the eyes (of the other), the sight (of the other)'. By connection with epic προτι-όσσομαι, προσ-όψομαι 'to look at', ὄπωπα, etc., πρόσωπον may have been (re)interpreted as verbal noun (cf. G *Angesicht*).

Formally, πρόσωπον neatly corresponds with ToA *pratsak*, ToB *pratsāko* 'breast' (containing ToA *ak*, B *ek* 'eye') and with Skt. *prātika*- [n.] 'face, appearance' from *prāti* = πρότι and a zero grade \**h<sub>3</sub>k<sup>w</sup>*-, so \**proti-h<sub>3</sub>k<sup>w</sup>*- (cf. ►ὀπίπεύω < \**opi-h<sub>3</sub>k<sup>w</sup>*-). The Greek form may continue this old compound, assuming that \**Cih<sub>3</sub>C* developed to PGr. \**CiðC* (which is doubtful), or it may have been recreated within Greek from πρότι and ὄψ.

On the IE expressions for 'face', see Malten 1961: 1ff.

**προταινί** [adv.] 'ahead, in front of' (E. *Rh.* 523). <GR>

•VAR Boeot. inscr. προτηνί 'earlier'; προταίνιον· πρό μικροῦ and παλαιόν 'for a small [time]; old' (H.; text uncertain)

•ETYM Acc. to Bechtel 1921, 1: 309f., it derives from πρό ται-νί (locative; scil. ἡμέραι), with a suffix -νι added to the pronoun; cf. also ποταίνιον (Schwyzer: 612). See ►ποταίνιος.

**πρότερος** [pron. adj.] 'front, former', usually of time 'earlier' (Il.). <IE \**pro-tero* 'further'>

•VAR Adv. πρότερον 'earlier' (post-Hom.), προτέρω 'further (forward), sooner' (epic since Il.), -ωσε 'forward' (h. *Hom.*, A. R.), -ωθε(ν) 'from before, from earlier on' (Theognost., EM); προτερη-γενής 'born earlier, elder' (Antim.), after ἀρχη-γενής, etc.

•DER ἡ προτερ-αία (scil. ἡμέρα) 'the preceding day' (IA), cf. ὑστεραία, etc., also -εἰα [f.] 'id.' (Tab. *Heracl.*), -ικόν [n.] 'priority' (pap.); προτερ-έω 'to be ahead, have the advantage, prevent' (IA), also with κατα-, συν-. Thence -ημα [n.] (Hell.), -ησις [f.] (Hld.) 'advantage, lead'.

•ETYM Opposite of ὑστερος, from ►πρό, identical with Av. and OP *fratarā*- 'the one more in front, earlier', Skt. *pratarā*- 'further, farther, future'.

πρότι, προτί ⇒ πρόσ.

**πρότμησις** [f.] 'region of the navel' (Λ 424, Q. S., Sinope III<sup>a</sup>, H., Poll.); in H. also προτμήτις· ὁ περὶ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν κατὰ τὸν λαγόνά τόπος 'area surrounding the navel, waist' and προτμητόν· τὸν ὀμφαλόν. <GR>

•ETYM Verbal noun from προτέμνω 'to cut off in front', originally of the severing of the umbilical cord, then of the navel itself and the area surrounding it (Porzig 1942: 337). Often analyzed as "incision of the body", whence 'waist' (e.g. LSJ, Benveniste 1948: 78), which should be rejected. The form προτμήτις in H. (also v.l. sch. Λ 424; accent uncertain) must be explained, if the accent in H. is reliable, as a fem. of \**protmēs* (like προβλής); cf. e.g. δασπλήτις and προβλήτις, ἀδμήτις (but these forms are rare and late). A proparoxytone πρότμητις would be strange, and can hardly be an archaism (Wackernagel 1916: 236).

**προύμνη** [f.] 'plum tree, Prunus' (Thphr.). <PG?, LW Anat.??>

•DER προῦμνον [n.] 'plum' (Gal. et al.).

•ETYM Probably of Anatolian origin, like the tree itself; cf. the Phryg. TN Πρυμνησσός and Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 181f. Borrowed as Lat. *prūnus*, -um, perhaps from an intermediate \**pru(φ)νον* (Fur.: 243)?

**προύνεικος (-ικος)** [m.] 'one who bears cargo out of the market, hired porter' (Com. *Adesp.*, Hdn. Gr., Ael. Dion., H., Eust.), also a designation of a loafer or a person from the lower classes (Herod., H.); also adj. (AP 12, 209)? <GR>

•DER προυνικία (H.), see on ►σκίταλοι.

•ETYM A colloquial word without a certain etymology. Hardly derived from προ-ενεῖκαι, as suggested already by Eust. and others, nor related to νεῖκος (AB, EM); cf. also θορυβώδεις καὶ προυνείκους in D. L. 4, 6.

**προυσελέω** [v.] 'to ridicule, outrage, maltreat' (A. *Pr.* 438, Ar. *Ra.* 730). <?>

•ETYM Without etymology. One doubtful hypothesis derives it from \**pro-es-eléō* (from ἔλος) 'to dump in the swamp' (Schwyzer: 724), for the semantics of which προπηλακίζειν (H., Suid.) 'id.' has been compared.

**πρόφρων** [adj.] 'kind, willing' (epic poet. since Il.). <GR>

•VAR Fem. πρόφρασσα (Il., Od.).

•ETYM Bahuvrihi compound, literally meaning "forward-minded" (cf. Sommer 1948: 110<sup>3</sup>). The form πρόφρασσα is after synonymous ἐκασσα (Wackernagel *Gött. Nachr.* 1914: 41f.); cf. on ►έκων and ►φρήν.

**προχάνη** [f.] 'pretext' (Call. *Cer.* 73, fr. 26). <GR>

•VAR Dor. -ᾱ.

•ETYM Archaic or dialectal formation with unclear history. Acc. to Eust. 1109, 39, derived from a verb προχαίνω, which is further unattested and translated as προφαίζομαι 'to give a pretext'; unconvincing. More probably, it is derived from προ-έχομαι 'to pretend', thus from \**pro-ochānē* with elision.

**πρόχειρος** [adj.] 'at hand, ready, easy, usual' (IA). <GR>

•DER προχείρ-ιον (-ον) [n.] 'handbag' (pap.), -ότης [f.] 'readiness' (Hell.), προχειρίζομαι, -ίζω [v.] 'to provide (oneself) with, put at disposal, choose' (Att., Hell.), whence -ισις [f.] 'provision, accomplishment', -ισμός [m.] 'provision, choice' (Hell.).  
 •ETYM Hypostasis from πρὸ χειρῶν, possibly also a bahuvrihi "with a forward hand" (Sommer 1948: 108, 112, 141, Schwyzer 1950: 508).

**πρόχνη** [adv.] 'kneeling, on the knees' (I 570, with καθεζομένη; 'fully, thoroughly, entirely' vel sim. (Φ 460, ξ 69 with (ἀπ-)ολέσθαι; A. R. 1, 1118; 2, 249), mg. uncertain (Antim. Col. 2 P.). <IE \*gʰon-u 'knee'>

•ETYM In the meaning 'kneeling', πρόχνη clearly contains the zero grade of γόνυ, as in ► γνύξ. The proper meaning is therefore: "with the knees forward", a frozen ntr.acc. which stands for \*πρό-γνυ = Skt. (gramm.) *pra-jñū-*, of which the meaning is not quite certain (Wackernagel 1916: 74). The origin of the aspiration is uncertain (cf. Schwyzer: 328). The meaning 'fully', if at all from 'kneeling', probably came about by reinterpretation of an epic expression. For a different etymology, cf. Brugmann-Thumb 1913: 127, who derived πρόχνη 'fully' from χναύω 'to plane, gnaw off'; the originally independent \*πρό-γνυ 'kneeling' would then have coalesced with it (an idea accepted by Wackernagel 1916: 74).

**προχώναι** [f.pl.] 'buttocks, coccyx' (Archipp. 41). <GR>

•ETYM Perhaps a nonce form or comic contamination of κοχώνη and πρωκτός (Güntert 1914: 122); otherwise, with πρό.

**πρυλές, -έων** [m.pl.] 'heavily armed foot-soldiers' (Il., Hes. Sc. 193, Gortyn), metaph. of birds (Opp.); προυλῆσι· πεζοῖς ὀπλίταις 'hoplites on foot' (H.). <PG(V)>

•DER Also πρύλις [f.] '(Cretan) weapon-dance' (Call.; acc. to Arist. fr. 519 Cyp. or Cret.); πρυλεύσεις· ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς τῶν τελευτησάντων παρὰ τῷ ἱερεῖ (H.). From πρύλις comes \*πρυλεύω 'to perform a π.', whence πρυλεύσεις [f.pl.] (H.).

•ETYM It is not entirely clear how πρυλές (sg. -λῆς [Hdn.] or -λὺς [Schwyzer: 572]) and πρύλις are related. According to Leumann 1950: 286f., Cret. πρύλις would have arisen through false interpretation of epic πρυλές; Ruijgh 1957: 96f. opposes this. In view of the formal variant προυλῆσι, the word is probably of Pre-Greek origin. Unrelated to πρύτανις (Misteli KZ 17 (1868): 174; cf. Bechtel 1914 s.v. διαπρύσιος).

**πρυμνός** [adj.] 'utmost, hindmost, undermost', of the body part that is closest to the torso, vel sim.; also of the undermost part of a tree, a rock, etc. (epic poet. Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR With shift of accent πρύμνη, secondarily -νᾶ [f.] 'hindmost part of a ship, stern' (IA, Il.), in Hom. mostly attributive πρύμνη νηὺς.

•COMP As a first member in e.g. πρυμν-ώρεα [f.] 'lower part, foot of a mountain' (Ξ 307), from \*πρυμν-ώρης (Solmsen 1909: 249, Risch *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 18). From πρύμνη e.g. πρυμν-οὔχος 'holding the stern' (E., AP), ὑψί-πρυμνος 'with high stern' (Str.).

•DER 1. πρυμν-όθεν 'from the lower end, from the bottom' (A.), also (Hell. poet.) = πρύμν-ηθεν, Dor. -ᾶθεν 'from the stern' (Il.); 2. -ήτης [m.] 'steersman', as an adj. 'standing on the stern' (A., E.) with -ητικός (Callix, pap.), -ήσιος (E.) 'id.', τὰ -ήσια

[n. pl.] 'stern cables' (Hom., AP); probably analogically built to πρύμνη (Chantraine 1933: 42, Schwyzer: 466); 3. -αῖος 'id.' (A. R.); 4. -εύς [m.] PN (Θ 112, Nonn.).

•ETYM Often connected with πρό, assuming υ for ο by Cowgill's Law (e.g. Forssman KZ 79 (1965): 11ff.), but this is semantically unconvincing, because πρυμνός indicates not the most forward, but the hindmost part. For the suffix -μν-, one compares Skt. *ni-mná-* [n.] 'depression, depth', adj. 'lying deep'.

The connection with OCS *kr̥ma* 'back part of a ship' is wrong; cf. Vasmer 1953 s.v. *kormá*. Cf. also πρόμνος and ► προμνηστῖνοι, connected with πρυμνός by Forssman KZ 79 (1965): 11ff.; see ► πρόμος.

The most promising etymology consists of the connection with πρέμνον, the non-Indo-European interchange ε/υ pointing to a Pre-Greek origin (cf. Fur.: 65<sup>270</sup>).

**πρύτανις, -εως** [m.] title of a leading official, in Athens member of the governing committee of the council, 'foreman, chief of affairs, prytan' (Dor. IA); also name of a Lycian (E 678). <PG(V)>

•VAR Aeol. πρό-.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ναυ-πρύτανις = ναύαρχος (Pi.).

•DER 1. Adjectives πρυταν-ικός (IA inscr.), -ειος (Aristid.) 'belonging to the π.'; 2. substantives -εῖον, Ion. -ήϊον [n.] 'residence of the π., city hall' (IA), in Athens also name of a court of law; τὰ πρυτανεῖα 'legal costs' (Att.); here Πρυταν-ῖτις (Herm. Hist.), -εῖα (Syros) [f.] epithet of Ἑστία as a protectress of the Prytaneion; 3. verb πρυταν-εὔω 'to be π., lead something' (h. Ap. 68) with -εῖα, Ion. -ήϊη [f.] '(term of the) office of a π.' (IA, Rhodes, etc.), -εσμα = Lat. *principatus* (epigr. I<sup>a</sup>), -εύς [m.] = πρύτανις (Rhodos), back-formation acc. to Boßhardt 1942: 77.

•ETYM In view of the close resemblance to Etruscan *purθne*, *epurθni* 'title of an official', πρύτανις probably belongs to the Anatolian-Aegean stratum of social designations (cf. βασιλεύς, ἀναξ, τύραννος, and Schwyzer: 62 and 462). The variation of Aeol. πρότανις (Att. inscr. incidentally have προταν-εὔω, -εῖα) and Phoc. and Cret. βρυτανεὔω, -εῖον is suggestive of borrowing from a Pre-Greek source; cf. Heubeck 1961: 67f.; Linderski *Glotta* 40 (1962): 157ff. also connects Hatt. *puri* 'lord'. The association with πρό 'in front' is secondary and folk-etymological; πρυ- is not an old by-form of προ, as has been claimed on the basis of διαπρύσιος, πρυμνός, πρυλές.

**πρώην** [adv.] 'lately, the day before yesterday' (Il.). <IE \*proH 'early, in the morning'>

•VAR πρώην (Il.), πρῶν (Call. fr., Herod.), Dor. πρῶαν, πρῶαν, πρᾶν (Theoc.); on the phonetics Schwyzer: 250.

•COMP As a first member in πρωηρότης [m.] 'early plougher' (Hes.), like ὄψ-αρότης (see ► ὄψέ); often in Thphr., e.g. πρωῖ-καρπος 'with early fruit', compar. πρωῖκαρπότερος (see Strömberg 1937: 162f.).

•DER Also πρωῖ (Il.), Att. πρῶ (πρῶ, πρῶϊ) 'early, in the morning'. Compar. forms: πρωῖ- (πρῶ-)τερος, -τατος, usually -αῖτερος, -αῖτατος (IA), after παλαιτερος etc. Other derivatives: πρώϊος, πρῶος 'at an early time' (O 470), πρωῖα [f.] 'early time, morning' (Aristeas, NT), after ὀψία; in Attic replaced by πρῶ-ῖμος (X., Arist., pap. and inscr.), to ὄψιμος (Arbenz 1933: 76); also πρό-ῖμος after πρό; Hell. -ῖνός

(Chantraine 1933: 200f.); πρωϊζά [adv.] 'the day before yesterday' (B 303), to πρώην after χθιζά, 'very early' (Theoc. 18, 9), to πρωϊ; πρωϊθεν 'from early in the morning' (LXX).

•ETYM Both πρώην and πρωϊ presuppose an adverb \*πρώ, which is confirmed by OHG *fruo* 'early', Lat. *prō* 'for, before', Av. *frā* 'forward, in front', and less directly by Skt. *prātār* 'early, in the morning' beside Av. *fra* = ►πρό. It is perhaps an old instrumental \**pro-h*.

The form πρώην, -ᾶν may have been influenced by petrified accusatives, like δῆν, δᾶν, πλῆν, πλᾶν, ἀκμήν. Similarly, πρω-ῖ seems to have been modelled after locatives like ἦρι, πέρυσι, ἀντί. This πρωϊ served as the basis for the adjective πρώϊ-ος (= OHG *fruoji* 'early'), which, interpreted as πρώ-ιος, gave rise to πρώ-ῖος, -ινός (see above).

**πρωκτός** [m.] 'rump, anus' (Hippon., Ar.). <IE \**pre/oh<sub>2</sub>kt-* 'buttock'>

•DER πρωκτίζω 'paedico' (Ar.).

•ETYM Closely related to Arm. *erastan-k'* [pl.] 'buttock', an action noun in -an-, from IE \**preh<sub>2</sub>kt-*. This means that Greek derives from \**proh<sub>2</sub>kt-* (Beekes in Kortlandt 2003: 191). The earlier reconstruction as \**p(e)rh<sub>2</sub>kt-* (see the discussion in Clackson 1994: 166f.) does not abide by the rules for IE root structure. Skt. *pr̥sthá-* 'back' and related forms are more easily derived from \**pr-sth<sub>2</sub>-o-*, and are therefore unrelated.

**πρών** [m.] 'protruding rocks, mountain top' (Il.). <?>

•VAR πῶνος or πρωνός, plur. πῶνες, also πῶνες (epic poet. since Il.), also πρηών (Hes. Sc. 437, Hell.), πρεών (AP), -ῶνος, -όνος.

•ETYM Starting from the later attestation πρηών (whence πρεών, πρών), the plur. πῶνες, -ας could be explained as a diectasis of πῶνες; this would point to original \**πρηών* or \**πῶών* (Schwyzer: 377). On the other hand, if we assume a pre-form \**πῶων*, πῶνες becomes regular, but πρηών must then either be due to false analysis, or an old ablaut variant of πρών. A reconstruction \**πῶων* is strongly supported by ►πῶρα 'prow, bow of a ship', which can hardly be dealt with separately. This goes back to \**prh<sub>3</sub>-ur-ih<sub>2</sub>*, beside \**prh<sub>3</sub>-uon-* giving πρών; the adjective is probably derived from the forebear of Skt. *pūrvā-* 'frontmost, earlier'.

Fur.: 331 wonders whether προυνός· βουνός is a variant, or a contamination of πρών and βουνός.

**πρώξ, πρωκός** [f.] 'dewdrop' (Theoc., Call.). <IE \**prōk-* 'drop, sprinkle'>

•VAR Only plur. πῶκες.

•ETYM Formation like κλώψ, ῥώπες, τρώξ, etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 2, Schwyzer: 424); thus, originally an agent noun "dripper, sprinkler" from a lost verb for 'sprinkle', which left traces in several derived adjectives, e.g. ►περκνός. For a parallel of 'sprinkle' beside 'drop', cf. especially Skt. *pr̥ṣan-* 'spotted, speckled', *pr̥ṣatā-* [m.] 'spotted gazelle' (Ved.), 'drop of water' (epic class.).

**πῶρα** [f.] 'forepart of a ship, prow, bow' (μ 230: gen. πῶρης, attributive to νηός). <IE \**prh<sub>3</sub>-u(e)r-ih<sub>2</sub>* 'forepart of a ship'>

•VAR Ion. πῶρη, secondary after πρύμνη.

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. κυανό-πῶρος 'dark-bowed' (Hom., B.), -πῶρειος (γ 299, verse-final enlargement), -πῶρα [f.] (Simon. 241), explanation uncertain.

•DER πῶρ-ᾱθε(ν), -ηθε(ν) 'from the bow, at the bow' (Pi., Th.); -εὺς [m.] 'officer in command at the bow' (X., D., Arist.), also PN (θ 113); -άτης [m.] 'id.' (S., X.), to πρυμνήτης, κυβερνήτης (Fraenkel 1912: 206) with -ατικός 'concerning the prow' (pap., Poll.), -ατεύω [v.] 'to be in command at the bow' (Att., Hell.); -ήσια [n.pl.] 'uppermost points on starboard' (EM: πρυμνήσια); ptc. aor. πῶράσαντες· κροτήσαντες· ἡ δὲ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς εἰρεσίας 'making rattle, striking; a metaphor from [the terminology of] ships and rowers' (H.), cf. Men. *Sicyon*. 421 Kassel.

•ETYM Apparently contracted from \**πῶρα-ια* or \**πῶρα-ε-ια*. The expected msc. \**πῶρων* (cf. πίων : πείρα) is attested as ►πῶν. Discussion in Peters 1980a: 190f., who argues that a suffix -ε-ια is expected on the basis of πείρα, πέπειρα, and that it would yield the main attestation πῶρα. Actually, \**πῶρα-ε-ια* would have to result in πῶρα instead (which is also attested, but only as a weaker variant in the mss. and pap.). However, in this case, πῶρα can hardly be explained, as there is no basis for a pre-form in \*-α-ια. Therefore, Peters argues that -ψ- was introduced, like in the presents in -ῆσκω, -ῶσκω.

It is improbable that κυανο-πῶραν (Simon. 241) preserves an old uncontracted form \**πῶραια* (Hdn. 2, 410); see Peters l.c.

Apart from the suffix -n-, related \**πῶ-ων* is formally comparable to Skt. *pūrvā-* 'foremost, earlier', ToB *parwe* 'first', OCS *pr̥vъ* 'first' < \**prh<sub>3</sub>-uo-*.

Borrowed as Lat. *prōra*, *prōreta* (from Ion. \**πρωρήτης*); see WH s.v.

**πῶτος** [adj.] 'foremost, first' (Il.). <IE \**prh<sub>3</sub>-to-* (?) 'first'>

•VAR Dor., Boeot. πῶτος.

•COMP Very productive in compounding, e.g. πρωτό-γονος 'first-born' (epic poet. Il.).

•DER 1. Superlative πῶτ-ιστα [adv.] 'first of all', -ιστος (epic poet. Il.), Dor. (Thera) πῶτιστος 'the very first' (Seiler 1950: 105). 2. πρωτ-εῖον [n.] 'first prize, first rank' (Att.); -εῖος 'of the first rank'. 3. -εῖω 'to be first' (Att.) with the back-formation πρωτεύς epithet to λαός (Tim. Pers. 248). Several short names, e.g. Πρωτ-εὺς [m.] Seagod (Od., etc.), -τέας, -τίων, Πρατ-ίνας, -ύλος, etc. (Bechtel 1917b: 387). On Πρωτεσί-λαος, -λεως (Il., etc.), see Risch 1937: §71a.

•ETYM Related to Skt. *pūrvā-*, Av. *paur-uua-* < \**prh<sub>3</sub>-uo-*, and Lith. *pīr-mas* < \**prh<sub>3</sub>-mo-*, but with a suffix -to- as in τρίτος, τέταρτος, etc. Dor. πῶτος is problematic, because it seems to continue \**prh<sub>3</sub>-to-* with a different laryngeal; in spite of DELG, the two forms cannot be unified under \**prH-*. The postulated reconstruction \**πῶ-ατος*, which similarly could explain πῶτος, but not πῶτος, cannot have developed out of \**prH-* in a regular way. Cf. Beekes 1969: 214f.

**πταίω** [v.] 'to nudge, crash into, stumble, err, have bad luck' (IA); rarely trans. 'to knock over' (Pi. fr. 205, LXX). <PG?, IE? \**pi(e)h<sub>2</sub>-u-ie/o-* 'strike'>

- VAR Aor. παῖσαι, fut. παῖσω, also perf. (later Att., Hell.) ἔπτακα, pass. (late) πταισθῆναι, ἔπταισμαι.
- COMP Also with prefix, especially προσ-.
- DER παῖσμα (πρόσ-) [n.] 'push, fault, misfortune, defeat' (IA, Thgn.), πρόσπταισις [f.] 'push, stumble, collision' (D. H.).
- ETYM Rhyming formations like παῖω, ραῖω, and also -κναῖω may have influenced πταῖω (and *vice versa*); for the onset, cf. ►πίσσω, ►πήσσω. The word may well be Pre-Greek. Alternatively, Hackstein *Glotta* 70 (1992): 154-167 (see also on ►πήσσω) reconstructs a present \**pi(e)h<sub>2</sub>-u-ie/o-* on the basis of πταῖω, Lith. *pjáuti* 'to cut', and Lat. *paviō* 'to pound, strike'.

**πτάκα** [acc.sg.f.] 'hare' (A. Ag. 137 [Iyr.]). <PG?, IE? \**pieh<sub>2</sub>-k-* 'duck away, shy'>

- VAR The nom. is unattested.
- DER πτάκ-ις, -ίδος [f.] 'id.' (Com. Adesp. 1127), -ισμός [m.] 'shyness' (ibid. 1128: \*πτακίζω), -άδις [adv.] 'shy' (Theognost.); πτακωρεῖν, πτήσσειν, δεδοικέναι 'be scared, fear' (H.), after ὀλιγωρεῖν, τιμωρεῖν etc.
- ETYM Considered to be a root noun of the aorist πτάκεῖν (see ►πήσσω), from a paradigm nom. ►πτῶξ < \**pioh<sub>2</sub>-k-s*, analogical gen. πτακ-ός. It seems, however, that the whole complex of πτῶξ, πτάκα, and πτωχός is Pre-Greek in view of the alternating root-final stops κ/χ.

**πτακάνα** 'boat mat' used in boats called κάννα (Poll. 10, 166). <PG?>

- DIAL LSJ gives πτακάλα or πτανάκα.
- ETYM No etymology; possibly Pre-Greek.

**πτάρνυμαι** [v.] 'to sneeze' (Hp., X.). <ONOM>

- VAR Rare and late πτάρνεται, πταίρω, πτείρω, πτέρομαι; them. aor. πταρεῖν (since ρ 541), ptc. also πταρεῖς (Hp., Arist.), πτάραντες (Arist.; uncertain).
- DER πταρ-μός [m.] 'the sneezing' (IA) with -μικός 'causing to sneeze', -μική [f.] 'sneezewort' (Dsc., Gal.), see Strömberg 1940: 85; πτόρος 'id.' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 191).
- ETYM Onomatopoeic word, probably related to Lat. *sternuō* 'id.', OIr. *sreod* 'sneezing'; however, the reconstruction of a root \**pster-* remains hypothetical. Arm. *p'rngam*, *p'ṛnč'em* 'to sneeze' is probably onomatopoeic; see Clackson 1994: 99. An aspirate is found in the gloss ἀποφθαράσασθαι τὸ τοῖς μυκτῆρσιν εἰς τὸ ἔξω ἦχον προέσθαι, ἀποφλάσαι, ῥογχάσαι. Κρήτες καὶ Σάμιοι (H.), with the same meaning as Lat. *stertō* 'to snore'. Strunk MSS 46 (1986): 221-242 assumes an ablauting *n*-present with the full grade shifting between the root (Lat. *sternuō*) and the ending (hence πτάρνυμαι with a zero-grade root).

**πτέλας** [m.] 'wild boar' (Lyc. 833, verse-final). <PG?>

- VAR Also πτελέα· σὺς ὑπὸ Λακώνων 'boar (Lac.)' (H.).
- ETYM The ending is the same as in ἐλέφας. A possible cognate would be ►πτελέη 'elm', but this leaves much unexplained. The connection with Lith. *kiaūlė* 'swine', *kuiļys* 'breeding-swine', and with Skt. *kirī-* [m.] 'boar', suggested by Merlingen 1956: 58, should also be rejected. Holthausen's connection with πελιτνός, πελιός, etc.

(Holthausen *IF* 62 (1956): 152) is arbitrary. The word may well be Pre-Greek (note initial πτ-).

**πτελέα** [f.] 'elm tree' (Il.). <PG(V)>

- VAR Ion. -έη, Epid. πελέα.
- DIAL Mys. *pte-re-wa*.
- DER πτελέ-ινος 'of an elm' (Att. and Del. inscr., Thphr.), -ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'elm grove' (gloss.). Πτελεός [m.] town in Thessaly, etc. (B 697 et al.).
- ETYM The suffix -έα is frequent in tree-names (cf. μηλέα, ἰτέα). The word πτέλας 'boar' is formally close, but the semantics are far off (Strömberg 1940: 140 adduces MoHG *Eberesche* to prove that boars may live in elm-woods). Lat. *pōpulus* 'poplar' cannot be related, since it deviates strongly in form and meaning; phonetically closer is Lat. *tilia* 'lime-tree'. For the variation πτ-: π-, cf. πόλεμος and πόλις. Arm. *t'ēli* 'elm' may have been borrowed from πτελέα (Solta *Sprache* 3 (1956): 227<sup>11</sup> argued for old etymological relationship), or both may have been borrowed from a common source, like Lat. *tilia* (which was borrowed into Greek in τιλία· αἰγυριοι 'black poplars' [H.]); see Clackson 1994: 169. Fur.: 226 assumes that it is a variant of μελίη 'ash'; he concludes that the word is Pre-Greek.

**πτέρις, -εως** [f.] 'fern, bracken' (Hell.). <GR>

- VAR Also -ίς, -ίδος.
- COMP As a second member in δρυ(ο)-περίς [f.] 'oak fern' (Dsc., H.), θηλυ-περίς [f.] 'female fern' (Thphr., Dsc.). With the same meaning πτέριον (also with θηλυ-) [n.] (Ps.-Dsc., Alex. Trall.); see Strömberg 1940: 40f.
- ETYM The original meaning must have been "feather plant", as it is related to ►πτερόν; it was named after the form of the leaves (cf. MoHG *Federkraut* 'water milfoil'). Likewise, MoHG *Farn* (OHG *far(a)n*, etc.) 'fern' can be equated with Skt. *parṇā-*, Av. *parəna-* [n.] 'wing, feather, leaf. Alb. *fier* 'fern' may be related as well, possibly as a loanword, acc. to Mann *Lang.* 28 (1952): 40.

**πτέρνη** [f.] 'heel', also metaphorically of the lower part of several objects, etc. (epic Ion. poet., Arist., Hell.). <IE \**tpersneh<sub>2</sub>* 'heel'>

- VAR Secondarily -vā (LXX).
- COMP Some compounds, e.g. πτερνο-κοπίς [f.] 'heel-pusher', nickname (middle and new com.; see Wackernagel 1916: 196); \*ὑπό-πτερος 'under the heel' in ὑποπτερν-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'base, underlay' (Ph., Hero *Bel.*).
- DER πτερν-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'foot of a bowl' (middle com.), -ίζω [v.] 'to hit with the heel, trip one up, supplant someone out of his position, provide a shoe with a new heel' (LXX, Com. Adesp.), to which -ιστής [m.] (Ph.), -ισμός [m.] (LXX). Isolated and semantically unclear is πτέρνιξ, -ίκος [m.] 'main stalk of a cactus' (Arist.); next to it we find ►τέρνακα· τῆς κάκτου τοῦ φυτοῦ καυλόν 'stalk of the cactus' (H.), s.v.
- ETYM Old designation of the heel: Lat. *perna* 'calf of the leg', Gm. (e.g. Go. *fairzna* 'heel'), possibly Hitt. *paršina-* 'buttock (?)' (= *paršna-*; with *paršnāi-* 'to squat down'), from IE \**tpersneh<sub>2</sub>*. Beside these, we find Indo-Iranian forms with secondary vowel length: Skt. *pārṣṇi-* [f.], Av. *pāšnā-* [n.] 'heel'. The initial πτ- must reflect an

original cluster, probably \**tp-*, i.e. \**tpersn-* (see Lubotsky 2006). On late πέρνα 'ham', see ► πέρνα.

**πτερόν** [n.] 'feather, wing, pinion', also metaphorically of feather- and wing-like objects (Il.). <IE \**pet-* 'fly'>

•COMP πτεροφόρος 'feathered, winged' (A., E.), υπό-πτερος '(swift)-winged' (Pi., IA); on ► υποπετρίδιος s.v.

•DER 1. πτερό-εις 'provided with feathers or wings' (epic poet. Il.); antonym ἄ-πτερος (Od.), of μῦθος (as an opposite of ἔπεα πτερόεντα); 2. πτερω-τός 'id.' (IA), -τικός 'belonging to plumage' (V<sup>p</sup>); 3. -μα [n.] 'plumage' (A. fr., Pl. Phdr., etc.), rather enlarged from πτερόν than from πτερόμοι; 4. πτερό-της [f.] 'winged condition' (Arist.); 5. πτέρ-ων [m., n.] of an unknown bird (Com. Adesp.), -νις [m., n.] of a kind of hawk (Arist.); 6. πτερ-όμαι (also with ἐκ-συν-) [v.] 'to get wings, become fledged', -όω 'to feather, wing' (IA), whence -ωσις [f.] 'feathering, plumage' (Ar., Arist.). Next to it πτέρυξ, -ύγος [f.] 'wing' (Il.), often metaphorically like πτερόν. Often as a second member, e.g. τανύ-πτερυξ (Il.), also -πτερυγ-ος (Simon.) 'spreading the wings'. From πτέρυξ are derived: 1. diminutive πτερύγιον [n.], designation of several wing-like objects (Hp., Arist.); 2. -ώδης 'wing-like' (Hp., Thphr.); 3. -ωτός 'provided with wings' (Arist.); 4. -ωμα [n.] 'poultry, etc.' (late); 5. πτερυγ-ίζω (also with ἀνα-, etc.) [v.] 'to move the wings' (Ar.); also -όμοι, -όω meaning unclear (Lesb. lyr., medic.), with ἀπο- 'to lose the wings' (Vett. Val.); πτερ-ύσσω (also with δια-, etc.) [v.] 'to flap with the wings' (Archil.?, Hell.), perhaps from πτερόν.

•ETYM The word for 'feather' or 'wing' is derived from the verb for 'fly', represented in Greek by ► πέτομαι, πτέσθαι. A good formal correspondence to πτερ-όν <\**pt-er-* is not found in the other languages: Skt. *pátra-a-* [n.] 'wing, feather', Lat. *acci-piter*, -*tris* 'hawk', OHG *fedara*, ON *fjǫðr* [f.] 'feather', etc. all go back to IE \**petr-* (which in Greek is represented in υποπετρίδιων ὀνείρων 'winged dreams', Alc. 23, 49). Some connect Arm. *t'ēr* 'side' as if from \**pter-* (comparing *t'ir* 'flight' <\**ptēr-* and *t'ēr-čim* [v.] 'to fly', aor. *t'ēr-eay*), but this is semantically dubious. A heteroclitic stem is found in Hitt. *pattar* (also *pittar*) [n.], gen.pl. -*an-aš*. An *n*-stem is seen in Lat. *penna* [f.] 'feather, wing' <\**pet-n-h<sub>2</sub>* et al.

As for πτέρυξ, no convincing parallel for the suffix -υγ- can be found in Greek (ὄρνυξ and other bird names are too far off); connection with various words in other IE languages has been suggested (see Frisk), but these are all unconvincing. The old connection between πτερόν and Ru. *peró* [n.] 'feather', etc. cannot be substantiated; the Slavic words have cognates in Skt. *parṇá-* [n.] 'wing, feather, leaf, etc.', Lith. *spaṛnas* [m] 'wing, paddle(?), leaf, ToB *paruwa* [pl.] 'feathers', and others, from a root \*(s)*per-*.

**πτῆμα** •VAR πτηνός, πτήσις. ⇒ πέτομαι.

**πτῆσσω** [v.] 'to duck (for fright)' (IA); sigm. aor. rarely trans. 'to frighten, drive away' (E 40, Thgn.). <PG?, IE? \**pieh<sub>2</sub>-k-* 'duck (away), shy'>

•VAR Also πτώσσω (Il., epic poet.), Aeol. (Alc.?) πτάζω, fut. πτήξω (Att.), aor. πτήξαι (Il.), Dor. πτάξαι (Pi.), also them. aor. ptc. κατα-πτάκων (A. Eu. 252), perf. ἔπτηχα

(Att.), ἔπτηκα (LXX with v.l. -χα, late); also epic forms ptc. perf. πεπτηώς (B 312, ξ 354, etc.), 3du.aor. κατα-πτήτην (Θ 136).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially κατα- and ὑπο-.

•DER πτήξις [f.] 'fright' (LXX), enlargement πτωσκάζω 'to duck, have fear' (Δ 372) after similar ἀλυσκάζω (to ἀλύσκω, ἀλύσσω), ἡλασκάζω; perhaps from \*πτώσκα; the v.l. πτωκάζω must be after πτώξ. Cf. Schwyzler: 708, Chantraine *RPh.* 57 (1931): 125, Chantraine 1942: 338.

•ETYM The epic forms πεπτηώς, καταπτήτην show that there was a root variant without velar. A further cognate is ► πτοέω. The comparison with Arm. *t'ak'-čim*, aor. *t'ak'-eay* 'to hide oneself' (Pedersen KZ 39 (1906): 342f.) is discussed by Clackson 1994: 169f. Photius gives πτεκάς· πτάξ.

The root is extensively discussed by Hackstein *Glotta* 70 (1992): 136-165. According to him, ToB *pyāk-tsi* 'to strike down' is related, which requires a reconstruction of the root as \**pieh<sub>2</sub>(k)-* (he thus rejects a root \**pteh<sub>2</sub>-k-*). Greek has both \**ptā-* and \**ptāk-* in πεπτηώς and πτήξαι, respectively (from the latter, πτήσσω was derived; another present is πτώσσω). Also cognate are πτοᾶν <\**pioh<sub>2</sub>-eje/o-* and πταίω 'to hit' <\**pieh<sub>2</sub>-u-* and, from other IE languages, Lith. *piáuti* 'to cut, mow, harvest, torment' and perhaps Lat. *paviō* from \**pieh<sub>2</sub>-u-* (with loss of \**i* after initial *p-* or by dissimilation against the second -*i-*).

There are two problems with this reconstruction: first, the semantic connection between Tocharian 'to strike down' and Greek 'to frighten' is not evident, and second, it neglects the evidence of πτωχός 'beggar', which is clearly related and shows a substrate alternation.

**πίλον** [n.] 'fluff, down, insect wing', metaphorically 'leaf, etc.' (IA). <PG(V)>

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. πτιλό-νωτος 'with a fluffy back' (AP), τετρά-πιλος 'with four fluffy feathers' (Ar.).

•DER 1. πτιλ-ωτός 'provided with πτίλα' (Arist., Att. inscr.); 2. -όμοι, -όω [v.] 'to be equipped with πτ.; to equip with πτ.' (late), whence -ωσις [f.] 'emergence of fluff' (Ael.), also of a disease of the eyelid and eyelashes (Gal.); πτίλος 'disease of the eyelids' (LXX, Gal.) is a back-formation on these words, whereas πτίλλος = *hippus* (gloss.) has expressive gemination; 3. -ώσσω [v.] 'to have a disease of the eyelids (lashes)' (Archyt.).

•ETYM The word πτίλον was connected with πτέσθαι by Frisk, with a "hypocoristic" suffix -ίλο- (Chantraine 1933: 248f.). On Dor. ψίλον (Paus. 3, 19, 6), see Bechtel 1921, 2: 319f. Fur.: 263 takes the alternation πτίλον / ψίλον as evidence for a Pre-Greek word, and he further compares Lat. *pilus*. In support of this, one may note that an IE pre-form \**pth<sub>2</sub>-ilo-* does not look convincing.

**πίσσω** [v.] 'to shell, grind grains by stamping' (IA). <IE \*(t)*pis-* 'stamp, smash'>

•VAR Att. also πίτιτω; aor. πτίσαι, pass. πτισθῆναι, perf. mid. ἔπισμαι.

•COMP Rarely with prefix, like περι- and κατα-.

•DER πτισ-άνη [f.] (-ανον [n.] Nic.) 'peeled barley, barley groats' (Hp., com., pap.); -μός [m.] 'winnowing' (com.), -μα [n.] 'peeled barley' (Str.; περιπ[τ]ίσματα [pl.] sch.; Jacobsohn KZ 42 (1909): 276), -ις [f.] 'skin' (Gal.), -τικός 'fit for shelling' (com.).



•ETYM The word πτίσσω is an old agricultural term, retained in several languages, though exact matches of the Greek forms in πτ- are not found. Note the correspondences ἄ-πις-τος 'unstamped' (Hp.) with Skt. *piṣ-ṭā-*, Lat. *pis-tus* 'smashed'. All other nominal and verbal forms are based on πτις- as well, except for the present πτίσσω, which was formed analogically after πλάσσω, πάσσω, etc. Nasal presents are found in Skt. *pi-ná-ṣṭi* 'to crush' (perf. *pipéṣa*, *pipiṣe*), Lat. *pī-n-sō* 'to pound' (with secondary perf. *pīns(u)i*, next to *pis-tor* 'pounder, miller', etc.); Balt. and Slav. have secondary formations, e.g. Lith. *paisaũ*, *-ýti* 'chop off ears of corn' (beside primary *pisũ*, *-ti* 'to copulate'), Ru. *pixát'* 'to thrust, stamp' (next to primary *pšeno* 'millet' from *\*pšenō* [ptc.] 'stamped'). On Greek πτ- against *p-* elsewhere, cf. on ► πτέρνη.

**πτοέω** [v.] 'to frighten, scare', pass. 'to become shy, scared, passionately excited' (Thgn.). ◀?▶

•VAR epic πτοιέω (πτοιῶμαι Thgn. 1018), fut. πτοιήσω (AP), aor. πτο(ι)ῆσαι (σ 340); ἐπτόαισ' (Sapph. 22, 14), ἐπτόασεν (31, 6 codd., cf. Hamm 1957: §49b3), mostly pass. πτο(ι)ηθῆναι (χ 298); ἐπτοάθης (E. IA 586 [lyr.]), perf. ἐπτο(ι)ῆμαι (Hes. Op. 447).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐκ-.

•DER 1. πτο(ι)η-σις [f.] 'excitement, passion' (Pl., Ph., NT); 2. πτοία (epic -η, rarely πτόη, -α) [f.] 'fright, passion' (Hell.), πτοι-ώδης (Hp.), -αλέος (Opp.) 'scared, frightened'.

•ETYM The verb πτοέω is a secondary formation, probably an iterative-intensive of the primary verb retained in καταπτήτην, πεπτηώς (see on πτήσσω). It goes back to older \*πτω-έω (cf. πτώξ); πτοιέω and other forms are derived from it by metrical lengthening (cf. e.g. ὀλοιός and πνοιή).

Next to πτοέω, we find the rare πτοάω (see above), like for example πονάω next to πονέω (see πένομαι). The old combination with Lat. *paveō* 'to tremble' (Froehde KZ 22 (1874): 259ff.) is accepted by Merlingen 1956: 56, starting from IE \**tpou-*. However, see Hackstein *Glotta* 70 (1992): 154-167, who reconstructs \**ptoh<sub>2</sub>-eie/o-*; see also on ► πτήσσω.

#### πτολίεθρον

•ETYM See ► πόλις, and further Ruijgh 1957: 77f.

**πτόρθος** [m.] 'sprout, shoot, young twig, branch' (ζ 128). ◀PG?(V)▶

•VAR Also πόρθος· πτόρθος (H.).

•COMP Rare and late as a second element, e.g. φιλό-πορθος 'loving offshoots' (Nonn.). The assumption that πτόρθος would have an older abstract meaning 'sprouting' in Hes. Op. 421 (e.g. Porzig 1942: 50) is unnecessary.

•DER πορθ-εῖον [n.] 'id.' (Nic.), -ιος [m.] epithet of Poseidon (as promotor of vegetation, = φυτάλμιος, Chalkis V<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM There is a variant πόρθος, and Arm. *ort'* 'vine' may somehow be related, as well. Fur.: 317 attributes these matches rather to independent borrowing from a common origin.

**πτύον** [n.] 'winnowing shovel' (N 588, A., S. in Fr., Theoc.). ◀PG?(V)▶

•VAR Att. πτέον, acc. to Ael. Dion. et al.

•DER Diminutive πτυάριον [n.] (Hdn., EM) and δίπτυον· Κύπριοι μέτρον, οἱ δὲ τὸ ἡμιμέδιμνον 'measure (Cypr.), half a μέδιμνος' (H.).

•ETYM Traditionally (e.g. Curtius 1858: 498) compared with Skt. *pávate*, *punāti* 'to purify', e.g. of corn, and also with OHG *fowen* < PGm. \**fawjan-* 'to sieve, purify corn' (Pok. 827), which supposes a secondary πτ-. If an old full grade is accepted for πτέον (only mentioned by grammarians, who label it Attic), πτύον could be secondary after πτύω. However, the variation *u/e* seems rather to point to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 314).

**πτύρομαι** [v.] 'to get scared, become shy' (Hp., D. S., Ep. Phil., Plu.); ἀπο-πτύρω 'to scare' (gloss.). ◀?▶

•VAR Aor. πτυρήναι (late).

•COMP Also with κατα-.

•DER πτυρτικός 'fearful, scared' (Arist., Str.), πτυρμός as an explanation of πτοία (H., Phot.).

•ETYM Unexplained. The initial agrees with πτήσσω, πτοηθῆναι, which is also close in meaning (this connection is mentioned in Persson 1912(1): 429' and Merlingen 1956: 56), while the ending recalls the semantic group ὀδύρομαι, μύρομαι, etc. However, πτύρομαι can hardly be a contamination of the two, contrary to what Frisk proposed.

**πτύσσω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to plead, fold (up)', med. 'to fold around oneself' (Il.). ◀PG?▶

•VAR Fut. πτύξω, -ομαι, aor. πτύξαι, -ασθαι, pass. πτυχθῆναι, πτυγῆναι, perf. πέπτυγμα, ἔπτυγμα.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, περι-, προσ-.

•DER 1. πτυκτός 'folded' (Z 169 etc.), πυκτή [f.] (Cod. Inst.), πυκτ-ίς [f.] (AP, Gal.), -ίον [n.] (sch., Suid.) 'tablet' (dissimilated from πτ-, see Schwyzler: 260); 2. πτύγμα (πρόσ-, περί-, etc.) [n.] 'fold, loop of a garment, compress' (E 315, E., Arist., medic.), with (προσ-)πτυγμάτ-ιον [n.] 'compress' (medic.); 3. πτύξις (also ἀνά-, διά-, etc.) [f.] 'folding, fold' (Hp., Arist.).

Further πτύχ-ες [pl.], acc. -ας, dat.sg. -ί (Hom.), acc. -α (E. [lyr.]) [f.]; with enlargement πτυχ-ή, mostly plur. -αί [f.] (post-Hom. poet.) 'fold, ply, layer', metaph. 'gorge, valley'; it also functions as verbal noun to πτύσσω, especially to the prefixed compounds (e.g. ἀναπτυχή to ἀνα-πτύσσω); as a second member in δί-, τρί-, πολύ-πτυχος (Il.), see Sommer 1948: 65f.), with transfer to the *s*-stems in περι-πτυχής 'folding around' (S.), δι-πτυχής (Arist.), etc.

From πτυχή are derived: 1. πτυχ-ίς, -ίδος (ὑπο-) [f.] 'layer, joint' (Plu.); 2. -ιον [n.] 'folded table, etc.' (Hdn. Gr., pap.), -ιος = πτυκτός (EM); 3. -ώδης 'fold-like, ply-like' (Arist.); 4. Πτυχ-ία [f.] name of an island near Corcyra (Th.).

•ETYM Beside πτύσσω, there are also relatively rare forms with -ττ- (δια-πτύττω Pl. Lg. 858e, προσ-ανα- Arist.). Therefore, the -σσ- is perhaps rather a Ionism than a strategy to avoid the co-occurrence of τ and ττ in πτύττω (Schwyzler: 319'; cf. 755<sup>2</sup>). As an old yod-present, πτύσσω goes back to \*πτύχ-ιω. It can be considered a denominative from πτύχ-ες.

The etymology is unclear: the connection with Skt. *pyúksna-* (only in the compound *pyúksna-vesṭita-*), which stems from Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 1: 277, is highly questionable (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 173). Fur.: 318 considers the word Pre-Greek, which may well be correct, although his connection with *πυκνός*, etc. is not convincing.

**πτύω** [v.] 'to spew, spit' (Hom.). <IE \**tspi(e)uH-* 'spew, spit'>

•VAR Aor. πτύ-σαι (Hom.), pass. πτυ-σθῆναι, -ῆναι (Hp.), fut. πτύσ-ω, -ομαι (IA), perf. ἔπτυκα (late).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐν-.

•DER 1. ἀπό-, κατά-πτυστος 'worth spitting upon, abominable' (Anacr., trag., also Att. prose); 2. πτύσις (also ἐκ-, ἐμ-, ἀνά-) [f.] 'spewing' (Hp., Arist.); 3. πτυσμός [m.] 'id.' (Hp.); 4. πτύσμα (ἐμ-, ἀπό-, κατά-) [n.] 'spittle' (Hp., Plb., LXX); 5. ἀπο-πτυστήρ [m.] 'spitter' (Opp.); 6. πτυάς, -άδος [f.] designation of a venomous snake (Gal. et al.); 7. πτύ-αλον, -ελον [n.] (-ος [m.]) 'spittle' (Hp., Arist.); from there -αλώδης 'spittle-like', -αλίζω, -ελίζω 'to secrete spittle' with -αλισμός (-ελ-) [m.] (Hp.).

•ETYM Beside the present πτύ-ω with long vowel (Schwyzer: 686, Chantraine 1942: 373), we find the aorist πτύσαι with short vowel, just as in ἐρύσαι, ἀρύσαι etc. This stem is further found in πτύσις and, with analogical σ, in πτύσ-μα, -μός, etc.

Since the onset has several variants in Indo-European cognates, it was often concluded that no preform can be reconstructed, which was attributed to the onomatopoeic origin of the word (e.g. E-M s.v. *spuō*). The sequence *sp-* is found in Lat. *spuō*, Germanic (e.g. Go. *speiwan*), Lith. *spiáuti*, 1sg. *spiáuju* (from \**spieuH-*?), and perhaps in Skt. (*nih-*)-*ṣṭhivati*, if *t v* is dissimilated from *p v*. No *s-* is shown by CS *pl̥nati*, 1sg. *pl̥juḡ*, Arm. *t'uk'* 'spittle' with *t'k'-anem* 'to spew, spit'; a different order of sounds is attested in Alb. *pshtyn* (Mann *Lang.* 26 (1950): 387).

Greek πτ- could agree with Arm. *t'*; if for older πτ-, OCS *pl̥juḡ* and Lith. *spiáuti* can be compared. Others prefer to derive the deviating forms from one preform. It seems that a heavy cluster such as \**tsp-* accounts best for the forms attested.

Even within Greek, several variants are attested: ἀπο-, ἐκ-πτύ-τιζω (Hp., com., Arist.; the simplex πτυτίζω is found only in EM), probably extended expressively, and subsequently dissimilated (borrowed into Lat. as *pytissāre*; cf. Leumann 1959: 159); Dor. ἐπι-φθύσδω = ἐπιπτύω (Theoc.); ψύττει· πτύει and σίαι· πτύσαι, Πάφιοι (H.), with ►σίαλον.

**πτῶμα** •VAR πτώσις. ⇒πίπτω.

**πτῶξ, -κός** [m.] 'hare' (P 676, Thphr., Theoc.), attributive to λαγῶς (X 310, Babr.), of Orestes seeking refuge (A. *Eu.* 326), of a coward (Lyc. 944). <PG?, IE? \**pteh₂-k-* 'duck away, shy'>

•COMP As a second member in πολυ-πτῶξ 'with many hares', ἀ-πτῶξ 'without hares' (Call., Hdn. Gr.).

•DER πτωκάς, -άδος [f.] epithet of αἰθυαί (Hom. *Epigr.*), of κύπειρος (Simm.), as a substantive referring to birds (S. *Ph.* 1093).

•ETYM The original meaning must have been "who ducks away, the shy one", an agent noun beside πτώσσω, πτήσσω; this meaning still filters through in πτωκάς and

is also possible for πτώξ in certain attestations (e.g. X 310). A broader use of πτώξ is also suggested by the various explanations in H.: πτώκες· δειλοί, λαγωοί, δορκάδες, ἔλαφοι, νεβροί. The alternation κ/χ evidenced by ►πτωχός 'beggar' points to substrate origin; cf. also on ►πτάκα and ►πτήσσω (where an alternative is mentioned).

**πτώσσω** ⇒πτήσσω.

**πτωχός** [m., f.] 'beggar', also [adj.] 'begging, poor' (Od.). <PG?(V), IE? \**pteh₂-(k-)* 'duck away, shy'>

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. πτωχο-ποιός 'drawing beggarly characters' (Ar.), 'making beggars' (Plu.), ὑπέρ-πτωχος 'very poor' (Arist.), see Sommer 1948: 170<sup>3</sup>.

•DER πτωχ-ικός 'beggarly' (Att.), -εῖον [n.] 'almshouse' (*Cod. Iust.*), -εύω [v.] 'to beg' (Od.) with -εῖα, Ion. -ῆῖ [f.] 'beggary' (IA), -ίζω 'to make a beggar' (LXX).

•ETYM πτωχός is a formation in a velar like ►πτῶξ, ►πτώσσω (see s.v. and on ►πτοέω). It seems that its aspiration cannot be explained in an IE framework (there is no direct connection with the much later perfect ἔπτηχα). Since it is highly probable that πτώξ, πτωκός 'hare' is related, we are dealing with a typical Pre-Greek alternation κ/χ.

**πύανος** ⇒κύαμος.

**πύαρ** ⇒πυός.

**πύγῃ** [f.] 'behind, rump' (Archil.). <PG?>

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. πυγο-στόλος 'decorating the rump' (Hes.), see Martinazzoli *Par. del pass.* 15 (1960): 209ff., κατά-πυγος (H., Phot.) with -πυγότερος, -πυγότατος (Sophr., *Epigr. Gr.*), and -πύγων, -ωνος [m.] 'voluptuous, lewd' (Arist.); [f.] κατα-πύγαινα (Att. amphora), see Fraenkel *Glotta* 34 (1955): 42ff. with literature; on the insect name πυγο-λαμπίς (Arist.), see Strömberg 1944: 13f.

•DER 1. Diminutives πυγ-ίον [n.] (Tab. Defix.), -ίδιον [n.] (Ar.); 2. substantive πυγ-αῖον [n.] 'buttocks' (Hp., Arist.), -εών, -ῶνος [m.] 'buttocks, arse' (Hippon. 92), after κενεών, cf. Masson ad loc.; 3. adverb -ηδόν 'with the tail foremost, rump to rump' (Arist.), -ιστί '?' (Hippon. 92), cf. Masson ad loc.; 4. -ίζω [v.] 'to inculcate, sodomize' (Ar.) with -ισμα (Theoc.). Hypostasis ἐμ-πύγ-ια [n.pl.] 'buttocks, region of the buttocks' (pap. I<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM A slang word, completely avoided in epic poetry and higher literature (Wackernagel 1916: 225f.). It has no convincing etymology. Connection with Skt. *pūga-* 'multitude, mass', etc. is phonetically fine, but the semantics are not compelling (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. and below on πύννος). Holthausen *IF* 20 (1906-1907): 329 connects πύξ, ►πυγμή, like MoHG *Steiß* 'rump' beside *stoßen* 'to bump', which in turn is formally difficult because of the long vowel of πύγῃ. Differently, Bezzenberger *BB* 27 (1902): 176f. (to ►πύματος, etc.; s.v.). Connections with Germanic by Holthausen *KZ* 74 (1956): 244 are to be rejected. The word πύγῃ could well be Pre-Greek, due to the variation ū / ü, but it is not mentioned by Fur.

**πυγμή** [f.] 'fist, fist-fight' (Il.); as measure of length, 'the distance from the elbow to the knuckles', equivalent to 18 δάκτυλοι (Thphr., Poll.). <IE? \**puḱ-*, *puḱ-* 'sting'>

•DER *πυγμαῖος* 'as large as a π., dwarf-like' (Hdt., Arist.), nom.pl. "the fistlings", name of legendary people of dwarves (Γ 6, Hecat., etc.); *πυγμικός* 'belonging to a fist-fight' (An. Ox.); name *Πυγμαῖς* [m.] (Chantraine 1956a: 18). On *Πυγμαλίων*, probably a popular adaptation of a foreign word, see Ruijgh 1957: 136.

*πυγών*, -όνος [m.] measure of length, 'the distance from the elbow to the first finger-joint', equivalent to 20 δάκτυλοι (Hdt., X.); from this *πυγούσιος* 'one π. long' (κ 517 = λ 25, Arat.), probably analogical (Risch 1937: 125), since \**πυγοντ-* (cf. Schwyzler: 526) is not probable; regular *πυγον-ιαῖος* 'id.' (Hp., Thphr.); *πύκτης* [m.] 'fist-fighter' (Xenoph., Pi., Att.) with *πυκτ-ικός* 'belonging to fist-fight(ers), brave in fist-fighting' (Att.), -οσύνη [f.] 'skillfulness in fist-fighting' (Xenoph.), see Wyss 1954: 31; -εύω [v.] 'to be a fist-fighter, have a fist-fight' (Att., Boeot.) with -ευσίς, -ευστής (gloss.), -εἶον (Suid.); also with analogical λ-extension -αλεύω [v.] (Sophr.), -αλίζω (Anacr.) 'id.'. *πύξ* [adv.] 'with the fist, in a fist-fight' (especially epic poetry, Il.); derived from it *πυγ-μάχος* [m.] 'fist-fighter', -μαχέω, -μαχία, -ίη (Hom., epic poet.), a univerbation from *πύξ μάχεσθαι*; cf. Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 180.

•ETYM The above words are all built on a root *πυγ-*, which was probably both verbal and nominal. As parallels for *πυγ-μή*, primary formations like ► *παλάμη*, *στιγμή*, and *δραχμή* could be adduced. The form *πυγ-ών* recalls *ἀγκών* and *λαγών*, the first perhaps being verbal, the last probably nominal (see on ► *λαγαίω*). The form *πύκτης*, too, can be either primary or secondary, whereas for *πύξ* a nominal origin seems most probable (see Schwyzler: 620); cf. still *πύξ-πυγμή* (H.).

A corresponding *l*-derivative is seen in Lat. *pug-il* [m.] 'fist-fighter', an *n*-formation in *pug-nus* [m.] 'fist' (*pugnāre*, *pugna* are secondary derivations). Thus we arrive at an isogloss *pug-* 'fist' between Latin and Greek. This etymon has been further connected with Lat. *pungō*, *pupugi* 'to sting' (see WH s.v. *pugil*), for which we would have to assume a specialisation 'to sting' > 'to sting with clenched fist and knuckles stretched out forward', i.e. 'to box'. The word *pug-* 'fist' could be a suffixless agent noun, originally \* "the stinger, the boxer". The meaning 'to sting' can still be seen in Lat. *pūgiō* 'dagger'. The same meaning is found in ► *πεύκη*, but this word is probably not related, since it has a voiceless stop κ.

**πυδαρίζω** [v.] 'to fling with the foot, hoof' (*App. Prov.*), acc. to EM = *λακτίζειν*, acc. to H. = *τὸ μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι τινος, ἀλλ' ἀποπηδᾶν, χαλεπαίνειν* 'to leap off, be angry'; with ἀπο- (*Ar. Eq.* 697), δια- (*Com. Adesp.*), both with ὕ (metrically conditioned?). <?>

•VAR -αλίζω (Suid.).

•DER *πυδαρισμός* = *δυσχέρεια* (Zon.).

•ETYM A popular expressive formation in -αρίζω (-αλίζω), further isolated. Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 3 (1953): 205 compared Lat. *pudet* (if from 'strikes down, is struck down'), Gr. ► *σπεύδω*, and Lith. *spáudžiu*, *spáusti* 'to press'. Cf. WH under *tripudium*, with further literature.

**πύελος** [f.] 'water-trough' (with soaked corn? See τ 553, where grain is washed), 'bath-tub' (Hp., com., pap.), 'coffin' (Hell.), cf. Schulze 1892: 515 and Schulze 1933a: 380'. <PG?>

•VAR Hell. and late *πύαλος*.

•DER *πυέλ-ιον* [n.] 'coffin' (Crete, Diogenian.), -ίς (-αλός), -ίδος [f.] 'id.'; also 'setting of a jewel, eye-socket, etc.' (Att., Hell.); -ώδης 'trough-like, hollow' (Arist.).

•ETYM Sometimes thought to be related to ► *πλύνω* through dissimilation from \**πλυ-ελος* (cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 6 (1915): 308; Renehan *Class. Rev.* N.S. 18 (1968): 133). However, although the suffixal variation -ελος/ -αλος could perhaps be explained, the etymology with *πλύνω* is almost certainly wrong: it is very likely that *πύελος* is a Pre-Greek word.

**πυετία** ⇒ *πυός*.

**πυθμήν**, -ένος [m.] 'bottom of a vessel, the sea, etc.', 'ground, base, underlay, foot (e.g. of a cup), plant, i.e. root-end, stick, stem' (epic since Il., also Hell. and late prose), 'the lowest number (base) of an arithmetic series' (Pl., etc.). <IE \**b<sup>h</sup>ud<sup>h</sup>-m(e)n-* 'bottom'>

•COMP Infrequently as a second member, e.g. ἀ-πύθμεν-ος 'bottomless, footless' (Thphr.), see Sommer 1948: 99; also (gramm.) ἀ-πύθμην 'id.' (Theognost.), etc. without the thematic vowel.

•DER Diminutive *πυθμέν-ιον* [n.] (pap.), -ικός 'belonging to the base', -έω [v.] 'to form a base' (late).

•ETYM The formation of *πυθμήν* is identical to *λιμήν* and *πομήν* (it is not productive in Greek, see Chantraine 1933: 174). The form *πυθ-μήν* agrees with Skt. *budh-ná-* [m.] 'bottom, ground, foot, root', from IE \**b<sup>h</sup>ud<sup>h</sup>-*. The suffixes match, if one derives *budh-na-* from \**b<sup>h</sup>ud<sup>h</sup>-mn-o-* (where the *m* was lost at an early stage). In Germanic, \**b<sup>h</sup>ud<sup>h</sup>-* became PGm. \**bud-* (seen in OE *bodan*, MLG *bōdem(e)*, etc.); then, after *mn* > *n*, \**bud-n-* became \**butt-* > *bot(t)-* according to Kluge's Law (seen in OE *botem* > MoE *bottom*), ON *botn*; we also find evidence for PGm. \**bup-* (OHG *bodam*, OS *bothme*, ME *bothme*). The developments in Germanic, including the forms with *b*, have now been explained in detail by Kroonen *ABäG* 61 (2006): 17-25. Metathesis occurred in Lat. *fundus* 'bottom, etc.', Mlr. *bond*, *bonn* 'sole, basis' < \**b<sup>h</sup>und<sup>h</sup>-o-* < PIE \**b<sup>h</sup>ud<sup>h</sup>-nó-*. On ► *πύνδαξ*, see s.v.

**πύθομαι** [v.] 'to putrify, decay' (Il.). <IE \**puH-* 'rot'>

•VAR Only pres. stem except *καταπέπυθα* *κατερρήκα* 'has flown down' (H.); further causative *πύθω*, fut. *πύσω*, aor. *πύσαι* (*πύσαι* Call.) 'to cause to rot', both also with *κατα-* (Il.); on the date of the attestations see Wackernagel 1916: 133.

•DER We further find *πύον*, *πύος* [n.] 'purulence' (Hp., Arist.); as a second member in *σαρκό-πυον* [n.] 'the festering of flesh' with -*πυώδης* (Hp.); adjectives, e.g. *ἐμπυος* 'fester, full of festering ulcers' (Hp., Att.) with *ἐμπυόμαι* [v.] 'to fester' (Hp.); *πυθεδόνες* [f.pl.] 'festering ulcers' (Hell.), after *σηπεδών*, etc.

Denominatives with prefix: *ἐκ-*, *ἐμ-*, *ἀπο-*, *δια-* *πυέω* (-έομαι), -ίσκομαι (late -ίσκω) 'to fester', with -*πύ-ις*, -*ημα*, -*ηματικός*, -*ητικός*, -*ικός* (Hp., medic.); late simplicia: *πύ-ις*, -*ητικός* (Aret., Gal.).

•ETYM Beside the θ-enlargement in πύ-θωμαι, -θω (cf. βρύ-θω, πλή-θω, etc.; Schwyzler: 703), which can also underlie πύσω and πύσαι, Sanskrit has a yod-present *pūyati* 'to rot' with a back-formation *pūya-* [m., n.] 'festering, pus' (thus *pūya-* is not identical with πύον). Baltic has a nasal present Lith. *pūnū* and *pūnū* (i.e. *pūnū*) 'id.'; in Germanic, we find an isolated ptc. ON *fúinn* 'rotten'. The nouns πύον and πύος go back to an unextended primary verb; they have their closest agreements in Arm. *hu*, gen. *huoy* (o-stem) 'festering blood', and in Lat. *pūs* [n.] (from *\*puH-os*). Further related are e.g. Lat. *pūteō* 'to rot', *pūter*, -*tris*, -*tre* 'rotten', Go. *fuls* 'rotten'. Here also belongs ► πύος 2 'beestings', s.v.

πύκα [adv.] 'dense, solid', metaph. 'careful, sensible' (Hom.). <?>

•DER We further find πυκάζω, Dor. -άσδω (Theoc.), aor. πυκάσ(σ)αι, pass. -σθῆναι, perf. med. πεπύκασμαι, quite rarely with περι-, etc., 'to tighten, enclose tightly, encase compactly, cover' (epic poet., late prose); thence πύκασμα [n.] 'encased, covered object' (Sm.); adjective πυκνός, epic and lyr. also πυκινός, 'dense, solid, compact, numerous, strong, brave, clever' (Il.). This often occurs as a first member, e.g. πυκνό-σαρκος 'with solid flesh' (Hp., Arist.).

From πυκνός are derived πυκν-ότης [f.] 'density, closeness, etc.' (IA), -άκις = πολλάκις (Arist.), -όω [v.] 'to make dense, tighten, etc.' (IA) with -ωμα, -ωσις, -ωτικός; -άζω [v.] 'to be numerous' (EM, gloss.). As a first member πυκι- in πυκι-μηδής (-μήδης) = μήδεα πυκνά (Γ 202, 208) ἔχων, 'with a dense mind, considerate, sensible' (α 438, *h. Cer.*, Q. S.), see Bechtel 1914 s.v. On ► ἄμπυξ, see s.v.

•ETYM The forms πύκα : πυκνός : πυκι-μηδής form a system; πύκα : πυκνός can be especially compared with ► θαμά : ► θάμνος, which are also semantically close. The form πυκινός may, acc. to Schwyzler: 490, have been formed analogically to πύκα and πυκνός, after θαμινός, ἀδινός, etc. Szemerényi's theory (Szemerényi 1964: 82ff., 87ff.) that πυκνός and θάμνος are syncopated from πυκινός and \*θάμινος should be rejected.

Further analysis remains hypothetical. The connection of ἄμπυξ with Av. *pūs-ā* 'diadem' is highly doubtful; the same holds for a primary verb IE *\*puḱ-* 'to fasten, etc.' (Pok. 849), from which πύκα was considered to be a denominative (Schwyzler: 734). Greek only has a secondary verb πυκάζω. Alb. *puth* 'kiss' and *puthtohem* 'to clothe tightly, string oneself, embrace' are unrelated.

In sum, the evidence for IE *\*puḱ-* (Pok. 849) remains meager. Fur.: 317 assumes that πυκνός, etc. are Pre-Greek, but this assumption, too, is based on scanty evidence.

ΠΥΚΤΗ •VAR Also, -τίον, -τίς. = πτύσσω.

ΠΥΛΕΩΝ, -ΕΩΝΟΣ [m.] 'wreath' (Alcm., Call. fr., Pamphil. *apud* Ath.). <PG(s)>

•VAR πυλών (H.), also πύλιγγες αἱ ἐν τῇ ἔδρᾳ τρίχες, καὶ ἱούλοι, βόστρυχοι, κίκιννοι 'the hair/wool in the seat (?); down, locks of hair, ringlets' (H.).

•ETYM The formation of πυλεών and πύλιγγες has been compared with that of ποδεών, λυχν-εών and θώμ-ιγγες, λά-ιγγες respectively. On this basis, a pre-form *\*πύλος* has been assumed. This *\*πύλος* is then connected with Skt. *pulaka-* [m.pl.] 'erection or bristling of the hairs of the body', *pula-* 'id.' (Lex.), and *pulastí(n)-* 'wearing the hair straight', which point to < *\*pula-*. From Iranian, Kurd. *pūr* 'hair of

the head' is adduced, and from Celtic Mlr. *ulcha* 'beard', *ul-fota* 'with long beard'. However, Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 151 doubts the connection between the Greek and the Sanskrit words, and the whole remains rather uncertain. In fact, the suffix -ιγγες may even point to a Pre-Greek origin for this etymon.

Πύλη [f.] 'wing of a door, gate', mostly plur. 'door, gate', especially of town gates, gates of a camp and the like (Il.); 'entrance, access, bottleneck, etc.', also as a TN (Pi., Emp., IA). <PG?>

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. πυλ-άρτης [m.] 'gate-closer', epithet of Hades, also as a PN (Hom.), where the second member is related to ἀρ- in ἀραρίσκω, with a univerbating suffix -τη- (Bechtel 1914 s.v., Fraenkel 1910: 31); πυλ-ωρός 'gate-keeper, guard' (Il.), epic πυλᾶ-ωρός, Hdt. πυλ-ουρός, also H. πυλ-αυρός (Dor.), -ευρός (Ion.); on the compositional vowel and the second member see on ► ὀράω; ἐπτά-πυλος 'with seven gates' (Il., epic, lyr.); TN Θερμο-πύλαι [pl.] (Simon., Hdt., etc.), called Πύλαι by Attic orators and others, cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 267.

•DER 1. Diminutive πυλ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] (IA); 2. -ώματα [n.pl.] 'gate' (A, E.), an extension (Chantraine 1933: 186f.); 3. -εών (late), -ών (Arist., Hell.). -(ε)ώνος [m.] 'gate-space, gateway, gate-building'; 4. Πυλ-ᾱτις, -ιδος [f.] 'belonging to Πύλαι' (S. [lyr.]), -αίτις, -ιδος [f.] 'belonging to a gate' (Lyc. 356), perhaps for Πυλᾱτις; cf. Redard 1949: 10 and 212; 5. πυλαῖος 'belonging to a gate' (late), 'belonging to Πύλαι' (Demeter; Call.); PN Πύλαιος (B 842); Πυλαία, -ίη [f.] epithet of the amphictyonian meeting in Πύλαι (IA); derived from Πυλαία: Πυλαιασταί [m.pl.] originally *\*"*members of the Πυλαία*"* (on the formation Fraenkel 1910: 175ff.; hardly correct Bechtel 1921, 2: 655), metaphorically 'mountebank, liar' (Phot., Suid.; Rhod. acc. to H.); probably also πυλαῖικός 'like a conjurer' (late); 6. Denominative verb πυλ-όμαι 'to be provided with gates' (Ar., X.).

•ETYM As opposed to inherited θύρα, πύλη is without etymology. It is probably a technical loanword, like many other architectural terms (e.g. μέγαρον); possibly of Pre-Greek origin.

Πύματος [adj.] 'utmost, last' (Il.). <?>

•ETYM A frozen superlative without correspondences outside Greek. A remote connection with Skt. *pūnar* 'back, again, further' has been proposed, but this is unlikely. It has been argued that the preposition ἀπο has a variant *\*pu*, but the intermediate form ἀπυ, which is attested in Arc.-Cypr., Lesb., and Thess., may have arisen phonetically from ἀπο. See also ► πύννος and ► πρυμνός.

Πύνδαξ, -ακος [m.] 'bottom of a vessel' (Pherecr., Arist. et al.), metaph. 'hilt of a sword' (S. Fr. 311). <?>

•VAR ἀπυνδάκωτος, ἀπύθμενος 'without bottom' (H.).

•ETYM The word πύνδαξ is formed like κάμαξ, πίναξ, στύραξ, etc.; it further recalls Lat. *fundus* with the same meaning, and so it is close to πυθμήν. However, the medial -νδ- for expected -νθ- is highly problematic: it cannot be explained as a regular development (pace Schwyzler: 333); cf. on -μβ- in ► ὄμβρος. Likewise, initial π- for expected φ- is puzzling (since it was no longer followed by θ), and most explanations offered (reshaping after ► πυθμήν; a borrowing from a Germano-Macedonian loan

word [Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 115ff.; cf. on ►πύργος], or a borrowing from Macedonian [Pisani *Rev. Int. ét. balk.* 3 (1937): 18ff.] are not convincing. The suffix -ακ- is typical for Pre-Greek words; of course, the suffix may have been taken over from Pre-Greek words, but this seems to have occurred only rarely (the word is not discussed by Fur.). If an inherited Indo-European form was adapted to Pre-Greek, this could explain π- and -νδ-, and the connection with Lat. *fundus*, etc. could be upheld.

**πυνθάνομαι** [v.] 'to find out, learn, ask, inquire, investigate' (Il.); act. πεύθω, πεύσαι 'to announce, cite' (Crete). <IE \*b<sup>h</sup>eud<sup>h</sup>- 'become awake or attentive'>

•VAR Epic also πεύθομαι (which was metrically easier, see Chantraine 1942: 111, 282, 308), fut. πεύσομαι, them. aor. πυθέσθαι, redupl. opt. πεπύθοιτο, perf. πέπυσμαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐκ-, προ-.

•DER With zero grade: 1. πύστις [f.] 'questioning, inquiry, tidings' (Att., A.) with πυστι-άομαι [v.] 'to interrogate' (Plu., Phot., H.); 2. πύσμα [n.] 'question, interrogation' with -ματικός 'interrogative, asking' (late); 3. πυστός (EM, Eust.), always as a second member, or in prefixed compounds, e.g. ἄ-πυστος, ἀνά-πυστος (Od.).

With full grade: 4. πευθῶ [f.] 'tidings' (A. Th. 370); 5. πεύσις (ἀνά-) [f.] 'information' (Ph., Plu.), older πύστις, cf. Fraenkel *Glotta* 32 (1953): 27 with literature; 6. πευθήν, -ήνος [m.] 'spy' (Luc., Arr.), see Solmsen 1909: 143;

7. Adjective πευστικός 'interrogating' (A. D., Ph.); 8. As a second member -πευθής, after the stems in -εσ (Schwyzer: 513), e.g. ἀ-πευθ-ής 'uninvestigated, unaware' (Od.); 9. φιλό-πυς-τος (Phot., Suid.), -της (Ptol.) 'who loves questioning' with -πυεστέω, -πυεστία (Hell.).

•ETYM The full grade thematic present πεύθομαι has exact morphological matches in several languages: Skt. *bódhati*, med. -te 'to watch, perceive, understand', Av. *baodaiti*, -te 'id.', also 'to smell', the Germanic group of Go. *ana-biudan* 'to order, arrange', *faur-biudan* 'to forbid', ON *bjóða* 'to offer, present, make known', and in Slavic, e.g. OCS *bljusti*, 1sg. *bljudo* 'to preserve, guard, observe', Ru. *bljustí*, 1sg. *bljudú* 'to observe, perceive'; all go back to a thematic present PIE \*b<sup>h</sup>eud<sup>h</sup>-e/o- 'to observe, be awake'. The deviating meaning of the Germanic verbs agrees with the (probably secondary) active Cret. πεύθω, and it is related to an old opposition of diatheses; a corresponding meaning is shown e.g. by the Skt. causative *bodháyati* 'to wake up, instruct, inform'. The meaning 'to find out, ask' is a Greek innovation. An exact agreement is found between (ἐ-)πύθοντο and Skt. *budhánta*, and these are in origin identical; a complete formal match is also found between (ἄ-)πυστος, Skt. *buddhá-*, and Av. *hupō.bus-ta-* 'well scented'; likewise, between πύστις and Skt. *buddhi-* [f.] 'insight, intelligence, spirit', and between (ἀ-)πευθής and Av. *baodah-* [n.] 'observation'. However, in all these cases we have to reckon with independent innovations. A nasalized present like πυνθάνομαι is also found in Lith. *būdu*, inf. *būsti* 'to wake up' (suffixed caus. *būd-inu*, -inti) and in Celtic, e.g. OIr. *ad-bond-* 'to give notice, announce'. Here, too, original identity is made doubtful by the strong productivity of these formations.

**πύννος** [m.] 'ό πρωκτός 'anus' (H.). <PG?>

•VAR Besides πουνιάζειν· παιδικοῖς χρῆσθαι· πούνιον γὰρ ό δακτύλιος (= *anus*) (H.).

•ETYM The remote similarity with ►πυγή, Skt. *putau* 'the two hindmost parts' (only Lex.), Latv. *pun(i)s* 'lump, bump', Lith. *putà* [f.] 'foam-bubble' has attracted attention, but see Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v. *putau*. In view of its semantics and lack of certain cognates, the word may rather be Pre-Greek.

**πύξ** =πυγμή.

**πύξος** [f.] 'box tree, box wood' (Arist., Hell.). <LW Italy>

•DIAL Myc. *pu-ko-so* (cf. Scardigli *Minos* 6:2 (1960): 1f.)

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. παρά-πύξος 'inlaid with π.' (Cratin.).

•DER 1. πύξ-ιον [n.] 'writing-table (made of π.)' (com.); 2. -ίς [f.] 'box (made of π.)' (Hell.); 3. -ίδιον [n.] diminutive of πύξιον and πύξιν (Ar., pap.); 4. πύξ-ινος [adj.] 'made of π., π.-colored' (Ω 269, Att.); 5. -ίνεος [adj.] 'id.' (AP); 6. -ώδης [adj.] 'π.-like', of the color (Dsc.); 7. -(ε)ών, -(ε)ώνος 'box tree grove' (gramm.); 8. -ίζω [v.] 'to be π.-colored' (medic.); 9. Πύξους, -οῦντος [m.] river and town in Lucania, in Latin *Buxentum* (Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 2 (1950-1951): 233 with literature); perhaps also 10. Πύξιτης [m.] river near Trapezus in Asia Minor (Arr., etc.), see Redard 1949: 175.

•ETYM Unconvincing attempts by Scardigli *Sprache* 6 (1959): 22off. (extensive treatment with literature), who derives it from Asia Minor (but ultimately from IE \*b<sup>h</sup>Hu- 'grow'; cf. ►φύω and Arm. *boys* 'plant'), and by Carnoy *Ant. class.* 24 (1955): 22 and Carnoy *REGr.* 69 (1956): 284 (who connects IE \*b<sup>h</sup>eug<sup>h</sup>- 'bend'). A further counterargument against an origin in Asia Minor is adduced by Fur.: 157, who stresses that the tree is at home in Italy, not in Asia Minor or Greece (Schrader-Nehring 1917 under *Buxus*). Therefore, we are rather dealing with a loanword from Italy.

The forms πύξος, -ίς, and -ινον were the source of Lat. *buxus* (or both are independent borrowings; see Fur. 157), Lat. *pyxis*, and Lat. *pyximum* (see WH s.vv. with further literature); the modern European forms (MoFr. *buis*, MoHG *Büchse*, E *box*, etc.) were in turn borrowed from Latin.

**πύον 1** 'pus'. •VAR Also πύος. ⇒πύθομαι.

**πῦός 2** [m.] 'animal milk, first milk after birth' (com.). <IE? \*puH- 'rot, pus'>

•VAR Also πύον (Emp.), πύαρ (Ael. Dion.), πύας (H.) 'id.'

•DER Besides we find πυετία, with contraction πτυτία, and with vowel metathesis πτύα [f.] 'clotted milk, rennet' (Arist., Hell.), from \*πυετός, which relates to πύός like παγετός to πάγος, etc. (thus Schwyzer: 501; differently Scheller 1951: 52).

•ETYM Connection with Skt. *púsyati* 'to thrive' < \*pu-s- 'swell' is improbable. Probably originally identical with πύον, πύος 'pus' (s.v. ►πύθομαι), but with gender and accent after όρός or τυρός, which belong to the same semantic field. The by-forms πύαρ and πύας (if their tradition is correct) may have been formed after ξαρ, πῖαρ, and ἄλας, κρέας respectively. Both the substance and its properties (smell, fermentation, etc.) may have caused the transference of meaning from 'pus' to 'milk':

expressions for 'congeal, getting sour, ferment', and also for 'rotting', affect each other now and then: Skt. *śara-* [m.] 'sour cream', also *śaras-* [n.] 'skin on cooked milk', from the verb 'to break' in Skt. *śṛṇāti*, ► κεραῖζω, with a ptc. *śṛṇά-* 'rotten, spoiled'. However, the other example given by Frisk, Lat. *cariēs* 'decay', Lat. *colostra* 'beesting', probably does not belong to that root (cf. De Vaan 2008 s.v.).

**πύπαξ** [excl.] exclamation of admiration (Pl., Com. *Adesp.*). ◀ONOM▶

•DER παππάζω (Cratin. 52).

•ETYM The word πύπαξ is an exclamation of onomatopoeic character; ultimately, it could be Pre-Greek.

**πῦρ, πῦρός** [n.] 'fire' (Il.). ◀IE \**peh<sub>2</sub>-ur*, *ph<sub>2</sub>-uen-s* 'fire'▶

•DIAL Mys. *pu-ka-wo* /pur-kawoi/?

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. *πυρ-καῖα*, Ion. -ῖη [f.] 'fireplace, pyre' (Il.), from \**πυρ-καῖ-ᾱ*, a compound of *πῦρ* and *καίω* (aor. *καῦσαι*) with a suffix -ῖᾱ-, the accent being the same as in *σποδιά*, *ἀνθρακιά*, etc. (cf. Scheller 1951: 93 with a different interpretation), see also Mys. *pu-ka-wo* above; *πυρ-φόρος* 'fire- or torch-bearing, -bearer' (Pi.), later also *πυρο-φόρος* (cf. Schwyzler: 440); *πυρ-γενής* 'born, worked in fire' (E., etc.); *ἄ-πυρ-ος* 'untouched by fire, without fire' (Il.); on *πυρ-πολέω* see ► *πέλομαι*; on *πυρ-αύστης*, etc. see ► *αὔω* 2; on ► *πυρῖνης* s.v.

•DER A. nouns: 1. *πῦρά* [n.pl.] 'watch-fires' (Il.), dat. *πυροῖς* (X.), originally the plur. of *πῦρ*, with transition to the o-stems and shift of accent (cf. Egli 1954: 18 and 22f.); 2. *πυρ-ᾱ*, Ion. -ῖη [f.] 'fireplace, pyre' (Il.); 3. ► *πυρσός* (see also s.v.) [m.], plur. also -σά [n.] 'firebrand, fire-signal' (with remarkable oxytonesis), -σώδης 'firebrand-like' (E. [lyr.]), -σεύω [v.] 'to ignite, give a fire-signal' (E.; X.), -σεῖα, -σευτήρ, σευτής (Hell.), -σίτης 'fire-color' (Philostr.); 4. *πυρ-ετός* [m.] 'burning heat, fever' (X 31), perhaps after *νιφετός* (Porzig 1942: 245); thence *πυρ-έσσω*, Att.-έττω, aor. -έξαι; adjectives -εκτικός; -ετιάω, -εταίνω, -ετώδης, -έτιον, -ετικός; 5. *πυρ-εῖα*, Ion. -ῖη [n.pl.] 'lighter, firesticks' (*h. Merc.*), not from *πυρή* 'pyre' as per Zumbach 1955: 14; 6. *πυρ-ία*, Ion. -ῖη [f.] 'vapor bath, steam bath, etc.' (Ion., Arist.), 'fishing by torchlight' (Arist.), -ιάω 'to prepare a vapor bath, foment, warm' (Hp.), whence -ίαμα, -ίαις, -ιατήρ, -ιατήριον (Scheller 1951: 55); also -ιάτη [f.] 'warmed animal milk' (com.); 7. *πυρ-ίδιον* [n.] 'spark' (Thphr.); 8. *πυρ-ίτης* [m.] 'copper ore, ore' (Dsc., pap.), 'fireman', epithet of Hephaistos (Luc.), see Redard 1949: 36, 60, 245; 9. *πῦρ-εθρον*, -ος, -ωθρον 'pellitory, Anthemis pyrethrum' (because of its warming effect, see Strömberg 1940: 82 and 146f.); 10. ► *πυραλλίς*; 11. *Πυρ-ωνία* epithet of Artemis (Paus.).

B. Adjectives: 1. *πυρ-ώδης* 'fire-like, fiery' (IA); 2. -ινος 'fiery' (Arist., Plb.); 3. -όεις 'id.' (Hell.), also a name of the planet Mars (Arist., Hell.); 4. on ► *πυρρός*.

C. verbs: 1. *πυρ-όμαι* [v.] 'to catch fire', -όω 'to set on fire' (Pi., IA), also with ἐκ-, etc.; see Wackernagel 1916: 124, whence *πῦρ-ωσις* (also ἐκ-, δια-, etc.) [f.], -ωμα, -ωτής, -ωτικός; 2. *πυρ-εύω* [v.] 'to make fire, kindle' (Pl.); ἐμπυρ-εύω, -ίζω from ἐμπυρος; thence -εύς, -ευτής, -ευτικός (more in Boßhardt 1942: 83); 3. *πυρ-άζω* (EM) as an explanation of 4. ► *πυρακτέω*.

•ETYM The word *πῦρ*, *πῦρ-ός* was originally a heteroclitic *r/n*-stem, still inflected this way in Hitt. *pahhur*, gen. *pahhuenaš* < PIE \**peh<sub>2</sub>-ur*, gen. *ph<sub>2</sub>-uen-s*. Traces of this formation can still be seen in Germanic: Go. *fon*, gen. *fun-ins* and ON *funi* are built on \**ph<sub>2</sub>uen-s*, while OHG *fuir*, *fiur*, MoHG *Feuer*, and ON *fúrr*, *fýrr* are from PGm. \**fūr(-i)-* < \**pHur*. Armenian preserves *hur*, gen. *hr-oy* 'fire' < \**pHur-o-* with secondary thematization, beside *hn-oc* 'fireplace, furnace' < \**pHun-*.

In Tocharian, we find ToA *por* and ToB *puwār*, *pwār*. Italic has U *pir* [nom.acc.] < \**pūr*, abl. *pure* < \**pur-ed*, and perhaps Lat. *pūrigō* 'to clear, clean' if < \**pūr-ago-*. Lat. *pūrus* may or may not be related.

The ablaut was eliminated in Greek; the change in the quantity of *u* is secondary.

**πυρακτέω** [v.] 'to harden in fire, burn to coal' (i 328, Nic. *Th.* 688). ◀GR▶

•VAR Later *πυρακτόομαι*, -όω 'be singed, carbonized' (D. S., Str., Plu.).

•ETYM Although *πυρακτέω* is traditionally taken as a compound of *πῦρ* and ἄγειν with the meaning 'to rotate in fire' (e.g. Bechtel 1914 s.v.), this is both semantically and morphologically unsatisfactory, since ἄγειν cannot mean 'to rotate', and an intermediate form \**πύρακτος* 'rotating in fire' (thus Bechtel) is without parallel.

The form *πυρακτέω* is without a doubt an expressive extension in -(α)κτέω, derived from *πυρ-άζω* (EM 697, 16; Stolz *Wien. Stud.* 25 (1903): 234), or from \**πυρ-άσω* vel sim., like *ύλακτέω* from *ύλάω* 'to bark' (beside *ύλαγμός*, etc.), or *άλυκτέω* from *άλύω*, *άλύσσω*; for the last examples, cf. Frisk *Eranos* 50 (1952): 8ff. The word *πυρακτόομαι* is formed after the numerous intransitives in -όομαι with a factitive -όω.

**πυραλλίς** [f.] name of an unknown bird, probably a kind of dove (Arist., Call., Ael.); a kind of olive (medic.); name of an insect that supposedly lives in the fire (Plin.).

◀GR▶

•VAR v.l. -αλίς, H. *πυρραλίς*.

•ETYM Diminutive formation in -αλ(λ)ίς (Chantraine 1933: 251f., Niedermann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 9f.), probably from *πῦρ* after the reddish color; it is also associated with *πυρρός* (*πυρραλίς*). However, according to Niedermann (l.c.) it derives from *πυρός* 'wheat' after its nutrition; cf. *συκαλλίς*, from ► *σῦκον*.

**πῦραμῖς, -ίδος** [f.] 1. 'pyramid' (Hdt. et al.); 2. 'kind of cake of roasted wheat-grains preserved in honey' (Ephipp.), mostly *πυραμιούς*, -οῦντος [m.] (Ar., Ephipp., Call. et al.), also *πυραμοί* [m.pl.] (Artem.); acc. to H. *πύραμιος* also = *χόρτος* 'food'. ◀GR▶

•DER Besides, we find *πυράμη* [f.] 'sickle' (sch.), a back-formation from *πυράμητος* [m.] 'wheat-harvest' (Arist. et al.); *πυραμιδο-ειδής* 'pyramidal' (Epicur.), usually haplogogically *πυραμο-ειδής* 'id.' (Thphr. et al.), -ιδικός 'id.' (Iamb.).

•ETYM In the sense of 'cake', *πῦραμῖς* is derived from *πυρός* 'wheat', after *σησαμῖς*, -οῦς. According to Diels KZ 47 (1916): 193ff. (with literature), the Egyptian pyramids were named after the form of the cake; it must be noted, however, that the form of the cake is actually unknown (Kretschmer *Glotta* 10 (1920): 243).

**πύργος** [m.] 'tower, wall-tower', also the fortification wall itself (Il.), metaph. 'closed division of warriors, column' (Il.), 'siege tower' (X.), 'farm-building' (LXX, pap., NT). <PG(V)>

•COMP E.g. πυργο-δάϊκτος 'destroying towers' (A. Pers. 105 [lyr.]; originally 'with destroyed towers'? See Fraenkel 1910: 82; Williger 1928: 45'), εὖ-πυργος 'with fair towers, well-towered' (H 71, etc.).

•DER 1. Diminutives πυργ-ίον, -ίδιον, -ίς, -ίσκος, -ίσκιον, -ισκάριον (mostly Hell. and late); 2. πύργ-ωμα, mostly plur. -ώματα [n.] 'tower structures' (Orac. *apud* Hdt., A., E.); 3. πυργιτρον [n.] form and meaning unclear (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>); 4. πυργ-ίτης [n.] 'kind of sparrow' (Gal., etc.), see Redard 1949: 84, also on σποργίλος; -ίτις βοτάνη 'pasture' (H.); 5. adjective πύργ-ινος 'consisting of towers' (A. [lyr.]), -ειος 'tower-like' (Ion., trag.), -ώδης 'id.' (S.), -ώτις 'towered' (A. [lyr.]; feminine built on \*-ώτις, Redard 1949: 8); πυργ-ήρης 'provided with towers, enclosed within towers or walls' (Orac. *apud* Paus.), with -ηρέομαι [v.] 'to be enclosed within towers or walls, be besieged' (A., E.); 6. adverb -ηρόν 'columnwise' (Il.), 'towerwise' (Aret.); 7. verb πυργ-ῶσαι, -ῶ 'to fence with towers, pile up' (λ 264), with -ωτός 'piled up' (Str., etc.); 8. Πυργ-αλίδαι [m.pl.] name of a guild in Kameiros (inscr.); after Τανταλίδαι?

•ETYM The word πύργος is a technical term of construction (architecture). It has been wrongfully taken as a Germanic loan word by Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 100ff., because of the striking similarity with MoHG *Burg*, Go. *baurgs* 'town, tower'. The Germanic word is from the root \**b<sup>h</sup>erg<sup>h</sup>*- 'high' found in MoHG *Berg*, Hitt. *parku-* 'high', etc.

Likewise, Πέργαμος (-ον, -α) 'the citadel (of Troy)', also as a TN, is considered a loan word related to this root (see Heubeck 1961: 63ff., Pok. 140f.).

Others have taken it as a loan from Pre-Greek. The glosses φύρκος· τεῖχος 'wall' and φ<ο>ύρκος· ὀχύρωμα 'stronghold' (H.) attest a variant form with different stops; the same variation is found in the TNs Πύργος (Elis, in Hdt. 4, 148 and Str.) and Φύρκος (Th. 5,49). Urart. *burgana* 'palace' may point to an origin in Asia Minor. Although the exact morphology of Πέργαμον remains unclear, the suffix -αμο- is otherwise attested as Pre-Greek (cf. κάρδαμον).

That πύργος was not inherited from Proto-Indo-European is further confirmed by the place names Πέργασα, Παργασα, and Βαργασα (cf. Fur.: 64<sup>268</sup> on πάγασα). In conclusion, the word is clearly Pre-Greek.

**πυρήν** ⇒ πυρός.

**πυρήκης** [adj.] 'with a fiery point', i.e. 'provided with a glowing top' (πυρήκεα μοχλόν ι 387). <GR>

•VAR Also -ής.

•ETYM After ἀμφ-ήκης, τανυ-ήκης, etc. (see ▶ήκη); πυρι- is analogical after πυκι-, λαθι-, etc. To be rejected, Bechtel 1914 s.v.: πυρι-(ήκης) like πυκι-(μηδής), as a "replacement" of πύρινο-.

**πύρνος** [m.] · ψωμός 'morsel' (H.); meaning debated already in antiquity; cf. e.g. H.: πύρνοι· ξειαί καὶ σιτώδεις(?) 'one-seeded wheat, cereal'. ἦ ὁ κατειργασμένος σίτος

'cultivated grain'. ἄλλοι χόρτος, ἄλλοι μαγίδα 'food; cake'; πύρνα· δρύφη, κλάσματα, σιτία 'was torn; morsel; grain'. <PG?>

•VAR πύρνον [acc.sg.] (ο 312, ρ 12: coordinated with κοτύλην; Lyc. 639), πύρνα (σίτα : σίτος) [acc.pl.] (ρ 362), φηγίνων πύρνων [gen.pl.] (Lyc. 482).

•COMP As a first member in πυρνο-τόκος ἄρουρα (*Hymn. Is.*).

•DER πύρνηται· ἐσθίηται 'will be devoured' (H.).

•ETYM The word πύρνος is obsolete and without etymology. It was compared with πορύναν· μαγίδα and τορύνη· σιτώδεις τι (H.) by Fick *BB* 16 (1892): 284, adducing Skt. *cārvati* 'to grind, masticate' and *cūrma-* [n.] 'powder, flour', as well. This would lead to the reconstruction PIE \**k<sup>w</sup>eru-* (Pok. 642), which requires a pre-form \*τερύνα for τορύνη. However, this leaves the u-vowel in πύρνος unexplained (Bechtel 1914 s.v.).

According to Szemerényi 1964: 29ff., πύρνος is syncopated from πύρινος (and derived from πυρός 'wheat'), but this is contestable for several reasons.

Fur.: 370 connects the word with Basque *ap(h)ur* 'crumb', Béarnais (Pyrenees) *purre* 'small bread of maize'. This etymology seems unreliable, but in any case, the word may well be Pre-Greek.

**πύρος** [m.] ('grain of) wheat' (Il.). <IE \**pHu-ro-* 'corn, wheat'>

•VAR Mostly plur. πύροι (Chantraine 1953: 30), Dor. (Cos, Thera, Syracuse, etc.) σπυρός.

•COMP E.g. πυρο-φόρος 'wheat-bearing' (Il.), διόσ-πυρον [n.] 'the cherry-like fruit of *Celtis australis*' (Thphr.), -πυρος [m.] = λιθόσπερμον (Dsc.) (Strömberg 1940: 128 and 138); on the gender cf. ▶βούτυρον, -ος.

•DER Diminutive πυρίδια [n.pl.] (Ar., pap.); adjectives πύρ-ινος (E., X., Hell.), -ικός (pap.), -ώδης (Str.), -άμινος (Hes. fr. 117, etc.), after κυάμ-, σισάμ-ινος (Forbes *Mnem.* 4:11 (1958): 157) 'of wheat'; on ▶πυραμίδες, -αμοῦς see s.v.; πυρ-ίτης ἄρτος 'wheat-bread' (Aët.), αὐτο-πυρίτης (Phryn. Com., Hp.) = αὐτό-πυρος, etc. (Redard 1949: 90). Also πυρήν, -ήνος [m.] 'pit, stone of fruit' (Ion., Arist., Hell.), see Solmsen 1909: 125f., with ἀ-πύρην-ος 'pitless' (Ar. Fr. 118, Thphr., etc.), etc.; πυρην-ίς (Tanagra III<sup>a</sup>; written πουμενίς), -ιον (Thphr.), -ίδιον (Delos III<sup>a</sup>, pap.) 'kernel, knag, knob'; also πυρην-άδες [f.pl.] name of a guild in Ephesus (inscr.); -ώδης 'pit-like' (Thphr.).

•ETYM An old term \**puH-ro-* 'wheat' is also retained in Balto-Slavic, e.g. Lith. *pūrai* [pl.] 'winter corn', *pūras* [m.sg.] 'single winter corn', SCr. *pīr* [m.] 'spelt', CS *pyro* 'δλυρα, κέγχρος', Ru. *pyréj* 'dog-grass, *Triticum repens*'; OE *fȳrs* 'dog-grass' (with a deviating suffix) also belongs here.

The initial σ- in σπυρός may have been taken over from ▶σίτος or σπόρος, σπέρμα (Fraenkel *Phil.* 97 (1948): 169f., Fraenkel *IF* 59 (1949): 304f.). In spite of the connections with Balto-Slavic and Germanic, πύρος may be an old 'Wanderwort' (Schwyzer: 58<sup>3</sup>). According to Nieminen *KZ* 74 (1956): 170f., however, it can be connected to Lith. *pūrai* 'to cut, mow' and Lat. *paviō* 'to strike' as "what is beaten, threshed". Janda 2000: 39-43 accepts the derivation from \**peh<sub>2</sub>-u-* 'to strike' in Lat. *paviō*, but assumes a semantic development from 'striking' to 'cleansing': wheat was



called pure because the grains could easily be separated from the husks. This is possible, but not compelling.

**πυρρός** [adj.] 'blazing red, tawny', especially of hair (of the head) (IA, poet.). <?>

•VAR πυρσός (E., Mosch.).

•DIAL Myc. *pu-wo*, *-wa*, *-wi-no* Gallavotti *Par. del pass.* 12 (1957): 11.

•COMP E.g. πυρρό-θριξ (also πυρσό-) 'red-haired' (E. [lyr.], Arist., Poll.), ἐπί-πυρρος 'reddish' (Arist., Thphr.), see Strömberg 1946: 106.

•DER 1. πυρρίας [m.] 'red-haired man', especially of slaves (Ar.), Πυρρίας PN (Corinth VI<sup>a</sup>), see Latte *Glotta* 35 (1956): 296f., Πυρφαλίων PN (Argos), see Schulze 1933a: 115; πυρράκης 'with reddish hair-color; redskin' (LXX, Hell. pap.), πυρρίχος 'red', of a bull (Theoc.), also as a PN; hence perhaps πυρρίχη [f.] name of a war dance (Att.) with -ίχιος, -ιχίζω, etc. 2. πύρρ-α [f.] name of a bird (Ael.), -αία [f.] 'red robe?' (Halic. III<sup>a</sup>); 3. πυρρό-της [f.] 'red hair-color' (Arist.); 4. verbs: πυρρ-αίνω 'to color red' (E. [lyr.]), πυρρ-ίζω (LXX), -άζω (Ev. Matt.) 'to be red', of heaven, -ιάω 'to redden, blush' (late).

•ETYM The relation of the Corinthian horsename Πυρρος (cf. perhaps Myc. *pu-wo*, etc.) and Πυρρ-ίας, -αλίων (see above) to IA πυρρός is not quite clear: PGr. \**purwo*- should have given IA \**pyrros* or *pyros*. Therefore, PGr. \**purswó*- is usually posited (after Hoffmann 1898: 589). Frisk asks if πυρρός could derive from \**pyrros* by expressive gemination, which seems ad hoc. On the suffix -φο- in color adjectives, see Chantraine 1933: 123 and Schwyzler: 472; on the phonetics, see Lejeune 1972: 138<sup>5</sup> and Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 262f. See further ►πῦρ and ►πυρσός. Schulze 1933a: 115f. connected Lith. *puřvas* 'dirt, muck'; on this, see Fraenkel 1955 s.v. with further literature.

On derivatives from πυρρός in Latin and Romance, cf. Kahane *Glotta* 39 (1960-1961): 133ff.

**πυρσός** [adj.] 'firebrand, torch'. <EUR?>

•ETYM Fur.: 157 derives ►πυρρός from this form, adducing the personal names Πύρρων and Πύρρων of Epeiotic kings as cognates. In Latin, we find *burrus* and *birrus*, and in Romance, *būrius* (REW 1410); Lat. *būricus* 'small horse' is probably named after the color, as is Romance \**burrīcus* beside \**burrīccus* 'hinny' (REW 1413). Fur.: suggests that it is an old Pre-European word for the color of a horse, which was only later associated with πῦρ 'fire'.

**πυτίζω** ⇒ πτύω.

**πυτίνη** ⇒ βυτίνη.

**πω** [pcl.] 'ever, still' (Il.), enclitic, almost always after negation: οὐπω, μήπω, οὐ πώποτε, Dor. (Epich.) οὐ πώποκα, post-Hom. also in negating questions τί πω, etc. <IE \**k<sup>w</sup>oh*, 'ever, still'>

•VAR Ion. κω; further Dor. πη in ἄλλη πη 'anywhere else' (Cyrene), πήποκα 'ever' (Sparta V<sup>a</sup>, Theoc., etc.).

•ETYM A fixed instrumental, identical to OP *kā* (confirming pcl.); cf. also Go. *hve* 'anyhow', from a PIE instrumental \**k<sup>w</sup>o-h*, *k<sup>w</sup>e-h*, formed from the pronominal stem \**k<sup>w</sup>o*-; see ►πόθεν.

**πώγων, -ωνος** [m.] 'whisker, chin-beard' (IA). <PG?>

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. τραγο-πώγων [m.] 'with a goat's beard' (Cratin.), also as a plant name 'goat's beard, Tragopogon' (Thphr., Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 56.

•DER Diminutive πωγών-ιον [n.] (Luc., etc.), -ίας [m.] 'the bearded one' (Cratin., etc.), also [n.] of a comet (Arist.; Scherer 1953: 107), -ίτης, -ήτης [m.] 'id.' (Hdn., Suid., etc.), -ικός, -ιαός 'bearded' (gloss.).

•ETYM The origin of πώγων is unexplained. A connection with ►πήγνυμι, πηγός fails on semantic grounds (ω vs. η). Adams *Glotta* 64 (1986): 16f. explains the word from \**ποφα-γ-ον* < \**roum-g-on*-, derived from his reconstruction for Skt. *púmāṇs*- 'male'; this, too, remains quite dubious.

**πωλέομαι** [v.] 'to go to and fro, go somewhere frequently'. ⇒πέλομαι.

**πωλέω** [v.] 'to offer for sale, sell' (IA). <IE? \**pel*- 'sell'>

•VAR Fut. πωλ-ήσω, aor. -ῆσαι, pass. -ιθηῖναι.

•COMP Often with prefix (especially Hell. and late inscr. and pap.), e.g. προ-, δια-, ἀνα-, ἀντι-.

•DER 1. Action nouns: πώλ-ησις [f.] 'sale' (X., etc.), -ημα [n.] 'sale, sold merchandise' (inscr. Tauromenion, etc.); back-formation -ή, Dor. -ά [f.] 'sale' (Sophr., Hyp. fr.).

2. Agent nouns: πωλ-ιτής [m.] 'seller', designation of a financial official (Att., etc.), also -ιτήρ [m.] 'id.' (Delph. IV<sup>a</sup>, etc.), fem. -ήτρια 'seller' (Poll.), as a second member with λαχανο- (Ar.), etc.; -πώλης [m.] and -πωλις [f.] enjoy unlimited productivity in compounds, e.g. ἄλλαντο-πώλης 'sausage-seller' with ἄλλαντο-πωλ-έω, etc., ἀρτό-πωλις 'bread-seller, baker' (Ar., etc.), cf. Fraenkel 1912: 26 and 109, Schwyzler: 451; the simplex πώλης was extracted from this compound (Ar.);

3. πωλ-ιτήριον 'shop' (X., etc.); 4. adjectives -ιτικός 'belonging to sale' (Pl.), see Chantraine 1956a: 134; -μιος 'for sale' (Hell. pap.).

•ETYM In view of its formation, πωλέω must be an iterative-intensive deverbative, although neither in Greek nor in related languages is a corresponding primary verb attested with certainty. Skt. *pāṇate* 'purchase, buy' may represent an old nasal present in MInd. shape (reflecting older PIAr. \**prnāti*), but this is considered unlikely by Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 69. An -n- is further found in a Balto-Slavic noun: Lith. *peľnas* 'gain, profit, merit', OCS *plěnъ* 'λάβυρον', Ru. *polón* 'captivity, booty' < PIE \**pel-no*-. Germanic provides two isolated adjectives: ON *falr* 'for sale' < IE \**polo*-, OHG *fāli* 'id.' < IE \**pēlio*-, next to OHG *feili*, MoHG *feil* with unexplained vocalism. Semantically, πωλέω is close to ►ἐμπολή 'trade(ware), purchase, gain', which is usually connected with πέλομαι, originally \*'to turn' (for the connection of πωλέω to πέλομαι, see Schwyzler: 720). If πωλέω is indeed related to ἐμπολή, the derivation from IE \**pel*- of the words mentioned above should be abandoned. Cf. also the literature on ►πέρνημι.

**πῶλος** [m., f.] 'young horse, foal, filly' (Il.), secondarily also of other young animals (Arist., etc.), poetically also 'horse' in general, metaph. 'young girl, youth, etc.' (Anacr., A., E.). <IE \*pōlH-, plH- 'foal'>

•VAR Myc. *po-ro*.

•COMP Compound πωλο-δάμνης [m.] 'foal-tamer; horsebreaker' (X.) with πωλοδαμνέω (S., E., X.), etc.; λευκό-πῶλος 'with white foals' (Pi., trag.).

•DER 1. Diminutives πωλ-ίον [n.] (Att., Arist., etc.), -άριον (Pl. *apud* D. L., etc.); 2. adjectives -ικός 'belonging to, concerning foals' (S., E., Arc., etc., inscr.), 'virginal' (A. [lyr.]), see Chantraine 1956a: 116ff.; -εἰος 'id.' (Suid.); 3. Πωλώ [f.] epithet of Artemis in Thasos (Nilsson 1941(1): 483<sup>3</sup>); 4. Denominative πωλ-εύω [v.] 'to break in a young horse' (X.), with -εἶα, -ευσίς, -ευμα, -ευτής, -ἔντικός (X., Max. Tyr., etc.).

•ETYM Semantically, πῶλος corresponds exactly with MoHG *Fohlen*, *Füllen*, and cognates, e.g. Go. *fula*, ON *foli*, OHG *folo* < PGm. \*fulan-, with the diminutive ON *fyl* [n.] < PGm. \*ful-ja-, OHG *fulin* [n.] < PGm. \*ful-īna-. Contrary to πῶλος < IE *pōlH-*, PGm. \*fulan represents the zero grade \*plH-. Alb. *pelë* 'mare', must be related as well, reflecting \*pōl-n-. Certainly unrelated (contra Frisk) are παῖς, Lat. *puer*, etc. The appurtenance of Arm. *ul* 'small goat', connected by Meillet REArm. 10 (1930): 184f. and others (including Arm. *amul* 'infertile' < IE \*ḡ-pōlo-), is rather doubtful because of the deviating meaning (cf. Lidén 1906: 25, with older literature). Thieme's theory (Lidén 1897: 48<sup>2</sup>) that πῶλος, etc. are related to PIE \*k<sup>w</sup>el- (see ►πέλομαι), via an original meaning 'meadow-animal', should be rejected.

**πῶλυπος (-ύπος)** [m.] 'sea polyp, cuttlefish', metaphorically 'nose polyp' (Hp., Thphr., etc.); also substantivized adjective τὰ πολύποδα 'many-footed', of insects (Arist.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Plur. -οι (Semon., Epich., Hp. [v.l.]), also πῶλυψι, -υπος (Diph. Siphn., Dsc., Poll.), πόλυψι, -υπος (Paul. Aeg.); more usual is πουλύπους, -ποδος (ε 432), acc. -πουν (Ion. Trag.), also gen. -που, etc. (Thgn., etc.), πολύπους, -ποδος (Arist.).

•DIAL Myc. *po-ru-po-de*.

•DER Diminutive πωλύπιον [n.] (Hp.).

•ETYM The word πῶλυπος is a Mediterranean word of unknown origin. The form with ω, confirmed by the borrowing Lat. *pōlypus*, -i (since Plaut.), is clearly the oldest; it is the basis for the folk-etymological formations πουλυ- and πολυ- after πολύς and πούς (Fraenkel 1912: 164<sup>1</sup>, with older literature; Specht KZ 59 (1932): 129). Note, however, that the inflexion with ποδ- is already attested in Mycenaean and in Homer. The word is not treated by Fur.

**πῶμα 1** [n.] 'lid, cover' of a chest, pot, tube, etc. (Il., epic Ion., Arist., Hell.). <IE \*peh<sub>2</sub>- 'guard, protect'>

•DER πωμ-άτιον [n.], diminutive (Sor.); -ατίας [m.] 'kind of snail' (Dsc.), and two denominatives: 1. πωμάζω [v.] 'to cover, close with a lid' (Arist., Hero, etc.), also with ἐπι-, περι-, etc., with ἐπιπωμασμός (Eust.) and the back-formation ἐπίπωμα 'lid' (Gal.), ἐπιπωματικός (sch.); 2. πωματίζω 'id.' (Arist., Thphr., etc.), mostly ἐπι-, περι-, ἀπο-, with ἐπιπωμάτις (VIP); the seemingly primary ἐπιπωμάννυμαι 'to be covered' (Hero) is derived from the latter.

•ETYM πῶμα is an old verbal noun from IE \*poh<sub>2</sub>-mn beside \*poh<sub>2</sub>-tro-m [n.], reflected in Skt. *pātram* 'case, barrel' (if related, this word was certainly influenced by \*peh<sub>2</sub>- 'to drink'), and in the Germanic group of Go. *fodr* 'sheath, cover', MoHG *Futter* 'lining' (of cloth). The primary verb is retained in Skt. *pāti* 'to guard, protect' < IE \*peh<sub>2</sub>-; see also ►ποιμήν.

**πῶμα 2** 'drink'. ►πίνω.

**πωμάριον** [n.] 'orchard' (pap. [IIIP]). <LW Lat.>

•DER πωμαρίτης 'merchant of fruits' (pap. [VIP]); -τισσα (VIP).

•ETYM Borrowed from Lat. *pōmārium*.

**πωρέω** •VAR πωρητύς. ►πῶρος, ταλαίπωρος.

**πῶρος** [m.] 'tuff' (Arist., Thphr., Hell. inscr., etc.), in Anatolia 'stone- or chalk-formation, concretion, stone in the bladder, kidney, etc.' (Hp., Arist., etc.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR Also ποῦρος (inscr. Delphi), πόρος (Thphr. Lap. 7, Gal. 6, 57).

•COMP As a first member in e.g. πωρ-όμφαλον [n.] 'concretion in the navel' (Gal.).

•DER 1. Diminutive πωρ-ίον, -ίδιον [n.] 'callosity' (medic.); 2. adjectives πῶρ-ινος 'of tuff' (Hdt., Ar., Hell. inscr., etc.), -εἶα λίθος 'tuff' (Str.), -ώδης 'π.-like' (Gal.); 3. verb πωρ-όομαι, -όω 'to petrify, harden, grow together in a concretion, grow hard' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., NT), also with δια-, ἐπι-, συν-, with (ἐπι-)πῶρ-ωμα, -ωσις 'petrification, concretion' (Hp., Gal., NT); 4. πωρ-ίασις [f.] 'callus on the eyelid' (Gal.), as if from \*πωρ-ιᾶν (Schwyzer: 732).

•ETYM Originally, πῶρος and derivatives indicated a kind of stone, and it was used as a construction term; later, however, it was used especially as a medical term. It has no etymology. According to Haupt 1912: 84f., it was borrowed from Assy. *pūlu* 'shell-lime'. However, no connection seems possible with πωρεῖν-κηδεύειν, πενθεῖν 'to worry, mourn', πωρήσαι-λυπήσαι 'to be grieved' (H.), and πωρητύς [f.] 'pain' (Antim.). Cf. also ►ταλαίπωρος. Fur.: 328 connects \*ψῶρος in ψωρίτης λίθος, a kind of marble (Cyran 46) and Hitt. *purut-* 'loam, chalk, mortar'. This may point to Pre-Greek origin.

**πωρός** ►ταλαίπωρος.

**πῶς** [interr. adv.] 'how?', πως [indef.] 'somehow' (Il.). <IE \*k<sup>w</sup>o- 'which?'>

•VAR Ion. κῶς, κως (Hdt., etc.).

•ETYM The form πῶς is a frozen ablative from the pronominal stem πο-, Ion. κο- from IE \*k<sup>w</sup>o-; see ►πόθεν and ►ὥς 1.

**πωτάομαι** ►πέτομαι.

**πῶν** ►ποιμήν.

**πῶυξ** [f.] name of an unknown bird, cf. πῶυξ· ποῖος ὄρνις. ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ περὶ ζῴων (H.); attempts at an identification in Thompson 1895 s.v. φῶυξ. <PG(S,V)>

•VAR φῶυξ (Arist.), πῶυγξ, plur. -υγγες (Ant. Lib., EM).

•ETYM In spite of the fact that the meaning is unknown, the word must be Pre-Greek; cf. especially the variation φ ~ π in the initial, the variation γ ~ γγ in the suffix, and the suffix -υγγ- itself.

## P

**ῥα** •VAR Before vowel ῥ'. ⇒ ᾗρα.

**ῥᾶ** [adv.] 'easily' (Alcm., S. Fr. 1086, Ion. Trag.). <?>

•VAR Epic ῥῆα (written ρεία), ῥέα (monosyllabic reading necessary or possible; does it stand for Aeol. ῥᾶ?), Ion. ῥέα (Simon.), Aeol. βῥᾶ (= φῥᾶ, gramm.); ῥῆα (Alc.) must be a Homerism or a mistake.

•COMP As a first member in ῥᾶ-θυμος 'light-hearted, carefree' (Att.) from \*ῥαῖ-θυμος, if not secondary for well-attested ῥά-θυμος (Wackernagel 1907: 26).

•DER Comparative: epic ῥῆϊτερον, Ion. ῥῆτερον (Thgn.), Dor. ῥάτερον (Pi.), also Ion. ῥῆϊον, Att. ῥᾶον; ῥᾶσσον (gramm. in EM) analogical for θᾶσσον; superlative epic ῥῆϊτατα, Ion. ῥῆϊστα, Dor. ῥάϊστα (Theoc.), Att. ῥᾶστα. The adverb served as a basis for the adjectival forms ῥῆϊτερος, ῥῆϊστος, ῥᾶων, ῥᾶστος; from ῥῆα, ῥᾶ, the positive ῥῆ-ϊδίως, Att. ῥαδίως, Aeol. βρα-ϊδίως (Alc.) was derived, and from there in turn the adjective ῥῆϊδιος, ῥᾶδιος (like μαψ-ιδίως, -ίδιος, etc.); hence ῥαδιέστερος, etc. Denominal from ῥῆϊον, ῥᾶον are: ῥῆϊζω, ῥαῖζω [v.] 'to recover' (IA), aor. -ίσαι; ῥαῖαν-ύγειαν 'health' (H.). From ῥῆϊστος, ῥᾶστος are derived: ῥηστῶνη, ῥαστῶνη [f.] 'recovery, leisure' (IA).

•ETYM Starting from epic ῥῆα and Aeol. βῥᾶ, we may reconstruct PGr. \**wrāha* or \**wrāja*. The word is no doubt old and inherited, but a good etymology is lacking. A connection with the root \**ureh*<sub>2</sub>- that has to be assumed for ἄπηρα has been suggested, but this cannot be proven. Specht KZ 59 (1932): 93ff. unconvincingly connected ► ἀραιός 'thin'.

**ῥᾶ** a plant name. ⇒ ῥῆον.

**ῥαβάττειν** [v.] • ἄνω καὶ κάτω βαδίζειν· τινές δὲ τύπτειν καὶ ψόφον ποιεῖν [καὶ φράσειν] τοῖς ποσὶ, καὶ ῥάσσειν 'to walk upwards and downwards; to beat and make noise with [and to be about to indicate with] the feet, and to strike' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR In Photius 479, 18: σοβεῖν καὶ τρέχειν καὶ συντόνως ποδοκτυπεῖν 'to drive away, run, strike the earth vigorously with the feet'.

•ETYM Has been compared with ἀρράβακα· ὀρχηστήν· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρραβάσσειν ὃ ἐστὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ τὸν βλάσφημον 'dancer, after ᾶ, which means to dance; others: slanderer' (H.). Fur.: 142 connects ► ἄραβος and ἀροπῆσαι· πατήσαι. Κρήτες, and concludes that the word is Pre-Greek.

**ῥάβδος** [f.] 'twig, rod, staff, magic wand; line, stripe, groove' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•COMP Compounds like *ράβδ-οὔχος* [m.] 'staff-bearer', name of an official (Ar., Th., Hell.), *πολύ-ρραβδος* 'having many stripes' (Arist.).

•DER 1. Diminutive *ράβδ-ιον* [n.] (Arist., Thphr.); 2. *ράβδ-ωτός* 'having rods, streaks, grooves' (X., Arist.), *-ωμα* (H.) as an explanation of *σκυτάλια*; *-ωσις* [f.] 'cannelure' (Att. inscr. late V<sup>a</sup>); 3. Denominatives: a) *ράβδ-ίζω* [v.] 'to beat with a rod, thresh' (com., Thphr.), to which *-ισμός* [m.] 'treshing', *-ιστήρ* [m.] 'thresher' (pap.); b) *-εύομαι* [v.] 'to fish with a rod' (Arist.); c) *-όομαι* [v.] 'to have stripes' (Lyd.).

•ETYM A suffixal element *-δο-* is only found in a few nouns indicating sounds (e.g. *κέλαδος*) and in isolated, etymologically unclear words (cf. ► *κλάδος*, which is close in meaning). Analyzed as *ράβ-δος*, it has been compared with Lith. *virbas* 'twig, rod' and Ru. *vérbā* (OCS *vrēba*) 'willow' (zero grade IE *\*urb-*), and Lat. *verbera* [pl.] '(rods for) punishment', *verbēnae* [pl.] 'twigs of the laurel, etc.', with full grade. However, in view of the variants ► *ράμινος* and ► *ράπης*, we can be certain that the word is Pre-Greek (the word is not treated by Fur.).

**ράγη** [f.] 'tore, chink, gap, cleft' (Hp.). <PG?>

•VAR Also with *δια-*; more usual *ράγ-άς*, *-άδος* [f.] 'id.' (Hell.).

•DER Diminutive *ράγ-άδιον* [n.] (Celsus); further *ράγ-δην* 'torrential, fierce, vehement' [adv.] (Plu.), *ράγδ-αῖος* 'id.' (com., Arist.), *-αιότηης* [f.] (Poll.); for the meaning cf. *ράγά* (*ράγα* cod.): *ἀκμή*, *βία*, *ὀρμή* 'point or prime, force, impulse' (H.) (see also Erot. on *ράγη*).

•ETYM The words *ράγη*, etc. are sometimes seen as derivatives of *ράγῃναι*, ► *ρήγνυμι*, but *ράγῃναι* is analogical. The word may instead be Pre-Greek. Note also *ράγδ-αιος* with the problematic cluster *-γδ-*, which can hardly be taken from *ράγδην*.

**ράδαμνος** [m.] 'branch, twig, shoot' (LXX, Suid., H.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Also *ρόδαμνος* (H.) and *ράδαμιον* *καυλόν*, *βλαστόν* 'stalk, shoot' (conj. Nic. Al. 92), *ράδαμει* *βλαστάνει* 'sprouts' (H.).

•DER *ράδαμινώδης* (sch.).

•ETYM The ending of *ράδαμνος* can be compared with *θάμινος* and *ράμινος*, as well as *σφένδαμνος*, *στάμινος*, etc. The Aeol. form ► *ὀρόδαμνος* points to a pre-form *φρόδ-*. In view of all alternations, the word is no doubt Pre-Greek.

**ραδινάκη** Persian name for a foul-smelling oil found in Arderikka, east of Susa (Hdt. 6, 119). <LW Iran.>

•ETYM Probably a pre-Iranian loanword.

**ραδινός** [adj.] 'taper, bendable, slender' (epic since Ψ 583). <PG(V)>

•VAR *βράδινος* (Sapph.); *ροδανός* epithet of *δονακεύς* (Σ 576; v.l. *ραδινός*, *ραδαλός*); *ροδάν-η* [f.] 'weft thread' (Batr.), to which *-ίζω* [v.] (sch.), *-ιστήριον* (gloss.); also *ραδανός*, *-η*, *-ίζω* (Il.), *-ᾶται* *πλανᾶται* 'wanders, strays' (H.), *βραδανίζει* *ρίπίζει*, *τινάσσει* 'bursts, shakes' (H.).

•ETYM The formation is like in *πυκινός*, but the basis is unknown. Some connect *ραδινός* with the semantically unclear ► *περιρρηδής* or with ► *ράδαμνος*; Lobeck 1837: 156 also connects *ραδές* *τὸ ἀμφοτέρως ἐγκεκλμένον* 'bent to both sides' (H.). Further connected is perhaps also the Arc. PN *φράδων*, but *ραδανῶροι* *οἱ τῶν*

*λαχάνων* *κηπουροί* 'watchers of vegetable gardens' (H.) remains unclear (rejected by Bechtel 1921, 2: 420).

Other forms that have been hesitantly adduced are Skt. *āvrādanta* [3pl. ipf.] 'loosened, became mellow' (*hap. leg.* RV 2, 24, 3; see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*ured-*), Go. *wraton* 'πορεύεσθαι, διοδεύειν', ON *rata* 'id.'; also, Lith. *randū, rasti* 'find' (see Fraenkel 1955 s.v.). However, all these proposals remain hypothetical (details in Bechtel 1914 s.v. *περιρρηδής*). The variation *\*urad-* / *urōd-* shows that *ραδινός* is a Pre-Greek word.

**ράδιξ, -ίκος** [m.] 'branch, twig' (Nic.), 'palm leaf' (D. S.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM A formal match is found between *ράδιξ* and Lat. *rādix* 'root', if they reflect *\*wrād-*. Lat. *rāmus* 'branch, twig', which may go back to *\*wrād-mo-* or *\*wrā-mo-*, is semantically closer. Go. *waurts*, etc. can probably be compared as well. Cf. also on ► *ράδαμνος*, where the short α certainly does *not* reflect a PIE *\*urh₂d-*, since this would have yielded long ā instead. The pre-form *\*wrad-* / *wrād-*, suggested by these forms, is probably non-Indo-European. Cf. also ► *ρίζα*.

**ράδιος** = *ῥᾱ*.

**ράζω** [v.] 'to growl, grouch', originally of a dog; secondarily also of men (Cratin. 25).

<ONOM>

•ETYM Perhaps of onomatopoeic origin; cf. ► *ἀράζω* and ► *ρύζω*. See also ► *ρώχω*.

**ράθαγος** = *ραθαπυγίζω*.

**ραθαμίγξ, -ιγγος** [f.], mostly [pl.] 'drop' (Λ 536 = Υ 501, Hes., Pi.); also 'dust particle' (*κονίης ῥ*. Ψ 502), 'spot' (Opp.). <PG(S)>

•DER *ραθαμίζω* [v.] 'to besprinkle' (Opp., Nonn.; like *σάλπιγξ* to *-πίζω*). Variants are *ραθμίζεσθαι* *ραίνεσθαι* 'to be besprinkled' (H.); *ραθαίνεται* *ραίνεται*, *βρέχεται* 'is besprinkled, gets wet' (H.); *ραθασσόμενοι* *ραινόμενοι* (H., Phot.).

•ETYM *ραθαμίγξ* has the same suffix *-ιγξ* as *λάιγγες*, *στροφάλιγξ*, ► *πύλιγγες*, etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 398ff.), but it cannot be analyzed any further. We find a variant *\*ραθμός* in *ραθμίζεσθαι* (probably by syncope of α, as is often found in Pre-Greek words). Frisk suggests an analogical proportion *\*ραθμός* : ► *ραίνω* to *βαθμός* : *βαίνω*, which leads him to assume that contaminations or extensions led to the creation of *ραθαίνω* (to *ραίνω*) and *ραθάσσω* (to *σταλάσσω*). This is far-fetched. Although the word is not treated by Fur., *ραθαμίγξ* is clearly Pre-Greek, if only because of the suffix.

**ραθαπυγίζω** [v.] 'to kick someone's buttocks' (Ar. *Eq.* 796). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also *ροθοπυγίζω*, to which *-ισμός* (Suid., Thom. Mag.).

•ETYM Possibly based on *πυγή* 'bottom', apparently with an onomatopoeic first element that is also seen in *ράθαγος* *τάραχος* 'agitation' (H., sch.). Yet the precise morphological relation with *πυγή* remains to be clarified. Haplogly from *\*ράθα[γο]-πυγίζω* (Ehrlich 1910: 7) has been assumed, but this seems unlikely. The o-vocalism in *ροθο-πυγίζω* can hardly be secondary after *ρόθος* 'roar'; it is much more likely that the variation α ~ ο is caused by the Pre-Greek origin of the word.

**ράθυμος** = *ῥᾱ*.

**ῥαίβιας** [?] · ἀζήμιος δῆμος 'deme that has impunity' (H.). <?>

•VAR ῥαμβάς· ὁ δῆμιος 'public executioner' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown.

**ῥαίβος** [adj.] 'crooked, bent inward', especially of legs (Arist., Nic.). <PG(V)>

•COMP As a first member in ῥαίβο-ειδής 'of crooked shape' (Hp.).

•DER ῥαίβ-ηδόν 'in bendings' (Euph.), -όω [v.] 'to bend' (Lyc., Gal.), -ότις [f.] 'bendedness' (Eust.).

•ETYM The words in -βός often designate a physical defect, e.g. κολοβός, κλαμβός, σκαμβός, ὕβος. The best comparison until now was with the Germanic group of Go. *wraigs* 'σκολιός', which led to IE *\*uroig<sup>uo-</sup>* or *\*uroig-uo-*. However, the Greek α-vocalism remains difficult, and neither ►κλαμβός, etc. above, nor ►λαιός, ►σκαίός (with old *uo*-suffix) offer a solution for it. Since the vocalism can only be explained if we assume *\*ureh<sub>ig</sub>-u-*, whereas the Germanic suggests *\*uroig-u-*, the word is probably non-Indo-European. It is probably Pre-Greek; see on ►ῥάμφορ. Cf. also ►ῥοικός and ►ῥυβός.

**ῥαίνω** [v.] 'to besprinkle, spray, strew' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Aor. ῥῆναι (Hp.), ῥᾶναι (Att., Hell.), pass. ῥανθῆναι (Pi., etc.), ipv.2pl. ῥάσσετε (v 150), ptc. περι-ρασάμενοι (Pergamon II<sup>a</sup>) after κεδάσσαι, κεράσ(σ)αι, etc.(?), perf. act. δι-έρραγκα (LXX), med.3pl. ἐρράδαται (v 354), plpf. -δατ(ο) (M 431), with analogical -δ- acc. to Schwyzler: 672, but see below; ἔρραμμαι (Hell. and late), -ασμαι (sch.).

•COMP Often with prefix, especially περι-.

•DER 1. ῥανίς, -ίδος [f.] 'drop' (trag., Ar., Arist.) with ῥανίζω = ῥαίνω (Poll.); 2. ῥαντός 'besprinkled, spotted' (Hp.) with ῥαντίζω (also with περι-, etc.) = ῥαίνω (LXX, Ep. Hebr., etc.); (περι-)ῥαντ-ισμός [m.] (LXX, NT), -ισμα [n.] (Vett. Val.); 3. ῥαντήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'sprinkler' (Nic.), to which (περι-, απο-)ῥαντήριον [n.] 'vessel with sprinkling water' (IA); 4. (περι-)ῥάντης [m.] 'sprinkler' (pap.); 5. (περί-)ῥανσις [f.] 'sprinkling' (Pl., pap.); 6. ἀπό-ρ(ρ)ανθρον = ἀπορραντήριον (Anaphe, Priene); 7. ῥάσμα [n.] 'sprinkling, spray' (Hell.).

•ETYM The stem pattern of ῥαίνω is based on a stem ῥαν- which, if inherited, represents the zero grade of IE *\*uren-* or *\*sren-*. Previous etymological attempts have been: Solmsen KZ 37 (1904): 59 off. (connecting a Slavic verb 'to let fall, shed', in Ru. *ronít'*, Cz. *roniti*, Pol. *ronić*, etc., which may - but need not - go back to *\*uron-*); Szemerényi KZ 73 (1956): 74 (connecting Hitt. *ḫurnāi* 'to besprinkle', but this has to be read as *ḫarnāi*; see Kloekhorst 2008); connection with ►ῥαθάμυξ (improbable). None of these etymological attempts accounts for the variation ν and δ (in the perfect), which is a well-known Pre-Greek phenomenon (Kuijper 1956: 216). This proves that the verb is Pre-Greek.

**ῥαίω** [v.] 'to smash, break to pieces, shatter' (Il., epic). <?>

•VAR Aor. ῥαῖσαι, pass. ῥαισθῆναι, fut. ῥαίσω.

•DIAL Myc. *o-pi-ra<sub>3</sub>-te-re* /opi-raistēres/ (?), see Baumbach *Minos* 11 (1970): 388-90.

•COMP Also with δια-, ἀπο-.

•DER ῥαιστήρ, -ῆρος 'hammer', both [f.] (Σ 477; after σφῦρα?) and [m.] (AP 6, 117). Elsewhere the gender is unknown (A. Pr. 56, Call. *Dian.* 59, etc.); ῥαιστήριος 'shattering, destroying' (A. R., Opp.); ῥαίστωρ· κραντήρ 'boar's tusk' (H.). Several compounds in -της, e.g. θυμο-ρραῖσ-της 'life-destroying' (Il.), κυνο-ρραῖσ-της 'dog louse' (ρ 300, Arist.).

•ETYM The form ῥαίω rhymes with παίω, πταίω (which are semantically close) and with κναίω, ψαίω. The -σ- in ῥαισθῆναι, etc. can be analogical. The etymology is unknown; it can hardly be a contamination of ῥήγνυμι and παίω.

**ῥάκος** [n.] 'rag, shred, wrinkles, remnants' (Od.). <?>

•VAR Often plur. ῥάκεα, -η.

•COMP As a first member in ῥακό-δυτος, originally 'clothed in rags', 'shabby' (E. [lyr.]).

•DER Diminutive ῥάκιον, plur. -ια [n.] (Ar., etc.); 2. ῥακώματα [pl.] = ῥάκη (Ar.); 3. ἀπορ<ρ>ακίσματα (H.) to ῥάκη (: *\*ἀπο-ρρακίζειν*); 3. adjective ῥάκ-ινος (Hell. inscr.), -όεις (AP), -ώδης (D. C., AP) 'tattered, wrinkled'; 4. uncertain (corrupt according to Debrunner *IF* 23 (1908-1909): 14) ῥακωλέον· ῥάκος 'rag' (H.), cf. ῥωγαλέος, etc.; 5. denominative ῥακ-όομαι [v.] 'to become ragged, wrinkled' (Hp., Plu.), to which -ωσις [f.] 'wrinkling, wrinkledness' (Sor.).

ῥάκεα, -η corresponds to Aeol. βράκ-εα (Sapph. 57), -η (Theoc. 28, 11), but in the sense of '(long) ladies' garments', cf. also βράκος· κάλαμος, ἱμάτιον πολυτελές 'expensive garment' (H.). Other formations are: βράκαλον· ῥόπαλον 'staff, rod', βράκετον· δρέπανον, κλαδευτήριον 'sickle, pruning knife' (H.), dissimilated from *\*-τρον*; without dissimilation ῥάκετρον 'chopping-knife' (Poll.), v.l. ῥάχ- (after ῥάχης), with -ετρίζω [v.] 'to split, cut through' (Pl. Com.).

•ETYM The deviating meaning 'ladies' garments' casts doubt on the appurtenance of βράκεα, -ος. The other words can easily be connected with ῥάκος (i.e. from *\*ῥράκος*), with βράκαλον formed after ῥόπαλον, σκύταλον; βράκετ(ρ)ον seems to be a primary instrument noun which, just like ῥάκος, presupposes a primary verb (for instance *\*ῥακεῖν*).

Evident morphological cognates lack outside Greek. The traditional comparison with Skt. *vr̥ścāti* 'to hew, fell (trees), split', with *yūpa-vrask-ā* 'post-cutter' and the ptc. *vr̥k-nā* 'hewn, felled' fails to give one too, since it is probably related to Skt. *varj-* 'to turn around, avert' < *\*h<sub>2</sub>uerg-*.

IE *\*uresk-*, *\*uros-k-*, which we may reconstruct, has a variant in the Slavic word for 'rumple' (cf. ῥάκος, also 'rumple'), e.g. CS *vraska* < *\*uorsk-ā*. ToA *wraske* 'disease' is phonologically and semantically far-fetched. For this IE *\*uresk-*, *\*uersk-*, one could reconstruct an older *\*urek-sk-* or *\*uerk-sk-*, which enables us to establish connections with *\*uṛk-*, the pre-form of ῥάκος. A pre-form IE *\*uṛk-* may also be found in the Indo-Iranian word for 'tree' (originally 'felled tree'), Skt. *vr̥kṣá-*, Av. *varəša-* [m.], IE *\*uṛk-s-o-*, beside *\*uṛk-os-* in ῥάκος (see Lidén in WP. 1, 286). Everything remains highly uncertain. The word could well be Pre-Greek.

**ῥακτήριος** •VAR ῥάκτρια. ⇒ ῥάσσω.

**ῥακτός** ⇒ ῥήγνυμι.

ράμβας = ραιβίας.

ράμνος [f.] 'briar, rhamnus' (Eup., Hell. and late). <PG?>

- DER 'Ραμνοῦς, -οὔντος [m.] name of an Att. deme, with -οὔσιος [adj.] (Att.).
- ETYM The form ράμνος may have developed from \*ράβνος, and thus belong with ▶ράβδος and cognates; see s.v. with literature. It is quite possibly a Pre-Greek word. The nasal suffix may be the same as in θάμνος (or taken over from it). Cf. also ▶ράδινός and ▶ρέμβομαι.

ράμφος [n.] '(hooked) bird beak' (com., Call., Plu.). <PG(V)>

- VAR Further ραμψόν· καμπύλον, βλαισόν 'crooked or bent, distorted'; ραμψά γόνατα· βλαισά γόνατα, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ραιβά 'curved knees' (H.).
- COMP λεπτό-ραμφος 'having a thin beak' (Paul. Aeg.).
- DER ραμφή [f.] 'crooked knife' (Plb., H.). From ράμφος are derived ράμφ-ιον [n.] diminutive (sch.), -ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'crooked clasp' (Hero), also = νεὼς εἶδος 'kind of ship' (H.) (cf. κορωνίς), -ιος = πελεκανός (Cyrano), -ώδης 'beak-like' (Philostr.), -ησταί· ἰχθύς ποιοί 'kinds of fish' (H.) (Strömberg 1943: 43), -άζομαι 'to poke with the beak' (H., Phot.).
- ETYM Next to ράμφος, ραμφή (cf. e.g. γράφος : γραφή), we find ρέμφος· τό στόμα, ἢ ρίς 'mouth or nose' (H.); this cannot be interpreted as a regular full grade, but is a variant (see below). Initial ραμφ- has been compared with καμπ-, γναμπ-, κραμβ-, etc. The words ▶ρέμβομαι 'to turn round, roam' and ρόμβος 'magic' wheel are phonetically comparable and semantically similar. Cf. further ▶ράβδος, ▶ρέμβομαι, and also ▶ρομφαία.

Germanic words have been further compared: MLG *wrimpen* 'to turn up one's nose', *wramp-achtich* 'curled, crooked' (i.e. IE \**uremb*<sup>(h)</sup>); however, these comparisons are based on virtually nothing. The variation between β and ψ rather points to Pre-Greek origin, as does the α-vocalism. Moreover, ▶ραιβός is also clearly a variant (see Fur. 286, 335, 338). This means that ράμφος has prenasalization, beside ραιβός with the frequent variation α/αι, where ι is from a following palatalized consonant.

ράνις •VAR ραντήρ. ⇒ ραίνω.

ράξ, ρᾱγός [f.] 'winegrape, -berry', secondarily also 'berry' in general, metaph. 'kind of spider', plur. 'fingertips' (Att., Hell. and late). <PG(V)>

- VAR LXX also [m.]. ρῶξ, ῥωγός (Archil., LXX, Nic.).
- COMP As a first member in ραγο-ειδής 'grape-like' (medic.).
- DER ραγ-ίον [n.] diminutive (Philum., etc.), -ικός 'belonging to the grape', -ώδης 'grape-like' (Thphr.), -ίζω 'to pick grapes' (Theoc.).
- ETYM The form ράξ is reminiscent of ράματα (this may come from \*ράγμ-) βοστρύχια, σταφυλίσ, Μακεδόνες 'bunch of grapes (Maced.)' (H.), as well as of Lat. *racēmus* 'stalk of a cluster of grapes, grapes'. The word is further isolated; it is probably a Mediterranean word (cf. Schwyzler: 425 with literature, also 310). The IE etymologies that have been proposed should all be rejected (WH s.v.; also incorrectly, Carnoy *REGr.* 69 (1956): 286 and Carnoy *Ant. class.* 27 (1958): 326). It is most probable that ράξ is of Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 126); ρῶξ would then be a Pre-

Greek variant. Demiraj 1997: 196 adduces Alb. *rrush* 'resin', which is identical to *Rrush*, the old name of *Ragusa*; if related, this would rather suggest a substrate origin of the word.

ράπιζω, -ομαι [v.] 'to beat with a stick, a rod, by hand', pass. 'to be beaten' (IA). <PG?>

- VAR Aor. pass. ραπισθῆναι, act. ράπισαι, perf. ptc. pass. ρεραπισμένα.
- COMP Rarely with prefix, e.g. ἐπι- (also 'to reproach').
- DER ράπ-ισμα [n.] 'stroke, slap in the face, box on the ears' (Antiph., NT, Luc.), -ισμός [m.] 'id.' (Corn., Sor.); ἐπιρράπ-ις [f.] 'reproach' (Ion. Hist.), -ισμός 'id.' (Plb.). Besides, as a second member, -ραπς in χρυσό-ρραπς, voc. -ι 'with a golden rod', epithet of Hermes (Od., *h. Merc.*, Pi.), εὐ-ρραπς (Ερμῆς) 'with a beautiful rod' (Nonn.); ραπῖς as simplex = ράβδος only H., Phot.
- ETYM As the simplex ραπῖς may have been extracted from χρυσό-ρραπς, where -ις can be explained as a compound suffix (cf. ἄν-αλκ-ις, ἵππ-οῦρ-ις), the direct basis of ραπίζω is uncertain. It may have been formed from a noun (\*ράψ, \*ράπ-ή, vel sim.), but it can also be a transformation of a primary verb (cf. the examples in Schwyzler: 735f.). Formally, ραπίζω could be a zero grade formation of ρέπω, ρόπταλον; it would have indicated, if deverbative, a sweeping movement (of a rod, the hand, etc.). See further ▶ρέπω; cf. ▶ῥώνψ 1, ▶ράβδος, ▶ράμνος, and also ▶ράπτω. Alternatively, a Pre-Greek origin is a serious option for this etymon, as well.

ράπις kind of shoe. <PG(V)>

- ETYM The variation with ἀρπῖς (Fur. 392) points to Pre-Greek origin. See ▶ἀρπῖς.

ράπτω [v.] 'to sew (together), stitch, instigate' (Il.). <?>

- VAR Aor. ράψαι (Il.), them. aor. ἔρραφον (Nonn.), pass. ραφῆναι, fut. ράψω, perf. pass. ἔρραμμαι (IA), plpf. act. ἔρραφήκει (X. Eph.).
- DIAL Myc. *ra-pte(-re)* may stand for \*ραπτήρ [m.] (see Morpurgo Davies 1963 s.v. with literature; differently Heubeck *IF* 64 (1958-1959): 119ff.); also Myc. *e-ra-pe-me-na* /<sup>(h)</sup>e<sup>-h</sup>rapmena/ 'stitched'. Myc. *wa-ra-pi-si-ro*, which was thought to stand for *εραπίλος*, can no longer be connected, since *erapemena* shows that the verb had no initial *r*-.
- COMP Often with prefix, e.g. συν-, κατα-, ἐν-.
- DER 1. Action nouns: ραφή (also συν-, κατα-, etc.) [f.] 'hem, seam' (χ 186), here and below, -φ- is analogical; ράμια [n.] 'id.' (Pi., IA); 2. Agent nouns: ραφεύς [m.] 'sewer, stitcher, instigator' (A., Poll.), acc. to Boßhardt 1942: 40 from ραφή; ράπτης [m.] 'stitcher' with -τικός (late), fem. ράπτρια (Eust.), with περι- [m.] of a priestess in Piraeus (inscr.); ραπτήρ 'id.', see above on Myc.; δικο-ρράφ-ος [m.] 'hack lawyer' (D. Chr. et al.), with -ρραφέω [v.] 'to instigate a lawsuit' (Ar.), -ρραφία (Man.); 3. instrument nouns ραφίς, -ίδος [f.] 'sewing needle' (Hp., Archipp., Hell.), ραφιδ-εύς [m.], -εια [f.] 'stitcher', -ευτής [m.] 'id.', -ευτός (LXX), -ᾱς [m.] 'id.' (pap. IV<sup>p</sup>); cf. Boßhardt 1942: 40; ραφίς also fish name = βελόνη (Arist., Opp.), see Strömberg 1943: 37; beside it ραπῖς as a fish name (Epich 51 v.l.), = κρηπίς (H., EM), see on ▶ἀρπῖς; 4. verbal adj. ραπτός 'stitched, sewn together' (ω 228f.); 5. 'Ραψώ [f.] name of a goddess or nymph (Phaleron IV<sup>a</sup>). On ▶ραψιδός, see s.v.

•ETYM Since *Myс. e-ra-pe-me-na* shows that *ράπτω* does not go back to a form with initial *ῥ-*, the older etymology with Baltic (Lith. *veĩpti*, 1sg. *verpiũ* 'to spin', Lith. *veĩpti* (*virpti*), *virpėti* 'to tremble, shudder, vibrate', Latv. *virpēt* 'to spin with a spindle; shudder', *vērpēt* 'to spin, turn round about') must be abandoned. Cf. further ► *ρέπω*, ► *ρέμβομαι*.

**ράπυς** •VAR *ράφυς*. = *ράφανος*.

**ράσσω** [v.] 'to beat, smash, thrust, stamp' (also of dancers), intr. 'to strike, dash' (Hell.). <PG?>

•VAR Att. *ράττω*, Ion. *ρήσσω* (epic since Σ 571), with *ἐπι-* (Ω 454, 456, *h.Ap.* 516, also LXX, NT), fut. *ράξω*, aor. *ράξαι* (Att., Hell.), *ραχθῆναι* (LXX).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. *ἐπι-*, *συν-*, *κατα-*.

•DER 1. *σύρ-*, *πρόσ-ραξίς* [f.] 'crash, impact' (Arist., pap.), *ἀπό-* name of a ball game (Poll., Eust.); 2. *κατα-ρράκτης* [adj.] 'rushing down, precipitous' (S., Str.), [m.] 'waterfall' (D. S., Str.), 'portcullis, boarding bridge' (LXX, App., etc.), name of a bird that sweeps down (Ar., Arist.); *Κατα-ρρήκτης* [m.], name of a river in Phrygia (Hdt.); *κατα-ρρακτήρ* 'rushing down' (Lyc.), of a bird; 3. *ρακτήριον* 'δρχησίς' *τις* 'kind of dance', *-τήρια* *τύμπανα* 'kettledrums' (H.), *ρακτήριος* 'suitable for beating' vel sim., also 'clamorous' (S. *Fr.* 802 and 699); *ράκτριαι* [f.pl.] (*-ια* [n.pl.]?) 'poles for beating olive trees' (Poll., H., Phot.). On *ράγ-δην*, *-δαῖος*, see ► *ράγι*; on ► *ραχία* s.v.

•ETYM The form *ράσσω* was rare, and in Koine it became confused with *ρήγνυμι*; it has no certain etymology. Since a consonant must have been lost before the *ῥ-*, a pre-form PGr. \**ῥῥάχ-ιω* (cf. *ραχ-ία*) can perhaps be identified with a Slavic verb for 'beat' (also with loss of \**ῥ-*), i.e. Ru. *razít*, Cz. *raziti*, with Cz. *ráz* 'stroke, stamp', Ru. *raz* 'turn' < \**ureh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>h</sup>*-. The Slav. words, however, have also been connected with Ru. *rézat* 'to cut, slaughter', OCS *rězati* 'κόπτειν', etc., which are related to *ρήγνυμι* (see Vasmer 1953 s.v. *raz* II and Fraenkel 1955 s.v. *rězti* 1). The semantically attractive connection with ► *ἀράσσω* (Bechtel 1914 s.v. *ρήσσω*) would require PGr. \**warak<sup>h</sup>-je/o-* (with different development of \*CRHC, perhaps conditioned by the accent?), but for ► *ἀράσσω*, there is no indication for *ῥ-*. Cf. ► *ράχης*.

**ράστῶνι** = *ῥᾱ*.

\***ράτάνη** [f.] 'stirring spoon, scoop', only in (Dor.) *ρατάναν* *τορύνην* 'stirrer, ladle' and *βρατάναν* *τορύνην*. *Ἡλείοι* (H.). <PG?, IE? \**uert-* 'turn'>

•ETYM Instrument name in *-άνη* like *πατ-*, *δρεπ-*, *οὐρ-άνη*, etc., either from a zero grade verb (e.g. aor. \**ῥρατ-εῖν*) or from a noun (e.g. \**ῥρατ-η*). An extended verb form is perhaps found in *βρατάνει* *ραῖζει* *ἀπὸ νόσου*. *Ἡλείοι* 'to recover (El.)' (H.), originally 'gets well again'; cf. e.g. *βλαστάνω* from *βλαστ-εῖν*, *αἰσθάνομαι* from *αἰσθέσθαι*. The word ► *ἄρρατος* is formed from a noun, like *ἄμαχος* from *μάχη*, etc. Traditionally, this etymon was connected to Skt. *vártate*, Lat. *vertō* 'to turn (intr.)', etc. (cf. Pok. 1156ff.), and *ροταρία* (*-άρια*?) *τορύνιον* (H.) was explained as having Aeol. *po* for *pa* (Bechtel 1921, 2: 864). However, the variants *βρατ-* ~ *βροτ-* and the suffix *-αν-* may also point to Pre-Greek origin.

**ράφανος** [f.] 'cabbage, Brassica cretica' (Att., etc.), 'radish, Raphanus sativus' (Arist., pap.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also *-άνη* (Batr. v.l.), etc. Cf. *ράφυς*, *ράπυς* [f.] 'turnip', *ρέφανος* (Hp. *Mul.* 2, 115).

•DER 1. *ράφανίς*, *-ίδος* [f.] 'radish' (com., etc.) with *-ίδιον* [n.] 'id.' (Pl. Com.), *-ιδώδης* 'like a radish' (Thphr.), *-ιδόομαι* [v.] 'to be treated with radish' (Ar.); 2. *ραφάνιον* [n.] 'radish' (pap.), also *ραπάνιον*; 3. *-ινος* 'of radish' (pap., Dsc., etc.), *-ίτις* [f.] 'kind of iris' (Plin.), see Redard 1949: 76; 4. *-ηδόν* [adv.] 'in a radish-like way' (medic.).

Besides, *ράφυς*, *ράπυς* [f.] 'turnip' (Ath. 9, 369b, 371 c). Uncertain is the appurtenance of *ράφας* [acc.pl.] acc. to H. s.v. *ραφανίς*, with Tryphon Dor.), probably miswritten for *ραφάνους* or *ραφ<άν>ας*; cf. Phot. *ράφανον* *τὴν ραφανίδα*. *Ἐπίχαρμος* (*Fr.* 204; improbable).

•ETYM With *ράφανος*, compare *πύανος*, *λάχανον*, *πήγανον* and other plant names; *ράφυς* and *ράπυς* are reminiscent of *σίκυς*, *κάχυς*, *στάχυς*, etc.

Since the word is widespread only in Europe, and since it has variant forms, it cannot be an inherited word from PIE, but must have been borrowed instead, or otherwise belong to a substrate: cf. Lat. *rāpum* [n.], *-a* [f.], OHG *ruoba* [f.], Lith. *rópė* [f.], which all point to a pre-form \**rāp-*; beside these, we find OHG *raba*, CS *répa*, Ru. *répa* [f.], which point to \**rēp-* (cf. Machek *Ling. Posn.* 2 (1950): 158ff.). The Greek words, in turn, require \**rap-*, or *rap<sup>h</sup>-*, respectively: *ράπυς*, *ράφυς*, *ράφανος*. The transformation of the old word for 'turnip' to black radish and cabbage would be due to the decline of the cultivation of the turnip in Greece; for 'turnip', a new word *γογγυλίς* then came into use.

Since the variation *π* ~ *φ* and the suffix *-αν-* are evidently Pre-Greek features, the word may originally be of Pre-Greek stock; thence the European cognates cited above were borrowed.

**ράφοι** [m.] *· ὄρνεις τινές* 'birds' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM The etymology is unknown. Probably Pre-Greek.

**ραχία** [f.] 'breakers of the sea, high tide, spot in the surf, rocky beach' (IA); Hell. also 'bustle, clamor of a mob'. <GR>

•VAR Ion. *ρήχιν*.

•DER *ραχι-ώδης* 'full of breakers' (Str.).

•ETYM Related to ► *ράσσω*, *ράττω*, and *ρήσσω* 'to beat, bump, etc.' (s.v. with further literature), i.e. either as an action noun directly from the verb (with *-ία* from the yod-present \**ῥῥάχ-ιω*? See Scheller 1951: 39f.), or as an original abstract or a collective formation (*οἰκ-ία*, *ἀντλ-ία*, etc.) from \**ῥᾱχος* 'stroke, bump'.

**ράχης, -ιος** [f., m.] 'spine, back', often metaphorically 'ridge, etc.' (I 208). <PG>

•VAR Att. *-εως*.

•DER 1. *ραχ-ίτης* [m.] 'belonging to the spine' (Arist., medic.), *ἐπιρραχ-ίτιδες* *ἄρτηριαί* (Hippiatr.), Redard 1949: 101f.; 2. *ραχι-αῖος* 'id.' (medic.); 3. *ραχ-ίζω* [v.] 'to crack, chop up (the spine)' (trag.), also 'to show off, boast' (Din., H.), also with *δια-*, *κατα-*; thence *-ιστής* [m.] 'splitter' (pap.), 'showoff, boaster' (Theopomp. Com.), *-ιστήρ* *ψεύστης*, *ἀλαζών* 'liar or cheat, vagrant' (H.).



With transformation of the stem: 4. ῥάχ-ετρον = ῥάχης (H.), also designation of a certain part of it (Poll., Phot.), perhaps after ἄγκιστρον, δέρτρον, ἥτρον (cf. Fraenkel *Glotta* 4 (1913): 43, Schwyzer: 532), -ετρίζω = ῥαχίζω (Poll.); besides, we find ῥάκ-ετρον, etc. (see ► ῥάκος?); 5. ῥαχάς χωρίον σύνδενδρον καὶ μετέωρον 'thickly-wooded place on high ground' (H., Phot.), after δειράς, σπλάς, etc., with ῥαχάδην-ἐπὶ τῆς ῥάχεως 'on the spine' (H.); 6. gen.sg. τοῦ ῥαχα, from ῥαχας 'id.?' (Halaesa; Roman times).

Besides, ῥαχός (also ῥάχος; codd. also ῥάχος, probably after ῥάχης), Ion. ῥηχός [f.] 'briar, thorn hedge, (thorny) sprig' (Hdt., S., X., Thphr.), ἐϋ-ρηηχος, ῥηχῶδης 'thorny' (Nic.); denominative ῥαχῶσαι [v.] 'to cover with sprigs' (Att. [307-6<sup>a</sup>]). For the meaning 'briar, spine, back', cf. e.g. ἄκανθα, Lat. *spina*, etc. Unclear is ῥάχνος [n.] (pap. IV-VI<sup>p</sup>), 'cloak' vel sim.?

•ETYM The word ῥάχης was compared with Lith. *ražis* 'stubble' (beside more usual *rāžas* 'stubble, [fork]tooth, barren twig'), from a preform *\*uraǵh-i-*; the initial *u-* is confirmed in Greek by ὀρήχου (where ὀ- stands for *u-*): τῆς αἰμασιᾶς 'wall' (H.). A full or lengthened grade *\*urāǵh-* was seen in ῥάχός, ῥηχός (e.g. Pok. 1180). However, since *ῥᾱχ-/ῥᾱχ-* cannot be derived from an IE form (the ablaut in the above reconstructions being impossible), it may instead be Pre-Greek.

**ῥαψωδός** [m.] 'rhapsodist, performer of epic (Homeric) poems' (Hdt., S., Pl.). ◀GR▶

•DER ῥαψωδ-ικός 'belonging to the rhapsodist', -έω [v.] 'to recite epic poems', -ία [f.] 'reciting epic poems, epic poems' (Att., etc.).

•ETYM The word ῥαψωδός is a verbal governing compound of ῥάψαι ὥδην (ἀοιδήν), thus originally 'who sews a poem together', referring to the uninterrupted sequence of epic verses as opposed to the strophic compositions of lyrics; cf. Hes. *Fr.* 265 ῥάψαντες ἀοιδήν, Pi. *N.* 2, 2 Ὀμηρίδαι ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων ... ἀοιδοί (see Patzer *Herm.* 80 (1952): 314ff.; Sealey *REGr.* 70 (1957): 312ff.).

**ῥέγκω** [v.] 'to snore, snort' (A., E., com., Arist. v.l.). ◀PG?▶

•VAR ῥέγγω (Hp., Arist., Herod., Hell. and late); note the variants ῥεγχ-, ῥοχμ-, and ῥωχμ-.

•COMP Rarely with ἀπο-, ὑπο-, παρα-.

•DER ῥέγκ-ος (also -χ-) [n.] 'snore' with -ώδης 'snore-like', ῥέγξις [f.] 'id.' (Hp.); ῥογκιήν- ῥέγκειν. Ἐπίχαρμος (H.) (after the verbs of disease in -ιάω); ῥογχαίνειν (H.) as an explanation of ῥυγχιάζειν, whence ῥογχ-ασμός = ῥέγχος (Gal.), -αστής = *nasator* (gloss.); ῥογχ-αλίζω 'to snore' (gloss.), after γαργαλίζω, etc.; also ῥόγχος (Cael. Aur.), ῥωχμός = ῥέγχος (Erot.); ῥωγμός, ῥοχμός, ῥογμός 'to hiss' (late medic.); ῥώχω 'to hiss, chatter one's teeth' (Sor., H.).

•ETYM The etymon is clearly onomatopoeic; cf. ► ῥύγχος. Although the variation is certainly due in part to the onomatopoeic character of the word, many of the alternations would also fit a Pre-Greek origin. The Celtic forms compared in Frisk (OIr. *srennim* 'to snort', Mlr. *sréimim* 'snoring') may derive from *\*sregh-n-*.

**ῥέζω** 1 [v.] 'to act, perform', especially of a sacrifice, 'to sacrifice' (Il., epic). ◀IE *\*uerǵ-* 'work'▶

•VAR Fut. ῥέξω, aor. ῥέξαι, pass. ῥεχθῆναι.

•DIAL Myc. *wo-ze* [3sg.pres.] /worzei/, see Aura Jorro 1985-1993(2): 451.

•COMP Rarely with ἐπι-, κατα-, etc.

•DER Verbal adjective ἄ-ρεκ-τος 'undone' (T 150, Simon.), agent noun ῥεκτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'doer' (Hes., Man.), -τήριος 'effective' (Ion Hist.), [f.] -τεῖρα (Man.); ῥέκτης [m.] 'id.' (Plu., Aret.), -τικός 'capable of sth.' (Porph.), also ῥέκτας 'sacrificer' (Tauromenion; Rom. times); παρρέκτης πάντα πράττων ἐπὶ κακῷ 'doing all for mischief' (H.); cf. Fraenkel 1910: 150 and 175; on ῥέζω with derivatives, see Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1929): 85f.

•ETYM Next to (f)έργον with full grade, IE had a zero grade yod-present *\*urǵ-ie-ti* (Av. *varaziiāmahī*, etc.), of which the Greek representative \*φράζω (= Myc. *wo-ze*) was replaced by the full grade ἔρδω < \*φέργ-ιω (after φέργον). This form was substituted by the secondary full grade φρεγ-, with a different position of the liquid, at first in the aor. and fut. ῥέξαι, ῥέξω, then also in the pres. ῥέζω, the verbal adj. ἄ-ρ(ρ)εκτος, etc. (cf. Schwyzer: 716<sup>2</sup> with literature). On traces of the same full grade in Albanian and Celtic, cf. Pok. 1168 with literature (cf. also Bader 1965: iff.; on ἔρδω and ῥέζω, Hamp *MSS* 45 (1985): 106-109). See further ► ἔρδω and ► ἔργον.

**ῥέζω** 2 [v.] 'to color, βάπτειν' (Epich. 107, Phot., EM). ◀IE *\*sreg-* 'paint'▶

•VAR Aor. ῥέξαι.

•DER ῥέγος (ἀλιόρφυρον, Anacr.), more usual ῥήγος [n.] 'blanket, carpet' (Hom.) = τὸ βαπτὸν στῶμα (*Et. Orion.*), τό πορφυροῦν περιβόλαιον (EM); ῥέγματα (ποικίλα, Ibyc.); χρυσοραγές χρυσοβαφές 'gold-embroidered' (H.); agent noun = 'βαφεύς, colorer': ῥεγεύς (EM v.l. beside ῥαγ-, ῥηγ-), ῥηγεύς (sch., H.), ῥογεύς (inscr. Sparta, H.); see Bofhardt 1942: 83.

•ETYM This etymon can hardly be separated from Skt. *rājyati* 'to paint oneself, get red, get excited', *rāga-* [m.] 'painting, paint, excitement'. In view of the lack of an initial vowel in Greek, we have to consider a reconstruction *\*sreg-*. The stem form ῥηγ- is problematic, however.

**ῥέθος** [n.] 'face, countenance' (S. *Ant.* 529, E. *HF* 1205 [both anap.], Theoc. 29, 16, Lyc. 1137), 'body' (Lyc. 173), meaning uncertain (Sapph. 22, 3); plur. 'faces' (A. R. 2, 68), 'limb' (Theoc. 23, 39); older meaning unclear (ἐκ ῥεθέων Π 856 = X 362, X 68); cf. ῥεθέων- σπλάγχνων, μελῶν, σωματῶν 'innards, limbs, bodies' (H.); the sch. on X 68 proposes 'face, mouth', also 'nostrils', the last of which is preferred by Leumann 1950: 218ff. (with older literature) because of the plur. Cf. Snell 1948: 24-6, who demonstrates the transition from the literal meaning, namely a body part, to the more general mg. 'body'. ◀?▶

•COMP As a first member in Aeol. ῥεθο-μαλίδας, literally 'with face-apples', acc. to sch. X 68 = εὐπροσώπους.

•ETYM Since the meaning 'face, countenance', given as Aeolic by grammarians, is certain, we have to depart from this when explaining the word. Both an older epic meaning 'mouth' and 'figure, body' seem possible (cf. e.g. Lat. *os* 'mouth, face', *faciēs* 'figure, face'); the pl. could have been formed after μέλεα, στήθεα, στέρνα, νῶτα, etc. On the meaning in Hom., cf. Vivante *Arch. glott. ital.* 40 (1955): 41f. An original meaning 'nostril(s)' fits well, and the transition to 'face' or 'body' is unproblematic.

The form ῥέθος has no convincing etymology. The lack of the f- (β-) in Aeol. ῥέθος makes a connection with Skt. *várdhati* 'to grow' difficult. Fraenkel's suggestion to connect ▶ ῥίς and ▶ ῥέω (Frisk *Glotta* 32 (1975): 31ff.; also, Treu 1955: 190<sup>4</sup>) is neither morphologically nor semantically convincing.

ῥεῖα, ῥέα ⇒ ῥᾶ.

ῥεῖτος [m.?] an unidentified object from Delos (BCH 54, 1930, 121). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

ῥελατωρία 'receipt' (POxy. 3125). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM Formed from a borrowing from Lat. *reclātor* 'registrator'.

ῥέμβομαι [v.] 'to go about, wander, roam around, act at random' (Hell. and late).

<PG(V)>

•VAR Only pres. except ῥεμφθῆναι ῥέμβεσθαι (H.).

•COMP Rarely with ἀπο-, etc.

•DER ῥεμβώδης 'walking about, aimless, idle' (Plb., Plu.), with the back-formation ῥέμβος [m.] 'wandering about' (Plu., Aret.), adj. ῥεμβός (late), fem. -άς (LXX v.l.). Extensions: ῥεμβ-εύω (also κατα-) = ῥέμβομαι, -ασμός [m.] 'roaming' (LXX; \*-άζομαι).

With ablaut ῥόμβος [m.] 'circular movement, top, hummingtop, magic wheel, tambourine' (Pi., Critias, E.), geom. 'rhombus' (Arist., Euc., etc.), also name of a flat-fish, 'turbot' vel sim. (Ath., etc.), see Strömberg 1943: 38, Thompson 1947 s.v.; also ῥύμβος (Att. according to grammarians); ῥομβο-ειδής 'rhombus-like, rhomboidic' (Hp., Euc., etc.); ῥυμβ-ιον [n.] 'little top' (sch.); ῥομβ-ωτός 'having the form of a rhombus' (Hell. and late); -ηδόν 'in the way of a ῥ.' (Man.); ῥομβ-έω (also ῥυ-) [v.] 'to go in circles' (Pl., etc.) with -ητής [m.] 'top' (Orph.), ἐπι- 'to whirl like a humming-top' (Sapph.); ῥομβόομαι 'to be turned into a ῥ.' (Hero); ῥυμβ-όνες [f.pl.] 'wrigglings' of a snake (A. R.), cf. ἀγκ-όνες, etc.; -ονάω (also ῥεμβ-) 'to sway, hurl away' (Phld., Ael.), after σφενδονάω.

•ETYM The word ῥόμβος is attested already in Pi., and it proves that the primary form ῥέμβομαι, which is attested much later, must have existed at an earlier stage, too. The by-form ῥύμβος recalls cases like ῥοφέω : ῥυφέω (cf. Schwyzler 351f.); note also ῥυβόν- ἐπικαμπές (EM, Hdn. Gr.). The form ῥέμβομαι was compared with MLG *wrimpen* 'to contract (one's face)' (Persson 1912(1): 498), but an IE pre-form *\*uremb-* is highly doubtful. At least as uncertain is the comparison with Lith. *reñgtis* 'to bow', etc. (de Saussure *MSL* 8 (1894): 443; Lidén 1899: 14f.).

It is difficult to combine ῥέμβομαι with ῥάμφος, ῥέμφος, ῥάμνος, ῥάβδος, and ῥέπω in traditional Indo-European terms, in view of the various different labials (β, φ, π). Because the meanings deviate, an etymological analysis remains hazardous. However, the forms with ῥυμβ-, ῥυβ- seem to point to a Pre-Greek word, as does the interchange π/β/φ.

ῥέπω [v.] 'to decline, descend', especially of the balance, 'to sway down, turn out, gain the upper hand', with prefix also trans. 'to lower, let tilt' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Rare fut. ῥέψω and aor. ῥέψαι (IA).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, ἀντι-, κατα-.

•DER 1. ῥοπή [f.] 'lowering, tilting (of the scales), swing' (Alc., IA), to which (among others) ἀντί-ροπος 'equipoising, counterweighing' (Att.), with ἀντιροπ-ίη (v.l. -ή) [f.] 'counterweight' (Hp.); 2. περί-ρρεψις [f.] 'tilting' (Hp.); 3. ῥόπαλον [n.] 'bludgeon, mace' (Il.), with ῥοπάλ-ιον [n.] (Hell. inscr. and pap.), -ωτός 'equipped with a club-like rounding' (D. C.), -ώδης '(pulsing) like a club', of the pulse, -ωσις [f.] designation of a hair disease (medic.), -ικός 'club-like', as a designation of a verse (gramm.), -ίζει- στρέφει, κινεῖ ὡς ῥόπαλον 'turns, moves like a club' (H.) with -ισμοί [pl.] (Ar. *Lys.*); 4. ῥόπτρον [n.] 'the wood in a trap, knocker, ring at the door, tambourine' (Archil., Att.); dissimilated to ῥόπτρον of unclear meaning (Epid. IV<sup>a</sup>), -τίον- κλειδίον 'little key' (H.); 5. περι-, ἐπι-, κατα-ρρεπής 'tilting, etc.' (IA), ἑτερο-ρρεπής, originally 'tilting to (one or) the other side', hence 'indecisive, unbiased' (A. [lyr.], Hp.); 6. ῥεπτικός 'tilting' (*Stoic.*).

•ETYM Attempts have been made to connect ῥέπω with ▶ ῥάπτω, ▶ ῥαπίζω, and even ▶ ῥώψ, but see s.v.v. The alleged common semantic denominator 'to twist (together), wind, bend' was sought in ῥόπαλον, ῥόπτρον, but these words are perhaps not related (see Chantraine 1933: 246), and the supposed meaning 'throwing stick', which was needed for that connection, is unwarranted. Cf. ▶ ῥέμβομαι with references. The word may instead be Pre-Greek. The word καλαῦρος (compared by DELG), which is certainly Pre-Greek, is unrelated.

ῥέω [v.] 'to flow, stream', also metaphorically, 'to stream off, fall off, of hair, ripe fruits, etc. (Il.). <IE *\*sreu-* 'flow, stream'>

•VAR Aor. ῥυῆναι (γ 455), Dor. ἐρρύᾱ, fut. ῥυῆσομαι, perf. ἐρρύηκα (Att.); fut. ῥεύσομαι (Thgn., com., Hp.), ῥευσοῦμαι (Arist.), ῥεύσω (AP), aor. ῥεῦσαι (Ar., [anap.], Hp., Hell.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-, περι-, ὑπο-.

•DER Many derivatives, also from prefixed compounds:

A. with full grade 1. ῥέεθρον (Il., epic Ion.), ῥεῖθρον (Att.) [n.] 'stream, river, water'; 2. Ῥεῖτος [m.] name of a stream or brook (Eleusis V<sup>a</sup>, Th., Paus.), see Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 5 (1954): 89; 3. ῥεῦμα [n.] 'current, stream' (IA), cf. Porzig 1942: 267f., 'stream, rheumatism' (medic.), with -μάτιον, -ματώδης, -ματικός, -ματίζομαι, -ματισμός; 4. ῥέος [n.] 'stream' (A.), cf. on ἐν-ρρεῖς below; 5. ῥεῦσις [f.] (Hell. for ῥύσις); 6. ῥευστός 'streaming, fluid' (Emp., Arist., etc.), -στικός (Plu.), -σταλέος (Orac. *apud* Eus.); 7. -ρρεῖ-της (from -ρρεφέ-της) in compounds, e.g. ἐν-ρρεῖτης 'streaming beautifully' (Hom., etc.), ▶ ἀκαλαρρεῖτης; 8. -ρρεῖς only in gen. ἐν-ρρεῖος = ἐν-ρρεφέος (Il.) from ἐν-ρρεῖς 'id.'; rather to ῥέω than to ῥέος (Schwyzer: 513).

B. With o-grade: 1. ῥόος (κατά-, etc.), Att. ῥοῦς, Cypr. ῥόφος [m.] 'stream, flow'; 2. ῥοή (ἐκ-, etc.), Dor. -ά, Corc. ροφαῖσι [f.] 'flowing, stream, outflow' (Il.); ῥοῖσκος [m.] 'brooklet' (Halaesa), ῥοώδης (ῥοι- Gal.) 'flowing, suffering of flux, having strong currents, watery, falling off' (Hp., Th., Arist., etc.), ῥοικός 'fluid' (Hp., Dsc.), ῥοῖζω 'to drench', of horses (Hippiatr.) with ῥοῖσμός (H.); 3. ῥοῖαι [f.pl.] 'floods' (Hp.); 4. -ρροια [f.] in prefixed compounds, e.g. διάρροια (to δια-ρρέω) 'flowing through, diarrhoea' (IA); on the formation Schwyzler: 469.

C. With zero grade: 1. ρυτός 'streaming, pouring out, flowing strongly' (trag., etc.; with ἀμφί-, περί- since Od.); ρυτόν [n.] 'drinking horn' (Att., Hell.); 2. ρύσις (ἐκ-, etc.) [f.] 'flowing, flow' (IA); 3. ▶ ρύμα = ρεῦμα (late) s.v.; 4. ρύαξ, -ᾱκος [m.] 'strong current, rushing stream, stream of lava' (Th., Pl., Arist., etc.), probably Sicil. (Björck 1950: 61 and 285); cf. ρύαγξ (cod. ροί-)· φάραγξ 'cleft, chasm' (H.); 5. ρυᾶχετος [m.] 'multitude of people' (Lac.; Ar. *Lys.* 170), expressive enlargement of ρύαξ after ὀχετός, συρφετός; 6. ρυάς [f.] (also [m., n.]) 'fluid, falling off' (Arist., Thphr., etc.), also an epithet of ἰχθύς or a designation of certain fishes that live in swarms and follow the currents (Arist., etc.), see Strömberg 1943: 50f., Thompson 1947 s.v., also 'flow', with ρυαδικός, 'suffering flux, etc.' (medic.); 7. ρυδόν (ο 426), ρύδην (Crates, etc.) 'flooding, abounding'.

On ▶ ρυθμός, see s.v.; on ρύτρος, ρόα (ροία), ροῦς as plant names see ▶ ρόα.

•ETYM The thematic present ῥέω (< \*ῥέω; cf. ῥόφος, etc. above) agrees with Skt. *srávati* 'flow' < IE \**sréu-e-ti*. There are other exact morphological matches as well, but their age is uncertain because of the strong productivity of the relevant categories. Examples are: ῥόος = Skt. *srava-* [m.] 'flowing' (cf. OCS *o-strovъ*, Ru. *óstrov* 'island', from \*'surrounded by stream[s]'); ῥοή = Lith. *sravà* [f.] 'flowing, flow of blood, menstruation' (cf. Skt. *giri-sravā-* [f.] 'mountain brook'); ρύσις = Skt. *srutí-* [f.] 'way, street'; ρυτός = Skt. *srutá-* 'flowing' (cf. Lith. *srùtos* [f.pl.] (dial. -*tà* [sg.]) 'liquid manure, [animal] urine'); (ἐϋ-)ρρεής, related to Skt. (*madhu*)-*sravas-* [m.] 'dripping of honey', plant name (lex.). The neuter ρεῦμα (IE \**sreu-mn*) is mirrored by a corresponding masculine in Balto-Slavic, e.g. Lith. *sraumuō*, gen. -*meñs* 'rapid' (IE \**srou-mon-*). An *m*-suffix is also found in Germanic, e.g. ON *straumr* 'stream' (IE \**srou-mo-*), in Celtic, e.g. OIr. *sruaim* 'stream', and in Alb. *rrymë* 'stream' (Mann *Lang.* 28 (1952): 37).

Genetic connection between the Dor. aor. ἐ-ρρῦα and the Lith. pret. *pa-srùvo* 'flowed' < \**-āt* (Schwyzer: 743) seems unlikely. Also formally identical are the futures ῥέεσθαι (-σω) and Skt. *srosyati*. Apart from that, the Greek and Sanskrit, as well as the Baltic verbal systems go different ways. Cf. ▶ ῥώομαι.

**ρήγνυμι** [v.] 'to tear (up), break (to pieces), burst' (Il.). <IE \**ureh₂-* 'break'>

•VAR Fut. ῥήξω, aor. ῥήξαι (all Il.), perf. med. ἔρρηγ-μαι (θ 137), act. (intr.) ἔρρωγα (Archil., Hp., trag.), ptc. ἔρρηγεῖα (*Tab. Heracl.*), trans. ἔρρηγα (Hell.), aor. pass. ῥαγήναι (Il.), with fut. ῥαγήσομαι (A., etc.), ῥηχθῆναι (late); new pres. ῥήσσω, ῥήττω (Hp., Hell.; to ῥήξαι, ῥήξω).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-, περι-. As a first member in verbal governing compounds ῥηξ(ι)-, e.g. ῥηξ-ήνωρ epithet of Achilles, 'breaking the (rows of) men' (Hom.) with -ἡνωρίη (ξ 217), cf. Sommer 1948: 180; Jernstedt *Idg. Jb.* 14: 151 connects ῥήσσω 'to throw (down)'.

•DER A. With *e*-grade: 1. ῥήγμα (ἐκ-, σύν-) [n.] 'tore, cleft, breach' (IA) with ῥηγματίης, -τώδης (Hp.); 2. ῥηγμός 'id.' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>); 3. ῥηγμίν (-μῖς), -μῖνος [f.] 'breaking down of a cart, breaking of the sea' (Il., epic), a derivation in -ῖν-, cf. Chantraine 1933: 168, Schwyzer: 465; Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 40 assumed influence of ▶ θίς; 4. ῥήξις (also κατά-, περί-, etc.), Aeol. φρήξις [f.] 'breaking through, breach' (Alc., Hp., E., Arist.) with ῥηκτικός (κατα-) 'fragile, brittle' (Hp.,

Aët.); 5. ῥήκτης [m.] 'the disruptor', designation of a certain form of earthquake (Arist., Lyd.); 6. φρηγαλέον (cod. τρ-)· διερρωγόντα 'broken through' (H.); cf. below B 4; 7. αὔρηκτος = ἄ-φρηκτος 'unbroken' (Hdn. Gr.).

B. With *o*-grade: 1. ῥῶξ [f.] only ῥώγας [acc.pl.] (χ 143) 'tore' = 'narrow passage' (cf. Wace *JHS* 71 (1951): 203ff.), further in prefixed compounds, e.g. ἀπορρῶξ 'torn off', fem. 'torn-off piece, outflow' (Il., epic poet.); 2. διαρρωγή [f.] 'gap, interspace' (Hp.); ῥωγαί· ῥήξεις (H.); 3. ῥωγός, -άδος 'torn up, cleft' (Hell. poetry.); 4. ῥωγαλέος 'torn up, full of holes' (Hom.); 5. ῥωγμή [f.] 'breach, tore' (Hp., Arist.) with ῥωγματίης (Hp. *apud* Gal.; cf. A 1); ῥωχμός [m.] 'tore, cleft, gap' (Ψ 420, Hell.), containing a suffix -σμο- (Schwyzer: 493), -μαί [pl.] 'id.' (Marc. Sid.).

C. With zero grade: 1. ῥαγή (δια-), ῥαγός, ῥαγδην, ῥαγδαῖος (s.v. ▶ ῥαγή); 2. ῥάγος [n.] 'rag, shred' (pap. II<sup>p</sup>), ῥαγόεις (Nic.) after ▶ ῥάκος, -όεις; 3. περιρραγής 'broken all around' (AP), from περι-ρραγῆναι.

•ETYM The form ῥήγνυμι < \*ῥήγνυμι (cf. φρήξις, φρηγαλέος) corresponds semantically and phonologically with the primary stem in Arm. *ergic-anem*, aor. *ergic-i* with the usual caus. *ergic-uc'anem* 'to tear apart, break'. Phonetically adequate, but semantically less convincing, is the comparison (since Meillet *MSL* 9 (1896): 142) with a Balto-Slavic verb for 'to beat, etc.' in Lith. *rėžti* 'to cut, incise, beat', OCS *rězati* 'κόπτειν', Ru. *rézat'* 'to cut, slaughter', etc. It seems impossible to connect ▶ ῥάσσω in view of the different laryngeal. Forms with ῥαγ- must contain a secondary zero grade, since \**urh₂-* would give φρηγ-.

**ῥῆγος** = ῥέξω 2.

**ῥῆμα** •VAR ῥῆσις, ῥήτρα, etc. ⇒ εἶρω 2, ῥήτωρ.

\***ῥήν** [m.] 'sheep, lamb' (A. R.). <GR>

•VAR ῥῆνα [acc.] (Nic.), ῥήνεσι [dat.pl.] (A. R.).

•COMP As a second member, e.g. in πολύ-ρρην-ες [nom.pl.] (I 154 = 296), thematic extension in πολύ-ρρην-ο-ς [nom.sg.] (λ 257) 'rich in sheep'; ὑπό-ρρην-ο-ν [acc.sg.] (K 216) 'having a lamb underneath, suckling a lamb'. As a first member in ῥηνοφορέυς [m.] 'bearer of sheep fleece' (AP), see Boßhardt 1942: 29; extracted from there ῥηνικός 'from the sheep', ῥῆνιξ, -ικος [f.] 'sheep fleece' (Hp.).

•DER Several glosses in H.: ῥήνεα· πρόβατα 'cattle' (cf. κτήνεα); ῥάνα· ἄρνα 'lambs, sheep' (Elean?), ῥύεινα· ἄρνα. Κύπριοι (does it stand for φρην-?); probably also τρανόν (if for \*φρ-)· ἑξαμηνιαῖον πρόβατον 'six-month-old cattle' (but then the *a* remains unexplained). The island name Ῥήνεια (near Delos) may be related, too.

•ETYM The above forms differ only in ablaut from ▶ ἀρήν < φαρήν; as a basis, one would best assume a formation \**urh₂-ēn* > ἀρήν, zero grade \**urh₂-n-* > (-ρ)ῥην-. Lat. *rēnō* (mentioned by Frisk) should remain separate.

The forms ῥήνεσι and ῥῆνα (Hell. epic) may well have been built after πολύ-ρρην and other compounds, but this explanation does not seem to fit Hippocratic ῥηνικός and ῥῆνιξ, nor the glosses in Hesychius (cf. Sommer 1948: 66ff.; Ruijgh 1957: 161; Schwyzer: 568).

**ῥῆον** [n.] 'rhubarb' (Gal.).

•VAR Also *ῥᾱ* (Dsc.).

•ETYM The word would come from the river called Rha (i.e. the Wolga; Amm. Marcell. 22, 8, 28). Cf. André 1956 s.v. *rhā* and *reum*.

**ῥησός** = ἀρχός? (Epich. 205, cited by Phot., Suid.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**ῥήσσω** = ῥήγνυμι.

**ῥητίνη** [f.] 'resin, fir resin' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.), on the neuter gender cf. βούτυρον. <PG>

•COMP ῥητινόν-κηρον [n.] 'wax dissolved in resin' (medic.).

•DER ῥητιν-ώδης 'resinous', -ίτης οἶνος 'resinous wine' (Dsc.), denominative verbs -ίζω 'be resinous' (Dsc.), -όμαι 'to be made resinous' (Hp., Dsc.).

•ETYM The suffixes -ίτης and -ίνη are found both with inherited and with Pre-Greek words (Chantraine 1933: 204f., Schwyzer: 491). Since there are no good cognates, however, the word is probably Pre-Greek. The comparison with Lat. *rasis* [f.], a kind of raw pitch pulverized to dust that was mixed with wine (WH s.v., as a supposed loan word from \*ῥάσις), is uncertain. Lat. *rēsina* gives proof of a dialectal Greek by-form \*ῥησίνα (Leumann 1963-1979: 141); the variation attested by this form shows that it is a Pre-Greek word (cf. Fur.: 261).

**ῥήτωρ, -ορος** [m.] 'speaker, annunciator' (S., E.), especially 'orator in public, public speaker' (Att.), 'master speaker, discourse artist' (late). <IE \*uerh₂- 'speak'>

•COMP Some rare and late compounds, e.g. φιλο-ῥήτωρ 'who loves orators' (Phld.).

•DER ῥητορ-ίσκος denigratory diminutive (pap. IIP), -ικός 'oratorical, silver-tongued, rhetorical', ῥητορ-εὔω [v.] 'to act as an orator, practice the art of oratory', rarely with κατα-, ἐπι-, etc.; thence -εῖα [f.] 'oratory, artful discourse' (Att.). ῥητορ-ίζω 'id.' (Hell.). Further ῥητήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'speaker' (I 443), 'orator' (AP 7, 579, metrical inscr.), so metrically conditioned?

•ETYM As a term for a profession, ῥήτωρ was created in the Attic official language (Fraenkel 1912: 9); the original function as an agent noun from εἶρω 'speak' can still be seen in E. *Hec.* 124 (anap.) μύθων ῥήτορες, which mirrors Hom. μύθων ῥητῆρα (I 443); a doubtful attempt to find a semantic differentiation can be found in Benveniste 1948: 52ff.). See ► εἶρω 2.

**ῥήτανον** [n.] name of a plant (Gp. 12, 1, 1). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**ῥίγος** [n.] 'frost, cold, shivering fit' (ε 472). <IE \*sriHg-os 'cold'>

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ῥίγο-πύρετος [m.] (-ον [n.]) 'tertian fever, ague' (Gal., Ptol., etc.) for older πυρετός καὶ ῥίγος (Hp.), see Strömberg 1944: 85; ἀ-ῥριγής (-γέως [adv.]) 'not sensitive to cold' (Hp.); also ἄ-ρ(ρ)ίγος 'id.; not shivering' (Arist., Aret.); δύσ-ριγος 'to tolerate cold badly' (Hdt., Arist., Thphr.); both connected with ῥιγέω like e.g. δύσ-φορος with φορέω, φέρω.

•DER Denominative ῥιγώω, -ῶσαι [v.] 'to freeze' (ξ 481), rarely with ἐπι-, ἐν-, etc., formed after the antonym ἰδρώω (not from \*ῥιγωσ- as per e.g. Schwyzer: 724).

Further the perfect ἔρριγα 'freeze, congeal, shudder', aor. ῥιγῆσαι (Il., epic), fut. ῥιγῆσω (E 351), pres. ῥιγέω (Pi.); rarely with ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα-.

Primary comparative ῥίγιον 'colder, ghastlier, more terrible' (Hom., Hes., Semon.), superlative ῥίγιστα (E 873), -ος, -ον (A. R., Nic.).

Further adjectives: 1. ῥιγεδανός 'ghastly, terrible' (T 325, A. R., Opp.), to ῥίγος after an unknown example, or from \*ῥιγεδών (Chantraine 1933: 362)? 2. ῥιγαλέος 'id.' (Emp.); to ῥίγος like ἀργαλέος to ἄλγος; 3. ῥιγηλός (κατα-) 'id.' (ξ 226, Hes. Sc., Nic., Nonn. Ap), from ἔριγα, ῥιγέω; 4. ῥιγώδης 'causing a shivering fit' (Hp., Gal.), from ῥίγος; 5. Πίγιμος [m.] name of a Thracian (Y 485); to ῥίγος like θερμός to θέρος?

•ETYM The proportion ἔρριγα : ῥίγος is matched by γέγηθα : γῆθος, λέληθα : Dor. λαθος, or (ablauting) γέγονα : γένος, etc. The pair ῥίγιον : ῥίγος has a parallel in ἄλγιον : ἄλγος, κέρδιον : κέρδος (Schwyzer: 539).

The form ῥίγος corresponds exactly to Lat. *frīgus* [n.] 'cold, frost, shivering', from IE \*sriHg-os [n.]. The form ῥιγέω in turn is identical to Lat. *frigeō*, but this identity may be due to parallel innovations.

**ρίζα** [f.] 'root', also metaphorically 'origin, stem, base' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aeol. βρίζα, βρίσδα.

•DIAL Myc. *wi-ri-za* /wrizal/.

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. ριζο-τόμος [m.] 'root-cutter, -gatherer, herbalist', πολύ-ρριζος 'having many roots, rich in roots' (Hp., Thphr.).

•DER 1. ρίζιον [n.] 'little root' (Ar., Thphr.), plur. -έα (Nic., -εῖα Al. 265), probably after ὀστέα beside (Dor.) ὀστιά; 2. ρίζιας (ὀπός) [m.] 'root juice' (Thphr.), opposed to καυλίας; 3. adjectives ρίζ-ώδης 'root-like' (Thphr., Hero), -ικός 'belonging to roots' (Plu.), -ινος 'made of roots' (PHolm.), -αῖος 'serving as a base' (Sardes); 4. adverbs ρίζ-ηθεν (A. R.), -όθεν (Nic., Luc.) 'out of the root'; -ηδόν 'in a root-like way' (Hld.); 5. verb ριζομαίω (ἐρριζωται), -ώω (-ῶσαι) 'to strike root, root, provide with roots, affirm, consolidate' (Od.), also with ἐν-, ἐκ-, κατα-, etc., whence ρίζ-ωμα [n.] 'original soil, origin, roots' (A., Emp., Thphr.), -ωσις [f.] 'striking root' (Philol., Thphr., etc.). On ρίζα, compounds and derivatives, cf. Strömberg 1937: 5, 8ff.

•ETYM Aeol. βρίζα requires a pre-form PGr. \*ῥριδ-ια, which differs in vocalism from Lat. *rādix*; in both cases we have a derivative in \*-ih₂- of a noun that is also found in Germanic and Celtic: ON *rót* [f.] 'root' from PGm. \**wrōt*- < PIE \**ureh₂d*-. An *i*-stem is found in Go. *waurts*, OE *wyrt*, OHG and MHG *wurz* 'herb, root' < PGm. \**wurt-i*- < \**ur̥d*-(*i*)-, with zero grade, and in Celtic, e.g. W *gwraid*d [coll.] 'roots' < \**wradi*- (see Matasović 2009 s.v. \**wridā*-). Since the vocalisms are not reconcilable, we have to reckon with borrowings in case most of these words are considered related. The attempt at a regular solution (schwa secundum) by Vine 1999a: 5-30 does not solve all problems. ToB *witsako* 'root' is difficult to explain (Adams 1999 s.v.). See ► ῥάδαμνος and ► ῥάδιξ.

**ῥικνός** [adj.] 'bent, crooked, shrivelled (of age, dryness, cold), stiff' (epic poet. since *h.Ap.*); ῥικνοφυεῖς τὰς στρεβλὰς καὶ πεπεσμένους 'which are crooked and pressed' (H.). <IE \*uroik- 'turn, envelop, make crooked'>

•COMP ἐπί-ρρικνος 'somewhat bent' (X., Poll.).

•DER ρικν-ήεις 'id.', enlarged form (Nic.); -ότης = καμπυλότης 'crookedness' (H.); -ώδης 'shrivelled' (Hp., AP); ρικνόομαι [v.] 'to shrivel, contract, contort' (S., Arist., Opp.), rarely with κατα-, δια-, whence ρικνωσις [f.] 'shrivelling, wrinkledness' (Hp.). Further ροικός 'crooked, bow-legged' (Archil., Hp., Arist.) and ρικάζεται (H.) as an explanation (beside στροβεῖται) of ριζικάζεται.

•ETYM The pair ρικ-νός : ροικ-ός can be compared with e.g. πικ-ρός : ποικ-ίλος. The form ροικός matches Lith. *rāišas* (also *raišas*) 'limping, lame' (for the semantic difference, cf. κυλλός 'crooked, crippled'), Germanic words like ME *wrāh* 'wrong, stubborn', NDu. *wreeg* 'stiff', and (as far as the form is concerned) also Av. *uruuaēsa-* [m.] 'vortex, etc.'; all these words reflect IE *\*uroiko-* [m.] 'turn, curvature' vel sim., [adj.] 'twisted, crooked'. An *e*-grade variant *\*ureiko-* is attested in MLG *wrih* 'forbidden, distorted, fixed, stiff, etc.'

Corresponding primary verbs are the zero grade *yod*-present in Av. *uruuisiia-* 'to turn (around)'; a full grade root-present in OE *wrēon* < PGm. *\*wrihan* < IE *\*ureik-* with pret. *wrāh* < PGm. *\*wriah* < IE *\*uroik-* 'to envelop' (for the meaning, cf. ► εἰλύω and ► εἰλέω 2), and a zero grade root present in Lith. *rišti*, 1sg. *rišū* 'to bind'. Within Greek, the hapax legomenon ρικάζεται (H.) is a denominative or deverbative; the form ριζικάζεται, if transmitted correctly, must be an expressive enlargement (cf. Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 370).

ρίμβαι ⇒ σῖδη.

ρίμφα [adv.] 'rapid, agile, nimble' (Il., epic). <?>

•COMP ριμφ-άρματος 'with a quick cart' (Pi., S. [lyr.]).

•DER ριμφ-αλέος (EM, Suid., Hdn. Gr.), cf. ὀτραλέος.

•ETYM The word ρίμφα is formed like τάχα, ὤκα, etc., but the root is unclear. Since a sequence -ιμφ- cannot have been inherited, the ι has been analyzed as from ε before nasal (see Schwyzler: 275). PGr. *\*wrenk<sup>wh</sup>a* (vel sim.) has been connected with Lith. *rangūs* 'dexterous, flexible', *rangiūos*, *rāngtis* 'to hasten', *rengiūos*, *reñgtis* 'to prepare oneself, be prepared', under a reconstruction PIE *\*ureng<sup>wh</sup>-*. It must be said that the connection between Baltic and the Germanic group of OE *wringan* 'to wind, wring', OHG *ringen* 'to make an effort, fight' (thus e.g. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*ureng<sup>h</sup>-*) is much more attractive. In sum, although there are parallels for ε > ι, the proposal is quite shaky.

ρίνεστήρ [m.] probably 'halter' (P. Tebt. 886, 68 [II<sup>a</sup>]). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

ρίνη [f.] 'file, rasp' (X., Arist., Delos III<sup>a</sup>), acc. to Hdn. Gr. in the same meaning ρινή, also 'shark', the rough skin of which was used to polish wood and marble (Hp., Epich., com., Arist.). <?>

•VAR Hell. ρίνα Moer.

•COMP As a first member in ρινό-βατος, -βάτης [m.] designation of a kind of ray, which stands between ρίνη and βάτος (Arist.), see Strömberg 1943: 123 with references, Thompson 1947 s.v.

•DER 1. Diminutive ριν-ίον (Gal.), -άριον (Aët.) 'little file'; 2. denominatives: a) ρινάω [v.] 'to file' (Ar., Arist., Ph. *Bel.*), also with κατα-, δια-, etc., whence (ἀπο-)ρίνημα

[n.] 'filing, swarf' (Hp., Herod.), (δια-)ρίνησις [f.] 'filing' (Gal.); b) ρινίζω [v.] 'id.' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>), whence ρίνισμα [n.] 'swarf' (Ctes., medic.).

•ETYM The meaning 'file' is original, and 'shark' is derived from it (see above); Strömberg 1943: 86. ρινός 'skin' especially denotes a fine, soft cowhide.

Frisk saw a primary formation with a suffix -v- in ρίνη from a verb that is not directly attested in Greek, but only in the derived Germanic verb evidenced by OS *writan* 'to tear apart, scratch, write', OE *writan* 'to dig in, scratch, write'. This root etymology must be rejected, since the Greek form requires *\*uriH-*, whereas for the Germanic words, *\*urei-* without laryngeal must be reconstructed (see on ► ρινός).

ρίνός [f.] 'skin of man and animal, hide; (esp.) cow skin, cow hide; shield made of cow hide' (epic Il.; cf. Leumann 1950: 314f.). <PG?>

•VAR Rarely [m.] (Nic., Opp.) and -όν [n.] (after δέρμα, σκύτος). The feminine gender is analogical after βοείη, αἰγέη, etc. The gloss γρίνος· δέρμα (H.) attests a f-.

•DIAL Myc. *wi-ri-no* /wriños/, adj. *wi-ri-ne-jo*.

•COMP E.g. ρίνο-τόρος 'shield-piercing', epithet of Ares (Φ 392, etc.), of the θύρσοις (Nonn.); ταλαύρινος (= ταλά-φρινος) 'shield-bearing' (possibly 'shield-enduring', referring to the weight, as argued by Richardson *Hermathena* 55 (1940): 87ff.); usually an attribute of πολεμιστής, epithet of Ares (Il.); on this expression see Leumann 1950: 196 ff.; Trümper 1950: 38 with Nachträge.

•DER γρίντης (= φρίντης)· βυρσεύς 'tanner' (H.), formation probably after primary ξάντης, ὕφάντης, etc.

•ETYM The Aeol. gloss γρίνος· δέρμα (γρίνός Hdn. Gr.) confirms the initial f-, which is also evidenced by ταλαύρινος, so we can safely posit *\*fρίνός*. Frisk connected the same Germanic verb as he did for ► ρίνη, but the Germanic *-i-* must derive from PIE *\*ei-* in view of Go. *writs* with a short *i*; this is impossible for the Greek form. Moreover, the parallel that he adduces for the difference in meaning, δέρμα ~ δέρω, is imperfect, since the latter means 'to flay', whereas *\*urei-(d-)* rather means 'to scratch'. Therefore, his etymology must be rejected. Instead, the word would be Pre-Greek.

ρίον [n.] 'mountain peak, foothills' (Hom.); also as a TN in Achaia and other regions (Th.). <PG?>

•DIAL Myc. *ri-jo* TN.

•ETYM The form ρίον is isolated within Greek, and has no certain etymology. If it originally had an initial f-, it would recall Thrac. βρία 'πόλις, τεῖχος', and perhaps also ToA *ri*, ToB *riye* 'town' (see the literature on βρία). The connections with Germanic are no better, e.g. OS *wrisil* 'giant' (WP 1, 267), nor those with Skt. *várṣman-* [n.] 'height', Lat. *verrūca*, OCS *vrъxъ*, Ru. *verx*, etc., or with Hitt. *šer* 'above' (Heubeck *Orbis* 13 (1964): 266f.; Risch *Mus. Helv.* 22 (1965): 194<sup>4</sup>). As an alternative to all these problematic suggestions, we should consider the possibility that the word is of Pre-Greek origin.

ρίπος 'wickerwork'. ⇒ ρίψ.

ρίπτω [v.] 'to throw, hurl, thrust, bolt' (Pi., IA). <PG?>

•VAR Also ῥιπτέω (IA since v 78), iterative pret. ῥίπτασκον (Hom., Hes. Sc., -εσκον Nic. Fr.), fut. ῥίψω, aor. ῥίψαι (Il.), pass. ῥιφθῆναι, ῥίφῃναι (Att.) with fut. ῥιφθήσομαι (S.), -ήσομαι (LXX), perf. med. ἔρριμμαι (Orac. apud Hdt., E., Ar.), ῥερίφθαι (Pi.), see Schwyzler: 649; act. ἔρριφα (Lys.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἀνα-, ἐν-, δια-. As a first member e.g. in ῥίψασπις, -ιδος 'throwing the shield away, coward' (Ar., Pl.), -άσπιδος 'id.' (Eup.); cf. Sommer 1948: 93.

•DER 1. ῥίπή [f.] 'throw, thrust, gust of wind, sway, press, heavy movement' (epic Il.) with ῥιπίζω (δια-, ἐκ-, etc.) [v.] 'to cause a gust of wind, kindle, fan' (Hp., Ar., Arist.), 'to hurl' (Hld.); ῥίπι-σις, -ισμός, -ισμια 'fanning' (late); back-formed from ῥιπή; ῥιπίς, -ίδος [f.] 'fanner' (com., AP); on εὔ-ῥιπος s.v.;

2. ῥίψις (διά-, ἀπό-, etc.) [f.] 'throwing, hurling' (Hp., Att., Arist.) with (ἀπο-)ῥίψιμος 'to be thrown away' (late); also φριψίδας (Mantinea), cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 5 (1914): 265; 3. (δια-)ῥίψματα [n.pl.] 'heavy movements, bolts' (Arion, X.); 4. ῥίφή (δια-, ἀπο-) [f.] 'cast, throwing back and forth' (Pratin. Lyr., Lyc.; after ῥίφῃναι); 5. ῥιπτός 'cast, thrown' (S. Tr.), μητρό-ῥιπτός (Dosiad.); 6. ῥιπτικός 'capable of throwing' (comm. Arist.); 7. frequentative ῥιπτάζω, -άσαι [v.] 'to thrust back and forth' (epic Ξ 257), with -ασμός (Hp., Plu.), -αστικός (M. Ant.).

•ETYM The regular character of the morphological system, which is completely built on an element φριπ- (secondarily shortened to φριπ-), shows that it is a (relatively) late creation. The root has no convincing etymology. Although MLG *wriwen* 'to rub, wipe, scour, draw', MHG *riben* 'to turn rubbing' matches formally (Pok. 1159), the semantic gap is considerable; moreover, the IE preform *\*ur-iH-p-* then needed is highly implausible. Instead, we could consider Pre-Greek origin for this etymon. See also ► ῥίψ.

**ρίς, ῥινός** [f.] 'nose', of man and animal, plur. ῥίνες 'nostrils, nose' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Late also ῥίν.

•COMP ῥιν-ηλατέω 'to seek out with the nose, trace' (A.), cf. on ► ἐλαύνω; εὔ-ρις, -ρινος 'having a good nose, examining keenly' (A., S.), also εὔ-ρινος 'id.' (late); the second member is extensively dealt with in Sommer 1948: 87ff.

•DER ῥινία [pl.] 'nostrils' (Arist.), ῥινάω [v.] 'to lead by the nose' (com.).

•ETYM The word ρίς replaced the old IE designation of the nose (e.g. Lat. *nārēs*, *nāsus*, Skt. *nas-*). It is formed like ῖς and θίς (cf. Schwyzler: 570<sup>2</sup>), but has no certain etymology. The proposal by Meier-Brügger MSS 51 (1990): 125-128 to reconstruct *\*sr-ih<sub>2</sub>-n-*, a derivative of the root for 'top, point' seen in Hitt. *šer* 'above', is interesting, but not compelling either. The word may well be Pre-Greek.

**ρίσκος** [m.] 'chest, box' to preserve adornment and money (Antiph., Hell.). <PG?>

•COMP ῥισκο-φύλαξ, -άκιον 'treasurer; treasure room' (Hell.).

•ETYM Probably a loan word, like MoE *chest*, *coffer* and other synonyms. According to Donatus (on Ter. *Eun.* 754), it is of Phrygian origin, a path followed by Thumb 1901, who considers Celtic to be the ultimate source (cf. OIr. *riusc* '[basket made of] bark'); the word would have reached Greek from Galatian through Phrygian because

of the change *u > i*. The word was borrowed as Lat. *riscus* (note the synonymous rhyming word *fiscus*, of debated origin).

**ρίψ, ῥίπος** [f.] 'willow rod, wickerwork, wattled mat, wattle' (Od., Hdt., Ar.). <?>

•VAR Later also [m.], also ῥίπος [f.] (v.l. Hdt. 2, 96, Cyrene IV<sup>a</sup>), [m.] (Hell.).

•ETYM No agreement outside Greek. It was connected with ῥίπτω long ago (Persson 1891: 165), assuming a basic meaning 'turn, wind' for both. However, this connection fails due to the weak semantics; cf. also ► ῥίπτω.

**ρόα** [f.] 'pomegranate', tree and fruit (Od.). <PG?>

•VAR Accented ροά by Hdn. Gr.; epic Ion. ροιή; also ροιά (Ar., Arist., etc.).

•DER ροϊδιον [n.] 'little pomegranate' (Men., pap. II<sup>p</sup>), ροϊδια (cod. ρυδία) ροὰ ἢ ροιά (H.); ροιάς, -άδος [f.] 'poppy' (Dsc.), after the flowers, see Strömberg 1940: 52; ροών, -ῶνος [m.] 'pomegranate plantation' (LXX).

•ETYM The series ροιή : ροιά : ροά can be compared with χροιή: -οιά : -όα. If not a loan word (Schwyzler: 348 and 469), it is perhaps related to ῥέω (Strömberg 1940: 52) because of the richness of the juice. The original form may have been *\*ροφ-ιά*, i.e. a *iā*-derivation from ροῦς 'stream'; cf. σκοπ-ιά (: σκοπός), ἔσχατ-ιά (: ἔσχατος), etc. Cf. further the plant names ► ροῦς [m.] 'sumach' and ► ῥύτρος; they are certainly not related to ῥέω (Strömberg l.c.). Apart from a connection with ῥέω, a Pre-Greek origin remains a serious option for ροά.

**ρόβιλλος** [?] · βασιλίσκος ὄρνις (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM According to Specht KZ 68 (1943): 35 and Specht 1944: 146, related to Pol. *wróbel* 'sparrow'. On -ιλ(λ)ος in bird names, cf. Chantraine 1933: 249; cf. also Thompson 1895 s.v. Is the word instead Pre-Greek?

**ρογός** [m.] = σιτοβόλιον, i.e. 'depot of cereals' (Tab. Heracl. 1, 102, Epich.). <?>

•ETYM Attributed to the Sicilians by Poll. 9, 45. Etymology unknown.

**ροδάνη, ροδανός** ⇒ ραδινός.

**ρόδον** [n.] 'rose' (h. Cer.). <LW Iran.?>

•VAR Aeol. βρόδον.

•DIAL Myc. *wo-do-we* /wordo-wen/, epithet of oil (Chadwick and Baumbach *Glotta* 41 (1963): 243; Lejeune 1958-1963: 26).

•COMP E.g. ροδο-δάκτυλος 'rosy-fingered', epithet of Ἥως (Hom.), βροδο-δάκτυλος of the moon (Sapph.), cf. Leumann 1950: 18<sup>9</sup>; κυνό-ροδον [n.] 'dog rose, Rosa canina' (Thphr.), see Strömberg 1940: 30 and 98.

•DER 1. ροδ-έα, -έη, -ῆ [f.] 'rose tree' (Archil.); 2. -(ε)ών, -(ε)ῶνος [m.] 'bed of roses' (AP, pap.) with -ωνία [f.] 'bed of roses, rose garden, rose tree' (Hecat.); 3. -ιη [f.] 'bed of roses' (Mycal IV<sup>a</sup>); 4. -όεις 'of roses' (Ψ 186, B., E. [lyr.]), -εος 'id, roselike' (poet. h. Cer.), -ινος 'of roses' (Anacr.); on the adjectives see S. Schmid 1950: 47<sup>1</sup>, Zumbach 1955: 14, and Fordeier *Gnomon* 30 (1958): 96; 5. -άριον [n.] 'rose ornament' (pap.), -ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'rose pastille' (Dsc.); 6. -ίτης [m.] 'rose wine' (Dsc.), -ίτις [f.] name of a stone, because of the color (Plin.); 7. -ουντία [f.] 'dish flavoured with roses' (Ath.), as if from *\*ροδοῦς*; 8. -ίζω [v.] 'to cover with roses', of a tomb, with -ισμός, -ίσια [pl.] =



Lat. *Rosalia* (Asia Minor), also 'to make smell like roses' (Thphr., Alex. Aphr.), intr. 'to resemble a rose' (Dsc.); 9. Perhaps also the name of the island Ρόδος (Georgacas *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 6 (1955): 155)?

•ETYM On the basis of Aeol. βρόδον, we can reconstruct PGr. φρόδον. The word is certainly borrowed from the East, probably like Arm. *vard* 'rose' from OIran. \**urda-* (cf. MoP *gul* 'id.'; Schwyzler: 344; on Aram. *wardā* and Arab. *ward* 'id.', Arab. *warada* 'bloom', *waruda* 'be red', cf. Mayrhofer *Arch. Orbis* 18 (1950): 74; Mayrhofer *Sprache* 7 (1961): 185). Lat. *rosa* was probably borrowed from Greek, but the details are unclear (see WH s.v.).

**ρόθος** [m.] 'roar (of waves, of oars)', metaphorically 'noise' in general (Hes., A. Opp.); 'path, trail' (Nic.; Boeot. acc. to Plu. in Hes. 13). <PG(V)>

•VAR See below.

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. ἀλί-ρροθος 'roared around by the sea' (trag., Mosch.), ταχύ-ρροθοι λόγοι 'quickly rushing words' (A.); παλι-ρρόθιος 'rushing back' (Od., Hell. epic). On ▶ἐπίρροθος, see s.v.

•DER **ρόθιος**, [f.] -ιάς 'roaring, clamorous' (epic ε 412, also late prose), mostly -ιον [n.sg.] and -ια [n.pl.] 'roaring wave(s), breaking(s), high-tide; loud stroke of the oar', metaphorically 'noise, bluster, rush' (poet. Pi., trag. [mostly lyr.], also late prose). From **ρόθος** are derived (probably denominative, cf. Schwyzler: 726) **ροθέω** [v.] 'to roar, clamour' (A., S.), also with ἐπι-, δια-; ὁμο-, κακο-ρροθέω = ὁμο-, κακο-λογέω (Hp., S., E., Ar.); from **ρόθιον**: **ροθι-άζω** [v.] 'to make a rushing sound (with the oar)' (com.).

•ETYM This etymon has no convincing etymology. Segmentation as \**sr-edh-* (to *ser-* 'stream') makes little sense. In view of the variation attested in the gloss **ράθαγος** = **ρόθος** (sch. Nic. Th. 194, H.) and **ράθα-** = **ροθο-πυγίζω**, we have to assume that **ρόθος** is a Pre-Greek word. On ▶**ράθαγος**, see ▶**ράθαπυγίζω**.

**ροῖβδος** [m.] 'buzzing, whistling, hissing noise', of arrows, winds (S., Ar.). <PG>

•DER Besides **ροιβδέω** [v.] 'to buzz (etc.); make buzz' (A., Q. S., AP), also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-; prefixed also of birds, 'to squawk, caw' (S., Thphr., Nonn.); **ροιβδημα** [n.] = **ροῖβδος** (S.), -ησις [f.] 'whistling' (E. [lyr.]); -ηδόν 'with a hissing noise' (Q. S.), also connected with **ροῖβδος**; **ἐπιρροῖβδην** < -βδ-δην 'in a rushing attack' (E. [troch.]).

•ETYM The word **ροῖβδος**, a poetic onomatopoeia, has the same suffix as **κέλαδος**, **ἄραδος**, and other words for sounds; for the -β-, one may compare **φλοῖσβος**, **ὄτοβος**, etc. (on the root, cf. Haas 1956: 132 f.). Since the word strongly recalls ▶**ροῖζος** and ▶**ρυβδέω** and, moreover, the -βδ- in the suffix is certainly not of Indo-European origin, the word is probably Pre-Greek.

**ροῖζος** [m.] 'buzzing, rushing, humming', of arrows, wings, water, etc. (epic Π 361, Hell.). <PG>

•VAR [f.] in ι 315; cf. Schwyzler 1950: 34<sup>1</sup>.

•COMP As a second member in ἀλί-ρροῖζος 'roared around by the sea' (Nonn.).

•DER 1. Adjective **ροῖζ-ώδης** (medic.), -ήεις (Hell. inscr., Nonn.), -αῖος (Orac. Chald.) 'buzzing, rushing, humming, etc.'; 2. adverb -ηδόν (Nic., Lyc., 2. Ep. Pet.), -ηδά (Nic.) 'with rushing, with humming'; 3. **ροῖζέω** [v.] 'to buzz, hum, hiss, rush; make

buzz, etc.' (epic K 502, Hell.), also with ἐπι-, ἀνα-, etc.; thence **ροῖζ-ημα** [n.] (Ar.), -ησις [f.] (Aq.) 'buzz, buzzing', -ήτωρ [m.] 'noisemaker' (Orph.).

•ETYM An onomatopoeic word, similar to ▶**ροῖβδος**, and likewise without etymology. If related to **ροῖβδος**, **ροῖζος** is certainly of Pre-Greek origin, but even if unrelated, such an origin may still be considered.

**ροικός** = **ρίκνός**.

**ρόμβος** = **ρέμβομαι**.

**ρόμος** [?] · σκώληξ ἐν ξύλοις (Arc. apud H.). <?>

•VAR Cod. -οξ, which probably intruded from the following entry.

•ETYM Frisk tried to connect the Indo-European word for worm; cf. Lat. *vermis*, Go. *waurms* 'worm', ORu. *vermie* 'locust, worms' (all < PIE \**urm-*), Lith. *varmas* 'gnat' < PIE \**uorm-* (Pok. 1152). However, this is based on difficult assumptions: either **ρόμος** is a dialectal form for \***ράμος**, which would reflect PGr. \**warmo-* (allegedly seen in the Boeot. PN **φάρμιχος**), or a non-dialectal form \***φρόμος** has a wrong *o*-grade for IE \**uorm-*.

**ρόμιξα** [?] · εἶδος ἀκοντίου (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM The ending -ιξα is compared with **σόρνιξα** by Fur.: 360; the word may be Pre-Greek.

**ρομφαία** [f.] a large broad sword, used by the Thracians acc. to Phylarch. and Plu. *Aem.* 18 (LXX, NT, J., etc.); also = 'νυκτερίς, bat' (Cyran.). <?>

•ETYM The origin is unclear; as so many weapon terms, it was perhaps borrowed from Thracian. However, the formation may be Greek, as -αία is also found in **κεραία**, **καμιναία**, **αὐλαία**, and other instrument names and concrete objects. The word **ρομφεῖς** **ἱμάντες**, οἷς **ράπτεται** τὰ **ὑποδήματα** 'straps by which shoes are stitched' (H.) is formally closer.

Boßhardt 1942: §228 posits a noun \***ρομφή** [f.] 'curving, curvature, hook', from a verb \***ρέμφω** 'curve', as the basis for both **ρομφεῖς** and **ρομφαία**. Cf. **ρέμφος** and ▶**ράμιφος**; see also WH on *rumpus*.

**ρομφεῖς** = **ρομφαία**.

**ρόπαλον**, **ρόπή**, **ρόπτρον** = **ρέπω**.

**ροῦς** [m., f.] 'sumach, Rhus coriaria' (Dsc.). <?>

•ETYM Etymology unknown; the connection with **ρέω** is wrong (André *Latomus* 15 (1956): 304ff.).

**ρούσ(σ)εος**, **ρούσιος** [adj.] 'reddish', especially as a designation of the red faction in the Circus (Lyd., late inscr.); also οἱ **ρουσᾶτοι** (Lyd.). <LW Lat.>

•DER **ρουσίζω** [v.] 'to be reddish' (Gp.).

•ETYM Borrowed from Lat. *russeus*, *russātus*.

**ροφέω** [v.] 'to slurp, gulp', also nasalized **ρυμφάνω** (Hp.), see Bechtel 1921(3): 198. <IE \**s(e)rbh-* 'slurp'.>



•VAR Fut. ροφήσομαι, -ω, aor. ροφήσαι (Ar., X., Arist.; also Hp.), Ion. (Hippon., Hp.) ρυφέω, -ῆσαι, also ρυμφάνω (Jouanna *RPh.* 55 (1981): 205-13); rarely -άω (late).

•COMP Also with ἐκ-, ἀνα-, κατα-, etc.

•DER ρόφ-ημα (ρύφ-) [n.] 'thick broth, soup' (Hp., Arist.), originally a 'slurped meal', with -ημάτιον (A. D.), -ηματώδης 'soup-like' (medic.); -ησις (ἀνα-, κατα-) [f.] 'slurping' (Arist., medic.), -ητός 'apt for slurping' (Str., medic.), -ητικός 'slurping' (Str.); also ρόμμα = ρόφημα, ροπτός = ροφητός (Hp. *apud* Gal.), as if from ρόφω (EM); ρόφισμα [n.] (Cyrano.).

•ETYM The word ροφέω is an iterative-intensive formation. Most cognates represent a zero grade IE *\*srbʰ-*: Arm. *arbi* [aor.] 'I drank', Lith. *surbti*, 1sg. *surbiù* 'to suck', OCS *srēbati*, Ru. *serbat'* 'to slurp', Lat. *sorbēd* 'id.'. However, instead of being a zero grade form, ρυφέω is rather an (onomatopoeic) by-form (see Tichy 1983: 84, pace Schwyzler: 351f.). A primary full grade present is retained in Lith. *srebiù*, *srēbti* 'to eat (liquid food) with a spoon' < IE *\*srebʰ-*, another full grade IE *\*sorbʰ-* is found in Alb. *gjepr* 'slurp' (probably < *\*sorbʰ-eie/o-*, Huld 1984: 143). The forms ρόμμα and ροπτός seem to go back to a primary verb with remarkable *o*-vocalism, probably after ροφέω.

Perhaps the root is also found in Iranian (Psht. *rawdāl* 'suck', etc.; Morgenstierne 1927 s.v.). Cf. ► ρυβδέω.

ροχθέω [v.] 'to rush, roar', especially of sea-waves (Od., A. R., Opp.), also ἀνα- (Orph.). <ONOM>

•DER ρόχθος [m.] 'rushing, roaring' (Lyc., Nic.), probably a back-formation (Schwyzler: 726').

•ETYM Sound words without etymology. Note the formal similarity with semantically close ρόθος, ροῖζος, ροῖβδος; the medial -χθ- may be compared with μόχθος, βρόχος, ὀχθέω, etc. Cf. on ► ὀρεχθέω.

ρύαξ, ρυάχετος ⇒ ρέω.

ρυβδέω [v.] 'to slurp in, up'; καταρυβδήσας καταπών, ροφήσας 'having swallowed, having gulped down' (H.). <GR?>

•VAR Aor. ρυβδῆσαι (μ 106), the simplex only here.

•COMP With ἀνα- (μ 104f., 236), ἐκ- (Mnesim. 4, 17).

•ETYM The variant with υ, more frequently written οι in the manuscripts (after ροιβδέω), is confirmed by the word-play with Χάρυβδις (Bechtel 1914 s.v. ροιβδέω, Wackernagel 1916: 83). The word is without doubt related to ρυφέω (see ► ροφέω); the cluster βδ may be analogical after ροιβδέω. An adverb ρύβδην (written οι) = δαυιλῶς is cited by Phot. (accordingly, Bergk corrects Hippon. 35 ρύδην to ρύβδην, which is hardly correct; see Masson ad loc.).

ρυβόν [n.] = τὸ ἐπικαμπές παρὰ τοῖς Αἰολεῦσιν (Hdn. Gr., EM). <PG?>

•VAR Ρυβάς (II<sup>a</sup>), see Bechtel 1917a: 43.

•ETYM The form ρυβόν might have been adapted analogically from ραιβός after a word that is semantically close, perhaps ὑβός or γρυπός (Bechtel 1921, 1: 125). Alternatively, it may be a Pre-Greek word.

ρύγχος [n.] 'snout of a pig, snout, beak' (Stesich., com., Arist., Theoc.). <ONOM, IE *\*srungʰ-* 'snore'>

•COMP Often as a second member (with transition to the *o*-stems), e.g. ὀξύ-ρρυγχος 'with a pointed beak' (Epich.), name of an Egyptian fish (Str., etc.), see Strömberg 1943: 43.

•DER ρυγγ-ίον [n.], diminutive (Ar.), -αῖνα = *nasuta* (gloss.), -άζω = μυκτηρίζω (Phot.), -ιάζειν· διαστρέφειν, ρογγάζειν 'twist about' (H.).

•ETYM The word ρύγχος can hardly be separated from Arm. *ṙng-un-k'* [pl.] 'nostrils, nose' which, if inherited, must go back to IE *\*srungʰ-* or *\*sringʰ-* (with secondary nasalization). Hübschmann 1897: 486f. assumed borrowing from ρύγχος. A connection with ῥέγκω, ► ῥέγκω 'to snore' has been considered.

ρύζα· βία· ἡ τοῦ τόξου τάξις 'strength, force; the arrangement of a bow' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

ρύζω [v.] 'to growl, grumble', of a dog (Hermipp., Poll.), also 'to scream', of a falcon (Poll.). <ONOM>

•VAR Or -έω.

•ETYM A sound word, like ► ῥάζω; for the υ-vocalism, cf. λύζω, γρύζω, μύζω, etc.

ρυθμός [m.] 'regular movement, beat, rhythm, measure, consistence, proportion, form' (IA, Archil., Thgn., A.), defined as ἡ τῆς κινήσεως τάξις by Pl. *Lg.* 665a. <IE *\*sreu-* 'stream', *\*sru-dʰmo-*>

•VAR Ion. ρυσμός.

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. εὖ-ρυθμος 'with a beautifully regular movement, rhythmical, well-proportioned', with -ία [f.] (Att.).

•DER ρυθμ-ικός [adj.] 'rhythmic' (Pl.), see Chantraine 1956a: 135; -ιος 'id.' (Hdn. Gr.); -ίζω [v.] 'to make regular, organize, set up, instruct, form' (IA), also with prefix, esp. μετα-; -έω 'to organize, determine' (Athens V<sup>a</sup>), -όμοιαι 'to develop' (Democr. 197 [-σμ-]; -όω uncertain ibd. 33).

•ETYM The short υ̇ (e.g. A. *Ch.* 797) forbids connection with ἔρυμαι, ῥύομαι 'to avert, protect' and ῥυτήρ 'protector, guardian', with or ἐρύω 'to draw' and ῥυτήρ 'rein'. Instead, the connection with ῥέω 'flow, stream' must be correct, 'streaming' typically being a quiet and steady movement. For the meaning of ρυθμός, cf. Wolf 1947, Leemans *Ant.class.* 17 (1948): 403ff., and Waltz *RELat.* 26 (1948): 109ff.; cf. also Sandoz 1971: 58-77.

ρύκάνη [f.] 'plane' (AP 6, 204). <PG?>

•DER ρυκάν-ησις [f.] 'planing' (Bito III-II<sup>a</sup>, ρυχ-), from *\*ρυκαν-άω*; ρυκαν-ίζω [v.] 'to plane' (gloss.).

•ETYM The word ρύκάνη has the same formation as σκαπάνη, δρεπάνη, and other instrument names, but the root is unknown. Wackernagel's suggestion (Wackernagel *KZ* 67 (1942): 176) to connect Skt. *srúc-* 'offering spoon' fails to account for the meaning. Lat. *runcina* 'plane' (with -*n-* after *runcāre* 'to weed', or perhaps with distant assimilation) is certainly borrowed from Greek: since ρυκάνη

has no initial vowel, a genetic relation with the Lat. word can be excluded. A Pre-Greek origin is certainly a possibility for this word.

**ρύμα 1** [n.] 'tow, towing rope' (Plb., D. H.).

•DER **ρύμι** 'pull, press', **ρύμιος** 'tension wood, pole of a chariot', **ρύσιον** 'spoils', **ρύστώ** 'to drag to and fro', **ρύτήρ** 'rein', etc. ⇒ **έρύω**.

**ρύμα 2** [n.] 'protection'.

•DER **ρύσιος** 'freeing, saving', **ρύσι-πολις** 'protecting the city', **ρύτήρ** 'protector', etc. ⇒ **έρυμαι**.

**ρύμβος** ⇒ **ρέμβομαι**.

**ρύμη** [f.] 'street, alley' (since IV<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM From **ρύμι** 'tow, press' (s.v. ► **ρύμα 1**), with a semantic development to a more concrete meaning, i.e. 'where the crowd presses'. See ► **έρύω**.

**ρύμμα** ⇒ **ρύπος**.

**ρύμουλκew** [v.] 'to pull the towing rope, tow, take in tow' (Hell.). ◀GR▶

•ETYM A technical term of the nautical language, **ρύμουλκew** may derive from \***ρύμ-ουλκός** 'who draws by a line; who tows a boat', or directly from **ρύματι** **ἔλκειν** 'draw the tow-line' after other verbs in -ολκew, e.g. **νεωλκew** (to **νεωλκός**, ναῦν **ἔλκειν**), **πλινθουλκew** (to **πλινθουλκός**); cf. Schwyzler: 726. The first member is **ρύμα** 'tow-line', rather than **ρύμιος** 'pole (of a chariot)', as argued by Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 180f. Borrowed into Latin as *remulcum* [n.] 'tow-rope' (since Caes.), -āre 'to take in tow' (Non.).

**ρύομαι** ⇒ **έρυμαι**.

**ρύπος** [m.] 'filth, uncleanness (e.g. in the ear)' (Semon., Att.), metaphorically 'sealing wax' (Ar. *Lys.* 1198). ◀?▶

•VAR **ρύπα** [n.pl.] 'filthy clothes, laundry' (ζ 93); **ρύπος** [n.] 'whey' (Hp. *Mul.* 1, 64), after **λίπος**, etc.

•COMP **ρύπο-κόνδυλος** 'having filthy knuckles' (com.), **ἡμί-ρρυπος** 'half dirty' (Hp.).

•DER 1. Adjectives: **ρύπ-οις** 'dirty' (Nic., AP), -ώδης 'id.' (Dsc., Vett. Val.); on **ρύπαρός** see below.

2. Verbs: a) **ρύπ-άω** (epic lengthening to -όω, -όωντα) 'to be dirty' (Od., Ar., etc.; because of the meaning hardly with Chantraine 1942: 357 from **ρύπα**, rather from **ρύπος** with analogical -άω); b) **ρύπ-όμαι** (**βερυπωμένος** ζ 59), also with **κατα-**, 'to be smudged' (Hp., Hell. inscr.), -όω 'to smudge' (late); c) **ρύπτ-ομαι**, -ω, also with **ἀπο-**, etc., 'to clean (oneself), wash (oneself)' (Ar., Antiph., Arist.) with **ρύπτ-ικός** 'apt for washing' (Pl. *Ti.*, Arist., etc.), -ήριον = **καθαρήριον** (Suid.), **ρύψις** (**ἀπό-**) [f.] 'cleaning, washing' (Pl. *Ti.*). Besides, **ρύπαρός** 'dirty' (IA) with -ία [f.] 'filth, dirty convictions' (Critias, late), -ότης [f.] 'id.' (Ath.); **ρύπαίνω**, also with **κατα-**, etc., 'to besmudge, dishonor' (Att.) with **ρύπασμα** [n.] 'filth' (Apollon. *Lex.*) as **μίασμα**: **μυαίνω**.

•ETYM No convincing etymology. The word **ρύπαρός** may have been formed from **ρύπαίνω** after the synonymous pair **μυαρός** : **μυαίνω**, but it remains uncertain whether it was an old *r/n*-stem (Benveniste 1935: 19), or built analogically from **ρύπος**. The seemingly primary **ρύπτομαι**, -ω can be secondary to **ρύπος** after **τύπτω** : **τύπος**, etc. (possibly also influenced by synonymous **νίπτομαι**, -ω).

The connection with the Slav. word for 'scab, itch, crust of a wound', e.g. OCS *strupъ*, Ru. *strup* < IE \**sroupo-* or \**sreupo-*.

**ρύπαπαῖ** [interj.] 'cry of Athenian rowers' (Ar.). ◀ONOM▶

•VAR Also **ρύπαπαῖ** (AB).

•ETYM An onomatopoeia.

**ρύσιον** ⇒ **έρυμαι**.

**ρύσις** ⇒ **ρέω**.

**ρύσός** [adj.] 'shrivelled, shrunk, wrinkled' (I 503). ◀?▶

•VAR In the manuscripts, variants with -σσ- are attested. On **ρύτις**, -ίδος, see below.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. **ἔν-ρυσος** 'somewhat wrinkled' (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1946: 128.

•DER 1. **ρύσ-αλέος** 'id.' (Nic.), see **αὔαλέος**, etc.; 2. -ώδης 'with a wrinkled appearance' (AP, etc.); 3. -ότης [f.] 'wrinkledness' (Plu.); 4. **ρύσίλλας** : **τάς** **ρύτίδας** 'wrinkles' (H.), cf. Chantraine 1933: 252, Schwyzler: 485; 5. **ρύσ-όομαι**, -όω 'to shrivel, wrinkle (oneself)' (Arist.), with -ωσις [f.] (Gal.); 6. -αίνομαι 'id.' (Nic., AP).

Further: **ρύτις**, -ίδος [f.] 'wrinkle, fold' (Ar., Pl.), Aeol. **βρύτιδες** (EM); **ρύτιδ-ώδης** = **ρύσώδης**, **ρύτιδ-όομαι**, -όω = **ρύσόομαι**, -όω (Hp., Arist.), **ρύτιδ-ωσις** [f.] 'wrinkling' (medic.), -ωμα [n.] 'wrinkle' (sch.). Probably related too are **ρύτίσματα** [pl.] (Men.), acc. to Phot. = **τῶν διεργηκότων ἱματίων τὰ ἀποπληρώματα** 'patch, piece of cloth'.

•ETYM The word **ρύσός** can be compared with **λοξός**, **κομψός**, **γαυσός**, and other expressive adjectives in -σός (Chantraine 1933: 434, Chantraine 1956a: 17). For **ρύτις**, DELG and Frisk adduce **πηκτίς**, **ξυστίς**, **δοκίς**, etc., assuming derivation from \***ρύ-τή**, -τόν vel sim. with a diminutive suffix -ίδ-.

Solmsen's comparison (IF 31, 463) with ► **έρύω** 'draw, pull, snatch' < \**ueru-* is formally possible, but this does not furnish an IE etymology. The (imperfect) similarity with Lat. *rūga* 'wrinkle, fold' and Lith. *raūkas* 'id.' is accidental.

**ρύτή** [f.] 'rue, Ruta graveolens' (Nic., Ps.-Dsc.); acc. to sch. Nic. *Th.* 523, Peloponnesian for **πήγανον**; cf. **ρύτά** ... **πήγανον λευκόν** 'white rue' (H.). ◀PG?▶

•ETYM The etymology is unexplained; Osthoff MU 5 (1890): 76ff. connected Lat. *rūmex* 'sorrel' (cf. WH s.v.). Lat. *rūta* is probably borrowed from Greek (Krogmann WuS 19 (1938): 133 considers both to be independent loans from a Mediterranean language); English *rue* is borrowed from French *rue*, which continues the same Latin word.

**ρύτός** [adj.] only in **ρύτοῖσιν** **λάεσσι** (ζ 267, ξ 10), for which the sense 'dragged stones' does not make really good sense. ◀PG?▶

•ETYM The connection with ►έρύω 'to draw' is formally possible, but not semantically evident; Schulze's suggestion (Q. 318) to connect Lat. *rūta* (*caesa*) 'dug out (and felled)' must be dismissed because the latter derives from *ruō* 'to dig' < \**HreuH*- (cf. De Vaan 2008 s.v.). According to Deroy *REGr.* 67 (1954): 1ff., it is of Pre-Greek origin and cognate with Lat. *rūdera* (which would be Etruscan; cf. Chamoux *REGr.* 65 (1952): 284).

**ρύτρος** [n.] 'plant with pricking extremities, Echinops Viscosus' (Thphr.). <?>

•ETYM Strömberg 1940: 52 derived the word from *ρέω*, which is a mere guess.

**ρῶ** [n.] name of the letter ρ (Ar., Pl., etc.). <LW Sem.>

•VAR Indeclinable.

•DER *ρωτακίζειν* = τῷ ρ στοιχείῳ συνεχῶς χρῆσθαι (Suid.) after \**ιωτα-κίζειν* in *ιωτακισμός* (see on *ιωτα*); *ρωβικός* [adj.] 'unable to pronounce the ρ' (D. L.), after *συλλαβικός*, *τριβικός*, etc.

•ETYM Borrowed from Sem. *rōš* (beside *rēš*); see Schwyzler: 140.

**ρωβίδας** [m.] name of seven-year-old Spartans (Λέξεις Ἡροδότου). <?>

•ETYM The formation is the same as that of the patronyms in -ίδας (Schwyzler: 509), but the root is unexplained.

**ρώδιγγες** [?] · πληγαὶ ὕφαιμοι διακεκομμένα. οἱ δὲ μύλωπες 'spots bloodshot by hitting; bruises' (H.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR *ρώτιγγες*.

•ETYM Frisk's suggestions that the variant *ρώτιγγες* (H.) is secondary for *ρώδιγγες*, or that the latter is analogical after *σμάδιγγες*, can be dismissed. Instead, the variation δ/τ and the suffix -ιγγ- point to Pre-Greek origin.

**ρώθωνες** [m.pl.] 'nostrils' (Nic., D. H., Str., etc.), rarely -ων [sg.] (Heracl. *apud* Gal., etc.); *ρώθυνες* *μυκτῆρες* 'nostrils' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM The formation is the same as in *πώγων*, *γνάθων*, etc., but the root is unknown. Usually, *ρόθος* 'roaring' is connected, which presupposes an original meaning 'snorer, rattler' (Pok. 1002); Fraenkel *Glotta* 32 (1953): 31ff. recalls *ρέθος*. Alternatively, one could consider a Pre-Greek origin for this word.

**ρώκομαι** [v.] · ὀργίζομαι, λυποῦμαι 'to be distressed' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Perhaps related to ►*ρώχω*, s.v.

**ρώννυμι** [v.] 'to strengthen, invigorate'; med. 'to be(come) strong; insist on sth., be determined' (Pherecyd., Hp.). <?>

•VAR Also pres. -ύω (Ti. Locr., etc.), aor. *ρῶσαι* (Hdt., Att.), pass. *ρῶσθηναι*, fut. *ρῶσω* (Att.), very often perf. med. with pres. meaning *ἐρρωμαι* (Att.).

•COMP Also with *ἐπι*-, *ἀνα*-.

•DER *ρῶ-μη* [f.] 'strength, vigour, power' with *-μαλέος* 'strong' (IA), -σις (*ἐπί*-, *ἀνά*-) [f.] 'strengthening', -στικός 'strengthening, strong' (late), -στήριον *παρορμητήριον* 'stimulation' (Phot.), -σταξ [m.] 'hold, support, bearer' (Tz.), *ἄ-ρρωστος* 'weak, indisposed', with *ἄρρωστ-ία*, -έω, -ημα, etc. (IA); *ρωρός*· *σφοδρός* 'vehement' (H.).

•ETYM The regular stem formation with generalized *ρῶ(σ)-* cannot be old; in any case, the present is an innovation (literature in Schwyzler: 697). The form *ρῶσκομένως* 'with power' (Hp.) indicates a newly built present \**ρῶσκομαι*. A connection with ►*ρῶομαι* seems possible. Alternatively, Rikov *Glotta* 66 (1988): 124f. has proposed a connection with Skt. *sāra*·: *ρῶμη*, *ρῶσις* would continue \**srh*<sub>3</sub>-, whereas the Skt. could derive from a secondary *aniṣ* root.

**ρῶξ 1** 'tore'. ►*ρήγνυμι*.

**ρῶξ 2** 'grape'. ►*ράξ*.

**ρῶομαι** [v.] 'to move intensively or with effort, brisk about; dance' (Il.). <IE \**srh*<sub>3</sub>-ie/o- 'move violently' vel sim.>

•VAR Almost exclusively 3pl.ipf. and aor.: *ρῶοντο*, *ἐρρῶοντο*, *ἐρρῶσαντο* (Il., epic); further, also epic (late and rare) *ρῶετο* (Nic.), *ρῶονθ'* (= -ται, D. P.), *ρῶσονται* (Call.), *ἐπίρρῶσαι* (AP).

•COMP Often with *ἐπι*- (rare and late *ἀνα*-, *συν*-).

•ETYM The words *ρῶσαι*, *ἐρρωμαι*, and *ρῶννυμι* can perhaps be connected; *ρέω*, on the other hand, is rather not related (Schwyzler: 349 and 722); on *ρῶσκομένως*, see ►*ρῶννυμι*. Kloeckhorst 2008 s.v. *šarhije/a-*<sup>21</sup> follows a proposal of Cop (1955a: 398) to connect *ρῶομαι* to the Hittite word, the meaning of which is not completely certain, but must be something like 'to attack'. The Hittite and the Greek suggest a preform \**srh*<sub>3</sub>-ie/o-.

**ρῶπος** [m.] 'odds and ends, tinsel, trumpery' (A., D., Arist.). <?>

•COMP As a first member in *ρῶπιτο-πώλης* [m.] 'seller of petty wares' (LXX, H.).

•DER *ρῶπι-ικός* 'belonging to tinsel, false, worthless' (Plb., Plu., AP), -εύειν *ρῶπιπωλεῖν* 'to deal in petty wares' (H.); also -ίζω (Ion Trag.; meaning unclear)?

•ETYM No etymology; perhaps related to ►*ρῶψ*.

**ρωχμός** = *ρήγνυμι*.

**ρῶχω** [v.] 'to hiss, rattle' (Sor.). <?>

•VAR *ρῶχειν*· *βρύχειν* τοῖς ὀδοῦσι 'to bite with or grind the teeth' (H.); *ρωχμός* [m.] (v.ll. *ρωγ*-, *ροχ*-, *ρογ*-) 'hissing' (medic.).

•ETYM These are all sound-imitating words; cf. ►*ράζω*.

**ρῶψ 1** [f.] · *βοτάνη ἀπαλή* 'a delicate grass' (H.). <PG?>

•VAR Plur. *ρῶπες* [f.] 'brushwood, low shrub wood, shrubbery, bush' (Od., Lib.).

•DER *ρῶπι-ήϊα* [pl.] (Il.), -ίον [n.] (D. C.), -άς [f.] (Opp.), -αξ [m.] (Suid.) 'id.'; -ήεις 'overgrown with bush' (Q. S.).

•ETYM The word *ρῶψ* may be related to ►*ραπίζω*, *χρυσό-ρραπς* (with ►*ράβδος*, ►*ράμνος*), and also to ►*ρέπω*, ►*ρέμπομαι*, but connections outside Greek are not found. The word may be of Pre-Greek origin.

**ρῶψ 2** [?] Egyptian word for 'ship'; cf. *πλοῖον παπύρινον*, ὃ καλεῖται Αἰγυπτιστὶ ρῶψ (UPZ 81: II 7 [Ptol.]); also *ρωμισ* 'id.' (pap.); miswritten in *ρῶνιζις*· *ποταμίας νεώς* εἶδος 'kind of river ship' (H.), see Lidén *Glotta* 42, 149 with literature. <LW Eg.>

•ETYM Borrowed from Eg. *rms* 'ship' (see also Schwyzer: 277).

## Σ

σά [interr. pron.] = τίνα, in σά μάν = τί μήν 'how so?' (Megar. in Ar. *Ach.* 757, 784).

◀IE \**k<sup>w</sup>i-* 'who?'▶

•ETYM Like Boeot. τά (Pi. O. 1, 82), σά reflects \*κι-α, ntr.plur. of τίς 'who?'. It is formally identical to OLat. *quia-nam* 'why?', going back to IE \**k<sup>w</sup>i-h<sub>2</sub>*. It is also found in Ion. ἄ-σσα, Att. ἄ-ττα (see Schwyzer: 616, 319); cf. on ▶ τίς.

σαβακός [adj.] 'damaged, rotten', of inner organs (Hp.), 'effeminate, womanish' (AP), = ὁ σαθρός. Χῖοι 'unsound (Chios)' (H.); on the meaning Luck *Phil.* 100 (1956): 275f.

◀PG(V)▶

•DER Besides, σαβάξας δια-σκεδάσας, διασαλεύσας 'scattering through, shaking through' (H.); σαβάκτης [m.] 'the shatterer', a house-goblin (Hom. *Epigr.* 14, 9), fem. σαβακτίδες ὀστράκινα ζῆδια 'earthen figures' (H.); σαβακῶς αὐστηρῶς, ξηρῶς, τραχέως 'harshly, dry, roughly' (H.).

•ETYM The formation can be compared with μαλακός, τριβακός, etc., but the etymology is unknown. Fur.: 241 connects ▶ σαυκόν · ξηρόν. Συρακόσιοι 'dry; lean' (H.), which very strongly suggests Pre-Greek origin for this word.

σάβανον [n.] 'large linen cloth' (pap., Alex. Trall.). ◀LW Sem.▶

•DER Diminutive -ιον [n.].

•ETYM The word σάβανον is a loan from Semitic, cf. Arab. *sabanijjat* 'cloth produced in Saban (near Baghdad)' (see Lewy 1895: 127; cf. Schwyzer: 308). Borrowed as Lat. *sabanum* (see WH s.v.); from Latin, or from Greek, were borrowed Go. and OHG *saban* 'σινδών, pall, linen cloth', Ru. *sávan* 'pall', etc.

σαβαρίχis [f.] 'vagina' (Telecl.). ◀PG?▶

•VAR Also -ίχη (H., Phot.), σαμαρίχη (Theognost.); also σάραβος (H., Phot.; with metathesis?).

•ETYM A diminutive formation in -ιχ-, characteristic of lower registers. Wrong etymologies by Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 2 (1952): 215 and Brugmann *IF* 39 (1917-1921): 114ff. If the variation β/μ is old, the word is Pre-Greek; cf. Fur.: 221.

σαββάτωσις [f.] referring to a groin disease in Alexandria (Apion, J.). ◀LW Sem.▶

•VAR Shortened form σαββῶ [f.].

•ETYM The word is derived from σάβαττα 'sabbath', as it originally denoted a 'sabbath-disease' (on the meaning, see Scheller *Glotta* 34 (1955): 298ff.). Ultimately of Aramaic origin.

**σάβυττος** [m.] · εἶδος ξυρήσεως εἰς καλλωπισμόν ... τινὲς δὲ τὸ γυναικεῖον 'kind of shaving for ornamentation; female genitals' (H.). <PG?(S)>

•VAR Also -ττης (Phot.), -ττα [f.] (Com. Aesp.).

•ETYM Although there is a certain similarity with ▶βύττος · γυναικὸς αἰδοῖον 'female genitals' (H.), that connection remains uncertain. Cf. also σαβαρίχης and σάκαν· τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς (H.); compare further the literature on σαβαρίχης, and see Kretschmer *Glotta* 13 (1924): 271, Sommer 1948: 192, and s.v. ▶σαίνω. For σάβυττος, Pre-Greek origin is certainly worth considering.

**σάγαρις, -ιος, -εως** [f.] 'axe, battle axe', used by Scythians, Persians and other peoples (Hdt., X., etc.); acc. to H. = πελέκιον μονόστομιον 'little one-edged axe'; called ἀμφιθηγής by AP 6, 94. <?>

•ETYM A foreign word without etymology. Alessio *Studi etruschi* 18 (1945): 142 compared Lat. *sagitta* 'arrow', Berb. *zāgāja* 'javelin', but one would rather of course expect Iranian origin.

**σαγή** [f.] ⇒ σάττω.

**σαγήνη** [f.] 'large fishing net, trawl' (LXX, NT, Babr., Plu., etc.). <PG>

•VAR Cypr. ἀγάνα (H.), see Bechtel 1921, 1: 412.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in σαγηνο-βόλος [m.] 'who casts a net' (AP).

•DER σαγηναῖος [adj.] 'belonging to the net' (AP); σαγην-εὔω [v.] 'to catch with the net', mostly metaphorically, e.g. of soldiers that catch everything alive as they form a line and sweep over a country (Hdt., Pl., Str., Luc., etc.), with -εὺς [m.] 'net fisher' (D. S., Plu., AP, etc.), back-formation (Boßhardt 1942: 76), -ευτής (Plu., AP), -ευτήρ (AP) 'id.'; -εῖα [f.] 'catch by net' (Plu., Him.).

•ETYM The ending of σαγήνη recalls ἀπήνη, εἰρήνη, etc. The connection with σάττω (Pok. 1098) is semantically insufficiently founded. Because of the Cypr. by-form and the attractive connection with ▶σάγουρον with a different suffix, the etymon is without a doubt Pre-Greek (foreign origin was suggested already by Schwyzler: 490, 322, Lamer *IF* 48 (1930): 231, and Chantraine 1956a: 10). The word was borrowed into Latin as *sagēna*.

**σάγος** [m.] 'woollen cloak, soldier's cloak', e.g. used by Gauls, Hispanics (Plb., D. S., App., etc.). <LW Celt.>

•ETYM The word σάγος was borrowed from Lat. *sagus*, -um 'id.', in turn a loan word from Celtic (see WH s.v.).

**σάγουρον** [n.] · γυργάθιον 'net' (H.); LSJ gives 'net for suspending substances in fluids', but see also their Supp. <?>

•ETYM Because of the probable etymological connection with ▶σαγήνη, σάγουρον is likely to be of Pre-Greek origin.

**σαθέριον** [n.] a marine quadruped, not further defined (Arist. *HA* 594b). <PG>

•VAR σαθρίον (v.l.).

•ETYM Fur.: 190 supposes that the word denotes a beaver, and compares σατύριον, probably 'sorex moschatus' (Arist. *I.c.*, 32); according to H., ζῷον τετράπουν ἢ

λιμναῖον 'four-footed water-animal'. He further adduces *Basquesatefo* 'field-mouse' and *sator* 'mole'. It is possible that σάθραξ· φθείρ 'louse; a sea-fish' (H.) is somehow related as well.

**σάθη** [f.] 'penis' (Ar. *Lys.* 1119, probably also Archil. 67). <?>

•COMP ἀνδρο-σάθων, -σάθης [m.] name of Priapus (AB, H., etc.).

•DER σάθων, -ωνος [m.] = πόσθων 'penis; foreskin' (Telecl. etc.).

•ETYM The formation can be compared with πόσθη, etc. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 367). Perhaps related to ▶σαίνω, if from 'tail' (compare MoHG *Schwanz* 'tail; penis').

**σαθρός** [adj.] 'unsound, broken, broke; unhealthy, weak' (IA). <PG(V)>

•DER σαθρ-ότης [f.] 'unsoundness' (late), -όομαι, -όω [v.] 'to be unsound; make unsound' (LXX, pap. VI<sup>p</sup>), with -ωσις, -ωμα (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>, H.).

•ETYM The etymology is unexplained: Chantraine 1933: 224 and 373 thinks of σήθω (rejected by Benveniste 1935: 202); perhaps a contamination of σαπρός with an unknown word? Fur.: 196 connects ψαθυρός 'brittle' and ψαιδρά· ἀραιότριχα 'with thin hair' (H.), and concludes that the word is Pre-Greek.

**σαίνω** [v.] 'to wag with the tail, waggle', metaphorically 'to blandish, flatter' (Od., Hes.). <?>

•VAR Rare aor. ἔσηνα (e.g. p 302), ἔσανα (Pi. O. 4, 6, P. 1, 52).

•COMP Also with περι-, προσ-, etc.; as a first member in σαίνουροι καὶ σαινουρίδες· οἱ τὰς οὐρὰς συνεχῶς κινούντες ἵπποι καὶ κύνες 'horses and dogs shaking their tails continuously' (H.).

•DER σάννιον· τὸ αἰδοῖον ἀντὶ τοῦ κέρκιον. τὸ γὰρ αἰδοῖον ἐσθ' ὅτε οὐρὰν ἔλεγον, ὡς Εὐπολῖς (H.), so originally 'tail' (the -vv- is hypocorrect gemination); also σαν-νίων (Arr.), σάννας (Cratin.), σάννορος (Rhinh.) [m.] 'fool', σαννάδας· τὰς ἀγρίας αἰγας 'wild goats' (H.).

•ETYM The etymology is unexplained. We must reject the suggestion of Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912): 38 ff., who reconstructs a word for 'penis' and connects Lith. *tvinstu*, *tvinti* 'to swell out (of a river)', etc., which seems to go back to \**tunH-*, and connects other words in σα- as well, e.g. ▶σάτυρος.

**σαίρω 1** [v.] 'to sweep (out)' (S., E.), metaphorically 'to clear away' (BCH 29, 204; Crete). <?>

•VAR Aor. σῆραι, Cret. σᾶραι, fut. σαρώ (H.).

•COMP As a first member perhaps in σαράπους (Gal.), acc. σαράποδα, σάραπον (Alc.); acc. to D. L. 1, 81: διὰ τὸ πλατύπουν εἶναι καὶ ἐπισύρειν τὴν πόδε (cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 125, Sommer 1948: 264 and 188); acc. to Gal., however, to σέσηρα (▶\*σαίρω 2); the word σαραποδ- is unexplained.

•DER 1. σάρον [n.] 'brushings' (Sophr., Ion Trag., Call.), 'broom' (Epid. IV<sup>a</sup>, etc.) with σαρ-όομαι, -όω 'to be swept out; sweep out, sweep clean' (Lyc., NT, pap., etc.), -ωσις [f.] 'sweep out' (pap.), -ωμα [n.] 'brushings' (AB et al.), -ωται [m.pl.] 'sweeper' (Phanagoria), -ωτρον [n.] 'broom' (Suid.); 2. σάρματα [n.pl.] 'brushings' (Rhinh.), σαρμός· σωρός γῆς, καὶ κάλλυσμα ... 'heap of earth; sweeping' (H.).

•ETYM The word σαίρω is commonly connected with σύρω 'draw, drag (along)'. The initial was always thought to have been \*tur-, with σαρ- and συρ- (with analogical σ-) as different vocalizations of a PIE zero grade \*tur- (σαίρω < \*tur-ie/o-, like e.g. ▶σάρξ 'flesh' < \*turk-).

A full grade thematic present \*tuer-e/o- is found in Germanic, e.g. OHG *dweran* 'turn around quickly, stir', OE *þweran* 'id.', and in Indic: Ved. (KS) *tvárate* 'to hurry'. Connection within Greek with ὀτρύνω 'to encourage' (see ▶ὀτραλέως) is highly improbable, as the existence of a prefix ὀ- is doubtful.

Perhaps nominal derivations like zero grade Lat. *turma* 'troop, squadron', *turba*, and ▶σύρβη, ▶τύρβη belong here, as well. The word ▶τορύνη is not related.

\*σαίρω 2 'to show one's teeth'. ⇒σέσηρα.

σάκκος [m.] 'bag (made of goat hair); sieve; burlap, a large cloak made of the same', e.g. used as a wedding dress (Hdt., Hippon., Ar., LXX, NT, inscr. and pap.). <LW Sem.>

•VAR Also σάκος (Att.).

•COMP As a first member e.g. σακκο-φόρος [m.] 'bag bearer' (pap., etc.).

•DER 1. Diminutive σακ(κ)-ιον (Hp., Ar., X., Men., etc.), -ίδιον (pap.), -άλιον (gloss.); 2. -ούδια [n.pl.] meaning unclear (pap.), after λινούδιον, see λίνον; 3. -ᾱς [m.] 'sack bearer' (inscr. Corycos, pap.); 4. -ίας οἶνος 'sieved wine' (Poll.); 5. -ινος 'made of burlap' (sch.); 6. Denominative σακ(κ)-έω 'to sieve' (Hdt. 4, 23), -εὺω acc. to Ael. Dion. et al., -ίζω 'id.' (Thphr., etc.). Also σακτός 'sieved' (Eup. 439), seemingly a primary ptc.

•ETYM The word σάκκος is a loan from Semitic; cf. Hebr. (Phoen.) *śaq* 'cloth of hair, bag, mourning-dress' (Lewy 1895: 87; Bertoldi *ZRPh.* 68 (1952): 73ff. calls it Mediterranean). Lat. *saccus* (cf. also MoE *sack*), etc. are borrowed from Greek.

σακνός [m.] 'broken, leaky' (πίθοι). ⇒σαχνός.

σάκος [n.] 'shield (made of leather); long shield, tower shield' (Hom., also A., etc.), cf. on ▶ἀσπίς, <LW Sem.>

•COMP Some compounds: e.g. σακέσ-παλος 'shield-swaying' (E 126, Call., Nonn.), σακέσ-φόρος 'shield-bearing' (B., S., E.), φερε-σακής 'id.' (Hes. Sc., Nonn.), cf. Trümpy 1950: 20ff., and extensively Ruijgh 1957: 94f.

•ETYM Usually argued to be of Indo-European origin, and connected with Skt. *tvác-* [f.] 'skin, hide' and Hitt. *tuekka-* 'body'. However, it might instead be borrowed from Semitic, since e.g. Akk. *saqqu* and Hebr. *śaq* are formally and semantically very close (E. Masson 1967: 24).

σάκτας ⇒σάττω.

σάκχαρ, -αρος [n.] 'sugar' (Gal.). <LW Ind.>

•VAR σάκχαρι [n.] (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*, Orib.), after μέλι, etc.; also -ις [f.], -ον [n.] (Dsc.).

•ETYM Borrowed from MInd. (Pāli) *sakkharā-* 'sugar' (itself going back to Skt. *śárkarā-* [f.] 'grit, granulated sugar'; cf. ▶κρόκη 2). MoP *šakar* was also borrowed

from Indic and, through Arab. *sukkar*, it also reached e.g. MoE and Du.: *sugar* and *suiker*, respectively. Lat. *saccharum* was borrowed from Greek σάκχαρον.

σαλαγέω, σαλάκων, etc. ⇒σάλος.

σαλαΐζειν [v.] = θρηνεῖν (Anacr. 167), = κόπτεσθαι (H.); σαλαῖσ-<μῖος>· κωκυτός 'wailing' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Etymology unclear; cf. also ▶σαλάμβη.

σαλαμάνδρα [f.] 'salamander, kind of newt' (Arist., Thphr., etc.). <?>

•DER σαλαμάνδρειος 'in the way of a salamander' (Nic.).

•ETYM Given its non-Indo-European structure, σαλαμάνδρα may be Pre-Greek. Cf. also on σαύρα, which is probably Pre-Greek, as well.

σαλάμβη [f.] 'light opening, vent-hole' (S. Fr. 1093, Lyc., H.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR Also σαλάβη (H., Phot.), -βος (H.).

•ETYM Semitic origin has been proposed for this word; cf. Syr. *šelpā* 'rima portae', *šlaf* 'split, tear apart' (Lewy 1895: 96). Further, similarity with Σαλαμβώ· ἡ Ἀφροδίτη παρὰ Βαβυλωνίους (H.), Σαλαμβάς· ... ὅτι περιέρχεται θρηνοῦσα τὸν Ἄδωνιν (EM, referring to ▶σαλαΐζειν [s.v.]), and Σαλαβακχώ (Ar.) has been observed by Lewy l.c. and Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912): 42. However, the alternation β/μβ would receive a good explanation under the assumption of Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 203, 286).

σαλαμίνθη [f.] 'spider' (Byzant.). <PG(S)>

•ETYM The suffix -ινθη is clearly Pre-Greek, but further connections are unknown.

σάλος [m.] 'turbulent movement of the sea, flushing of the waves; anchorage, roads (as opposed to a protected harbor)' (S., E., Lys., Hell.), metaphorically of an earthquake (E. *IT* 46), 'turbulent emotion' (LXX, Gal., Max. Tyr.), cf. ἀσαλῆς, σάλη below. <PG(S,V)>

•COMP Some late compounds, e.g. ἐπί-σαλος 'exposed to the σάλος' (Seqund., *Peripl. M. Rubr.*, etc.); probably also in epic κονί-σαλος 'cloud of dust' (see κόνις). With transfer to the s-stems: ἀ-σαλῆς 'unshaken, unconcerned' (A. Fr. 319 = 634 M.) with ἀσάλ-εια [f.] = ἀμεριμνία, ἀλογιστία (Sophr. 113), ἀσαλεῖν· ἀφροντιστῆσαι 'to be heedless' (H.); σάλη, σάλᾱ [f.] = φροντίς (Et. Gen., H.) is probably a back-formation to the latter.

•DER Denominatives: 1. σαλεύω, originally of the ship, 'to roll (on the waves)', then 'to throw oneself about, oscillate'; trans. 'to make oscillate, shock' (Att. since A., also Hp., Hell.), also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐπι-, δια-; thence σάλευσις (δια-) [f.] 'oscillation' (Arist., etc.), σάλευμα [n.] 'id.' (D. Chr.); 2. σαλόμαι 'to go with a rocking motion' (EM, explaining σαλάκων).

With a velar suffix: 1. σάλαξ, -ακος [m.] 'large sieve of mineworkers' (Arist. or Thphr. *apud* Poll.), also an Att. name of a potter (Σάλαχς; Krahe *IF* 57 (1940): 113), -αγξ· μεταλλικὸν σκεῦος 'metallic vessel or implement' (H.); σαλάκων, -ωνος [m.] 'boaster, swaggerer, dandy' (Arist.), with σαλακων-ία (-εία) [f.] (Arist., Alciphr.), -ίζω (δια- Ar.), -ίζομαι, -εύομαι (H., Phot., Suid.); denominative σαλάσσω (ἐκ-) [v.] 'to shake' (Nic., AP), probably directly from σάλος after τινάσσω, ταράσσω, etc.; 2.

σαλαγέω = σαλάσσω, σαλεύω (Opp., Orac. *apud* Luc.), σαλαγή· βοή 'shout' (H.); cf. παταγέω, πατάσσω.

•ETYM Originally, σάλος was a technical nautical term. Fur.: 256 connects ►θάλασσα / \*σάλασσα and ζάλη, ζάλος 'tornado, whirlpool', and concludes that the word is Pre-Greek. Already the velar suffixes, and especially the variation they display, prove Pre-Greek origin for this word: -αγ-, -ακ-, -αγκ-; cf. ►σηλαγγεύς. Lat. *salus, salum* were possibly borrowed from Greek.

**σαλούσιον** [n.] 'pot, measure' (POxy. 3060) cf. Mayser-Schmoll 1970 I, 1: 79. <PG(V)>

•VAR Also -ώσιον, -ώτιον, -ώδιον.

•ETYM In view of the suffix variants, the word is probably Pre-Greek.

**σαλός** [adj.] 'foolish' (H. s.v. ὑσθλός, sch. Ar. Nu. 397). <PG>

•VAR Also δαλός (Cyr.) and \*ζαλός; the latter is seen in the derivative ζαλαίνω (H., EM 406, 43), see Fur.: 255.

•ETYM Cf. Lat. *dalivus*, from \*δάλαιος. The variation in the initial (σ-/ζ-/δ-) proves Pre-Greek origin; the root can be reconstructed as \**ʔal-*.

**σάλπη** [f.] sea fish, 'Box salpa' (Epich., Arist., etc.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also -ης [m.] (Archipp.), -ος (Arist. v.l.), σάρπη [f.] (Arist.); also σάλπιγξ (Arist.), folk-etymological transformation.

•ETYM The variation ρ/λ is typical for Pre-Greek (Fur.: 387; see also Neumann 1961: 42). Cf. also Lat. *salpa* (Plin., Ov.), Ital. *salpa, sarpa*, Fr., MoE *saupe* (cf. Hubschmid 1963: 13f.; Thompson 1947 s.v.).

**σάλπιγξ, -ιγγος** [m.] 'trumpet' (Σ 219). <PG(S)>

•DER σαλπίζω [v.] 'to blow the trumpet, trumpet' (IA), dialectical innovations -ίσσω, -ίττω, -ίδδω, aor. σαλπ-ίγξαι (Φ 388), -ίσαι (LXX etc.), fut. -ίσω (NT), -ιώ (LXX), perf. med. σσάλπι(γ)κται, -ισται (late), rarely with ἐπι- etc.; σαλπικτής (Th., X. et al.), -ικτής (Att. etc., inscr.), -ιστής (Hell. and late) [m.] 'trumpet player', -ισμός [m.] -ισμα [n.] (Thd., Poll.) 'trumpet call', -ιστικός 'belonging to the trumpet' (Poll.). Further derivatives: σαλπίγγιον [n.] 'pipe' (Gal.), -ωτός 'trumpet-shaped' (Teos).

•ETYM For the formation, σῦριγξ and φόρμιγξ can be compared (cf. also λύρα, κιθάρα, σαμβύκη, etc.). On the onomatopoeic Lith. *švilpti* 'to pipe' etc., see Fraenkel 1955 s.v. (with references); cf. further Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 364. As a word of Mediterranean culture, σάλπιγξ remains without IE connection; the suffix is Pre-Greek (not in Fur.).

**σάμαξ, -ἄκος** [m.] 'bulrush, mat of bulrush' (com. V<sup>a</sup>). <PG(S)>

•DER -άκιον [n.], a female ornament (Com. *Adesp.*).

•ETYM Formation like οἶσαξ, etc. (see on ►οἶσος), but further unexplained. Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 219 rightly rejects a connection with pre-IE \**sam-* 'water, sea, swamp' (?) by Alessio *Studi etruschi* 19 (1946-1947): 152. The suffix is Pre-Greek (not in Fur.).

**σαμβύκη** [f.] 'triangular instrument with four strings' (Arist., etc.), metaph. 'scaling ladder' (Plb., etc.), on the semantic motivation, see Ath. 14, 634a. <LW Sem.??>

•VAR Also ζ- (H.).

•DER σαμβυκ-ιστής, fem. -ίστρια 'sambuca-player' (Hell. poet., Plu.), after κιθαριστής, -ίστρια.

•ETYM An Oriental loan word of unknown source; see E. Masson 1967: 91ff. (with extensive treatment and criticism of earlier views, for example on Hebr. *šēbākā* 'lattice'). On the secondary nasalization, see Schwyzer: 231f. with litt. Borrowed into Lat. as *sambūca* (WH s.v.).

**σάμιος** [f.] 'hill' (Str. 8, 3, 19; 10, 2, 17); also the island names Σάμιος, Σάμιη. <PG>

•ETYM Without a doubt Pre-Greek, as argued by Fick 1905: 54 and 112. Likewise, but with a different interpretation (connected to ἀσάμινθος), Alessio *Stud. ital. fil. class.* N. S. 20 (1956): 121ff. The IE etymology by Persson 1912(1): 471 can be rejected.

**σαμψήρα** [f.] an oriental sword (J. A. J. 20, 2, 3). <LW Iran.>

•VAR σαμψήραι· σπάθαι βαρβαρικαί 'broad blades of the barbarians' (Suid.).

•ETYM An Oriental loanword; cf. MoP *šamšīr*.

**σάμψ(ο)υχον** [n.] 'marjoram' (Nic., Dsc., Paus. et al.), on the meaning see Andrews *Class. Phil.* 56 (1961): 78. <?>

•DER σαμψ(ο)ύχ-ινος 'made of σ.' (Dsc., Gal. et al.), -ίζω 'to be like σ., season with σ.' (Dsc.).

•ETYM Foreign word of unknown origin (the plant was especially at home in North Africa). Borrowed into Lat. as *sampsūc(h)um*, -us (WH s.v. *sambucus*; see Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 364).

**σάν** the Doric variant of the Ion. letter σίγμα (Hdt. 1, 139). <LW Sem.>

•COMP σαμ-φόρας, -ου [m.] 'horse in which a σάν was branded' (Ar.), see Fraenkel 1912: 143.

•ETYM Borrowed from Semitic (e.g. Hebr. *šīn*). On the sign σαμπί (= 900), from Byz. σάν (= ὡς ἄν 'like') and πῖ, cf. Schwyzer: 149.

**σάνδαλον** [n.] 'sandal(s)' (*h. Merc.*); name of a flat fish (Matro), see Strömberg 1943: 37. <PG>

•VAR Also σάμβαλον (Eumel., Sapph., AP).

•COMP σανδαλοθήκη 'sandal case' (Men., Delos II<sup>a</sup>); σαμβαλ-ούχη, -ουχίς [f.] 'sandal chest' (Herod.), -ίσκα [n.pl.] (Hippon. 18 = 32 Masson; see below).

•DER σανδάλ-ιον (IA), -ίσκον (Ar.); also -ίς, -ίδος [f.], a kind of date (Plin.), -ώδης 'sandal-like' (sch.).

•ETYM For the alternation νδ ~ μβ, compare κορίαμβλον ~ κορίανδρον, which may also be the result of different adaptations of a foreign word (already Schwyzer: 303; see also Kronasser 1962-1987: I 91). Compare further σαγγάριος (H.; s.v. ►σκυτεύς) and τζαγγάριος (τσ-) [m.] 'manufacturer of Parthian τζάγγαι' (pap. VIP). Lat. *sandalium*, MoFr. *sandale*, MoP *sandal*, etc. were borrowed from Greek. Fur.: 153, 389 also mentions σέμπαδα· ὑποδήματα (H.), perhaps to be read \*σέμπαλα?

**σανδαράκη** [f.] 'sandarac, red arsenic sulphide, realgar, red orpiment' (Hp., Arist., Thphr. etc.), 'bee-bread' (Arist.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also -άχη.



- COMP σανδαράκ-ούργιον [n.] 'sandarac pit' (Str.).
- DER σανδαράκινος 'sandarac-colored, bright red' (Hdt. etc.), σανδαράκιζω 'to be sandarac-colored' (Dsc.).
- ETYM Long taken to be an Oriental loanword from an unknown source. Uhlenbeck *PBBetr.* 19 (1894): 327ff. implausibly derived it from OInd. \**candra-rāga*- 'moon-colored' (Cuendet adapted this to \**candana-rāga*- 'sand-colored', which is likewise hypothetical; see Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v. *candanaḥ*). LSJ mentions Assy. *šindu arku* 'green paint', 'yellow sulphide of arsenic'. The variation κ/χ could also point to Pre-Greek origin. Cf. on σάνδυξ.

**σάνδυξ 1, -υκος** [f.] designation of a bright red colorant, a bright red mineral color, a red transparent fabric, etc. (Str. 11, 14, 9 [conj.], Dsc., Gal. etc.); also a women's cloth. For an extensive discussion of the meaning, see Flobert *RPh.* 90 (1964): 228ff. <PG(S)>

- DER σανδύκ-ιον [n.], meaning uncertain, -ινος 'sandyx-colored' (pap.); σανδών, -όνος [m.] designation of a transparent fabric (Lyd. *Mag.*), formed after σιν-δών?
- ETYM The formation can be compared with βόμβυξ etc.; σανδαράκη seems to be related in some fashion (but cf. also Skt. *sindūra*- 'red-lead, cinnabar', Assy. *sāmtu*, *sāndu* 'red stone?'). Borrowed into Lat. as *sandyx* (Prop., Verg., Plin.). As far as the formation is concerned, Pre-Greek origin is certainly a possibility (cf. ► σάνδυξ 2).

**σάνδυξ 2** [?] · κιβωτός 'box, chest' (H.). <PG(S)>

- VAR Also σενδούκη; diminutive σενδούκιον (sch. Ar. *Pl.* 711 and 809).
- ETYM The formation of the word is Pre-Greek.

**σανίς, -ίδος** [f.] 'board, plank, wooden scaffold, etc.', plur. also 'tablets used for writing, writing boards' (Att.), 'planks of a gate, wing of a door' (epic). <?>

- DER 1. diminutives σανίδ-ιον [n.] (Att., etc.), σαν-ίσκη [f.] 'painting' (Herod.); 2. σανίδ-ωμα [n.] 'planking' (LXX, Thphr., Plb., etc.), see Chantraine 1933: 187; 3. -ώδης 'plank-like' (late); 4. -όω 'to provide with planks', -ωτός (Hell. and late).
- ETYM The formation is like σελίς, δοκίς, and other technical terms (Chantraine 1933: 337), but the etymology is further unexplained. The connection with ► σάινω by Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912): 46f. should be rejected for semantic reasons.

**σαννάκιον** [n.] 'a kind of cup' (Philem. 87). <?>

- VAR Also -ακρον.
- ETYM Unknown.

**σαννᾶς** [m.] epithet and personal name, 'μωρός, stupid person' (Cratin., cf. Clark *Class. Rev.* 69 (1955): 245f.; Colophon). <GR?>

- VAR σαννίων 'id.' (Arr.), σάννορος = μωρός (Rhynth.), probably for -υρος (Kaibel ad loc.); cf. Σαννυρίων. As a PN also Σάνν-ος (Hippon.), -αῖος, -ιος, -υρίων, fem. -ῶ (V-IV<sup>a</sup>); Σαννίδωρος nickname of Ἀντίδωρος (Epicur.).
- DER Besides σαννίων = αἰδοῖον 'private parts' (Eup.), σαν<ν>ιόπληκτος αἰδοῖόπληκτος 'struck with shame' (?) (H.); σαννάδας τὰς ἀγρίας αἰγας 'wild goats' (H.) (formally patronymicon of \*σάννιος vel sim.); probably also ἐσαθνύριζεν-ῆκαλλεν 'was flattering' (H.) for ἐσαν(ν)-.

- ETYM The names are based, at least in part, on the meaning 'shame'. Frisk and DELG derive it from ► σάινω; cf. also extensively O. Masson 1962: 165f. Borrowed as Lat. *sanna* 'grimace', *sanniō* 'buffoon' (WH s.v.).

**σαντονικόν** [n.] 'a variety of wormwood from the Santones in Gaul'. <GR>

- ETYM The word is clearly derived from the name of the people.

**σάος** ⇒ σῶς.

**σαπέρδης -ου** [m.] name of a fish that is identified with the κορακῖνος and the πλατίστακος, which is thought to originate from the Nile and the Black Sea, but also from other waters (Hp., com., etc.). <PG(V)>

- DER σαπερδ-ίς (Arist.), -ιον (Apollod. *apud* Ath.).
- ETYM Certainly a borrowing. Thompson 1947 s.v. (with extensive treatment) plausibly points to Arab. *ṣabār*, Copt. *ṣabouri*, name of a well-known fish of the Nile, *Tilapia nilotica* (there is no indication that the Lyd. PN *Sa-par-da-a-a* has anything to do with this fish, pace Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 7 (1957): 43). Fur.: 153 adduces σάβειρος· κόραξ 'tub-fish' as a variant. Lat. *saperda*, a fish, is probably borrowed from the Greek.

**σαπρός** ⇒ σήπομαι.

**σαπύλλειν** [v.] · σάινειν. Πίνθων (Fr. 24) 'to fawn (Rhynthon)' (H.). <?>

- ETYM Of unclear etymology (connection with ► σάινω can be discarded).

**σάπφειρος** [f.] 'lazurite; sapphire' (Thphr., LXX, etc.). <LW Sem.??>

- DER σαπφείρ-ιον (-ππ-) [n.] 'coloring made of σ.' (pap.), -ινος 'made of σ.' (pap., Philostr., etc.).
- ETYM Certainly somehow related to a similar Semitic word; cf. Hebr. *sappir*. Since the Semitic word is probably borrowed itself (E. Masson 1967: 66<sup>2</sup>), we might also consider Pre-Greek origin, in view of the elements -πφ- and -ειρ-ος. Through Lat. *sapphirus* the word reached the European languages, e.g. as MoE *sapphire*, MoDu. *saffier*, etc.

**σάπων, -ωνος** [m.] 'soap'. <LW Celt.??>

- DER With -ώνιον [n.] 'id.', -ωναρικός 'soap-like, belonging to soap' (late medic. etc.).
- ETYM The word σάπων is usually seen as a borrowing from Lat. *sāpō* 'id.' (since Plin.), ultimately from Gm. (OHG *seifa*, OE *sāpe*, etc.; see WH s.v.). Also worth considering is the alternative proposal by André *Ét. celt.* 7 (1955-1956): 348ff., who argues that it was borrowed from Asia Minor Celtic instead.

**σαραβᾶρα** [n.pl.] 'a pantalon worn by the Scythians' (Antiph. 201). <LW Iran.>

- ETYM Certainly borrowed from Iranian; cf. MP *šalwār* 'trousers' (Knauer *Glotta* 33 (1954): 100-118).

**σάραβος** ⇒ σάρων.

**σαράπους, -ποδος** [m., f.] 'splayfooted'. <PG?>

•ETYM If the first element σαργα- is not in some way formed from ▶σαίρω 1, we might also consider Pre-Greek origin (final -πους could have been adapted secondarily).

**σαργάνη** [f.] 'plaited basket' (since IV<sup>a</sup>). <PG(V)>

•DER σαργαν-ίς [f.] (conj. in Cratin.), -ιον, -ίδιον [n.] (pap.) 'id.'. Besides, ταργάναι· πλοκαί, συνδέσεις, πέδαι 'twinings, bindings, shackles' (H.) with τεταργανωμένη = συμπεπλεγμένη, συνειλημμένη 'plaited, gathered together' (H. EM).

•ETYM Instrument term without etymology (cf. Chantraine 1928: 23f.), the formation of which can be compared with πλεκτάνη, όρκάνη, etc. (the traditional connection with ▶σορός leaves the -γ- unexplained; cf. also on ▶τάρπη). The variation σ-/τ- is Pre-Greek (see Fur.: 124; the suggestion of a hyperatticism by Schwyzler: 319 can be discarded) and points to a pre-form \*t'arg-an-.

**σαργός** [m.] name of a fish, 'Sargus Rondeletii' (com., Arist. etc.). <PG?>

•DER -ίον [n.] 'id.' (Gp.), -ίνος [m.] name of a sea fish that appears in schools, perhaps 'garfish' (Epich., Dorio, Arist.); cf. κεντρ ίνος, σαρδίνος, etc.

•ETYM Word of unknown, perhaps Pre-Greek origin (on the realia, cf. Thompson 1947 s.v.).

**σάρδα** [f.] 'salted and corned fish' (Diphil. Siph. *apud* Ath. 3, 120f., Xenocr., Gal.). <PG>

•DER σαρδίνος, -ίνη 'pilchard, sardelle' (Arist. *Fr.* 329, Epainet., Gal.), Lat. *sarda, sardina*.

•ETYM Probably originally 'the Sardinian fish', derived from *Sardus* 'Sardian, Sardinian', Σαρδώ = *Sardinia*, named after the place of origin (Strömberg 1943: 86; on the realia, Thompson 1947 s.v.).

**σαρδάνιον** [n.] of μειδιᾶν, γελᾶν 'to laugh', σαρδάνιος γέλως 'sneering laughter' (v 292, Pl., Plh., etc.); as a v.l. and late also -όνιον, -όνιος (also -ώ-) after Σαρδόνιος 'Sardinian'; σαρδάζων· μετὰ πικρίας γελῶν 'laughing with bitterness' (Phot., Suid.). <?>

•ETYM The origin of this etymon is debated. In antiquity, it was sometimes connected with σέσηρα, sometimes with a plant from Sardinia (σάρδιον, -άνη, -όνιον) that caused spasmodic laughing. The alternative suggestion by Kretschmer *Glotta* 34 (1955): iff. to connect the name of the *Šardana* people (neighbours of Egypt), referring to σαρδανάφαλλος· γελωτοποιός (H.), remains unclear in its details.

**σάρδιον** [n.] name of a gem, 'carnelian, sardine' (Pl., Thphr., etc.), also = 'seal' (inscr.). <?>

•VAR σαρδώ, -οῦς [f.]; λίθος σάρδιος, σάρδινος or σαρδόνιον 'id.' (rare and late).

•COMP As a first member in σαρδ-όνυξ, -υχός [m.] 'sardonyx' (Hell. and late).

•ETYM Probably originally 'stone from Sardes', named after the place of origin (the Semitic etymology by Lewy 1895: 57f. is doubtful). In Latin, we find several loanwords: *sarda*, -*ius*, -*inus lapis*, *sardonyx*. See, however, Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 375.

**σαρδόνες, -όνων** [f.pl.] 'the rope sustaining the upper edge of a standing hunting net' (Poll., H.). <?>

•VAR σαρδόνια [n.pl.] (X. *Cyn.* 6, 9: gen. σαρδονίων wrong for -όνων?).

•ETYM A technical term without etymology.

**σάρι** = σίσαρρον.

**σάρισα** [f.] 'Macedonian lance' (Thphr., Plb.); Lat. *saris(s)a*. <PG?>

•ETYM Etymology unknown (the hypothesis by von Blumenthal 1930: 21 is insufficiently founded). Perhaps Pre-Greek (Fur.: 387).

**σαρκάζω** [v.] a rare verb of controversial meaning: related to dogs that are stubborn and bite ravenously (γλισχρότατα σαρκάζοντες Ar. *Pax* 482), to grazing horses (Hp. *Art.* 8); to biting the lips angrily (Gal. 19, 136), with which seems to agree the meaning given in lexica 'to mock bitterly, grimly' (ἐπι-, Ph.), e.g. H.: σαρκάζει· μειδιᾷ, εἰρωνεύεται, καταγεῶ, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεσηρέναι 'smiles, feigns ignorance, derides'; σαρκάσας· μετὰ πικρίας ἢ ἡρέμια τὰς τῶν χειλέων σάρκας διανοίξας, γελάσας 'revealing the flesh of the lips gently or with bitterness; laughing'. <GR?>

•DER σαρκασιός [m.] 'grim scorn' (Hdn., Phryn.); unclear is the com. formation σαρκασιο-πιτυοκάμπται [pl.] (Ar. *Ra.* 966).

•ETYM No completely convincing argumentation for the most obvious connection with σάρξ has been given yet. In Ar. *Pax* 482, a meaning 'to remove the flesh, gnaw the flesh from the bones' (cf. σαρκίζω) is quite possible; the word would then have been transferred to grazing horses (Hp.). In its further semantic development, it may have been influenced by ▶σέσηρα (see H. above σαρκάζων ... καὶ σεσηρώς Ph. 2, 597). The form σύρκιζε· σάρκαζε (H.) can either be Aeolic (σύρκες = σάρκες), or it may show influence from ▶σύρω.

**σάρμα** [n.] 'chasm, abyss' <PG?>

•DER Perhaps σάραβος· τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον 'female private parts' (H.) and σάρων· λάγνος· τινὲς δὲ τὸ γυναικεῖον 'lustful; the female pudenda' (H.). See on ▶σῆραγξ.

•ETYM Sometimes connected with the verb ▶σέσηρα 'to show one's teeth, to grin' via a meaning "yawning chasm", but if the connection with σάραβος 'female private parts' is correct, the interchange between β and μ, as well as the extra α in the latter form, could rather point to a Pre-Greek origin (not mentioned in Fur.).

**σαρμεύω** [v.] 'to raise a heap (of earth, of sand)' (*Tab. Heracl.* 1, 136 οὐδὲ γαιῶνας θησεῖ ... οὐδέ σαρμευσεῖ). <?>

•ETYM From σαρμός· σωρός γῆς καὶ κάλλυσμα. ἄλλοι ψάμμον, ἄλλοι χόρτον (H., Hippon. 165a); see ▶σαίρω 1 (O. Masson 1962: 180).

**σάρξ, σαρκός** [f.] 'flesh, piece(s) of meat' (Il.). <IE \*turk- 'cut'>

•VAR Often plur., in Hom. almost exclusively (see Schwyzler 1950: 43, Chantraine 1953: 30). Aeol. σύρκες [pl.] (H., EM).

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. σαρκο-φάγος 'eating flesh' (Arist.), λίθος σαρκοφάγος, a stone quarried at Assos (Troas), which was used for funeral monuments and said to have eaten the corpse (Poll. 10, 150, Plin., etc.); from there

'coffin' (inscr.), Lat. LW *sarcophagus*, OHG *sarch*, etc.; ἄ-σαρκος 'without flesh, thin' (IA); on -φάγος, see Sommer 1948: 94f.

•DER 1. σαρκ-ιον (Hp., Arist. et al.), -ίδιον (Arist., etc.) [n.] 'piece of flesh', -ίς [f.] 'meat, food' (late pap.); -ίτις [f.] name of a stone (Plin.); 2. σάρκ-ινος (Att., etc.), -ικός (Hell. and late), -ειος (late) 'fleshy, made of flesh'; -ώδης 'flesh-like' (Hp., X., etc.), -ήρης 'consisting of flesh' (*Trag. Adesp.*); 3. σαρκ-ίζω 'to scrape clean of flesh' (Hdt.), on the privative meaning see Hudson-Williams *Class. Rev.* 26 (1912): 122f., also περι- (medic.), with -ισμός, and ἐκ- (LXX); 4. -όω (περι-, ἐκ- etc.) 'to make fleshy, change into flesh', with -ωμα, -ωσις, -ωτικός (medic. etc.); 5. -άζω s.v.

•ETYM Generally connected with Av. *θβərəs-*, pres. *θβərəsaiti*, properly 'to cut' (*upa-*, *us-* etc.), as a simplex 'to shape, create, destinē, etc.', from IE *turk-*. Lubotsky *Sprache* 36 (1994): 94-102 has shown that Skt. *tvāṣṭar-* contains a zero grade (with *a < ʔ*), like Av. *θβōrāstar-* (from *\*θβərəstar-*); for OIr. *torc* 'boar' of the same origin, he reconstructs *\*turkos*. Discussing the rise of -αρ-, -υρ- as well, Lubotsky rejects a reconstruction *\*tūork-*. Different views in Vine 1999b. Alb. *shark* 'flesh of a fruit' (Jokl *IF* 44 (1927): 13 ff.) is borrowed from Greek.

σάρων [adj.] λάνγνος· τινὲς δὲ γυναικεῖον 'feminine (parts)' (H.). <?>

•VAR Cf. σάραβος· τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον 'the female pudenda' (H.).

•ETYM Etymology unknown.

σαρωνίς, ἴδος [f.] 'old hollow oak' (Call. *Jov.* 22 etc., H.), also with -ο-: σορωνίς· ἐλάτη παλαιά 'old silver fir' (H.); cf. δρυμὸς Σόρων (Paus. 8, 23, 8). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Acc. to Strömberg 1944: 29, from σαρώνες· τὰ τῶν θηρατῶν λῖνα 'the net of hunters' (H.), which remains unconvincing in spite of the parallels adduced. Since the variation between α and ο cannot be explained as e.g. vowel harmony, we have to assume Pre-Greek origin for this word.

σατῖναι [f.pl.] 'coach, carriage for women, equipage' (*h. Ven.*, Sapph., Anacr., E. [lyr.]); for the plural, cf. e.g. ὄχρα; for the meaning, see Leumann *Herm.* 68 (1933): 359f. <PG?>

•DER σάτιλλα· π[η]λειὰς τὸ ἄστρον (H.), the 'cart'; see Scherer 1953: 145.

•ETYM There is a certain similarity between σάτιλλα and Arm. *sayl* 'car' (also as a constellation, from *\*satilja*). This should perhaps be explained as borrowing through e.g. Phrygian. Schmitt *Glotta* 44 (1966): 148ff. rather argues for a Thracian origin of σάτιλλα, whereas remote resemblance of Arm. *sayl* with Georg. *etli* 'car, constellation' is pointed out by Adontz 1937: 5ff. Whatever the precise origin of the words, σατῖναι and σάτιλλα are certainly related, but defy derivation from Proto-Indo-European.

σατράπης, -ου [m.] 'satrap', governor of the Persian king (since X.). <LW Iran.>

•DER σατραπ-ικός 'belonging to the satrap' (Arist., etc.), [f.] -ίς (Philostr.), -εύω [v.] 'to be a satrap, rule as a satrap' (X., etc.) with -εῖα, Ion. -ῆτις [f.] 'the office or province of a satrap, satrapy' (since Hdt.); -εῖα [n.pl.] 'the palace of a satrap' (Hld.).

•ETYM From OIran. *\*xšaθra-pā-* 'protecting the empire' (OP *xšaça-pāvan-*), from *xšaθra-* (see ▶κτάομαι) and *pāiti* (see ▶ποιμήν). The frequent variants in

inscriptions ξατρ-, ἔξα(ι)τρ-, ἔξαιθρ- (also σαδρ-) represent the OP initial *xš-* (and partly also the internal dental) in a more exact way, but they are also partly due to folk etymology: ἔξατρ- must have its initial *ē-* from *ἐξ-* (Schwyzer: 206 and 329); conversely, the explanation of the αι-diphthong by Kretschmer *Sprache* 2 (1950-1952): 70 is hardly convincing. Cf. also Skt. *kṣatrapa-*, etc. (Schmitt *ZDMG* 117 (1967): 131).

σάττω [v.] 'to stuff, compress, pack, load, equip' (IA, Cret.). <IE *\*tuenk-* 'press together'>

•VAR Ion. σάσσω (Hp.), Cret. (Gortyn) συνεσάδδῃ, aor. σάξαι, pass. σαχθῆναι, perf. med. σέσαγμαi.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-.

•DER 1. σαγή or σάγη [f.] (acc. after Hdn. 1, 309) 'pack, equipment' (since A.), also 'packsaddle' (pap., Babr. etc.); 2. σάγμα (ἐπί-) [n.] 'coat, cloak' (E., Ar.), 'packsaddle' (LXX, Str., pap., etc.), diminutive -άτιον [n.] (Arr.); -ατᾶς [m.] 'saddler' (pap.); 3. σάκτας [m.] 'bag, pouch' (Ar. *Pl.* 681, Poll.), probably from 'stuffer' (Björck 1950: 68), also = ιατρός (Boeot., Stratt.), probably as a nickname (Bechtel 1921, 1: 310); 4. σακτήρ = θύλακος 'sack' (H.); 5. σάκτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'crammer' (A. *Pers.* 924 [anap.]), 6. σάκτρα [f.] = φορμός (Phot.); 7. σάξις (ἐπί-) [f.] 'cramming' (Arist., Thphr.); 8. σακτός 'crammed' (Antiph., pap.).

•ETYM The forms σάττω, σάξαι, and σέσαγμαi form a regular morphological system, which includes the nominal derivations. Of the latter, σαγή and σάγμα have analogical -γ- (Bechtel 1921, 2: 745 implausibly argues for the converse, claiming that γ is original as in Cret. σάδδῃ, whereas σάττω would be analogical after σάξαι). The root *\*tuenk-* is found in Germanic (OHG *dwingan* 'to compress, coerce') and in Lith. *tveñkti*, 1sg. *tvenkiù* 'to dam up, etc.'; see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. The connection with ToAB *twānk-*, however, which is maintained by Adams 1999 s.v., is difficult, both because of the difference in the preforms needed (IE *\*tue-n-k-* for Tocharian, the vocalism being arrived at through an intermediate noun) and because of the uncertain meaning (traditionally 'to force in') of the poorly-attested Tocharian verb. Skt. *tvānakti* (lex.) 'to draw together' is unreliable; see Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v. Cf. also ▶σηκός and ▶σωκός; also ▶συχνός.

σάτυρος [m.] 'Satyr', mostly plur. as a designation of mythical beings, which belong to the company of Dionysus and are often represented as (male) goats (since Hes. *Fr.* 198, 2); metaphorically of apes with a tail (Paus., Ael.). <PG(S)>

•DER 1. Diminutive σατυρ-ίσκος [m.] (Theoc. et al.), also as a plant name (Ps.-Dsc.), -ίδιον [n.] (Stratt.); 2. -ικός 'satyr-like, belonging to the satyr play' (Pl., X., Arist., etc.), -ιος 'id.' (pap.), -ώδης 'satyr-like' (Luc. et al.); 3. -ιον [n.] name of several plants, which were used for means of sexual arousal (Dsc., Plu., Gal. etc.), see Strömberg 1940: 93 and 100, also name of an aquatic animal (Arist.); 4. -ιστής [m.] 'actor in a satyr play' (D. H.), after κιθαριστής, etc.; 5. -ιάω 'to suffer from satyriasis' (Arist., medic.) with -ιάσις, Ion. -ίησις, also -ι(α)σμός [m.] (medic.); also -ιακός 'causing satyriasis' (Ruf.), -ιακή [f.] 'remedy against satyriasis' (medic.).

•ETYM The etymology of σάτυρος is unknown. A number of hypotheses have been proposed, but none of them makes sense: from a word \*σῆν 'penis' and a second member 'swell' (see ►σαίνω), by Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912): 36ff.; a strengthening prefix σα- and the same element 'swell' (Brugmann *IF* 39 (1917-1921): 114ff.); from ψῆν with a suffix -τυ-ρο-ς (Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 2 (1952): 215ff.); borrowed from Illyrian, going back to \*seh<sub>1</sub>- 'sow' and cognate with Lat. *sator* (Krahe 1955: 37ff.); borrowed from Illyrian, but ultimately from \*seh<sub>2</sub>- 'satisfy', identical with Lat. *satur* (Kerényi *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 9 (1933): 151 ff., Kerényi *Rev. Int. ét. balk.* 2 (1934-1936): 21).

Yet for such a mythical word, Pre-Greek origin seems likely in the first place, and this idea is even corroborated by the suffix -υρ-. Cf. ►Σιληνός and ►τίτυρος.

**σαυᾶδαι** · σαῦδοι· Ἀμερίας τοὺς σειλεινοὺς οὕτω καλεῖσθαι φησιν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. See Kallérís 1954: 259f.

**σαυκόν** [adj.] · ξηρόν. Συρακούσιοι 'dry (Syracusan)' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM A number of wrong etymologies have been proposed, e.g. borrowing from an originally Italic word related to ►αῦος; other hypotheses can be found in Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 25, Bechtel 1921, 2: 287, and Carnoy *Ant. class.* 24 (1955): 23. Conversely, Fur.: 110, 134, 229, 241 convincingly compares σαυκρόν· σαχνόν, χαῦνον. σαθρόν, ἀσθενές (H.), ►σαβικός 'weak, moldered, smashed' (H.), and σαβακῶς· αὐστηρῶς, ξηρῶς, τραχέως (H.) with σαβάξας· διασκεδάσας, διασαλεύσας (H.). It follows that the word is Pre-Greek.

**σαυκρόν** [adj.] · ἄβρόν, ἐλαφρόν, ἄκρον 'delicate, light, highest'; σαυκρόποδες· ἄβρόποδες 'delicate-footed' (H.). On the combination of suffixes -κρ-, see Chantraine 1933: 225, Schwyzler: 496. <PG(V)>

•DER In H. also σαυκρόν· σαχνόν, χαῦνον, σαθρόν, ἀσθενές 'tender, porous, unsound, feeble'; with ψ-: ψαυκρός· καλλωπιστής, ταχύς, ἐλαφρός, ἀραιός 'dandy, swift, light, thin'; ψαυκρόν γόνυ· κοῦφον 'light', ψαυκρόποδα· κουφόποδα 'light-footed' (folk-etymologically connected by H. with ἄκρος and ψαύειν).

•ETYM The combination of σαυκρός with ψαυκρός (and σαυκμός; s.v. ►σαυκόν) shows that the word is Pre-Greek.

**σαῦλος** [adj.] Poetical adjective of unclear and varying meaning, referring to walking and movement (Treu 1955: 253 and 295): σαῦλα βαίνειν *h. Merc.* 28 (of a tortoise), Anacr. 168 (Bacchantes), Semon. 18 (horse), σαῦλαι Βασσαρίδες (Anacr. 55), explained by H. with κοῦφα, ἥσυχα, τρυφερά 'light, quiet, dainty' and with ἄβρόν, κοῦφον, ἄκρον, τρυφερόν 'delicate, light, highest, dainty'; acc. to sch. Ar. V. 1169 = τὸ φαῦλον καὶ διερρηγνός, so 'light, dainty, delicate, prancing' vel sim.? <PG>

•COMP As a first member in σαυλο-πρωκτιάω (Ar. V. 1173).

•DER σαυλόομαι (E. Cys. 40: κῶμοι ... ἀοιδαῖς βαρβίτων σαυλούμενοι), acc. to H. τρυφᾶν, θρύπτεσθαι, ἐναβρύνεσθαι 'delicacy, to be broken small, to be effeminate', δια-σαυλόομαι (Ar. Fr. 624), διασαυλούμενον· διακινούμενον καὶ ἐναβρυνόμενον, ἢ διασειόμενον (H.), with σαύλωμα· θρύμμα 'piece' (H.).

•ETYM The word σαῦλος rhymes with φαῦλος; the words have possibly influenced each other (other barytone adjectives in -λος are μάχος, κτίλος, ξωλος). Moreover, we find σαυνά (σαῦνα?)· ἀπαλά 'weak' (H.) with a suffix -v-. It is difficult to offer an etymological explanation (cf. on ►σαύρα), first and foremost because of the unclear meaning. The word σαῦλος presumably belongs to a group of Pre-Greek words (see ►σαυκός).

**σαυνίον** [n.] designation of a javelin used by foreign peoples (Men., Str., D. S.), 'penis' (Cratin. 443). <?>

•VAR Also σαύνιον.

•DER σαυνιάζω 'to throw a σ.' (D. S.), with -αστάς (Dor.) [m.] (*Lyr. Alex. Adesp.*).

•ETYM The etymology of this word is unexplained; cf. on ►σαύρα.

**σαύρα** [f.] 'lizard' (A. Fr. 92 M., Hdt., Arist., Theoc.), also = σαλαμάνδρα (Thphr.), metaphorically as a plant name = κάρδαμον (Nic.), 'penis of a boy' (AP), 'plaited case made of palm bark, used in setting dislocated fingers' (medic.). Also σαῦρος [m.] 'id.' (Hdt. [v.l.], Hp., Epich., Arist., Nic.); metaphorically as a fish name = τράχουρος (Alex., Arist., Gal.), after the color (cf. Strömberg 1943: 121). <PG>

•VAR Ion. -ρη.

•COMP As a first member in σαυρο-κτόνος [m.] 'killer of lizards' (Plin.); on σαυρο-βριθές, see below.

•DER 1. plant names σαυρ-ίδιον [n.] (Hp., Gal.), -ίγη [f.] (H.), cf. e.g. φυσίγη = φύσιγξ to φύσα, also -ίτις [f.] (Ps.-Dsc.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 130. 2. fish name -ίς [f.] (Suid.). 3. -ίται· εἶδος τι ὄφεων 'a kind of serpent' (H.). 4. -ίγη also = τὸ ζῶον ἢ σαύρα (H.), *sauritis* also a precious stone that was allegedly found inside a lizard (Plin.). 5. -ήτης [m.] 'keeper of crocodiles' (pap.). 6. σαυρωτή· ποικίλη 'dappled', -ωτοῖς δόρασι· τοῖς σαυρωτῆρας ἔχουσι κατὰ τῆς ἐπιδορατίδος (H.). 7. σαυρωτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] (K 153, Hdt. 7, 41, Plb.) 'lance shoe, bottom end of a lance that could be stuck into the ground, vel sim.'; cf. instrument names like τροπωτήρ, σφυρωτήρ, to this σαυρωτός and σαύρα = 'case' (see above); in the same meaning also σαῦρος in σαυρο-βριθές ἔγχος (*Trag. Adesp.* 264); the lance-shaft was probably compared with the long tail of a lizard (cf. οὐρίαχος). 8. PN Σαυρίας, Σαύρων etc. (IA, etc.).

•ETYM Without etymology, like many other words for 'lizard'. The words σαύρα, σαῦρος, etc. are often connected with a group of other words starting with σαυ-: σαῦλος, σαυνός, and σαυνίον, as well as σαυκρός (see Frisk), but there seems no reason for this. As the animal was not a part of the PIE world, the word must be of local, i.e. of Pre-Greek origin; it is not mentioned by Fur. The word *dinosaur* was coined in 1841 by the English paleontologist R. Owen, with *dino-* from δεινός 'terrible'.

**σαύσαξ** [acc.pl.] a leguminous plant (*Com. Adesp.*). <PG(V)>

•VAR σαύσακας· τυροὺς ἀπαλοὺς εὐτρόφους, καὶ δοκοῦσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐπιφόρους ποιεῖν πρὸς συνουσίαν 'soft, nourishing cheeses' (H.).

•ETYM Older etymologies involve connections with σαυκρόν, σαυκμόν, etc. (see Solmsen 1909: 133, who is hesitant about this), and with σαυσαρόν· ψιθυρόν 'whispering, slanderous' (H.; Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 25'), interpreted as 'dry'

and connected with ►σαυκόν. The word σαυσαρόν is clearly onomatopoeic, however, in view of the meaning.

Fur.: 301<sup>32</sup> is without a doubt correct in connecting σώσικες· οἱ ἐφθοῖ κύαμοι 'cooked beans' (H.), which shows that the word is Pre-Greek (interchange ω/αυ).

**σαυσαρόν**· ψιθυρόν 'whispering, slanderous' (H.). <?>

•DER -ισμός 'paralysis of the tongue' (Arist. *Probl.* 647b).

•ETYM See Pisani *RILomb.* 73 (1939-40): 509.

**σάφα** [adv.] 'surely, certainly, definitely', especially with οἶδα, but also with other verbs of knowing and saying (Il.). <?>

•DER σαφής [adj.] 'sure, definite, apparent, clear, evident' (Pi., A.), on σαφές (*h. Merc.*) see below; adverb σαφέως, σαφῶς 'id.' (*h. Cer.*). An extension is found in σαφ-ηνής, Dor. -ᾱνής (Pi., trag.), adverb -ηνέως (also Hdt.), after ἀπ-, προσ-ηνής etc., with σαφήν-εια [f.] 'clarity, clearness' (Att. since A., Alcmaion), opposed to ἀσάφεια from ἀ-σαφής, σαφην-ίζω 'to make clear, explain' (IA) with -ισμός, -ιστικός (late). Doubtful is σαφήτωρ· μάντις ἀληθής, μνηστής, ἐρμηνευτής 'genuine seer, informer, interpreter' (H.), as if from \*σαφέω (διασαφέω exists since E.); probably arisen from a v.l. at I 404 (for ἀφήτωρ).

•ETYM Of the above words, the adverb σάφα has the earliest attestations and seems to be oldest (Leumann 1950: 112<sup>77</sup>); σαφέως is derived from there (after τάχα : ταχέως), as is the ntr. σαφές (σαφές δ' οὐκ οἶδα *h. Merc.* 208) and σαφέστερον. The form σαφής would be the latest.

The etymology is unexplained. The form σαφής was often analyzed as having a second member related to φάος, φαίνω, the first member being a "strengthening" element σα-, but such an element does not exist. Luther 1935: 61ff. has an extensive treatment of σάφα. Fur.: 344 etc. (see index) suggests several connections (e.g. with σόφος, on the basis of which he concludes that the word is Pre-Greek), but none of them is really evident.

**σαχνός** [adj.] 'tender, mellow', of κρέα (Gal.). <PG(V)>

•VAR σαχνόν· ἀσθενές, χαῦνον 'feeble, porous' (Il.). Also ►σακνός, MGr. and MoGr. ψαχνός 'thin', σαχνός.

•ETYM Derivation from σώχω, ψάχω 'to rub down' has been assumed, but the details remain unclear. The variations σ-/ψ- and -κ-/χ- point to Pre-Greek origin; also note σαυχμόν· σαχνόν (H.).

**σάω** ⇒σήθω.

**σβέννυμι** [v.] 'to quench, extinguish', pass. 'to be extinguished, become extinct' (IA). <IE \*(s)g<sup>w</sup>es- 'extinguish'>

•VAR σβεννώ (Pi., Hp.), aor. σβέσ(σ)αι (Il.), pass. σβεσθῆναι (IA), fut. σβέσω (A., E.); med. σβέννυμαι (Hes.), aor. σβῆναι (Il.), fut. σβήσομαι (Pl.), perf. ἔσβηκα (A.), ἔσβεσμαι (Parm.). Deviating aor. κατα-σβῶσαι (Herod.).

•COMP Also with prefixes, especially ἀπο- and κατα-.

•DER σβέσις (ἀπό-, κατά-) [f.] 'extinction, putting out' (Arist., etc.), σβεσ-τήρ, -τήρος [m.] 'extinguisher' (Plu.), -τήριος [adj.] 'useful for extinguishing' (Th., etc.), -τικός

[adj.] 'id.' (Arist., etc.); ἄ-σβεστος [adj.] 'unextinguishable' (Hom. et al.), σβεστός (Nonn.), fem. 'unslaked lime' (scil. τίτανος) (Dsc., Plu.), also ἀσβεστήριοι and -ωσις in H. as explanations of κονιαταί and κονίασις 'plastering'.

Glosses in H.: ζείναμιεν· σβέννυμεν 'quench', ἐξίνα· ἐπεσβέννυνεν (for -εἶν-?), ἀποζίννυται (written -ξ-, for -ζείν-)· ἀποσβέννυται 'is extinguished'; ζόασον· σβέσον; ζοάσ<εις>· σ[ε]βέσεις.

•ETYM The root of all these forms is σβεσ-, as found in σβέσ-σαι and ἄ-σβεσ-τος. On the basis of the aorist σβέσ(σ)αι, the other forms were created: σβέννυμι < \*σβέσ-νυ-μι, σβέσω, σβεσθῆναι, ἔσβεσμαι. Later on, the secondary aorist ἔσβην, σβῆναι was created after ἔστην, ἔκλην, ἔαγην, etc., and then σβήσομαι, ἔσβηκα were formed after this. The form κατα-σβῶσαι falls outside this system. It could be interpreted as an iterative (\*σβοῆσαι), for which we could compare ζόασον, ζοάσεις as attested in H. The glosses with ζ- may indicate that σβέσ- < PIE \*sg<sup>w</sup>es- developed into σδεσ-dialectally. If correct, this \*sg<sup>w</sup>es- may be compared with e.g. Skt. *jāsate* 'is extinguished', *jāsayati* 'to exhaust', Lith. *gèsti* 'to be extinguished, go out', caus. *gesýti* 'to extinguish, put out', OCS *u-gasiti*, 1sg. *u-gašō* 'to extinguish' < PIE \*g<sup>w</sup>ōs-, Go. *qist* 'destruction', ToAB *kās-* 'to extinguish'. However, Hitt. *kišt-āri* 'to be extinguished, perish' is incompatible with the labiovelar in σβέννυμι. If we posit a pure velar g, which is possible for all other languages, σβέννυμαι and Go. *qist* must be separated. The initial σ- in Greek is aberrant; cf. e.g. Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 1: 590 and Schmidt *Sprache* 22 (1976): 40-49, who assumes that σβ- is metathesized from \*βσ-, the regular outcome of an aorist \*g<sup>w</sup>sē-. This seems unnecessarily complicated.

**σβέν(ν)ιον** [n.] 'fibrous spathe of a male date-palm' (pap.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**σέβις** [?] = πυξίς 'box (of box-wood)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**σέβομαι** [v.] 'to shy, feel ashamed' (Δ 242), post-Hom. 'to be in awe, honor, worship', especially with regard to the gods. <IE \*tieg<sup>w</sup>- 'leave alone, give up'>

•VAR Also σέβω (Pi., trag.), rarely in prose (cf. Schwyzler 1950: 234). Non-presentic forms are quite rare: aor. pass. σεφθῆναι (S. Fr. 164, Pl. *Phdr.* 254b), fut. σεβήσομαι (pap. II<sup>p</sup>).

•COMP Rarely with προσ-, ἀντι-.

•DER σέβας [n.] 'awe, amazement, worship, object of awe, object of worship' (epic poet. Il.), only nom. and acc.; plur. σέβη at A. *Supp.* 755; as a second member of compounds -σεβής (but possibly derived directly from σέβομαι), e.g. εὐ-σεβής 'god-fearing, pious' (Thgn., Pi.), εὐσεβ-εια, -έω, -ημα (from this form and from ἀσεβήμα, also a simplex σέβημα [n.] 'worship' (Orph.) is formed). σέβας served as a basis for the aor. σεβάσσατο (Il.), whence pres. σεβάζομαι, aor. pass. σεβασθῆναι (late) = σέβομαι and derivatives σεβάσεις [pl.] 'deferences' (Epicur.), -σμα [n.] 'object of worship, shrine' (D. H., NT), -σμός [m.] 'worship' (Hell. and late), with -σμος, -σμοτής, -στός 'venerable, reverend, elevated', = Lat. *Augustus* (D. H., Str.), with -σπιος, -στικός, -στεύω, -στεῖον, and a pres. σεβίζομαι, -ίζω = σέβο-μαι (Pi., trag. et al.), which could also be an enlargement of σέβομαι, with -ισμα [n.] (sch.). Verbal

adjective σεπτός 'venerable' (A. Pr. 812, late prose), mostly in compounds, ἄ-, περί-, θεό-σεπτος, etc. (trag.); σεπτ-ικός, -εύω (H.). Agent noun θεο-σέπτωρ [m.] 'worshipper of gods' (E. Hipp. 1364 [anap.]). σέβερος· εὐσεβής, δίκαιος (H.). See also ►σεμνός and ►σοβέω.

•ETYM Traditionally compared with Skt. *tyajati* 'to desert, leave alone, abandon' < \**tiog*<sup>w</sup>-e/o-. Although this seems semantically remote at first sight, the fact that the causative ►σοβέω < \**tiog*<sup>w</sup>-eie- means 'to scare away, chase away' indicates that σέβομαι originally may have meant 'to run away, flee' vel sim. Formal Greco-Aryan matches like σεπτός ~ *tyaktá*-, θεο-σέπτωρ ~ *tyaktar*-, σέβας ~ *tyajas*- are rather due to parallel development than to common inheritance. The origin of the -α- in the s-stem σέβας is unclear, but perhaps analogical after γέρας (cf. Chantraine 1933: 422).

σεῖν [v.] 'to let children urinate' (Ar. fr. 850). <ONOM>

•ETYM Onomatopoeic.

σειρά [f.] 'cord, rope, snare, lasso' (Il.). <IE \**tuerH*- 'grasp, seize, fence in'>

•VAR Ion. -ρή (Dor. σηρά gramm.).

•COMP σειρα-φόρος [m.], Ion. -ρη-, of ἵππος 'a horse which draws by the trace only, trace-horse' (Hdt., A., Ar.), παρά-σειρος 'tied or fastened alongside; a horse harnessed alongside the regular pair; (metaph.) companion' (E. [lyr.], X., Poll.).

•DER σειράιος 'equipped with a rope, walking by the rope' (= σειραφόρος; S., E., D. H.); σειράω [v.] 'to tie or to pull with a rope' (Phot.); ἀνα-σειράζω 'to pull backwards (with a rope)' (E., A. R.); σειρ-ωτός 'girded with a cord' (Sm., Thd.), -όω 'to gird, hem' (Dosith.), -ωσις (Phot.). Diminutive σειρίς [f.] (X.); σερίδες· σειραί 'ropes', σερί<ς>· ζωστήρ 'girdle' (H.), with -ε- for -ει-?; σειράδιον [n.] (Eust.).

•ETYM Usually connected with Lith. *tvérti*, 1sg. *tveriu* 'to grasp, fence in' and reconstructed as \**tuerH-ieh*<sub>2</sub>-, lit. 'seizing' (cf. also ►σορός). Note that the acute accentuation in Lithuanian points to the presence of a laryngeal, \**tuerH*-, which means that σειρά should reflect \**tuerH-ieh*<sub>2</sub>- (with loss of laryngeal before \**i* according to Pinault's Law; Pinault 1982). Connection with εἶρω 'to put in order, connect', Lat. *serō* 'to link, connect' would be better semantically, but would leave the Gr. σ- unexplained. Hitt. *tūrije/a*<sup>zi</sup> 'to harness' is unrelated (thus e.g. Risch *apud* Mayrhofer *Sprache* 10 (1964): 197 and Mayrhofer *IF* 70 (1965-1966): 253), and rather belongs to Skt. *dhur*- 'yoke, pole of a carriage' and Gr. ►θαιρός (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 900).

Σειρήν -ῆνος [f.] 'Siren(s)', mythical destructive bird-like creatures (woman-birds), who in the Odyssey attract sailors on passing ships with their beautiful chant, and then kill them (Od.); also a designation of various seductive women and creatures (Alcm., E., Aeschin., etc.); a designation of a wild kind of bees (Arist. et al.); see Gil Fernández 1959: 214f. <?>

•VAR Σιρ- (Att. vase-inscr.); see Kretschmer *Glotta* 10 (1920): 61f. Often pl. -ῆνες, gen. du. -ῆνων (Od.). By-forms Σειρην-ίδες (Dor. Σηρην-) [pl.] (Alcm. et al.), -άων [gen.pl.] (Epich. 123, verse-final).

•COMP Has been assumed as a first member in Myc. *se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-re, -a-pi* (Mühlestein *Glotta* 36 (1958):152ff.); but well-founded doubts by Risch *SMEA* 1 (1966): 53 ff. See Aura Jorro 1985-1993: 255.

•DER Σειρήν(ε)ιος 'like a siren' (LXX, Hld.).

•ETYM Formally, it is possible to compare σεῖρά as 'the ensnaring one' or Σείριος, as a personification of the mid-day blaze and mid-day magic; see Solmsen 1909: 126ff. In favor of Pre-Greek / Mediterranean origin is e.g. Chantraine 1933: 167; further hypotheses in Brandenstein 1954a: 56f. Fur.: 172 takes the name of the wild bees as Pre-Greek.

Σείριος [m.] 'Sirius, the dog star' (Hes.), also appositive or attributive Σείριος ἀστήρ (Hes. *Op.* 417), as an epithet of stars (Ibyc. et al.) and of the sun (Archil. et al.), 'glowing, burning, desiccating'; also an epithet of the νῆες (Tim. *Pers.* 192), probably reinterpreted as 'devastating, destroying' (cf. von Wilamowitz ad loc.). <IE? \**tuis-ro*- 'sparkling', PG?>

•DER σειριόεις 'scorching, glowing' (ἥλιος, ἀτμός, Opp., Nonn.); σειρι-άω [v.] 'to glow, scorch' (ὀξέα σειριάει, of Σείριος, Arat. 331), also 'to get a heat stroke (σειρίασις)' (medic.); further σειρ-αῖνω [v.] 'to scorch, parch' (Oros *apud* EM), -όω (ἀπο-), also -έω (-εόω) 'to desiccate, drain, filtrate' (medic., pap.; cf. Lagercrantz 1913: ad loc.), whence -ωμα, -ωσις (late); σειρ-άζω 'to strike', of lightning (Ael. Dion.).

Further some designations for a thin, transparent (summer) garment: σειρόν, σείριον, σείρινα, σειρήν (Harp., Phot., Hes.); cf. Solmsen 1909: 128. Artificial back-formation σείρ, σειρός· ὁ ἥλιος καὶ Σείριος (Suid.).

•ETYM Assuming an original meaning 'sparkling, flickering', Σείριος has been connected with ►σεῖω, which is compared to a verb 'to be excited, sparkle, gleam' in Skt. *tviṣ*-, whence *tviṣ*- 'excitement, gleam', *tveṣá*- 'tempestuous, sparkling', and especially Av. *θβισra*- 'glitter'. The basis for the Greek form would then be \**tueis-ro*- or, if σει-stands for σῖ- (Götze *KZ* 51 (1923): 151f.) \**tuis-ro*- (like the Avēstan word). Fur.: 262 compares τήριος· θέρους. Κρήτες 'summer (Cretan)' (H.); if correct, the word could be Pre-Greek.

σειρώω ⇒ Σείριος.

σεῖω [v.] 'to shake, agitate, sway', med. and pass. also 'to quake, shiver'. <IE \**tuei(s)*- 'excite, sparkle'>

•VAR Epic ἐπι-σεῖω (see below), aor. σεῖσαι (Il.), them. aor. ptc. acc. σιόντα (Anacr.), pass. σεισθῆναι, fut. σείσω (IA), perf. med. σέσεισμαι (Pi., etc.), act. σέσεικα (Hell. and late).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐν-, ἐπι-. Seldomly found in compounds, e.g. σεισ-άχθεια [f.] i.e. 'the casting off of burdens, i.e. of debts', designation of a law of Solon (Arist., Plu.); on δορυ-σσοός, see ►δόρυ and Schwyzler: 450<sup>4</sup>.

•DER σεῖ-σις (ἀπό-, κατά-, etc.) [f.] 'shaking' (medic.), -σμός (ἀνα-, δια-, etc.) [m.] 'shock, earthquake, extortion' (IA), whence -σιώδης 'like an earthquake' (late), -σμα (παρά-, διά-, etc.) [f.] 'shaking' (LXX), 'extortion' (pap.), whence -σματίας [m.]

‘concerning an earthquake’ (D. L., Plu.); -στρον [n.] ‘rattle’ (taken over in Latin as *sistrum*), -στρος [m.] plant name ‘Rhinanthus maior’ (Arist., Plu.), -σων, -σωνος [m.] a kind of vase, “shaker” (middle com.), formation like in καύσων, cf. καίω; -στης [m.] a kind of earthquake (Lyd.), -στός ‘shaken’ (Ar.), ‘rattling’, used of ear-pendants (Delos III-II<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Because of its aberrant vocalization, the zero grade ptc. σιόντα must be interpreted as an aorist. Except for this form and nominal -(σ)σόος, all forms show the stem σει(σ)-. The geminate -σσ- in epic ἐπι-σσειώ, ἐ-σσειόντο must go back to an original consonant group, which means that σείω can be connected with Skt. *tvéṣati* ‘to excite; (med.) to be excited, inflame, sparkle’ (cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 686), which points to a reconstruction \**tueis-e/o*<sup>2</sup>. In Avestan, besides *θβαēšā* ‘fears’ < \**tueis-* we also find forms without -s-, viz. *θβαīīah-* [n.], *θβīīā* [f.] ‘fright, danger’ < \**tuei-os-*, \**tui-eh<sub>2</sub>-*. Also possibly related is ►Σείριος.

σελαγέομαι, -έω ⇒ σέλας.

σέλας, -αος [n.] ‘light, glow, beam’ (Il., epic poet., Arist., etc.); on the use in Hom. see Graz 1965: 310ff. ◀?▶

•COMP σελασ-φόρος ‘bringing light’ (A.), with analogical -η-: σελαη-φόρος (Man.), -γενέτης (AP).

•DER σελά-ω ‘to shine, glow’ (Nic. *Th.* 691), whence -σμα, -σμός ‘glow’ (Man.); -γέομαι (E., Ar.), -γέω (Opp.) ‘to glow, radiate’, whence -γησις [f.] ‘glow’ (Zonar.) and by back-formation -γος [n.] ‘beam’ (*Hymn. Is.*); enlarged -γίζω ‘id.’ (Nonn. et al.), whence -γισμα [n.] ‘lightning, flash’ (Man.); -σσομαι ‘to shine, glow’ (Nic. *Th.* 46), -σκω ‘to glow’ (Theognost.). See also ►σελήνη, ►σέλαχος.

•ETYM Etymology unclear. Frisk s.v. states that a connection with Av. *x<sup>a</sup>arənah-* ‘glory of fame’ is semantically attractive, but the interpretation of the latter word is debated (see Lubotsky 1998b for discussion). Moreover, the initial σ- of σέλας is incompatible with Av. *x<sup>a</sup>-*. A different but unlikely etymological proposal can be found in Pisani *Rend. Acc. Linc.* 6:7 (1931): 75.

σελάτης [?] = κοχλίας ‘snail with a spiral shell’ (H.); the form has been corrected to \*σιαλίτης, see Redard 1949: 86.

σέλαχος [n.] ‘cartilaginous fish’ (Hp., Arist.). ◀PG?▶

•VAR Mostly plur. -άχη.

•DER Diminutive σελάχ-ιον [n.], also a designation for small crustaceans (com.), -ιος ‘cartilaginous’, of fishes (late), -ώδης ‘belonging to the cartilaginous fishes’ (Arist.).

•ETYM The formation resembles τέμαχος, τάριχος, στέλεχος. Connected with σέλας ‘light, glow, beam’ already by Galen, because of the phosphorescent light of certain cartilaginous fishes (Strömberg 1943: 55); yet the suffix -αχ- may also point to Pre-Geek origin (cf. κύμβαχος). The old connection with OHG *selah* ‘seal’, etc. is untenable; cf. Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 24f.

σελήνη [f.] ‘moon’ (Il.). ◀GR▶

•VAR Dor. -άνα, Aeol. -άννα.

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. ἀ-σέληνος ‘moonless’ (Th. et al.).

•DER σελην-αίη, Dor. σελαναία [f.] = σελήνη (Il., epic poet.), like Ἀθηναίη (cf. Schwyzer: 469); -ιον [n.] ‘phase of the moon, contour of the moon, etc.’ (Arist., Thphr.), plant name -ίτις; -άριον [n.] designation of moon-shaped ornaments, -ίς [f.] ‘id.’, -ίσκος [m.] ‘id.’ (late), -ίτης (λίθος) [m.] ‘moonstone’, ‘selenite’ (Dsc. et al.), also fem. -ίτις (Redard 1949: 60), ‘moon dweller, etc.’ (Luc., Ath. et al.), -ιεῖα [n. pl.] ‘moon festival’ (pap. II<sup>a</sup>; Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 95), -αῖος ‘moonlit, concerning the moon’ (Orac. *apud* Hdt., A. R.), -ιακός ‘belonging to the moon’ (Plu. et al.), after ἡλι-ακός; -ιάζομαι (Ev. *Matt.*, Vett. Val.), also -(ι)άζω, -ιάω (Man.), ‘to be moonstruck, i.e. to be epileptic’, whence -ιασμός [m.] ‘epilepsy’ (Vett. Val.).

•ETYM This etymon derives from \*σελασ-*vā*, a derivative in -*vā* from ►σέλας ‘light, glow, beam’. The formation may be compared with the PIE word for ‘moon’, \**l(o)uksneh<sub>2</sub>-*, as attested in e.g. Lat. *lūna* ‘moon’ (compare ►λύχνος).

σέλινον [n.] ‘celery, Apium graveolens’ (Il.), also metaph. ‘vagina’ (Phot.); on the meaning, cf. Andrews *Class. Phil.* 44 (1949): 91ff. ◀PG?(V)▶

•VAR Aeol. -vv- (gramm.).

•DIAL Myc. *se-ri-no*.

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. πετρο-σέλινον [n.] ‘rock celery’ (Dsc.), taken over in Latin as *petro-selinum*, MLat. *petrosilium* > MoHG *Petersilie*; see Strömberg 1940: 33.

•DER σελίν-ινος ‘of celery’ (late, rare), -ίτης οἶνος, -ᾶτον [n.] = Lat. *apiātum*, Σελινοῦς, -οῦντος [m., f.] HN and TN, -οῦντιος ‘of S.’ (Megar., Th., Str.), -οῦσιος (Thphr.) ‘id.’ (on the formation see Schwyzer: 528 and 466), -ουσία· κράμβης εἶδος ‘kind of cabbage’ (H., Eudem. *apud* Ath.).

•ETYM Probably a foreign word like ►κύμινον, ►ῥητίνη. Strömberg 1940: 37 proposed a connection with σέλμα ‘deckplank’, σελίς ‘crossbeam’, after the coarse, hollow stalk. Note that Fur.: 351 suggests a connection with Myc. *sa-ri-nu-wo-te*, which would point to a form \*σάλινον, indicating Pre-Greek origin.

σελής, -ίδος [f.] ‘crossbeam of a building or ship, cross-piece, transverse wall, transverse row of benches or seats in a theatre, cross stripe or column in a papyrus roll’ (Att. inscr., Hell. and late inscr. and pap., LXX, Plb., AP). ◀PG?(V)▶

•VAR Frequently plur. -ίδες.

•DER Diminutive σελίδ-ιον [n.] ‘papyrus column’ (Ptol., Vett. Val.), -ωμα [n.] ‘broad plank’ (sch.); σέλμα, often plur. -ατα [n.] ‘deck-plank, rowing plank, rowing bench, deck, scaffolds’ (*h. Bacch.*, Archil., trag., Str.), metaph. of the seat of the gods (A. Ag. 183 [lyr.]). As a second member (with transfer to the *o*-stems) ἐϋ-(σ)σελμος (ἐϋ-) ‘with beautiful σέλματα’ (epic poet. Il.).

Glosses σελμής ... καὶ τὰ ἱκρία ‘... and the half-deck’ (H.), σελμῶν· σανίδων ‘planks, boards’ (H.).

•ETYM This word could be denominative as well as deverbal (formation like ►σανίς, ►δοκίς, etc.), whereas σέλμα is a verbal noun in -μα (δέρμα, βῆμα, etc.). Hesychius’s gloss σελμής seems to be a cross of the two, whereas σελμῶν seems to belong under an *o*-stem \*σελμός.



Schmidt 1875: 78 compared these words with OHG *swelli* [n.], MoHG *Schwelle* 'till, threshold' < PGm. \**swalja*-, and ON *súl*, OHG *sûl*, etc. 'pillar' < PGm. \**suljō*-, but phonetically this etymology is unconvincing, since \**su*- does not yield Gk. σ-. Frisk (s.v.) instead connects σέλμα with OE *selma*, *sealma*, OS *selmo* [m.] 'basis of a bed', but this too is phonetically impossible. If the gloss ἔλματα ... σανιδώματα 'planking' (H.) is cognate, the alternation between σέλμα and ἔλμα may point to Pre-Greek origin.

**σελλίζομαι** [v.] = ψελλίζεσθαι· τινὲς δὲ σελλίζει· ἀλαζονεύει 'make false pretensions' (H.). In Phryn. Com. 10 'to imitate Aeschines, son of Sellos', on which see DELG. <?>

•ETYM Unclear.

**σέλμα** ⇒ σελίς.

**σέμελος** [m.] Lacon. for κοχλίας 'snail with a spiral shell' (Apollas *apud* Ath. 2, 63d). <?>

•DER σεμελοῖριδαι· οἱ ἄνευ κελύφους οὓς ἔνιοι λίψακας 'those without shell, which some call λ.' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. See ► σέσιλος.

**σεμίδαλις, -ιος** [f.] 'finest wheat flour, fine flour' (Hp., com., etc.). <LW Sem.>

•VAR Gen. also -εως, -ιδος.

•DER σεμιδάλιον (also -ιν) [n.] 'id.', -ίτης ἄρτος (Hp., pap., etc.), see Redard 1949: 90f.

•ETYM Loanword from Semitic; cf. Syr. *s'midā* and Assy. *samīdu* 'fine flour' (Lewy KZ 58 (1931): 28f.), whence also Lat. *simila* 'id.', etc. are derived. The Greek word was the source for Georg. *semi(n)dali* 'wheat'.

**σεμνός** [adj.] 'venerable, honored, holy, noble', also 'haughty, proud' (h. Cer.). <IE \**tieg*<sup>w</sup>-no->

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. σεμνό-μαντις [m.] 'venerable seer' (S.), ἄ-σεμνος 'unworthy, ignoble' (Arist., etc.).

•DER σεμν-ότης [f.] 'dignity, nobility, pride' (Att.), -εῖον [n.] 'holy building' (Ph.), after ἀρχεῖον etc.; -ύνομαι, -ύνω [v.] 'to exalt oneself, be proud; to make venerable, exalt, praise' (Hdt., Att.), also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-, ὑπερ-, etc.; formation after θρασύνομαι, -ύνω, αἰσχύνομαι, etc.; back-formations ὑπέρ-, ἐπί-σεμνος (late), cf. Strömberg 1946: 98; -όω = -ύνω (Hdt.), with derivative -ωμα [n.] 'dignity, majesty' (Epicur.).

•ETYM This word reflects \*σεβνός < \**tieg*<sup>w</sup>-no-, an original verbal adjective from ► σέβομαι 'to shy, feel ashamed; to be in awe, honor'.

**σεργοί** = ἔλαφοι 'deer' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown; cf. Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 376 and Fur.: 247.

**σέρις, -ιδος, -εως** [f.] 'endive, chicory' (Epich., Dsc., AP et al.). <?>

•COMP ὕδ-σερις (Plin.), with pejorative ὕδ-, see Strömberg 1940: 31.

•ETYM Unexplained.

**σέριφος** ⇒ σέρφος.

**σερός** [adv.] · χθές, Ἡλεῖοι 'yesterday (Elean)' (H.). <IE \**d<sup>h</sup>ghies* 'yesterday'>

•ETYM Perhaps from \**χ*ιεσ-ός, related to Skt. *hyás* 'yesterday' < PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>ghies*, with Elean rhotacism and -ός after νυκτός, etc. Cf. ► χθές.

**σέρφος** [m.] 'small winged insect, gnat, winged ant' (Ar. et al.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also σύρφος· θηρίδιον μικρόν, ὅποιον ἐμπίς 'small animal, a kind of gnat' (H.), σέριφος [m.], -ίφη [f.] 'a kind of locust' (Zen., Suid.), -ιφον [n.] = ἀψίνθιον θαλάσσιον 'maritime wormwood' (Dsc., Gal.).

•ETYM For the formation, compare other animal names in -φος, -ιφος (ἔλαφος, ἔριφος, etc.), and cf. Chantraine 1933: 263. According to Fur.: 384, the variation in forms points to a Pre-Greek origin. The forms σέρφος/σέριφος could reflect a form \**ser*<sup>w</sup>p-o- or even \**sar*<sup>w</sup>p-o-, but the -v- in σύρφος is then hard to explain. Do we have to assume two separate words?

**σέσελι** [n.] 'small hartwort, Tordylium officinale' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., Dsc. et al.) <LW Eg.>

•VAR -ις [f.], also σίλι [n.] (Plin.); cf. also σιλλικύπριον [n.], an Egyptian tree (Hdt. 2, 94), see Strömberg 1940: 127.

•ETYM A foreign word like πέπερι, κιννάβαρι, etc. According to Ps.-Dsc., an Egyptian name for καυκαλίσ. Taken over in Latin as *seselis*, *sil*.

**σεσερίνος** [?] a fish. <?>

•ETYM See Thompson 1947 s.v.

**σέσηρα** [v.] 'to show one's teeth, to grin' (IA), also 'to gape', of a wound (Hp.), an isolated perf. with pres. meaning.

•VAR Ptc. σεσηρώς, Dor. σεσάρως, epic σεσάρυια [f.] (Hes. Sc. 268).

•DER See on ► σήραγξ.

•ETYM As an old perfect, the verb looks inherited, but no cognates in the other IE languages are known. Sometimes ► σάρμα 'chasm, abyss' is regarded as cognate.

**σέσιλος** [m.] 'land slug' (Ath. 2, 63c, Dsc. 2, 9, H. [cod. -σηλ-]). <?>

•VAR Also σεσέλιτα [acc.] (Dsc. l.c.); compare ► σέμελος 'id.' (Ath. 2, 63d [Lacon.], H.).

•ETYM Unexplained.

**σεύομαι** [v.] 'to charge in, huddle, hurry, hasten, chase', act. 'to chase (away), rush, incite' (Il., epic poet., also Hp., Aret. [as συθῆ, ἐσύθη]). <IE \**kieu*- 'start to move'>

•VAR Also (B., Hell. epic) act. σεύω; aor. ἐσσύμην, ἔσσυτο, σύτο; ἐσ(σ)ύθην, σύθην, σύθη; also σεύατο, ἐσσεύαντο, act. ἔσσενα, σεῦα, perf. ἔσσυμαι, ptc. ἐσσύμενος (cf. Chantraine 1942: 190 on the accentuation), 3pl. σεσύανται (H.), verbal adj. ἐπίσσυτος; also σοῦμαι, σοῦνται, ipv. σοῦ, inf. σοῦσθαι (trag.), Dor. σοώμην, σῶμαι, etc. (H.), perf. ptc. ἐσσοημένον (H.), act. 3sg. σόει (B.), a deverbative derived from σοφοῦμαι < \**sof*-έομαι, cf. Wackernagel KZ 25 (1881): 277; with lengthened grade σῶοντο, σωομένους (A. R.); σεῦται (S. Tr. 645 [lyr.]).

•COMP With prefixes, especially ἐπι-.

•DER As a second member in compounds: αὐτό-σσυτος 'self-spel' (A., S.), often -σ(σ)ός in e.g. λαο-σσός 'inciting the men' (Hom. et al.); σοῦς (from \*σόςος [m.] '(fast, upward) movement' (Democr., Lacon. acc. to Pl. *Cra.* 412b, H.); ὑποσευαντήρ [m.] 'expeller (of the plague)', epithet of Apollo (metr. inscr. Callipolis), derived from ὑπο-σεύω in analogy after e.g. λυμαν-τήρ from λυμαίνομαι; σῶτρον in ►ἐπίσσωτρον; ►πανσυδί; ►ἐπασσύτερος. Cf. also ►τευμιάομαι and ►τευτάζω.

•ETYM This verb is directly cognate with Skt. *cyāvate* 'to move, stir, undertake', Av. *šīiauuaitē* 'to enact, commit' < PIE \**kiéu-e-to*, with correspondences -σσυτος ~ Skt. *cyutá-* 'moved', Av. *mainīiu.šūta-* 'driven by mind' < \**kiu-tó-* and σοῦμαι < \*σοφέομαι ~ Skt. causative *cyānāyate* < \**kiu-éie/o-*. Another cognate is Arm. aor. *č'ogay* (pres. *ert'am*) 'I went', from an *o*-grade \**kiou-*. In spite of the clear cognates, the exact prehistory of the Greek forms is unclear. A preform \**kiéu-e-to* should have regularly given \*\*σέεται. The preservation of -ευ- in σεύομαι must therefore be analogical. LIV<sup>2</sup> (s.v. *k'íeu-*) assumes that it was rebuilt on the *s*-aorist ἔσσενα. Yet this form is difficult to explain as well, since a preform \**kiéu-s-η* should regularly have yielded \*(σ)ῆα. Harðarson 1993a: 190 assumes that σεύομαι reflects \**kieu-ie/o-*, a recently formed present on the basis of the original *s*-aorist, but this is phonetically unlikely: \**kieu-ie/o-* should have given \*σειομαι. Perhaps we should assume that an original athematic middle \**kiéu-to(i)* (perhaps preserved as such in the rare form σεῦται) was the basis on which the -υ- was preserved and generalized in the other forms. On the aorists ἔσσενα and ἔχενα, see Hettrich MSS 35 (1976): 47-61; see also Peters *Sprache* 21 (1975). See ►κινέω, ►κίω.

σεῦτλον ⇒ τεῦτλον.

σήθω [v.] 'to sieve, sift' (Hp., Dsc., Hell. and late pap.). <IE \**kieh<sub>2</sub>-* 'sieve'>

•VAR Aor. σῆσαι, σησθῆναι, perf. σέσημαι, verbal adj. σηστός.

•COMP Also with δια-, κατα-, etc.

•DER σῆσις (Suid.), σῆσις (Delph.) [f.] 'sieving', σῆστρα· κόσκινα 'sieve' (H.), whence σηστρίδιον [n.] (pap. IP<sup>o</sup>).

•ETYM This verb seems to be a θ-present (compare πλήθω, and especially the synonym ἡθέω) to a root ση- < σᾶ-, which is attested as such in 3pl. pres. σῶσι (Hdt. 1, 200), aor. σῆσαι, etc., and (with analogical -σ-) σησθῆναι, which all point to a verb \*σάω (cf. EM σῶ). This is related to Att. δια-ττάω (EM τῶ), from \**kieh<sub>2</sub>-*. See ►διαττάω for further discussion.

σηκός [m.] 'enclosure, fence, pen, stable, enclosed sacred space' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR Dor. (Epid.) σακός.

•COMP σηκο-κόρος [m.] 'stableman' (p 224, etc.).

•DER σηκ-ίς (Ar.), -ύλη, -ύλλα (Ael. Dion., H., Phot.) [f.] 'house-slave', -ίτης (Dor. σακ-) [m.] (ἀρήν, ἔριφος) 'fed in the stable, weaned' (Theoc., Long.), σῆκα· οὐτως ἐπιφθέγγονται οἱ ποιμένες εἰς τὸ συγκλείσαι τὰ ποίμνια 'thus the herdsmen call out in order to enclose the flocks' (H.), -άζω 'to drive into the pen, confine' (Θ 131 etc.), σηκώω (with ἀντι-, ἀνα-) 'to weigh against, balance, equalize, compensate' (Hp., trag., Arist.), whence σῆκ-ωμα (Dor. σᾶκ-) [n.] 'enclosed sacred space' (E., inscr.), usually 'weight, counterweight, calibrated weight or measure' (E., Hyp., Plb., Hell.

and late pap. and inscr.); -ωτήρ [m.] 'balance beam' (H.); ἀντισήκ-ωσις [f.] 'counterweight, equalization' (Hdt., Plot.), with backformation ἀντί-σηκος 'equalizing' (Eust.); σάκωσε· κατέκλεισεν 'enclosed' (H.), ἀποσηκώσας· ὡς ἐν σηκῷ κατακλείσας 'like "having enclosed in a pen"' (H.).

•ETYM Since Bezzenger *BB* 12 (1887): 240, commonly connected with ►σάπτω 'to stuff' through a preform \**tuākó-*, which in laryngeal terms would be \**tueh<sub>2</sub>k-os*. Yet σάπτω would then reflect \**tuak-iō*, which cannot be explained in laryngeal terms (\**tuh<sub>2</sub>k-* should have yielded \*τῦκ-). Perhaps the alternation rather points to Pre-Greek origin.

σηλαγγεύς, -έως [m.] 'gold refiner, gold washer' (Agatharch.). <PG>

•ETYM For \*σαλαγγεύς (from σάλαγξ; see ►σάλος), with -η- after ►σῆραγξ?

σημα [n.] 'sign, symbol, trait, omen, mark, character, feature, gravestone' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Dor. σᾶμα.

•COMP E.g. σηματ-ουργός [m.] 'mark maker' (A.); often as a second member with regular transition into the *o*-stems, e.g. ἄ-σημιος, Dor. ἄ-σᾶμος 'without signs, unimpressed, unintelligible' (IA, Dor.), taken over as MP *asēm* '(uncoined) silver', MoP *sīm* '(silver) thread', cf. Bailey *TPS* 1933: 50), isolated ἄ-σήμιων 'id.' (S.), ἐπί-σημιος (Dor. -ᾱ-) 'provided with a mark' (IA, Dor.), ntr. -ον 'mark, weapon' (Ion. Hell. and late), also -α (Simon., A.); after σῆμα.

•DER σημα-λέος 'sending signs', epithet of Zeus (Paus.), -τόεις 'full of gravestones' (AP); denominative σημαίνω [v.] 'to give a sign, show, order' (Il., Dor. (Pamphyl.) σᾶμ-, often with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, ὑπο-, δια-, ἀπο-. Hence σιμάν-τωρ, -τορος [m.] 'commander, ruler, guide' (epic Il.), a military official (Hdt. 7, 81), 'annunciator, announcing' (late poet.), -τήρ, -τήριον, -τρον, -τρίς, -τρια, -τικός, -σις, also σημασία [f.] 'announcement, etc.' (Arist., Hell. and late), σηματίζομαι = σημαίνομαι (sch.), diminutive σημάτιον [n.] (Eust.), σημ-εῖον, Ion. -ήιον, Dor. σᾶμ- [n.] 'sign, mark, standard, signal, signet' (IA, Dor.), formation like μνημ-εῖον beside μνήμ-α, with -ειώδης 'noteworthy' (Arist., Hell. and late), σημ-ειόομαι, -εῖω 'to note, notice; to provide with a seal' (Hp., Thphr., Hell. and late), also with ἐπι-, etc.; thence -εῖωσις, -εῖωμα, -ειωτικός. σημ-εῖα (-έα, -αία) [f.] 'standard, banner' (Hell. and late), formation like βασιλ-εῖα, etc. PN Σαμχος [m.] (Boeot. inscr.), etc.

•ETYM Although the word looks inherited, no good etymology exists. Brugmann (e.g. Brugmann 1886-1900 II: 348) equated it with Skt. *dhyāman-* [n.] 'thought', but semantically, this is not compelling. If correct, however, σῆμα would reflect \**d<sup>h</sup>ieh<sub>2</sub>-mn-*.

σήμερον ⇒ τήμερον.

σημύδα [f.] 'Judas-tree, Cercis siliquastrum' (Thph.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

σηπία [f.] 'squid' (Hippon., Epich., Ar., Arist.). <PG?>

•VAR Ion. -ίη.

•DER Diminutives σηπ-ίδιον (Hp., com., Arist.), -ιδάριον [n.] (Philyll.), -ιάς [f.] 'squid' (Nic.), -ιον or -ειον [n.] 'Os sepiae, bone of the cuttlefish, pounce' (Arist.).

•ETYM The formation of this word is unclear. Normally, words in -ία are abstracts, which does not match this word's meaning. A connection with σήπομαι 'to rot' is semantically possible (perhaps referring to the ink that smells as if it is rotten), but formally problematic, as σήπια occurs in Epich. (61 and 84) with -ι-, whereas σήπομαι has Doric forms with -ᾱ-. If the forms of Epich. are corrupt or Ionicisms, the connection would be possible. However, it may be more likely that σήπια is a Pre-Greek word (not mentioned in Fur.). The word was taken over in Latin as *sēpia*.

**σήπομαι** [v.] 'to rot, become rotten', act. 'to make rot' (Il.). <IE? \*Kiehp- (vel sim.) 'rot', PG?>

•VAR Perf. σέσηπα, aor. σαπήναι (Il.), fut. σάπησομαι (Hp., Pl.), also act. σήπω (IA), non-present forms are rare: fut. σήψω (A. Fr. 275 = 478 M.), aor. σήψαι (Ael.).

•COMP Also with prefixes, especially ἀπο-, κατα-, δια-.

•DER σιπεδών, -δόνος [f.] 'decomposition', plur. 'rotting juices' (Hp., Antipho Soph., Pl.), formation like τηκεδών, etc.; also a designation of snakes, since their bites cause putrescence (Nic., Ael.), like τεριδών, etc. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 360f.); thence derivatives -δονώδης, -δονικός (medic.); σήψις (ἀπό-, σύν-, etc.), Dor. (Ti. Locr.) σᾶψις [f.] 'decomposition, fermentation' (Emp., Hp., Arist.), σήπος [f.] 'festering sore' (Hp., Dsc.), [m.] 'snake (also lizard), the bite of which causes intense thirst' (Arist., Nic.), σήπη [f.] 'decomposition' (Aq.), σιπο-ποιός = σιπτικός (Alex. Aphr.), σιπετοῦ· σιπεδόνο· 'decay' (H.), σιπ-τός 'rotten' (Arist.), 'causing rot' (Dsc. et al.), earlier and more frequent ἄ-σιπ-τος 'not rotting' (Hp., X., Arist., Thphr.), -τικός 'causing rot' (Hp., Arist.), -τήριος 'id.' (Hp.), σιπ-εύω = σήπω (Man.) (rather enlarged from σήπω than derived from σήπη).

With a different ablaut grade: σαπρός 'rotting, rotten, rancid', 'matured' of wine (IA), also σαπρίας οἶνος (Hermipp.); σαπρ-ότης [f.] 'decomposition' (Pl., Arist., etc.), -ίζομαι (Hp.), -ύνομαι (Nic.), -όομαι (sch.) 'to rot', -ίζω 'to make rot' (LXX).

•ETYM The alternation σιπ-/σαπ- has been taken to point to IE origin (so \*tuehp-, \*tiehp-, or \*kiehp-; the last is chosen in LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*Kiehp-), but no cognates are known. However, \*Kiehp-ro- does not yield σαπρός, so we either have to assume a secondary zero grade (which is unlikely), or we have to accept that the verb is of Pre-Greek origin. Older connections with Skt. *kyāku-* [n.] 'mushroom' and Lith. *šiūpti* 'to putrefy' must be rejected. See on ► σήπια.

**σήραγξ, -γγοξ** [f., m.] 'cave hollowed out by water, hollow rock' (S., Pl., Arist.), also used of cavities and pores of the body (medic.), metaph. = ἐπιθυμία 'desire' (H.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Also σήραγγοξ.

•DER σιράγγιον [n.] washing place in Piraeus (Att.), -ώδης 'full of σ.' (medic., Paus.), -όομαι, -όω 'to be hollow, make porous' (late).

•ETYM Formally similar to synonymous φάραγξ; cf. also φάλαγξ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 399f.). Sometimes connected with ► σέσηρα 'to grin', but this is semantically unlikely. It is rather a Pre-Greek word, in view of the suffix (not mentioned in Fur.).

**σήραμβος** [?] · εἶδος κανθάρου 'a kind of beetle' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Strömberg 1944: 23 considered this to be Laconian for θήραφος 'spider'. Fur.: 171 compares the word to σίραμφος· τὸ ρύγχος 'snout', assuming that σήραμβος denotes a 'snout beetle'. This is semantically unlikely, but in view of the connection with θήραφος (the suffix -αμβ- seems to be Pre-Greek; cf. κεράμβυξ 'longicorn beetle'), the word could be of Pre-Greek origin.

**σής** [m.] 'moth, mite' (Pi.). <?>

•VAR Gen.sg. σεός (gramm.), nom.pl. σέες, acc.pl. σέας (Luc. *Ind.* 1), gen.pl. σέων (Ar. *Lys.* 730, etc.); later σιητός, σήτες, σιητών (Arist., etc.).

•COMP σιητό-βρωτος 'eaten away by moths' (LXX, NT).

•DER σιητάω 'to eat away, gnaw', in σιητώμενα· βιβρωσκόμενα 'being eaten' (Suid.).

•ETYM The older inflected forms, gen.pl. σέων (after which arose σέας, σέες), follow the type σαφής, -έων. The accentuation of gen.sg. σεός follows the pattern of monosyllables. The younger forms σιητός, etc. are rebuilt after θής, θιητός, etc.

The etymology is unclear. The comparisons with ψήν 'date wasp', σίνομαι 'to rob, damage', and Lat. *tinea* 'tinea' are semantically and/or formally weak. It is rather a loanword from Semitic; cf. Hebr. *sās* 'moth', Akk. *sāsu*, etc. (Lewy 1895: 16f., Scheftelowitz *BB* 28 (1904): 289), and Arm. *c'ec* 'mite'.

**σήσαμον** [n.] 'seed and fruit of the sesame plant', also referring to the plant itself (IA).

<LW Sem.>

•VAR Also -ος [m.], -η [f.] 'id.' (Gp.). Dor. σάσαμον, Lac. σάαμον.

•DIAL Myc. *sa-sa-ma* [pl.].

•COMP As a first element e.g. σιησαμο-πώλης [m.] 'sesame merchant' (Att. inscr.).

•DER σιησαμ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'dish made of roasted sesame seeds and honey' (Stesich., com.), -ῆ (-έα Hdn.) [f.] 'id.' (com.), -ιον [n.] 'id.' (Hdn.), -ίτης [m.] 'sesame cake' (Poll., Ath.), -ίτης (γῆ) [f.] 'planted with σ.' (Hell. pap.), see Redard 1949: 91 and 109; -όεις, -οὺς [adj.] 'made of σ.', msc. 'sesame cake' (Hp., Ar.), -ινος 'made of σ.' (X., Hell. pap., Str., etc.), -αῖος 'id.' (Luc.), -ικός 'concerning σ.' (pap.), -ώδης 'sesame-like' (Thphr.), -οὔντιος 'made of σ.' (sch.), -εύω 'to sow σ.', whence -εἶα [f.] (Hell. pap.).

•ETYM Loanword from Semitic; cf. Akk. *šammaššamu* 'sesame', Aram. *šūmš'mā*, etc. (Lewy 1895: 28f.), with a formation like κάρδαμον, βάλαμον, etc. Taken over in Latin as *sēsamum*, *sēsuma*.

**σιηάνιος, σήτες** = τήτες.

**σθένος** [n.] 'strength, power, ability, might' (almost only epic poet. Il.). <?>

•COMP Very frequent as a second member, e.g. ἄ-σθενής 'without strength, strengthless' (Pi., IA), whence ἀσθέν-εια, -έω, -ημα, -όω, -ωσις, -ικός (Arist.) and the secondary simplex σθενής· ισχυρός, καρτερός 'powerful, strong' (H.); also as a first member, e.g. σθενο-βλαβής 'damaging the strength' (Opp.), after φρενο-βλαβής; ΠΝ Σθενέ-λαος (after Μενέλαος), Σθένελος (Il.).

•DER σθεν-αρός 'powerful' (epic poet. *I* 505, also Hp.), formed like βριαρός, στιβαρός, etc.; Σθέν-ιος [m.], -ιάς [f.] epithet of Zeus and of Athena in Argolis (Paus.), -εἶα [n.pl.] name of an Agon in Argos (Plu.), also fem.sg. epithet of Athena

(Lyc. 1164), formed after women's names in -εια; σθέν-ω (with ἐπι- Q. S.) 'to be strong, be able' (back-formation, only pres. and ipf.; trag., also late epic and prose; cf. Schwyzler: 723), -όω 'to strengthen' (1. *Ep. Pet.* 5, 10).

•ETYM No clear etymology. The suffix of σθένος has been analyzed as \*-(e)nos- and compared with ἄφενος, κτήνος, etc., but the existence of an old IE suffix of this shape is unlikely. The initial σθ- is taken as the root by Bolling *AmJPh.* 21 (1900): 316 and compared with Skt. *saghnóti* 'to be a match for, be equal to (a task)', Av. *a-zg-ata-* 'irresistible (?)', which would point to PIE \*sg<sup>wh</sup>-énos.

σιᾶγών [f.] 'jawbone, jaw, cheek' (Hp., Att., Arist., LXX, NT). <PG>

•VAR Ion. σιη- (σεα-, συα- late pap., etc.), -όωρος.

•DER σιᾶγ-όνιον [n.] 'region of the jaw, cheek piece' (Hp., LXX, Ath. Mech.), -ονίτης μῦς 'jaw muscle' (Alex. Trall.); Redard 1949: 101.

•ETYM Synonym for γνάθος (which is the more usual word). Connection with ψίομαι 'to chew' is semantically attractive, but the formation is quite unclear. The latter part, -ων, may be compared to the -ων in λαγών, κενεών, πυγών, ἀγκών, and other words for body parts, but the former part is obscure. Since IE origin is formally hardly possible, the word could well be of Pre-Greek origin, possibly reflecting \*s'āg- (cf. Beekes 2008: 52).

σιαλενδρίς [?] a bird (Call. *fr.* 419, acc. to H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Origin unclear. Perhaps reflecting Pre-Greek \*s'al-.

σίαλον [n., m.] 'spittle, slobber', metaph. 'joint fluid, synovitis' (Hp., Pherecr., X., Arist., Hell. and late). <?>

•VAR σιέλων (-ος).

•DER σιαλίσ-βλέννος 'slime' (H.), σιαλώδης 'like saliva' (Hp.), σιαλ-ίζω (σιελ-) [v.] 'to form spittle, slobber, foam' (Hp., Archig.), -ισμός [m.] 'water-brash' (medic.), -ιστήριον [n.] 'bridle-bit' (Gr.), σίαι-πτύσαι-Πιάφιοι 'to spit (Paph.)' (H.), cod. πτήσαι, cf. Schwyzler: 752<sup>4</sup>.

•ETYM Probably an onomatopoeic word. A connection with Skt. *kṣívati* 'to spit' is formally difficult. Note that the verb ►σικχαίνω, -ομαι 'to feel disgust, detest' shows the rare and late forms σιαινομαι, aor. σιάνθην 'to meet antipathy, disgust' (pap. VI-VII<sup>p</sup>, H., Suid., gloss.), and σιαινών 'to cause antipathy' (sch.), which seem to be transformations on the basis of σίαλον.

σίαλος [m.] 'fat pig, porker', also appositive to σῦς 'id.' (Hom., Q. S., Thphr *apud* Porph.); metaph. 'fat, grease' (Hp. *Acut.* [Sp.] 37). <PG>

•DIAL Myc. *si-a-ro*.

•DER σιαλ-ώδης 'porker-like, fat' (Hp.), -οῦται-τρέφεται 'is fattened' (H.).

•ETYM The one attestation that means 'fat, grease' (Hp. *Acut.* [Sp.] 37) may have arisen out of 'fat pig' by ellipsis, and cannot be used as an argument in favor of the view that the original meaning of σίαλος is 'grease, fat'. Therefore, the connection with σίαλον 'spittle, slobber', which otherwise would be semantically attractive, becomes doubtful. Other etymological proposals are unconvincing. The connection with OE *hwīnan* 'to become weak, to die away' is semantically weak; the connection

with RuCS *tyti* 'to become fat' (Bechtel 1914 s.v.) is formally difficult, as the latter reflects \*teuh<sub>2</sub>- (Skt. *tav-* 'to be strong', Gr. ►ταῦς 'great, many', ►σῶς 'safe and sound'). The word is probably of Pre-Greek origin.

σιβύνη [f.] 'hunting spear, javelin' (Alex., D. S., AP). <LW>

•VAR Also -ης [m.]; συβίνη (pap. III<sup>a</sup>); also ζιβύνη (LXX, Ph. *Bel.*).

•DER Diminutive σιβύνιον [n.] (Plb.), ζι- (H.).

•ETYM Clearly a word of foreign origin; cf. MoP *zōpīn*, Arm. *səvin*, and Syr. *swbyn* 'javelin'. According to Fur.: 247, these words show that the original form was συβίνη, which was possibly metathesized to σιβύνη on the basis of other words for instruments in -ύνη, like κορύνη, τορύνη. Compare also ►σιγύν(ν)ης 'hunting spear', which however cannot be related. Taken over into Latin as *sibyna* (*sub-*, *syb-*).

σίγα [adv.] 'silently, in silence', also interj. 'be quiet!' (trag.). <?>

•DER σιγάω (Hom. only ipv. σίγα; ind. since *h. Merc.*), fut. σιγήσομαι (S., E., Ar.), -ήσω (AP, D. Chr.), perf. σεσίγηκα (Aeschin.), pass. σιγ-άομαι (S.), aor. -θῆναι (Hdt., E.), -ᾤθηναι (Theoc.), fut. -ηθήσομαι (E.), perf. σεσίγ-ημαι, Dor. -ᾤμαι (Pi., E.) 'to be quiet, keep secret', pass. 'to be kept secret', sometimes with κατα-, etc., whence σιγ-ηλός, Dor. (Pi.) -ᾤλός 'silent' (Hp., S., Arist.), -ηρός 'id.' (Men., LXX), -ητής [m.] 'silent person' (Latium II<sup>p</sup>), -ητικός 'silent' (Hp.), -ημονᾶς-σιγᾶς 'keep silent' (H.), σιγή, Dor. -ά (Pi.) [f.] 'silence, secrecy' (Il.; Hom. only σιγῆ; cf. below); σίγος [n.] 'id.' (late innovation, *An. Ox.*), whence σιγ-αλέος 'silent' (AP, Orph.), -ᾤζω (Pi., X., D.C.), κατα- (Arist. et al.) 'to make silent', κατασιγαίνει, gloss of πραῦνει (H.), σιγ-άρνης [m.] '?' (Call. *Epigr.* 45, 6), cf. Schwyzler *RhM* 75 (1926): 447 and 77, 105.

•ETYM It is probable that the interjective adverb σίγα formed the basis for all these words. First, the ipv. σίγα and instrumental dat. σιγῇ were formed, on the basis of which the verbal and nominal paradigms were built (Schwyzler: 722, 726, Schwyzler 1950: 257<sup>1</sup>, Chantraine 1942: 357). The origin of σίγα is unclear, however. The Hesychius gloss ρίγα-σιώπα 'keep silent!' (H.) has been analyzed as ρίγα and taken to point to a pre-form \*σῑγ-. Frisk s.v. suggests a connection with OHG *swīgēn* 'to be silent', but this is formally impossible: the latter would reflect \*sueigh<sup>h</sup>-, which would regularly yield Gk. \*\*εἰχ-. Therefore, it is probably of onomatopoeic origin. Cf. also ►σιωπάω, -ή.

σίγαλόεις [adj.] epic epithet of ἡνία, χιτών, εἴματα, θρόνος, etc., 'brilliant, gleaming' vel sim. (Hom.), later of ἀμύγδαλα, μνία (Hermipp., Numen. *apud* Ath.). <?>

•DER νεο-σίγαλος 'with a new brilliance', of τρόπος (Pi.), after the pattern παιπαλόεις: πολυ-παίπαλος, etc. (Leumann 1950: 214<sup>8</sup>); σιγαλόω [v.] 'to smoothen, polish' (Apollon. *Lex.* s.v. σιγαλόεντα, sch. Pi.), σιγάλωμα [n.] 'polishing tools of a cobbler' (Apollon. *ibd.*, H. s.v. σιγαλόεν), also 'border, edging of a pelt' (H. τὰ περιεπτόμενα ταῖς ῥαῖς), σιάλωμα 'iron mountings of a Roman longshield' (Plb. 6, 23, 4; H.), with loss of the γ, cf. Schwyzler: 209.

•ETYM Formation like αἰθαλόεις, ὀμφαλόεις, etc., which are also epic epithets. The technical noun σιγάλωμα belongs to a different style category and cannot be derived from σιγαλόεις directly, but may be formed on the basis of σιγαλόω (if this verb is not a construct of grammarians), or forms an enlargement of an unattested noun

\*σίγαλος (like e.g. ἀέτωμα to ἀετός). Etymology unclear. Older, unconvincing attempts in Frisk s.v.

**σιγαλφοί** [m.] · οἱ ἄφωνοι καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι τέττιγες ‘wild cicadas that do not make any sound’ (H.). <PG?>

•VAR Cf. σίγιον· εἶδος τέττιγος ‘a kind of cicada’ (sch. Ar. Av. 1095).

•ETYM The reading of this word is not fully certain; some scholars prefer a reading in -αλοί (cf. Frisk s.v.). Because of the muteness of this type of cicada, this word was connected already in classical times (Plin. HN 11, 92) with σιγή ‘silence’ (see ► σίγα), which could make sense. Strömberg 1944: 18 rather connects the word with σίζω ‘to hiss’. Fur.: 369 compares the words ἀδιγόρ· τρωξάλλις. ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν ‘grasshopper (Skythian)’ (with prothetic vowel?) and ζειγάρη· ὁ τέττιξ παρὰ Σιδιήταις ‘id. (Sidetian)’ (H.), which would point to a Pre-Greek origin. This would be supported if the word should indeed be read σιγαλ(λ)οί, as Furnée cites it, since words in -αλλο- are Pre-Greek (Beekes 2008).

**σίγιστρον** [n.] ‘chest’ (Eust. 956, 6; 1604, 10). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**σίγλος** [m.] weight and coin (in X. = 7.5 Att. obols), ‘shekel’ (Att. inscr. end IV<sup>a</sup>, X.), also used as an ear-pendant (e.g. in σιγλο-φόρος Com. Adesp. 792); in this meaning also σίγλαι [f.pl.] (PMasp. VI<sup>p</sup>, Poll.). <LW Sem.>

•VAR σίκλος (LXX, J.).

•ETYM Loanword from Semitic; cf. Hebr. *šekel*, etc. Taken over in Latin as *siclus*.

**σίγμα** [n.] indecl. name of the letter (Pl., Arist., etc.). <?>

•VAR Also -ῖ-.

•DER σιγμ(α)ο-ειδής ‘sigma-shaped’ (late), σιγματίζω ‘to write with a sigma’ (Eust.).

•ETYM The name of this letter is without an evident Semitic precursor (Hebr. *sāmekh* is formally remote). Therefore, it is more probably a verbal noun from the verb σίζω ‘to hiss’ (Schwyzer KZ 58 (1931): 186ff.).

**σίγραι** · τῶν ἀγρίων συῶν οἱ βραχεῖς καὶ συμιοί ‘small and snub-nosed wild swine’ (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Pre-Greek, in view of the gloss σίκα· ὕς. Λάκωνες ‘swine (Laconian)’ (H.).

**σιγύν(ν)ης** [m.] ‘hunting spear, javelin’ (Hdt. 5, 9, Opp.). <PG(V)>

•VAR -ος [m.] (A. R., AP), -ον [n.] (Arist. Po. 1457b 6, AP), -υμνον (Lyc.).

•ETYM According to Herodotus and Aristotle (l.c.), the word is Cyprian, whereas a sch. on A. R. 4, 320 states it is Scythian. The word resembles the ethnonym Σιγύνναι, -οι, -ιννοι (Hdt., A. R., Str.), a people on the other side of the middle Danube, which must have been Iranian (Scythian). According to Herodotus, retail dealers (κάπηλοι) were called σιγύνναι by the Ligyes in the neighborhood of Massilia, clearly after the people (cf. Dunăreanu-Vulpe in Bonfante BSL 37 (1936): 78 and Kretschmer Glotta 27 (1939): 245). Fur.: 247 assumes that σιγύν- reflects \*σιγυφν-, which is a variant of σιγυμν-, with the typical Pre-Greek alternation -μ/-φ-. Cf. ► σιβύνη, which however cannot be cognate.

**σίδη** [f.] ‘pomegranate (tree)’ (Emp., Hp., Thphr.; Nic. also ῖ by metrical lengthening); also the name of a Boeotian water-plant = νυμφαία (Thphr., Nic.). <PG(V)>

•VAR ξίμβαι· ροιαί. Αἰολεῖς ‘pomegranates (Aeolian)’ (H.). Also -α (Boeot.), Schwyzer: 30; -έαι [pl.] (Halaesa), perhaps after συκέαι; σίβδη (Call., H.), σίλβια· σίδια ‘pomegranate peels’ (H.).

•DER σῖδ-ιον [n.] ‘pomegranate peel’ (Hp., Ar., Thphr.), σίλβια· σίδια (H.) with -ιο-ειδής ‘σίδιον-like’ (Hp.), -ιωτόν [n.] ‘medicine produced with σ.’ (Paul. Aeg.), -όεις (Nic.), -ειος (Hdn. Gr.) ‘from the pomegranate peel’; Σῖδ-οῦς, -οὔντος (X.), -όεις, -όεντος (Euph.) [m.] TN near Corinth.

•ETYM Cf. PN like Σίδη, Σίδυμα, and also Alb. *shegë* ‘pomegranate’, etc. See also on ► σίδηρος. On the by-forms σίβδη and ξίμβαι, see also Brandenstein 1958: 80ff. with references. Fur. (index) accepts all forms as real, including ξίμβρα (286). Analyzing σίβδη as < \*σιφδ-, he argues that the group is Pre-Greek. The gloss ῥίμβαι· ροιαί μεγάλα. ἄμεινον δὲ διὰ τοῦ ξ· ξίμβαι (H.) is unclear.

**σίδηρος** [m.] ‘iron, steel’, also ‘iron tool, sword, iron weapon, etc.’, metaph. ‘(iron) toughness’ (Il.). <UNKNOWN>

•VAR Fem. in Nic. Th. 923; Dor. -ἄρος.

•COMP E.g. σιδηρό-φρων ‘iron-minded’ (A., E.), σιδηρο-κόντρα [f.] ‘hunting spear’ (Gortyn, Sagalassos), ὅλο-σίδηρος ‘made completely of iron’ (Attica, Delos, etc.).

•DER Doric forms are not indicated separately: σιδήρ-ιον [n.] ‘iron tool’ (IA, Cret.), -ίσκος [m.] a medical instrument (Crete V-IV<sup>a</sup>), formation like ὀβελίσκος, etc., cf. Chantraine 1933: 408; -εῖα, -εῖον [n.] ‘iron mine’ (Arist., Delos, etc.), -εύς [m.] ‘iron smith’ (X. et al.), -ίτης [m.], -ίτις [f.] ‘made of iron, iron’ (Pi., Eup. et al.), also name of a stone (Plin., Orph.) and several plants, “vervain” (J., Dsc.), because they are supposed to heal stab wounds, cf. Strömberg 1940: 89; -ε(ι)ος, -οῦς, -ιος [adj.] ‘iron’ (Il.), -ήεις ‘id.’ (Nic.), -όεις (EM), -εόεις (Ep. Alex. Adesp.), -ώδης ‘id.’ (sch.), -όομαι, -όω ‘to be provided with iron’ (Th., inscr., etc.), whence -ωσις [f.] ‘ironwork’ (Att. inscr., etc.), -ώματα [n.pl.] ‘iron mountings’ (pap. V<sup>p</sup>), -ωτός ‘studded with iron’ (Edict. Diocl.), -εῦω [v.] ‘to work with iron, forge’ (Poll.), whence -εῖα [f.] ‘ironwork’ (X.); -ίζω [v.] ‘to resemble iron, contain iron’ (medic.).

•ETYM Origin unclear. The Greeks got to know iron from Asia Minor, the Pontus and Caucasus, and it is likely that they took over the word for it from these areas as well. In that sense, the resemblance with the Caucasian word (Udian) *zido* ‘iron’ may be relevant (cf. also Fur.: 105). Some scholars assume that σίδηρος originally referred to meteoric iron, and is derived from Lat. *sidus* ‘constellation’ (cf. Kretschmer Glotta 26 (1938): 64). Others assume that the word refers to the redness of the metal, and assume a connection with σίδη ‘pomegranate’ (Deroy Ant. class. 31 (1962): 98ff., Crepajac KZ 80 (1966): 249ff.). Still others assume a connection with words for ‘silver’, like e.g. Lith. *sidābras* ‘silver’ (because both metals have a white color); cf. e.g. Mallory & Adams 1997: 313-4.

**σίζω** [v.] ‘to hiss’ (1 394, com., Arist.). <ONOM>

•VAR Only the pres. stem is securely attested; aor. σίξα (Theoc. 6, 29) is a conjecture, further only ἐπισίξη (Ar. V. 704 v.l.) besides -σίζη.

- COMP Rarely with ἐπι-, δια-.
- DER σιγμός [m.] (Arist., Phld., Plu.), σισμός [m.] (Suid.), σίξις [f.] (Arist.) 'hissing'; also ► σίγμα?
- ETYM Onomatopoeic, just like Lat. *sibilō*, etc. Cf. Schwyzer KZ 58 (1931): 186ff.

σίκα · ὕς. Λάκωνες (H.). ⇒ σῦς and σίγραι.

σίκερα [n.] a kind of fermented drink (LXX). ◀LW Sem.▶

- ETYM Loanword from Semitic; cf. Hebr. *šekar*.

σίκιν(ν)ις, -ιδος [f.] 'dance of the satyrs' (S. fr. 772, E. Cycl. 37, D. H.). ⇒ κηκίς, κηκίω.

σικύα [f.] 'bottle-gourd, Lagenaria vulgaris' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., etc.), metaph. 'bleeding cup' (Hp., com., Pl., etc.). ◀PG(V)▶

- VAR Ion. -ύη (σεκούα H.).
- COMP σικυ-ήλατον [n.] 'patch of gourds, cucumbers' (Hp.), -ήρατον (pap.).
- DER σίκυος (σικυός) [m.] 'cucumber or melon, Cucumis (sativus)' (Hp., com., Arist., etc.), σίκυς [f.] 'id.' (Ald., Dsc., Gal.). Diminutive σικύδιον [n.] (Phryn. Com., pap. II-III<sup>p</sup>), -ώδης 'cucumber-like, etc.' (Hp., Thphr.), -ηδόν 'like a cucumber' (medic.), -ών [m.] 'cucumber patch', -ώνη [f.] = σίκυος ἄγριος 'wild bottle-gourd', also 'bleeding cup' (Hdt.), formation like κροτώνη, etc.; -ωνία [f.] = κολοκύνθη 'round gourd' (Hp., Plu.). Also Σικυών (Σεκυ-), -ώνος [m., f.] 'cucumber city', city not far from Corinth (Il.) with -ώνιος, -ωνικός.

From the second meaning: -υάζω 'to cup' (Arr.), with -ύασις, -υασ-μός (late).

- ETYM For other plant names in -υς, compare e.g. ῥάφυς, κάχυς; for plant names in -ύα, compare οίσύα, ὀστράα, etc. The Hesychius gloss σεκούα· σικύα, as well as the toponym Σικυών/Σεκυών, shows an alternation σικ-/σεκ-, which cannot be explained from an IE point of view. Together with the forms σικύα = σικύα (*Edict. Diocl.*, cf. Fur.: 367), κύκυν· τὸν σικυόν (H.), and κυκύϊζα· γλυκεῖα κολόκυντα 'sweet round gourd' (H.), as well as Lat. *cucumis* 'cucumber' and ORu. *tyky* 'pumpkin', we seem to be dealing with a Wanderwort that might also have Semitic cognates, e.g. Hebr. *qīššū'ā* 'cucumber'. Exact origin and preform unclear.

σικχός [adj.] 'disgusted, picky, especially concerning food' (Arist., Plu., Ath.). ◀?▶

- COMP ἄ-σικχος 'not picky concerning food, not easily causing satiety (of food)' (Plu.), see Frisk 1941: 16.
- DER σίκχ-ος [n.] 'disgust, tedium' (Sm.), formed like e.g. μάκρος [n.] from μακρός, cf. Schwyzer: 512; -ότης [f.] 'id.' (Eust.), -αίνω, -αίνομαι [v.] 'to feel disgust or tedium, to detest' (Call., Plb., Arr.), whence -αντός 'provoking disgust' (M. Ant.), -ασία, -ασμός (gloss.), σικχαζόμενος· σκωπτόμενος 'being mocked' (H.).
- ETYM The cluster -κχ- makes an IE origin unlikely. Further unclear.

σίλβη [f.] · εἶδος πέμματος <ἐκ> κριθῆς, σιγάμης καὶ μήκωνος 'a kind of cake made of barley, sesame and poppy' (H.). ◀PG?▶

- ETYM Neumann 1961: 98 compares this word to Hitt. *šiluhā-* 'a kind of cake', which may have variants in *šiliuḡa-* and *šiliuḡa-*. If cognate, it is clearly a loanword or a Pre-Greek word. Yet the -β- of σίλβη is difficult to reconcile with the Hittite forms.

σίληπορδέω [v.] 'to behave with vulgar arrogance' (Sophr. 164, Posidon. 36 J., H., Phot.). ◀?▶

- VAR Dor. σιλᾶ-, aor. -ῆσαι.
- DER σίληπορδία [f.] (Luc. *Lex.* 21).
- ETYM The element -πορδέω is clearly cognate with ► πέρδομαι 'to fart'; compare also MoGr. τσιληπουρδῶ 'to spring, leap, kick with the heel (of young horses); to fart' and τσιληπούρδισμα 'farting (of horses)'. The first element, σίλη-, is of unclear origin. On the basis of the toponym Πορδοσιλήνη (an island), it has been suggested that σίλη- must belong with ► Σιληνός.

σίλιγον [n.] 'winter wheat', Lat. *siligō* (pap. II-VI<sup>p</sup>). ◀LW Lat.▶

- VAR Also σελ-, -ιον.
- DER σιλιν(ι)-ἄριος [m.] 'baker or seller of σ.', also σιλινιάριος = Lat. *siliginārius* (ibid.); σίλιγνις (σέλ-) [f.] 'flour made of σ.' (Chrysipp. Tyan., Gal., etc.), -ίτης (ἄρτος) 'bread made of σ.' (Gal., inscr. Ephesus I-II<sup>p</sup>), -ίας [m.] 'id.' (Eust.).
- ETYM Loanword from Lat. *siligō*, -inis [f.] with transformation to the ο-, ιο-, and ι- stems.

σίλλος [m.] 'satire, satirical poem' (Str., Ael., D. L. et al.). ◀?▶

- COMP σίλλο-γράφος [m.] 'poet of σ.' (Ath., Jul.).
- DER σίλλ-αίνω (rarely with δια-, κατα-, ἐπι-) 'to mock, ridicule' (Hp., Herod., Ael., Luc.), -όω (δια-) 'id.' (*Com. Adesp.*, Gal., D. C.), PNs e.g. Σίλλος, -αξ, -εύς.
- ETYM Unclear origin. According to Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912), it is derived by hypocoristic gemination from a preform \*σίλός (= Lat. *silus* 'pug-nosed'), besides σιμός 'snub-nosed', through the meaning 'with a turned-up nose > mocker' (Σιληνός would belong here as well, then). Kretschmer *Glotta* 4 (1913): 351ff. rather derives σίλλος from Σιληνός, referring to ἀνάσιλλος 'having erect hair, with which Satyrs are often depicted' (compare also σιλλέα· τρίχωμα 'hair growth' H.). Both etymologies are formally unattractive. The interpretation of the hapax σίλλος 'squinting' in Luc. *Lex.* 3 is unclear: the word is preceded by ὅς, and may therefore be a corrupt spelling for ἰλλός 'squinting', but compare also σιλλόω, which according to Phot. (from Archipp. 52) = τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἡρέμια παραφέρειν 'to gently turn away the eyes'.

σίλλυβον [n.] an edible thistle (Dsc., Ruf. *apud* Orib., H.). ◀?▶

- DER σίλλυβα [pl.] 'fringes, tassels' (Poll., H.), σίλλυβος 'strip of parchment or paper attached to scrolls' (Cic. *Att.*), σίλλυβιᾶν (cod. σικυλλιᾶν)· τὸ τοὺς κροσσούς ἀποσειεσθαι 'to shake the tassels, fringes' (H.).
- ETYM Origin unclear. For the formation, compare plant names like ὄροβος, σκόλυβος, ὄχθοιβος, κόσσυμβος, etc., which usually have no etymology (cf. Chantraine 1933: 261 f.). Fur.: 67 compares Lat. *titulus*, originally an appendix to the scroll, and reconstructs \**tit(o)l-ob<sup>h</sup>-* > *sisl-ub-*.

σίλουρος [m.] a big river fish, probably 'catfish' or 'sturgeon', Lat. *silurus* (mid. com., Hell. pap., Str., etc.). ◀PG(S)▶

- DER σιλουρισμός [m.] 'serving a σ.' (Diph.).

•ETYM In the older literature, it is derived from οὐρά 'tail' and an unclear first element (compare μελάν-ουρος for the formation), the first element being connected by Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912): 9ff. with \*σίλος, as in ►σίλλος and ►Σιληνός. However, the word is rather formed with the Pre-Greek suffix -ουρος.

**σίλφη** [f.] an insect, 'cockroach, carrion beetle' (Arist., Gal., Ael., AP). <PG(V)>

•VAR τίλφη (Luc.).

•ETYM Etymology unclear. The variant τίλφη in Luc. could be an artificial Atticism (cf. Schwyzer: 319) or show a Pre-Greek alternation τ-/σ-. The form formally and semantically resembles ►σέρφος, a small winged insect, 'gnat, winged ant'. Fur.: 167, etc. connects Lat. *delpha* (an insect) as well, all of which would point to Pre-Greek origin.

**σίλφιον** [n.] a plant known especially from Cyrene, 'silphium'. <PG(V)>

•VAR σέλπον· σίλφιον (H.).

•DER σιλφιωτός (Ar.), σεσιλφιωμένος (Philox., not certain) 'prepared with σ.', σιλφιόεις 'made of σ.' (Nic.).

•ETYM The variants σίλφιον, σέλπον, together with Lat. *sirpe* 'id.', point to a loanword of unknown origin. Fur.: 163, etc. also mentions Berb. *aselbu* 'iuncus maritimus'.

**σίμβλος** [m.] 'beehive' (Hes., Ar., Arist., Theoc., A. R.). <PG?>

•VAR -αι (H.), plur. also -α (Opp.).

•DER σμβλ-ήϊος, [f.] -ήϊς 'belonging to the beehive' (A. R., AP), -ιος 'id.' (Dsc., Ruf. *apud* Orib.; uncertain), -εύω [v.] 'to seek shelter in a beehive' (AP), -ωσις [f.] an eye-disease (*Hippiatr.*).

•ETYM Origin unclear. Older proposals (cf. Frisk s.v.) are all unconvincing. Fur.: 286 compares words like σιπύη 'box for keeping flour and bread', σίφνις 'id.', σιβαία 'wallet' and Lat. *simpulum* 'a small ladle', *simpuvium* 'vessel for offering liquids, a sacrificial bowl'. Also uncertain.

**σιμίκιον** [n.] musical instrument with five strings (Poll. 4, 59). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**σίμός** [adj.] 'having an impressed, pouting nose, snub- or flat-nosed' (opposite of γρυτός), 'bent upward, rising, concave, hollow' (opposite of κυρτός), metaph. 'impudent, mischievous' (IA). <PG?>

•COMP Also with modifying or further characterising prefixes like ἀνα-, ἐν-, ὑπο-.

•DER σμι-ότης [f.] 'snub-nosedness, upward bending' (Pl., X.), σμι-όμαι, -όω 'to become snub-nosed, bend upward, bend off' (Hp., Th., X., Arist., etc.), also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-; thence -ωσις [f.] 'snub-nosedness' (Gal.), ἀπο- 'bending off course of a ship' (App.), -ωμια [n.] 'curved upward prow of a ship' (Plu.), -αίνω [v.] 'to bend the nose upward' (Call. *Iamb.*), σίμιον· αἰγιαλός 'sea-shore, beach' (H.), PN Σῖμ-ος, -ύλος, -ιχος, etc., also -ίας, whence the appellative \*σιμίας [m.] probably 'flat-nose', 'monkey' (taken over in Latin as *simia* 'monkey'), HN Σιμίεις, -εντος (Il., etc.), appurtenance uncertain.

•ETYM Oxytone adjectives in -μός are rare (Chantraine 1933: 151), but note that e.g. θερμός and δοχμός are both of IE origin. The word σιμός may theoretically be Indo-European, and Janda 2005 derives it from \*ti<sub>h</sub>-mó- literally 'struck' > 'flattened (nose)', from the root \*tie<sub>h</sub>- 'to strike', which he also assumes for σῆμα 'sign, mark' < \*tiē<sub>h</sub>-mn 'what is carved', σῶμα 'corpse' < \*tiō<sub>h</sub>-mn 'the killed one' and σῖτος 'grain, food' < \*ti<sub>h</sub>-tó- 'threshed', and which is attested as such in Hitt. *zāh*<sup>i</sup> / *zahh* 'to hit, beat' < \*tio<sub>h</sub>- (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 1019). This construction seems highly improbable in view of the wide range of attested meanings, and the fact that a meaning 'strike' is not attested in Greek. Moreover, neuters in \*-mn do not regularly take the o-grade, so σῶμα must be left out in any case.

Older connections with Germanic words like OHG *swīnan*, ON *svína* 'to disappear, decrease' or MHG *swīmen* 'to stagger, be suspended', ON *svíma* 'to float, stagger, swoon' (Pok. 1041) are formally impossible (\**sm*- does not yield Gr. σ-) and semantically remote. In conclusion, σιμός is most likely Pre-Greek, although there are no further indications for this. It was taken over in Latin as *simus* 'id.'.

**σίμος** [m.] a fish (Opp., Ath.).

•DER Diminutive σμι-άριον (pap. VI-VII<sup>p</sup>).

•ETYM Sometimes connected with σῖμός 'snub-nosed, bent upward', with which it is formally identical, apart from the opposite accentuation. Nevertheless, semantically such a connection cannot be proven.

**σινάπι** [n.] 'mustard, mustard plaster'. <PG>

•VAR σίνηπι, -απυ, -απικ, -ηπυς (Hell and late). A variant is ►νάπυ.

•COMP \*σινάπο-πηκτή may be found in Lat. *senpecta* (late).

•DER σινάπιον (EM, gloss.), -ίδιον (Alex. Trall.), -ινος 'of mustard' (Dsc., Gal.), -ηρός 'spiced with mustard' (pap.). -ίζω 'to apply a mustard plaster', whence -ισμός (medic.).

•ETYM Σινάπι(ς) / σινάπυ(ς) cannot be separated from νάπυ 'mustard'. An alternation σι-/ zero is also found in loans from Egypt (σίλι : σέσελι, σάρι : σίσαρων), on the basis of which Egyptian origin for this word has been suggested (Hehn-Schrader 1911: 211, André *Latomus* 15 (1956): 296ff; rejected by Mayrhofer *Sprache* 7 (1961): 185ff.). Instead, the words can be better explained from a Pre-Greek form \**s'nāpi*. Pre-consonantal palatalized consonants yielded both C<sub>i</sub> and C (e.g. κνώψ : κινώπετον < \**k'n-*, λασιτός : λασται < \**las't-*); cf. Beekes 2008. In this case, \**s'nāpV* yielded both σινάπι- and \*σινάπ-. In initial position, \*σιν- regularly yielded Gr. ν- (cf. e.g. PIE \**sneh<sub>2</sub>ur-* > Gr. νεῦρον 'sinew'). Gr. νάπυ is taken over in Latin as *nāpus* 'turnip' (Plin.) and σινάπι(ς) as *sinapi(s)* 'mustard', from which Go. *sina(s)*, OHG *senf* 'mustard', etc., have been borrowed.

**σινδών, -όνος** [f.] 'fine woven cloth, fine linen, garment; blanket, etc. made thereof' (Hdt., Th., trag., Hell. and late). <LW Sem. (Anat.?)>

•COMP σινδονο-φόρος [m.] 'wearer of a σ.' (Delos, Tegea).

•DER σινδόνιον [n.] 'garment, etc. made of σ.' (Hell. and late), -ίσκος [m.] diminutive (Samos IV<sup>a</sup>), -ίτης, Dor. -ίτας [m.] 'wearer of an σ.' (Str.), 'garment made



of σ.' (Hell. and late), also attributive (τελαμών, χιτών (Poll., Phot.), -ιάζω 'to cover in σ.' (pap.).

•ETYM Possibly a loanword from Semitic, e.g. Hebr. *sādin* 'linen undercloth, kind of shirt' (Lewy 1895: 84f., E. Masson 1967: 25f.), although the formal connection is rather weak. Taken over in Latin as *sindon* 'id.'.

**σινίον** [n.] · κόσκινον 'sieve' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR = σεννίον (PRyl. 139, 9 [IP])? σείνιος τόπος 'sieving, winnowing area' (pap. IV<sup>p</sup>).

•DER Aor. σινιάσαι 'to sift, sieve' (Ev. Luc. 22, 31, H., Phot., EM, Suid., gloss.), whence σινί-ασμα [n.] 'recrement, detrimentum', = ρυπαρία τοῦ σίτου 'waste product of grain' (gloss.), -ατήριον· κόσκινον 'sieve' (H.).

•ETYM A connection with ▶σήθω, σάω, ▶διαττάω 'to sieve' < PIE \**kieh<sub>2</sub>*- seems phonetically impossible. Instead, the alternation σιν- : σενν- : σειν- rather points to a Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 357).

**σίνομαι** [v.] 'to rob, pillage, destroy, damage' (Od., epic, Sapph., Ion., X., Hell. and late, also Argos, Crete, Herakleia; Hdt., Hp. also -έομαι; not in Att.). <?>

•VAR Very rarely attested in aorist: ἐσίναντο (Hdt.), ἐπεσίναντο (Nic.), προσίναντες· βλάψαντες 'disabling, hindering' (H.).

•DIAL Rarely with ἐπι-, κατα-, προ-.

•COMP σιν-όδων, -όδους, -οντος [m.] a fish (Arist., Dorio), folk-etymological for συν-όδων (see Strömberg 1943: 45). Unclear however is σινάμωρος 'harmful, baneful, wicked, mischievous, sweet-toothed, lustful' vel sim., with -ία, -έω, -εσμα (Ion., com., Arist. et al.); because of its short ι, it is not derived from the verb, but from the noun σίνος.

•DER σίνος [n.] 'damage, harm, disaster' (Ion., A., Arist.), whence ἄ-σινής 'unharmed, harmless' (λ 110, Sapph., Ion., A., Pl., X., Hell. and late), with opposite ἐπι-σινής (Thphr.), σίντης [m.] 'destroyer, robber', mostly of beasts of prey, 'thief' (Il., Hell. and late epic), σίντωρ [m.] 'id.' (Crete IV<sup>a</sup>, AP), Σίντιες [m.pl.] EN of the old population of Lemnos (Hom. et al.) (appurtenance uncertain, according to Kretschmer *Glotta* 30 (1943): 117 lit. "the robbers" and to be distinguished from the Thracian Σιντοί, Σίνις, -ιδος [m.] PN of a mythical robber (B., E., X.), also appellative 'robber, destroyer' (A. Ag. 217, Call., Lyc.), σιναρός 'damaged' (Hp.), formation like ρυπαρός, etc.; σινότης [f.] 'damage, flaw' (gloss.), ἐπισίνιος· ἐπίβουλος 'treacherous' (H.), σινώ (προ-) = σίνομαι (Man., Vett. Val.), whence σινωτικός 'harmful' (late), σινδρων = πονηρός 'toilsome' (Phot.), also 'slave born of a slave' (Seleucus *apud* Ath.), also PN, σινδρών· πονηρών, βλαπτικών 'toilsome, hurtful, mischievous' (H.).

•ETYM Because of its long -ι-, the present σίνομαι is best regarded as a *yod*-formation \*σίν-ιομαι (the present σινέομαι must be secondary, for which cf. Schwyzler: 721; on the unclear form σίνονται Sapph. 26, 4, see Hamm 1957: §217a). If it is of IE origin, σίνομαι must contain a presential -ν-, just as κλίνω and κρίνω, which spread not only to the aorist forms (quite possible in view of their rarity), but also to nominal derivatives like σίνος, σίντης, etc. (which is more problematic). Assuming a preform \*τφι-ν-ιε/ο-, the verb has been connected with OE *þwīnan*, etc. 'to become weak,

disappear' (Wood *Mod. Phil.* 5 (1907): 268), but these should rather be derived from the root \**dʰgʰei-*, together with *dwinan* 'id.', Gr. ▶φθίνω 'to decline, decay'. Further etymology unclear.

**σίνων, -ωνος** [m.] 'stone parsley, *Sisum amomum*' (Dsc., Plin.), σίνων ἄγριος = πευκέδανον 'sulphurwort' (Ps.-Dsc.). <?>

•VAR V.l. σίσων.

•ETYM According to Dsc. 3, 55, this plant is at home in Syria (cf. André 1956 s.v. *sinōn*). Origin unexplained.

**σίον** [n.] name of several marsh- or meadow-plants, 'Sium' (Speus. *apud* Ath., Theoc., Dsc.), also identified with σισύμβριον and ἀνησσον (Dsc., Ps.-Dsc.). <?>

•DIAL Myc. TN *si-jo-wo-te* /*sijo-wonteil*.

•ETYM Unexplained. See CEG 3 = RPh. 72 (1998): 138.

**σιπαλός** ⇒σιφλός.

**σίπιον** ⇒στυππεῖον.

**σιπταχόρας** [m.] 'lac-tree, *Schleichera trijuga*' (Ctes.). <LW Orient.>

•ETYM Oriental loanword.

**σιπύη (-ύα)** [f.] 'box for keeping flour and bread' (com., AP, Poll.). <PG(V)>

•VAR συπύη (pap. III<sup>a</sup>), σιπυῖς [f.] (Hp.), ιπύα (H.), σίπυδος (Orac. *apud* Luc. Alex., cf. Fur. 177); note *χομοσεπυοι* (inscr. Selinous, RPh. 69: 128, l. 3).

•ETYM Taken to be a loanword from Semitic by E. Masson 1967: 44f., based on comparison with Hebr. *sap*, etc. This may explain variants like σίφνις 'id.' (Poll., H.) and σιβαία = πήρα 'wallet'. Perhaps Lat. *simpulum*, *simpuvium* belong here as well. The variation may also be explained by Pre-Greek origin.

**σίραιον** [n.] 'boiled wine' (Antiph., Alex. Nic.); also as adjective: σίραιος οἶνος. <?>

•ETYM Perhaps derived from σερῶ (see ▶Σείριος). Fur.: 255 considers this word to be Pre-Greek because of the element -αιον.

**σιρός** [m.] 'pit for keeping corn, silo' (Att. inscr. V<sup>a</sup>, S. Fr., E. Fr., D., Hell. and late), also (metaph.) 'pitfall' (Longus) and = δεσμωτήριον 'prison' (H.). <PG>

•VAR The quantity of -ι- is unstable: usually short, later also σερός.

•COMP σιρο-μάστις [m.] lit. "seeker of pits", 'probe, gauge' (Ph. Bel., LXX).

•ETYM Technical word without etymology. The variation between σῖρ-, σῖρ-, σερ- is hard to explain from an IE point of view. Connection with ▶σιμός 'stub-nosed, bent upwards' through a meaning 'bending in, falling in' (thus Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912): 11 et al.) is improbable.

**σίσαρον** [n.] '*Pastinaca sativa*' (Epich., Diocl. Fr., Dsc.). <?>

•VAR -ιον [n.] piece of jewelry (com. after Poll. 5, 101, H., Phot.).

•ETYM The word recalls ἄσαρον 'hazelwort', ἡδύσαρον 'axe-weed'. Strömberg 1940: 157f. interprets σίσαρον as a reduplication of σάρον as attested in Call. *Del.* 225, but this is semantically improbable (cf. Frisk s.v.). WH s.v. *siser* compares σάρι [n.] (Thphr.), a kind of rush. Unclear.

**σισύμβριον** [n.] 'bergamot mint, *Mentha aquatica*' (com., Arist., Thphr., Dsc.), 'watercress, *Nasturtium officinale*' (Dsc., Plin.), (metaph.) a piece of jewelry (com. after Poll.). <PG?>

•DER σίσυμβρ-ον [n.] 'id.' (Nic., AP, back-formation), -ινος 'made of σ.' (Antiph., Thphr.).

•ETYM Etymology unclear. Strömberg 1940: 158<sup>1</sup> regards the word as a reduplicated formation from ►θύμβρα, a sweet-scented plant, with dialectal development of θ > σ. Sometimes seen as a variant of ►σισυρίγγιον [n.] 'barbary nut, *Iris sisyrinchium*'. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

**σίσυρα** [f.] 'thick, villous cloak (made of goat fur), fleece cloak' (Ar.). <PG(S)>

•VAR σίσυρνα (also -νι, cf. Solmsen 1909: 259), -νος [m.] (H.), also -ος and σίσυς (H.).

•COMP E.g. σισυρνο-φόρος 'wearer of a σ.' (Hdt.), of the Iranian Πάκτυες.

•DER σισυρ-ωτός 'made into a σ.' (Athen IV<sup>a</sup>), -νώδης 'like a σ.' (S. Fr. 413).

•ETYM Unclear etymology; according to Fur.: 215, it is of Pre-Greek origin.

**σισυρίγγιον** [n.] 'barbary nut, *Iris sisyrinchium*' (Thphr.). <PG?>

•ETYM Etymology unclear. Strömberg 1940: 158<sup>1</sup> regards the word as a reduplicated formation from ►σύριγξ 'quill, flute, syrinx' with a χ-suffix. Sometimes connected with ►σισύμβριον 'bergamot mint, watercress'. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

**σίσων** ⇒ σίνων.

**σίτλα** [f.] 'pail' (Ulp., Alex. Trall.). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM Borrowed from Lat. *situla*.

**σίτος** [m.] 'corn (especially wheat), bread, food' (Il.), see Moritz *Class. Quart.* 49 (1955): 135ff. for the semantics. <?>

•VAR Plur. σίτα [n.].

•DIAL Myc. *si-to*.

•COMP Numerous compounds, e.g. σιτ-αγωγός 'conveying corn' (Hdt., Th.), σιτ-ηρέσιον [n.] 'provision of grain, (money for) victualling, pay' (X., D., Hell. and late), σύσ-σιτος [m.] 'table companion, messmate' (Thgn., etc.), whence συσσίτ-ια [pl.], -ία, -ικός, -έω, -ησις.

•DER σιτία [n.pl.], rare -ιον [sg.] 'bread, fare, provision', also 'corn' (IA prose, com.), diminutive σιτ-άριον [n.] 'corn, bread' (Hp., pap.), -ανίας (πυρός) [m.] 'kind of wheat' (Thphr.), formation like κριθανίας; -ώματα [pl.] 'provision' (pap. II<sup>p</sup>, cf. Chantraine 1933: 186f.), -ών, -ώνος [m.] 'granary, cornfield' (Plu. et al.), -ώ [f.] epithet of Demeter (Hell. and late), σιτ-ηρός (Hp., Arist., etc.), -ικός (Hell. and late), -ινος (late) 'concerning the corn', -αῖα [n.pl.] 'corn-rents' (Olymos), -ώδης 'cornlike', σιτώδη [n.pl.] 'corn' (Thphr., etc.), σιτ-έομαι [v.] 'to feed' (ω 209 [σιτέσκοντο]), also with κατα-, etc.; thence -ησις [f.] '(public) maintenance' (IA); also -εύω, -εύομαι [v.] 'to feed, supply' (Hdt., Hell. and late), whence -ευτός (X., etc.), -ευσις, -εύσιμος, -ευτής, -εῖα (Hell. and late); -ίζω, -ίζομαι 'id.', often with ἐπι-, whence ἐπι-σιτ-ισμός 'victualling' (X., D., etc.).

•ETYM Often explained as a loanword from other IE languages, e.g. from Ru. *žito* 'corn', OPr. *geits* 'bread' (Wiedemann *BB* 27 (1902): 213) or from Go. *hvaiteis* 'wheat', etc. (Meyer 1892: 51<sup>2</sup>), or as a substrate word (taken with e.g. Basque *zitu* 'corn, harvest' or Sum. *zid* 'flour').

Nevertheless, the word looks IE, and Janda 2005 has suggested to reconstruct it as a substantivization of an adjective \*σιτό- 'threshed' derived from \*τιη<sub>2</sub>-τό-, literally "struck", a \*-to-ptc. from a PIE verbal root \*τιη<sub>2</sub>- 'to strike, hit' as attested in Hitt. *zāh<sup>1</sup>* / *zah<sup>1</sup>*- 'to hit, beat' < \*τιη<sub>2</sub>- (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 1019). This root \*τιη<sub>2</sub>- would also be visible in ►σημα 'sign, mark' < \*τιη<sub>2</sub>-mn "what is carved", ►σῶμα 'corpse' < \*τιόη<sub>2</sub>-mn "the killed one", and ►σιμός 'snub-nosed' < \*τιη<sub>2</sub>-μό- "flattened". As explained under ►σιμός, this etymology is of doubtful value.

**σίττα** [interj.] cry of herdsmen (Theoc.). <PG>

•VAR Also ψίττα (sch.); similar ψύττα (E. Cyc. 49, Luc., AP); φίττα (Poll. 9, 122 and 127) cf. Fur.: 329.

•ETYM Elementary interjection; see Schwyzler KZ 58 (1931): 170ff. and Kretschmer *Glotta* 21 (1933): 172.

**σίττη** [f.] 'kind of woodpecker or nuthatch' (Arist., Call.). <PG?>

•VAR Dial. also ἴττα, ἴπτα (H.).

•ETYM Clearly onomatopoeic; cf. Thompson 1895 s.v. with important details. Fur.: 325 also connects βίττακος, ψίττακος 'parrot'.

**σιτύβαι** [f.] δερμάτιναι στολαί, τὰ μικρὰ ἱμαντάρια 'leather garments, the small halyards' (H.). Further σίττυβα [n.pl.] · χιτών ἐκ δερμάτων 'frock made of hide' (Poll. 7, 70), σίττυβον· τὸ μικρὸν δέρμα 'small hide' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 378) and σίττυβοι· κροσσοί, ἱμάντες, θύσανοι 'tassels, leather straps, fringes' (Phot., Eust.). <PG(S)>

•ETYM Cf. Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 5 (1955): 230.

**σίττυβος** [m.] a κάκκαβος-like cauldron (Antiph. 182, 7). <PG(V)>

•VAR σίττυβον, -α, -αι 'skin, leather, leather strap, leather jacket' (H., Poll., Phot., Hdn. Gr.), σίσυβοι = κροσσοί, ἱμάντες, θύσανοι 'tassels, leather straps, fringes' (Phot., Eust.).

•DER Besides σίττυβον, -α, -αι as expressions for 'skin, leather, leather strap, leather jacket' (H., Poll., Phot., Hdn. Gr.). Also σίσυβοι = κροσσοί, ἱμάντες, θύσανοι (Phot., Eust.); in the same mg. also ►σίλλυβα, probably through contamination.

•ETYM If we assume that the original meaning of this word was 'leather bag', which developed into 'kettle, pan', then the appurtenance of σίττυβον 'skin, leather' and σίσυβοι 'leather straps' makes sense. See Frisk s.v. for improbable attempts at etymologizing. This word is clearly Pre-Greek instead, reflecting \*si<sup>h</sup>ub-.

**σίφαρος (σει-)** [m.] 'topsail, topgallant sail' (Arr.), 'curtain in the theatre' (Ephesus).

<PG(V)>

•VAR Also σίπαρος (v.l. Arr. Epict. 3, 2, 18).

•ETYM Technical word without etymology. The variations σιφ- : σειφ- : σίπ- clearly point to a non-IE origin (cf. Fur.: 163). Perhaps connected with Sem. *šap<sup>r</sup>rīr*, Assy. *šuparraru* 'to spread out' (Frisk s.v.). Taken over in Latin as *sip(h)arum*, -arium.

**σιφλός** [adj.] describing physical and psychological defects, 'crippled, lame' vel sim. (πόδα σιφλός A. R.), 'blinded, foolish' (Γλαῦκος, *Eleg. Alex. Adesp.* 1, 2; of fishes Opp.); also 'porous, hollow' (νάρθηξ, Eust.). <PG(V)>

•VAR σιπαλός, σιφνός, see below.

•DER σιφλώσειεν [aor.opt.], verb used in a curse (Ξ 142), σίφλος [m.] 'infirmity' (Lyc.), -ωμα [n.] 'porosity, hollowness' (Eust.).

•ETYM For the formation, compare τυφλός, χωλός, etc. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 238). Besides σιφλός and derivatives, we also find σιφνός· κενός 'empty, void, bereft' (H.), σιφνύει· κενοί 'empties' (H.), σιφνεύς [m.] 'mole' (Lyc.), although these words with *v*-suffix could be derived from ►σίφων 'tube'. More importantly, we find σιπαλός 'blinded(?), maimed(?)' (Call. *Fr. anon.* 106, H., Eust.). Because of the variants σιφλ- / σιφν- / σιπαλ-, the word is probably of Pre-Greek origin. The late meaning 'hollow' may have been based on the formal similarity with σίφων [m.] 'tube, etc.'.

**σιφνεύς** [m.] 'mole'. ⇒σιφλός and σίφων.

**σίφων**, -ωνος [m.] 'tube (especially for draining water), fire-engine, fountain, wine siphon, siphon, etc.' (Hippon., E., Hell. and late); also plant name = αἰγίλωψ 'oat-grass' (Ps.-Dsc.). <?>

•COMP σιφωνο-λογία 'weeding of σ.' (pap.).

•DER σιφώνιον [n.] = σίφων (H.), -ίζω 'to draw off wine with a siphon' (Ar.), σιφνεύς [m.] 'mole' (appurtenance uncertain, perhaps through "digger of tubes"?), σιφνός· κενός 'empty, void, bereft' (H.) (appurtenance uncertain).

•ETYM Technical term, formation like ἄμβων, δόλων, etc. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 162). Etymology unclear; possibly onomatopoeic?

**σιωπάω** [v.] 'to be silent, keep secret', also 'to silence' (Hom.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Aor. -ῆσαι (Il.), fut. -ήσομαι (Att.), -ήσω (Aeschin., Hell. and late), perf. σεσιώπηκα, pass. σιωπηθῆναι, -ηθήσομαι (Att.); also σωπάω in διασωπάσομαι, σεσωπαμένον (Pi.), εὐσωπία· ἡσυχία 'rest, quiet' (H.).

•COMP Also with κατα-, δια-, παρα-, etc.

•DER σιωπή [f.] 'silence' (Pi., Att.), often attested in dat.sg. -ῇ 'in silence, silently' (also Hom.); -ηλός (E., Arist., Call., etc.), -ηρός (X., AP) 'silent', -ησις [f.] (also ἀπο-, παρα-, ὑπο-) 'taciturnity' (Rhet. et al.).

•ETYM Although superficially resembling σιγάω, σιγή, ►σίγα, a connection is unlikely. Because of the alternation σιωπ- / σωπ-, an IE origin is improbable (connections with e.g. Go. *sweiban* 'to stop, suspend' (see references in Frisk s.v.) < \**smjōp-* are unconvincing. It is rather of Pre-Greek origin, reflecting \**s'ōp-* or \**s'up-* (cf. Beekes 2008).

**σκάζω** [v.] 'to limp' (Il., epic poet., also Hdt., LXX). <IE \**skēn(ǵ)-* 'limp, be slanting' or IE \**skend-* 'jump'>

•COMP Also with ἐπι-, ὑπο- (only pres. and ipf.).

•DER σκασιμός [m.] 'limping' (Aq.).

•ETYM The noun σκασιμός is attested very late (IIP), and can easily be a back-formation on the basis of σκάζω. The verb itself can go back to earlier \*σκάγ-ω or

\*σκάδ-ιω. Usually reconstructed as \**skēn(ǵ)-ie/o-* and connected with Skt. *khañjati* 'to limp', OHG *hinkan* 'to limp' < \*(s)*ken(ǵ)-e-*, ON *skakkr* 'limping' (thus Frisk s.v., LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*(s)*ken(ǵ)-*). Alternatively, one could assume a connection with Skt. *skándati* 'to jump', Lat. *scandō* 'to ascend', OIr. *sceinnid* 'to jump' < \**skend-* 'to jump', which would mean that σκάζω reflects \**skēn(ǵ)-ie/o-*.

**σκαίος 1** [adj.] 'left, western' (especially epic poet., rarely attested in this meaning since Il.), 'unfavorable, left-handed, inapt' (IA). <IE \**skeh<sub>2</sub>-i-uo-*>

•DER σκαι-ουργέω 'to do wrong' (Ar.), σκαίο-της [f.] 'improper behavior, inapt' (IA), -σύνα [f.] 'id.' (S. [Iyr.]).

•ETYM Formally and semantically identical with Lat. *scaevus* 'left, inauspicious', on the basis of which we can reconstruct \**skeh<sub>2</sub>i-uo-*. According to Steinbauer 1996 (unpublished presentation, cited in Janda 2000: 118 and Stüber *IJDLR* 3 (2006): 61-72: 68), this word could be identical to σκαίος 'shady', derived from PIE \**sk(e)h<sub>2</sub>-ieh<sub>2</sub>-* 'shade' as attested in Gr. ►σκιά [f.] 'shadow', Skt. *chāyā-* 'shadow, reflection', YAv. *a-saiia-* [adj.] 'that does not cast a shadow', etc. The semantic development may have been 'shaded' > 'western', and when referring to hands, 'shaded hand' > 'improper hand = left hand'. Cf. also the rhyming word ►λαιός 'left'.

**σκαίος 2** 'shady'. ⇒σκιά.

**σκαίρω** [v.] 'to hop, jump, dance' (epic Il.), only pres. and ipf. <IE? \**sker-* 'jump'>

•VAR καρθμιοί· κινήσεις 'motion, dance, movement' (H.).

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, δια-, ὑπο-, etc.

•DER σκαρ-θμός [m.] 'jump' (Hell. epic), also in compounds, e.g. ἐύ-, πολύ-σκαρθμος 'with fair, many jumps' (Il.); σκάρος [n.] 'id.' (EM), whence ἀ-σκαρές· ἀκίνητον 'unmoved, motionless' (H.), σκαρία· παιδιά 'childish play, amusement, fun' (H.), diminutive -ιον [n.] (pap.). σκαρ-ίζω [v.] 'to hop, tap, flounce' (Gp.), whence -ισμός [m.] (Eust., H.), ἀσκαρίζω (Hp., Cratin.). Perhaps also σκάρος [m.] 'Scarus cretensis, parrot-fish' (Epich., Arist., pap., etc.), if named after its lively movements, cf. Strömberg 1943: 52; σκαρίτις [f.] a stone (Plin.), if named after its color, cf. Redard 1949: 61. See ►ἀσκαρίς and ►σκιρτάω, and cf. also ►σκαρδαμύσσω.

•ETYM Etymology unclear. LIV<sup>2</sup> (s.v. 1. \*(s)*k<sup>h</sup>er-*) connects W *cerddaf* 'to walk', and reconstructs σκαίρω as \**s<sup>h</sup>ker-je/o-*. Although the latter reconstruction would indeed regularly yield the Greek verb, the interpretation of W *cerddaf* as reflecting \**ker-je/o-* is not ascertained. Moreover, the semantic connection is quite weak. Other connections, e.g. as mentioned in Frisk s.v., do not make more sense. The alternation σκαρίζω / ἀσκαρίζω is unexplained.

**σκαλαθύρω** [v.] Cf. σκαλαθύρων· ἀκολασταίνων, ὁ σκαλεύων 'licentious, stirring, poking' (H.). <GR>

•DER σκαλαθυρμάτια [n.pl.] 'petty quibbles' (Ar. *Nu.* 630).

•ETYM The verb is used as a euphemism for 'to copulate' in Ar. *Ec.* 611, and is possibly built on a combination of σκάλλω, σκαλεύω 'to stir, hoe, poke' and ἀθύρω 'to play' (cf. Schwyzler: 645 on the type of compound). See ►σκάλλω.

**σκαλαπάζει** [v.] ῥέμβεται 'roams, rolls about' (H.), σκαλπάειν· ῥεμβωδῶς βαδίζειν 'to wander about roamingly' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM The alternation σκαλαπ-/σκαλπ- is suspicious, and if the noun ▶κάλη 'trot' is cognate (thus Fur.: 379), we probably are dealing with a Pre-Greek word.

**σκαληνός** ⇒σκάλλω.

**σκαλίας** [m.] 'fruit shell of the κάκτος' (Thphr.). <PG>

•ETYM Frisk s.v. connects OHG *scala* 'shell, pod', but Fur.: 373 rather adduces ἀσκαλία, ἀσκάληρον 'fruit of the artichoke', which would point to a Pre-Greek origin.

**σκαλίδρις** [f.] a speckled water-bird, probably 'redshank, Scolopax calidris' (Arist. HA 593b). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also καλίδρις (v.l.).

•ETYM The variation σκ-/κ- may point to a Pre-Greek origin.

**σκαλλίον** [n.] a small cup (Philet. *apud* Ath., H.). <?>

•ETYM According to Bechtel 1921, 1: 125 possibly connected with ON *skalli* [m.] 'brain-pan, skull'. Quite uncertain, however.

**σκάλλω** [v.] 'to stir up, hoe' (Hdt., Arist., Thphr., LXX). <IE \*skelh<sub>2/3</sub>- 'split, tear'>

•VAR Only pres. and ipf. (aor. ipv. περισκαλον Gp.).

•COMP Rarely with δια-, etc.

•DER σκαλ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'hoe' (Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>, Str., J.), whence -ιδεύω 'to hoe' (gloss.), -ίς [f.] 'hoeing' (Thphr.), -μός [m.] 'id.' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>), -μός [m.] 'thole' (*h. Hom.*, A., E., Arist., Plb.), -μίδιον [n.] 'id.' (*Com. Aesp.*), -μη [f.] 'short sword, knife' (*S. Fr.* 620), = μάχαφα Θρακία 'Thracian knife' (H.), -ινός (-ινης) 'craggy, rough, uneven', (of numbers) 'odd', (of triangles) 'scalene', (of cones) 'slant' (Democr. *apud* Thphr., Hp., Pl., Arist., etc.); thence -ινία, -ινόμαι (Plu.); ἄσκαλος 'unhoed' (Theoc.), probably metrical for ἀσκάλευτος; verb σκαλ-εῦω 'to hoe, scrape, stir up' (Hp., Ar., Arist.), aor. σκαλεῖν, also with ἀνα-, ἐκ-, ὑπο-, etc. Thence σκαλ-εύς [m.] 'hoe' (X., Poll.), -ευσίς [f.] 'scraping' (Aq.), -εσμα [n.] 'scrapings' (sch., H.), -εσθρον [n.] 'poker' (Poll.), -εία [f.] 'hoeing' (Gp. tit.). Also σκαλ-ίζω (ἀ-) [v.] 'id.' (Phryn.), whence -ισμός [m.] 'hoeing' (pap., Eun.), -ιστήριον [n.] 'hoe' (sch.).

•ETYM This verb has generally been connected with Lith. *skeliù*, *skēlti* 'to split; strike fire', Arm. *c'elum* 'to split, tear' and Hitt. *iškalla-* / *iškall-* 'to slit, split, tear'. The acute intonation of the Lithuanian verb points to the presence of a laryngeal, \*skelh-, and Kloekhorst 2008: 399f. argues that on the basis of Hittite the laryngeal cannot be \*h<sub>1</sub>, which means that the root must have been \*skelh<sub>2/3</sub>-. The geminate -λλ- of σκάλλω seems to go back to either \*σκάλ-ιω (with a *yod*-present as in Lith. *skiliù* 'to strike fire') or \*σκάλ-νω (with a nasal present like in Lith. *skilù* 'to split off, separate oneself'). In the first case, we could assume loss of \*H before \*i (Pinault's Law), thus \*sklh<sub>2/3</sub>-ie/o- > \*skl-je/o- > \*σκάλ-ιω. In the latter case, we could assume that an original \*skl-ne-h<sub>2/3</sub>- first yielded \*σκαλνᾶ-/σκαλνω-, on the basis of which a thematicized \*σκάλν-ε/o- was formed (similarly in ▶βάλλω; note, however, that the latter derives from a root in \*-h<sub>1</sub>, and that a nasal present from a root \*skelh<sub>1</sub>- would

be easier for σκάλλω). It is unnecessary to assume that σκάλλω reflects a laryngeal-less root \*skel-, pace LIV<sup>2</sup>. The derivatives of σκάλλω all show a stem σκαλ- with single -λ-, but this need not reflect an old situation; compare σφαλ- from σφάλλω and θαλ- from θάλλω, etc. See on ▶σκαλαθύρω; appurtenance of ▶σκῶλος and ▶σκόλοψ is uncertain.

**σκάλοψ** ⇒σκόλοψ.

**σκαμβός** [adj.] 'crooked, bandy-legged' (LXX, Hell. pap., Gal.). <PG(S)>

•DER σκαμβό-πους 'with crooked feet' (Ps.-Archyt.), σκαμβόομαι 'to curve' (Aq.), σκάμβυκες· σκόλοπες, χάρακες 'pointed object, stake' (H.), σκαμβάλυξ· σκαμβός, στρεβλός 'crooked, twisted' (H.), σκαμβηρίζοντες· ὀλισθαίνοντες 'slipping and falling' (H.).

•ETYM This word cannot be separated from ▶σκιμβός 'lame', and the variation σκαμβ-/σκιμβ- as well as the derivatives with the non-IE suffixes -υκ- and -αλ- point to a Pre-Greek origin of this word (unless OIr. *camm* 'crooked' < \*kamb- points to an European substrate word). Etymological proposals as mentioned in Frisk s.v. are unconvincing.

**σκαμμάδες** [f.?] πόρναι 'prostitutes' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM No etymology. Given the meaning, it is probably a Pre-Greek word.

**σκαμ(μ)ωνία** [f.] kind of scammony, 'Convulvulus scammonia' (Eub., Arist.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ἀσκαμωνία (Gp.).

•DER -ώνιον (Nic. Al. 565) 'juice of the σ.', -νίτης οἶνος (Dsc., Plin.), also κάμων (Nic. Al. 484).

•ETYM On the formation, cf. Chantraine 1933: 208. The variants σκαμ-/σκαμμ-/ἀσκαμ- point to a Pre-Greek origin for this word. Not related to ▶κύμινον.

**σκάνδαλον** [n.] 'trap', usually (Semitism) 'temptation, scandal' (LXX, NT; PCair. Zen. 608, 7; III<sup>a</sup> [-άνων gen. pl.]). <PG?, LW IE? >

•DER σκανδαλ-ίζω 'to tempt, be offensive, annoy', -ίζομαι 'to be tempted to sin, to be offended' (LXX, NT), whence -ιστής [m.] an acrobat, e.g. 'trapeze artist' (SIG 847, 5 [II<sup>p</sup>]), -όω 'id.' (Aq.), σκανδάλη [f.] 'stick of a trap' (Alciph. 3, 21, 1: κρεάδιον τῆς σκανδάλης ἀπαρτήσας; reading not quite certain), σκάνδαλος· ἐμποδισμός 'hindering' (H.), σκανδάληθρον [n.] (Ar. Ach. 687: σκανδάληθρ' ἰστάς ἐπῶν, according to sch. ad loc. τὸ ἐν ταῖς παγίσιν ἐπικαμπὲς ξύλον 'the crooked stick in a trap'; according to Poll. 7, 114: τὸ τῇ σπαρτίνῃ προσηρτημένον 'that which is bound with the cord', in Poll. 10, 156 σκανδάληθρον is identified with πατάλιον).

•ETYM Since this noun, on the one hand, means 'trap', but on the other hand also has a derivative σκανδαλιστής 'acrobat', it is likely that σκάνδαλον is originally a technical term, possibly referring to a construction with a piece of wood hanging on ropes, which could be used as a trap as well as as an acrobat bar. Often interpreted as an IE word and connected with Lat. *scandō* 'to ascend', Skt. *skāndati* 'to jump, hop, hurry' (cf. Frisk s.v.). Apart from the semantic arbitrariness of this connection, it is formally problematic as well: Gr. -α- would remain unexplained. Therefore, and

since we are dealing with a technical term, it is not unlikely that it is of Pre-Greek origin, or alternatively a loan from another Indo-European language.

**σκάνδιξ, -ἴκος** [f.] 'wild chervil, *Scandix pecten Veneris*' (Ar., And., Thphr., Dsc.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Also σκάνδυξ (v.l. Dsc. 2, 138).

•DER σκανδ-ικώδης 'like σ.' (Thphr.), σκανδικο-πώλης [n.] 'chervil-seller', nickname of Euripides (Ar. [?] in H.).

•ETYM The formation of the noun resembles ῥάδιξ, πέρδιξ and other plant names (cf. Chantraine 1933: 382). Clearly of Pre-Greek origin, cf. κασκάνδιξ, a kind of onion, which could well be a variant of it.

**σκανθαρίζειν** ⇒ σκινθαρίζειν.

**σκαπέρδα** [f.] a game at the Dionysia, during which two young men sitting with their backs to each other try to lift up the other using a cord running through a pole (Poll. 9, 116, H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR σκαπαρδεῦσαι see below, also καπαρδ-, σκαρπαδ-.

•DER σκαπερδεῦσαι (Hippon. 3, 3), acc. to H. = λοιδορῆσαι 'to rebuke', acc. to Tz. *An. Ox.* 3, 351 = συμμαχῆσαι 'to help, assist', καπαρδεῦσαι· μαντεύσασθαι 'to draw divinations' (H.), σκαρπαδεῦσαι· κρίναι 'to separate, decide' (H.), σκάπαρδος· ὁ παραχώδης καὶ ἀνάγωγος 'disturbing and ill-bred' (H.), λακκοσκάπερδον· λακκόπρωκτον 'loose-breeched' (H.). Also: καὶ πᾶν τὸ δυσχερὲς σκαπέρδα λέγεται καὶ ὁ πάσχων σκαπέρδης, 'all that is hard to manage is called σ., and he who suffers it is called σ.'.

•ETYM It is not clear exactly what the term σκαπέρδα refers to (perhaps to the cord; cf. σκαπέρδαν ἔλκειν 'to draw the σ.' in Poll.). If the mentioned derivatives are cognate, the terms must be Pre-Greek in view of the variants σκαπερδ-/σκαπαρδ-/καπαρδ- (cf. Fur.: 351, 393).

**σκάπετος** [m.] 'digging' (Megara). <PG>

•VAR Also κάπετος 'id.' (Il., Hp.).

•ETYM Most probably Pre-Greek; see the discussion under ► σκάπτω.

**σκάπτω** [v.] 'to dig, dig out, work the earth', with κατα- 'to inter, bury', usually 'to demolish, raze to the ground, destroy' (*h. Merc.*, Pi.). <EUR>

•VAR Aor. σκάψαι (IA), fut. σκάψω, perf. ἔσκαφα, med. ἔσκαμμαι (Att.), aor. pass. σκαφ-ῆναι (E., Hell.), fut. -ήσομαι (J. et al.).

•COMP Often with prefixes, especially κατα-.

•DER σκάφη [f.] 'winnow, bowl, trough, dish', also 'ship' (IA), σκάφος [n.] 'hull of a ship', poet. also 'ship' (IA), rarely action noun 'digging' (Hes. *Op.* 572, *Gp.*), diminutive σκαφ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'cup' (ι 223, Hp., Ar. et al.), also 'barge' and 'spade' (Hell. and late), -ιον [n.] 'bowl, cup' (com., Hell. and late), also as a designation of a hairdress (Ar.), 'barge' (Str., Hld.), -ίδιον [n.] 'winnow, ship' (Hell. and late), σκαφ-ίτης [m.] 'boatman' vel sim. (Anon. *apud* Demetr., Str.), σκαφή [f.] 'digging' (Hell. pap., etc., Hdn. Gr. 1, 345), also 'grave' (Bithynia), or σκάφη?; κατα-σκαφ-ή [f.] 'tomb, demolition, destruction' (trag., also Att. prose), often plur. -αί; κατα-σκαφ-ής

'buried' (S.), σκαφ-ιά [f.] 'ditch, grave' (Halaesa I<sup>a</sup>), σκαφ-εύς [m.] 'digger' (E., Archipp., Hell. and late), also 'dish, σκαφηφόρος' (*Com. Adesp.*), σκαφ-εύω [v.] 'to empty in a trough' (Ctes., Plu.), whence -ευσίς (Eun.); further -ευσίς, -εία [f.] 'the digging' (Suid.), -εῖον [n.] 'shovel', also 'bowl, cup' (= -ιον; late Att. Hell.), -εἰδιον (Hdn. *Epim.*), -ευτής = *fossor* (gloss.), σκαφ-ητός [m.] 'the digging' (Thphr., Hell. and late inscr.), -ητροί [pl.] 'id.' (pap. I<sup>p</sup>); NWGr. (Delphi, Troezen, etc.) σκάπετος [m.] 'grave, tomb', Megara σκάπεδος after δάπεδον, πέδον (Solmsen 1909:196); also κάπετος 'id.' (Il., Hp.), also 'spade' (Gortyn)?, uncertain σκαπέτωσις 'the digging' (Troezen). 8. σκαφαλος· ἀντλητήρ 'one who draws water' (H.), like πάσσαλος etc.; an λ-suffix also in σκαφλεύς = σκαφεύς (Athens IV<sup>a</sup>)? 9. σκαπ-άνη [f.] 'shovel, spade' (Theoc., AP), also 'excavation' (Thphr.), with -ανήτης [m.] 'digger' (Zonar.), -ανεύς [m.] 'id.' (Lyc., Phld., Str.), -ανεύω [v.] 'to dig up' (inscr. Magnesia, Phld. *Rh.*). 10. σκάμμα [n.] 'the digging, ditch, place dug up' (Pl. *Lg.*, Hell. and late). 11. περίσκαψις [f.] 'the digging up' (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>, Gp.). 12. σκαπτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'digger' (Margites, X. *apud* Poll.), see Fraenkel 1910: 107; 2, 55, Benveniste 1948: 39; fem. -τεῖρα (AP). 13. ΤΝ Σκαπτή ὕλη (Thrace; Hdt. et al.) with Σκαπτησυλικός (Att. inscr.), -ίτης [m.] (St. Byz.); on the formation see Schwyzler: 452.

•ETYM The basis of the above forms is either σκαπ- (with σκαφ- analogically after θάπτω: τάφος, ταφήναι) or σκαφ- (with σκαπ- before voiceless consonant, and analogically before vowel). In the case of σκαπ-, the relic Lat. *scapulae*, U *scapla* [acc.sg.] 'shoulder-blade' has been compared, assuming that it originally meant 'shovel' as a primary agent noun (cf. σκάφαλος above). In the case of σκαφ-, σκάπτω could formally correspond to a verb for 'plane, scratch, etc.' in Lat. *scabō*, OHG *scaban*, Lith. *skabiū* (beside *skobiū*, *skōbti*) 'to scoop out with a chisel, vel sim.', to which the Slavic group of Ru. *skobel* 'plane-iron', etc. is connected. Semantically, σκάφη, σκάφος, etc. fit better with 'to plane, scoop out' than with 'to dig' (extensive treatment in Solmsen 1909: 196ff.), but such words may of course easily change their meaning.

Frisk's discussion of σκάπτω, referring to Pok. 930ff., is highly dated. We now know, for example, that PIE did not have an ablaut *e* ~ *a*, so the words with -*e*- (e.g. ► κόπτω, ► σκέπαρνος) must be omitted. Connection with ► σκήπτω and ► σκίπων is formally and semantically unfeasible. The same holds for that with Lith. *skōbti*, 1sg. *skobiū*, as Greek has no form with long *ā* (in other words, there is no trace of ablaut). It seems that the forms κάπετος and ► σκάπετος may be Pre-Greek, and well as other forms with σκαπ-, like σκάφαλος and the strange σκαφλεύς. The other forms seem to be based on \**skab<sup>h</sup>*-, as in Lat. *scabō* and OHG *scaban*. I suggest that this root is a loan from a European substrate language.

\*σκαραβαῖος ⇒ κάραβος.

**σκαρδαμύσσω** [v.] 'to blink, twinkle' (Hp., E., X., Arist.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Att. -ττω; καρδαμύσσω, -ττω (H., EM).

•DER σκαρδαμύκ-της [m.] 'blinker', -τικός 'blinking' (Arist.), -τέω 'to blink' (Luc., Porph.); σκαρδαμυγ-μός [m.] 'blinking' (Antyll. *apud* Orib.), ἁ-σκαρδάμυκ-τος (also

-τί [adv.]) 'not blinking, without blinking' (Ar., X, Luc.), ἄ-σκαρδαμύκ-της 'one who does not blink' (Hp.), -τέω (sch.).

•ETYM The stem of all these words is (σ)καρδαμυκ-. The formation looks non-IE, and the variation between forms with and without σ- may well point to Pre-Greek origin.

**σκαρίφάομαι** [v.] 'to tear up the surface of a body, scratch, make an outline' (H., sch. on Ar. Ra. 1497). <EUR>

•DER σκαρίφ-ημοί [m.pl.] 'scribblings, quibbles' vel sim. (Ar. Ra. 1497), -ήματα [n.pl.] 'id.' (sch. Ar. Nu. 630, Phot.), verb -εύω with -εύματα 'id.' (sch., Suid.), σκάριφος (-ον) [m., n.] 'outline, sketch, slate=pencil' (H., sch., EM), acc. to sch. also = κάρφος, φρύγανον 'dry stalk or stick', probably a back-formation to the verb.

•ETYM These words, which show a stem σκαρίφ- < \*skarib<sup>h</sup>-, cannot be separated from Lat. scribō 'to write' < \*skrib<sup>h</sup>-, Latv. skripāt 'to scratch, scribble, write down' < \*skrip-, ON hrífa 'scratch, tear' < \*krīp-, and Mlr. scrip(a)id 'scratches' < \*skrip-, although these forms cannot be satisfactorily combined under one PIE etymon (the alternation \*b<sup>h</sup>/p, the long \*ī, the absence vs. presence of \*-a- are all inexplicable). We are, therefore, rather dealing with an European substrate word.

**σκάρος** [m.] a fish. ⇒σκαίρω.

**σκάφη**, σκάφος, etc. ⇒σκάπτω.

**σκαφώρη** [f.] 'fox' (Ael., H.). <?>

•VAR καφώρη (Suid.) can be haplological for τῆς [σ]καφώρης.

•ETYM The interpretation as "Grubenwächterin" (thus Frisk s.v.) and connection with σκάφη 'grave' is semantically unattractive. Further unclear.

**σκεδάννυμι** [v.] 'to scatter, spring, drive apart', med. 'to disperse, burst, go apart, spread' (later Att.). <IE \*(s)kd-n-eh<sub>2</sub>- 'split, strew out'>

•VAR σκίδναμαι, -νυμι (Il., epic poet.), σκεδάω? (see below), fut. σκεδάσω (Thgn.), σκεδῶ (Att.), aor. σκεδάσαι, -σθῆναι (Il.), perf. pass. ἐσκέδασμαι (IA); also without σ- κεδάσσαι, -σθῆναι (poet. Il.), see Chantraine 1942: 110; late pres. forms κεδάννυμι (AP), κεδόωνται (A. R.), ptc. κεδάων (Nic. Al. 283, better than σκεδάων), κεδάομαι, -αίω (Hell. epic).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀπο-, δια-, κατα-.

•DER σκέδ-ασίς [f.] 'the scattering' (α 116 = υ 225, Hp. et al.), -ασμός [m.] (Hell. and late), (δια-)σκεδ-αστής [m.] 'destroyer' (Ph.), (δια-)σκεδ-αστικός 'scattering' (Dsc., Lyd.), σκεδ-αστός 'dissolvable' (Pl., Plu.).

•ETYM The present σκεδάννυμι is a recent formation from the aorist σκεδάσαι. The closest cognate is Av. *sciṇdaīieiti* 'breaks, destroys' with nasal infix. Without anlauting s-, we find the nasal present in ToAB *kātā*- 'to strew (out)', pres. ToB *katnaṃ*. Lith. *kedinti*, 1sg. *kedinū* 'to tug, pluck', *kedėti* 'to burst' are unrelated in view of the failing reflex of Winter's Law (the semantics are also weak). The appurtenance of Alb. *çanj*, *çaj* 'to split, tear up, plough', perhaps < \*sked-n-ie/o, is unclear. Several verbal nouns are found in various languages, especially with a suffix -r-, and verbs built from these: Arm. *šert* 'chip, piece of wood', if from \*sked-ri-

(anlaut uncertain), Lith. *kedinti* [f.] 'splinter', Latv. *skadrs* 'easy to split', ME *scateren*, MoE *scatter*, Mlr. *scaindrim* 'to split in two'. Cf. ►σχίζω, ►κέδματα.

**σκεθρός** [adj.] 'exact, careful' (Hp., Gal., Lyc.). <GR>

•VAR -ῶς (A. Pr., E. Fr. 87).

•ETYM According to Frisk s.v., this word is a formation in -θορ- from a stem σχε- as found in *σχεῖν* 'to hold' (cf. ►ἔχω), showing the reflex of Grassmann's Law. Since the suffix -θορ- is rather rare, the assumption that this word is a -πο-derivation from the verb *σχέθω* 'to hold back' might have more merit (contra Chantraine 1933: 225, Schwyzler: 481). We must then assume, however, that in *σχέθω* the effect of Grassmann's Law was analogically eliminated, while it was retained in *σκεθρός*. Semantically, we might think of a development 'holding back' > 'reserved, exercising restraint' > 'careful'.

**σκελήπερον** [n.] νήπιον 'infant, child' (Archil. 582 West). <?>

•ETYM Unclear.

**σέλλομαι** [v.] 'to dry up, wither, languish, grow tired, harden', act. 'to dry, parch' (Epich., Hp., Choeril., Hell. and late). <IE \*skelh<sub>1</sub>- 'dry up, wither'>

•VAR κατεσκελλόντο (A. Pr. 481), σκελλόμενα· σκελετευόμενα (H.), fut. 3pl. σκελοῦνται· σκελετισθήσονται (H.), perf. ἔσκληκα, aor. κατα-, ἀπο-σκληῖναι, 3sg. ἀπ-έσκλη (Ar., Men., Alciph.), opt. ἀπο-σκληαίη (Moer., H., Suid.); fut. 2sg. ἀπο-σκήση (AP). Only few active forms: aor. opt. σκήλειε (Ψ 191), subj. ἐνι-σκήλη (Nic. Th. 694), ind. ἔσκειλα (Zonar).

•COMP Most frequent with κατα-, ἀπο-, ἐν- etc.

•DER 1. σκελετός [m.] 'dried up body, mummy, skeleton' (Phryn. Com., Pl. Com., Phld., Str., etc.), 'dried up' (Nic. Th. 696), whence σκελετ-ώδης 'like a mummy' (Luc., Erot.), -εύω (κατα-) [v.] 'to mummify, dry up, parch' (Teles, Dsc. et al.), med. -εύομαι (κατα-) 'to dry up, languish' (Ar. Fr. 851, Isoc., Gal.); thence -εία (-ίη) [f.] 'drying up, withering' (Gal., Aret.), -εσμα [n.] 'that which has withered' (sch.); -ίζομαι = -εύομαι (H., Zonar.). 2. σκελιφρός 'dried up, meagre, slender' (Hp., Erot. [v.l. -εφρός]). 3. σκληρός 'hard, brittle, harsh, severe' (Hes., also Dor.), whence σκληρ-ότης, -ύνω, -υσμα, -υσμός, -όομαι, etc. 4. σκληφρός 'slender, weak, small, thin' (Pl., Theopomp. Com., Arist.). 5. -σκελής in περι-σκελής 'very hard, brittle, inflexible' (Hp., S., Hell. and late), whence περισκέλεια (-ία) [f.] 'hardness, inflexibility' (Arist., medic., Porph.); κατασκελής (to κατα-σέλλομαι) 'meagre' (of style), 'powerless, brittle' (D. H., Prol.), ἀ-σκελής (Hom., Nic.) 'powerless(?)', incessantly(?) (interpretation not fully clear).

•ETYM The aorist forms σκήλειε and ἐνι-σκήλη must stand for σκειλ- < \*σκελ-σ-, perhaps with old analogy to σφήλειε (Schwyzler: 756). Forms like ἔσκληώτες (A. R.) are built on the basis of τεθνηώτες, ἔστηώτες (cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 311f.), ἀπο-σκληαίη on the basis of τεθναίη, σταίη, etc. Because of Dor. σκληρός and of σκελετός, the forms in σκλα- cannot be old.

The system with perf. ἔσκληκα, aor. σκληῖναι beside a present σέλλομαι (probably < \*σκελ-ιε/o-, but possibly from a nasal present with analogical root vocalism) resembles e.g. τέτληκα, τλήναι beside ἀνα-τέλλω. Although the perfect stem



ἔσκληκα is widely attested, the other stems were ousted by forms of the verbs ζηραίνω and αὐαίνω 'id.'. Although the verb looks Indo-European and could be projected back to a pre-form *\*skelh-*, good verbal comparanda are lacking. Nominal cognates may be MoHG *schal* 'faint, vapid', LG 'dry, barren', ME *schalowe* 'faint, tired, shallow' (E *shallow*) < PGm. *\*skala-* and, without initial *\*s-*, LG *hal(l)-* 'dry, meager', MoHG *hellig* 'tired, exhausted (by thirst)', and possibly Latv. *kālss* 'meager', *kālst*, 1sg. *kālstu* 'to dry up'. The adjective σκληφρός 'slender, weak, small, thin' (Pl., Theopomp. Com.; also Arist.) has been influenced in form and meaning by ἐλαφρός.

**σκέλος** [n.] 'thigh, leg' (Π 314). <IE *\*skel-* 'bend, curve'>

•DIAL Myc. *ke-re-a<sub>2</sub>* /skeleha/ [pl.].

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. τετρα-σκέλης 'four-legged' (trag. etc.).

•DER 1. Diminutives σκελ-ίσκος [m.] (Ar.), -ύδριον (Herod., Arr.). 2. σκελέα [f.pl.] 'breeches' (Critias, Antiph.). 3. σκελίζω (Plu., S. E.), usually with ὑπο- (Pl., D., etc.) 'to trip up one's heels, upset, outsmart', with (ὑπο-)σκελ-ισμός [m.] 'tripping up, supplanting', -ισμα [n.] 'accident' (LXX); also σκέλ[λ]ισμα· δρόμημα 'running, course' (H.). 4. σκελλός 'bandy-legged, διεστραμμένος, ραιβός' (sch., H., EM), cf. στρεβλός etc.; see also κυλλός.

With *o*-grade: σκολιός 'crooked, bent, twisted, unjust' (Π 387), perhaps from *\*σκόλος* [m.] after σκαίος etc.; cf. σκολοῖς· δρεπάνοις 'pruning-knives' (H.); σκολιότης [f.] 'curve, injustice' (Hp., LXX, Str.), -όμαι 'to be bent, curve' (Hp., Thphr.), with -ωσις, -ωμα (late), -αίνομαι 'to curve' (Hp.), -άζω 'to be bent' (LXX); τὸ σκόλιον 'drinking-song' (Pi.); explanation debated: because the songs were presented in an irregular order? Perhaps ▶σκόληξ contains a lengthened grade. On σκαληνός, see ▶σκάλλω; on σκελῖς, see ▶σχελῖς.

•ETYM Formally comparable to Lat. *scelus* [n.] 'malice, badness, crime' < *\*skel-o-*, which points to an original meaning *\*'curvation, deflection'*, which in Greek is best witnessed by e.g. σκολιός 'crooked, unjust'. Other formations are *\*skel-ko-*, attested in OHG *scelah*, OE *sceolh* 'oblique, curved, squinting', MoHG *scheel*, ON *skjalgr* 'oblique, squinting', and *\*skel-no-*, attested in Alb. *çalë* 'lame'. Within Greek, ▶κυλλός and ▶κῶλον are sometimes adduced as *s*-less variants, but this is unlikely.

**σκέπανος** [m.] a kind of fish, possibly a kind of tunny (Opp.). See Thompson 1947 s.v., Strömberg 1943: 128. <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**σκέπαρνος** [m.] 'axe for working wood, chip-axe' (Od., S. Fr. 797, Hell. and late), 'surgical bandage (metaph.)' (Hp.). <PG(S)>

•VAR -ον [n.]

•COMP As a second member in e.g. ἀμφι-σκέπαρνος 'smoothed on both sides' (Milete, Didyma).

•DER σκεπάρν-ιον [n.] 'pillar' (Didyma II<sup>a</sup>), -ηδόν [adv.] 'like a kind of σ.-bandage' (Hp.), -ίζω 'to work with a σ.' (Hero), with (ἀπο-)ισμός [m.] (medic.).

•ETYM Although IE comparanda have been suggested (Ru. *ščepát* 'to split, crumble, diminish', Latv. *šķēpele* 'split off piece, sherd'), the presence of the suffix -αρνο- is awkward from an IE point of view. Attempts to eliminate this suffix by proposing

metathesis from *\*σκέρπ-ανος*, connected with MoHG *Scherbe*, *schürfen*, etc. < *\*sker-p-* (thus Niedermann IF 37 (1916/1917): 149f.), are unconvincing as well. Both formally and semantically (instrument names), the word is much more likely to be of Pre-Greek origin.

**σκέπας** [n.] 'shelter, protection, cover' (Od., E., Lyc, AP et al.). <?>

•VAR σκέπᾱ [acc.pl.] (Hes. Op. 532), see Sommer 1957: 147; σκέπη [f.] 'cover, screen, protection' (IA).

•COMP As a second member -σκεπής (σκέπος only EM), e.g. ἀνεμο-σκεπής 'screening from wind' (Π 224).

•DER σκέπω, only pres. and ipf. (Hp., Plb., mostly late); σκεπάω, only in 3pl. σκεπώσι (ν 99; σκεπάουσι v.l. Theoc. 16, 81) 'to cover, screen, protect (from)' (IA, Hell. and late), also σκεπ-άζω, aor. -άσαι; all also with κατα-, περι-, ἐπι- etc. Derivatives from σκέπω: 1. σκεπ-ανός 'screening, protecting' (Opp., AP), -ανον [n.], -ανος [m.] 'cover, protection' (AP); also (from σκέπας, -η?) -εινός (-η-, -ι-) 'id.', also 'protected' (Scymn., LXX, medic. etc.), on the basis of αἰπεινός, etc. See also ▶σκέπανος, a kind of fish. 2. περίσκεπ-τος = περισκεπής 'protected all around': περισκέπτω ἐνὶ χώρῳ (Od.) or 'visible all around', perhaps to σκέπτομαι; 3. governing compound σκεπ-ώνιον [n.] 'storehouse' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>).

Derivatives from σκεπάω: σκέπ-ασμα [n.] 'cover' (Pl., Arist., etc.), -ασίς [f.] (LXX), -ασμός [m.] (EM) 'cover'; -αστής [m.] 'screener, protector' (LXX), -αστικός (Arist., etc.), -αστήριος (D. S., D. H., etc.) 'covering, protecting', -αστρον [n.] 'cover, veil' (Sm.), (παρα-)σκεπ-άστρα [f.] 'bandage' (Gal.).

•ETYM Although σκέπω seems primary at first sight, it is attested only late, which may indicate that it should rather be interpreted as a back-formation from the denominative verb σκεπάω (Schwyzer: 684) or from σκέπη, σκέπας (cf. the semantically close στέγω beside στέγη). Only the epic verbal adj. περίσκεπτος would contradict this hypothesis, but this form is used only in a standing expression in the Odyssey and may be better connected with the verb ▶σκέπτομαι, as are later attestations (Arat., Call. etc.).

Although the stem looks IE and could be projected back to a pre-form *\*skēp-*, no good cognates are known. Only some Balto-Slavic forms like Lith. *kepùre*, Ru. *čepéc* 'cap, hood' may be connected, although these reflect an *s*-less stem *\*kep-*.

**σκέπτομαι** [v.] 'to look around, look back, spy, contemplate, consider, survey' (Il.); Att. has σκοπέω, -έομαι instead (see below). <IE *\*spek-* 'see sharply, spy'>

•VAR Aor. σκέψασθαι (Od.), fut. σκέψομαι, perf. ἔσκεμμαι (IA), aor. pass. σκεφθῆναι (Hp.), σκεπ-ῆναι with fut. -ήσομαι (LXX).

•COMP Often with ἐπι-, κατα-, προ-, δια- etc.

•DER A. With *e*-grade: 1. σκέψις (ἐπί-, κατά-, etc.) 'contemplation, deliberation, examination' (IA). 2. σκέμ-μα (rarely with δια- etc.) 'examination, problem' (Hp., Pl.). 3. σκεπτ-οσύνη [f.] = σκέψις (Timo, Cerc.). 4. -ήριον [n.] 'test' (Man.). 5. -ικός (ἐπι-, δια-) 'cogitating, revising', οἱ σκεπτικοί name of a philosophical sect (Hell. and late). B. With *o*-grade: 1. σκοπός [m., f.] 'spy, guard, scout; goal, purpose' (Il.), hypostasis ἐπί-σκοπος 'hitting the goal' (Hdt., trag., late), adv. -α; ἀπό-σκοπος



'missing the goal' (Emp.); σκόπ-μιος 'purposive, appropriate' (late); as a second member, e.g. οἰωνο-σκόπος [m.] 'bird-watcher' with -έω, -ία, -ικός, -εῖον (E., Hell. and late). 2. prefix compounds: ἐπί-, κατά-, πρό-σκοπος [m.] 'spy, supervisor, foresighted, etc.' (Hom., Pi., IA). 3. σκοπή (κατα-, ἐπι- etc.) [f.] 'spying, watch-tower' (Att., etc.) with σκοπάω (Ar. Fr. 854). 4. σκοπία, Ion. -ή [f.] 'watch-place (on a mountain, on a fortress), mountain summit, watch-tower' (epic Ion. poet., Il., also Hell. and late prose), with σκοπ-ιήτης [m.] 'summit dweller' = Πάν (Paus.), -ιάζω (ἀπο-) 'to spy, look out' (epic Il.), -ιάομαι 'to perceive' (Il.; only with δια-). 5. σκοπέω, -έομαι iterative-intensive to σκέπτομαι (Pi., IA), non-presentic forms σκοπ-ῆσαι, -ήσασθαι, -ήσω, -ήσομαι, ἐσκόπημαι (late). 6. σκοπεύω (κατα-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-), probably secondary for σκοπέω (X., LXX, pā., etc.), with σκόπ-ευσις, -ευτής (Aq.), -εῖα [n.pl.] (Procl.). See also ► σκόπελος and ► σκώψ.

•ETYM The old *yod*-present σκέπτομαι must derive from \*σπέκ-ιομαι with metathesis and be identical to Lat. *speciō*, Av. *spasiieiti*, and (apart from initial *s*-) Skt. *páśyati* 'to see'. The aor. σκέψασθαι can in the same way be identified with Lat. *spexi* and Skt. *áspaṣta*. The old root noun as found in Skt. *spas-*, Av. *spas-* 'spy', Lat. *haru-spex*, etc. < \**spék-* is not attested as such in Greek, and seems to have been replaced by σκοπός; cf. the cognate formulae Skt. *sūryam* ... *spásam* and Hom. Ἡέλιον ... σκοπόν 'Sun, the spy'. The noun σκοπή < \**spók-éh<sub>2</sub>* agrees, except for the accent, with ON *spá* [f.] 'prophesy' < PGm. \**spahō* < IE \**spók-eh<sub>2</sub>*.

σκέραφος ⇒ σκερβόλλω.

σκερβόλλω [v.] 'to vilify, slander' (Ar. Eq. 821, H.; ipv.). <PG(V)>

•VAR σκερβολεῖ (leg. cum M. -όλλει?)· ἀπατᾶ 'cheat' (H.); σκέρβολος 'vilifying, slandering' (Call. Fr. 281, H.); also κερβόλλουσα (cod. -ολουσα)· λοιδοροῦσα, βλασφημοῦσα, ἀπατῶσα 'abusing, speaking profanely, deceiving' (H.).

•DER σκέραφος (σχέρ-)· λοιδορία, βλασφημία 'abusing, speaking profanely'; κέραφος· χλευασμός, κακολογία 'mockery, abuse' (H.).

•ETYM Sometimes ► σκίραφος is interpreted as cognate as well. The variants σκερ-, σχερ-, κερ-, and possibly σκιρ- point to Pre-Greek origin.

σκερός [?] αἰδοιολείκτης 'cunnilingus' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

σκεῦος [n.] 'vessel, device', mostly plur. 'house or ship equipment, weapon, armor, luggage' (IA). <IE?>

•COMP Frequent as a first member, e.g. σκευο-φόρος 'carrying luggage, luggage-carrier' (IA), σκευ-ωρός 'luggage-watcher' (Cratin.) with -ωρέομαι, -ωρέω, -ωρία, -ώρημα 'to look after or through the luggage, to instigate (slyly)' (D., Arist., etc.), later also σκαιωρέομαι, etc. (after σκαῖός); as a second member in ἀ-σκευής 'without equipment' (Hdt.).

•DER σκευή [f.] 'armor, clothing, wear' (IA); as a second member e.g. ὁμό-σκευος 'with equal armor' (Th.); frequently prefixed παρα-, κατα-, ἐπι-σκευή etc., as back-formations to παρα-σκευάζω, etc. Diminutives: σκευ-άριον [n.] 'small device' (Ar. etc.), 'simple wear' (Pl. Alc. 1, 113e), -ύφιον [n.] 'small device' (Lyd.).

Secondary verbal formation σκευ-άζω, -άζομαι expressing different nuances, e.g. 'to equip, arm, dress, prepare, etc.' (IA since *h. Merc.*), with aor. σκευ-άσαι, -άσασθαι, very frequent with prefix, παρα-, κατα-, ἐπι-, etc. Derived from these, mostly with prefixes: σκευ-ασις, -άσιμος, -ασία, -ασμα, -αστός, -αστής, -αστι-κός; also παρασκευ-ή, etc. Denominative verbs ἐπι-, κατα-σκευ-όω (cf. ἐπι-, κατα-σκευή) = -άζω (Argos, Crete, Delphi etc.), σκευοῦσθαι = ἐτομάζεσθαι 'to prepare for oneself' (H.).

•ETYM The preservation of the *eu*-diphthong before a vowel is hard to explain in an Ionic-Attic word. No good cognates are known. Connection with Lith. *šáuti*, 1sg. *šáuju* 'to shoot, shove', Ru. *sovát'* 'to shove, sting, push', etc. < \**keuH-* is semantically unlikely.

σκηνή [f.] '(roof of a) tent, booth, banquet; stage (building), scene' (IA, Dor.). <?>

•VAR Dor. σκᾱνᾱ́.

•COMP E.g. σκηνο-πηγ-ία [f.] 'tent-building' (Arist.), 'the feast of tabernacles' (LXX, NT etc.), σύ-σκηνος, Dor. σύν-σκανος [m.] 'tent mate, housemate, table mate' (Att., Tenedos, etc.) with -ία (X. etc.); with a suffix -ιο- e.g. παρα-σκήν-ιον, -ια [n.] 'room(s) next to the σκηνή' (D., Delos etc.).

•DER 1. Diminutives: σκην-ίς, -ίδος [f.] (Plu.), -ίδιον [n.] (Th.), -ύδριον (Plu.). 2. -ίτης [m.] 'tent-dweller, Chandler, nomad, etc.' (Isoc., Str., inscr.); also -ευτής [m.] (EM, AB). 3. -εῖον [n.] 'tent-pole, -rod' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>). 4. -ικός 'belonging to the stage, actor' (Hell. inscr., Plu. etc.), -ικεύομαι [v.] 'to perform as an actor' (Memn.). Denominative verbs: 5. σκην-άομαι 'to pitch a tent, camp' (Att.), also with κατα- etc.; σκην-άω [v.] 'to feast' (X.). 6. σκην-έω 'to be in a tent, to camp' (Att., especially X.), not easily distinguished from -άω in non-presentic forms; also with δια-, συν-, ἀπο- etc.; thence -ημα (Dor. σκᾱνάμα) [n.] 'tent, camp' (A., X., Epid. III<sup>a</sup>), also 'body' (Macedonian inscr.; cf. σκῆνος). 7. σκην-όω 'to pitch a tent, to camp' (Pl., X., etc.), often with κατα-, παρα-, συν-, ἐπι-, ἀπο- etc.; thence -ωμα [n.], mostly pl., 'camp, dwelling', also 'body' (E., LXX etc.), with κατα- 'cover, curtain' (A. Cho. 985), also -ωσις (κατα-) [f.] (Agatharch., LXX etc.); -ωταί· συσκηνοῦντες 'living in the same tent' (H.).

Also σκῆνος, Dor. (Ti. Locr.) σκᾱνος [n.] 'body' (= tent of the soul), 'corpse' (Hp., Democr., Ion. inscr., Nic., Ep. Cor.), see Leumann 1950: 308f.); gender after σῶμα, cf. also ► κτήνος, ► σμήνος etc. Unclear is σκῆν· ὃ τινες μὲν ψυχὴν, τινὲς δὲ φάλαιναν (H.), i.e. 'butterfly, moth' (cf. σκῆνωμα· *papilio* gloss.).

•ETYM According to DELG s.v., σκηνή originally denoted any light construction of cloth hung between tree branches in order to provide shadow, under which one could shelter, sleep, celebrate festivities, etc. Formation with a suffix -νή (cf. ποινή, εὐνή, φερνή, etc.; see Chantraine 1933: 191f. and Schwyzler: 489), derived from the root σκη-/σκᾱ- < \**skeh<sub>2</sub>*, which is found in ► σκιά 'shade' as well. See there for further etymology. Borrowed as Lat. *scaena* (only in the sense of 'stage').

σκηνίπτω [v.] only ἐσκήνιψε· διέφθειρε, διεσκέδασεν 'destroyed utterly, shattered' and διασκηνίσαι· διαφορῆσαι, διασπείραι 'to disperse, scatter about'. διεσκηνίφθη δὲ διεσωματίσθη (H.); to this γαῖη ... διεσκήνιψε 'shattered to the floor' (Nic. Th. 193). <?>

•ETYM Popular expressive contamination of σκήπτω and the words discussed s.v. ►κνίψ, especially κνιπεῖν· σείειν 'to shake' and σκνίπτειν· νύσσειν 'to prick' (H.). DELG objects that the words quoted do not fit the meaning. Cf. ►σκηρίπτομαι.

**σκήπτομαι** [v.] 'to support oneself, lean, pretend something, use as a pretention', act. 'to throw down, sling', intr. 'to throw oneself down, fall down' (IA), ἐπι-σκήπτω also 'to impose, command', med. (Att. juridical language) 'to object, prosecute, raise a complaint'. <EUR?>

•VAR Act. σκήπτω, fut. σκήψω, aor. σκήψαι, pass. σκηφθῆναι, perf. ἐπ-έσκηφα, pass. ἐπ-έσκημμαι. Fut. σκήψομαι, aor. σκήψασθαι.

•COMP Frequent with prefix (almost only act.); κατα-, ἐπι-, ἀπο-, ἐν-.

•DER σκήψις [f.] 'excuse, pretention, pretext' (IA), ἐπίσκηψις [f.] 'objection, complaint' (Att.); ἀπόσκημια· ἀπέρεισμα 'prop' (H.) (A. Fr. 18 = 265 M.), ἐπίσκημια = ἐπίσκηψις (Lex. Rhet. Cant.).

Beside this, several expressions for 'stick, etc.': 1. σκάπος· κλάδος, καὶ ἄνεμος ποιός 'branch, a certain wind' (H.); for the latter meaning, cf. σκηπτός below. 2. σκηπ-άνη [f.] (AB) with -άνιον [n.] 'stick, scepter' (N 59, Σ 247, Call. Fr. anon. 48, AP), σκαπάνιον· βακτηρία, ἄλλοι σκίπωνα 'staff, crutch' (H.). 3. σκάπτον [n.] (Dor.) 'id.' (Pi.), IA σκήπτον in σκηπτ-οὔχος 'stick-, scepter-bearer' = 'ruler' (Hom. etc.), with the Persians and other Asiatic peoples who have a high office at the court (Semon., X., etc.), with -ία [f.] (A. etc.). 4. σκήπτρον [n.] 'id.' (Il., epic poet.); like βάκτρον, etc. Semantically more remote: 5. σκηπτός [m.] 'thunderbolt, lightning, suddenly breaking storm' (trag., X., D., Arist. etc.); cf. φρυκτός, στρεπτός.

•ETYM The root of all these words is σκάπ-, with the system σκήπτω < \*skāp-ie/o-, σκήψαι, σκάπος comparable to e.g. κόπτω, κόψαι, κόπος and τύπτω, τύψαι, τύπος. The noun σκάπος can be equated with Lat. scāpus 'shaft, stalk' and Alb. shkop 'stick, scepter', pointing to \*skeh<sub>2</sub>p-o-. Zero-grade forms may be attested in the Germanic words for 'shaft, spear, lance', OHG skaft [m.], ON skapt [n.], etc. < \*skh<sub>2</sub>p-. Although formally the words could certainly be of IE origin, the distribution of forms and the semantics rather point to a European substrate origin.

**σκηρίπτομαι** [v.] 'to support oneself, uphold oneself' (Od., Nic., Ph.), act. (secondary, Wackernagel 1916: 131) σκηρίπτω 'to support, uphold' (A. R.). <?>

•VAR Only pres.

•COMP Also with δια- (AP), ἐπι- (H. s.v. ἐπισκήπτω).

•ETYM Expressive cross of σκήπτομαι and στηρίζασθαι, ἐστήρικται (pres. στηρίζομαι, -ω first in tragedy). Cf. ►σκηρίπτω.

**σκιά** [f.] 'shade' (Od.), also 'variegated hem or edging of a dress' (Hell. inscr. and pap., Men.), see Wilhelm Glotta 14 (1925): 82f. <IE \*skeh<sub>2</sub>-ih<sub>2</sub>, gen. skh<sub>2</sub>-ieh<sub>2</sub>-s 'shadow'>

•VAR Ion. -ιή.

•COMP E.g. σκια-τροφέω, -έομαι (Ion. σκη-), Att., etc. also -τραφέω, -έομαι (to σκια-τραφῆς like εὐτραφῆς etc.; to τραφῆναι 'to live (raise) in the shadow or indoors, to grow up pampered' (IA), after βου-κολέω etc., see Schwyzler: 726; βαθύ-σκιος 'with deep shadow, deeply shaded' (h. Merc. etc.), κατά-, ἐπί-σκιος etc. beside κατα-, ἐπι-

σκιάζω; on δολιχό-σκιος, see δολιχός (acc. to a different interpretation, it means 'with long ash', see Treu 1955: 119f.).

•DER 1. σκιάς, -άδος [f.] 'shade roof, tent-roof, pavilion', also name of a θόλος in Athens, etc. (Eup., Theoc., Att. inscr.). 2. σκιάδ-ιον [n.] 'sunscreen' (com., Thphr.). 3. -ίσκη [f.] 'id.' (Anacr.). 4. σκί-αινα [f.] (Arist.), -αινίς [f.] (Gal.; v.l. σκινίς), -αδεύς [m.] (Hell. and late) fish name (after the dark color, Strömberg 1943: 27, see also σκίαίνα, Thompson 1947); to this σκιάθις 'id.' (Epich.), perhaps from the island name Σκίαθος (Strömberg l.c.). 5. σκι-όεις 'rich in shadows, casting shade, shaded' (Il., epic poet.); -άεις (Hdn.; also Pi. Pae. 6, 17?). 6. σκι-ερός, also -αρός 'id.' (especially epic poet. since Λ 480, see Schwyzler: 482, Chantraine 1933: 230). 7. σκι-ώδης 'shadowy, dark' (Hp., E., Arist.). 8. σκι-ακός 'provided with shade' (ώρολόγιον Pergam. II<sup>a</sup>; Hdn.). 9. σκι-ωτός 'provided with a hem (σκιά)' (Peripl. M. Rubr., pap.).

Denominative verb σκιάω (Od., Hell. and late epic), σκιάζω (IA) 'to shade, overshadow, shroud in darkness', forms: σκιάσαι (Φ 232; after ἐλάσαι etc., see Chantraine 1942: 410), fut. Att. σκιῶ, late σκιάσω, perf. pass. ἐσκίασμαι (Semon., S.), aor. σκιασθῆναι (E., Pl., Arist.), also with ἐπι-, κατα-, συν-, περι-, ἀπο-; thence (ὑπο-, συ-)σκίασις, (ἐπι-, etc.)σκιασμός, (ἐπι-, etc.)σκίασμα, σκιασ-τής, -τικός (almost always late); the bahuvrihis κατα-, ἐπί-σκιος etc. function as back-formations. On σκιά and derivations in Homer and in Aeolic lyric, see Treu 1955: 115ff., 213ff.

•ETYM Skt. chāyā [f.] 'shadow', also 'image, reflex, resemblance', Av. a-saiia- 'who casts no shadow' (cf. Gr ἄ-σκιος), MoP sāya 'shadow', and Latv. seja 'face' must reflect \*skeHieh<sub>2</sub>-. On the other hand, Gr. σκιά, together with ToB skiyo and Alb. hie 'shadow', must be interpreted as reflecting \*skiHeh<sub>2</sub>-, from older \*skHieh<sub>2</sub>- with laryngeal metathesis. On the basis of ►σκηνή, Dor. σκᾱνά 'tent' < 'cloth to provide shadow', the root can be identified as \*skeh<sub>2</sub>-, which means that we are dealing with an original ablauting proterodynamic \*ih<sub>2</sub>-stem \*skéh<sub>2</sub>-ih<sub>2</sub>, \*skh<sub>2</sub>-ieh<sub>2</sub>-s. In Indo-Iranian and Baltic, the full-grade stem was generalized, whereas in the other branches the zero-grade stem spread throughout the paradigm. The Slavic forms, OCS sěnъ and Ru. sen' [f.] 'shadow', reflect \*skeh<sub>2</sub>-i-n-, with an extra suffix -n-. The hapax ►σκαίός 'shadowy' reflects \*skeh<sub>2</sub>-i-uo-, and perhaps σκοιός (in H.: σκοιά· σκοτεινά, σκοιόν· ... σύσκιον) can be regarded as an o-grade variant \*skoh<sub>2</sub>-i-uo-. The relation with ►σκότος 'darkness' is unclear.

**σκίγγος** [m.] a lizard found in Asia Minor that is used as medicine (Dsc. 2, 66 Welm.).

<PG(V)>

•VAR Also σκίγκος and κίκερος = κροκόδειλος χερσαίος 'a land lizard' (H.); Fur.: 277.

•ETYM The variations point to a Pre-Greek origin.

**σκιδαρόν** [adj.]· ἀραιόν 'thin' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 368 connects ἄ-κιδνός, which has ἄ- instead of σ-. This looks like a Pre-Greek variation.

**σκιδάφη, σκίνδαφος** ⇒ κίδαφος.

**σκίδνημι** ⇒ σκεδάννυμι.

**σκίλλα** [f.] 'squill' (Thgn., Hippon., Arist., etc.). <PG?>

•DER σκιλλ-ίτης, of οἶνος (Ps.-Afric., Colum.), see Redard 1949: 99; -τικός, of ὄξος (Dsc. et al.), -ινος 'made of σ.' (Dsc. et al.), -ώδης 'σ.-like' (Thphr. etc.).

•ETYM Unexplained foreign word, probably Pre-Greek (\*skil'a?). Borrowed as Lat. *scilla*.

**σκιμαλίζω** [v.] 'to jeer, flout' (Ar. *Ach.* 444, *Pax* 549, D. L. 7, 17); acc. to gramm. (Moer., Phryn., H.) = καταδακτυλίζω; acc. to sch. Ar. *Pax* ad loc. 'to hold up the middle finger' (sens. obsc.). <PG(S)>

•DER σκίμαλλος (*PLond.* = *Aegyptus* 6, 194), probably designation of a finger.

•ETYM The verb σκιμαλίζω seems to be derived from a noun \*σκιμᾶλος, which may be attested as σκίμαλλος (with geminate -λλ-). The formation resembles those of κόβαλος, σκίταλος, and other comedic words (cf. Björck 1950: 46f., 259f.). Since all words in -αλλ-(ος) seem to be of Pre-Greek origin (Beekes 2008), these words are likely to be Pre-Greek, too.

**σκιμβός** [adj.] = χωλός, σκαμβός 'lame, crooked' (H., sch. Ar. *Nu.* 254). <PG(V)>

•DER σκιμβάξει· χωλεύει 'is or becomes lame' (Ar. *Fr.* 853, H.), to which σκιμβασμός· φιλήματος εἶδος 'kind of kiss' (H.). Semantically unclear is σκιμβάδες· ὕλη εὐθετος εἰς τοίχων ἐπίθεσιν, σκέπης χάριν (H.). Seemingly primary is σκίψαι· ὀκλάσαι. Ἀχαιοὶ 'to squat (Achaean)' (H.). Without σ-: κμβάξει· στραγγεύεται (στρατ- cod.) 'to loiter' (H.); ὀκιμ-βάξιν (ὀ- hardly from ὀκλάξιν?)· διατρίβειν καὶ στραγγεύεσθαι (στρατ-cod.) 'to wear away, loiter' (H., Phot.).

•ETYM Although an IE origin has been suggested (connections with e.g. ON *skeifr* 'slanting', Latv. *šķībs* 'id.' in Pok. 922), the alternation between σκιμβ-, σκιβ-, κμββ-, and ὀκιμβ-, as well as σκαμβ-, in ►σκαμβός 'crooked, bandy-legged' clearly points to a Pre-Greek origin (cf. Fur.: 154, 286).

**σκίμπους, -ποδος** [m.] 'low bed(stead)' (Ar., Pl., X., Gal.). <?>

•DER -πόδιον [n.] (middle com., Luc.).

•ETYM Interpreted as \*σκιμπέ-πους \*'supporting the foot' and connected with ►σκίμπτωμα. A connection with σκιμβός 'lame, crooked' (thus Schwyzler: 263) is semantically unlikely.

**σκίμπτωμα** [v.] 'to throw, sling, throw oneself down, fall down, uphold (oneself)' (Call. *POxy.* 2080, 49 [σ]κιμπ[τόμενο]ν H., also act. σκίμπται; κίμπαντες· ἐρείσαντες, στηρίζαντες 'who leaned, propped' (H.). Details in Solmsen 1909: 206f.; see also Bechtel 1921(3): 331. <?>

•VAR Aor. σκίμψασθαι (Pi.), pass. σκιμφοῖναι (Hp.), perf. pass. ἀπ-εσκίμφθαι (Pi.), mostly with ἐν(ι)- : ἐν(ι)-σκίμψαι (P 437, Pi., A. R., Nic.), -σκιμφοῖναι (Π 612 = P 528).

•ETYM Epic and poetic verb, on the one hand reminiscent of σκίπτω (-ομαι), on the other of χρίπτω (-ομαι; cf. Nic. *Th.* 336 ἐνι-σκίμψη with v.ll. -χρίμψη and -σκήψη), perhaps arisen from a cross of both (cf. Güntert 1914: 29). Usually connected with ►σκίπτων.

**σκίναξ, -ἄκος** [m.] designation or epithet of the hare, λαγῶς (Nic.). <PG>

•ETYM Often compared with ►κίνδαξ, although this is semantically rather gratuitous (the meaning of σκίναξ is unclear). If connected, the variation between σκιν- / κινδ-, as well as the presence of the suffix -ακ-, points to a Pre-Greek origin.

**σκίναρ** [n.] 'body' (Nic. *Th.* 694). <PG?>

•ETYM Often connected with σκῆνος 'corpse' (see ►σκηνή) which, if correct, could point to a Pre-Greek origin (variation η/ι, cf. Fur.: 171<sup>174</sup>).

**σκινδακίσαι** [v.] = τὸ νύκτωρ ἐπαναστῆναι τινι ἀσελγῶς 'sexual arousal at night' (Phot.) and σκίνδαρον· προσκίνημα· καὶ τὸ νύκτωρ ἐπαναστῆναι ἀκολάστως σκινδακίσαι 'movement towards (i.e. a woman); sexual arousal at night'. In H. 1. σκινδαρεύεσθαι· κακοσχολεύεσθαι, δακτυλίζεσθαι, σκιμαλίζεσθαι 'to play mischievous tricks; to be pointed at with the finger; to hold up the middle finger'; 2. σκινδαρίσαι· τὰ αὐτὰ 'id.'; 3. σκινδάρ(ε)ιος· ὄρχησις οὕτω καλουμένη 'a dance'; 4. σκίνδαροι· τὰ προσκινήματα (leg. προσκι-, cf. Photius s.v. σκίνδαρον); 5. σκίνδαρος· ἡ ἐπανάστασις νυκτὸς ἀφροδισίων ἔνεκα 'arousal at night for sex'. <PG>

•ETYM The verb is a demominative of \*σκίνδαξ, a doublet of κίνδαξ. Cf. Taillardat *REA* 58 (1956): 191ff. See ►κίνδαξ for an etymology.

**σκινδαλμός, σκινδάλαμος** [m.] 'splinter, hair-splitting, etc.' (Dsc., Alciph., also σκινδάλαμος (Ar., Luc. et al.), also σχινδαλμός, σχιδαλαμῖος etc. (v.l. Hp. *Mul.* 2, 133). <PG(S,V)>

•DER σκινδύλιον [n.] 'shingle' (Delph. II\*), ἀνα-σхинδυλεύω [v.] 'to pierce' (Pl.), -σхинδυλεύω, -σхинδαλεύω (H., EM, Phryn.), after σκυλεύω, σκαλεύω etc.; σχινδύλησις [f.] 'split' (Hp. *apud* Gal.). 2. See ►σκιδαρόν· ἀραιόν 'thin' (H.). 3. See ►σκοῖδος.

•ETYM Frisk groups all these words with σχίζω 'to split', but this is incorrect: σχίζω never shows σκ- nor -νδ-. The root variations, σκινδ-/σκιδ-/σχινδ-/σχιδ-, as well as the presence of the suffixes -αλμ- (cf. ►ὀφθαλμός; Beekes 1969: 193f., Beekes 2008) and -υλ- rather point to a Pre-Greek origin. The second α in σκινδάλαμος is a secondary prop vowel, which is frequent in Pre-Greek (Fur.: 378-385). See ►σχίζω.

**σκινδάριον** [n.] name of an unknown fish (Anaxandr. 27, 4). <PG?>

•ETYM Since the meaning is unknown, etymologizing is useless. Nevertheless, formally the word seems Pre-Greek.

**σκίνδαρος** [m.] 'an obscene gesture' (H., Phot.). <PG(V)>

•DER σκινθαρίζω 'make obscene gestures' (H.). Σκιτάλοι 'demons of lewdness' (Ar., H.).

•ETYM The variation is typical of Pre-Greek. Cf. s.v. ►σκινδακίσαι.

**σκίνδαφος** = κίδαφος.

**σκινδαψός** [m.] name of a four-stringed musical instrument with thorn-like appendices (middle com. etc.), also designation for a senseless word (Artem., S. E. etc.); name of an ivy-like plant (Clitarch.; cf. Dawkins *JHS* 56 (1936): 9f.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Without initial σ-: κινδαψός (Timo, H.).

•DER σκινδαψιζόμενος (σφυγμός) 'vibrating like a σ.' (Gal.).

•ETYM A foreign word like κιθάρα, βάρβιτος, and many other instrument names. It is of Pre-Greek origin, in view of the interchange σ-/zero.

σκινθαρίζω ⇒ σκινδαρος.

σκίνθος [m.] 'jumper, swimmer' (Thphr *H. P.* 4, 6, 9); translated as *naufragus* by Pliny. <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

σκίουρος [m.] 'squirrel' (Opp., Plin.). <PG?>

•ETYM The interpretation of this word as a bahuvrihi compound of σκιά and οὐρά, 'who generates shade with his tail' (thus e.g. Frisk), looks like a folk etymology rather than a serious explanation. The suffix -ουρος could point to Pre-Greek origin (from -ar<sup>w</sup>-o-?). Borrowed as MLat. *\*scuriolus*, which is the source of MoFr. *écureuil*, MoE *squirrel*, etc.

σκήπτων, -ωνος [m.] 'staff, stick', also 'crutch' (Hdt. 4, 172, Cratin. [lyr.], Ar. [anap.], E. [anap.], Call., AP, Hp., Epid. IV<sup>a</sup>). <?>

•VAR v.ll. σκήπων (after σκήπτρον?), σκίμπων (after σκίμπτομαι?).

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἀ-σκήπων 'staffless' (AP).

•ETYM Ionic poetic word, built like κύφων, δόλων, and other tool names (Chantraine 1933: 161f.), and almost identical with Lat. *scipiō*, -*ōnis* [m.] 'staff (as a sign of power and dignity, like σκήπτρον). The further similarity with σκηπάνιον, σκήπτρον, and cognates (see ► σκίπτομαι) has been observed for a long time; however, the forms cannot be combined under one pre-form.

It is unlikely that ► σκίπτομαι is a denominative nasal present (like σκίπτομαι from σκάπος); for a different explanation, see s.v. Further, connection is considered with the semantically unclear σκοῖπος· ἡ ἐξοχή τῶν ξύλων, ἐφ' ᾧ εἰσι οἱ κέραμοι (H.), probably of the supporting beams on which the tiles rest. Connection with σκήπτρον, etc. seems impossible (DELG refers to Benveniste 1935: 167 and to Szemerényi 1980: 133). It is unclear how to assess the similarity of the Latin form.

σκήραφος [m.] meaning uncertain; in Hippon. 86 = 129a [pl.] explained as 'treachery' by Masson; after Hdn. 1, 225, 13 = ἀκόλαστος καὶ κυβευτής 'undisciplined, gambler' (2, 581, 27 ἀ. κ. κυβιστής), acc. to EM 717, 28 = ὄργανον κυβευτικόν 'tool used in gambling' (alternative supposition). <?>

•DER σκίραφ-εῖον (-ιον) [n.] 'gambling-house' (Isoc., Theopomp. Hist.), -ευτής [m.] 'dice-player' (Amphis 25), -ώδης 'treacherous' (AB).

•ETYM Because of the unclear meaning, without etymology. According to Hdn. (l.cc.), ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Σκίρῳ (suburb of Athens; see on σκίρον, known as a home of prostitutes and gamblers) διατριβόντων. Or is it a variant of κίραφος = ἀλώπηξ? Cf. ἀλωπεκίζειν· ἀπατᾶν 'to deceive' (H.).

σκίρον [n.] a white parasol or canopy, which was carried at processions from the Acropolis to a place called Σκίρον (Σκίρον) (later a suburb of Athens) on the holy road to Eleusis in honor of Athena Skiras and other deities (Lysimachid., sch. Ar. *Ec.*

18); plur. Σκίρα name of a women's festival in honor of Demeter, Kore and Athena Polias (Ar., inscr. et al.). <?>

•COMP As a first member in Σκίρο-φόρια [n.pl.] 'id.' (H., Phot., Suid.); hence Σκίροφοριών, -ῶνος [m.] Att. month name, = June-July (Antipho, inscr., etc.).

•ETYM Etymology not fully certain. Comparison with σκιά 'shade' is semantically attractive, but formally somewhat difficult: σκιά reflects *\*skh<sub>2</sub>-ieh<sub>2</sub>-*, the *\*-i-* of which belongs to the suffix and cannot therefore be equated with the *-i-* in σκίρον, which would have to be from *\*skh<sub>2</sub>-i-ro-* (vel sim.).

Often equated with Alb. *hir* 'grace of God' (Jokl 1923: 67, following Bugge) through a semantic development comparable to the one in the Germanic adj. for 'clear, gleaming, bright', e.g. Go. *skeirs*, ON *skírr*, MoHG *schier*, which would have a basic meaning '(subdued) shine, reflex' (Pok. 917f.). Deubner 1932: 40ff. argues that the interpretation of σκίρον as 'parasol' is a late learned construction, and interprets σκίρον as a designation of several ritual items.

σκίρος [m.] 'induration, callus, hard tumor' (medic.), 'hard, scrubby ground, scrub' (*Tab. Heracl.*). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also -ρρ-, σκῦρ-; σκίρος [m.], -ον [n.] 'crust, rind, cheese-rind, hardened grease' (com.); also 'hard, white matter, gypsum' (sch. Ar. V. 921, Suid.), in this meaning also σκίρρα (Suid.), γῆ σκιρράς (sch. Ar. V. 921); γῆ λευκὴ ὥσπερ γύψος 'white earth, like gypsum' (Su.).

•DER σκιρπίτης [m.] 'gypsum-worker' (Zonar.). Abstract formation σκιρρ-ίη [f.] 'induration' (Aret.), ἀκροσκιρ-ία [f.pl.] 'high scrubby lands' (*Tab. Heracl.*); adj. σκιρ(ρ)-ός 'hard' (Plu., Them.), -ώδης 'callous' (Gall., Poll.); verb -όομαι 'to harden, take root' (Sophr., medic.), also with ἐπι- etc., whence -ωμα [n.] 'induration' (Dsc.); -ωσις [f.] 'id.' (Sor., Gal.).

•ETYM Fur.: 387 suggests that the word is Pre-Greek, comparing ► σκῦρος (cf. op.cit. 366). This seems quite probable.

σκιρτάω [v.] 'to jump, hop' (especially epic poet. Y 226, 228, also late prose), -έω (Opp.). <?>

•VAR Only pres. and ipf.

•COMP Also with prefix (mostly late), e.g. ἀνα-, ἐπι-, κατα-.

•DER σκίρτ-ημα [n.] 'jump' (A., E. et al.), -ησις [f.] 'the jumping' (Plu.), -ημιός [m.] 'id.', -ητής [m.] 'jumper, dancer' (Mosch., Orph. etc.), -ητικός (Plu., Corn.); Σκίρτος [m.] name of a satyr (backformation; AP, Nonn. etc.), -τών, -τῶνος [m.] 'one who is exalted' (Eun.).

•ETYM Iterative-intensive formation in -τάω from ► σκαίρω < *\*skr-je/o-*. The *-i-* is thought to be a secondary prop vowel, but this makes the etymology formally less certain.

σκληρός, σκληφρός ⇒ σκέλλομαι.

σκνιπός, σκνίψ ⇒ κνίψ.

**σκοῖδος** [m.] = οἰκονόμος, ταμίας, etc., designation of a Macedonian official (Hdn. Gr., Poll., H.), epithet of Dionysus (Men.); σκοιδία [f.dat.] 'educatress, housekeeper' (Naxos I-II<sup>p</sup>). <?>

•ETYM According to Frisk s.v., related to σχίζω, as if from an IE root \*skid-, which cannot be correct; see on ►σκινδαλμός. Otherwise unexplained.

**σκοίκιον** ►κόιξ.

**σκοῖπος** ►σκήπων.

**σκολιός** ►σκέλος.

**σκόλλυς, -υος** [m.] 'fringe of hair, a haircut in which a tuft of hair was left on the head' (Pamphil. *apud* Ath. 11, 494f., Dsc., H., Poll. etc.). <PG?>

•ETYM Perhaps connected with ►σκολύπτειν, although a Pre-Greek origin seems more likely.

**σκολόπαξ, -ακος** [m.] name of a bird, usually identified with ἀσκαλώπας (-πάς?) [m.] (Arist.) and explained as 'woodcock, Scolopax rusticola'; cf. Thompson 1895 s.vv. <PG?>

•ETYM On the basis of the equation with ἀσκαλώπας (-πάς?), it is considered to be a Pre-Greek word by Fur.: 344. The resemblance with σκόλοψ 'pole' (referring to the long beak of the snipe?) might be due to folk-etymological adaptation.

**σκολόπενδρα** [f.] 'millipede, sowbug'; also name of an animal of the sea (Arist., etc.). <PG>

•DER σκολόπενδρ-ον (Thphr.), -ιον (Dsc.) [n.] plant name, after the form of the leaves acc. to Strömberg 1940: 42; -ώδης 'resembling a σ.' (Str.).

•ETYM The etymological proposal by Guasparri *Glotta* 76 (1998): 199-201, who suggests a derivation from σκολοπ- 'biting' and ἔντερον, also 'earth worm', is formally untenable and therefore unconvincing. Rather a Pre-Greek word.

**σκόλοψ, -οπος** [m.] 'pointed pole, palisade, prickle' (epic ion. poet. Il., Hell. and late prose), for Att. χάραξ, σταυρός, -ωμα. <PG(V)>

•VAR Also σκόλοφρον· θρανίον 'bench' (H.), perhaps after δίφρος; cf. σκόλυθρον.

•DER Diminutive σκολόπ-ιον [n.] (Antyll. *apud* Orib.), -ιῆς μοῖρα 'the destiny of being impaled' (Man.), after βασιλ-ιῆς etc.; -ίζω 'to provide with a σ.' (Stad.) with -ισμός [m.] 'the impaling, the spearing' (Vett. Val.); often ἀνα-σκολοπίζω 'to stick on a pole, impale' (Hdt., etc.) with -ισις [f.] (sch., Eust.), ἀπο- 'to remove the poles' (Aq.).

•ETYM Often derived from ►σκάλλω 'to stir, hoe', but the formation is peculiar. The interpretation of σκόλοπ- as a disyllabic stem cognate with e.g. Lat. *scalpō* 'to scratch, cut with a sharp instrument, etc.', OHG *scelifa* 'membranous shell', Lith. *sklēmpti*, *sklēmpti* 'to plane, etc.' (Pok. 926) is formally even more unlikely. The variant σκόλοφρον with -φρ- rather points to a Pre-Greek origin; cf. Fur.: 107.

**σκολύθριον** [n.] 'footstool' (Pl. *Euthd.* 278b, Poll.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR κόλυθρον (Telecl.).

•DER σκόλυθρος 'low' (H., Phot., Suid.), σκολύθρων· ταπεινῶν. ἀπὸ σκολύθρων δίφρων (H.).

•ETYM Diminutive of an unattested word \*σκόλυθρον, which seems to be a variant of κόλυθρον. This could point to Pre-Greek origin. A connection with σκολύπτειν (thus Frisk s.v.) is formally and semantically unlikely.

**σκόλυμος** [m.] name of a kind of thistle with an edible flower base, 'Scolymus hispanicus, artichoke, Cynara scolymus' (Hes., Alc., Arist., etc.); on the mg, see Dawkins *JHS* 56 (1936): 6. <PG(V)>

•VAR σκόλυμιον (Zonar.). On σκόλυβος, see below.

•DER σκολυμ-ώδης 'like σ.' (Thphr.).

•ETYM A variant of this word can be found in σκόλυβος· ὁ ἐσθιόμενος βολβός 'edible onion' (H.). The variation β/μ is a well-known Pre-Greek phenomenon.

**σκολύπτειν** [v.] · ἐκτίλλειν, κολοῦειν 'to pluck out, cut short'; σκολύψαι· κολοῦσαι, κολοῦσαι 'to cut short, shorten'; ἀνασκολύψας· γυμνῶσας 'having stripped' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Beside σκολύβρα· σκυθρωπή 'sad' (H.) we find σκολύφρα· σκυθρωπή, σκληρά, ἐργώδης, δυσχερής 'sad, hard, difficult, intractable'.

•COMP Often with ἀπο- 'to skin, strip off, circumcise' (Archil. 124, S. Fr. 423, Ael. Dion. etc.).

•ETYM The variation between σκολυπ- and κολοβ- in ►κολοβός 'curtailed, cut short' points to a Pre-Greek origin. A connection with ►σκάλλω 'to stir, hoe' (thus e.g. Frisk) is therefore unlikely. Also, the variation between -βρ- and -φρ- in σκολύβρα and σκολύφρα (whether or not they are really connected with σκολύπτειν; the semantics are quite far) points to a Pre-Greek origin of these words (Fur.: 171).

**σκόμβρος** [m.] 'mackerel' (Epich., Ar., Arist. etc.). <PG?>

•DER Diminutive σκομβρίδες· ιχθύες 'fishes' (H.); also Arist. *HA* 543b 5 (v.l. σκορπίδες). Additionally, the apparently denominative σκομβρίσαι· γογγύσαι· καὶ παιδιὰς ἀσελγούς· εἶδος 'to murmur, grumble; kind of wanton sport'; also σκομβρίζειν as an explanation of ῥαθαπυγίζειν 'to slap the buttocks' (H.).

•ETYM Origin unclear. The word may well be of Pre-Greek origin; cf. Fur.: 124. The word was borrowed as Lat. *scomber*.

**σκόνηζα** ►κόνυζα.

**σκόπελος** [m.] 'cliff, rock, mountain peak' (mostly epic poet. B 396), 'watch-tower' (pap.), -ον [n.] 'earthen wall, hill' (LXX). <?>

•DER σκοπελ-ίζω [v.] 'to set up a watch-tower', with -ισμός [m.] (Ulp. in *Dig.*).

•ETYM Although within Greek the meaning 'watch-tower' seems to be a later development out of original 'cliff, rock, mountain peak', an etymological connection with σκοπή 'watch-tower', σκοπία 'watch-tower, cliff, etc.' (see ►σκέπτομαι) might suggest that a meaning 'watch-tower' was the starting-point of this word after all. Older etymological connections (e.g. in Frisk s.v.) involving an alleged PIE root \*skep- 'to cut' (thought to be attested in ►σκέπαρνος) are outdated, as such a root does not seem to have existed. Borrowed as Lat. *scopulus*.

σκοπέω, σκοπιά, σκοπός ⇒ σκέπτομαι.

σκορακίζω ⇒ κόραξ.

σκορδίνεομαι [v.] 'to stretch (drowsily), yawn' (Hp., Ar., Poll.). <?>

•VAR Ion. -έομαι.

•DER σκορδίνημα [n.] (κορδ- v.l. Erot.), -ησμός [m.] (Hp., Gal.).

•ETYM Presumably from a non-attested noun \*σκορδινον, -ος. A more primary form is probably represented by σκορδάειν· σπάσθαι (H.). Hardly related to ► κόρδαξ, ► κραδάω; no further etymology.

σκορδύλη ⇒ κορδύλη.

σκορόβυλος [m.] κάνθαρος 'dung-beetle' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Clearly connected with ► κάραβος. The word therefore seems to continue \*σκαρ(α)β-υλ-, with o from α before υ in the next syllable.

σκορόδον [n.] 'garlic, Allium sativum' (Milet VI<sup>a</sup>, Ion., com., Thphr. et al.). <PG?>

•VAR Hell. and late also σκόρδον (see Schwyzer: 259); there is also σκοραδον (inscr. Cyrene), which may be secondary.

•COMP A number of compounds, e.g. σκοροδ-άλμη [f.] 'salty garlic-broth' (com.), cf. Risch IF 59 (1949): 58; ὀφιο-σκόρ(ο)δον [n.] kind of wild garlic (Gal., Ps.-Dsc.); cf. Strömberg 1940: 33.

•DER σκορόδ-ιον [n.], -ίζω [v.] 'to feed or to spice with garlic' (com.), σκοροδοῦν· συνουσιάζειν 'to have intercourse with' (H.); on the mg., see Specht KZ 62 (1935): 215.

•ETYM Related to Alb. *hurdhë* [f.] 'garlic' and Arm. *xstor*, dial. *sxtor* 'id.'. The Albanian form can be reconstructed as \*skord-, the Armenian word as \*skodor-, which was metathesized from \*skorod-, but the details regarding the developments of initial cluster are obscure (Ačāryan in Martirosyan 2010). Given the alternation \*skord- ~ \*skorod-, the word must be non-Indo-European, i.e. Pre-Greek or adopted from a local language in the Pontic area. For other names for onion and garlic, cf. ► κρόμμινον and ► πράσον; see also ► βολβός.

σκορπίος [m.] 'scorpion' (A. Fr. 169 = 368M.); often metaph. as epithet of a fish (com., Arist. et al.), after the poisonous stings, see Strömberg 1943: 124f., Thompson 1947 s.v.; also σκόρπ-αινα, -ίς, on which see below; of a plant (Thphr.), see Strömberg 1937: 50f.; of a constellation (Cleostrat., Hell.), see Scherer 1953: 170; a war machine for firing arrows (Hero et al.), whence σκορπίζω (see below); of a stone (Orph.), also σκορπίτις, -ίτης. <PG(V)>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in σκορπί-ουρος (-ον) plant name (Dsc.).

•DER 1. Substantives: σκορπ-ιον [n.] plant name (Dsc.), -ίδιον [n.] 'small slinging-machine' (Plb., LXX), -ίς [f.] (Arist.), -αινα [f.] (Ath.) fish name (see above); -ίτης [f.], -ίτης [m.] name of a stone (Plin., late pap.), after the color and shape, Redard 1949: 61; -ών, -ιώνος [m.] month name in Alexandria (Ptol.). 2. Adjectives: σκορπ-ιώδης 'resembling the σ.' (Arist., Ph. et al.), -ήϊος, -ειος 'belonging to the σ.' (Orph., Man.), -ίοις 'id.' (Nic.), -ιακός 'id.' (medic.), -ιανός 'born under the sign σ.' (Astr.). 3. Verbs: σκορπ-ίζω 'to scatter' (Hecat.[?], Hell. and late), also with δια- etc., -ιαινομαι

'to be enraged' (Procop.), σκορπιούται· ἀγριαίνεται, ἐρεθίζεται 'gets angry, is provoked' (H.).

•ETYM The scorpion is widely distributed in the southern parts of Europe, but there are isolated populations as far north as the Isle of Sheppy in Great Britain. The Indo-Europeans, whose homeland was probably located to the North of the Black Sea, did not have a word for the scorpion, and the Greeks must therefore have adopted it from a different language when they arrived in the Mediterranean. Acc. to Fur. (see his index), ► κάραβος, καράμβιος, ► σκαραβαῖος, ► κεράμβυξ, κεράμβηλον, κηραφίς, and ► γραψαῖος all continue the same Pre-Greek word, which seems possible. It is to be noted that most forms can easily be reduced to a structure \*kara<sup>m</sup>p-, except for γραψαῖος and σκορπίος. The word does not derive from PIE \*skerp- 'to scratch', seen in OE *sceorfan* 'to scratch' and Latv. *šķērpēt* 'to cut grass'. The Greek word was borrowed as Lat. *scorpius*, -iō.

σκότος [m.] 'darkness, dark', also of the dark before the eyes = 'swindle' (Il.). <IE \*sk(e)h<sub>3</sub>t- or \*skoto- 'shadow, dark'>

•VAR Also [n.] (since V\*), after e.g. φῶς, see Egli 1954: 64f.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. σκοτο-μήν-ιος 'having the moon in the dark', 'moonless', epithet of νύξ (ξ 457), univerbation of σκότος and μήν(η); besides the abstract σκοτο-μην-ία [f.] 'moonlessness, moonless night' (Hell.), also σκοτο-μήνη 'id.' (Democr.[?], LXX) and (after the nouns in -αινα) σκοτό-μαινα [f.] 'id.' (AP et al.). Further σκοτο-διν-ία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'swindle' (Hp., Pl.), with -δινιά [v.] (Ar., Pl.); also -δινος [m.] 'id.' (Hp.), after δῖνος.

•DER A. Adjectives: 1. σκόπιος 'dark, secretly, illegitimate', in Crete also = ἄνηβος 'not grown-up' (especially epic poet. since Z 24), cf. Ruijgh 1957: 108 against Leumann 1950: 284; σκοτίας· δραπέτης 'runaway' (H.). 2. σκοτ-αῖος 'in the dark, dark' (IA), after κνεφαῖος etc. (Schwyzer: 467). 3. -εινός 'darkness' (A.), after φαεινός etc., with -εινότης [f.] (Pl.), -εινώδες (H.), see νυθῶδες. 4. -όεις 'id.' (Hp., Emp., Hell. epic); Σκοτοῦσ(σ)α (-έσσσα) [f.] town in Thessaly (Hell.). 5. -ώδης 'dark, dizzy' (IA) with -ωδία [f.] (late). 6. -ερός 'dark' (Hell. poet.).

B. Substantives: 1. σκοτία [f.] = σκότος (Ar., LXX, NT et al.); cf. Scheller 1951: 38. 2. σκοταρία· ζόφος. Ἀχαιοί 'darkness (Achaean)' (H.). 3. Σκοτίτας [m.] epithet of Zeus (Paus. 3, 10, 6); explanation debated; cf. Redard 1949: 212. 4. Σκοτία (-ιά) [f.] epithet of Aphrodite (H., EM), see Scheller 1951: 129.

C. Verbs: 1. σκοτόομαι 'it becomes dark before my eyes, I'm passing out', -όω 'to make pass out, to darken' (Att., etc.), also with ἀπο-, συν-; on the mg., see Chantraine *Sprache* 1 (1949): 147f.; thence σκότ-ωμια, -ωσις (Hell. and late). 2. ἐπισκοτ-έω [v.] 'to shroud in darkness, darken' (Hp., Att.), like ἐπι-θυμ-έω, -χειρ-έω etc., with -ησις [f.] (Plu. et al.), -ος adj. (Pi. *Pae.* 9, 5 v.l.). 3. σκοτάω in 3pl. σκοτώσι 'their sight becomes darkened' (Nic.). 4. σκοτ-άζω 'to become dark, darken' (Att., etc.; in the older language only impersonal), mostly with συν-, whence -ασμός [m.] (late). 5. -ίζω 'to darken' (Hell. and late), also with ἐπι-, ἀπο-, κατα-, whence -ισμός, -ισις (late). 6. σκοτεῦει· δραπετεύει 'runs away' (H.), cf. σκοτίας above sub A. 1.

•ETYM The word σκότος has a close cognate in a Germanic word for 'shadow': Go. *skadus*, OE *sceadu* (also 'darkness'), OHG *scato*, -(a)wes, from PGm. \*skaðu- (after

the opposite *\*haidu-*, originally 'appearance in the light' in Go. *haidus* 'art, manner', etc). Beside these, we find Celtic forms with an apparent lengthened grade, e.g. OIr. *scáth* [n.] 'shadow'. We may reconstruct either IE *\*skoto-*, *-tu* (Greek and Germanic) beside *\*skōto-* (Celtic), or an ablauting root noun *\*sk(e)h<sub>3</sub>t-* (Matasović 2008 s.v. *\*skāto-*). Cf. also on ► σκιά.

**σκριβλίτης** [m.] 'cheesecake' (Chrysipp. Tyan. *apud* Ath. 14, 647d). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM From Lat. *scriblita* [m.] 'id.', which itself seems to have been taken from Greek (\*στρεβλίτης : στρεβλός?); see WH s.v. and Redard 1949: 91.

**σκύβαλον** [n.] 'waste, offal, refuse, muck' (Hell and late). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also *\*σκύβλον* as in *σκυβλίζω*?

•DER *σκυβαλ-ώδης* 'muck-like' (late), *-ικός* 'dirty' (Timocr.?), *-ίζω* [v.] 'to treat like or regard as waste' (LXX, D. H. et al.), also with *ἀνα-*, *ἀπο-*; to this *-ισμός* [m.] (Plb.), *-ισμα* [n.] (Ps.-Phoc.), *-ις* [f.] (sch.); *-εύομαι* 'id.' (sch.).

•ETYM Neumann 1961: 90f. and 107 compared Hitt. *išhuu<sup>ai</sup>-i* 'to throw (away), shake (away)'. Fur.: 148 compares *κύπελλα* τὰ τῆς μάζης καὶ τῶν ἄρτων ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καταλείμματα 'whatever dough and bread is left over on the table' (Philet. *apud* Ath. 11, 483a); if correct, then the word is Pre-Greek. See DELG *Supp*.

**σκυδμαίνω** [v.] 'to rage, grumble' (Σ 592). <?>

•VAR Backformation *σκύδμαινος* *σκυθρωπός* 'sad- or angry-looking' (H.).

•COMP With *ἀπο-* (Σ 65).

•DER *σκούζομαι* 'id.' (Hom.), also with *ἐπι-*, aor. opt. *ἐπισκύσσαιο* (η 306), ind. *ἐπισκύσαι* (EM) 'id.'; act. *σκούζουσιν* ἡσυχῇ ὑποφθέγγονται, ὥσπερ κύνες 'speak quietly in an undertone, like dogs' (H.); *σκυζάω* 'id.' (Poll.). Perhaps also PN *Σκύδρος* (Delos IV<sup>a</sup>); cf. Bechtel 1917b: 501. With a suffix *-θρο-* or *-ρο-*: *σκυθρός* 'grumpy, murky, gloomy' (Men., Arat.), whence *σκυθρ-άζω* [v.] 'to be grumpy, murky' (E. El. 830), *-ίω* [m.] PN (Tanagra IV<sup>a</sup>); on *σκούθραξ*: *μείραξ*, *ἐφηβος* 'young boy, adolescent' (H.), see *σκυρθάλιος*. Especially in *σκυθρ-ωπός* 'with a gloomy look' (Hp., Att.; cf. Sommer 1948: 7 and 9), whence *-ωπότης* [f.] (Hp.), *-ωπάζω* [v.] 'to look gloomy, etc.', *-ωπασμός* [f.] (Plu.).

•ETYM Like in *ἐριδμαίνω* beside *ἐρίζω*, *σκυδμαίνω* beside *σκούζομαι* has its *-μ-* from *πημαίνω*, *θερμαίνω*, etc. For *σκυθρός*, there is no reason to assume a pre-form *\*σκυδ-θρος* (whence *\*σκυσ-θρός* and, with dissimilation, *σκυθρός*).

There is no certain etymology. Lith. (*pra-*)*skūsti*, 1sg. *-skundū*, pret. *-skudaū* 'to become nervous, tired, begin to feel pain', Latv. *skundēt* 'to grumble, commiserate, blame, grudge', etc. (Pok. 955) cannot be related, as the accentuation points to *\*-d<sup>h</sup>-*.

**σκούζα** [f.] 'lust, heat' (Philet. 27 [?; see Powell ad loc.], SEG 4, 47 (Messana II<sup>p</sup>[?]; personified as a woman). <PG?>

•DER *σκυζάω* (*ἀνα-*, *ἐκ-*) [v.] 'to be in heat', of dogs, horses et al. (Cratin., Arist. et al.) with *-ησις* [f.] (Ar. Byz.).

•ETYM Unexplained. The word could be Pre-Greek (note the meaning), from a pre-form PG *\*skut<sup>h</sup>a*.

**σκούζομαι** ⇒ *σκυδμαίνω*.

**σκυθρός** ⇒ *σκυδμαίνω*.

**σκύλαξ**, **-ἄκος** [f., m.] 'doggy, puppy' (Od.), also 'whelp, cub' in general (E. [lyr.], Nic., Luc. et al.); metaph. 'collar, neckband' (Pl. Com., Plb.). <PG?>

•COMP Also as a first member e.g. in *σκυλακο-τρόφος* 'breeding dogs', with *-ία*, *-ικός* (late).

•DER 1. Diminutive *σκυλάκιον* [n.] (IA). 2. Fem. *-αίνα* (AP), *-η* (Orph.). 3. Substantive *-ίτις* [f.] 'protectress of cubs', epithet of Artemis (Orph.), see Redard 1949: 212; *-εύς* [m.] = *σκύλαξ* (Opp.), rather metrical enlargement than back-formation from *-εύω* (cf. Boßhardt 1942: 71 and Kretschmer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 228). 4. Adjective *-ειος* 'of puppies' (Hp., S. E.); *-ώδης* (X.), *-ευτικός* 'belonging to a puppy' (Ph.), analogical enlargement. 5. Verb *-εύω* act. 'to mate, copulate', of dogs (X., Arr.), pass. 'to be raised' (Str., Max. Tyr.), with *-εία* [f.] 'dog-breeding' (Plu., Poll.), *-ευμα* [n.] 'offspring' (Epigr. *apud* Plu., AP), *-ευτής* [m.] 'dog-breeder' (Him.).

•ETYM Words for young animals often end in *-αξ* (cf. *μείραξ*, *δέλφαξ*, *πόρταξ*; see Chantraine 1933: 377ff.). Therefore, *σκύλαξ* could be related to *σκύλιον* [n.] name of a shark (Arist.) and to *σκύλλα* fish name (Nic. Fr. 137 Schn.); see Solmsen 1909: 20; forms with a geminate are *σκύλ(λ)ος* = *σκύλαξ*, *κύων* (EM, H.), *σκυλλίς* *κληματίς* (H., Strömberg 1940: 31), and *κύλλα* *σκύλαξ* (*κύλλας* *κύλαξ* cod.). *Ἡλεῖοι* (H.). *Σκύλλη*, Att. *Σκύλλα* ("the bitch"), name of the well-known sea-monster (Od.), is perhaps related.

There are no certain cognates outside Greek. Arm. *c'ul*, gen. *c'l-u* 'young bull', from IE *\*skul-* or *\*skōl-*, was compared by Meillet BSL 26 (1925): 20f. Comparison with Lith. *skalikas* 'barking dog' (from *skālyti* 'to bark hunting') and *kalė* 'bitch' go back to *\*(s)kol-*. Schwyzler KZ 37 (1904): 150 pointed at *σκούζουσιν* (H.) and *σκυδμαίνω* (does this contain a root *\*sku-*? Cf. ► *σκούμνος*). In view of the lack of an etymology, the word could well be Pre-Greek.

**σκύλλω** [v.] 'to lacerate, tear up, flay', mostly metaph. 'to pester, tire, bother, trouble, vex', med.-pass. 'to strain', aor. act. 'to infest, plunder' (pap., inscr., NT, late prose; rarely poet.: A., Nic., AP). <?>

•VAR Aor. *σκούλ-αι*, pass. *-ῆναι* (*-ηθῆναι* Eust.); fut. *-ήσομαι*, perf. med. *ἔσκυλμαι*. With metathesis *ξύλλεσθαι* if 'σκούλλεσθαι' (SIG 56, 3; Argos V<sup>a</sup>; cf. Schwyzler: 329).

•COMP Rarely with *ἀπο-*, *ἐπι-*, *προ-*, *συν-*.

•DER *σκυλ-μός* [m.] 'bothering, tribulation' (Hell. and late), 'rending, mangling' (sch.), *-μώδης* 'troublesome' (Vett. Val.); *-μα* (twice with *κόμης*) [n.] 'hair plucked out' (AP), cf. *ἔσκυλται* (*κόμη*) 'is tousled' (AP); *σκούλεις* *θυμός*, *σάλος*, *ταραχή* 'spirit, a tossing motion, disorder' (H.), *-τικός* 'vexatious' (Vett. Val.). Further *σκύλος* [n.] (pl. *σκύλα* in Nic. Th. 422) 'stripped hide, skin' (Call., Theoc., AP; cf. *δέρμα* to *δέρω*), 'nutshell' (Nic.); as a first member in *σκύλο-δέψης* [m.] 'tanner' (Ar.), *-ός* 'id.' (D.). Also *σκύλος* [n.] (Herod. 3, 68 with *ū* after *σκῦτος*, if not a misspelling). See ► *κοσκυλμάτια* 'cuttings of leather'.

•ETYM Together with its derivations, *σκύλλω* is especially known from the later colloquial language and in the metaphorical meaning 'to pester, etc.'. Through adaptation to ► *σκύλα*, the aor. *σκούλαι* may have obtained the meaning 'harass,



plunder' (but see s.v.). Only pres. σκύλλονται 'they are stripped of their flesh', of warriors drowned by fish (A. Pers. 577 [lyr.]), and σκύλο-δέψης (Ar.) are attested early.

Traditionally connected with the group of ►σκάλλω (see s.v. and Pok. 923f.), where υ in σκύλλω was supposed to be a reduced vowel (Schwyzer: 351). This scenario is impossible, but Vine 1999b: 565ff. regards σκύλλω as an *o*-grade formation \*skol-je/o-.

**σκῦλα** [n.pl.] 'war-booty, especially weapons', also -ον 'spoil, booty' (S., E., Th. et al.). <PG?>

•DER \*σκυλαῖος in σκυλαίας· τὰ σκῦλα καὶ λάφυρα. οἱ δὲ τὰς πανοπλίας 'arms and (other) booty from an enemy; a hoplite's full armor' (H.). Denominative verb σκυλεύω 'to rob a slain enemy of his weapons' (Hes. Sc. 468, IA); σκυλεύματα [n.pl.] = σκῦλα (E., Th.), -εῖα [f.] 'plundering' (LXX), -ευσίς [f.] (Cilicia), -εὐμός [m.] (Eust.) 'spoils', -εὐτής [m.] 'one who strips a slain enemy' (Aq.), -εὐτικός 'plundering' (Tz.). Also σκυλ-άω, -ῆσαι (UPZ 6, 15; 21, AP 3, 6[?], Eust.) 'id.', -ήτρια [f.] 'she who strips a slain enemy' (Lyc., Eust.).

•ETYM The root specifically refers to the stripping of a slain enemy of his weapons and armor. Probably a derivative of the root of ►σκύλλω 'to lacerate, tear up, flay', even though the meaning of σκῦλα may have influenced the aorist σκύλαι 'to plunder'. Other etymologies, such as comparison with σκύτος 'prepared skin, leather' and ἐπισκύνιον 'skin of the brows' (Pok. 951 ff.), σκύλος, are less attractive. It is noteworthy that σῦλον (see on ►συλάω) has a similar meaning; does this point to a Pre-Greek interchange σ-/σκ-? Fur.: 393 connects ξύλλομαι, but see ►σκύλλω.

**σκύμνος** [m., f.] 'cub, whelp', especially 'young lion' (epic Ion. poet. Σ 319, also Arist. etc.). <PG?(S)>

•DER Diminutive σκυμν-ίον [n.] (Arist.), -εῦω [v.] 'to breed' (Philostr.), -εἰος 'of a whelp' (Suid.).

•ETYM The word has been connected with σκύλαξ 'puppy', but the variation of the suffix remains unclear on this account. The suffix -μν- could point to Pre-Greek origin.

**σκυρθάλιος** [m.] · νεανίσκος 'youth' (H.). Also σκυρθάλια (-ιάς cod.). Θεόφραστος τοὺς ἐφήβους οὕτω φησὶ καλεῖσθαι, Διονύσιος δὲ τοὺς μείρακας 'adolescents are called this way acc. to Theophrastus, and young boys acc. to Dionysius' (H.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR σκυρθάνια· τοὺς ἐφήβους οἱ Λάκωνες 'adolescents (Laconian)' (Phot.). With metathesis σκύθραξ· μείραξ, ἔφηρος 'young girl or boy, adolescent' (H.). Without σ- (and Lac. -σ- from -θ-) in κυρσίον· μειράκιον 'boy' (H.), Lac. κυρσάνιος 'id.' (Ar. Lys.).

•ETYM Formation like νηφ-άλιος, etc. Has been compared with Skt. *kṛdhú-* 'shortened, mutilated', *á-skṛdho-yu-* 'not shortened, not needy', which is further connected with the Lithuanian group of *skurstù, skurdaũ skūrsti* 'to lack, lag in growth, languish', *nu-skuřdēs* 'impoverished, neglected'. These words derive from a root \*sker-dʰ-. Since σκυρθ- is semantically remote and cannot reflect a zero grade,

nor an *o*-grade, the etymology is incorrect. There is no better etymology, but Pre-Greek origin is probable (note the variant without σ-).

**σκύρον** [adj.] = ἄσκυρον 'St. John's wort' (Nic. Th. 74). <PG>

•ETYM See ►ἄσκυρον.

**σκῦρος** [m.] 'stone-chippings, rubble' (Epid. IV<sup>a</sup>, H., Poll., sch. Pi.). <PG(V)>

•DER σκυρωτὰ ὁδός 'road paved with σ.' (Pi. P. 5, 93), τὰ σκυρω[τά] [n.pl.] (Delos III<sup>a</sup>), σκυρωθῶσι· λιθωθῶσιν 'petrify' (H., from Hp.?), σκυρώδης 'consisting of σ.' (Eust.).

•ETYM Perhaps the island name Σκῦρος is related (after the marble quarries?). Fur.: 366 takes the word to be a variant of ►σκίρος and concludes that it is Pre-Greek.

**σκῦτάλη** [f.] 'stick, club, spar, drum' (Archil., Pi.), especially a staff used as a cypher to read dispatches, more generally also '(Spartan) dispatch'. Metaph. a snake (Nic. et al.), or a fish (Opp.), see Strömberg 1943: 36. <?>

•VAR σκύταλον [n.] 'stick, club' (Pi., Hdt., Ar., X.).

•DER Diminutive σκυτάλ-ιον [n.] (Ar., Hell. and late), -ίς [f.] 'stick' (Hdt., Hell. and late); further -ίας [m.] a type of long cucumber (Thphr.; Strömberg 1937: 91); -ωτός 'provided with a σ.' (Hero, EM); -ισμός [m.] 'club-law' in Argos (D. S., Plu.); -όομαι [v.] 'to be clubbed' (EM, H.), hence -ωσις (Troezen).

•ETYM No etymology. Borrowed as Lat. *scutula*.

**σκύτη** [f.] · κεφαλή 'head'; σκύτα· τὸν τράχηλον. Σικελοί 'neck, throat (Sicilian)' (H.), see further LSJ s.v. about the attestations. <PG>

•ETYM Fur.: 359, 362 compares κοτ(τ)ίς, (προ)-κόττα 'head' and assumes Pre-Greek origin.

**σκῦτος** [n.] 'prepared skin, leather, leather thong' (§ 34). <IE \*(s)keh<sub>u</sub>-t->

•COMP σκυτο-τόμος [m.] 'leather-worker, cobbler' (H 221); as a second member in δωδεκά-σκυτος 'consisting of twelve leather strips' (Pl.).

•DER Diminutive σκυτ-άριον [n.], -ίς [f.] (Hell. and late); adj. -ινος 'leather' (IA), -ικός 'pertaining to leather(-work) or cobbling' (Pl., Arist. et al.), -ώδης 'leather-like' (Arist.); -εύς [m.] 'cobbler' (Att.), -εἶον, -εῦω, -εῖα, -ευσίς (Hp., Att., etc.). Denominative σκυτ-όομαι in ἐσκυτωμένος 'coated with leather' (Att. inscr., Plb. et al.).

•ETYM Probably related to the PIE word for 'skin' \*keh<sub>u</sub>-ti-; with a zero grade, OHG *hūt*, Lat. *cūtis*, and ToA *kāc*; with a full grade, OPr. *keuto* and Lith. *kiąutas* 'case, envelop, shell' (see, e.g., De Vaan 2008 s.v. *cutis*). The initial \*s- of Greek may be shared by MW *eskit*, Co. *eskit*, *esgis* 'shoe' < \*ped-skuHt-. The root \*(s)keh<sub>u</sub>- may also have been preserved in ►ἐπισκύνιον 'skin of the brows' and ►κύτος 'hollow (of a shield), vessel'.

**σκύφος** [m., n.] 'cup, mug' (§ 112, rare in Arist., Hell. inscr., etc.). <PG?(V)>

•DER Diminutive σκυφ-ίον [n.], also 'skull' (Paul. Aeg.), -ίδιον (EM?), -άριον (gloss.); adj. -(ε)ῖος 'σ.-like' (Stesich.); σκύφ-ωμα [n.] = σκύφος (A. Fr. 184 = 308 M.; on the

suffix, see Chantraine 1933: 186), -ών, -ώνος [m.], meaning unclear (Gal.). σκυζιφόν-σκύφον (H.) is doubtful.

•ETYM No etymology. The form σκύφος is similar to σκάφος, -η (see ►σκάπτω), but the vocalism is unexplained. Fur.: 176 compares κύβος: ... Πάφιοι δὲ τὸ τρύβλιον 'a drinking vessel' (H.), etc., which could be a Pre-Greek variant.

**σκώληξ 1, -ηκος** [m.] 'worm, larva' (N 564). <?>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in σκωληκό-βρωτος 'eaten away by worms' (Thphr., etc.).

•DER Diminutive σκωλήκ-ιον [n.] (Arist., etc.); -ίτης [m.] (κηρός or στύραξ) 'wax or resin in the shape of a worm' (Dsc.); -ώδης 'worm-like' (Arist.); -όμαι [v.] 'to be eaten away by worms', -ωσις [f.] (Thphr.); -ιάω [v.] 'to suffer from worms' (Orib. et al.), -ιασις [f.] (Sm., Thd.); -ίζω [v.] 'to have an irregular pulse' (Gal.), cf. μυρμηκίζω 'id.', σκωληκίζονται· κινούνται ὡς οἱ σκώληκες 'move or stir like worms' (H.).

•ETYM Usually regarded as derived from a lengthened grade formation to the root of ►σκέλος 'thigh, leg' (see there for PIE etymology) and σκολιός 'bent, twisted'. The suffix -ηκ- is also found in ►σφήξ, ►μύρμηξ, etc.; the thematic formation is perhaps found in σκώλοισι· δρεπάνοις, διὰ τὴν σκολιότητα 'scythe, after its curvedness' (H.; if this is not rather related to σκῶλος 'pole'), σκωλύπτομαι 'to curve, wind' (Nic. Th. 229), and MoGr. (Pontic) σκούλος 'upper shank' < \*σκῶλος or \*σκόλος. In view of the lengthened grade and the non-IE suffix, this analysis is dubious.

**σκώληξ 2.** [?] · τὸ κυλιόμενον κύμα 'wave rolling along' (H., Pl. com., Phryn.). καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλω τὸ δινηθὲν καὶ συναχθὲν εἰς λικμητόν 'from the threshing-floor, what is whirled and put together into winnowing' (H.). <?>

•ETYM A metaphorical use of σκώληξ 'worm', after the way of movement (Phryn.).

**σκῶλος** [m.] 'pointed pole' (N 564), 'thorn, prickle' (Ar. et al.). <IE?>

•VAR Also σκῶλον, pl. -α 'id.' (EM, H.), metaph. 'stumbling block', whence -όμαι [v.] 'to be offended' (LXX; Aq., Al.).

•COMP σκωλο-βατίζω [v.] 'to walk on stilts' (Epich.), -βάτης '(kind of) weevil' (H.).

•ETYM The word resembles ►σκόλωψ 'pointed pole' and, outside Greek, Alb. *hell* 'spit, icicle' < \*skōl-o-; without \*s-, Lith. *kuōlas* 'pole' < \*kōl-o- and OCS *kolъ* 'pole' < \*kol-o-. These words probably all derive from PIE \*kelH- 'to hew'; see Pok. 545-547 and s.v. ►κλάω. Another possible cognate is ►σκάλλω 'to split'.

**σκῶπτω** [v.] 'to mock, jest, flout, taunt' (h.Cer. 203). <?>

•VAR σκῶψαι (IA), fut. σκῶψομαι (Ar.), pass. aor. σκωφθῆναι (X.), perf. ἔσκωμμαι (Luc.).

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα- etc. As a second member in φιλο-σκώμιων, -ονος [m.] 'fond of mocking' (Hdt., Plu., Luc. et al.), -οσύνη (Poll.).

•DER σκῶμμα (ἐπί-, ἀπό-) [n.] 'mockery, jest' (Att.), -άτιον [n.] (Ar.); σκῶψις (ἐπί-) [f.] 'id.' (Alex., Plu.); σκῶπτis [m.] 'mock' (Archig. et al.), φιλο-σκῶπτis 'fond of mocking' (Arist. et al.), -έω (Ath.); fem. σκῶπτρια (Procop.); σκωπτικός 'id.' (Plu., Luc., Poll.); σκωπαλέος, meaning unclear (Hdn. Gr.); deverb. σκωπτ-όλης [m.]

'mock' (Ar. et al.), -ηλός 'mocking' (Zonar.). On σκῶπεια, σκωπίας, names of dances, see ►σκῶψ.

•ETYM An unexplained formation that must be recent in the prehistory of Greek. The root may be that of ►σκέπτομαι 'to look about' or ►σκάπτω 'to dig', but neither is immediately obvious. Perhaps the verb is related to ►σκῶψ 'little horned owl'.

**σκῶρ** [n.] 'muck, excrement' (Epich., Ar., Stratt.). <IE \*sk-ōr 'excrement'>

•VAR Or σκῶρ, cf. Schwyzler: 377 and 384; gen. σκατός (Poll.).

•COMP As a first member e.g. in σκατο-φάγος 'muck-eater', with -έω (com.).

•DER σκωρ-ία [f.] 'metal slags' (Arist. et al.), see further Scheller 1951: 49; diminutive -ίδιον, -ιάζω (late) 'to turn into σκωρία', -αμής [f.] 'stool' (Ar.), after ἀμής 'chamber pot'.

•ETYM From the PIE heteroclitic \*sok-r/n-, found in Hitt. *šakkar*, gen. *šaknaš* 'excrement', Lat. *mūscerda* 'mouse droppings', and ON *skarn* 'muck' (cf. Schindler BSL 70 (1975): 1-10 and Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *šakkar*). The form σκῶρ reflects a collective \*sk-ōr, while σκατός reflects quasi-PIE \*sk-n-to-s. An IE word with similar formation is reflected by ►κόπρος 'excrement'.

**σκωρρυφίαν** [f.] = τὸ σκάνδαλον < Ἐχάρμος>, ἐν Μηρίν· ἐν δὲ Τριακάσιν τὰ ὀσιώδη χρέα 'trap, stumbling-block; bony meat (if to be read as τὰ ὀσιώδη κρέα)' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Meaning uncertain; etymology unknown.

**σκῶψ, σκωπός** [m.] 'little horned owl' (ε 66, Epich., Arist., Theoc. et al.); metaph. as a fish name (Nic. Fr. 18), probably after the colors (Strömberg 1943: 114); name of a dance (Ael., Poll.), with in the same mg. also σκῶπεια (A. Fr. 70 = 20 M.) and σκωπίας (Poll.); as a name of a dance also connected with σκοπεῖν (Ath., H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also κῶψ.

•COMP As a second member in αἰ-σκωψ a kind of owl (Arist.), which acc. to Arist. was not a migratory bird.

•ETYM Formation as πῶξ, κῶψ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 2), but unexplained. Connected with σκῶπτω by Ath. and Ael., which is probably folk etymology. The same holds for the modern comparison with σκέπτομαι, after the sharp view and the protruding circle around the eyes. A by-form κῶψ is often mentioned (see Thompson 1895 s.v. σκῶψ); also, γῶπας· κολοιούς. Μακεδόνες 'jackdaw (Maced.)' (H.). Given these variations, the word is probably Pre-Greek. Other words for 'owl' are ►γλαυῆς, ►στύξ and ὤτος (s.v. ►οὔς).

**σμάραγδος** [f., m.] 'emerald' (Hdt., Pl., etc.). <LW Orient.>

•VAR Also μάραγδος (Men., Hell. inscr.), also ζμάραγδος, -ιον (inscr., pap.).

•COMP σμαραγδο-χαίτης 'with emerald-green hair' (Tim. Pers.).

•DER σμαράγδ-ιον [n.] (M. Ant.), -ίτης [m.] (λίθος; Hell., Plin.); -ινος 'of emerald, emerald-green' (pap. et al.), -ειος 'id.' (Hld.), -ώδης (sch.); -ίζω [v.] 'to be emerald-green' (D. S., Dsc.).

•ETYM To be compared with Skt. *marakata-* (also *marakta-*) [n.] and Akk. *barraqtu*, Hebr. *bāræqet* 'id.', whose original source may be Semitic (cf. *brq* 'gleam, flicker').

For the Greek reflex σμ-, cf. Σιέρδης beside OP *Bardiya*, etc. (Schwyzer: 311); we also have to reckon with influence of σμεραγέω. The form μάραγδος, which is attested only later, may have been borrowed from Indic. From Greek, in turn, were borrowed Lat. *smaragdus* and Pers. and Arab. *zumurrud*, whence Osman. *zümriid* was taken, which was again borrowed as Ru. *izumrúd*. Cf. Mayrhofer *EWAla* s.v.

**σμεραγέω** [v.] 'to drone, roar, thunder', of the sea, thunder, etc. (epic Il., also Hp. *Mul.* 2, 154). <PG(V)>

•VAR Aor. -ῆσαι.

•COMP As a second member (directly referring to the verb) in ἐρι-σμάραγος 'droning loudly', of Ζεύς (Hes.), later also of θάλασσα, etc.; also πολυ-, βαρυ-, ἄλι-σμάραγος etc. (Opp., Nonn.). σμεραγίζω [v.] 'id.' (Hes. *Th.* 693), σμεράσσω (*EM*), μαράσσω (*Erot.*).

•DER σμαραγ-ή [f.] 'the droning' (Opp.), -ος [m.] name of a chthonic god (Hom. *Epigr.*).

•ETYM The word σμεραγέω is an onomatopoeic formation like λαλαγέω, παταγέω, σφαραγέομαι, ραθαγέω, etc., beside which we find λαλαγή, πάταγος, σφάραγος, ράθαγος, etc.; σμεράσσω is formed like e.g. πατάσσω and ραθάσσω. Fur.: 227 considers σφάραγος to be a variant (with interchange φ/μ), and takes the two words to be Pre-Greek. In any case, it is unrelated to σφαραγέομαι (pace Güntert 1914: 159).

**σμάρδικον** [n.] · στρουθίων 'sparrow; lewd person'; σμαρδικοπῶλαι οἱ τοὺς στρουθοὺς πωλοῦντες 'those who sell sparrows' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM As per Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 7 (1957): 228, σμάρδικον is related to ►σιμορδοῦν: συνουσιάζειν 'to keep company, have intercourse with' (H.). Fur.: 226 instead compares σπαράσιον = ὄρνεν ἑμπερὲς στρουθῶ 'bird resembling a sparrow' (H.), which would give us a typically Pre-Greek variation between π and μ. If σιμορδοῦν is indeed related, the interchange α/ο would also point to Pre-Greek origin.

**σμαρίς, -ίδος** [f.] name of a small fish resembling the μαινίς, 'Sparus smarīs' (Epich., Arist., Opp., Marc. Sid. etc.), see Thompson 1947 s.v. <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 226 convincingly compares σπάρος 'a small sea-fish, a kind of bream', which proves Pre-Greek origin for this word in view of the variation μ/π. A connection with σμηρίζειν 'to plane' (Hero) is implausible (pace Strömberg 1943: 87), because σμαρίς generally has short ᾱ (long ᾱ only Marc. Sid.).

**σμάω, σμάομαι** [v.] 'to rub (off), wipe off, med. also 'to rub oneself with ointment'. <IE? \*smeh<sub>1</sub>- 'rub'>

•VAR σμᾶ, σμᾶται (Hdt. and late); σμῆ, σμῆται (Att. com.); σμῆν (Luc.), aor. σμῆσαι, -ήσασθαι (mostly Ion. Hell. and late), Dor. ptc. σμασμέννα (Call.), perf. med. ptc. προ-εζμῆσμένος (pap. II<sup>p</sup>).

•COMP Also (especially act.) with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc.

•DER σμῆμα, Dor. (Theoc.) σμᾶμα [n.] 'cleanser, soap, ointment' (Ar. *Fr.* 17, Hell. and late). With a velar enlargement (Schwyzer: 702, Chantraine 1942: 330): A. σμήχω, -ομαι 'id.' (since ζ 226), aor. σμῆξαι, -ασθαι (Hp., Hell. and late), pass. σμηχθῆναι (Ar.), perf. med. ptc. ἐσμηγμένος (Dsc.), also with ἀπο-, δια- etc. Hence 1. νεό-σμηκ-

τος 'newly polished' (N 342 et al.). 2. σμῆγμα = σμῆμα, with -ματώδης (Hp., late). 3. σμῆξις (ἀπό-) [f.] 'the rubbing off, cleaning' (Str., Dsc. et al.). 4. σμήκ-της [m.] 'one who rubs off' (gloss.); -τρίς [f.] 'kind of fuller's earth' (Hp., com.), -τικός 'cleaning' (medic.). B. σμῶχω 'to bray, grind' (Ar., Nic.), aor. σμῶξαι, perhaps after σῶχω, ψῶχω.

•ETYM Etymology uncertain. Possibly related to Lat. *macula* [f.] 'stain, blot' (from \*smH-tlā; see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). In any event, it is unrelated to Go. *bi-*, *ga-smeitan*, OHG *smīzan*, etc. Although one would first think of reconstructing a root \*smeh<sub>2</sub>-, LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*smeh<sub>1</sub>- follows DELG in taking the α-forms as secondary, and deriving the verb from \*smeh<sub>1</sub>- instead. The preservation of initial \*sm- in some Greek words is problematic. See also on ►σμῶδιξ and ►σμῶνῃ.

**σμερδαλέος** [adj.] 'terrible, frightening, fearsome', of appearance, cry and shouting (epic Il.). <?>

•VAR σμερδνος 'id.' (Il., *h. Hom.*, A. *Pr.* 355, Nic.).

•ETYM σμερδαλέος can be compared with λευγαλέος, ἀργαλέος etc.; σμερδνός is formed like e.g. δεινός. The pair σμερδαλέος : σμερδνός shows an interchange of suffixes like in ισχαλέος : ισχνός, etc.; see Benveniste 1935: 45f. A corresponding s-stem (like in θαρσαλέος : θάρσος) is found in σμέρδ[v]ος λῆμα, ῥώμη, δύναμις, ὄρισμα 'will, vigor, power, impulse' and εὐσμερδής· εὐρωστος 'robust, strong' (H.), for the meaning of which cf. δεινότης, also 'power, force, dexterity'.

The word σμερδαλέος is traditionally connected with OHG *smerzān*, OE *smeortan* 'to hurt' and OE *smeart* 'painful', MoE *smart* 'biting, stinging, sharp, witty, elegant'. However, the Germanic word may rather be related to Lat. *mordeō* 'to bite', and within Greek ἀμέρδω 'to deprive of' (thus LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*h<sub>2</sub>merd-). In this case, σμερδ- has no etymology, unless we assume that PIE \*h<sub>2</sub>merd- interchanged with \*smerd- (on the problem, see Beekes 1969: 84). Cf. also ►σιμορδοῦν.

**σμέρδος** [?] ἰχθύος εἶδος 'kind of fish' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Etymology unknown.

**σμῆνος** [n.] 'beehive, skep' (Hes. *Th.* 594, *IG* 1<sup>2</sup>, 326: 15, Pl. *Resp.* 552c, Arist.), 'swarm of bees (wasps), swarm in general' (A. *Pers.* 128 [lyr.], S. *Fr.* 897, com., Pl., Arist., etc.), <PG?>

•VAR Dor. (Theoc.) σμᾶνος; plur. σμῆνα (Orac. *apud* Plu. 2, 96b), σμῆναι (leg. -η?)· τῶν μελισσῶν οἱ κηροδόχοι, ἥτοι αἱ θῆκαι 'the wax containers of bees, the cells' (H.); improbable conjecture by Feyel *Rev. arch.* (1946): 5ff. to read Σμῆναι for σεμναί in *h. Merc.* 552.

•COMP σμην-ουργός [m.] 'beekeeper' (Ael., Poll.), φιλό-σμηνος (μέλισσα) 'loving swarms, appearing in swarms' (Nonn.).

•DER Diminutive σμην-ιον [n.] 'beehive' (Dsc.), = πρόπολις 'bee-glue' (H.); -ών, -ώνος [m.] 'station (stand) of beehives' (Olymos I<sup>2</sup>; ζμ-), -ιών 'id.' (Apollon. *Mir.*), -ηδόν 'in swarms' (Hdn. *Epim.*).

•ETYM The formation can be compared with ἔθνος, κτήνος, ἔρνος, τέμενος etc.; the original meaning was probably 'swarm (of bees)' rather than 'beehive'. The etymology of σμῆνος is unknown. Fur.: 376 compares ἰσμῆναι· θῆκαι, ἀκόλουθοι

'cases, followers' (H., see Latte); although this does not yet prove that the word is of Pre-Greek origin, it is nevertheless a good possibility (pace DELG, which assumes IE origin without argumentation).

σμήριγξ ⇒ μήριγξ.

σμηρίζω [v.] 'to abrade, smooth, polish' (Hero). <?>

- DER Diminutive -μάτιον [n.] (Hero *Spir.*); σμήρισμα [n.] 'airtight ingrained tube'.
- ETYM Although a connection with σμήριγξ is formally attractive, the semantics are not clear (originally \*'to depilate'?). Alternatively, we might consider the possibility that it is an extended variant of σμιάω, perhaps after στηρίζω.

σμήρινθος ⇒ μηρύομαι.

σμήω ⇒ σμιάω.

σμικρός ⇒ μικρός.

σμίλαξ [f., m.] 'Taxus baccata, common yew tree', also the name of an ivy-like weed and a leguminous plant (Att., Hell.), in Arcadia the name of an oak, 'Quercus ilex' (Thphr.). <PG(V)>

- VAR OAtt. μίλαξ, -ακος; also μίλος (Cratin., Thphr.), σμίλος (Call., Nic., Dsc.) [m.] 'taxus'.
- DIAL Myc. *mi-ra*<sub>2</sub> has been interpreted as /s)miliā/, denoting the material a table is made of.
- DER σμυλάκ-ινος (Poll.), -ειος (Theognost.) 'made of yew'.
- ETYM For the relationship between (σ)μίλαξ and (σ)μίλος, one may compare οἶσαξ : οἶσος or ὀρόβαξ : ὄροβος. Because of the OAtt. variants μίλαξ and μίλος, σμίλαξ cannot be related to σμίλη; the variants prove Pre-Greek origin for this word (Fur.: 390).

σμίλη [f.] 'knife, wood-carving knife, scalpel, chisel', instrument for artisans, physicians, sculptors, etc. (IA). <?, PG?>

- VAR -ᾶ (AP), -ή (Hdn. Gr.).
- COMP As a first element in σμιλι-γλύφοι (τέχναι) 'working with chisels, sculptural' (*Epigr. Galatia*), which does not contain a Caland ι, see DELG s.v. against Schwyzer: 448.
- DER 1. Diminutive σμιλ-ιον [n.] with -ιωτός, -άριον [n.] (late medic.); 2. -ινος 'acting as a knife' (late medic.); 3. ἀπο-, δια-σμιλεύω [v.] 'to smooth with a chisel, plane' (late) with σμίλ-εσμα [n.] 'chipping' (Ar.), -ευστός (AP), -ευσις, -εία [f.] (Hdn. *Epim.*).
- ETYM Doubtful analysis of σμίλη as an instrument noun in -λη (like μήλη, χηλή, τρώγλη, etc.) in Chantraine 1933: 240. On the assumption that the long ī of σμίλη was introduced secondarily on the model of the nouns in -ίλη, -ίλο-, the word has been connected with the Germanic word for 'carpenter, smith', ON *smið*, OE *smiþ* (> MoE *smith*), OHG *smid*, from PGm. \**smiþu-*, \**smiðu-* < IE \**smi-tu*. However, this etymology is shaky; cf. the initial reflex of \**sm-*. Alternatively, Pre-Greek origin might be considered. Cf. ► σμινύη, ► σμίνθος, and ► μικρός.

σμίλος ⇒ σμίλαξ.

σμινδυρίδια [n.pl.] a kind of women's shoes (Poll. 7, 89). <GR>

- ETYM Named after Σμινδυρίδης of Sybaris; cf. Hdt. 6, 127.

σμίνθος [m.] 'mouse' (A. Fr. 227 = 380 M., Lyc., Str., AP); σμίνθα· ἡ κατοικίδιος μῦς 'domestic mouse' (H.). <PG(S)>

- DER Σμινθ-εύς (A 39, Str.), -ιος (Ael.) [m.], epithet of Apollo (honored in the Troad and on the islands as a protector against destructive field-mice); Σμίνθιος as a month name on Rhodes; τὰ Σμίνθια name of a festival (Troad, Lindos).
- ETYM A Mysian word, according to sch. A 39, but in any case Pre-Greek or Anatolian (cf. Chantraine 1933: 371 and Schwyzer: 510). It may be somehow connected with Etr. *isminthians*, an epithet of Mars (Kretschmer *Glotta* 20 (1932): 221, Kretschmer *Glotta* 30 (1943): 133). The form σμῖς· μῦς (H.) was probably invented on the basis of actually attested σμῖς (a cross with μῖς), to follow the alphabetical order.

σμινύη [f.] 'two-pronged mattock' (Att. inscr., com., Pl.). <?, PG?>

- VAR Gen. (ο-stem) σμινύοιο (Nic. Th. 386); acc.pl. σμινύδας (Ar. Fr. 402b; probably for σμινύας).
- DER σμινύδιον (Poll. 7, 148 ex Ar.).
- ETYM An instrument name, comparable in its formation to σιπύη, ὀστρύη, ὀφρύη, etc., σμῖνύη is generally considered to be a verbal abstract in -νυ(ᾶ) from a root \**smei-* 'cut', which was thought to be attested in ► σμίλη. However, the etymology of σμίλη is uncertain, and it is perhaps Pre-Greek. Accordingly, we should be careful in deriving σμῖνύη from such a root, and consider Pre-Greek origin for this word as well.

σμοιός [adj.] meaning doubtful; see below (Hdn. Gr., H., Theognost.). <PG(V)>

- VAR σμοῖος (LSJ); -ός DELG). Also σμυός, μοιός (H.) = χαλεπός, φοβερός, στυγνός, σκυθρωπός 'difficult, fearful, hated, sad- or angry-looking'.
- DER PN Σμοῖος (Ar. Ec. 846)
- ETYM The form σμοιός is probably related to ► ἄμοιος, which adds yet another variant for the initial: σμ-/ ἄμ-/ μ-. This variation points to Pre-Greek origin. The word ► μοῖτος is unrelated.

σμοκορδ- ⇒ σμορδοῦν.

σμορδοῦν [v.] · συνουσιάζειν 'to keep company, have intercourse with'; σμόρδωνες (cod. -ονεύς)· ὑποκοριστικῶς ἀπὸ τῶν μορίων, ὡς πόσθωνες 'hypocoristic for "members", as in "having a large penis"' (H.). <?, PG?>

- ETYM Bechtel *Herm.* 55 (1920): 99f. also adduced σμοκορδοῦν· τὸ σχηματίζεσθαι τὰς γυναικας 'to assume the posture of a woman' and σμοκόρδους· τοὺς τὰς ὀφρῶς ἐγκοίλους ἔχοντας 'who have sunken or concave eyebrows' (H.). Both glosses derive from a noun \*σμόρδος of unknown meaning, identified by Specht KZ 62 (1935): 215 with Lith. *smárdas*, Ru. *smórod*, etc. 'bad smell, stench', from IE \**smordo-*, Lith. *smirdėti* 'to stink' with zero grade. von Blumenthal 1930: 45 compared σμερδαλέος, assuming IE \**smerd-* 'rub'.

However, cf. ►σιμάρδικον, which could point to a Pre-Greek word if we understand it as 'lewd person'.

**συμυγρός** [adj.] 'painful, toilsome, miserable' vel sim. (A. R.; perhaps S. *Ph.* 166 for στυγερός). <PG(V)>

•DER ἐπι-σμιύγερος, adv. -ῶς 'id.' (Od., Hes. Sc. 264, A. R.), perhaps with ἐπι- after ἐπί-πονος.

•ETYM It is meaningless to assume an expressive contamination, e.g. from μογερός and στυγερός. Attempt at a morphological explanation by Strömberg 1946: 90.

Fur.: 363 compares μόγος and σμογερόν· σκληρόν, ἐπίβουλον, μοχθηρόν (H.), as well as συμυγρόν· ἐπίπονον, οἰκτρόν, μοχθηρόν, πονηρόν, ἐπίβουλον, ἀνιαρόν, χαλεπόν (H.). This would show that the word is Pre-Greek.

**σμίλη** [f.] name of a fish (Alex. Trall., Gr.). <?>

•ETYM Can hardly be separated from σμίλλα· σαύρα 'τράχουρος, a fish' (H.); see Strömberg 1943: 121. No etymology.

**σμιλίχη** [f.] · τοῦ ζυγοῦ τὸ τρήμα ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἰστοβοεὺς καθήρμωσται 'the hole in the yoke in which the carriage pole is fixed' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**σμίρις, -δος, -εως** [f.] 'emery-powder for abrading and polishing' (Dsc., late medic.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also σμίρις.

•DER σμιρίτης λίθος [m.] (LXX), σμιριεῖα [n.pl.] (spelled ζιμυριεῖα) 'emery-powder' (Imbros II<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Compared with ►μύρον and with a Germano-Celtic word for 'grease, fat' in OHG *smero*, OIr. *smi(u)r*, etc.; this is semantically not very convincing, as the Greek word denotes a highly specific substance. Moreover, the frequent variant with ι remains hard to understand (it is not due to vowel assimilation). Acc. to von Blumenthal 1930: 45, it belongs to σμάω, σμῆν, and Frisk asks if σμίρις could be due to the influence of μύρον. Fur.: 366 takes the variation υ/ι as proof of Pre-Greek origin, which is the most likely option.

**σμίρνη** [f.] 'myrrh' (Hdt., Arist.). <GR>

•VAR σμίρνᾱ (Hp., Arist., Thphr., etc.; cf. Solmsen 1909: 254), also ζμίρνα (Hyp., inscr., pap.), gen. σμίρνης (S., E. et al.).

•COMP ζμιρνό-μελαν (-ανον, -άνιον), -ανος [n.] 'mixture of myrrh and ink' (*PMag.*), ἀλυκό-σμιρνα [f.] 'kind of myrrh' (*Hippiatr.*).

•DER σμίρρινος (LXX, pap.), -αῖος (AP) 'made of myrrh'; -ίζω [v.] 'to treat or season with myrrh, to resemble myrrh' (*Ev. Marc.*, Dsc.) with -ισις [f.] (Aët.), -ιάζω (?), Alex. Trall.; -ειον (Nic.), -ιον (Dsc., Gal.) [n.] plant name (after the scent of the seeds acc. to Strömberg 1940: 62).

•ETYM Probably a back-formation from Σμιρναία (μύρρα) 'the Smyrnaean'; cf. Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 1 (1949): 272f. with criticism of the interpretation that σμίρνα is a by-form of μύρρα.

**σμίρος** = μύραινα.

**σμίχω** [v.] 'to cause to carbonize, be slowly consumed in a fire, smolder away', med. 'to carbonize, smolder'; on the use in Homer, see Graz 1965: 250ff. <IE? \*smeug<sup>h</sup>- 'smoke'>

•VAR Aor. σμιῦξαι (epic since Il., late prose), pass. σμιχθῆναι (Theoc.), quite uncertain ἀποσμιγνέντες (Luc. *D Mort.* 6, 3; see Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 31ff.), perf. κατεσμιγμένη (Hld.).

•COMP Also with κατα-, ὑπο- et al.

•ETYM Formation like τρύχω, ψύχω; the late form ἀποσμιγνέντες, if it belongs here at all (see above), is an analogical formation (cf. Schwyzler: 760).

Beside the primary verb σμίχω, we find a noun in Arm. *mox*, gen. *moxoy* 'smoke'. In Celtic, OIr. *múch*, MW *mwg* 'fire' may go back to IE \**muk*-. In Germanic, there is a primary verb with a diphthong and a root-final IE voiced stop, e.g. OE *smēocan* 'to smoke, fumigate' < IE \**smeug*-, beside the zero grade *smoca* [m.] 'smoke' < IE \**smug-on*-, *smocian* 'to smoke'. An Indo-European reconstruction for all these forms is difficult, as a voiceless aspirate \**k<sup>h</sup>* (PIE \*(s)*mūk<sup>h</sup>o*-; Meillet *MSL* 8 (1894): 294, followed by Frisk) is not reconstructed anymore for PIE.

Lith. *smāugti*, 1sg. *smāugiu* 'to strangle, string together, plague' should probably be explained differently (Fraenkel 1955 s.v.), while for Ru. *smúglyj* 'dark, brown' etc., other interpretations are possible (Vasmer 1953 s.v.).

**σμιῶδιξ** [f.] 'bloodshot bruise, bloody weal' (B 267, Ψ 716, Opp. *H.* 2, 428). <PG(V)>

•VAR Plur. -ιγγες. Also μῶδιξ· φλέψ, φλυκτίς 'blood vessel, boil' (H.).

•DER σμιωδικὰ φάρμακα (Gal.).

•ETYM The derivation from a noun \*σμιωδ(ο)-, and further connection with σμῆν, σμῶχω 'to rub', still maintained by Frisk, is formally and semantically unconvincing. It is rather a Pre-Greek word; note the suffix -ιγγ- and initial σ-/ zero (Fur.: 279f.).

**σμίωνη** [f.] 'gust of wind' (Hdn. Gr., H. [cod. σμωσή, alphabetically misplaced], *EM*). <?>

•ETYM Connection with σμῶχω (see ►σμάω) is semantically improbable.

**σμιώχω** = σμάω.

**σοβέω** [v.] 'to scare away, chase away', intr. 'to walk in a pompous way, strut' (Att. Hell. and late), pass. 'to be agitated' (late). <?>

•VAR Aor. σοβῆσαι, fut. σοβήσω, perf. σεσόβηκα, pass. σεσόβημαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀπο-.

•DER σόβ-ησις [f.] 'violent movement' (Plu.), -ητρον [n.] 'fly whisk' (Ph. v.1.), ἀποσόβ-ημα, -ησις, -ητής, -ητήριος, -ητικός (sch. et al.). Backformation σόβη [f.] 'horse's or bull's tail' (*Hippiatr.*, sch., Suid.), more usual μυ(ι)ο-σόβη 'fly whisk' (Delos since III<sup>a</sup>, Men. et al.).

σοβαρός 'blowing along violently' (of the wind etc.), usually 'haughty, proud' (Att.), probably from σοβέω after the numerous adj. in -αρός, with fem. σοβάς, -άδος 'insolent, capricious' (Eup., Ph.), 'kind of dance' (Ath.); also Σόβοι = Σάτυροι (Ulp.).

•ETYM An old causative or iterative-intensive from the root of ►σέβομαι.

**σόγκος, σόγχος** [m.] 'sow thistle, *Sonchus aspera*' (Antiph., Thphr., etc.). <PG>

•DER σογκώδης 'like a σ.' (Thphr.), σογχίτης [m.] 'hawkweed, *ιεράκιον τὸ μέγα*' (Ps.-Dsc.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Considering the variation, clearly a Pre-Greek word. Fur.: 134f. compares Basque *tšokoŕo* 'silver thistle'.

**σοέω** ⇒ σεύω.

**σόκκος** [m.] 'lasso' (in Malalas, about the Huns). <?>

•DER σοκκεύω [v.] 'to catch by the lasso'.

•ETYM Unknown.

**σόλιον** [n.] 'sandal' (pap II<sup>p</sup>); also 'seat'. <LW Lat.>

•ETYM From Lat. *solea*, *solium*.

**σολοικίζω** [v.] 'to speak (write, think) with flaws, unskillfully' (Hdt., D., Arist., etc.), 'to behave in an uneducated, awkward manner' (Zeno, Plu. et al.). <GR>

•DER σολοικ-ισμός [m.] 'flawed manner of expression' (Arist., Phld.), -ιστής [m.] title of a dialog by Luc.; back-formation σόλοικος 'speaking with flaws' (Anacr., Hippon., et al.), 'behaving in an uneducated, awkward manner' (Hp., X., etc.).

•ETYM Formed like ἀττικίζω, etc. after the Cilician town Σόλοι, whose inhabitants spoke a bad form of Greek (Str. 14, 2, 28; D. L. 1, 51). It has also been supposed that Σόλοικος was derived from Σόλοι, as in Μοσσύνοικοι. Borrowed as Lat. *soloecismus*, *soloecus*, -ista.

**σολοιτύπος** μυδροκτύπος [sic] καὶ χαλκός τις ἐν Κύπρῳ 'forging red-hot iron, copper (Cypr.)' (H.). <GR>

•DER σολοιτυπ[ίη] Call. fr. 85, 11, cf. Pfeiffer ad loc.

•ETYM The gloss explains that the first element is the loc. of σόλος, or of Soloi in Cyprus, where bronze was worked.

**σόλος** [m.] 'iron mass, used as a discus' (Ψ 823, 839, 844; Hell. and late epic). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained foreign word (cf. Schwyzler: 62). The word has been compared with Hitt. *šulija-* 'lead'; see Gusmani 1969: 509.

**σομφός** [adj.] 'spongy, loose, porous', also metaphorically of sounds (Hp., Alex., Arist., etc.). <?>

•COMP Also ξν-, ὑπό-, χαννό-.

•DER σομφ-ώδης 'id.' (Thphr. et al.), -ότης [f.] 'porosity' (Arist.), -όομαι [v.] 'to become spongy' (Aët.).

•ETYM Traditionally connected with the Germanic word for 'fungus' in OHG *swamp*, -bes, *swam*, -mes, OSw. *svampr*, ON *svoppr*, Go. *swamm* [acc.], OE *swamm* [m.]. However, the development of initial \**su-* to σ- cannot be assumed for Greek, in spite of ►σέλας. DELG thinks that a 'Wanderwort' is improbable. See ►σπόγγος.

**σορέλλη** [f.] σκώμματα ἐπιχωριάζον εἰς τοὺς γέροντας, ἀπὸ τῆς σοροῦ 'customary jest about the elderly, called after the urn' (H. = Ar. Fr. 198). <GR>

•ETYM From σορός, like σορο-δαίμων with similar meaning (Com. Adesp. 1151), but with an unclear ending -λλ- (a diminutive? Cf. Schwyzler: 485 and Chantraine 1933: 252).

**σόρνιξα** [?] εὐζωμιον 'rocket, *Eruca sativa*' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM Pre-Greek (Fur.: 360), like ῥόμιξα.

**σορόα** [f.] παλιούρου εἶδος 'kind of Christ's thorn, *Paliurus australis*' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Fur.: 230 reads the second o as Ϝ, and compares Lat. *sorbus* 'sorb-apple'. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

**σορός** [f.] 'burial urn, coffin' (since Ψ 91), also degrading for an old woman (com.).

<IE \**tuerH-* 'fence (in)', \**tuorH-o-*>

•VAR On the gender see Schwyzler 1950: 34<sup>2</sup>.

•COMP σορο-πιηγός [m.] 'coffin maker' (Ar., AP), εὐρύ-σορος 'having a broad coffin' (AP).

•DER σόρ-(ε)ιον (-εῖον) [n.] 'id.' (inscr.), -ίδιον [n.] (late), -ώϊον [n.] 'mummifying linen' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>), perhaps after μνώϊον, Eg. name of a container?

•ETYM Probably from \**tvóro-*, an old agent noun belonging to a verbal root 'to seize, enclose, etc.' in Lith. *tvérti*, 1sg. *tveriu* 'to enclose, fence in, grasp', also 'to form, build'. The word σόρος is formally identical with Ru. *tvor* 'creature, form, shape' (to *tvorítb* 'to create, do, build'); cf. also Lith. *aptvaras* 'fence' (to *ap-tvérti*). See ►σειρά.

**σός** [pron.] 'tuus', possessive pronoun 2sg. •VAR Dor. etc. τεός. ⇒σύ.

**σοῦσον 1** [n.] 'lily, lotus (ornament)' (Ath. 12, 513f.; uncertain Arist. *Mir.* 838a 23; see Dugas BCH 34 (1910): 116ff.). <LW Orient.>

•DER σοῦσινος 'made of σ., like σ.' (Hp., Thphr., Dsc. et al.).

•ETYM An Oriental loanword; cf. Hebr. *šūšan* 'lily, lotus', from Eg. *sššn* > *ššn* 'id.'; see Masson 1967: 58f.

**σοῦσον 2** [n.] 'cable (of a ship)'. <?>

•VAR As a v.l. beside οὔσον (φ 390 [for ὄπλον] and Antim. Fr. 57, 2 W. = *Coll. Alex.* p. 250); οὔσον [n.] 'id.' (Lyc., Alex. Aet., H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. It is assumed that the initial variation σ-/ zero goes back to a scriptio continua in φ 390.

**σούχινον** [n.] 'amber' (Aet.). <LW Lat.>

•DER σούκινος 'made of' amber' (Artem.).

•ETYM The words go back to Lat. *succinum*.

**σοφός** [adj.] 'clever, skillful, able, shrewd, wise' (Hes. Fr. 193). <PG?>

•COMP As a first member e.g. in Σοφο-κλῆς; very often as a second member, e.g. φιλό-σοφος 'friend of a σοφόν, who loves τὸ σοφόν, τὴν σοφίαν, eager for knowledge, friend of the sciences, philosopher' (Heracleit., Att.) with φιλοσοφ-ία [f.] '(scientific) study, education, philosophy' (Att.), -έω [v.] 'to be eager for knowledge, study' (IA); ἐπί-σοφος name of an annually changing official (Thera), on which see ►ψέφει.

- DER σοφ-ία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'skillfulness, virtuosity, knowledge, cleverness, shrewdness, wisdom' (since O 412). Denominative verbs: 1. σοφίζομαι 'to practice a form of art, think up, concoct' (since Hes. *Op.* 649), also with prefix, especially κατα-; act. -ίζω 'to instruct' (LXX, christ. lit.), whence σόφ-ισμα [n.] 'clever trick, piece of cunning' (Pi., IA), whence -ισμάτιον, -ισματώδης, -ισματικός; -ισις [f.] (sch.); -ιστής [m.] 'artist, learned man, teacher, sophist' (Pi., IA), with -ίστρια, -ιστικός, -ιστήριον, -ιστεύω, -ιστεία. 2. σοφόω = σοφίζω (LXX).
- ETYM Unexplained. If ►Σίσυφος, ►σάφα, and ►ψέφει are related, this would point to a substrate word.

σπάδιξ, σπάδιον, σπάδων, σπαδών, σπάτος, etc. ⇒ σπάω.

σπάθη [f.] designation of several flat and oblong objects, e.g. 'tool of a weaver for striking home the threads of the woof, blade (of a sword), blade of an oar, spatula, flat rib (shoulder blade?), spathe, especially of the palm, stalk of the palm leaf' (Alc., IA). <IE? \*sph<sub>2</sub>-d<sup>h</sup>(h<sub>1</sub>)- 'blade, spade'

- •DER 1. σπαθ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'spatula, garment of closely-woven cloth' (com., inscr.). 2. -ίας κτείς 'flat rib' (Opp.). 3. -ίτης [m.] 'palm wine' (Alex. Trall.). 4. -ίνα [pl.] 'garments' (Aq.), -ίνης [m.] 'young deer', after the shape of the horns (H., Eust., sch.), cf. ἐλαφίνης etc. 5. -άριος [m.] 'guard (equipped with a σ.)' (Lyd., Cappadoc. inscr.), -αρία [f.] 'fighting contest' (EM), -αρκίον [n.] 'thin upper garment' (Sm.). 6. σπαθ-άω 'to strike with a σ., seal up, hatch, dissipate, waste' (Ar., D., Hell. and late), rarely with δια-, ἐν-, κατα-, whence -ίμα, -ίσις, -ήτος. 7. -ίζω 'to stir up with a spatula' (Opp.), also with περι- etc., whence σπαθίσματα· σπαδονίσματα (H.).

•ETYM Related to PGm. \*spad<sup>h</sup>-an, -ōn- 'spade': OS *spado* [m.], OE *spade*, *spadu* [f.], MoHG *Spaten* [m.], and perhaps also Skt. *sphyá-* [m.] 'shoulder-blade', Khot. *phvai* 'spade, shovel'. The IE root must have been \*sph<sub>2</sub>-, with a suffix \*-d<sup>h</sup>(h<sub>1</sub>)- in Greek and Germanic. The root is perhaps also found in ►σπάω. Borrowed as Lat. *spada*, *spatha*, *spatula*.

σπαίρω [v.] 'to sprawl, flounder' of living creatures, etc. (rare examples in Arist., A. R., Plb., D. H., AP). <IE \*TsperH- 'kick with the heel'>

•VAR Only present.

•DER σπαρίζω (Eust.).

•ETYM Formal cognates are Lith. *spiriù*, *spirti* 'to push with the foot, kick backwards, etc.', Skt. *sphuráti* 'to push with the foot, jump up', with nasal Lat. *spurnō* 'to reject, spurn', OHG *spurnan* 'to kick out with the foot or the heel', and probably also Arm. *spařnam* 'to threaten', Hitt. *išparra-i* / *išparr-* 'to trample'; see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*sp<sup>h</sup>erH-. Because of the late and rare occurrence of σπαίρω, Güntert 1914: 146 explains it as a contamination of earlier and commoner ►ἀσπαίρω with σκαίρω. Cf. ►σφυρόν and ►σπείρω, as well as ►σπυρθίζω. Lubotsky 2006 discusses the irregular correspondences in the anlaut of the IE verbs, and reconstructs \*TsperH- 'to kick with the heel'; this may be an original compound of \*pd- 'foot' and \*per(H)- 'to beat, kick'.

σπάλαθρον [n.] (Poll.) = σκάλευθρον 'oven rake' (Poll.). <PG(V)>

•VAR σπάλαυθρον (Phot., also H. [cod. σπαύλαθρον alphabetically misplaced]).

•DIAL Myc. *qa-ra-to-ro* /sk<sup>w</sup>alat<sup>h</sup>ron/.

•DER σπαλύσσεται· σπαράσσεται, τινάσσεται 'is torn, is shaken' (H.).

•ETYM Perhaps from ►σπάλαξ; see ►σκάλλω.

σπάλαξ, -ακος [f., m.] 'mole' (Arist. etc.), also as a plant name 'meadow saffron, Colchicum parnassicum' (Thphr.). <PG(V)>

•VAR σφάλαξ 'id.' (Paus. 7, 24, 11) for ἀσφάλαξ (Babr. etc.), folketymologically after σφάλλω because of the undermining activity of the mole?

•DER σπαλακία· νόσος ή περί τούς όφθαλμούς, πήρωσις 'disease of the eyes, blindness' (H.); also σπαλακός as a color term (pap.). See ►ἀσπάλαξ.

•ETYM The variation betrays a Pre-Greek word; see Fur.: 159.

σπάνις, -εως [f.] 'rarity, scarcity' (IA). <PG(V)>

•VAR Ion. dat. -ι.

•DER 1. σπάνιος 'rare, scarce' (IA), but σπανο- in composition, e.g. σπανοσιτία [f.] 'lack of grain or provisions' (X., Arist., inscr. etc.), σπανι- (Delos III<sup>a</sup>), σπανοπώγων, -ωνος 'with scant beard growth' (Ion. Hist., pap.), shortened σπανός 'id.', also 'eunuch' (Ptol. etc., Byz.); σπανι-άκις 'infrequent' (Luc. etc.), -ότης [f.] = σπάνις (Isoc., Ph.), also σπανία 'id.' (E. *Rh.* 245 [lyr.]; from σπάνιος or enlarged from σπάνις). 2. σπανίζω, -ομαι 'to lack, be sparse, be missing' (Pi., IA), also with ὑπο-; hence σπανιστός 'meager, sparse' (S. etc.), -ιστικός 'id.' (Vett. Val.); σπανίζω also factitive 'to exhaust, spend, dispense' (LXX, pap., Ph. Byz.); back-formation to the verb is σπανόν· τίμιον, πολλοῦ ἀξίον ἐστιν 'valued, costly' (H.).

•ETYM Etymology disputed. Frisk suggests a derivative in -νι- to σπάω 'to draw'. Fur.: 378, however, may be right in connecting ήπανα, -νεϊ· άπορεϊ, σπανίζει, άμηχανεϊ 'is without resource' (H.); he assumes a prothetic σ- and a prothetic α-, which was lengthened to ή-. If so, the word is Pre-Greek.

σπανός [adj.] 'grey' (pap.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 339 etc. connects σπάνις.

σπαριρωτας [m.] probably name of a priest (Pamphylia, Schwyzer: 686, 17 and 24, Sillyon); cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 823. <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

σπαράσιον [n.] ὄρνειον έμφερεές τῷ στρουθῷ 'bird resembling a sparrow' (H.).

<PG(V)>

•ETYM σπαρ-άσιον is a diminutive, like κοράσιον from κόρη. The forms with -γ- (see on ►σποργίλος) have a counterpart in a Germanic and Baltic word for 'sparrow': MHG *spërke*, OPr. *spurglis*, also *spergle-wanag<is>* 'sparrow-hawk' ('sparrow-vulture'?). If from \*σπαρφ-άσιον, σπαράσιον may be compared with a widespread Germanic name of the sparrow, e.g. Go. *sparwa*, OHG *sparo*, ON *sporr* < PGm. \*sparwa(n)-. Fur.: 226 compares σμάρδικον· στρουθίον (H.).

σπαράσσω [v.] 'to rip, tear, shred, attack' (IA). <?>

•VAR Att. -άττω, aor. -άξαι, fut. -άξω, -άξομαι, perf. med. ἐσπάραγμα.



•COMP Also with δια-, κατα-, etc.

•DER σπάραγμα [n.] 'torn or ripped piece, scrap' (trag., Arist. etc.), -αγμός [m.] 'ripping, tearing, convulsion' (trag. etc.), -αγμώδης 'convulsive' (Hp., Plu.), -αξίς [f.] 'convulsion' (medic.), -ακτόν [n.] 'crumbled rock, rubble' (Hero), διασπαρακτός 'torn' (E., Ael.).

•ETYM Expressive formation in -άσσω like τaráσσω, τινάσσω, πατάσσω, and others, without a certain etymology. If -άσσω is only an enlargement, the word could be connected with σπαίρω, etc. Others have regarded the velar as part of the root (-σσω is analogical for -ζω, according to Debrunner IF 21 (1907): 224), connecting σπαράσσω with Lat. *spargō*, ON *spark* [n.] 'kick', and Gr. σπαργάω, σφαραγέομαι, inter alia. Yet this would not explain the second α of σπαράσσω. Persson 1912(1): 418 has compared Arm. *p'ert* 'torn off piece' (-rt' < -rkt-), ON *spjǫrr* [f.] 'strip of cloth' < PGM. \**sperrō*. Yet another conjecture was put forward by Thierfelder (*apud* Frisk): derivation from σπάω on the model of τaráσσω, áráσσω, χaráσσω, etc.

σπαργάω [v.] 'to be bursting, swell (of milk, etc.), be full of desire and lust, desire intensely' (IA). <IE? \**sperg-* 'strew, spout'>

•VAR Only pres., -γεῦσα [ptc.f.] (Q. S. 14, 283).

•DER σπάργ-ησις [f.] 'swelling' (Dsc., Sor.), also -ωσις [f.] 'id.' (Dsc.), as if from σπαργώ; cf. MoGr. σπαργώνω. Also (back-formation?) σπαργαί· ὄργαί, ὄρμαί 'impulses', with -ο- (Aeolic?) σποργαί· ἐρεθισμοὶ εἰς τὸ τεκεῖν 'impulse to breed' (H.); hence Σπαργεύς [m.] name of a centaur (Nonn.).

•ETYM Several IE forms have a similar form and meaning, and could go back to a preform \**sp(e/o)rg-*; yet a definite etymology cannot be established. Compare Lat. *spargō* 'to strew (around), sprinkle', Av. *sparaga-* [m.] 'barbed hook', *frasparaga-* [m.] 'sprout, twig', ON *spark* [n.] 'kick', *sparkr* 'vivid, stirring', Lith. *spūrgas* 'knar, tassel, etc.', *sprógti* 'to advise, place'. See ► σφαραγέομαι, as well as ► σπαράσσω.

\*σπάργω [v.] 'to swaddle (a child)' (h. Ap. 121). <?>

•VAR Only 3pl. aor. σπάρξαν.

•DER σπάργανα [n.pl.], rarely sg. -ον 'nappy' (poet. since h. Merc., Pi.), σπαργανιώτης [m.] 'child in swaddling clothes' (h. Merc.), -ιον [n.] plant name 'Sparganium ramosum, branched bur-reed' (Dsc., Plin.), -ώ 'to swaddle' (Hp., E., Arist., etc.), also with ἐν-, κατα-, ἀπο-, whence -ωμα, -ωσις (late); also -άω (Pl. Lg. 789e), -ίζω (Hes. Th. 485; aor.ptc. -ίσασα).

•ETYM Primary verb \**sp̥r-g-* from the root \**sp̥r-* of ► σπάρτον, ► σπείρα, with an enlargement -γ- of unknown origin; perhaps by contamination with a verb of similar meaning, e.g. εἶργω (Frisk)?

σπαρνός [adj.] 'sparsely sown, scarce' (A., Pl. Com., Call.). <GR>

•COMP σπαρνοπόλιος· ὀλιγοπόλιος 'with a sprinkling of grey hairs' (H.) (cf. σπαρτοπόλιος, see ► σπείρω).

•ETYM Poetic and rare verbal adj. from ► σπείρω; antonyms πυκνός, συχνός.

σπάρος [m.] 'lesser sea bream, Sargus annularis' (Epich., Matro, Arist.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Origin unknown. Has been connected with Lat. *sparus*, -um 'short spear', OHG *sper* 'spear', and σπαίρω. Not very convincing. Fur.: 226 compares σμαρίς 'a small worthless seafish' (and rejects Lat. *sparus*). Borrowed as Lat. *sparus*, -ulus.

σπάρτον [n.] 'rope, cable, cord, string', also 'plumb line' (B 135); σπάρτος [m., f.] (rare σπάρτη, -τον) also name of a shrub used for snares 'Spartium junceum, kind of broom' (Pl., X., etc.). <?>

•VAR σπάρτη [f.] (Ar. Av. 815 [wordplay with the TN Σπάρτη], unclear Cratin. 110), σπάρτος [f.] (Hero).

•COMP σπαρτόδετος 'bound with σ.' (Opp.), λινόσπαρτον [n.] plant name = σπάρτος (Thphr.).

•DER Diminutive σπαρτίον [n.], also as a plant name (Att., Hell.), -ίνος 'made of σ.' (Cratin., Poll.), -ίνη [f.] 'rope, cable' (Ael.).

•ETYM Appears to be a verbal noun in -το- with a zero grade root. Although a basic verb derived from \**sp̥r-* / \**spr-* is not attested in Greek, it has been supposed on account of the γ-enlargement in \*σπάργω, σπάρξαι 'to envelop', and also of σπείρα, σπυρίς. Comparison with Arm. *p'arem*, *p'arim* 'to enclose, embrace' poses phonetic difficulties (*p'* cannot come from PIE \**sp-*). Borrowed as Lat. *spartum* 'Spanish broom'.

σπατάγης, -ου [m.] 'kind of sea urchin' (Sophr. 102, Ar. Fr. 409, Arist.). <PG(V)>

•VAR πάταγγας [acc.pl.] 'id.' (Poll.). Note also φατάγης 'pangolin' (Ael.) (Fur.: 111<sup>58</sup>, 164, 281; not in LSJ).

•DER σπαταγγίζειν· τaráσσειν 'to agitate' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Hardly related to σπάω 'to suck' (cf. on σπατάλη). The variation shows that the word is Pre-Greek.

σπατάλη [f.] 'lavish, lascivious way of life, debauchery, luxury', also of luxurious objects, 'adornment, bracelet, anklet' (LXX, Hell. inscr., AP, etc.). <PG(V)>

•DER Diminutive Lat. *spatialium* [n.] 'bracelet' (Juba *apud* Plin., inscr.). Denominative verb σπαταλάω (κατα-) 'to live lavishly, lasciviously' (Plb., LXX, NT etc.), aor. -ῆσαι; thence -ημα [n.] (AP). Backformation σπαταλός (-αλος) 'lavish, lascivious' (AP etc.).

•ETYM If originally an abstract, σπατάλη may semantically be compared with κραπάλη, δαιταλεύς; further connections are uncertain. Perhaps from σπάω 'to draw in, suck', of wine, etc.; e.g. ἔσπασεν ἄμυστιν ἐλκύσας (E. Cyc. 417); cf. also σπάσει πίνειν (Arist.). On the -τ-, cf. σπατίζειν ... ἔλκει (H.). To be rejected is the explanation by Neumann 1961: 88f., viz. that σπαταλός is a loanword from Hitt. \**išpatalla-* 'who gladly and often eats to the full'. Fur.: 154, 179 convincingly connects βᾶταλος 'lascivious man', so the word is Pre-Greek.

σπατίλη [f.] 1. 'thin excrement' (Hp., Ar. Pax 48, D.C.); σπατίλουροι· οἱ τήν οὐρὰν εἰς τήν σπατίλην ἐκτιθέντες 'secreting urine into ordure' (H.); unclear σπατιλοκολυμφεῦ (Sophr.) (PSI 11, 1214 d 4). 2. 'leather waste' (sch. Ar. l.c.). <PG?>

•VAR Also πατίλη (An. Ox.).

•DER Also πασίλη = ἡ τελευταία ἡμέρα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ 'the last day of the year' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 322, 19).

•ETYM In the second meaning, it belongs to ►σπάτος. The meaning 'thin excrement' may also be combined with 'leather waste' as a euphemistic metaphor (to which the phonetic similarity with τίλος, τιλάω may have contributed). However, since Meillet *MSL* 13 (1905-1906): 291f., the word has usually been connected with οἰσπῶτη.

σπάτος [n.] 'hide, leather' (Hdn Gr. 1, 322). <?>

•ETYM The word is supposed to be Boeotian. No etymology. See ►σπάω.

σπάω, σπάομαι [v.] 'to draw', e.g. a sword, 'to pull out, tear, drag, suck in, slurp down' (S., Ar. etc.) <IE \*(s)peh<sub>2</sub>- 'draw'>

•VAR Aor. σπάσαι, σπάσ(σ)ασθαι, pass. σπασθῆναι (Il.), fut. σπάσω, -ομαι, perf. med. ἔσπασμαι (IA), act. ἔσπακα (Ar., Arist. etc.).

•COMP Very often with prefix in different shades of meaning, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐπι-, κατα-, περι-.

•DER A. From the unenlarged root: 1. σπάσις, mostly to prefixed verbs, e.g. ἀνάσπαισις (to ἀνα-σπάσαι, -σπᾶν) 'pulling in', etc. (Hp., Arist., etc.). 2. σπασμός (ἐπισπασμός, etc.) [m.] 'wincing, spasm, violent movement' (IA), whence σπασμώδης, κατασπασμικός. 3. σπάσμα (ἀπόσπασμα, etc.) [n.] 'spasm, sprain, shred, scrap' (IA); 4. -σπαστος in ἐπίσπαστος 'brought upon oneself, incurred' (Od. etc.); σπαστικός (κατα-, περι-) 'pulling in, slurping in' (Arist.). 5. -σπαστήρ, -ῆρος [m.] in ἐπισπαστήρ (Hdt., AP; -σπατήρ inscr.), ποτισπαστήρ (Epid. IV-III\*) 'attractor', 'thong which draws the door, bird string, net'; ἐπίσπαστρον [n.] 'id.' (LXX, D. S. etc.).

B. With δ-enlargement: 1. παρασπᾶς, -άδος [f.] 'shoot torn off and planted' (Thphr.), ἀπο- 'twig torn off' (AP, Nonn.). 2. σπάδιξ, -ῖκος [m.] '(torn off) twig, especially a palm twig' (Nic., Plu., etc.). 2. σπάδιον [n.] 'race-track' (Argos, H; 'the lengthy one'; cf. στάδιον). 3. σπαδών, -όνος [f.] 'spasm, convulsion' (Hp., Nic.), whence -ονίζω, -ονισμός. 4. σπάδων, -ωνος [m.] 'eunuch' (LXX, Plb. etc.), also σπάδος (Eust.).

C. With τ-enlargement: σπάτος [n.] '(removed) skin' (H., sch. Ar. *Pax* 48 [Boeot.]), σπάτειος in σπατείων, δερματίνων 'leathern' (H.), as a first member in Σ<πα>τοληρασταί [m.pl.] guild of fullers in Argos (Roman era).

D. Derived verbs: σπάζει· σκυζᾷ. Ἀχαιοί (H.); σπαδίξας aor.ptc. of σπαδίω 'to remove' (Hdt. 5, 25); σπατίζει· τῶν <σ>πατέων ἔλκει, τῶν δερμάτων, τῶν τιτθῶν (H.).

•ETYM Klingenschmitt 1982: 132 has connected Greek σπάω with Arm. *hanem* 'to pull out', if from a pres. \*pā-n-, built secondarily from the aorist. García-Ramón fthc. now suggests that it is cognate with Ved. *pā-*, *ud-pipīte* 'rises against' and Hitt. *pippa-* / *pipp-*, and reconstructs \*(s)peh<sub>2</sub>- 'to draw, set in motion (violently)'. The Greek verb may have been derived from the aor. σπασ(σ)α- or from \*sph<sub>2</sub>-eie/o-. Thence, the whole tense system developed within Greek. Adams 1999: 368 still considers plausible the suggestion by van Windekens that ToB *pāss-* 'to rip off (the skin)' continues \*peh<sub>2</sub>-s-. See ►σπάθη.

σπεῖρα [f.] 'twist, coil', for instance of a snake; 'network, spiral'; designation of several round or circular objects, e.g. 'rope, belt, bead, round base of a pillar' (Ion. poet., also Hell. and late prose; v.l. ζ 269); also as a military term = Lat. *manipulus* (Hell.), see Debrunner *IF* 48 (1930): 244; later = *cohors* (inscr. and pap., *Act. Ap. et al.*). <IE? \*sper- 'turn, wind'>

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. σπειρο-κέφαλον [n.] 'base and capital of a column', ὑπό-σπειρον [n.] 'what lies under the round base', 'square slab, πλίνθος' (inscr.).

•DER σπειρ-ιον [n.] 'little column base' (Hero); -ικός 'belonging to a σ.' (Hero); -ίτης (scil. λίθος) 'stone for a column base' (inscr. Didyma), other interpretation in Redard 1949: 64<sup>26</sup>; -αία [f.] 'privet' (Thphr.); -ηδόν 'in convolutions, in a circle' (Opp., AP).

Denominative verb σπειρ-άομαι 'to convolve' (Hell. and late), also with περι-, etc.; older συ-σπειράομαι 'to wind, pull together' (Pl., X., Arist., etc.), also act. συ-, περι-σπειράω 'to wind, pull together' (Hell. pap., D. S. et al.); hence σπεῖρ-ᾶμα, Ion. -ῆμα [n.] 'twist, coil, for instance of a snake, band, etc.' (A., Arist., Nic., etc.), see further Chantraine 1933: 184). Also (συ-)σπειρόομαι 'to wind (together)' (Hp., Thphr.), act. aor. σπειρώσαι 'to swathe' (Call.), from σπεῖρον?

•ETYM From quasi-IE \*sper-ieh<sub>2</sub>. It is uncertain whether the root was originally verbal or nominal (cf. Schwyzler: 474 and Chantraine 1933: 98f.). Related formations are found in ►σπάρτον, ►σπεῖρον, and perhaps in ►σπάργανον.

σπεῖρον [n.] 'cloth, burial shroud, sailcloth, shroud' (Od., Euph.). <IE? \*sper- 'turn, wind'>

•DER σπειρο-φόρος [m.] 'bearer of a σ.' (Ephesus); heteroclitic plur. σπεῖρ-εα (Nic. *Th.* 882), after ῥήγεια, etc.; a metaphor for the onion skin, cf. -ώδης 'rich in layers' (Nic.). Uncertain is the appurtenance of σπειρία [n.pl.] 'garments' (X. *HG* 4, 5, 4; rather σείρια with Dindorf). Denominative aor. σπειρώσαι = σπαργανῶσαι 'to swathe' (Call.), if not from ►σπεῖρα.

•ETYM From \*sper-io-, from the same verbal or nominal basis as σπεῖρα, originally 'winding'. A similar formation is found in Alb. *fier*, *thier* 'fern', acc. to Bonnet *RPh.* 2000: 283.

σπεῖρω [v.] 'to sow, seed', also (especially with prefix) 'to spread, scatter, distribute' (IA). <IE \*sper- 'strew'>

•VAR Aor. σπεῖραι, fut. σπερῶ, aor. pass. σπαρ-ῆναι, fut. -ήσομαι, perf. med. ἔσπαρμαι (IA), act. ἔσπαρκα (late.).

•DIAL Myc. *pe-mo*, *pe-ma*.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. δια-, κατα-.

•DER The following derivatives have a full grade of the root: σπέρμα [n.] 'seed, sowing, stem, sprout' (ε 490); as an o-stem in e.g. σπερμο-λόγος 'rook' < \*'picking corn' (Ar., Arist.), 'chatterbox' (D., etc.).

Hence the diminutive σπερ-μάτιον [n.] (Thphr., etc.), -ματίας (σικύος) [m.] 'seed bearer' (Cratin.), -ματίτης, -ματίτης 'bearing, bringing forth seed' (late), -ματικός 'seminal' (Arist., etc.), -ματώδης 'seed-like' (late); σπερμαίνω [v.] 'to sow, bring forth' (Hes., Call., Plu. et al.), σπερ-ματίζω [v.] 'to sow, bear seed', -ματίζομαι [v.] 'to

be sown, pregnant' with -ματισμός [m.] 'production of seed' (LXX, Thphr.), -ματόμαι 'to come to seed' (Thphr.), with -μάτωσις 'seeding' (Phan. Hist.).

σπέραδος [n.] = σπέρμα (Nic.), like χέραδος.

With an *o*-grade of the root we find the following derivatives: σπόρος [m.] 'seed, sowing' (Att.), -μιοσ 'fit for sowing', τὰ -α 'sowing fields' (X., Thphr., LXX et al.). σπορά [f.] 'sowing, seed, procreation, descent' (trag., Pl., Thphr. et al.), -αῖος 'sown' (Babr.); often with prefix, e.g. διασπορά [f.] 'dispersal, exile' (LXX, Ph., Plu. et al.). From σπόρος or σπορά: ὁμό-σπορος 'of the same seed, kindred' (poet. *h. Cer.*); σπορ-εὺς (κατα-, δια-) [m.] 'sower, begetter' (X., pap. et al.). σπορητός [m.] 'sowing, seed' (A., X., Thphr.), after ἀλοητός, ἀμητος, etc.; σποράς, -άδος 'dispersed' (IA), αἱ Σποράδες group of islands, with -άδην 'dispersed' (Att., etc.), -αδικός 'id.' (Arist.), -άσαι [aor.] 'to disperse' (inscr.). ἐπισπορ-ίη [f.] 'second sowing' (Hes.), ἐπίσπορος (A.); περισπόρ-ια [n.pl.] 'suburbs' (LXX).

The zero grade of the root is found in the following derivatives: σπαρ-τός 'sown' (A. et al.); οἱ Σπαρτοῖ [m.pl.] lit. 'the sown ones', of the dragon seed of Cadmos (Pi. et al.); see also ► σπαρνός.

•ETYM Cognate with Hitt. *išpār-* 'to spread out, strew' < \**spor-ei*. On the details of the Hittite reconstruction, see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. No further cognates are known; Arm. *sp'ir* 'strews', *sp'řem* 'spread out', *p'arat* 'spread out, separated', is unrelated, as it cannot be connected on formal grounds. See further LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 3. \**sper-*, and cf. also the litt. on ► σπαίρω.

σπέλεθος [m.] 'dung' (Ar. *Ec.* 595). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR πέλεθος (Ach. 1170, S. *Ichn.* 414).

•COMP ὕ-σπέλεθος 'pig's dung' (D.C. 46, 5, Poll. 5, 91), πελεθο-βάψ [m., f.] 'who washes away ordure' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 246, 12; H.).

•DER σπέλληξι· σπελέθοις, πελλία· σπέλεθαι (H.).

•ETYM For the final syllable, cf. σπύραθος, ὄνθος; on the anlaut, see Schwyzler: 334. Connection with PIE \**spelH-* 'to split' (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.) in σπολάς, (ἀ)σπάλαξ, etc. is semantically possible; cf. e.g. MoHG *scheißen* < \*'to separate', related to σχίζω 'split'. The second -ε- would then reflect \**h*-. Alternatively, the geminate -λλ- in the variants may point to Pre-Greek origin, in which case the root could reflect \*(s)*pal-*.

σπένδω [v.] 'to offer a libation, pour, bestow' (Il.); 'to agree on a ceasefire (while performing a libation)'; also 'to reassure, promise; to secure sth.' (Gortyn), see Willetts *Glotta* 43 (1965): 251ff. ◀IE \**spend-* 'libate'▶

•VAR Aor. σπείσαι (Il.), fut. σπείσω (Hdt., etc.), perf. ἔσπεικα (Plu.); med. σπένδομαι, σπείσασθαι, σπείσομαι, ἔσπεισμαι (IA).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ἐπι-.

•DER σπονδή [f.] 'libation, offering of wine' (B 341 = Δ 159), plur. usually 'ceasefire agreement, truce, peace treaty, pax dei' (IA, etc.). σπονδο-φόρος [m.] 'herald of the truce, the pax dei' (Pi.); ὑπό-σπονδος 'under a ceasefire agreement, under safe-conduct' (IA).

σπονδ-εῖος 'belonging to the offering', also metrically 'spondeus' (D. H. et al.), -εῖον [n.] 'libation vessel' (Hell.); also -εἰακός, -εἰάζω, -εἰασμός (late); -ικός 'belonging to

the offering' (pap.); -ήσιμα [n.pl.] 'id.' (Philem.), after ὀνή-σιμος, etc.; cf. also παρασπόνδησις (Plb.) from παρασπονδ-έω to παρά-σπονδος; σπονδ-ίτις (σταγών) 'id.' (AP); σπόνδικες· οἱ τὰς σπονδὰς χέοντες 'those who libate' (H.). See especially Citron 1965.

•ETYM Cognates: Hitt. *išpānt-* / *išpant-*, 3sg. *šipanti*, *išpanti* 'to libate' (Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.); Lat. *spondeō* 'to pledge, promise', ToB *spānt-* 'to trust', all reflecting a PIE root \**spend-*.

σπέος [n.] 'cavern, cave' (epic Il., also Cypr. inscr.). ◀PG▶

•VAR Also σπεῖος; gen. σπείους, dat. σπήϊ, plur. σπέσσι, σπήεσσι, etc. (details in Chantraine 1942: 7, 11, 101, Schwyzler: 102, Ruijgh 1957: 126f.).

•ETYM Cf. ► σπήλαιον. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek (Fur.: 123).

σπέργουλος = σποργίλος.

σπέρχομαι [v.] 'to come rushing in, huddle, be upset, be impassioned'; act. σπέρχω with ἐπι-, κατα- 'to press, incite, spur', also trans. (mostly epic poet., Il.). ◀IE \**spergh-* 'hurry'▶

•VAR Only in present stem, except aor. pass. ptc. σπερχθείς (Pi., Hdt.) and fut. σπέρξομαι· ὀργισθήσομαι 'will be provoked', aor. ἐσπερξάμην· ἠπείλησα, ὠργίσθην 'promised or threatened, was provoked' (H.).

•COMP Mostly with ἐπι-, κατα-, περι-.

•DER In περι-, ἐπι-σπερχής 'hurried' (S., X. et al.) to περι-, ἐπι-σπέρχω; but ἀ-σπερχές 'vigorous, intense' (Hom.) from \*σπέρχος [n.], beside which σπερχ-νός 'swift, hasty, violent' (Hes. Sc., Hp., A. et al.) like in e.g. ἔρεβος 'darkness' to ἐρεμνός 'dark'. σπέργδην· ἐρρωμένως 'vigorously' and κατασπερχάδην 'urgently' (cod. -άτην) (H.) (see Latte ad loc.); σπερχυλλάδην κέκραγας 'shouting vehemently' (Com. *Adesp.* 30). Also in PNs like Σπερχ-ύλος, -ων, -ις and the HN Σπερχ-εῖος (like Ἀλφειός, Πηνειός).

•ETYM The form σπέρχομαι reflects a full grade \**spergh-*, while the zero grade of this root is attested in Av. *a-spərəzātā* [ipf.] 'he was diligently exerting himself, Skt. *spṛhayati* 'to be zealous, zealously desire'. OHG *springan* 'jump', OCS *-pręže* 'tighten' < PIE \**spr-en-g-* probably does not reflect a nasal present of this root, in view of the non-palatal velar of Slavic and the remote semantics; see further LIV<sup>2</sup> s.vv. \**spergh-* and \*(s)*preng-*.

σπεύδω [v.] 'to hurry, hasten, strive, exert oneself, trans. 'to drive, quicken, ply, aspire after'. ◀IE \**speud-* 'press, drive, hurry'▶

•VAR Aor. σπεῦσαι, fut. σπεύσομαι (Il.), σπεύσω (E. et al.), σπευσίω (Cret.), perf. ἔσπευκα (Hell.), rare med. σπεύ-δομαι (A.), pass. ἔσπευσμαι (late).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-, συ-. Further in κενό-σπουδ-ος 'seriously prosecuting frivolities', also -έω, -ία (Hell.). κατάσπευ-σις (to κατα-σπεύδω) [f.] 'hurry' (Thd.; σπεύσις gloss.), σπευσ-τός (Phryn.), -τικός (ἐπι-) 'hurried' (Arist. Eust.).

•DER σπουδ-ή [f.] 'haste, zeal, labor, seriousness, good will' (Il.), hence -αῖος 'zealous, striving, serious, good' (IA), -αίότης [f.] (Pl. *Def.*, LXX et al.), σπούδ-ᾱξ· ἀλετρίβανος

'pestle' (H.) (cf. below); σπουδ-άζω [v.] 'to be quick, carry on seriously, etc.' (IA), also with ἐπι-, κατα-, συ-, etc.; thence -ασμα, -ασμάτιον, -ασμός, -αστής, -αστός, -αστικός.

•ETYM The only certain cognate is Lith. *spáusti* < \**spau?d-ti* 'to press, squeeze', also 'to push, drive on', intr. 'to hurry' (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**speud-*). A trace of the meaning 'push' has also been suggested for σπούδαξ = ἀλετριβανός 'pestle of a mortar'. The word σπουδή has a formal cognate in Lith. *spaudà* [f.] 'pressure, literature'. There is also, with zero grade and a long vowel as a result of Winter's Law, *spūda* [f.] 'throng, urgency, pressure' and *spūdēti* 'to be oppressed, thrust down, pain oneself, meddle'. Perhaps Alb. *punë* 'work, business' is also related, if from \**spud-nā*.

**σπήλαιον** [n.] 'cave, cavern' (Pl., LXX, NT et al.). <PG(V)>

•DER σπηλαιώδης 'cave-like', -αΐτης [m.] 'god of caves' (Paus.), -άδιον [n.] (Theopomp. Com.), after the diminutives in -άδιον; not -άδιον; cf. Hdn. Gr. 2, 488, 12. Also σπήλυξ, -υγος [f.] 'id.' (Arist., Theoc., A. R. et al.) with σπηλυγ-ώδης (EM), -οειδής (sch.).

•ETYM Both σπήλαιον and σπήλυξ are enlargements of a root σπηλ-: for σπήλυξ, cf. the semantically close σῆραγξ 'hollow rock', φάραγξ 'cleft', and also φάρυγξ 'throat', λάρυγξ 'larynx'; σπήλαιον may be formed after ὑπό-γαιον 'underground chamber'. Borrowed as Lat. *spēlaeum* and *spēlunca* (see WH s.v.), and as Alb. *shpellë* 'rock, cave'. Fur.: 123 reconstructs a Gr. form \*σπήλυξ, -ῦκος, from Lat. \**spēlūca*. He further adduces πῆλυξ = ῥαγὰς 'fissure' (H., Phot.) and refers to Etr. *spel(a)* 'cave, tomb'. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek (note the prenasalization and the suffix -υγ-).

**σπήλυξ, -υγος** = σπήλαιον.

**σπίδιος** [adj.] 'extensive, wide' (σπίδιον μῆκος ὁδοῦ 'length of a road' A. Fr. 378 = 733 M.), σπιδόθεν = μακρόθεν 'from afar' (Antim. 77); σπιδόν- πυκνόν, συνεχές, πεπηγός 'close or compact, holding together, fixed'; σπιδόεν- μέλαν, πλατύ, σκοτεινόν, πυκνόν, μέγα 'black, wide or broad, dark, close or compact, great' (H.). <?>

•DER Cf. further σπιδέος [gen.sg.] (Λ 753) beside v.l. ἀσπιδέος; if correct, probably from \*σπιδύς; see also ►ἐλεσπίδας and ►ἀσπίς 1. Verbal derivative σπίζω = ἐκτείνω 'stretch out' (sch. Ar. V. 18, Eust.).

•ETYM An obsolete group of words, which seems to have lived on only in the learned and poetic language. The authors were obviously no longer certain about the meaning (cf. H.'s explanation of σπιδόεν). The root σπιδ- can be compared to Lat. *spissus* 'laborious, slow, dense' (< \**spid-tos* or \**spit-tos*; see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). Lith. *spisti*, 1sg.pres. *spintù* 'to begin to swarm (of bees), to gather' < \**spit-* is probably not related, in view of the different dental. The word ►σπάω is not related.

**σπίζω** [v.] 'to squeak, chirp', of birds (Arat., Thphr.). <EUR>

•VAR Also σπίνος [m.] 'finch' (com., Thphr., Arat.) with σπιν-ιον, -ίδιον (com.); byforms: σπίνα· ὁ σπίνος 'siskin', σπινθία· εἶδος ὀρνιθαρίων 'kind of bird', σπίννοι

'siskins'; σπίγγον· σπίνον 'id.'; also πίγγαν· νεόσσιον. Ἀμερίας 'young bird', σπύγγας· ὄρνις 'bird' (H.).

•DER σπίζα [f.] 'common chaffinch' (S. Fr. 431, Arist., Timo), σπιζία· τὰ ὄρνεα ἅπαντα 'all birds' (H.); σπιζ-ίας [m.] 'sparrow hawk' (Arist.), = εἶδος ἱέρακος 'kind of hawk or falcon' (H.), -ίτης [m.] (Arist.), = εἶδος αἰγιθάλου ὀρνέου 'kind of titmouse' (H.); ὀρό-σπιζος [m.] 'brambling' (Arist.).

•ETYM Cf. similar ►τρίζω 'to buzz, gnash, squeak'. The other forms, including σπίζω, σπίζα, but with the exception of πίγγαν, can be derived from \*σπιγγ- and connected to OHG *fincho*, OE *finc* 'finch' < PGm. \**fink(i)an*-, \**finki*-, which lacks the initial \*s-. Within Greek, this etymon resembles σπινγόν· μικρόν, βραχύ, and σπίκανον· σπάνιον. The connection with Germanic may point to a European 'Wanderwort'.

**σπιθαμή** [f.] 'span, the range between the stretched thumbs and the little finger' (IA).

<PG?>

•COMP τρι-σπίθαμιος 'measuring three spans' (Hes. Op. 426 et al.), cf. den Boer *Mnem.* 4:9 (1956): 3.

•DER σπιθαμ-ιαῖος 'one span wide' (Hp., Arist. et al.).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. ►παλάμη 'palm of the hand', ►δόχη 'a hand's breadth', ►πυγμή 'distance from the elbow to the knuckles'; for the suffix -θ-, cf. also σπιθία· σανίδες νεώς 'planks of a ship' (H.). No known cognates; probably Pre-Greek.

**σπιλάς** [f.] 'storm, squall' (Plu., Hld. 5, 31, AP 7, 382). <PG(V)>

•DER κατα-σπιλάζω [v.] 'to storm'.

•ETYM Fur.: 373 connects ἄσπιλος· χεῖμαρρος ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων 'torrent (Maced.)' (H.); the word is Pre-Greek in view of the variation.

**σπίλος 1** [f.] 'rock, reef' (Ion. Trag., Arist., Lyc., *Peripl. M. Rubr.* et al.). <PG?>

•VAR Additionally (favored by the meter in the oblique cases) σπιλάς, -άδος [f.], mostly plur. -άδες 'id.' (Od.); also of πέτρα (A. R.); -αδώδης 'rocky' (Str.). PN Σπιλαδίας (Eretria III<sup>a</sup>; see under σπιλάς, Bechtel 1914).

•COMP διά-σπιλος (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*).

•DER σπιλώδης (Arist., Plb.) 'rocky'.

•ETYM No cognates outside Greek; probably Pre-Greek.

**σπίλος 2** [m.] 'spot, stain, blemish'. <?>

•VAR -ι- (Hdn. Gr.). Also σπιλάς, -άδος [f.] 'id.' (*Ep. Jud.* [?], Orph.).

•COMP ἄ-σπιλος 'spotless, without blemish' (Hell.).

•DER σπιλόμαι, -όω 'to become stained, make stains, stain, besmirch' (Hell.), κατα-σπιλάζω 'to stain, conceal' (H., EM).

•ETYM No etymology.

**σπινθήρ, -ῆρος** [m.] 'spark' (Δ 77, Ar., Arist., Plb., etc.). <PG?>

•DER σπινθ-ηρίζω 'to sparkle, cause sparks' (Thphr., Plu.), ἀπο- 'id.' (Arist.), -ισμοί (H. and Suid.). Also σπινθαρίδες [pl.] (*h. Ap.*), -άρυγες [pl.] (A. R.), σπίνθραξ, -ἄκος [m.] (Sext. Ca.) 'id.'.

On the bird names σπινθαρίς = Lat. *spin-turnix* see Thompson 1895 and WH s.v.

•ETYM For σπινθήρ, cf. ἀστήρ 'star', αἰθήρ 'ether'; σπίνθραξ, like ἄνθραξ 'charcoal'; σπινθαρά-ιδες, like ἐσχάρ-α 'fireplace'; σπινθάρυγ-ες, like μαρμαρύγ-αι 'sparklings'. Reminiscent of Lith. *spindžiū*, *spindėti*, Latv. *spīdēt*, *spīdēt* 'to gleam, beam' < \**spnd-*, Latv. *spuōdrs* 'white, gleaming' < \**spond-ro-*, but formally impossible to connect. The Baltic words reflect a root \**spond-*, without \*-i- and with root-final \*-d- because of the acute accentuation. On the attempt by Niedermann IF 26 (1909): 58f. to connect Lat. *scintilla* with σπινθήρ from a Mediterranean form \**stint<sup>h</sup>*-, see further Pariente *Emerita* 20 (1952): 394ff.

σπινός [adj.] 'meager' (Procl.). <?>

•DER σπινώδης (Ptol.).

•ETYM Formation as in ἰσχνός 'withered'. Though the attestation is late, probably an old word, and connected with ►σπίδιος. Hardly related to OIr. *séim* 'meager' < quasi-IE \**speimi-*; see Matasović 2008 s.v. \**sfēmi-*.

σπίνος 'finch'. ⇒σπίζω.

σπλάγχνα ⇒σπλήν.

σπλεκώ [v.] 'to copulate'. <?>

•VAR σπλεκοῦν (Ar. *Lys.* 152 Dindorf ex H. et Poll.; codd. πλεκοῦν), διεσπλε-κωμένη (Ar. *Pl.* 1082), κατασπλεκῶσαι (cod. -άσαι)· κατελάσαι 'to drive or push down' (H.).

•COMP Also with δια- and κατα-.

•DER σπλέκωμα [n.] (sch. Ar. *Pl.* 1082).

•ETYM The well-attested form πλεκοῦν may have lost its σ- secondarily (cf. Schwyzler: 334); no further etymology.

σπληνός [f.]? 'ash' (Lyc. 483, Nic. *Th.* 763). <?>

•VAR σπληνός· σποδός λεπτή, κόνις 'fine ashes, dust' (H.).

•ETYM Perhaps a contamination of σποδός and another, semantically close word (χλῆδος?). No cognates outside Greek.

σπλήν, σπληνός [m.] 'spleen' (IA), metaphorically 'compress' (Hp.), cf. -ίον; αἰγός σπλήν a plant name 'mallow, cheeseweed' (Ps.-Dsc.). <IE \**spl(ē)g<sup>h</sup>-n-* 'spleen'>

•COMP ἄ-σπλην-ον [n.], -ος [m.] 'miltwaste' (Dsc. et al.), supposed to cure the spleen. See Strömberg 1940: 86, where ἄ- is wrongly interpreted as prothetic; cf. Vittr. I 4, 10.

•DER σπλην-ίον [n.], -ίσκον [n.], -ίσκος [m.], -άριον [n.] 'compress' (Hp., Dsc., Samos IV<sup>a</sup>); -ίον also as a name of several plants (Dsc.; cf. ἄσπληνον). σπλην-ίτης, fem. -ίτις 'belonging to the spleen, disease of the spleen' (medic.); σπλην-ικός 'belonging to the spleen, splenetic' (Hp., Hell. com., etc.), -ώδης 'id.' (Hp.). σπλην-ιάω 'to be splenetic' (Arist. et al.). Furthermore σπλάγχνα [n.pl.] 'interior organs (heart, liver, lungs, kidneys), intestines' (Il.), sing. rarely also secondarily as designations of individual organs (A., Pl., Arist.), metaphorically (plur. and sing.) 'heart' = 'mental state' (trag.), 'compassion, commiseration, charity' (LXX, NT).

In compounds, e.g. σπλάγχνο-φάγος 'eating intestines' (LXX), εὐ-σπλάγχνος 'having healthy intestines' (Hp.), 'compassionate' (LXX, NT), σπλάγχν-ίδια [n.pl.]

diminutive (Diph.), -ίδης (UPZ 89, 3 and 13; form and mg. doubtful, cf. Wilcken ad loc.), -ικός 'belonging to σ.' (Dsc., pap.); -ίζομαι 'to commiserate' (LXX, NT); -ίζω, -εὔω 'to consume intestines' (Cos IV<sup>a</sup>, LXX, Ar. et al.), -ισμός [m.] (LXX); -εὔομαι 'to predict from intestines' (Str.).

•ETYM An *n*-stem is found in other names of body parts, like φρήν, ἄδην, αὐχὴν, etc., but these all inflect with root ablaut. Several IE subfamilies show similar words for 'spleen', but the differences between them are too substantial to be able to reconstruct a single IE word for 'spleen'. We find Lat. *liēn* 'spleen' (< \**lihēn* < \*(*sp*)*lihēn* < \*(*s*)*li*<sup>gh</sup>-ēn-; CS *slězena* 'spleen' < \*(*s*)*plē*<sup>gh</sup>-n- or \*(*s*)*leh*<sup>gh</sup>-n-; MBret. *felch* 'spleen' < \**spel*<sup>gh</sup>-; Skt. *plihān*-, Av. *spərəzan*- < \*(*s*)*plh*<sup>gh</sup>-n-. It is probable that Arm. *p'aycaln* is somehow related, as well.

The exact reconstruction of the Greek forms is unclear. We should start from \*σπληχ-, \*σπλαχ- (= Av. *spərəz-an*-), an *n*-stem like Lat. *liēn*, etc. Anticipation of the nasal gives σπλάγχν-. The form σπλήν may have arisen haplogically for \*σπληχ-ήν (after monosyllabic φρήν), or is it from \**splēng<sup>h</sup>*? On σπλήν and σπλάγχνα, see further Egli 1954: 44ff. and Schwyzler: 489<sup>1</sup>. Borrowed as Lat. *splēn* (>> MoE *spleen*, etc.).

σπόγγος [m.] 'sponge (for wiping off)', metaphorically also of sponge-like objects, e.g. 'gland' (Il.). <EUR?>

•VAR Also σφόγγος (certain in Hell. and late inscr.), see Hiersche 1964: 207f.

•COMP σπογγο-θήρας [m.] 'sponge hunter or gatherer' (Plu.).

•DER Diminutive σπογγ-ίον [n.] (Ar., Dsc.), -άριον [n.] (M. Ant. et al.); -ιά [f.] = σπόγγος (Ar., Aeschin., Arist., Aret. et al.), on the accent see Scheller 1951: 73; -ίας [m.] 'id.' (Ar. *Fr.* 856); -εύς [m.] (-ιεύς) 'sponge gatherer' (Arist., Thphr.); -ώδης 'spongy, porous' (Hp., Arist., Dsc.); -ίτις 'id.' (Plin., Aët.); -ίζω 'to wipe off' (Hp., Att., etc.), also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc.; -ιστική (τέχνη) 'wiping' (Pl.).

•ETYM An old Wanderwort, identical to Arm. *sunk*, *sung* 'mushroom, cork-tree' and Lat. *fungus* 'mushroom, sea-, tree-mushroom, mushroom-like ulcer'. Borrowed as Lat. *spongia* (from σπογγία), with *spongiōsus*, etc.

σποδός [f.] 'ash, ember, metal ashes, dust' (Ion. 1375, trag., etc.). <PG(V)>

•COMP σποδο-ειδής 'ash-colored' (Hp., Arist. et al.), ἔν-σποδος 'id.' (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1946: 128 and 130.

•DER σποδ-ιά, Ion. -ιή [f.] 'heap of ashes, ash' (ε 488, Hp., E. *Cyc.* 615 [Iyr.], Pl. *Com.*, LXX, AP et al.), see Scheller 1951: 67; thence -ιώδης 'ash-colored' (Erot.), -ιαῖος 'id., gilvus' (gloss.), -ιάς [f.] 'wild plum, *Prunus insititia* (?)' (Thphr.). Further -ιον [n.] 'metal ash' (Poseidon., Dsc.), with -ιακός 'made of σ.' (late medic.); -(ε)ιος 'of ash(es)' (Semon. et al.); -ώδης 'ashlike', of color and taste (App., Gal.); -ίτης ἄρτος 'bread baked in ashes' (Hp., Diph.); also σποδεύς 'id.' (see s.v. on ►σπολάς).

Denominative verbs: σποδ-όμαι 'to be burnt to ashes' (Hp., Lyc., AP), συνεσποδωμένον· συγκεκομμένον 'concise' (H.); -ώσασθαι 'to bestrew with ashes' (LXX); -ίζω 'to roast in the ashes' (Pl., Ar.), intr. 'to be ash-colored' (Dsc.), also with ὑπο-; σποδέω 'to crunch, smash, grind', also sensu obsc.; of food 'to consume,

swallow' (often in Ar., com., A., E.), also with κατα-, ἀπο-, δια-; cf. κατα-σποδέω 'to stretch down in the dust' (A., Ar.); here also σποδ-όρχης [m.] 'eunuch' (Eust.), see Maaß *RhM* N. F. 74 (1925): 432ff.

•ETYM Fur.: 154 convincingly connects ἄσβολος 'soot, dust of coals' and \*σπολός in σπολεύς (according to Frisk s.v. σπολάς, wrong for \*σποδεύς). The word would then be Pre-Greek.

**σπολάς, -άδος** [f.] 'leather harness, jerkin' (S. Fr. 11, Ar., X.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM A formation in -άς from a verbal noun \*σπόλος or \*σπολή. Related to ▶ἀσπάλαιξ? Perhaps from a verb for 'split, tear off' (IE \*spel-), in which case it may be related to σπόλια· τὰ παρατιλλόμενα ἐρίδια ἀπὸ τῶν σκελῶν τῶν προβάτων 'wool plucked off the legs of sheep', ἄσπαλον· σκῦτος 'skin, hide' (H.), but hardly to Thess. σπόλος 'pole' (IG 9(2), p. XI [II\*]), if = 'split wood'. The word σπολεύς 'kind of bread' (Philet. *apud* Ath. 3, 114e) may belong here, or be mistaken for σποδεύς (see ▶σποδός).

From other languages: Lat. *spolium* 'skin, hide; arms, spoils' (= σπόλια), Lith. *spālis* 'beard (= part of the stalk of flax)', pl. *spāliai* 'parts of the stalk', OCS *polъ* 'sex, half', MoHG *spalten* 'to cleave', Go. *spilda* 'writing tablet', all reflecting a root \*spel(H)- 'what is split, stripped off' (see also LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v., but Skt. *phalati* 'to burst' is probably unrelated). Cf. further ▶στέλλω and ▶ψαλῖς. If Lat. *spolium* can be a loan from Greek, the Greek forms may also reflect the Pre-Greek root that is also seen in ἄσπαλον 'mole'.

**σπονδύλη, σπόνδυλος** ⇒ σφονδύλη, σφόνδυλος.

**σποργίλος** [m.] a bird, probably 'sparrow' (Ar. Av. 300 with allusion to a PN). <?>

•DER σπέργουλος (also π-)· ὀρνιθάριον ἄγριον 'small wild bird' and σπαράσιον· ὄρνειον ἐμπερὲς στρουθῶ 'bird resembling a sparrow' (H.). Also στρουθὸς πυργίτης 'house-sparrow' (Gal.).

•ETYM The word σποργ-ίλος is formed like ὄρχιλος, τροχίλος, and other bird names; σπέργουλος is dialectal for \*σπεργ-ύλος, like κηρύλος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 249 and 251). The forms with -γ- have a counterpart in Germanic and Baltic: MHG *spërke*, OPr. *spurglis*, *spergle*- 'sparrow-', which may point to a European substrate word or a Wanderwort. See also Thompson 1895 s.v. Cf. also ▶ψάρ and ▶σπαράσιον.

**σπόρθυγες** ⇒ σπύραθοι.

**σπύραθοι** [pl.] 'droppings of goats and sheep' (Hp., Dsc.). <PG? < EUR>

•VAR πύραθοι (Nic.).

•DER Diminutive σπυράθια [pl.] (Dsc.); collective σφυραθία [f.] (Poll.; cf. κοιρία 'dunghill'); adj. σπυραθώδης 'like sheep's droppings' (Hp.). Further σπυράδες [f.pl.] 'pills' (Hp.), σφυράδες [f.pl.] = σπύραθοι (Ar., Arist.). Also σιόρθυγες· αἱ συνεστραμμένοι μετὰ ῥύπου τρίχες 'hair matted with filth' and σπορθύγεια· τρίβωλα 'water-chestnut'. τὰ διαχωρήματα τῶν αἰγῶν, ἃ τινες σπυράδας καλοῦσιν 'excrement of goats' (H.). Note also σπύρδα 'dung' (Poll. 5, 91).

•ETYM For the formation of σπύραθοι, cf. (σ)πέλεθος 'dung', ὄνθος 'id.', ψάμαθοι 'grains of sand'; σπυράδες is like λιθάδες 'stones', ισχάδες 'dried figs', etc.

Similar words are found in Lith. *spiros* [f.pl.] 'droppings of goats, hares, and other small animals' < \*sprH-, MoIc. *sparð* [n.] 'droppings', *sperðill* [m.] 'kind of sausage' < \*sporH-to-, but they can only be related if Greek σπυρ-/σφυρ- reflects earlier \*sporh<sub>2</sub>-. The Greek alternations in (σ)π/φυρ-αθ/δ- could very well point to Pre-Greek origin.

**σπυρθίζω** [v.] 'to kick, lash out (of a donkey)' (Ar. Fr. 857). <?>

•VAR σπυρθίζειν· σπᾶσθαι καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν· πυδαρίζειν καὶ σφύζειν 'to be drawn, be irritated; to dance, throb or beat violently' (H.).

•ETYM If σπυρ- reflects \*spor-, it derives from the same root as ▶σπαίρω. Cognates with the same suffix \*-d<sup>h</sup>- may be seen in Skt. *spárdhate* 'to compete, dispute', *spṛdh-* [f.] 'competition, dispute', Go. *spaurds* [f.], OE *spyrd* [m.] 'running-match, course'.

**σπυρίς** [f.] 'basket' (IA, etc.). <PG(V)>

•VAR σφυρίς (Hp. v.l., Hell. and late), -ίδος.

•COMP σπυριδο-φόρος 'basket-carrying' (pap. II<sup>a</sup>).

•DER Diminutives σπυρ-ίδιον (com. et al.; σφ- Hell. pap.), -ίχνιον (Poll.; like κυλίχνη et al.); also -ιδώδης 'basket-like', -ιδόν [adv.] 'shaped like a basket' (sch.).

•ETYM The word σπυρ-ίς is formed like σκαφίς 'bowl', etc., either from a noun (\*σπυρός vel sim.) or directly from a verb. It is hardly related to σπάρτον 'rope, cable' via a meaning \*'twine', as the variation σπ-/σφ- shows that the word is Pre-Greek. Fur.: 241 further compares σύριχος (Alex.), σύρισσος (Poll.), σύρισκος (H.), ὑρίχος (Ar.), ὕρισχος (Phryn.), ὕρίσκος (H.), ὕρίσσος (H.), all 'twined basket', if from \*σφύριχος.

**σταγών** ⇒ στάζω.

**στάδην** ⇒ στάδιος.

**στάδιον** [n.] 'racecourse, stadium', secondarily also a measure of varying length, in Hdt. 2, 149 = 100 ὀργυαῖα or 6 πλέθρα (Thgn., Pi., IA). <?>

•VAR Plur. -ια and -ιοι (scil. δρόμοι).

•COMP σταδιο-δρόμος [m.] 'racer' (Simon., Att.), later σταδια- 'id.' (Hell. and late inscr.), a hypercorrect formation after the plur. στάδια; often as a second member, especially after numerals, e.g. ὀκτα-στάδιος (also ὀκτω-) 'measuring eight σ.' (Plb., Str.).

•DER σταδι-εύς [m.] 'racer' (Plb. et al.), -εῦω 'to run for the wager' (Arist. et al.), -αῖος 'measuring one σ.' (Plb., D. H. et al.), -ασμῖος [m.] 'measuring by stadia' (Str. et al.).

•ETYM Perhaps an original folk-etymological transformation of σπάδιον (Argiv.; see ▶σπάω), after στάδιος? Bechtel 1921, 2: 473 assumes that στάδιον is original and that σπάδιον arose through dissimilation. Borrowed as Lat. *stadium* 'race-course'.

**στάδιος** [adj.] 'upright, standing still, firm, immobile, lying on the balance = weighed, etc.' (Il., Pi., Hell. and late epic, D. C.), in the Il. only dat. σταδίῃ as an attribute of ὑσμίνῃ 'fight' or, on its own, 'in close combat'; ἐν αὐτο-σταδίῃ (N 325) 'id.'; cf. Trümpy 1950: 112f. and Krarup *Class. et Med.* 10 (1949): 7. <GR>

- VAR σταδία· λυχνία 'lamp' (H.).
- COMP ὀρθο-στάδιον [n.] 'chiton running straight downwards' (Ar. et al.), also στάδιος, στατὸς χιτῶν.
- DER σταδαῖος 'id.' (A., Ti. Locr. et al.), also Th. 4, 38 v.l. of σταδία.
- ETYM Adjectival derivative from the adverb στά-δην 'in standing posture' with the suffixes -ιο- and -αιο-, like ἐκτάδ-ιος from ἐκτά-δην (from ἐκ-τείνω); see Chantraine 1933: 39 and Schwyzer: 467 and 626. See ► ἵστημι.

**στάζω** [v.] 'to let drip (in), shed', intr. 'to drip' (post-Hom.). <?>

- VAR Aor. στάξει (Il.), fut. στάξω (Pi., etc.), aor. pass. σταχθῆναι (Hp.), σταγῆναι (Dsc.), perf. pass. ἔστακται (Od.).
- COMP Also with ἀπο-, κατα-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, etc.
- DER σταγ-ών, -όνος [f.] 'drop' (trag., Hp., middle com., Hell. and late), hence -ονίας, -ονίτις, -ονιαῖος (late); also στάγ-ες [pl.] (A. R. 4, 626), which is probably a back-formation, cf. below.
- σταγ-ετός [m.] 'id.' (Aq.), like ὑετός, etc.; σταγ-μα (ἐπί-) [n.] 'the dripping, drop, aromatic oil' (A., Gal., pap. et al.), ἐπι-, κατα-σταγμός [m.] 'dripping of the nose, sniffing' (late medic.). στάξις (ἀπό-κατά-) [f.] 'the dripping', especially of blood from the nose (Hp., Gal.). στακτός 'dripping' (IA), -τή [f.] 'myrrh oil' (Antiph., Plb. et al.), -τά [n.pl.] 'resins' (medic.); ἔνστακτον [n.] 'the dripping in' (Gal.); στα<κ>τικόν· πεμμάτιον πλακουντοειδές, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀγγεῖα διυλίζοντα Νειλῶον ὕδωρ 'small cake; vessels filtering water from the Nile' (H.). ἐπι-στάκτης [m.] 'woolen thread for oil-dripping' (late medic.); στακερία (for -τηρία) [f.] 'bottle for myrrh oil' (pap. VI-VII<sup>p</sup>). στάγ-δην 'drop by drop' (Hp., Aret.). Στάζουσα [f.] source in Sicyon (Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 2 (1950-1951): 230).
- ETYM The present στάζω reflects \*σταγ-ιω and forms the basis of the other forms. The form στάγες is probably a backformation from σταγόνες (Schwyzer: 424). Often connected to Lat. *stagnum* 'standing water, pool' and OBret. *staer* 'river, brook' < \**stag-rā*. The semantics of this etymology are not obvious, but the connection remains possible.

**σταθερός** = στάθμη.

**σταθεύω** [v.] 'to scorch, roast, fry' (Ar., Arist., Thphr.). <PG(V)>

- DER -ευτός 'scorched' (A. Pr. 22), -ευσίς (v.l. στατ-) [f.] 'scorching' (Arist.).
- ETYM Perhaps the word contains the synonymous εὔω, but the rest is unclear. Fur.: 191, on the other hand, compares στάτευσις (Arist., Alex. Aphr. in *Mete.* 186) = στάθευσις, which would indicate Pre-Greek origin.

**στάθμη** [f.] 'directive, carpenter's line, finish line, plumb line, rule, norm' (since O 410). <GR>

- COMP ὑποστάθμη (to ὑπο- στήναι) [f.] 'sediment, lees, foundation' (Pl., Hp. et al.). σταθμ-οὔχος [m.] 'owner of goods, etc.' (A. Fr. 226 = 376 M., Antiph., pap. et al.), ἐπί-σταθμῖος [m.] 'quartermaster' (Isoc.), 'military quartered on another' (pap.; Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 175); ναύ-σταθμιον [n.] (Th.), secondary -ος [m.] (Plb., D. S.,

Plu.) 'anchorage, fleet station, fleet'; originally a substantivized adjective like βού-σταθμιον.

- DER σταθμ-άομαι (Ion. -έομαι) 'to measure (by the directive), estimate, gauge, weigh' (Pi., IA), also with δια-, ἐπι-, ἀντι-; thence -ημα, -ησις, -ητικός (late). σταθμ-ίζω 'id.' (Aq., Sm.), also with δια-. σταθμῖος [m.] 'location, stable, farmstead, night lodgings, travel stage, day's march; pillar, post, jamb; balance, weight, heaviness' (Il.); plur. also -μά [n.] (after τάλαντα, ζυγά), to which sing. -όν 'weight, balance' (IA), poet. also 'homestead, farmstead; jamb, etc.' (trag. et al.). σταθμ-ίον [n.] 'balance, weight' (Hell. and late); -ικός 'of weighing' (Gal.); -ώδης 'rich in sediment' (Hp.), cf. ὑποστάθμη; σταθμ-ίζω 'to weigh', also with δια-, συν-, etc.; hence -ισίς [f.] 'the weighing', -ιστής [m.] 'weigher', -ιστί [adv.] 'by weight', -ιστικός 'for weighing' (late); σταθμ-εύω 'to take up or have quarters, etc.', also with κατα-, ἐπι-; also -εῖα [f.] (late).

•ETYM Formation like βαθμός, θεθμός, ρυθμός, etc. A derivative of the root of ► ἵστημι, PIE \**steh₂-*, with the suffixes -θ- and -μο-. The suffix -θ- also appears in εὐ-σταθής 'standing firm, quiet' (Ion. Hell. and late since Il.), which was probably built on the aor. ἐστάθην (Risch 1937: 82). The synonymous and later attested form σταθερός (A. Fr. 276 = 479 M., etc.) may have been built from φανερός (or a similar example) under the influence of ἀ-φανής.

**σταῖς, σταιτός** [n.] 'wheat flour turned to dough with water' (Ion., Eup., Arist., Thphr., etc.). <IE>

- VAR σταῖς.
- COMP σταιτ-ουργός (written στερ-) [m.] 'mixer of σ.' (Ostr.).
- DER Diminutive σταιτ-ίον [n.] (*PMag. Par.*); -ινος 'made of σ.' (Hdt.), -ίτας [m.] 'bread of σ.' (Epich., Sophr.), -ώδης 'σ.-like' (Poll.), -ήϊα· πέμματος εἶδος 'kind of small cake', στα<ι>τίας· ἄρτου εἶδος 'kind of bread' (H.).
- ETYM The connection with the IE word for 'dough' in SCr. *tijesto* 'dough', OIr. *táis* 'id.' < \**th₂eis-to-*, OHG *theismo* 'leaven' is semantically appealing. If related, the anlaut must have been influenced by στέαρ 'fat' (Pedersen 1909: 56). See also ► τήκω.

**σταλάσσω** [v.] 'to drip, shed drops, drop' (Sapph., E. et al.). <?>

- VAR Also -άω (Hell. and late epic, AP, Luc.), -άζω (Aq., Plu., Luc.), -άττω (Porph.), aor. -άξει (Ar., Lyc., LXX).
- COMP Also with ἀπο-, ἐν-, etc.
- DER σταλαγ-μός [m.] 'dripping, drop' (trag., Ar., Hp.), hence -μιαῖος 'calculated by the drop (of the water-clock)' (Vett. Val., etc.), -μίτης plant name (*Hippiatr.*); also -μα [n.] 'drop' (A., S., Scymn.). Lat. LW *stalagmia* [n.pl.] 'ear-drops', *stalagmiās* [m.] 'kind of copper-vitriol' (Plin. HN).
- ETYM Formation like παλάσσω, ῥαθάσσω, αἰμάσσω; the form σταλάω is metrically conditioned (after χαλάω, etc.), to which belongs σταλεηδόνες· σταλαγμοί (H.), perhaps metrical for σταλεδ- or στα-ληδ-? The form σταλάσσω is an enlargement of στάζω. Usually derived from a root \*(s)*tel(h₂)-* 'to drip' (see LIV² s.v. \**stelh₂k-*), whence also ► τέλμα 'puddle' and MoE *stale* 'urine' are derived. This seems possible, but is not very convincing in view of



the limited distribution, the vague semantics, and the *s*-mobile. See further on ►ἀνασταλῶ.

**στάλιξ, -ῖκος** [f.] 'plug or post for fastening a hunting-net' (Theoc., Plu., Opp., Poll.). <?>

•DER στάλιδας (-ίδας?)· τοὺς κάμακας ἢ χάρακας 'vine-props or -poles, pointed stakes' (H.), σταλίδων (X. *Cyn.* 2, 8 codd.; σχαλίδων Steph.).

•ETYM The suffix alternation recalls κλαῖκ-, from κληῖδ- 'bolt, key' (cf. s.v. ►κλείς); see Schwyzler: 496. Further analysis uncertain; the root could be that of either ►στέλλω or ►ἵστημι (with a suffix -λ-).

**σταμῖνες** [m.pl.] 'vertical side-beams of a ship' (Poll. 1, 92, H., EM). <PG?>

•VAR Acc. -ῖνας (Moschio *apud* Ath.), dat. -ῖνεσσι (ε 252, Nonn. D. 40, 446).

•ETYM Perhaps from ►ἵστημι, with a formation like ἐρμῖν-, ῥηγμῖν-, ὑσμῖν-, and like these words a derivation in -ῖν- from a stem in -μ- or -μ(ε)ν-. Cf. also ►στάμνος. The short ῖ in σταμῖνεσσι may be due to the meter; see Debrunner REIE 1 (1938): iff.

**στάμνος** [m., f.] 'big jar, especially a wine-jar' (IA). <IE \*sth<sub>2</sub>-mn-o- 'standing'>

•DER Several diminutives: σταμν-ίον, -άριον [n.], -ῖκος [m.] (com., Hell. and late). PN Σταμνίας [m.] (Ar.). Denominative verb: σταμν-ίζω, only with κατα- and συν-, 'to pour into a jar, transfuse' (Thphr., Nic. et al.).

•ETYM Formation like ἐρυμνός (from ἐρυμα), λίμνη (from λιμήν), etc. (see Schwyzler: 524 and Chantraine 1933: 215). Probably from a noun \*stāma, \*σταμῖν or the like, 'stand, standing place'; the jar would thus be a large, standing one. Probably related to στάτος [m.] (substantivized from στατός) 'big jug' (Hell. inscr., H.), OHG *stanta* 'jug to be put somewhere', Lith. *statinė* 'barrel, cask'. A zero grade μ-derivation is also supposed in ►σταμῖνες; comparable formations in other languages are ToB *stām*, A *štām* 'tree' (cf. *stām*- 'to stand'), OHG *stam*, gen. *stammes* 'stem', which may reflect PGm. \*stamna- (IE \*sth<sub>2</sub>-mn-o-). Cf. also ►στήμων. Borrowed as Alb. *shtâmbë*, *shtëmbë* [f.] 'bottle' (Mann *Lang.* 17 (1941): 23). Fur.: 227, 245 compares στάφος 'trough' with variation μ/φ; uncertain.

**στασάνη** [f.] ἐγγύη, ὑποθήκη 'surety, mortgage' (H.). <?>

•ETYM No etymology.

**στάσις** [f.] 'standing, standing still, stand, location, position, political opinion, party, division' also 'placement, weighing, defrayal' (Alc., Thgn., Pi., IA), on the mg. see Bolling *AmJPh.* 82 (1961): 162f. <IE \*sth<sub>2</sub>- 'stand', \*sth<sub>2</sub>-ti->

•COMP στασι-αρχος [m.] 'party leader' (A. et al.), ξενό-στασις 'inn for strangers' (S.). Often with prefix as a derivation of prefixed verbs, e.g. ἀνάστα-σις (to ἀν-ίσταμαι, -ίστημι) 'standing up, removal, making to stand up, expulsion' (IA).

•DER στάσι-μος 'standing (firm or still), quiet, weighable' (IA), 'stilling, blocking' (Hp.). Also -ιώδης 'partial, rebellious' (X., Arist. et al.), -ιώτης [m.] 'party member' (IA), hence -ιωτικός, -ιωτεία (after πατριώτης, στρατιώτης, etc.); στασι-ιάζω 'to form parties, divide, quarrel' (IA), also with prefix, e.g. ἀντι-, δια-; στασι-ίζω 'id.' (Crete III<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Old verbal noun \*sth<sub>2</sub>-ti- of ►ἵστημι 'to stand', identical with Skt. *sthíti*- [f.] 'stand, standstill', Lat. *statiō* 'standing place', frozen accus. *statim* 'fixed, on the spot', Go. *staps* [m.] 'position, place', OHG *stat* [f.] 'id.'. From the full grade \*sth<sub>2</sub>-ti-: Av. *stāiti*- 'standing, stand, position', Latv. *stātis* [pl.] 'turning point (of the sun)', and Ru. *stat*' 'build of the body'.

**στατήρ, -ῆρος** [m.] designation of a weight and of a coin, 'stater' (IA). <IE \*sth<sub>2</sub>- 'stand'>

•VAR στατήρες is also the opposite of ἀποδοτήρες 'returners' (Epich. 116), acc. to Et. Gen. = χρεώσται 'debtors', cf. ὀβολο-στατήρ (Hdn. Gr.) = ὀβολο-στάτης 'obol weigher, usurer' (Ar. et al.).

•COMP Thematicized in bahuvrihi compounds: δεκα-στάτηρ-ος 'concerning ten σ.' (Arr.), -ον [n.] 'sum or weight of ten σ.' (Att. and Cret. inscr.).

•DER στατήρ-ῖκος (-ισμός?) type of tax (pap.), -ιαῖος 'worth or weighing one σ.' (Theopomp. Com., Hell. and late).

•ETYM Derived from ἵστημι in the sense 'to put on the balance, weigh off'. See also Benveniste 1948: 50. Similar, but independent, formations are found in Lat. *Stator*, -ōris epithet of Jupiter, Skt. *sthātar*- [m.] 'driver of a car' < \*sth<sub>2</sub>-ter-. Borrowed as Lat. *statēr*. See ►ἵστημι.

**στατιών** [f., m.] 'station'. <LW Lat.>

•DER -άριος (inscr.).

•ETYM From Lat. *statiō*; see Drew-Bear *Glotta* 50 (1972): 93.

**στατός** [adj.] 'standing (still)', of a horse (Z 506 = O 263), of water (S. *Ph.* 716 [Iyr.]); Hell. of jars 'made or fit for standing' (Delos, pap.); subst. στάτος [m.] 'vessel' (Delos, Oropos, H.), with στάτιον [n.] 'id.' (Delos II<sup>a</sup>). <IE \*sth<sub>2</sub>- 'stand'>

•DER στατ-ικός 'belonging to weighing' (Pl.), on the mg. cf. ►στάσις; 'standing still' (Arist.), 'stilling' (Hell. and late); στατ-ίζω, -ίζομαι 'to stand, set, establish' (S., E. et al.).

•ETYM Old verbal adjective of ►ἵστημι 'to stand'.

**σταυρός** [m.] 'pole' (Ω 453), 'cross' (D. S., NT et al.). <IE \*sth<sub>2</sub>-u- 'pole'>

•DER σταυρ-ίον [n.] (Theognost.), -ικός 'belonging to the cross' (Tz.); σταυρ-ώω 'to provide with poles' (Hdt., Th., etc.), 'to crucify' (Plb., NT et al.), also with ἀνα-, etc.; thence -ωμα [n.] 'fraise, palisade' (Th., X. et al.), -ωσις [f.] 'impalement, crucifixion' (Th. et al.), -ώσιμος 'belonging to the crucifixion' (Christ. lit.).

•ETYM Identical to ON *staurr* [m.] 'pole' < \*sth<sub>2</sub>u-ro-, which is probably also the basis of Lat. *instaurāre* 'to renew, restore' (whence *restaurāre* 'id.'). See further on ►στοά, ►στύλος, ►στύραξ, and ►στύω.

**σταφίς** ⇒ ἀσταφίς.

**σταφυλή** [f.] 'grape' (Il.), metaphorically 'swollen uvula, uvula inflammation' (Hp., Arist., etc.), also σταφύλη (accent after κοτύλη, κανθύλη?) 'lead in the balance, plummet of a level' (B 765). <PG(V)>

•COMP E.g. σταφυλο-τομέω 'to cut off grapes; to perform surgery on the uvula' (late), ἐρι-στάφυλος 'with big grapes' (Od., epic).

•DER Diminutive σταφυλ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] (Theoc., Hp.), -ιον [n.] (M. Ant., pap.); -ῖνος [m.] 'carrot' (Hp., Dsc.), metaphorically as the name of an insect (Arist.), see Strömberg 1937: 52; -ίτης [m.] epithet of Dionysus (Ael.); -ωμα [n.] name of an eye-disease (medic.), after γλαύκωμα, etc. From σταφύλη: σταφυλίζειν τὸ συνι<σ>άζειν τὰς ὥας τοῦ ἱματίου 'to ?? the fringes of the mantle' (H.). PN Στάφυλος [m.].

•ETYM Probably the zero grade form of ►στέμφυλα. The similarity with ►ἀσταφίς 'dried grapes' is probably not accidental, but the exact relation of the words is unknown. The group of words is Pre-Greek (cf. Chantraine 1933: 251, Schwyzer: 485, and Fur.: 342, 373). It has been argued that σταφυλῖνος 'carrot' is not related to σταφυλή (Greppin *Glotta* 64 (1986): 248-252, Hansen KZ 102 (1989): 211). The latter argues that the meaning 'carrot' comes from Sanskrit *sta(m)bh-* with *stambha-* 'post, pillar, column', so that it was 'the pillar plant', or 'the plant with the pillar root'.

**σταχάνη** [f.] only in the expression δικαιότερος σταχάνης (Zen., Lib. et al.), where it is understood as 'balance'. ◀PG?▶

•ETYM Formation like τρυτάνη and other instrument nouns. Perhaps as a technical expression from ►στάχυς 'ear', due to some specification of the meaning, but more likely a Pre-Greek substrate word.

**στάχυς, -νος** [m.] 'ear (of corn)' (Ψ 598), metaphorically 'offshoot' (poet.), as a plant name (Dsc. et al.), 'surgical bandage' (medic.). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR -ῦς (E. HF 5), -ῦν (Call., A. R.).

•COMP σταχυο-βολέω 'to put forth ears' (Thphr.), πολύ-σταχυς 'rich in ears' (Theoc., Str.).

•DER σταχυ-ηρός 'bearing ears' (Thphr.), -ώδης 'ear-like, full of ears' (Thphr., Nonn.), -ῖνος 'of ears' (Olympia), -ίτης [f.] (also -ίτης [m.]) plant name (Ps.-Dsc.), -όομαι 'to develop into an ear' (Dsc.).

•ETYM Traditionally connected with ON *stinga*, OE *stingan* 'to sting', nominal OHG *stanga* [f.] 'stick, pole, bar', MHG *stunge* 'prickle', Lith. *stangūs* 'stiff, fixed', *stangà* [f.] 'effort', *sténgti* 'to be able', *stingti* 'to harden', Latv. *stiņgt* 'id.'. The Germanic words reflect *\*stengh<sup>h</sup>-u-*, of which στάχυς would be a zero grade *\*stng<sup>h</sup>-u-*. The appurtenance of the Baltic forms is doubtful, since their accentuation seems to require a reconstruction *\*steng-*, in which case they cannot be related. However, the variant ►ἀσταχυς (see s.v. and Kretschmer *Glotta* 21 (1933): 89) rather suggests that the Greek word is of substrate origin (see also Fur.: 373). Cf. ►στόνουξ and ►στόχος.

**στέαρ, στέατος** [n.] '(standing) fat, tallow' (the opposite of ►πιμελή), also 'dough' = σταίς (Od., Hp., X., Arist., etc.). ◀IE *\*steh<sub>2</sub>-ur*▶

•VAR στέαρ (com., see LSJ Supp.), στήρ, στήτος (Hell. pap. et al.).

•DER Diminutive στεάτ-ιον [n.] (Alex., Paul. Aeg.), -ώδης 'tallowy' (Hp., Arist. et al.), -ῖνος 'of tallow, of dough' (Aesop.), -ωμα [n.] 'tallow formation, fat tumor', hence -ωμάτιον [n.] (medic.), -ῖται πλακοῦντες 'flat cakes' (H.) as a gloss to πίονες; στεατ-όομαι [v.] 'to be tallowed' (LXX), 'to suffer from a fat tumor' (Hippiatr.); also στε-άζω 'to tallow' (Al.).

•ETYM The word στέαρ < \*στή-φαρ < PGr. *\*stā-ur*. A heteroclitic noun like πῖαρ, οὔθαρ, etc. (Schwyzer: 518, Benveniste 1935: 19, 27 and 169), from *\*steh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to stand'; see ►ῖστημι. No exact correspondences outside Greek. The words ►σταίς 'dough' and ἀγχιστίνας (s.v. ►ἄγχι) are unrelated.

**στέγω** [v.] 'to cover, defend, avert, keep closed, bear, sustain' (post-Hom.). ◀IE *\*(s)teg-* 'cover, roof'▶

•VAR Also aor. στέξει (Plb. et al.), στεχθῆναι (VI<sup>p</sup>).

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, etc. Further in στέγ-αρχος [m.] 'housemaster' (Hdt. et al.); often as a second element, e.g. in ὑπό-στεγος 'under a roof, covered' (Emp., Pl., S. et al.).

•DER στεγ-νός 'covered, waterproof, clogged' (Ion., E., X., etc.), hence -νότης [f.] 'thickness, stoppage' (Hp.), -νών (ἀπο-, etc.) 'to thicken, stop', -νωσις [f.], -νωτικός (Hell. and lat). Substantivized στέγη, Dor. Aeol. -α [f.] 'roof, cope, covered place, house, room' (Alc., Gortyn, IA). Also στεγ-ανός 'covering, watertight' (Att.), -ανότης [f.] (Eust.), -ανών 'to cover' (Hell. and late), -ανώματα τὰ ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις, οἱ λεγόμενοι σύνδεσμοι 'things in the walls of a house, the so-called bonds' (H.); -άνη [f.] 'cover' (AP); -ανίσαι (cod. -ῆ-)· στέγη ὑποδεχθῆναι 'be received in a room' (H.). Furthermore στεκτικός 'for keeping the water out' (Pl., etc.), στέγῳσις [f.] (to an unattested *\*στεγόν*) 'the roofing' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>), cf. στέγ-νωσις, -ασ(σ)ίς.

στέγος [n.] 'roof, house' (trag., also Hell. and late prose); in compounds adapted to στέγω (cf. Schwyzer 513): οὐρανο-στεγής 'bearing the sky' (A. Fr. 312 = 619 M.). Derivations from στέγη (στέγος): στεγ-ύλλιον [n.] 'hut' = 'workshop' (Herod.); -ίτης [f.] = πόρνη (Poll., H.); στεγ-άζω, -άσαι 'to cover, roof' (IA), also with ἀπο-, κατα-, etc.; thence -ασ(σ)ίς, -αίς (ἀπο-) [f.] 'covering' (Epid., Delos IV-II<sup>a</sup>, etc.), see Schwyzer: 271, Chantraine 1933: 281), -ασμα (ἀπο-, κατα-, προ-) [n.] 'cover, cope' (Pl., X., etc.), -αστήρ [m.] 'coverer, tile' (Poll., H. as a gloss on σωλήν), -αστρίς [f.] 'covering, cope' (Hdt. et al.), -αστρον [n.] 'covering, cope, container' (A., Antiph., etc.).

Also τέγος [n.] = στέγος (Od.; not in trag.), hence τέγ-εοι (θάλαμοι Z 248, δόμοι Emp. 142) mg. not quite clear: 'under a roof' (= 'upstairs'), 'roofed'; cf. S. Schmid 1950: 39; τεγ-ίδιον [n.] designation of a garment for women (Tanagra and pap. III<sup>a</sup>); also τέγη [f.] = τέγος (Vett. Val., H.).

•ETYM The form στέγω is a primary thematic present; non-present forms are late and rare. It derives from PIE *\*(s)teg-* with *s*-mobile (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.), attested in the Latin thematic present *tegō* 'to cover', perf. *tēxi*, and in OIr. *teg*, gen.sg. *tige* 'house' < *\*tegos-* [n.], OHG *dah*, ON *þak* [n.] 'roof' < *\*togo-*, OPr. *stogis*, Lith. *stógas* [m.] < *\*stogo-* with Winter's Law. Skt. *shagati* (Dhatup.), *shagayati* 'to cover, conceal' are unrelated (Kuijper 1954: 249). Borrowed as Lat. *stega* 'cover' (from στέγη), *segestre*, -rum, *tegestrum* 'cover made of skin' (from στέγαστρον).

**στείβω** [v.] 'to tread (on something), densify by treading, trod, trample' (Λ 534, Υ 499, epic poet.). ◀IE *\*steib-* 'get stiff, fix'▶.

•VAR Only pres. except aor. κατ-έσταιψας (S. OC 467; not quite certain), verbal adj. σπιπτός (v.l. -ει-) 'trodden solid, solid, hard' (S., Ar.), ἄ-σπιπτος 'untrodden' (S.; also OGI 606?).

•COMP Rarely with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-.

•DER στοιβή [f.] 'stuffing, cushion, bulge, etc.'; often as a plant name 'Poterium spinosum', the leaves of which were used for stuffing (Hp., Ar., Arist., Epid. [IV<sup>a</sup>], etc.), στοιβ-ίον 'id.' (Dawkins JHS 56 (1936): 10), -άς = σπιβάς, -ηδόν 'crammed' (comm. Arist.), στοιβ-άζω 'to fill, stuff' (Hdt., LXX et al.), rarely with δια-, whence -αστός, -αστής, -ασις, -άσιμος, -ασία (Hell. and late).

Zero grade of the root in: στίβος [m.] 'trodden' road, path, footstep, trail' (epic Ion. poet. since *h. Merc.*), 'fuller's workshop' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>), whence σπιβάς, -άδος [f.] 'bed of straw, reed or leaves, mattress, bed, grave' (IA), -άδιον [n.] 'id.' (Hell. and late), -αδεύω 'to use like straw' (Dsc.). Further σπιβεύς [m.] 'hound' (Opp.), 'fuller' (pap.), = ὁδευτής (H.), -εύω 'to track' (D. S., Plu., H.), = πορεύεσθαι (H.) with -εία [f.] 'tracking, etc.' (D. S. et al.), -εῖον [n.] 'fuller's workshop' (pap.), -ευτής [m.] 'hound' (Sostrat. *apud* Stob.); also -ίη = -εία (Opp.; metrically conditioned). σπιβική [f.] 'fuller's tax' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>); σπιβάζω 'to enter, track, etc.', -ασις [f.] (late); ἐστίβηται [perf.pass.] 'has been tracked' (S. Aj. 874; to σπιβέω or -άω); ἄ-σπιβ-ος 'unentered' (AP), often -ής 'id.' (A., S., also X. et al.), -ητος 'id.' (Lyc. et al.; cf. ἐστίβηται); Στίβων name of a dog (X. *Cyn.*).

σπιβαρός 'solid, compact, massive, strong' (Il., epic poet., also Hell. and late prose); like βριαρός, etc.; -αρηδόν [adv.] 'compact' (late).

With a long vowel we find στίβη [f.] 'ripe' (Od., Call.), -ήεις (Call.); on the mg., cf. πάγος, πάχνη to ►πήγνυμι.

•ETYM Related to Arm. *stēp*, gen. -oy 'frequent, incessant, permanent' (adj. and adv.), with *stip-em* 'to press, urge', -aw, -on 'quick, diligent(ly)' < PIE *\*stoibo-* or *\*steibo-*. Perhaps also related to Lith. *stiebas* 'mast(tree), pillar, stalk', *stáibis* 'lower shank, supporting post', if the accent, which points to root-final *\*-b-*, is old. Similar words with root-final *\*-p-* in other Indo-European languages resemble the Greek root: Lat. *stīpāre* 'to compress, surround' (sometimes connected to the Corinth. PN Στίπων, IG 4, 319); Lith. *stīpti*, 1sg. *stīpū* 'to stiffen, grow rigid', *stīprūs* 'strong', *stīēpti* 'to stretch'; OE *stīf*, MHG *stīf* 'stiff, erect' < *\*steifa-*, MLG *stīvele* 'support', ON *stīfla* 'to dam'. With *\*-b<sup>h</sup>-*, we find CS *stǔblo* 'stem, stalk', Latv. *stība* 'staff, rod' and, within Greek, στίφος, with a mg. that resembles that of στείβω. The exact relation between the roots *\*steib-/steib<sup>h</sup>-/\*steip-* is uncertain.

στελειή = στελεά.

στειρά 1 [adj.] 'infertile', of cows, goats, women, also metaph. (Od., Hp., Hell. and late), 'virginal' (Lyc., Luc.). <IE *\*ster-ih<sub>2</sub>* 'infertile'>

•VAR Secondary στειρός (E. *Andr.* 711 as v.l. to στερρός), ευνούχους στειρούς (Man.), κατάστειρος (Vett. Val.), cf. κάτ-ισχνος, etc.

•DER στειρ-ώδης '(looking) infertile' (Hp.), στειρ-όομαι, [v.] 'to become infertile' (LXX, Phld., Ph. et al.), with -ωσις, -ωτικός; -εύω [v.] 'to be infertile' (Gal.).

•ETYM Formation like πείρα, χίμαιρα, μοῖρα, etc. (Schwyzer: 494, Chantraine 1933: 98). An old term for an infertile animal, also used for infertile women. Similar formations are reflected in Arm. *sterj* 'infertile' < *\*ster-i-* (cf. *anurj* beside ὄναιρος) and Skt. *starī-* 'infertile cow' < *\*ster-ih<sub>2</sub>*. Further cognates are Lat. *sterilis* 'infertile', with *-ilis* from *gracilis, fertilis*, etc. (Leumann *Glotta* 42 (1964): 118), Go. *stairo* [f.] 'infertile woman', Alb. *shjtjerrë* 'young cow, lamb'. See ►στερεός, ►στέριφος.

στειρά 2 [f.] 'foremost part of the keel, stem' (A 482 = β 428), = τὸ ἐξέχον τῆς πρῶρας ξύλον κατὰ τὴν τρόπιν 'wood of the prow projecting towards the keel' (H.). <GR>

•VAR Enlarged στείρωμα = τρόπις 'keel' (H.).

•DER ἀνά-στειρος 'with the prow pointing up, with a high stem' (Plb.).

•ETYM An old feminine formation (cf. especially semantically close πρῶρα), beside ►στερεός 'stiff, hard'; thus perhaps originally denoting the "hard, solid part" vel sim.? The word may be identical to ►στειρά 1 'infertile'.

στείχω [v.] 'to march (in), rise, draw, go' (Il., epic Ion. poet., also Aeol. prose). <IE *\*steig<sup>h</sup>-* 'stride'>

•VAR στίχω (Hdt. 3, 14; conjecture in S. *Ant.* 1129 ex H.), them. aor. σπιχεῖν (sigm. aor. περί-στειξας δ 277).

•COMP With prefix, e.g., ἀπο-, δια-, ἐπι-, προσ-. As a second element e.g. in μονό-σπιχος 'consisting of one verse' (Plu.), as -στοιχος in e.g. τρί-στοιχος 'consisting of three rows' (μ 91), -εῖ [adv.] 'in three rows' (K 473), μετα-στοιχεί mg. unclear (Ψ 358 and 757); σύ-στοιχος 'belonging to the same row, coordinated, corresponding' (Arist., etc.).

•DER From this, probably deverbative, comes σπιχάομαι 'id.' in 3pl.ipf. ἐσπιχώντο (Il., Theoc., Nonn.), also with περι-, συν-; pres. σπιχώνται (Orph.), act. σπιχόωσι, ptc. ntr.pl. -όντα (Hell. and late epic); ὁμοσπιχάει [3sg.pres.] 'escorted' (O 635), from *\*ὁμό-σπιχος* or for ὁμοῦ στ.?

Nominal derivations: A. στίχες [f.pl.], σπιχός [gen.sg.] 'rank(s), file(s)', especially of soldiers, 'battle array, line of battle' (epic poet. since Il.).

B. στίχος [m.] 'file, rank', of soldiers, trees, etc., often of words, 'line' in verse and prose (Att., etc.). σπιχ-άς [f.] 'id.' only in dat.pl. σπιχάδεσσι (*Epigr.*). Diminutive -ίδιον (Plu.); -άριον 'coat, tightly fitting garment' (pap.). Adjectives in -ινος, -ικός, -ήρης and -ηρός, adv. -ηδόν (late). Hence σπιχ-ίζω [v.] 'to arrange in rows' (LXX; v.l. στοιχ-), -ιστής, -ισμός (Tz.); περισπιχίζω 'to surround' (A.), also περιστοιχίζω 'to fence in all around with nets (net-poles), to ensnare' (D., Plb., etc.).

C. στοιχος [m.] 'file or column of soldiers, choir members, ships, etc., layer of building stones, row of trees, poles, etc.' (IA), hence στοιχ-άς [f.] 'arranged in rows', of ἐλαῖα (Sol. *apud* Poll. et al.), -άδες (νῆσοι) name of a group of islands near Massilia (A. R., etc.); here also the plant name στοιχάς (Orph., Dsc.) and -αδίτης οἶνος 'wine spiced with σ.' (Dsc.). Cult names of Zeus and Athena: -αῖος (Thera), -αδεύς (Sikyon), -εῖα (Epid.), referring to the arrangement in phylai. Further adjectives in -ιαῖος 'measuring one row' (Att. inscr.), -ικός (late); adverb -ηδόν (Arist., etc.), -ηδῖς (Theognost.) 'line by line'. Verbal derivations: στοιχ-έω 'to form a row, to stand in file and rank, to match, agree, be content, follow' (X., Att. inscr.,

Arist. Hell. and late), also with περι-, συν- etc., hardly deverbative in view of the mg.; -στοιχούντως 'matching, consequent' (Galatia, Aug. time). στοιχ-ίζω 'to arrange in a line, order' (A. Pr. 484 and 232, X. et al.), often with περι-, also δια- and κατα-; thence -ισμός (Poll.).

D. στοιχείον, often plur. -εῖα [n.] 'letters in free-standing, alphabetical form' (of γράμματα: 'character, script'), also 'principles; component, element' (Pl., Arist., etc.), 'heavenly bodies, elementary spirits, natural demons, magic means' (late and Byz.); also 'shadow-line' as a measure of time (Att. com.), cf. σκιά ἀντίστοιχος (E. Andr. 745); the original meaning is 'object in a row' vel sim. (on the formation cf. σημεῖον, μνημεῖον, ἐλεγείον, etc.); on the development of the mg., which is in many ways unclear, see Burkert *Phil.* 103 (1959): 167ff. with references. στοιχει-ώδης 'belonging to the στοιχεῖα, elementary' (Arist., etc.), of barley 'in several rows' as opposed to ἄ-στοιχος πυρός (Thphr.), so either the same as στοιχ-ώδης or a misspelling of it. στοιχει-όω [v.] 'to introduce to the principles' (Chrysipp. et al.), 'to equip with magical powers, charm' (Byz.), also -ωσις, -ωμα, -ωτής, -ωτικός (Epicur., Phld. et al.), -ωματικός (Ps.-Ptol.), see Mugler 1958-1959: 380f.

•ETYM The full grade thematic present στείχω agrees exactly with Go. *steigan* 'to go up', OIr. *tiagu* 'to stride, go' < IE \**stéigʰ*-. A nasal present is reflected in Lith. *stigti* 'to lack, be absent', 3pres. *stiñga* < \**stigʰ*-, OCS 1sg. *po-stignu* 'to get in, reach, hit' < \**stéigʰ*-, and a yod-present in Lith. *steigti*, 3pres. *steigia* 'to organize, (dial.) want, hurry'. Further, OHG *steg* [m.] 'small bridge', ON *stig* [n.] 'step' < PGm. \**stigaz* < PIE \**stigʰ-o-* (= στίχος), OE *stige* [m. i] 'going up, down', ON *stigr* [m.] 'path'. Also, Alb. *shteg* 'footpath', Go. *staiga*, OHG *steiga* [f.] 'mountain-path, road', Latv. *staiga* [f.] 'course' < \**stóigʰ-o-*.

•**στελεά** [f.] 'shaft of an axe, hack, hammer, etc.' (Hom.), 'cavity for the shaft' in -ειή (φ 422) and -εά (Aen. Tact.), acc. to Bérard *REGr.* 68 (1955): 8f. and Pocock *AmJPh.* 82 (1961): 346ff. with Eust., H. and EM. < IE \**stel-* 'stalk, shaft' >

•VAR -ειή (A. R.), στείλειή (φ 422; v.l. Nic. Th. 387); -εόν (Aen. Tact., Babr.), στείλειόν (ε 236) [n.]; -εός and -ειός [m.] (Att. inscr.); -εός or -εόν (Hell. and late); στείλειός (Hp. with v.l.), στείλειός (Aesop.), gen. -ειοῦ (Nic. Th. 387 as a v.l.).

•DER στείλει-άριον (Eust.) and the denominative ptc. ἐστελεωμένος 'provided with a shaft' (AP).

Further στέλεχος [n., m.] 'the end of the stem at the root of a tree, stump, log, stem, branch' (Pi., IA); on the mg. see Strömberg 1937: 95ff. Also in πολυ-στελέχ-ης (Thphr.), -ος (AP) 'with many stems' (cf. Strömberg 1940: 103f.). From this στελέχια-πρέμ<v>ια 'stumps' (H.), -ώδης 'stem-like' (Thphr., Dsc.), -ιαῖος 'serving as a stem' (Gal.), -ηδόν 'according to the kind of stem' (A. R. 1, 1004 as a v.l. for στοιχηδόν).

στόλος [m.] 'rostrum' (Pi., trag.), 'outgrowth, stump, appendage' (Arist.), if not related to στόλος 'equipment', see s.v. ► στέλλω.

•ETYM For the formation of στελεά, cf. δωρεά, γενεά, and for -εός, -εόν, cf. κολ-εός, -εόν; στείλει-ειή is like ἄρ-ειή, νευρ-ειή (στείλ- may be due to metrical lengthening; see Schwyzler: 469<sup>3</sup>, Risch 1937: 131, and Chantraine 1933: 51 and 91). For στέλεχος, which may also be a metrical variant, cf. τέμαχος, etc. (Schwyzler: 496, Chantraine 1933: 403).

Both στελεά, -εός, -εόν, and στέλεχος are based on an unknown, probably nominal basis, perhaps an *s*-stem \*στέλος (Schulze 1892: 175), which may be related to Arm. *steln*, pl. *steln-k* 'stem, shaft, stalk, twig' and to OE *stela* [m.] 'stalk of a plant', ON *stjöl* 'stalk' < \**stel-*; see further s.v. ► στέλλω and ► στήλη.

•**στέλλω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to put in order, make ready; to equip or dress with weapons, clothes, etc.; to prepare (for a journey), dispatch'; also 'to furl, take in the sails, tie up, constrain'; med. especially 'to summon, fetch, prepare (for a journey), set off' (also act. intr.), also 'to put on (clothes)' (Il.). < IE \**stel-* 'put in order'; also \**spel-* 'split'? >

•VAR Aor. στείλαι, -ασθαι (Il.), Aeol. ἀπο-, ἐπι-στέλλαι, fut. στελ-έω (β 287 et al.), -ῶ, -οῦμαι (Att.); aor. pass. σταλ-ῆναι (Pi., IA), -θῆναι (Hell.), perf. pass. ἔσταλμαι (IA), act. ἔσταλκα (Att.), ἔστολα (gramm.).

•COMP With the prefixes ἀπο-, δια-, ἐπι-, κατα-, περι-, συν-, ὑπο-. As a second member e.g. in ιδιό-στολος 'having one's own equipment, equipped at one's own expense, making one's own journey' (Plu. et al.), πυγο-στόλος epithet of γυνή (Hes. Op. 373); on the mg. see Martinazzoli *Par. del pass.* 15 (1960): 203ff.; ναυ-στολ-έω [v.] 'to send on a ship; to navigate, steer (a ship)' (Pi., S., E., late prose), ναύ-στολος only A. Th. 858 (Iyr.); cf. ναυ-μαχέω, οἶνο-χοέω etc. in Schwyzler: 726); ἀκρο-στόλ-ιον [n.] 'decorated end of the rostrum' (Callix., Str., D. S., etc.); ἀπόστολ-ος (to ἀπο-στέλλω) [m.] 'envoys, fleet expedition' (IA), 'apostle' (LXX, NT). As a second member e.g. in μελανό-στολος 'with a black garment' (Plu.).

•DER στόλος [m.] 'equipment (of a campaign), campaign by water and by land, fleet, army, troop, legion, march' (Pi., IA). στολή [f.] 'armor', usually 'dress, garment' (IA), 'obstruction, pressure, constraint' (Epicur., medic.), on Aeol. σπόλα cf. below; also ἀπο-, δια- ἐπι-στολή etc. (to ἀπο-στέλλω) 'sending, extension, mission, letter' (IA, etc.), with ἀποστολ-εὺς [m.] 'official for equipping and dispatching the fleet' (Att.), etc., see Boßhardt 1942: 53f.

From στολή derive the diminutive στόλ-ιον [n.] (Delos II<sup>a</sup>, AP et al.), στολ-άς [f.] 'jacket' (Ael.); στολ-ίς [f.] 'dress', plur. 'folds' (E., Arist., etc.), further -ιδιον, -ιδώδης, -ιδόομαι, -ιδώμα, -ιδωτός.

From στολή and στόλος: στολ-ίζω [v.] 'to put in order, equip, dress' (Hes. Op. 628, E., Hell. and late), also with κατα-, συν-, ὑπο-; thence -ισις, -ισμα, -ισμός, -ιστής, -ιστήριον, -ιστεία; στολ-άζομαι [v.] 'to dress' in ἐστολάδαντο (metrical inscr. Marathon II<sup>p</sup>; cf. Schwyzler: 672). στολμός [m.] 'equipment, clothing' (A., E.). στέλμα· στέφος, στέμμα 'crown, wreath, garland' (H.); στελμονία· ζώματα 'loincloths' (H.) (= X. Cyr. 6, 1); cf. ἁρμονία, etc. ἐπί-, διά-, ἀπό-σταλμα [n.] 'public mission, etc.' (Thphr., pap.). διασταλ-μός [m.] 'assessment' (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>). στάλ-σις [f.] 'obstruction' (Gal.), διά-στάλ-σις 'destination, treaty' (LXX). ἀνα-, δια-, περι-, etc. -σταλτικός (late).

•ETYM A few attestations, at least some of which appear to be Aeolic, show initial σπ-: σπελλάμεναι· στείλάμεναι· σπολείσα· σταλείσα· εὐσπολον· εὐείμονα, εὐσταλέα· κασπέλλει (cod. -έλη)· σπορνύει (all H.); σπόλα = στολή (Sapph.); κασπολέω (-σπελ-?)· ὑποσπορέω (Sapph., H.). This has been taken to indicate that IA στελ-, Aeol. σπελ- reflects PIE *skʷel-*. Bechtel 1921, 1: 125f. (cf. Hamm 1957: 15<sup>3</sup>) proposes that the PIE roots \**stel-* 'send' and \**skʷel-* 'equip' merged in IA, but the evidence for a root

\*sk<sup>w</sup>el- is very meager. The forms σπόλα and εὔσπολος may instead reflect PIE \*spel- 'split' (see ► σπολάς).

A PIE root \*stel- is attested in Arm. *stelc-anem*, aor. *stelc-i* [v.] 'to prepare, create' (with unexplained *c*), Alb. *shtiełl* [v.] 'to wind up, reel up, collect' < PIE \*stel-n-, OCS *po-stblati*, 1sg. *po-steljo* 'to spread', OPr. *stallit* 'to stand'; see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*stel- and Derksen 2008 s.v. \*stblati. Perhaps PGm. *staljan-* 'to put, etc.' (in G *stellen* and cognates) is related as well, but it may also be a denominative from PGm. \*stalla- 'place, etc.', which could derive from \*sth<sub>2</sub>-d<sup>h</sup>lo- instead.

**στελύπην** [f.] ἀσφοδελόν 'asphodel' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. The gloss is doubted by DELG. The suffix -υπ- may indicate Pre-Greek origin (cf. *Pre-Greek*, suffixes).

**στέμβω** [v.] = κινῶ συνεχῶς (EM), 'to shake ceaselessly' (A. Fr. 440 = 635 M., also EM et al. as an explanation of ἀστεμφής), 'to abuse, vilify' (Eust.). <PG?(v)>

•VAR Enlarged στεμβάειν· λοιδορεῖν, χλευάζειν 'to revile, jeer at' (H.), -άζει· ὑβρίσαι 'run riot' (EM), -άσεις· λοιδορίαί 'railers' (H.); ἀστέμβακτον (κλέος, Euph.) = ἀκίνητον ἢ βέβαιον ἢ τετιμημένον 'motionless or immovable, firm, honored' (Et. Gud.); unclear ἀστέμβακτα τιμωρουμένη (Lyc. 1117); also ἀστεμβής· ἀθαμβής, ἀτάραχος 'fearless, calm' (H.).

•DER στόβος· λοιδορία, ὄνειδος 'jeering, reproach' (Lyc., H.), στοβάειν· κακολογεῖν 'to slander', -ασμάτων· λοιδοριῶν 'jeering' (H.), (ἐπι-)στοβέω 'to mock, taunt' (A. R., Epic. anon., EM).

With aspirate: ἀστεμφής = ἀμετακίνητος (H.), 'unshakable, firm' (epic Il.). On ► στέμφυλα [n.pl.] 'squeezed olives or grapes, mass of olives or grapes' (IA), see s.v.

στόμφος [m.] 'bombastic, high-flown speech' (Longin.), -ᾶξ, -ᾶκος [m.] 'bombastic speaker, loud-mouth' (Ar. Nu. 1367; from Aesch.), -άζω [v.] 'to speak bombastically, talk big' (Ar. et al.), also -ασμός, -αστικός (Eust.); στομφ-όω 'id.' (Phld.), -ώδης, -ός (sch.). στόμβος = βαρύηχος, βαρύφθογγος 'deep-voiced' (Hp. apud Gal.).

•ETYM The word στέμβω preserves the meaning 'to push violently, shake ceaselessly'. This yielded 'to maltreat, revile, ridicule' in στέμβω, -άζω, στόβος, and -έω. Hence the meaning of στόμφος, -ᾶξ, etc.

Possibly related to the Germanic deverbatives OHG *stampfōn*, MLD *stampen*, OSw. *stampa*, etc. 'to smash' < PGm. \*stamp- < PIE \*stomb-. The Greek forms without a nasal may point to a nasal present. For the forms with an aspirate, influence of ► στέφω 'to honor' has been assumed. More plausibly, the variants with and without a nasal and the variants with an aspirate could be interpreted as evidence for Pre-Greek origin. See ► ἀστεμφής.

**στέμφυλον** [n.] mass of olives from which the oil has been pressed (Ar.). <PG?(v)>

•VAR στέμφυλα [n.pl.] (rarely sg.) 'squeezed olives or grapes, mass of olives or grapes' (IA), with στεμφυλίτιδες τρύγες 'mass of grapes for wine' (Hp.), -ίς 'id.' (Ath.), -ίας οἶνος (pap. III<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM A full grade variant of ► σταφυλή 'grape'. No further etymology; perhaps Pre-Greek, if the -μ- is interpreted as prenasalization.

**στενός** [adj.] 'narrow, close, small, tight, slim' (IA). <?>

•VAR Ion. στεινός, Aeol. (gramm.) στέννος.

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. στενωπός, see ► ὀπή.

•DER στενό-της (Ion. -ει-) [f.] 'narrowness, tightness' (IA); back-formation στείνος (epic Il.) for στένος (A. Eu. 521 [lyr.]) [n.] 'narrowness, narrow room, throng, distress'.

Denominative verbs: στείνομαι 'to be narrowed, crowd, be crowded' (epic Il.), rarely with ἐν-, ἀμφι, περι-, a back-formation with only present and ipf. forms. Act. στέινω 'to narrow, crowd' (Nonn., Orph.) is rare and late. στενόομαι (-ει-), 'to become narrow' (Hell. and late), also -όω 'to make narrow', often with ἀπο-; thence -ωσις, -ωμα, -ωτικός (late). στενυγρός 'narrow' (Ion.) with στενυγρώσαι [aor.] 'to contract' (Hp. apud Gal.); TN Στενύ-κληρος 'narrow piece of land' (Hdt. 9, 64). Probably also στάνει· <σ>τείνεται, συμβέβυσται 'to become narrow, cram' (H.), with unclear root vocalism.

•ETYM The alternation στενός : στεινός : στέννος (and also Att. στεν(φ)ό-τερος, -τατος instead of -ώ-) points to PGr. \*στενγρός, a thematic enlargement of the *u*-stem στενω- continued in στενω-γρός and Στενύ-κληρος (Chantraine 1933: 122).

No cognates outside Greek are known. Cf. Chantraine 1933: 226, Fur.: 226 ("nicht sicher erklärt"), and DELG ("L'étymologie de ce groupe de mots reste obscure."). The form στενυγρός may have a Pre-Greek suffix (see *Pre-Greek*, Suffixes under γρ: ταναγρίς, βάλαγρος, γήλιγρος).

**στένω** [v.] 'to moan, drone, groan, lament', also trans. 'to mourn, bewail' (Il., epic poet., also late prose). <IE \*(s)ten- 'groan'>

•VAR Rarely med. -ομαι, only pres. and ipf.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐπι-, μετα-, ὑπο-. Compounds e.g. ἀγά-στονος 'moaning loudly, roaring' (Od. et al.).

•DER A number of root enlargements is found, part of which is metrically conditioned (Schwyzer: 105, 736; Chantraine 1942: 112): στεν-άζω, aor. -άξει, fut. -άξω, also with ἀνα-, ἐπι-, etc. (poet., also Hdt., D., LXX, Plu.); στεν-άχω, -άχομαι, -αχέω, -αχῆσαι, -αχίζω, -αχίζομαι, also with ἀνα-, ἐπι-, περι-, etc. (mostly epic Il.), all meaning 'to sigh, groan'; on these formations see Schwyzer: 702, Chantraine 1942: 330.

The following words derive from στένω: Στέν-τωρ [m.] PN (E 785; Benveniste 1948: 54). στόνος [m.] 'moaning, etc.' (Il., epic poet.); στονό-εις (στονόφεσαν [f.sg.] Corc. VI<sup>a</sup>) 'full of moaning, causing moaning, woeful' (Il., epic poet.).

From στενάζω: στεναγ-μός [m.] 'the moaning, sighing (Pi., trag., Pl.), -μώδης (Paul. Aeg.); -μα [n.] 'id.' (S., E., Ar.), -ματώδης (Gal.).

From στενάχω: στοναχή [f.] 'id.' (epic poet. Il.), verb στοναχέω, -αχῆσαι, -αχίζω, also with ἐπι-, παρα-, etc. (epic poet. Il.), further, often as a v.l., στεναχέω, -αχίζω.

•ETYM The full-grade thematic στένω agrees exactly with Skt. *stanati* 'to drone, thunder', Lith. 1sg. *stenù*, OE *stenan* 'to moan, groan' < PIE \*sten-. A yod-present is reflected in OCS *stenjo*, and with zero grade in OE *stunian*, ON *stynja* 'id.'. Further, Skt. *stan* reflects an athem. ipf. < PIE \*sten-t.

Perhaps related *s*-less forms are attested in Aeol. τέννει· στένει, βρύχεται 'groans, roars' (H.), possibly < \*ten(h<sub>2</sub>)-ie/o- (as per Pinault 1982: 267), Skt. *tanyati* 'to sound loudly, thunder' < \*t(e)n-ie/o-, OE *þunian* 'to sound, resound' < \*tn-ie/o-, OE *þunor* 'thunder', Lat. *tonere* 'to thunder'.

**στεργάνος** [m.] · κόπων 'place for dung' (H.), at an alphabetically incorrect position. <?>

•ETYM No etymology; not related to Lat. *stercus* [n.] 'excrements', W *trwnk* 'urine', etc. On the accent, see Schwyzler: 520.

**στέργω** [v.] 'to show affection, cherish sympathy, love tenderly', of family members, of subordinates towards superiors and vice versa, etc. (rarely of physical love); 'to be content, content oneself' (Thgn. IA). <IE \*sterg- 'love, tend'>

•VAR Aor. στέρξαι, fut. στέρξω (IA), perf. ἔστοργα (Hdt.), pass. ἔστεργμαι (Emp., AP), aor. στερχθῆναι (Lyc., Plu. et al.).

•COMP ἀπο-στέργω 'to cease to love, abhor' (Terp., A., Theoc., LXX et al.). As a second member, e.g. in φιλό-στοργος 'cherishing sympathy, loving tenderly', with -έω, -ία (Att., Hell. and late).

•DER στέργ-ιθρον [n.] 'love potion, love herb' as a plant name (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 92 and 147, 'love' (A., E.); -ιμα [n.] 'love charm' (S.); στοργή [f.] 'affection, love' (Emp., Antipho, rarely Hell. and late).

•ETYM Possibly related to OCS *strěšti*, *strěgo* 'to guard, tend', but the \*-t- of the Slavic forms may be secondary in view of Lith. *sérgeti* 'to watch over, guard', in which case the Greek form cannot be related. Sometimes also connected to OIr. *serc*, MW *serch* 'love', MBret. *serch* 'concubine' < PIE \*sterk-eh<sub>2</sub>, but the different velar poses a problem.

**στερεός** [adj.] 'stiff, hard, firm, tenacious, steady, solid, normal', also of money and measures (Il.), 'cubic' (see Mugler 1958-1959: 378f.), rarely 'infertile' (E., Arist.). <IE? \*ster- 'stiff, fixed'>

•VAR Att. also στεπερός.

•COMP As a first member in στερεο-μετρ-ία [f.] 'the measuring of cubic bodies, stereometry' (Pl. *Epin.*, Arist. et al.).

•DER στερε-ότης (-ρη-) [f.] 'hardness, firmness', also 'infertility' (Pl., Arist., etc.); στερε-όμαι (-ρη-), -όω [v.] 'to become, make firm, hard, to harden' (Hp., X., Arist.), also with ἀπο-, κατα-; thence στερέ-ωμα [n.] 'firmness, solid component, firmament' (Hp., Arist., etc.), -ωσις [f.] 'to harden' (LXX, Str. et al.), -ωματίζω, -ωτικός, -ωτής. Enlarged στερέ-ίνος 'hard' (pap. I<sup>p</sup>), after πέτρινος, ξύλινος, etc.; στέριφος 'hard, firm, infertile' (Att., Arist., etc.), hence στεριφ-ότης (sch.), -όμαι [v.] 'to solidify' (Ph.), -ώματα [n.pl.] 'solid foundation', -ευομένη· παρθενευομένη 'brought up as a maiden' (H.), στερέμνιος 'hard, firm, solid' (Pl. *Epin.*, Epicur., Phld. et al.), -ιώδης (Porph.), -ιόμαι (Zeno).

•ETYM The word στερεός, whence Att. στεπερός (Scheller 1951: 114; differently Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 269f.), probably reflects \*στερεφός, a formation which agrees with ἐτε(φ)ός, κενε(φ)ός, etc. Leumann *Glotta* 42 (1964): 118 derives στεριφος 'unfertile'

from the root of στείρα, enlarged with the suffix -φο- that designates animal names (cf. ἔριφος, ἔλαφος, etc.), with a semantic change from 'infertile' to 'hard'.

The formations above are based on the IE root \*ster-, attested in e.g. OHG *stara-blint* 'blind', OHG *starēn* 'to stare', MoHG *starr* 'rigid'; ToB *šcīre* 'harsh' < \*ster- and ToA *štare* 'effort' < \*storo-. The words ▶στεῖρα 1 'infertile' and ▶στεῖρα 2 'stem' also belong here. Numerous further words may belong to the same family, with various formations and different enlargements: ▶στέρφος, ▶στριγής, ▶στόρθυγξ, ▶στηρίζω, ▶στριφνός.

**στέρνων** [n.] 'breast, chest', in Hom. always of the chest, also as a seat of emotions, 'heart' (Il., poet., also medic.). <IE \*sterh<sub>3</sub>- 'spread out', \*ster(h<sub>3</sub>)-no->

•VAR Often plur. -α.

•COMP εὐρύ-στερνός 'with a wide chest' (Hes. et al.), στερνο-τυπής 'beating the chest' (E. [lyr.]), πρό-στερνός 'in front of the chest' (A.), to which προστερν-ίδιον [n.] 'harness (of horses)' (X. et al.), also στερνίδιον 'id.' (late).

•DER Verbal derivations from hypostases or univerbations, e.g., ὑποστερν-ίζομαι 'to fix under the chest' (Plu.); ὑπόστερνον· ὑπογάστριον 'paunch' (H.). Further derivations are rare: στερνίτιδες· πλευραί 'sides (of a person, animal)' (Poll.), στέρνιξ· ἐντεριώνη 'inmost part' (H.), like μόλιξ, ῥήνιξ, etc.; unclear is στέρνιον 'meat that is difficult to digest', cf. LSJ s.v.

•ETYM Related to OHG *stirna* [f.] 'forehead' < \*ster(h<sub>3</sub>)-n-ieh<sub>2</sub> and Ru. *storoná* 'region, side' < PIE \*stor(h<sub>3</sub>)-n-eh<sub>2</sub>. The root is probably that of ▶στόρνυμι, i.e. \*sterh<sub>3</sub>-. One might, however, also consider a reconstruction \*ster-no- from the root \*ster- 'lay down' without a laryngeal, reflected in Skt. *stṛṇóti* 'lay down, destroy'; see Narten *MSS* 22 (1967): 57-66, LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*ster- and s.v. ▶στρατός. The latter reconstruction has the advantage that it would account for the absence of a reflex of a laryngeal in στέρνων. However, the semantics seem to favor the former reconstruction, even if the exact semantic development remains uncertain. The loss of the laryngeal would be regular in this position, acc. to Van Beek 2009.

**στέρομαι** [v.] 'to be robbed, lack, lose' (Hes., IA). <IE? \*ster- 'steal, rob'>

•VAR Ipv. σταρέστω (Delph. IV<sup>a</sup>)? Full grade with η-enlargement in ptc. στερεῖς (E.), στερ-ιθῆναι (Pi, IA), fut. -ήσομαι, -ιθήσομαι (Att.; στεροῦμαι And.), perf. ἐστέριμαι (IA); act. 'to rob, snatch from': aor. στερ-ῆσαι (στερέσαι v 262, pap. et al.), fut. -ήσω (στερῶ A. *Pr.* 862, -έσω pap.), perf. ἐστέρηκα (Att.); pass. στερέω, simplex only ipv. στερεῖτω (Pl.), otherwise with ἀπο-, hence med. στερέομαι (Hell. and late); also στερίσκω, -ομαι (Hdt., Att.), ἀπο- (S.), aor. στερίσαι (metrical inscription Eretria IV-III<sup>a</sup>, AP; cf. ἀποστερίζω Hp.).

•DER (ἀπο-)στέρησις [f.] 'robbery, confiscation' (Hp., Att., etc.), also -εσις (pap.), after αἵρεσις, εὐρεσις etc., with στερ-ήσιμος, -έσιμος 'which can be confiscated' (pap. inscr. II-III<sup>p</sup>), -ιμα [n.] 'id.' (Ps.-Callisth.), (ἀπο-)στερητικός 'robbing, removing, negative, privative' (Ar, Arist., Hell. and late), στερητής [m.] who snatches or withholds sth. from sbd., deceiver' (Pl., Arist., et al.), fem. -ιητρίς (Ar. *Nu.* 730; parody).



•ETYM The above forms probably all go back to the them. present στέρομαι. The isolated ipv. Delph. σπαρέστω, which Bechtel 1921, 2: 231 regards as a zero grade root aorist, is better explained as regular from στερέσθω (with ε > α before ρ in this dialect). First, the then-intransitive aorist στερ-ῆναι, -ήσομαι was formed from στέρομαι (if it were old, we would expect zero grade σπαρ-), and then -ηθῆναι, -ηθήσομαι; later also the active στερ-ῆσαι (στερέσαι after ὀλέσαι, etc.), -ήσω, etc., and finally στερ-έω, -ίσκω (cf. e.g. εὐρ-ήσω, εὐρ-ίσκω). There are no certain cognates. A possible connection is with Mlr. *serb* 'theft', which can reflect *\*ster-ua*.

**στεροπή** [f.] 'lightning, gleam, shine' (epic Il.).

- VAR Στερόπις [m.] name of a Cyclops (Hes., Call.); στέροψ 'glittering, lighting' (S. [Iyr.]) is a back-formation after αἶθοψ.
- COMP στεροπ-ηγερέτα, epithet of Zeus (H 298, Q. S., Nonn.), after νεφεληγερέτα (cf. Risch 1954: 394).
- ETYM See ▶ἀστεροπή.

**στέρφος** [n.] 'skin, fur, hull' (A. R., Lyc., AP). <IE *\*sterb<sup>h</sup>*- 'become solid, get fixed; skin'>

- VAR Also τέρφος (Nic.); also στρέφος· στρέμμα, δέρμα, βύρσα. Δωριεῖς 'band, skin, hide (Doric)' (H.) and ▶ἔρφος.
- COMP στερφό-πεπλος 'with a πέπλος made of skin' (Lyc.); uncertain μελά<v>-στερφος 'with a black skin' (A. Fr. 370 = 721 M.).
- DER στερφίνα· δερματίνη. οἱ δὲ δέρματα ὄνεια ... 'leathern; the skin of an ass' (H.); cf. στέρφιον· σκληρόν, στερεόν 'hard, firm' (H.). Denominative verb: στερφ-όω 'to dress with skins' (sch.), hence -ωτήρα [acc.] 'dressed in skins' (Ibyc.); also στρέφωσις (for στέρφ-?)· κάλυψις ἀγγείων δέρματι γινομένη 'covering of vessels made of skin' (H.).
- ETYM For the alternation between anlauting στ- and τ-, cf. on (σ)τέγος, etc.; for the formation, cf. εἶρος, δέρος, πέκος, etc. Usually connected with the group of ▶στερεός 'hard, firm'; cf. βοέης ... στερεῆσι (Il.), στερεά δέρματα (Pl.). Cognates outside Greek are Ru. *stérbnut'* [v.] 'to become solid or hard; to die' < *\*st<sup>h</sup>rb<sup>h</sup>*-, OCS (*u*)*strabiti* 'to get better, recover' < *\*st<sup>h</sup>orb<sup>h</sup>*-, ON *stjarfi* [m.] 'lockjaw, tetanus', *stirfinn* 'stubborn', OHG *sterban* 'to die' (< *\*to become stiff*) < *\*sterb<sup>h</sup>*-, Mlr. *ussarb* 'death' < *\*ud-sterb<sup>h</sup>-eh<sub>2</sub>*, *srebann* [m.] 'skin'.

**στεύται** [3sg.pres.] usually translated 'to announce formally, declare oneself ready, promise, threaten, affirm', but cf. Meier-Brügger in DELG *Supp.* s.v., who pleads for a translation 'to be manifest'; see below. <IE *\*steu-* 'be manifest'>

- VAR Ipf. στεῦτο (Hom., A. R., A. Pers. 49 [anap.]), 3pl. στεῦνται (Maiist.), 1sg. στεῦμαι (conj. Orph.).
- DER Myc. *te-u-to* [m.] PN = \*Στεντωρ (Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 70 (1992): 1)?
- ETYM An archaic epic word, corresponding to Skt. *stáuti* 'to praise, declare', stative *stáve* 'is praised', sigm. aor. *astoṣṭa*. Greek replaced the old stative ending *\*-o(i)* with middle *\*-to(i)* in στεῦται. The original meaning is found in Hitt. *ištuuāri* [3sg.pres.] 'to be manifest; be announced' < *\*stu-ó-ri* (Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). On the formation, see Narten 1968: 9-19.

**στέφω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to surround closely, enclose tightly, encase, wreath, honor (with libations)', in prose often στεφανόω. <IE *\*steg<sup>wh</sup>*- 'crown'>

- VAR Aor. στέψαι, -ασθαι (Il.), pass. στεφθῆναι, fut. στέψω, -ομαι, perf. ἔστεμμαι (IA), ἐστεθμένος (Milete VI<sup>a</sup>); cf. στέθματα below.
- COMP Also with περι-, ἐπι-, κατα-, etc. As a second member in χρυσο-στεφής 'consisting of a golden garland' (S.), but mostly verbal, e.g. καταστεφ-ής 'wreathed' (to κατα-στέφω, S., A. R.).
- DER στέφος [n.] 'wreath, garland' (Emp., trag., late prose), metaph. 'honoring libation' (A. Ch. 95); στέμμα, mostly plur. -ατα [n.] 'band, wreath' (Il.), also as an ornament of Roman statues of ancestors, 'family tree' (Plu., Sen., Plin.), 'guild' (late inscr.), with -ματίας epithet of Apollo (Paus.), -ματιαῖον mg. uncertain (H., AB), -ματόω 'to wreath' (E.); on the byform στέθματα· τὰ στέμματα 'wreathes' (H.), see Schwyzler: 317. στέψις [f.] 'wreathing' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>); στεπτικόν [n.] 'wreath-money, -toll' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>). στεπτήρια· στέμματα, ἃ οἱ οἰκέται ἐκ τῶν κλάδων ἐξήπτον 'wreaths which the slaves fastened from the branches' (H.); Στεπτήριον [n.] name of a Delphic festival (Plu.). στεφών [m.] 'summit' (Ephesus III<sup>a</sup>), = ὑψηλός, ἀπόκριμνος 'high, sheer' (H.); after κολοφών, etc.; στεφάνη [f.] 'fillet, edge of a helmet' also 'helmet' (Trümper 1950: 43 and Hainsworth *JHS* 78 (1958): 52), 'edge of a rock, pinnacle of a wall' (Il., epic poet., also Hell. and late prose). στέφανος [m.] 'wreath, frame, wreath of victory or honor, honor' (since N 736) with several derivations: -ιον, -ίσκος, -ίς, -ικός, -ιαῖος, -ίτης, -ιτικός, -ίζω, -ίζαι; especially στέφαν-όομαι, -όω 'to form a wreath, wreath, crown, decorate, honor' (Il.), also with περι-, etc.; thence -ωμα, -ωματικός, -ωσις, -ωτής, -ωτίς and -ωτρίς, -ωτικός.
- ETYM Not related to Skt. *stabhnāti* 'to prop up', as is traditionally thought, since the Sanskrit word reflects *\*st<sup>h</sup>mb<sup>h</sup>*-, it is neither related to OHG *stabēn* 'to be fixed or stiff', ON *stafr* 'staff', and cognates, since the mg. is hardly compatible. Lidén 1924: 224ff. connected MoP *tāj* 'corona, diadema regium', Arm. *t'ag* 'id.' < PIE *\*(s)tog<sup>wh</sup>-o-*, which is followed by LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.

**στήθος** [n.] 'breast, chest', also as the seat of emotions, 'heart' (Il.), metaph. 'ball of the hand, foot' (medic.), 'sandbank' (Plb., etc.). <?>

- VAR Frequently plur. -εα, -η.
- COMP στηθό-δεσμος, -ίς, -ία, -η 'breast-band' (Poll., LXX, Hell. pap.), μεγάλο-, μικρό-στηθος 'with wide or narrow chest' (Mnesith. *apud* Orib.).
- DER Diminutive στηθ-ίον (Alex., Arist., etc.), -ίδιον (Phryn.), -ύνιον (middle com., LXX); cf. χελύνιον 'lip, jawbone, etc.', στηθ-αῖον 'breastwork' (sch.); perhaps στηθίας· ὄρνις ποιός 'some bird' (H.); στηθ-ικός (Arist.), -ιαῖος (inscr. IV<sup>p</sup>, sch.) 'belonging to the breast'; -ιστήρ [m.] 'breast-plate of a horse's harness' (gloss.), cf. βραχιονιστήρ 'armlet', etc.
- ETYM As στήθος is also Dor. and Aeol. (Sicyonic στάθος may have ā < η; see Thumb-Kieckers 1932: 129), the connection with ▶ἵστημι (Chantraine 1933: 421, Benveniste 1935: 200) must be given up. The similarity to στήνιον· στήθος (H.), Arm. *stin*, Skt. *stāna-* [m.] 'female breast', etc. is hardly coincidental. If cognate, the relation between στήνιον and στήθος would be like that of Lat. *plēnus* 'full' to πλήθος 'multitude'.



**στήλη** [f.] 'column', e.g. for fixing a peace treaty, hence 'law, treaty'; also 'buttress' (IA since Il.). <IE \*sth<sub>2</sub>-sleh<sub>2</sub>->

•VAR Dor. στάλα, Aeol. στάλλα.

•COMP στηλο-γραφέω 'to write on a column' (Hell. and late).

•DER Diminutives στηλ-ιον, -ίδιον, -ίς, -ίδος, -ύδριον (Hell. and late). στηλ-ίτης, fem. -ίτις 'whose name is written on a column as a denouncement, publicly dishonored' (Att.), 'column-shaped, belonging to columns' (Luc., AP), also -ιτεύω, -ίτευμα (late). στηλ-όω, -όομαι 'to erect (a column), designate by columns, demarcate, write on a column', also with ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐν-, περι-; thence -ωσις, -ωμα (Hell. and late).

•ETYM Traditionally reconstructed as PGr. \*στάλ-vā < PIE \*st<sub>1</sub>-n- (on the treatment of the group -λν-, see Schwyzler: 283f.), from ▶στέλλω with a zero grade like in ἐπί-σταλ-μα (see also ▶στάλιξ). The same formation is found in OHG *stollo* [m. n] 'scaffold, upport, post'. Risch 1937: 110 gives an alternative and more plausible reconstruction \*στα-σλā from the root of ▶ἵστημι, with the same suffix as e.g. Lat. *scālae* < \*skand-slai. Borrowed into Lyc. as *sttala* (Kretschmer *Glotta* 28 (1940): 103).

**στήμα** = στήμων.

**στήμων, -ονος** [m.] 'the warp in the upright loom, thread', also of a single thread (Hes.). <IE \*steh<sub>2</sub>- 'stand', \*steh<sub>2</sub>-mon->

•VAR Dor. -ά- (AP).

•COMP στημονο-νητική τέχνη 'the art of spinning' (Pl.), χρυσο-στήμων 'with golden threads, gold-stitched' (Lyd.); an o-stem is found in στημο-ρραγέω 'to be unraveled into threads' (A.) and μανό-στημος 'with thin warp' (A.).

•DER στήμια [n.] shaft or bearing in which the axle of a slip-hook works (Hero), 'the exterior part of the membrum virile' (Ruf., Poll.). Diminutives στημόν-ιον (Arist.), -ίας κίκιννος 'thread-like curl' (Cratin.), -ικός 'belonging to the warp' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>), -ώδης 'warp-like' (Plu.), -ίζομαι 'to lay down the spokes of a web' (Arist.). Besides στημν-ιον 'yarn, (weaving-)thread' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>, Hell. pap.), cf. λμμέν-ιον to λμνη (Schwyzler: 524); with loss of the v: στημ-ιον (late pap.).

•ETYM From PIE \*steh<sub>2</sub>-mn-, related to Lat. *stāmen* [n.] 'thread, loom, warp', Skt. *sthāman-* [n.] 'standing-place', Go. *stomin* [dat.] = Gr. ὑπόστασις, OSw. *stomme* [m.] 'scaffolding, frame' < \*stām-, and Lith. *stomuō* 'body shape, stature'. Cf. the o-grade in στώμιξ· δοκίς ξυλίνη 'wooden plank' (H.); with a zero grade, ▶στάμνος and ▶σταμίνες. See ▶ἵστημι.

**στήνια** [n.pl.] 'festival in Athens before the Thesmophoria, where women uttered curses and insults' (Ar., H., Phot.). <?>

•DER στηνιώσαι· βλασφημιῖσαι, λοιδορήσαι 'to slander' (H.).

•ETYM No etymology; the relation to ▶στήνιον is unclear.

**στήνιον** [n.]· στήθος 'breast' (H.). <IE \*psten-o- 'breast'>

•ETYM The word has been connected to Arm. *stin* < \*pste/ēn- and Skt. *stāna-* 'breast', Av. *fštāna-*; probably related to ▶στήθος.

**στηρίζω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to support, establish, attach; to found, stand up, lean on' (Democr., E. et al.). <?>

•VAR Aor. -ίζαι, -ίξασθαι (Il.), also -ίσαι, -ίσασθαι (Hell. and late), pass. -ιχθῆναι (Tyrt., etc.), fut. -ίξω, -ίξομαι, -ίσω, -ιώ, pass. -ιχθήσομαι, perf. med. ἐστήριγμα, plpf. ἐστήρικτο (Il.), inf. ἐστηρίσθαι (LXX), act. ἐστήριχα (pap.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀντι-, ἀπο-, ἐν-, ἐπι-.

•DER στήριγξ, -ιγγος [f.] 'support' (Lys., X., D. S. et al.), a back-formation like σάλπιγξ (:ίξω), στρόφιγξ, πλάστιγξ, etc. (ἀντι-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-)στήριγμα [n.] 'support' (Hp., E., etc.), -ιγμός (ἀντι-) [m.] 'support; standing firm, still' (Arist., D. H., D. S. et al.). -ίξις (ἀπο-) 'establishment, support' (Hp.). -ικτής [m.] 'support' (sch.). -ικτικός 'standing firm, still' (Procl.).

•ETYM As στήριγξ is clearly a back-formation, the original formation may be preserved in στήρα· τὰ λίθινα πρόθυρα 'stone doorways' (H.), but the mg. of the gloss is rather specific. Cf. also the PN Στήρις (Milete, Bechtel KZ 46 (1914): 375). Probably related to στερεός and cognates, but the details remain unclear. Cf. also ▶σκηρίπτομαι, which has a similar formation.

**στήτα** [f.] = γυνή 'woman' (Theoc. *Syrinx* 14, Dosiad. *Ara* 1). <GR>

•ETYM Jocular formation, created by scholars from A 6 διαστήτην (Leumann 1950: 112, Ruijgh 1957: 100f.).

**στία** [f.] 'small stone, pebble' (A. R. 2, 1172). <?>

•VAR στίον [n.] (Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 140).

•COMP πολύ-στίος 'rich in pebbles' (Call., Nic.).

•DER στιώδης 'like a pebble, stone-hard' (Gal.), στιάζει· λίθοις βάλλει 'throws with stones' (H.).

•ETYM This item formally agrees with Skt. *stīyāh* [pl.] 'standing waters', but the semantics are quite different. An intermediate meaning could be sought in Skt. *styāna-* 'curdled, stiff'. Other possible cognates are Go. *stains* [m.] 'stone' < PGm. \*staina- < \*steh<sub>2</sub>-i-no-, OCS *stěna*, Ru. *stená* [f.] 'wall' < \*steh<sub>2</sub>-i-neh<sub>2</sub>.

**στιβαρός, στίβη, στίβος, etc.** = στείβω.

**στίβι** = στίμι.

**στίζω** [v.] 'to stitch, tattoo, brand' (IA). <IE \*(s)teig- 'sting'>

•VAR Aor. στίξαι, pass. στιχθῆναι, fut. στίξω, perf. pass. ἐστιγμαί.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, περι-, δια-. Also in περιστιγής 'variegated' (Nic.).

•DER στίγ-μα [n.] 'stitch, mark, brand' (Hes. Sc. 166, IA), also = δίγαμμα (f) as sign for the number 6 (attempt at an explanation by Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 53) with -ματίας [m.] 'branded one' (IA). (ἐπι-, δια-)στιγ-μή [f.] 'mar, spot, point, tittle' (IA) with -μαίος 'including just one point, without extension' (Hell. and late); -μός [m.] 'stitch, brand' (A. [lyr.]). στίξις (διά-) [f.] 'stitching' (late). στιγ-εύς [m.] 'stitcher, brander' (Hdt.), 'brandiron' (Suid.), probably directly from the verb; likewise -ων, -ωνος [m.] 'branded one' (Ar. *Fr.* 97). στίγος [m.], -ον [n.] 'point' (Archim.). στίκ-της [m.] 'stitcher, brander' (Herod.); -τός (κατά-) 'spotted, variegated' (trag., Arist., etc.).

•ETYM From PIE \*(s)teig- 'to prick, sting' (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.): Go. *stiks*, OHG *stih* < PGm. \*stiki- [m.] 'stitch', MoHG *stechen* 'to sting', *Distel* 'thistle' (< PGm. \*pīhstila-);

denominative Lat. *instigare* 'to incite, provoke' < \*steig-, *stinguō* 'to extinguish' < \*steng- + -u-; Skt. *āti stig-* 'to penetrate', *stegá-* [m.] 'which stings', YAv. *stija* [ins.sg.] 'with the tip (of the tusk)', Skt. *tejate* 'to sharpen' < \*teig-e-to-, *tikṣṇá-* [adj.] 'sharp, keen-eyed', *téjas-* [n.] 'sharp edge (of knife), sharpness', YAv. *bi-taēya-* 'having two sharp edges', *tīgra-* 'cutting, pointed, sharp'.

**στίλβω** [v.] 'to shine, gleam, shimmer' (Il., epic poet., late prose). <PG?>

•VAR Rare and late aor. *στίλψαι*.

•COMP Also with *ἀπο-*, etc.

•DER *στίλβ-η* [f.] 'lamp' (com.), *Ἀττικοὶ δὲ ἔσοπτρον* 'mirror (Att.)' (H.); -ιδών, -όνοσ [f.] 'brilliance, shimmer' (Thphr., P̄hld. et al.), cf. *λαμπιδών*; *στίλψις* [f.] 'sparkling' (Tz.); *στίλβ-άς* (γῆ) 'shimmering' (late), -αῖος = *coloratus* (gloss.), -ιδόν [adv.] 'gleaming, sparkling' (Suid.). *στίλβ-ων*, -οντος, -ωνος [m.] name of the planet Mercury (Arist. et al.), see Scherer 1953: 89f.

Further *στίλβος* 'gleaming' (Gal.), hence -ότης [f.] (v.l. for *στίλπνότης* Plu.); -όω 'to make shine' (LXX, Dsc.), hence -ωσις, -ωμα, -ωθρον, -ωτής (LXX, Dsc. et al.). With -π- also *στίλπνός* 'shining, sparkling' (Ξ 351, Arist. et al.), hence -ότης (Gal., Plu. et al.), -όω 'to polish' (Arr., Gal.), -ωτής (Lyd.); for the suffix cf. *θαλπνός* 'warming', *τερπνός* 'delightful', etc.; PN *Στίλπων*.

•ETYM A connection to PCL. \**stil-n-* (Mlr. *sellaid*, -*sella* 'looks', OIr. *sell* 'eye, iris'; W *syllu* 'stare, gaze') seems far-fetched; no further cognates are known. If the root variant *στίλπ-* is not secondary from *στίλψ-*, the variation between -π- and -β- may point to Pre-Greek origin.

**στίλη** [f.] 'drop' (Ar. V. 213), metaphorically 'small thing, moment'. <?>

•ETYM Hardly related to Lat. *stilla* 'drop' (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.); no other etymology.

**στίλπνός** ⇒ *στίλβω*.

**στίμι** [n.] 'powdered antimony, kohl, black make-up' (Ion trag., Antiph., LXX, Dsc., pap. et al.). <LW Eg.>

•VAR Also -μι-, -ις [f.], also *στίβι* [n.].

•DER *στίμι(μ)-ίζω*, -ίζομαι, *στίβίζομαι* 'to make oneself up with kohl' (LXX, Str. et al.), -ισμα [n.].

•ETYM Borrowed from Eg. *štim*, Copt. *σθίμ*, *σθίμ* (Lewy 1895: 217). Borrowed from Greek as Lat. *stim*, *stibi(um)*.

**στίφος** [n.] 'crowd packed closely together, troop of warriors, ships, etc.' (Hdt., A., Ar., Th., X. et al.). <PG>

•DER *στίφρός* 'packed closely together, tight, compact' (Ar., X., Arist., Hell. and late) with -ότης [f.] 'compactness' (middle com.), -άω 'to harden' (Ath., Eust.).

•ETYM For the alternation *στίφος* : *στίφρός*, compare e.g. *αἰσχος* : *αἰσχρός*, *κῦδος* : *κυδρός*. The long root vowel may be secondary, like in *στίβη* 'hoarfrost'. Sometimes compared to \**stibh-* in CS *stǔblo* 'stem, stalk', Latv. *stība* 'staff, rod', and perhaps also Skt. *stibhi-* [m.] 'bunch of flowers, bundle'. The semantics are, however, hardly compelling. Semantically close to ► *στειβω*, but the different root-final poses a

problem and is perhaps best understood in terms of substrate origin; see further the discussion s.v. ► *στειβω*. Cf. also ► *στριφνός*.

**στίχος** ⇒ *στείχω*.

**στλεγγίς, -ίδος** [f.] 'scraper for scraping off oil and dust, curry-comb' (Hp., Att.), often metaphorically of a splendid head ornament, a kind of tiara (X., Plb., Hell. inscr. et al.). <PG?>

•VAR Also *στεγγίς*, *στελγ(γ)ίς*, *στελεγγίς*, *στυγγίς*, *στρεγγίς*, *στεργίς*; cf. Kretschmer KZ 33 (1895): 472f., Brugmann IF 30 (1912): 375. Also *σπλαγγίς* (Nic. *apud* sch. Pl. *Chrm.* 161e).

•DER *στλεγγ-ίδιον* (Hell.), -ίον (sch.), -ίζομαι 'to scrape off' (Suid.), hence -ισμα [n.] 'scraped-off dirt' (Arist., Lyc.), -ιστρον [n.] = *στλεγγίς* (EM).

•ETYM A loanword from an unknown source, Neumann 1961: 94f. points to Hitt. *istalk-zi* 'to level, smoothen'. The variant with α may also point to substrate origin.

**στλεγγύς** [?] 'kind of corn' (Thphr. *H.P.* 8, 4, 3).

•ETYM No etymology. The lemma is often deleted, see e.g. Amigues *RPh.* 75 (2001): 156 and DELG *Supp.* s.v. *στλεγγίς*.

**στοά** [f.] 'colonnade, portico, storage room', also as a name of the Stoic school, *στοὰ ποικίλη* (Att.). <IE \**steh₂-u-* 'stand', > \**stoh₂-u-ih₂*>

•VAR Also *στοιά* (Ar. [anap.], inscr.), *στοιή* (Erythrai, Hdt.), *στωιά* (Knossos, Mytilene).

•COMP *προ-στώων* 'portico located in front (of the rooms), porch' (Att.), hypostasis.

•DER Diminutive *στωϊδίων*, *στοϊδίων* [n.] (Delos, Str. et al.), adjective *στω-ικός* 'belonging to the Stoic school, Stoic' (Hell. and late), hence -ικεύομαι 'to act like a Stoic' (late); disparagingly *Στώαξ* (*Στώαξ*?) 'miserable Stoic' (Herm. *Iamb.* 1; Björck 1950: 48 and 263).

•ETYM From \**stwh₂-ιά*, a collective formation in -ιά (with shortening of the ω in *στοιά*, and subsequent loss of the ι in *στοά*; see Schwyzler: 244, 349, 469; on the phonetic development, see also Adrados *Emerita* 18 (1950): 408ff.). The Indo-European proto-form would be \**stoh₂-u-ih₂*. An e-grade is found in ► *σταυρός*, and a zero grade in ► *στῦλος*. Further related to Lith. *stovėti* 'stand', *stovà* [f.] 'stand, position', OCS *staviti* 'to place, put', OE *stōwian* 'to keep from' (see Kortlandt *Baltistica* 25:2 (1989): 104-112). The root is \**steh₂-* 'to stand'. See ► *ἵστημι*.

**στόβος** ⇒ *στέμβω*.

**στοιβή** ⇒ *στείβω*.

**στοιχείον, στοίχος** ⇒ *στείχω*.

**στολή, στόλος** ⇒ *στέλλω*.

**στόλοκρος** [adj.] 'with horns not yet fully grown' (H. s.v. *κόλον*); 'with shortened hair' (H.); τὸ στόλοκρον = κορδύλη 'club, cudgel' (Phot.). <GR?>

•ETYM Recalls ►φαλακρός 'bald-headed'. The first part may be στόλος (see ►στέλλω), although the semantics are difficult. The second part -κρ-ος may be from κέρας; cf. ►δίκρος, and see also Nussbaum 1986: 73.

**στόμα** [n.] 'mouth, muzzle, front, peak, edge' (Il.). <IE \*steh<sub>3</sub>-mn- 'mouth'>

•VAR Aeol. στόμα (Theoc.), -ατος.

•DIAL Myc. *To-ma-ko*, *Tu-ma-ko* /στόμαργος/ (Mühlestein *SMEA* 2 (1967): 43ff.; Killen *Minos* 27-8, 1992-1993 [95]: 101-7).

•COMP στόμ-αργος 'chattering' (trag.), to ἀργός (Willis *Am/Ph.* 63 (1942): 87ff.: 'shining' > 'bright' > 'loud?'), if not after γλώσσ-αργος, which could stand for γλώσσ-αλγος (see ►γλώσσα with references); Blanc *RPh.* 65 (1991): 59-66 analyses the word as στόμα + μάργος 'furious', see also Blanc *BAGB* 1 (1996): 8-9; cf. also Πόδ-αργος (s.v. ►πούς); εὖ-στομος 'with a beautiful mouth, speaking nicely', also 'silent' (Hdt., X., etc.); further rare στοματ-ουργός 'word-making, grandiloquent' (Ar.). κακο-στόματος (AP) for κακό-στομος (E. et al.).

•DER στόμ-ιον [n.] 'mouth, opening, denture, bit, bridle' (IA), rarely 'mouth' (Nic.), with -ίς [f.] 'halter' (Poll.); ἐπι-στομ-ίζω [v.] 'bridle, curb' (Att.), also 'to shut up one's mouth' (late). στόμ-ις [m.] 'hard-mouthed horse' (A. *Fr.* 442 = 649 M.; cf. Schwyzler: 462<sup>3</sup>), also -ίας 'id.' (Afric., Suid.), στομ-ώδης 'speaking nicely' (S.), 'savory' (Sor.); στόμ-ίζομαι 'to take into the mouth' (Aq.), with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-στομίζω 'to remove the edge' (Philostr.). στομ-όω (ἀνα-, etc.) 'to stop the mouth, provide with an opening, edge, to harden' (IA), -ωμα [n.] 'mouth' (A.), 'hardening, which is hardened, steel' (Cratin., Arist., Hell. and late), -ωμάτιον (gloss.), -ωσις [f.] 'hardening' (S., Hell. and late), -ωτής = *indurator* (gloss). Further στομάτ-ιον [n.] diminutive (Sor.), -ικός 'belonging to the mouth' (medic., etc.), ἀπο-στοματ-ίζω 'to repeat, interrogate' (Pl., Arist., etc.). See also ►στόμαχος, ►στωμύλος.

•ETYM The PIE *men*-stem \*steh<sub>3</sub>-mn- was either originally neuter or later reinterpreted as a verbal noun in -μα (Schwyzler: 524<sup>5</sup>); cf. the abundant occurrence of the short stem form στομ- in compounds and derivatives (cf. Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 163). Cognates are found in Av. *staman-* [m.] 'mouth (of a dog)' (on the short *a*, see Lubotsky *Kratylos* 42 (1997): 56f.), W *safn* 'jaw-bone', and Hitt. <sup>(UZU)</sup>*ištāman-* / *ištamin-* 'ear' (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. for details). Greek generalized the zero grade \*sth<sub>3</sub>-mn-, like in ὄνομα < \*h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-mn-. Go. *stibna*, OHG *stimma*, *stimma* 'voice' are unrelated.

**στόμαχος** [m.] 'throat' (Il.), 'gullet' (Hp., Arist. et al.), 'mouth (of the bladder, uterus)' (Hp.), '(upper orifice of the) stomach' (late), 'anger' (Vett. Val., pap. II-III<sup>p</sup>). <GR>

•COMP Compounds εὖ-, κακο-στόμαχος 'beneficial, harmful', of food (medic.).

•DER στομαχ-ικός 'of the stomach', -ικεύομαι 'disorder in the stomach' (late medic.); -έω = *stomachor* (Dosith.).

•ETYM From στόμα, with the same suffix as in οὐραχός, οὐρίαχος (see ►οὐρά), κύμβαχος, etc. (Schwyzler: 498, Chantraine 1933: 403). There is a Lat. LW *stomachus* 'gullet, stomach' with *stomachor*, -āri 'to be indignant', whence by semantic back-formation *stomachus* 'annoyance'; στόμαχος 'annoyance' is probably a loan from Latin.

**στόμφορ** ⇒ στέμβω.

**στοναχή** ⇒ στένω.

**στόνυξ, -υχος** [m.] 'peak of a rock, of a fang, of a claw, etc.' (E. *Cycl.* 401, codd. γ' ὄνυξ, A. R., Opp., AP), στόνυχας· τὰ εἰς ὃν λήγοντα καὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὀνύχων 'which ends in a sharp point, and the tips of claws', στόνυξι· κέρασι 'horns' (H.). <PG(S)>

•ETYM Assumed to be a cross of ►ὄνυξ and ►στόχος, ►στάχυς or ►στόρθυγξ (see Güntert 1914: 139); uncertain. Rather Pre-Greek, in view of the suffix.

**στορέννυμι, στορεύς** ⇒ στόρνυμι.

**στόρθυγξ, -υγος** [m., f.] 'cusp, tine (of an antler), fang, cape, etc.' (S., *Com. Adesp.*, Lyc., AP et al.). <PG(S)>

•VAR στόρθη· τὸ ὃξ τοῦ δόρατος, καὶ ἐπιδορατὶς 'the sharp [point] of a spear, tip of a lance or spear' (H.).

•ETYM Like its synonym στόνυξ, στόρθυγξ is built like φάρυγξ, σπῆλυγξ, σπόρθυγες, etc. These words have been connected with ►στερεός 'stiff, hard' and, outside Greek, with ON *stirðr* 'stiff, unbending', *storð* [f.] 'grass, green stalk' and ON *stertr* [m.] 'bird's tail', OHG *sterz*. None of the Germanic formations exactly corresponds to the Greek one, and the semantics of the etymology are vague, so the connection is at best a possibility. We should better accept that the word is non-Indo-European (thus Pre-Greek) on account of its suffix.

**στόρνυμι** [v.] 'to stretch out, spread out, make one's bed; to level, pave, strew, sprinkle' (p 32 and later). <IE \*sterh<sub>3</sub>- 'spread out'>

•VAR στρώννυμι (A. Ag. 909 [στορνύναι Elmsley], Hell. and late), στορέννυμι (late), all root variants also with -ύω, aor. στορέσαι (Il.), στρώσαι (IA), pass. στορεσθῆναι (Hp. et al.), στρωθῆναι (D. S., etc.), perf.pass. ἐστρωμαι (K 155, etc.), ἐστόροται or -ηται (Aeol. gramm.), ἐστόρεσμαι (late), act. ἐστρωκα (Hell. and late), fut. στορώ (Ar.), στρώσω (E., etc.), Dor. στορεσεῖν (Theoc.), στρωννύσω (Ps.-Luc.), pass. στρωθήσομαι (LXX), verbal adj. στρωτός (Hes.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ὑπο-, κατα-, ἐπι-.

•DER στρώμα (κατά-, ὑπό-, etc.) [n.] 'which is spread out, carpet, bedding, layer' (IA), -άτιον [n.] (Hell. and late), -ατεύς [m.] 'bed-sack' (Thphr. et al.), 'variegated patchwork' (Gell.), name of a fish (Philo *apud* Ath.), after its golden stripes, see Boßhardt 1942: 62, Strömberg 1943: 28), -ατίτης ἔρανος 'picnic with one's own equipment' (Cratin.), -ατίζω [v.] 'to provide with carpet, plaster' (Hell. inscr., Poll., H.).

στρωμνή, Dor. -ά, Aeol. -ᾶ [f.] 'carpet, mattress, bed' (Sapph., Pi., Att., etc.), with -άομαι in ἐστρωμνημένος (Phot.); cf. λίμνη, ποίμνη.

στρώσις (ὑπό-, etc.) [f.] 'the spreading, plastering' (Hell. and late). στρωτήρ [m.] 'cross-beam, roof lath' (Ar. *Fr.* 72, Hell. and late), with -ήριον, -ηρίδιον 'id.' (EM, H., Suid.); στρώτης [m.] 'one that prepares the beds and dinner couches' (middle com., Plu.). Furthermore, the isolated στορεύς [m.] 'the lower, flat part of a device for making fire' (H., sch.) = γαληνοποιός (H.), which is probably derived from \*στόρος or -ά? With o-grade also στόρνη [f.] = ζώνη (Call., Lyc.). The appurtenance of Myc.

*a-pi to-ni-jo* (of uncertain mg.) is unclear (see Taillardat *REGr.* 73 (1960): 5ff.). Also here *στορνυτέα· καταστρωτέα, περιοικοδομητέα* (H.).

•ETYM The three root forms in *στόρ-νυμι* : *στορέ-σαι* : *στρω-τός, ἔ-στρω-μαι* are partially leveled: *στρώννυμι* and *στρώσαι* after *στρωτός, ἔστρωμαι*; *στορέννυμι* after *στορέσαι*. We find the same metathesis of the expected full grade *στερο-* < \**sterh<sub>3</sub>-* to *στορε-*, like in ► *κορέννυμι, θόρνυμαι* (s.v. ► *θρώσκω*), etc. Cognates with a nasal present outside Greek are Skt. *stṛṇāti* 'to spread out, extend, strew', Lat. *sternō* 'to spread out', OIr. *sernim* 'id.', Alb. *shtrin* 'id.'. The zero grade *στρωτός* corresponds to Lat. *strātus*, Lith. *stirta* [f.] 'haystack'; cf. also Skt. *stīrṇā-* 'spread out' < \**sthr<sub>3</sub>-no-*. Gr. *στῶμα* corresponds to Lat. *strāmentum* 'straw', while *στόρνη* corresponds to Ru. *storoná* 'region, side', but both formations are probably independent innovations. Cf. further ► *στέρνων* and ► *στρατός*.

**στορύνη** [f.] designation of a surgical instrument, 'lancet, κατιάδιον' (Aret.). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained; for the formation, cf. ► *τορύνη*.

**στορχάζειν** [v.] · *εις <ση>κούς κατακλείειν τὰ βοσκήματα* 'to shut the cattle into the pen', *στορχάσω· συγκλείσω* 'shut', *ἐστόρχαζον· ἔκλειον* 'was/were shutting' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Denominative derivative from an unattested form \**στόρχος*, -ή without etymology. Cf. ► *ταρχύω*.

**στόχος** [m.] 'erected pillar, post, mark, fixed target' (E., X., Poll., Att. inscr.), also 'suspicion' (A., after *στοχάζομαι*)? A very rare word; part of the attestations is blurred. <IE? \**steg<sup>h</sup>-* 'sting, bar'>

•COMP ἄ-στοχος 'missing the target', εὖ-στοχος 'aiming well, hitting well' (Att., Hell. and late), hence ἄ-, εὖ-στοχ-ία, -έω.

•DER στοχ-άς, -άδος [f.] 'raising for the poles of fixing-nets' (Poll.); also adjective, mg. unclear (E. *Hel.* 1480 [lyr.], probably wrong v.l. for *στολάδες*); -ανδόν [adv.] 'by conjecture' (Theognost.). Denominative *στοχάζομαι* 'to target, shoot, seek to achieve, guess, conjecture, explore' (Hp., Att., Hell. and late), also with *κατα-*, etc.; (*κατα-*) *στοχασμός, -ασις, -αστής, -αστικός*; also *στόχασμα* [n.] 'javelin' (E. *Ba.* 1205; cf. Chantraine 1933: 145).

•ETYM No certain cognates outside Greek. Since the original meaning seems to have been 'erected pillar, post', we can compare Ru. *stog* [m.] 'heap, heap of hay' < \**stog<sup>h</sup>-*, Bulg. *stéžer* 'post to bind horses to', Lith. *stāgaras* 'long, thin stalk of a plant', Latv. *stēga* 'long bar'. Not related (pace Frisk) is OE *staca* 'stake', which belongs to MoHG *stechen* < \**stig-*; cf. s.v. ► *στιζω*. The following forms from Germanic do belong here, however: ODan. *stag* 'point, germ'; OHG *stanga*, ON *stǫng* [f.] 'stick, pole', ON *stinga*, OE *stingan* 'to sting', etc. (on the relation with ► *στάχυς*, see s.v.).

**στραβός** ⇒ *στρεβλός*.

**στράγγι, -γγός** [f.] 'squeezed out drop' (Arist., Thphr., Men., AP et al.). <PG>

•COMP *στραγγ-ουρ-ία*, Ion. -ίη [f.] = ἡ κατὰ στράγγα οὕρησις 'urination in trickles' (Gal.), 'strangury' (Hp., Att., Hell. and late), -ικός, -ιώδης, -ιάω, -έω; *στραγγ-ίζω* [v.] 'to squeeze out drop by drop' (LXX, Dsc. et al.), also with *κατα-*, *ἐκ-*, *ἀπο-*; *στραγγ-*

*εύομαι* (also -γ-) 'to hesitate, linger, dawdle' (Ar., Pl. Hell. and late), with -εία [f.] 'hesitation' (M. Ant.).

•DER *στραγγ-ός* (also -γ-) 'flowing drop by drop', also 'tied together, entangled, by shocks, irregular' (medic., etc.), -είον [n.] 'drop-bottle' (medic.). *στραγγ-ίας* (πυρός) 'kind of wheat' (Thphr.), cf. Strömberg 1937: 91.

With a suffix -λ-: *στραγγάλη* [f.] 'cord, rope, noose' (J., Plu., S. E.), -αλῖς [f.] 'entangled knot, induration' (com. V<sup>a</sup>, Arist. et al.), -αλιά [f.] 'id.' (LXX, etc.), see Scheller 1951: 88, -αλιώδης 'knotty, entangled' (LXX, *Com. Adesp.*), -αλάω [v.] 'to choke, strangle' (Men., LXX), -αλίζω 'id.' (D. S., Str. et al.), also with *ἀπο-*; -αλισμός (gloss.), -αλόομαι 'to become entangled, ensnared' (Ph. *Bel.* et al.).

•ETYM For the formation of *στράγγι*, cf. *σπρίγγι, λύγγι, κλαγγ-ί*, etc.; for that of *στραγγ-άλη*, cf. *σκυτ-άλη*, etc. Cognates are often assumed in Lat. *stringō* 'to string, tie together', if from \**strengō* with analogical *i* (see s.v. in De Vaan 2008); Latv. *stringt* < \**strng<sup>h</sup>-* 'to become stiff, wither'; Mlr. *srengim* 'to draw, drag'; ON *strangr* 'hard, rigid', OHG *strengi* 'stretched, stiff', MoE *string*. The PIE root \**streng<sup>h</sup>-* probably meant 'to twist, string', which would have developed into 'to wrench'. If related, *στραγγ-* must be a contamination of \**στραγ-* < \**strng<sup>h</sup>-* and \**στρεγγ-* < \**streng<sup>h</sup>-*, with \**g* for \**g<sup>h</sup>* from the nom.sg. *στράγγι*. In view of the fact that an Indo-European derivation requires several analogies and is not evident semantically, it is not improbable that the word is Pre-Greek. Note the variant forms without nasal, which may point to prenasalization.

**στραπή, στράπτω** ⇒ *ἀστραπή*.

**στρατός** [m.] 'troop, department of the people' (Pi., trag., Crete), 'troop of warriors, army, navy' (Il.), also '(military) camp' (Il.); *στάρτοι· αἱ τάξεις τοῦ πλῆθους* '(battle) arrays of a multitude (of men)' (H.). <IE \**ster-* 'camp, spread out'>

•VAR Aeol. *στρότος* (Sapph.), Cret. *σταρτος* (inscr.).

•COMP *στρατ-ηγός* (IA), -ἄγός (Dor. Arc.) [m.] 'army commander' (cf. Chantraine 1956a: 90), *στρατό-πεδον* [n.] 'army camp, army, fleet' (IA), see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 15; also as a second member, e.g. in *δεξι-στρατος* 'receiving a host' (B.); in addition, numerous PNs.

•DER Collective formation *στρατ-ία, -ιή* [f.] 'troop, host, army', also 'campaign' = *στρατεία* (Pi., IA), see Scheller 1951: 84f., with -ιώτης [m.] 'warrior, soldier' (IA), -ιωτικός (Att.), -ιωτάριον [n.] mg. uncertain, perhaps 'soldier's sack' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>). *στράτ-ιος*, fem. -ία 'warlike', also as an epithet of Zeus, Ares, and Athena (Alc., Hdt. et al.); also -ειός, -εία 'id.' (Mylasa II<sup>a</sup>). *στρατύλλαξ* [m.] disparaging diminutive of *στρατηγός* (Cic. *Att.*; cf. Delph. *Στρατυλλίς*). Denominative *στρατ-άομαι* (-όομαι?) 'to troop together', only in epic ipf. *ἐστρατῶντο* (Il., A. R., Nonn.), also with *ἀμφι-*, *ἐπι-*, *συν-*; cf. Leumann 1950: 185, Chantraine 1942: 80, 359, 364; *στρατ-όομαι* in the ptc. *στρατωθέν* (στόμιον) 'consisting of an army' (A. *Ag.* 133 [lyr.]; Wackernagel 1916: 125). Further *στρατ-εύω, -εύομαι* 'to wage war, serve in the army' (IA), also with *ἐκ-*, *ἐπι-*, *συν-*, etc.; -εία, Ion. -ῆη [f.] (*ἐκ-, ἐπι-, συν-*) 'campaign, war-service' (IA), -ευμα [n.] 'campaign, army' (IA), -ευσίς (*ἐπι-*) [f.] 'campaign' (Hdt., D. H. et al.), -ευσίμος, -ευτικός.

•ETYM Probably originally 'camping army', reflecting \**str-to-*, the *to*-ptc. of the root \**ster-* 'to spread (out)' reflected in Skt. *stṛīṇóti* 'to lay down, destroy' (see Narten MSS 22 (1967): 57-66, LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**ster-*); cf. further s.v. ▶στέρνων 'breast, chest'. Corresponds exactly to Skt. *stṛīta-* 'thrown down, sprinkled', *á-stṛīta-* 'unconquered, unconquerable', Av. *stārata-* 'spread out', OIr. *sreth* 'strewn'. The relation between the two roots \**ster-* and \**sterh<sub>3</sub>-* is yet to be clarified.

**στρεβλός** [adj.] 'turned, twisted, crooked, cunning' (IA). <PG(V)>

•DER στρεβλ-ότης [f.] 'crook, perversity' (Plu. et al.); στρεβλ-όω 'to twist, dislocate, torture, torment' (IA), also with δια-, κατα-; hence -ωσις, -ωμα, -ωτήριος; also -ευμία [n.] 'perversion' (Sm.). στρέβλη [f.] 'winch, roll, screw', also as an instrument of torture (A., Arist., Plb., etc.); formation like σμίλη, among others.

With *o*-grade we find: στρόβος [m.] 'whirl' (A. Ag. 657, H.); hence στρόβ-ιλος [m.] 'top, whirlwind, whirlpool, fir-cone' (Att., Hell. and late), -ίλιον, -ιλίτης, -ιλέα, -ιλάς, -ιλεών, -ίλιος, -ιλώδης, -ιλίζω, -ιλόω (all late). στροβ-ίλη [f.] 'cone made of lint' (Hp.). στροβ-εύς [m.] a fuller's instrument (sch.). στροβ-εία [f.] 'fullery(?)' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>). στροβελός: σοβαρός, τρυφερός 'rushing, delicate'; -ελόν: σκολιόν, καμπύλον 'curved, bent' (H.). στροβανίσκος: τρίπους 'three-footed' (H.). στροβάζων: συνεχώς στρεφόμενος 'turning around continuously' (H.). Denominative στροβέω [v.] 'to turn around in circles, move violently, distract' (A., Ar., Hell. and late), also with δια-, etc. With nasal infix στρόμβος [m.] 'top' (Ξ 413), 'whirlwind' (A. Pr. 1084), 'snail-shell, snail, etc.' (Arist., Hell. poet.) with στρομβο-ειδής, -ώδης (Arist. et al.), -εῖον, -ιλος, -ηδόν, -έω, -όω (late).

With zero grade: στραβός 'squinting' (medic.), with -ων 'id.' (Com. Adesp.), also as a PN; στράβ-αξ PN, -ότης [f.] 'squint' (Orib. et al.), -ίζω 'to squint' (H., EM) with -ισμός (Gal. et al.). The original mg. is still present in στραβο-πόδης 'with twisted feet' (Hdn.). Further στράβηλος [m., f.] 'wild olive-tree' (Pherecr. [lyr.]), name of a snail (S. Fr. 324, Arist. et al.); στραβαλός: ὁ στρογγυλίας καὶ τετράγωνος ἄνθρωπος. Ἀχαιοί 'the well-rounded and square (i.e., perfect) man (Achaean)' (H.); στραβεύς: κωπεύς 'oar-spar' (H.) (Chantraine 1928: 17). Further, a number of forms with a root στροιβ- appear to be related: στροίβος: δῖνος 'whirl, rotation' (H.) (cod. στροιβός: δεινός); Att. PN Στροῖβος; στροιβᾶν: ἀντιστρέφειν 'to turn to the opposite side', στροίβηλος: ἔπαρμα πληγῆς ἐν κεφαλῇ 'a swelling in the head caused by a blow' (H.); πολύ-στροίβος 'whirly' (Nic.), after πολύ-φλοιστος; hence the simplex στροίβος, etc.? Perhaps also with -ει- in Thess. Στρεῖβουνεῖοι (see Bechtel 1921, 1: 210)? Borrowed as Lat. *strabus*, *strabō*, *strambus*.

•ETYM Reminiscent of ▶στρέφω 'to twist, turn', in spite of the different labial. The variant with prenasalization and the frequent occurrence with the non-Indo-European suffix -ιλ- point to Pre-Greek origin. The root variant with -οι-, if not secondary (see above), is unexplained. Often taken together with ▶ἀστραβής, which is doubtful.

**στρεύγομαι** [v.] 'to be exhausted, troubled' (epic O 512, μ 351). <?>

•VAR Only pres. and ipf.

•DER στρευνεδών [f.] 'exhaustion, trouble' (Nic.), like τηκε-, σηπε-δών, etc.

•ETYM Traditionally connected with ON *strjúka* 'to smoothen', OE *stroccian* 'id.', OCS *strōgati*, Ru. *strogát* 'to plane', *strug* 'plane'. However, this etymology is semantically unlikely and formally impossible: both the Germanic (an original geminate \**-kk-* < \**-g<sup>h</sup>n-*; see Kroonen 2009) and the Slavic forms (with no trace of Winter's Law) point to \**streug<sup>h</sup>-*. van Windekens *Orbis* 11 (1962): 343 compares ToB *sruk-* 'to die' (ToA *sruk-* 'to kill'), but the initial cluster is incompatible. No further etymology.

**στρέφω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to twist, turn', intr. and med. also 'to run' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Dor. στράφω? (Nisyros III<sup>a</sup>; quite doubtful), Aeol. στρόφω (EM), aor. στρέψαι, -ασθαι (Il.), Dor. ἀπο-στράψαι (Delph.), pass. στρεφθῆναι (Hom. [intr.], rarely Att.), Dor. στραφθῆναι (Sophr., Theoc.), στραφῆναι (Hdt., Sol., Att.), ἀν-εστρέφθησαν (late Lac., etc., Thumb-Scherer 1959: 42), fut. στρέψω (E., etc.), perf. med. ἔστραμμαι (h. Merc.), Hell. also ἔστρεμμένος (Mayser 1906-1938, I: 2: 196), act. ἔστροφα (Hell.), also ἔστραφα (Plb.).

•COMP Very frequent with prefixes: ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα-, μετα-, ὑπο-. The derivative στρόφος 'band, cord, cable' (see also below) occurs in ἐϋ-στροφος = ἐϋ-στρεφής 'well-twisted, easy to twist or bend' (N599 = 711, E., Pl., etc.), -φία [f.] 'flexibility' (Hell. and late); ἀντίστροφ-ος 'turned face to face, according' (Att., etc.), to ἀντι-στρέφω. Furthermore, in οἰακοστροφ-έω 'to turn the rudder' (A.) from οἰακο-στροφος (Pi., A.). στροφο-δινούνται 'to wheel around eddying' (A. Ag. 51 [anap.]), replacing στρεφε-δίνηθεν [3pl.aor.pass.] 'they turned around, swindled' (H 792; act. in Q. S. 13, 7), probably a combination of στρέφομαι and δινέομαι (Schwyzer: 645); στρεψο-δικέω 'to pervert the right' (Ar.), στρεψί-μαλλος 'with frizzly wool' (Ar.); cf. Schwyzer: 442.

•DER With *e*-grade of the root: στρεπ-τός [adj.] 'twisted, flexible' (Il.), [m.] 'necklace, curl, etc.' (IA), -άριον (Paul Aeg.), -τικός (ἐπι-, μετα-, etc.) 'serving to twist' (Pl. et al.). στρεπ-τήρ [m.] 'door hinge' (AP). στρέμμα (περι-, διά-, etc.) [n.] 'twist, strain' (D., medic., etc.), σύ-στρεμμα 'ball, swelling, round drop, heap, congregation' (Hp., Arist., Hell. and late). στρέψ-ις (ἐπι-) [f.] 'turning, turn' (Hp., Arist.), -αῖος, PN -ιάδης; στρεπ-τίνδα [adv.] kind of play (Poll.). ἐπιστρεφ-ής 'turning to (something), attentive' (IA) with -εἰα [f.] (pap. III<sup>p</sup>).

With *o*-grade: στρόφος [m.] 'band, cord, cable' (Od.), 'gripes' (Ar., medic.); hence στρόφ-ιον [n.] 'breast-band, headband' (com., inscr. et al.), -ίς (περι-, etc.) [f.] 'id.' (E. et al.), -ίολος [m.] 'edge, border' (Hero), -ώδης 'causing gripes' (Hp. et al.), -ωτός 'provided with pivots' (LXX), -ωμα [n.] 'pivot, door hinge' with -ωμάτιον (Hell.), -ωτήρ [m.] 'oar' (gloss.), -όμαι 'to have gripes' (medic. et al.), ἐκστροφῶσαι (H. s.v. ἐξακυρῶσαι τὴν θύραν), -έω 'to cause gripes' (Ar.); στροφή (ἐπι-, κατα-, etc.) [f.] 'twisting, turning around, etc.' (IA), -αῖος epithet of Hermes (Ar. Pl. 1153). From στροφή or στρόφος: στρόφ-ις [m.] 'clever person' (Ar., Poll.), -εῖον [m.] 'winch, cable, etc.' (Hell. and late), -άς [f.] 'turning' (S. [lyr.], Arat. et al.), -άδες νῆσοι (Str. et al.), -στροφάδην (only with ἐπι-, περι-, etc.) 'turning around' (epic Ion.). Further στροφ-εύς [m.] 'door hinge, cervical vertebra' (Ar., Thphr. et al.), -ιγξ [m., f.] 'pivot, door hinge' (E., com., etc.).

With λ-enlargement: στροφή-αλος [m.] 'top' (V-VI<sup>p</sup>); -άλιγξ [f.] 'vertebra, curve, etc.' (Il., epic), -αλίζω [v.] 'to turn, spin' (ο 315, AP).

With lengthened grade: iter.-intens. σπρωφ-άω, -άομαι (ἐπι-, μετα-, etc.) 'to turn to and fro, linger' (Il., epic Ion. poet.), -έομαι 'to turn' (Aret.).

With zero grade: ἐπιστραφ-ής = ἐπιστρεφ-ής (see above; late). PN Στραψη-μένης (Dor.).

•ETYM The root has no Indo-European cognates. Still, LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*streb<sup>h</sup>- lists the root as Indo-European. However, as Van Beek suggests (p.c.), a comparison with ►στρεβλός and cognates strongly favors the conclusion that we are dealing with a Pre-Greek root (with variation β/φ).

**σπρινές** [adv.] 'loudly, shrilly', especially of sounds (A. R., AP). <IE?>

•VAR Also adj. σπρινός 'loud, shrill' (Nicostr. Com.).

•COMP σπρινό-φωνος (Call. Com.).

•DER σπριν-ύζω [v.] 'to trumpet', of an elephant (Juba 37; cod. σπριν-), after ὀλολ-ύζω, etc. Also nominal σπρήνος [n.] 'recklessness' (LXX, Apoc., AP), [m.] 'strong desire' (Lyc.), hence σπριν-ιάω [v.] 'to revel, live unrestrained' (med. com., Apoc., pap. III<sup>p</sup>, etc.; Schwyzler: 732). From H.: σπρινύεται· σπρινιᾷ; ἀσπρινές· δύσθετον, σκαῖόν, ὀξύ 'in bad case, mischievous, sharp'.

•ETYM The exact semantic relation between σπρινές and σπρήνος is unclear. Traditionally compared to Lat. *strēnuus* 'active, vigorous'. This connection may be correct, although it is not evident semantically (see De Vaan 2008 for an alternative etymology of the Latin word). The Greek words may also reflect a lengthened grade derivation of the root of ►στερεός, but this remains speculative.

**σπριβλικίγξ** [?] 'little drop' (Ar. Ach. 1035). <ONOM>

•ETYM Sound-imitating formation; for the suffix, cf. φῦσιγξ, κύστιγξ, etc., as well as λίκιγξ = ἡ ἐλαχίστη βοή τῶν ὀρνέων and σπρίβος· λεπτή καὶ ὀξεῖα φωνή (see sch. ad loc.). See also ►σπρί(γ)ξ 1.

**σπρί(γ)ξ 1** [f.] 'owl' (Carm. Pop., Theognost.); cf. σπρίγλος· ... οἱ δὲ νυκτοκόρακα 'night-raven (vel sim.)' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also σπρίξ, acc. σπρίγγα.

•ETYM Formation like γλαῦξ, σκῶψ, λύγξ, etc., and reminiscent of Lat. *strix*, -gis 'screech-owl', which lacks the nasal. Either may be a loan of the other; the Greek word is often assumed to be influenced by or derived from ►τρίζω 'to buzz, squeak', but its facultative nasal may point to substrate origin.

**-σπρίξ 2**

•ETYM In ►ξέσπριξ?

**σπρινός** [adj.] 'dense, solid, hard' (Ion. Hell. and late). <?>

•DER -ότης [f.] 'density' (D. H.); also σπρίφνος [m.] 'food that is difficult to chew' (σπρίφνος ἀμιάσητος ἀκατάποτος LXX).

•ETYM Reminiscent of σπιφρός (see ►στίφος), στέριφος, and σπρυφνός, possibly a contamination. Cf. also σπρίφος = λίσπος (Suid.). Possibly related to MLG and MoLG *stref*, *stref* 'stiff, severe, solid', MHG and MoHG *streben* 'to strive'.

**σπρόβος** ⇒ στρεβλός.

**στροβύλος** some bird, cf. André 1956 s.v. *strophilus*.

•ETYM No etymology.

**στρογγύλος** [adj.] 'round, spherical, compact' (IA). <PG(S)>

•COMP E.g. στρογγυλο-πρόσωπος 'round-faced' (Arist., pap.), ὑπο-στρογγυλος 'somewhat rounded' (Thphr. et al.).

•DER στρογγυλ-ότης [f.] 'roundness' (Pl., Arist.). στρογγύλιον [n.] 'round bottle' (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>). στρογγύλλω [v.] 'to round (off)', with -μα [n.] (late). 4. στρογγυλ-ίζω 'id.' (D. H.) with -ισμα [n.] 'terse expression' (Anon. Fig.). 5. στρογγυλ-όομαι [v.] 'to be(come) circular' (Plu. et al.), -ωσις [f.] (Hp., LXX et al.), -ωμα [n.] (Al.). στρογγυλ-αίνω [v.] 'to make round' (Hippiatr.), -εύματα (H. s.v. γογγυλεύματα).

•ETYM Formation like γογγ-ύλος, καμπ-ύλος, ἀγκ-ύλος, etc. Connected to ►στράγξ by Frisk, but the meanings of the two words are not obviously connected. If the etymology is correct, στρογγύλος was either derived from a form with o-grade in the root, or it was influenced by γογγ-ύλος (Güntert 1914: 146f.). However, the whole complex (with or without στράγξ) may instead be Pre-Greek, in view of the suffix -υλ-.

**στροῖβος, στρόμβος** ⇒ στρεβλός.

**στροῦθος, στρουθός** [m., f.] 'sparrow, (generally) small bird' (B 311, etc.), also 'ostrich' (= σ. κατάγαιος, σ. ἡ μεγάλη, etc.; IA); name of a flatfish (Ael.), see Strömberg 1943: 117; στροῦς· ὁ στρουθός καὶ ὁ σπριον 'sparrow, pulse' (H.). <PG(V)>

•COMP στρουθο-κάμηλος [m.] 'ostrich' (D. S., Str. et al.), see Risch IF 59 (1949): 57 and 268.

•DER Diminutive στρουθ-ίον, -ίς, -άριον (Arist., Hell. and late). Further στρουθ-ίας [m.] 'lecher' (Com. Adesp.), -ίων [m.] = -ός (late, see Chantraine 1933: 165). στρουθ-εῖος 'belonging to the ostrich' (pap.), -(ε)ιον (μῆλον) 'kind of quince' (Thphr., Nic. et al.), also name of a plant 'Saponaria, soapwort' (Hp., Thphr., etc.), which is also called στρουθός, στρουθο-κάμηλος; -ινος 'made of soapwort' (Ath.), -ώδης 'ostrich-like' (sch.). στρουθ-ωτός 'painted, decorated with σ.' (Sophr.). στρουθ-ίζω [v.] 'to twitter' (com., etc.), also 'to clean with soapwort', -ισμός [m.] (pap.); -ιασμός [m.] 'scab' (gloss.). Here also Τροῦθος PN (Bechtel 1923: 151f.)?

•ETYM Fur.: 182 deduces a variant form \*τροῦθος from the PN cited above, and from ὀειὸν τροῦθ<ιον> for ὦδον στρούθ(ε)ιον (Sammelb. 7243, 21 [IV<sup>p</sup>]), as well as a form \*δρουθος from the PN Δρουθου [gen.] (Telos II<sup>a</sup>). The variations would point to a Pre-Greek word, but since the evidence is built mainly on names, this conclusion remains highly uncertain.

**στροφάλιγξ, στρόφιγξ** ⇒ στρέφω.

**στρώμαξ** [?] ξύλον μεμηχανημένον ἐν ταῖς ληνοῖς πρὸς τὴν τῶν σταφυλῶν ἐκθλιψιν 'wood built into a winevat for the pressing of grapes' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM No etymology, but the semantic field and suffix -ακ- suggest substrate origin.

**σπρυφνός** [adj.] 'bitter (of taste), sour, astringent, severe' (Pl., Ar., Arist., etc.). <GR?>

•DER -ότης [f.] 'bitterness, severity' (Arist., Plu. et al.), -ώω 'to astringe' (Plu. v.l., Eust.).

•ETYM No convincing etymology. Clearly reminiscent of ▶στύφω 'to astringe'. Perhaps it derives from the same root, with secondary στρ- (from ▶στριφνός or ▶στρηνής)? The comparison with the Germanic group of OS *strūf* 'upright, stiff, raw', OHG *strūben* 'to be stiff', and with Balto-Slavic words like Lith. *strūbas* 'cut short, curtailed' or OCS *strǫpъ* 'rawness, harshness', Ru. *strúp* 'scab, crust of a wound' etc., is not semantically compelling and formally awkward (root-final \*-p/-b<sup>h</sup>), and therefore uncertain.

**στρύχνον** [n.] name of several plants, e.g. 'nightshade, Withania somnifera' (Thphr., Dsc. et al.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also -ος [m.], also τρύχνον [n.] (Nic. Th. v.l.), -ος [f.] (Theoc., Com. Adesp., Phot., EM).

•ETYM This word gave rise to the name *strichnine*. MHG *strūch*, MoHG *Strauch* (pace Petersson 1923: 18ff.) are unrelated, as they reflect a PGm. long \*ū. Fur.: 135 compares ▶δορύκνιον (Dsc., Plu.), a plant which may be similar to the στρύχνον. See s.v. for further comments.

**στρώννυμι** ⇒ στόρνυμι.

**στρωφάω** ⇒ στρέφω.

**στυγέω** [v.] 'to hate, detest, abhor, hold back' (Il., epic poet., Hdt. and late prose). <IE? \*steug->

•VAR Aor. στυγεῖν (Hom., Call., Nic. et al.), στύξαι (λ 502 (causative), A. R., Opp., AP), στυγ-ῆσαι, pass. -ῆθηναι, fut. -ήσομαι (trag.), perf. ἐστύγ-ηκα (Hdt. et al.), -ῆμαι (Lyc.), -μαι (H.).

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, κατα-, further στυγ-άνωρ 'hating men' (A. Pr.), ψευσί-στυξ 'hating lies' (AP).

•DER στυγ-ητός 'hated, detestable' (A. Pr., late prose), -ημα [n.] 'object of hate or repugnance' (E. et al.), ἀπο-στύγ-ησις [f.] 'abhorrence' (sch.). Furthermore, the adjectives στυγ-ερός 'hated, full of hate, detestable' (Il., epic poet.), -νός 'id.', also 'gruesome, sad, etc.' (Archil., Hp., trag., etc.), hence -νότης [f.] (Hell. and late), -νία [f.] (sch.), στυγ-νόμοι 'to be somber' (AP, H.), also with κατα-, στύγνωσον-χώρισον (H.), στυγ-νάζω [v.] 'to be, become overcast' (NT et al.), also with δια-, κατα-, συν-; thence -νασις [f.] (late). στύγιος 'hated, detestable' (E., Plu.); στύγος [n.] 'hate, object of hate' (A. et al.). Στύξ, -γός [f.] river in the Underworld (Hom., etc.), adj. Στύγιος (trag., etc.), name of an Arcadian mountain brook with ice-cold water (Hdt., Str., Paus.); also as a noun, 'hate, detestation' (Alciph., plur. 'ice-cold' (Thphr.); also = ▶σκώψ (Ant. Lib. et al.).

•ETYM The name Στύξ is an archaic formation; it cannot be decided whether the pres. στυγέω or the aor. ἐστυγον is old, since the latter can be metrically conditioned; cf. e.g. ἔκτυπον s.v. ▶κτύπος (see also Schwyzler: 721 and Chantraine 1942: 347).

There is no ascertained etymology. The root στυγ- has been compared to Ru. *stýgnut* 'to cool down, get cold, freeze', but the latter is a variant of older \**stydnoiti* with \*-dn- > \*-gn-; cf. Cz. *stydnoiti* 'to cool down', SCR. *stūd* [f.] 'cold' < \**stud-/stoud-*. Hardly more convincing is the comparison with ToB *ścono*, *śconiye* 'enmity' (van Windekens *Orbis* 13 (1964): 224 f.), which rather belongs with the Slavic words above, if from \**steud-n-* (see Adams 1999 s.v.). LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*(s)*teug-* follows a connection with Skt. *toj-* 'to drive, push', but this may also be related to \**h<sub>2</sub>teug-* in Gr. ἀτύζομαι 'to be terrified'.

**στυλος** [m.] 'column, pillar, support' (Dor. Ion., trag., Hell. and late), also = Lat. *stilus* 'pointed piece of metal' (late), cf. Sempoux *Rev. belge de phil.* 39 (1961): 736ff. <IE \**sth<sub>2</sub>-u-lo-* 'post'>

•COMP στυλο-βάτης, Dor. -τάς [m.] 'foot of a doric column' < στυλος + βῆ-ναι, with suffix -τά- (Dor. inscr., Pl. Com. et al.), see Fraenkel 1910: 34 and 200f.; τετρά-στυλος 'consisting of four columns', -ον [n.] 'colonnade of four columns' (inscr. and pap. imperial period, etc.).

•DER Diminutives: στυλ-ίς [f.] (Att. inscr., etc.), -ίσκος [m.] (Hp., Hell. and late), -ίδιον [n.] (Str.), -άριον [n.] (pap. IIP). στυλ-ίτης [m.] 'standing on one column, stylite' (Suid.), fem. -ίτισσα (inscr. Amasia), like Φοίνισσα, βασίλισσα, etc. Denominative verbs: στυλ-όω [v.] 'to support with columns' (Hell. and late), also ὑπο-, δια-, ἀπο-; thence (ὑπο-)στυλ-ωμα, -ωσις (Hell. and late); στυλ-ίζω mg. uncertain (Ostr.), with ὑποστυλ-ισμός 'support' (pap. IIP).

•ETYM These words are comparable to Av. *stūna-*, *stuna-* [m.], *stunā* [f.], Skt. *sthū-ṇā-* [f.] (with secondary -ṇ-) 'pillar' < \**sth<sub>2</sub>-u-no-*, with a different secondary suffix (on the interchange of -l- and -n-, see Benveniste 1935: 43). The root \**sth<sub>2</sub>u-* is an enlargement of \**steh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to stand'; see ▶ῖστημι. It is also found in ▶στύω, ▶σταυρός, and ▶στοά. Not related to ▶στύπος.

**στύπος** [n.] 'stick, shaft, stalk' (A. R., Nic., Plb.); cf. H.: στύπος· στέλεχος, κορμός 'stump, trunk'. καὶ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὸ κύτος (cod. κῆτος) 'the whole of the eye, vessel or jar'. καὶ ὁ ψόφος τῆς βροντῆς 'the sound of thunder'. <PG(V)>

•COMP Note στυπογλύφος· ξυλογλύφος. στύπος γὰρ ὁ στέλεχος ἦγουν τὸ πρέμνον 'stump or trunk'.

•DER στυπάζει· βροντᾷ, ψοφεῖ, ὠθεῖ 'thunders, sounds, thrusts' (H.), ἀποστυπάζω 'to drive away with a stick' (Archil.).

•ETYM Traditionally connected with ON *stúfr* [m.] 'tree-stump', MLG *stūve* [m.] 'id.', Latv. *stups* 'old broom', Ru. *stópka* 'wooden nail in the wall' < \**stǫp-eka*, also *spica* 'needle' (see Vasmer 1953 s.vv.), but this seems unlikely in view of the semantics. Perhaps somehow connected with the root of ▶τύπτω. The by-form στύμοις· στέλεχος, κορμός (H.) shows variation π/μ, which could indicate Pre-Greek origin; see Fur.: 222-227. Not related to ▶στύω 'to be erect', ▶στυλος 'pillar', etc.

**στυππεῖον** [n.] 'oakum, tow, coarse fiber of flax or hemp' (Hdt., X., D., Hell. and late). <PG?>

•VAR Also -ίον, σσιππυον.

•COMP στυππειο-πώλης [m.] 'oakum-dealer' (Ar., Critias, inscr.).



•DER στυπ-εῖνος (-ινος, σπι(π)ύινος) 'made of oakum' (*Com. Adesp.*, Hell. and late). Rare στύπη-η [f.] 'oakum, coarse flax' (*J. apud* Suid. s.v.), στύπαξ [m.] jocular short variant for στυππειο-πώλης (*Ar. Fr.* 696); also στύπος = στύπη (κάλοι ἀπὸ στύπου [Gal.]).

•ETYM No known cognates, Fur.: 259f. compares τοπεῖον 'cord, rope' without further comment. The word is most likely to be of substrate origin. Borrowed as Latin *stuppa*, *stūpa* from στύπη, from a Doric dialect in Southern Italy.

**στυπτηρία** ⇒ στύφω.

**στύραξ 1**, -ἄκος [m., f.] 'resin, gummy', also the shrub or tree producing it, 'Styrax officinalis' (Hdt., Arist., Thphr., Str. et al.). <EW Sem.>

•DER στυράκ-ιον [n.] diminutive (pap.), -ινος 'made of the storax-tree or of storax' (LXX, Str., Dsc. et al.), -ίζω [v.] 'to smell or taste like storax' (Dsc.).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. ὄμφαξ, δόναξ, ἄνθραξ, etc. According to Hdt. 3, 107, it was introduced in Greece by the Phoenicians, which points to Semitic origin. Lagarde and Lewy 1895: 41f. compare Hebr. *šōrī* 'the resin of the Mastix tree and the terebinth'; doubts in Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 501. Perhaps related to ►στύραξ 2; cf. στυράκινα ἀκοντίσματα 'javelins made of σ.' in Str. 12, 7, 3. Borrowed as Lat. *styrax*, *storax*.

**στύραξ 2**, -ἄκος [m.] '[lower end of a] spear-shaft' (X., Pl. et al.). <PG?>

•DER Diminutive στυράκ-ιον [n.] (Th., Aen. Tact.); -ίζειν· κεντρίζειν 'to goad, spur on' (H., EM).

•ETYM Formation like χάραξ, κάμαξ, etc., hardly related to ►σταυρός. It is either identical to the tree name ►στύραξ 1, or Pre-Greek.

**στυριώω** [v.] mg. uncertain, 'to guarantee' (pap.)? <?>

•DER στυρίωσις (pap.).

•ETYM Unknown.

**στυφᾶν** [v.] βροντᾶν 'to thunder' (H.). <?>

•ETYM A by-form of στυπάζω; see ►στύπος.

**στυφελίζω** [v.] 'to strike hard, dash, beat, drive away, maltreat' (Il., epic and lyr.). <GR?>

•VAR Aor. -λίξαι.

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, ἀνα-, μετα-, περι-.

•DER στυφελιγμοί (v.l. -σμοί) [m.pl.] 'maltreatment' (A. *Eq.* 537 [anap.]). Furthermore, στυφελός 'hard, raw, stony, severe' (A. [lyr.], A. R., Opp., AP; also Arcad. Cyren. acc. to sch. A. R. 2, 1005; cf. Leumann 1950: 269f.), secondarily 'astringent, bitter' (AP; after στύφω); κατα-στυφελός 'raw, stony' (*h. Merc.*, Hes.), ἀ-στυφελός 'not hard, friendly, smooth' (Thgn., AP); enlarged στυφελώδης 'hard' (Q. S.); also στύφος 'raw, stony' (trag., Lyc.); κατά- (H.), -άριος (Boeotia III<sup>p</sup>; PN?).

•ETYM At first sight, epic στυφελίζω seems to be a derivation of the later attested στυφελός, but it is rather the other way around in view of the chronology and the semantics. The barytone accent of στύφος is remarkable. It is perhaps a derivative

of ►στύφω 'to astringe' (through 'contract > 'become solid?'). On στυφελίζω, cf. further Ruijgh 1957: 84ff.

**στύφω** [v.] 'to astringe, have an astringent effect', especially of taste; 'to thicken, obstruct, treat with a corrosive' (Hp., Arist., Hell. and late). <?>

•VAR Aor. στύψαι (ἀναστύψαι S. *Fr.* 421), pass. στυφθῆναι, perf. med. ἔστυμμαι.

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-, συν-, ὑπο-, etc.

•DER στύψις (ἐπί-, ὑπό-) [f.] 'astringence, thickening, corrosion' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., etc.). στύμμα (στύμμα?) [n.] 'astringent' (medic.). στυπτηρία, Ion. -ίη [f.] designation of contracting minerals, 'alum, vitriol' (Hdt., Hp., Arist., etc.), also 'alum monopoly' (pap.), -ήριος 'treated with alum' (*PHolm.*), -ηριώδης 'containing alum' (Hp., Arist. et al.), -ηριακὸν δέρμα 'piece of soft leather' (gloss), -ηρίζουσα 'water in which alum is washed' (gloss); also -ηρά 'id.' (*PHolm.*), probably after the adjectives in -ηρός, e.g. ταριχηρός (see Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 96). στυπτικός 'astringent' (Diocl. *Fr.*, Hp., Thphr. et al.). στυφός 'id.' (Vett. Val., Gp.), -ότης [f.] 'density' (Plu.), -ώδης 'astringent, bitter' (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*). Possibly also στύφος (see ►στυφελίζω) and στυμνός (to στύμμα; cf. ἐρυμνός) epithet of στυπτηρία (*PHolm.*) = σκληρός, αὐστηρός 'hard, harsh' (Hdn. Gr., H.).

•ETYM Formally similar to ►στύω, which may be related (cf. θύω beside τύφω). Cf. also ►στρυφνός. An ingenious (but unlikely) hypothesis is advanced by Ruijgh 1967a §92, who argues that Myc. *tu-ru-pte-ri-ja* (scil. γῆ) stands for στρυπτηρία, the older form of στυπτηρία, which underwent dissimilation; he concludes that στύφω may have replaced older \*στρύφω.

**στύω**, -ομαι [v.] 'to have an erection' (Ar., Diog. *Ep.*, Luc., AP). <?>

•VAR Aor. στύσαι, pass. στυθῆναι, perf. ἔστυκα.

•DER στύμα [n.] 'erection' (Pl. *Com.*), στυτικός 'causing an erection' (Phylarch.; v.l. στυπ-). On στύμος, see on ►στύπος.

•ETYM Originally 'to be stiff, erect' < \*sth<sub>2</sub>-u-. From the same stem derive ►στύλος, ►σταυρός, and ►στοά. Possibly related to ►στύφω and ►στύραξ 2.

**στωμύλος** [adj.] 'talkative, conversational, chatty' (Ar., Demetr., Theoc., Luc. et al.). <?>

•COMP στωμυλιο-συλλεκτάδης [m.] 'talk-collector' (Ar. *Ra.* 841), see Fraenkel 1912: 20.

•DER στωμυλ-ία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'talkativeness' (Stesimbr., Ar., Plb., AP et al.), -ήθρα [f.] 'id.' also personified as an epithet of δαιταλείς 'banqueters' (*Com. Adesp.*, Numen. *apud* Eus., Phryn.); after nouns in -ήθρα like ῥωπο-περ-περ-ήθρα 'empty braggard's talk'; adjective -ηθρος (Aristaenet.).

Denominative verbs: στωμύλλομαι 'to be talkative, chat, babble' (Ar.), rarely -ύλλω, also with κατα-; hence -ύλματα [n.pl.] 'chatter' (Ar.); -υλεύομαι 'id.' (Alciph. Phot.).

•ETYM Traditionally compared with ►στόμα, with full grade of the root (\*steh<sub>3</sub>-m-) and a suffix \*-ul-.

**σύ** [pron.] 'you (sg.)' (Il.). <IE \*tuH 'you'>

•VAR Dor. (also Aeol. in gramm.) τύ, Hom. also τύνη, Lac. τούνη. Obl. cases: acc. σέ, Dor. (also Aeol. in gramm.) τέ, Dor. also τύ, Cret. τρέ (only in H. τρέ· σέ, interpreted as τρέ. DELG thinks this is suspect, as \**tw-* always gives σ- in all dialects). Dat. σοί, encl. τοι (Il., Att. = 'indeed'), Dor. τοί, also τίν, Hom. τεῖν. Gen. Hom. σεῖο, Hom. Ion. σέο, σεῦ, Att. σοῦ, Dor. τέο, τέος, τεῦς, etc. Enclitic σε, σοι, σου.

•DER Hence the poss. pron. σός 'your' (Il.), Dor. Aeol. (also Hom.) τεός, Boeot. τῖός.  
•ETYM From PIE \**tuH-*: Lat. *tū*, MoHG *du*, Lith. *tū*, etc., Dor. τύ. Initial σ- in IA, etc. was introduced after σέ < \**tue*. τύνη is like ἐγώνη, with an added particle (see s.v. ► ἐγώ). Dor. gen. τέο is like ἐμέο (see s.v. ► ἐμέ): PIE had \**teue*; cf. Skt. *táva*; on Dor. τέος, Hom. σθέν, etc., see s.v. ► ἐμέ. The poss. pron. τεός < \**teρός* and σός < \**trός* derive from PIE \**t(e)uo-*; cf. Lat. *tuus* < \**teuōs*.

**συναγρίς** [f.] 'a fish with teeth(?)' (Epich. 69, Arist., H.). <PG>

•VAR Also συναγρίς (Arist.), -ίδος.

•DER Cf. συνοδοντίς as a fish name (Strömberg 1943: 45) and κρεαγρίς, παναγρίς, governing compound with ἀγρεύω, ἄγρα.

•ETYM Fur.: 123f. starts from σύαξ, -κος, σνάκιον [n.] (Su.); σνάκιν (gloss.) 'kind of flatfish'. He takes συναγρίς (Arist.) to be folk-etymological for the form without a nasal. No further etymology.

**σύαξ, -ακος** ⇒ συναγρίς.

**σύβακα** · σῶδη 'swinish'; σύβας· λάγνος 'lecherous', also name of a satyr (vase-inscr.); συμβάλλας· ὁ καταφερὴς πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια 'prone to sexual pleasures'; also ὑβάλλης· καταφερὴς, λάγνος 'inclined, lecherous' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Connection with Lat. *subāre* 'to be in heat', of female animals, has no plausibility; Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 25f. supposes a Mediterranean origin. The gloss σῶδη appears to be based on folk etymology. Several glosses can be compared to σύβακα, e.g. σύ[μ]βρος· κάπρος 'swine' (H.), but also συμβριακόν· τὸ πολυτελές, συμβριάειν· σοβαρεύεται, τρυφᾷ and συμβριασμός· ὁ ἐν εὐωχίᾳ θόρυβος (H.); cf. also σύβρα and συμβροί, with unclear glosses. All are assumed by Frisk to be connected with Σύβαρις, or influenced by it (or by ὕβρις). For συμβάλλας, ὑβάλλης, cf. also ► βαλλίον. The alternation between initial σ- and aspiration, the -β-, and the suffix -ακ- make Indo-European origin unlikely, thus it is probably Pre-Greek.

**σὺβήνη** [f.] 'quiver' (Att. inscr., Ar. *Th.* 1197, 1215, H.), 'flute case' (Poll., *EM*, H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Formation like ► σαγήνη (s.v. with literature). No etymology.

**συγχίς** ⇒ συκχίς.

**σुकάμινον** [n.] 'fruit of the mulberry tree, mulberry' (Amphis, Arist.). <LW Sem.>

•DER συκάμινος [f., m.] 'mulberry fig-tree' (Arist., Thphr., middle com., etc.), -ῖνις 'of the mulberry fig-tree' (Sotad. Com., Hell. pap.), on the formation cf. Schulze *KZ* 43 (1910): 189; -ινώδης 'mulberry-like' (Thphr.). Also -ῖνέα [f.] = -ῖνος (after συκέα 'fig-tree', etc.; Aesop., Dsc. et al.). -ινεων = *moretum* (gloss.).

•ETYM A Semitic loanword; cf. Aramaic *šiq'mīn* [pl.] 'mulberry trees', Hebr. *šiqmā* [sg.] 'id.' (Lewy 1895: 23, Strömberg 1940: 36, Ross *KZ* 77 (1961): 273).

**σῦκον** [n.] 'fig', also metaphorically 'wart, swelling, vagina' (η 121). <PG(V)>

•VAR Boeot. (Stratt.) τῦκον.

•DIAL Myc. *su-za* = συκία [f.] 'fig tree'.

•COMP συκό-μορον [n.] 'fruit of the mulberry tree' (Str., Dsc. et al.), -ος [f.] 'mulberry tree, sycamore' (Cels.), -έα [f.] 'id.' (*Ev. Luc.* et al.); cf. ► συκάμινον and ► μόνον.

•DER Diminutives: συκ-ίδιον, -άριον [n.] (com.).

Further nominal derivatives: συκ-ίς, -άς [f.] 'cutting from a fig-tree' (Ar., Poll.). συκ-έα 'fig-tree' (Od.), Dor. Aeol. also -ία, IA -έη, -ῆ; συκ-ίον [n.] 'fig-juice' (Hp.). συκ-(ε)ών, -(ε)ώνος [m.] 'fig plantation' (LXX, pap.). συκ-ίτης [m.] (οἶνος) 'of a fig-tree, fig wine' (Dsc.), Spartan epithet of Dionysus (Sosib.); -ῖτις [f.] name of a precious stone, probably after the color (Plin.). συκ-αλ(λ)ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'fig throstle' (Epich., Arist. et al.), see Niedermann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 9f. Adjectival derivations: σύκ-ινος 'of a fig-tree', metaphorically 'useless' (IA), συκ-ώδης 'fig-like, full of warts' (Arist., medic.), -άσιος epithet of Zeus = καθάσιος, since figs were used for purification (Eust., H.).

Verbal derivations: συκ-άζω 'to gather figs' (Att.), also 'to investigate' (Aristaenet., H.), also with ἀπο-; hence -αστής, -άστρια = συκο-φάντης, -φάντρια (*EM*, H.). συκ-ίζομαι 'to be foddered with figs' (AP), -όομαι 'id.' (AP), whence -ωτός 'foddered with figs' (Aët.), ἥπαρ συκωτός 'liver fattened with figs' (Gal., Orib.), -ωσις [f.], -ωμα [n.] 'formation of warts', -ωτικός 'related to warts' (medic.).

•ETYM Like Lat. *ficus* and Arm. *t'uz* 'fig', a loanword from a Mediterranean or Anatolian source. This source may well have been Pre-Greek: the variation in initial consonantism (Boeot. τῦκον) probably reflects an original \**ʰuk-*, with a palatalized /tʰ/.

**συκοφάντης** [m.] 'false accuser, denunciator', later also 'trickster, cadger' (Ar.). <GR>

•VAR Also συκοφάσεις [pl.] = συκοφαντίαι (AP), after ἀποφάσεις, etc.

•DER συκοφαντ-έω 'to act as a denunciator, accuse falsely, blackmail', -ία [f.] 'false accusation', -ίας [m.] (ἄνεμος) 'wind of accusations' (Ar.), -ημα [n.] = 'false accusation'. συκοφαντ-ικός, -ώδης 'slandorous' (Att., etc.). Fem. συκοφάντρια (Ar.), Fraenkel 1912: 25.

•ETYM Expression of popular language, originally probably "fig-indicator", which already in antiquity was explained differently. Acc. to Cook *Class. Rev.* 21 (1907): 133ff., the expression refers to an apotropaic gesture, like Ital. *far le fiche*, MoFr. *faire la figue à qn*.

**συκχίς, ἴδος** [f.] 'kind of shoe' (AP, Suid.). <LW? Caucasus>

•VAR Also -γχι-, συκχ-άς, -άδος (Poll., H.); σύκχοι· ὑποδήματα Φρύγια 'Phrygian sandals' (H.).

•ETYM Knobloch *Sprache* 4 (1958): 198ff. supposes a loan from the Caucasus, which may also be found in Av. *haxa-* [n.] 'sole of the foot' (see also Fur.: 361). Borrowed as Lat. *soccus*.

**συλάω** [v.] 'to strip off (the armor), take away, rob, plunder, seize' (Hom., IA). <?>

•VAR El. opt. συλαίη; aor. συλήσαι (Il.), epic pres. also -εύω (cf. Chantraine 1942: 368; not from συλεύς), -έω (Delph., Theoc. et al.; also Pi.? See Forssman 1966: 157f.).

•DIAL On the debated forms Myc. *su-ra-se*, *su-ra-te*, see Morpurgo Davies 1963 s.vv.

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, etc. Compounds θεο-σύλης [m.] = θεῶν συλήτωρ (Alc. et al.), see Peek *Phil.* 100 (1956): 23, ιερό-συλος [m.] 'temple-robber', with -έω, -ία (Att.). Further συλ-αγωγέω 'to carry away as booty' (*Ep. Col.*, etc.), ἄ-συλος 'one who cannot be distrained, invulnerable, safe', τὸ ἄσυλον 'fenced territory, refuge', with ἀσυλ-ία [f.] 'safety from restraint, invulnerability' (Parm., A., E., Pl., inscr., etc.).

•DER συλ-ήτωρ [m.] 'plunderer' (A., Nonn.), fem. -ήτειρα (E. [lyr.]; Fraenkel 1912: 22f.), -ησις [f.] 'plunder' (S., Pl. et al.), -ητικός 'related to plunder' (Hell. inscr.), -ητής (gloss).

Further σῦλα [n.], σῦλαι [pl.], rarely -ον [n.], -η [f.] 'captured shipload, booty' (Samos VI<sup>a</sup>, Locr. V<sup>a</sup>, Str.), in Att. 'right of seizure of a ship or its cargo, right of restraint' (D., Arist.). From σῦλα or συλάω (-έω, -εύω): συλεύς [m.] 'plunderer' (*SGDI* 2516, Delph. III<sup>a</sup>), also as a mythical PN (Boßhardt 1942: 123). On Συλο- and -συλος in PNs, see also O. Masson *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 16 (1981): 166ff.

•ETYM It is formally attractive to assume that συλάω is derived from σῦλα, etc., but notice that the nominal forms are rare and have been attested later than the verb. In any case, the Att. mg. 'right of seizure' must be secondary and cannot be separated from ἄσυλος. The form ἄσυλος itself may derive from συλάω as 'who may not be taken away or be robbed'. There is no certain etymology. The forms are similar to ►σκῦλα 'booty', but their relation is unclear (see Schwyzler: 329 and Sánchez Ruipérez *Emerita* 15 (1947): 67f.); do they point to a Pre-Greek interchange σ-/σκ-? Pisani *Sprache* 5 (1959): 143ff. explains σκῦλον as secondary after ►σκῦτος, which seems doubtful. He thinks that σῦλα comes from Lydian, together with Lat. *spolia* 'booty'. The gloss ἐσσύλλα· ἀφίρει κτλ. (H.) is in the wrong place alphabetically, so it cannot be trusted. The word ὑλάται· ἐστερήθη, ἀπέθανεν 'was robbed, died' (H.) is unrelated (Pisani l.c.).

**σύν** ⇒ ξύν.

**συναγρίς** ⇒ σύαγρις.

**συνεοχμός** [m.] 'junction, joint', only in ἐν συνεοχμῶ (Ξ 465, verse-final). <GR>

•ETYM For \*συνοχμός for metrical reasons, after word-pairs like ξοῖκα : οἶκα, ἐορτή : ὀρτή (Frisk *Eranos* 38 (1940): 41f.).

**συνέσται** [m.pl.] designation of the members of an association, probably participants of a dinner society (*IG* 9<sup>2</sup>(1), 434 [Acarnania II<sup>a</sup>]). <GR>

•ETYM Without a doubt derived from συν-εσθίω 'to dine together' (cf. σύσ-σιτοι, παρά-σιτοι); see Chantraine *RPh.* 86 (1960): 177ff.

**συνοκωχότε** [perf.ptc.nom.du.] 'grown together, bent together' (B 218). <GR>

•VAR The reading συνοκωκότε is predominant in the paradosis. Also συνοκωκότος [gen.sg.] 'collapsed' (Q. S. 7, 502).

•ETYM From ►συνέχω, but further unexplained. Probably an artificial formation (on the mg., see Hartmann 1956: 250). Several attempts at an explanation have been undertaken: 1. Brugmann *IF* 13 (1902-1903): 280: reduplicated formation like συν-οκωχή, ►άνοκωχή, etc. 2. Wackernagel *Gött. Nachr.* 1902: 738f. assumes a denominative \*συνοχόω (from σύνοχος), since the reading συνοκωκότε seems to be the more reliable one. This was recently defended by Hackstein 2002: 164ff. 3. Schwyzler: 766<sup>6</sup> considers συνοκωκότε to be an enlargement of \*συνοχότε (from \*hehoχα). Cf. further Chantraine 1942: 424<sup>3</sup>.

**συνωχадόν** [adv.] 'continuously' (Hes. *Th.* 390, Q. S.). <GR>

•ETYM From ►έχω, with a suffix -адόν and compositional lengthening to -ω-.

**σύρβη** ⇒ τύρβη.

**σύργαστρος** [adj.] mg. unclear (Alciphrr.; v.l. dat. sg. -ορι), epithet of snakes (*AP* 15, 26 = Dosiad. *Ara*), understood as τὴν γαστέρα σύρων 'sweeping with its belly'. Explained by EM, Phot. and H. (who has συργάστωρ) as 'swineherd', EM and Phot. = ἐργάτης 'farmer'; described by H. as ὄνομα βαρβαρικόν 'word of foreign origin'. <?>

•ETYM Radermacher *Festschr. Kretschmer*: 160ff. refers to Ζεὺς Συργάστις in Bithynia and assumes an originally foreign slave name.

**συρία** [f.] kind of garment (pap.), called αὐτόποκον ἱμάτιον 'woolen cloak or mantle' by Poll. 7, 61. <GR>

•COMP συρόπιος 'made in Syria'.

•ETYM H. states: ὅτι ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ γίνεται, οὗτοι δὲ Σύροι 'because it originates from Cappadocia, the people of which are called Σύροι'.

**σῦριγξ, -ιγγος** [f.] 'quill, flute, syrinx' (Il.); also of pipe-like objects, e.g. 'windpipe, blood-vessel, fistula' (medic., etc.), 'spear case' (T 387), 'hole in the nave of a wheel' (trag., etc.), 'subterranean passage' (Plb., etc.). <PG(S)>

•COMP πεντε-σῦριγγος 'with five pipes' (Ar. et al.).

•DER Diminutive συρίγγιον [n.] (Hp., Plu. et al.), -ίδιον [n.] (Hero). Other nominal derivations: συριγγίς [f.] 'kind of ►κασία' (medic.), συριγγίας [m.] designation of a tube (Thphr., Dsc.), cf. Strömberg 1937: 91. συριγγίτης [m.], -ίτης [f.] name of a precious stone (Ps.-Dsc., Plin.). συριγγώδης 'hollow, fistular' (Hp.). συριγγιακός 'meant for fistulae' (medic.; after καρδιακός, etc.).

Denominative verbs: συρίζω (Ion. poet. *h. Merc.*), Att. -ίττω (Pl., D., Arist. et al.), Dor. -ίσσω (Theoc.), aor. -ίξαι (Ar.), -ίσαι (Babr., Luc.), fut. -ίξομαι (Luc.), -ίσω (Hero et al.), -ίω (LXX) 'to blow the syrinx, whistle, hiss', also with ὑπο-, ἐκ, ἀπο-, etc. Hence σύρ-ιγμα [n.] 'tone of a pipe' (-ισμα H.) with -ιγματώδης 'pipe-like, hissing' (medic.), -ιγμός (X., Arist., etc.), -ισμός (LXX, etc.) [m.] 'the whistling, whirr', -ιγίς [f.] 'flute-playing' (sch.), -ικτής, -ιστής (Arist., Corn.), -ικτάς (Theoc., AP), -ιστήρ (AP) with -ιστηρίδιον mg. unclear (pap. I<sup>a</sup>), -ιγκτής (Phot.) [m.] 'flutist', also 'whistling'; συριστική (τέχνη) 'the art of flute-playing' (sch.). συριγγόομαι [v.] 'to become hollow, get a fistula', -όω 'to make into a pipe, etc.' (Hp. et al.), also with

ἐκ-, προ-, ἀπο-; thence -ωσις [f.] 'formation of a fistula' (medic.), -ωμα [n.] 'fistula' (Vett. Val.). συριγγ-ιάω [v.] 'to suffer from a fistula' (*Hippiatr.*).

•ETYM A substrate word; cf. especially the non-Indo-European suffix -ιγγ-. The explanation by Solmsen 1909: 129ff. is to be rejected: a derivative in -ιγγ- from a noun \*sūros vel sim., related to Skt. *tūṇa-* [m.] 'quiver', *tūṇava-* [m.] 'flute'. Neither can we follow Greppin KZ 103 (1990): 35-37, who assumes PIE origin.

Arm. *sring* 'flute, pipe' was probably taken from the same source. Borrowed as Skt. *suruṅgā* [f.] 'subterranean passage' (on the etymology and history of the meaning, see Stein ZII 3 (1925): 280ff.).

**συρίτης** [m.] 'stone found in a wolf's bladder' (Plin. 11, 208). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**σύριχος** [m.] 'basket' (Alex.). Also συρίσκος· ἀγγεῖόν τι πλεκτόν, εἰς ὃ σῦκα ἐμβάλλουσι 'a woven basket into which figs were thrown'. τινὲς δὲ ὑρίσκον (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Here also ὕριχος (corr. Porson for cod. -ισός in Ar. *Fr.* 569, 5), ὕρισχος and βρίσχος (Phryn. *PS*), σύρισσος (Poll.), ὑρίσσος (H.), -ός (Theognost.); also ὕρρις· σπυρίς 'basket' (Zonar.); cf. ὑρίσιδα (for ὑρίς, -ίδα?)· σπυρίδιον, σπυρίς 'id.' (H.); ὕρράδα (cod. ὕρρ-)· σπυρίδιον 'id.' (Theognost.), ὕρραχα· πρίσχη (H.) (cf. βρίσχος in Phryn.). With other anlaut: ▶ ἄρριχος and ἀρίσκος· κόφινος 'big basket' (H.).

•ETYM There are many alternating forms, and no clear Indo-European etymology, so Pre-Greek origin is very likely (Fur.: 135, 241, 392, 300).

**σύρω** [v.] 'to draw, trail, drag, pull, ravish, sweep' (IA). <IE \*tuer- 'stir, etc.'>

•VAR Aor. σύραι, pass. σύρῃναι (late), fut. συρῶ (LXX), perf. σέσυρμαι, -κα (Hell. and late).

•COMP δια- 'to hackle, mock', ἐπι- 'to be neglectful, treat neglectfully', κατα-, παρα-.

•DER With suffixes with -μ-: σύρμα (ἀπό-, ἐπί-, παρά-, περί-) [n.] 'train-dress, sweepings, dragging movement' (Ion., X., Hell. and late), hence συρματίτις κόπρος 'swept-together heap of manure' (Thphr.), συρματική φωνή 'drawn-out accent' (VII<sup>p</sup>), συρματίς στρατιά· ἡ τὰ συμψήγματα καὶ φρύγανα σύρουσα καὶ συλλέγουσα 'woman sweeping and collecting what has been raked together and firewood' (H.), συρμός (ἐπι-, περι-, ὑπο-) [m.] 'grinding, dragging, pulling movement' (Arist.), 'vomiting' (Nic.); δια- 'pulling apart, mocking' (Hell. and late); from this συρ-μάδες [f.pl.] 'snow-drifts' (late), -μαῖα, Ion. -μαῖη [f.] 'vomitive, radish' (Ion., Ar., etc.), also name of a Laconian priest rank (inscr., H.), -μαῖζω 'to take a vomitive', -μαῖσμός [m.] (Hdt., medic.), -μίων· λάχανόν τι σελίνω ἑοικός 'greens like celery' (H.), -μιστήρ· ξυλοπώλης 'wood seller' (H.), συρμή [f.] 'trailing tail of a snake' (sch.).

Further σύρ-της [m.] 'towing-rope' (Man., H.), -τών [gen.pl.] (nom.sg. -της or -τός) name of a dance (Akraiphia I<sup>p</sup>), διασύρ-της [m.] 'slanderer' (Ptol.), δια-, ἐκ-συρτικός (Hell. and late). ἀνασυρ-όλις [f.] 'lewd woman' (Hippon.), from ἀνα-σύρτης 'who draws up (the clothes)', cf. οἰφόλις 'who copulates' and Chantraine 1933: 237f. Probably also related Σύρτις [f.] name of a gulf on the north coast of Africa with sandy shores and dangerous breakers (Hdt., etc.), known as "the pulling one" (cf. v. Wilamowitz on Tim. *Pers.* 99); metaphorically 'destruction' (Tim. *Pers.* 99, H.).

σύρσις [f.] (also διά-) 'the drawing of a plough' (late). With enlargement -φ- (from κάρφη 'hay?'): σύρφι· φρύγανα 'firewood' (H.), συρφ-ετός [m.] 'sweepings, filth' (Hes., Call., Plu. et al.), 'rabble' (Pl. et al.), also -ετώδης 'vulgar' (Plb., Luc. et al.), see Chantraine 1933: 300, Schwyzler: 501; -ᾶξ [m.] 'rabble' (Ar. V. 673 [anap.], Luc.). On σύρφος 'some insect' see s.v. ▶ σέρφος. Possibly also here: ▶ ἀσυρής 'lewd'.

•ETYM Probably related to ▶ σαίρω 'sweep', if both reflect a root \*tuer- 'to sweep'. In this case, σύρω reflects \*tur-e/o-, with analogical \*σ- (rather than \*tuor-e/o- with Cowgill's Law, as per Vine 1999b: 569ff., with morphologically awkward o-grade). The form σαίρω would reflect \*tur-ie/o-, with regular vocalization of the \*r (cf. e.g. ▶ σάρξ 'flesh' < \*turk-). For possible connections outside Greek, see s.v. ▶ σαίρω. Since σύρφ-η, -ετός, -ᾶξ probably derive from σύρω within Greek, a connection with OHG *swerban* 'to drive quickly to and fro, whirl, wipe off' and W *chwerfu* 'to whirl, turn around' (Pok. 1050f.) is improbable. See ▶ σύργαστρος.

**σῦς, σός** [m., f.] 'swine, sow, boar' (Hom., Pi., rarely Hdt., Att. et al.). <IE \*suH-s 'swine'>

•VAR Also ὕς.

•DIAL Myc. *su-qo-ta* /sug<sup>w</sup>otās/ or /-ō-/; see further s.v. ▶ βόσκω.

•COMP σῦ-βώ-της [m.] 'swineherd' (Od., Hdt., Pl.), fem. -τρια (Pl. Com.), adj. -τικός (Pl. Com., Plu.), also -βό-της 'id.' (Arist.) with -βόσια [n.pl.] 'herds of swine' (Λ 679 = ξ 101, Plb., Lib.); σύ-αγρος back-formation = σῦς ἄγριος (Antiph., Dionys. Trag. et al.), see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 286f. Also (mostly Hell. and late) συο-, e.g. -φορβός [m.] 'swineherd' (Plb. et al.), -φόρβιον (Arist.; σῦ-φορβός Hom. et al.), metrically conditioned συη-βόλος (Opp.) = συο-κτόνος (Call., Nonn.).

•DER σύ-αινα [f.] (Opp.), -ᾶξ, -ᾶκιον (gloss., Suid.) a fish-name (Strömberg 1943: 101); -ᾶδες· αἱ ὕες, ἐσχηματισμένως 'wild swine' (H.). Further σύ-ειος (X. et al.), -ινος (v.l. in X.) 'of a swine', -ώδης 'swinish, gluttonous, beastly' (Plu., Philostr. et al.). συ-όμαι 'to become a swine' (VI<sup>p</sup>). Unclear συῆλαι· τόποι βορβορώδεις 'miry places' (H.); on ▶ σῦφεός 'pig-sty' s.v.

•ETYM The inherited form is ὕς (= Lat. *sūs*) < PIE \*suHs. The initial σ- of σῦς is somehow secondary, perhaps after ▶ σίαλος 'fattening pig'; alternatively, it is a LW from another IE language, or derives from an otherwise unattested cognate of Lith. *kiaulė* 'swine' (it is senseless to adduce σωλούς· ὕς [H.], as von Blumenthal 1930: 45f. does). Not an onomatopoeia, as per West *Glotta* 76 (1998): 232f.

**συστάδες** 'vines planted densely' (Arist., inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>); also a 'water container'. <GR>

•VAR Also ξυ-, see s.v.

•ETYM From συνίσταμαι; cf. παστάς from παρίσταμαι.

**σύφακα** γλεῦκος 'new wine' (H.). <?>

•DER συφακίζειν· ὁπωρίζειν 'gather fruit' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown.

**σῦφαρ** [n. indecl.] 'wrinkled skin' (Sophr., Call., Luc. et al.), also personified 'wrinkled, decrepit person' (Lyc.), 'skin of a snake' (Luc.), 'skin on milk' (sch. Nic. *Al.* 91, H.).

<PG?>

•ETYM Traditionally compared with Lat. *sūber* 'cork-oak, cork', in spite of the semantic difficulties. If correct, we are dealing with borrowings from a common source. Acc. to Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 27, it is related to ὕφεαρ 'mistletoe', but semantically this is hardly probable.

σῦφεός [m.] 'pigsty' (Od., Parth., Gp.). <?>

•VAR Also -ειοῦ κ 389 with metrical lengthening at verse end; cf. Chantraine 1942: 104. Also συφός (Lyc., Poll.), -εών [m.] 'id.' (Agath., Gp.), after ἀνδρ(ε)ών, etc.

•ETYM For the ending, cf. φωλεός 'lair', etc. Probably derived from σῦς, but the details are unclear. See ► σῦς.

συχνός [adj.] 'numerous, many, much, wide, long' (IA). <?>

•DER συχν-άκις [adv.] 'frequently, often' (Luc.), -εών, -εώνος [m.] 'thicket' (Aq.), -άζω = θαμίζω (EM) with -ασμα [n.] (Poll.).

•ETYM No etymology.

σφάγνος [m.] name of a bush, = ἐλελίσφακον, ἀσπάλαθος (Diocl. *Fr.*, Dsc.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 124 compares σφάκος 'sage-apple, salvia; tree-moss' and φάγνος 'salvia' (gloss.) and φάσκον 'kind of moss' (Thphr., φάσκος H.). Given these variants, the word is Pre-Greek.

σφαδάζω [v.] 'to flounce, rear (of horses), be uneasy, twitch' (Hp., trag., X., Plb., Plu. et al.); ἀνασφαδάζειν· ἀναπηδᾶν, ἀνάλλομαι, λακτίζειν 'to leap or spring up, kick with the heel' (H.). <?>

•VAR Only pres. and ipf.

•DER σφαδ-ασμός [m.] 'flouncing, twisting' (Pl.), -αστικῶς 'flouncing' (Eust.).

•ETYM Hdn. Gr. 2, 929 recommends a form σφαδαίζω (-άζω), like ματάζω, which may be hypercorrect. An expressive word without a convincing explanation. For comparison, ► σφοδρός, ► σφεδανός, ► σφενδόνη, and ► σφόνδυλος have been adduced, but σπάω, σπαδών may also be considered; cf. σφαδασιμός· σπασιμός, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια (H.). In the latter case, the variation points to substrate origin.

σφάζω [v.] 'to slaughter (by cutting the throat), kill, sacrifice' (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR -άττω (Boeot.; late Att. also -άδδω, see Schwyzler: 715), aor. σφάξαι (Il.), pass. σφαγήναι (IA, etc.), -χθῆναι (Pi., Hdt., E. [lyr.] etc.), fut. σφάξω (E. et al.), pass. -γήσομαι (Att.), perf. med. ἔσφαγμα (Od.), act. ἔσφακα (late).

•COMP Often with prefix, especially ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα-.

•DER σφαγ-ή (δια-, κατα-) [f.] 'slaughter, killing; throat' (trag., Att. prose, etc.), -ίτις 'of the throat' (medic., Arist.), -εὺς [m.] 'slaughterer; sacrificial knife' (S., E., And., D. etc.).

σφάγιος 'belonging to the slaughter, killing' (Hp., S. [lyr.] etc.); σφάγιον (προ-), mostly pl. -ια [n.] 'victim, oblation, especially before a battle' (IA) with -ιάζομαι, -ιάζω 'to slaughter, sacrifice' (IA), -ιασιμός [m.] (E. [lyr.], Plu. et al.).

σφαγ-ίς [f.] 'slaughter knife, sacrificial knife' (E. et al.), also referring to σφαγή; -ίδιον (Suid.); but ἐπι-σφαγ-ίς 'nape of the neck, where the axe strikes' and παρα-σφαγ-ίς 'part next to the throat' (Poll.). σφαγ-εῖον [n.] 'sacrificial bowl' (A., E., Ar., inscr.), derived form σφαγ-ή or -εὺς, also σφαγ-ιστήριον (sch.). σφάγμα [n.] 'the

killing' (sch.), also with prefix in e.g. πρόσφαγμα (A., E. et al.). Late σφάκ-της [m.] 'murderer', in compounds, e.g. with καλαμο- 'one who kills with a pin' (Ph.), with -τική μάχαιρα (Zonar.); σφακ-τήρ [m.] 'murderer', only with δια- and χμιαρο- (AP); -τρια [f.] 'sacrificial priestess' (Ael.). σφάκ-τρον [n.] 'sacrificial tax' (Palmyra II<sup>p</sup>, Poll.).

As a second element -σφάξ, e.g. in δια-σφάξ, -άγος [f.] 'rip, split, chasm' (Hdt. et al.), also -σφαγ-ία [f.], e.g. βοο- 'the killing of oxen' (APL).

•ETYM The attested formations are productive, so they can all be derived from either the verb σφάζω, σφάξαι or from a nominal root σφαγ-. No cognates outside Greek; Fur.: 300 connects ► φάσγανον as φασγ-/σφαγ-, which remains uncertain.

σφαῖρα [f.] 'sphere, ball, balls in a boxing-glove, globe' (Od.). <?>

•COMP E.g. σφαιρο-ειδής 'spherical' (IA), ἐπί-σφαιρα [n. pl.] 'leather coating (mostly of boxing balls), boxing-gloves' (Plb., Plu.).

•DER σφαιρ-ηδόν 'like a ball, sphere' (N 204 et al.). Diminutive -ίον (Pl. *Ep.*, Hell. and late). σφαιρ-εὺς [m.] the young men of Sparta, named after their boxing-gloves (Paus., inscr.). σφαιρ-ικός (Archyt., Arist., etc.), -ειος (comm. Arist.) [adj.] 'spherical'; -ίτις 'cypress' (< \*conical?) (Gal.). σφαιρ-ών, -ώνος [m.] 'round fishing-net' (Opp.), -ίζω (ἀντι-, δια-, συν-) 'to play ball' (Att.); φαιρίδδεν· σφαιρίζεν 'id.' (H.), hence -ισις (Arist.), -ισιμός (Artem.), -ισμα (Eust.) 'ball-game', -ιστής 'ball-player', -ιστικός 'belonging to a ball-game', -ιστήριον 'ball court, ball house', -ιστρα 'id.' (Hell. and late). σφαιρ-όομαι, -όω 'to be round, round off, to provide with a round edge' (X., Arist., Hell. and late), also with ἀπο-, δια-, ἐν-; hence -ωμα 'rounded body' (Arist. et al.), -ωσις 'a spherical shape' (late), -ωτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'knob, bulb vel sim.' (*Tab. Heracl.*, Hell. pap.); see Solmsen *IF* 31 (1912/13): 492ff. Lat. *spaerita* [m.] kind of cake (Cato; Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 206) probably derives from an unattested \*σφαιρ-ίτης.

•ETYM The formation is like that of ► πείρα, ► σπείρα, ► μοῖρα, etc. No cognates outside Greek. Sometimes connected to σπαίρω 'to flounce', but the semantics are hardly convincing, and the initial cluster remains unexplained. The word σφαῖρα was borrowed into Syr. *ēspērō*, Ethiop. *spīr* (Schwyzer: 159 and 161), and Arm. *sp'ēr* (>> Georg. *spero*; Bailey *TPS* 1945: 28).

σφάκελος 1 [m.] 'caries, gangrene, necrosis' (Hp., Gal.), also 'twitching pain, cramp' (A. *Pr.* 878, 1045, E. *Hipp.* 1352). <?>

•DER σφακελ-ώδης 'gangrenous' (medic.), σφακελίζω (ἐπι-, ἀπο-) 'to suffer from caries or gangrene' (Hdt. Hp., etc.), rarely 'to suffer from a twitching pain, cramp' (Cratin., Pherecr., Plu.), with -ισιμός [m.] 'caries, gangrene' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.), cf. Strömberg 1937: 191, 'heavy pain' (*Stoic.*), 'epilepsy' (*Hippiatr.*); ἐπι-, ἀπο-σφακέλις [f.] 'gangrene' (Hp.).

•ETYM Formation like σκόπελος, πύελος, etc. from an unknown root. The word was originally a medical expression, acc. to Chantraine 1933: 244. Starting from a meaning 'convulsions (of pain)', Persson seeks to connect MHG *spachen* 'to split', LG *spaken* 'burst, putrefy', etc., which can hardly be correct. Cf. ► σφάκος, ► σφήξ, and ► φάκελος.

**σπάκελος 2** [m.] 'middle finger' (sch. Pl. *Ti.* 84 β, Phot.). <PG(V)>

- VAR Also σφακῆλος or φ-.
- ETYM Pre-Greek in view of the variation.

**σφάκος** [m.] 'sage' (com., Thphr.). <PG(V)>

- DIAL Myc. *pa-ko-we*, on which see Morpurgo Davies 1963 s.v.
- COMP σφακώδης 'rich in sage' (H.). On ► ἐλελίσφακος, see s.v.
- ETYM Of unclear origin. Solmsen 1909 connects σφάκελος, which is possible. Cf. further ► φάσκος. According to Fur.: 124, it is related to σφάγνος, φαγνος, etc., which would point to Pre-Greek origin.

**σφάλλω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to bring down, ruin, mislead', med. 'to go down, be ruined, be mistaken' (IA). <IE \*(s)g<sup>wh</sup>h<sub>2</sub>el->

- VAR Aor. σφῆλαι (Il.), Dor. σφᾶλαι (Pi.), pass. σφᾶλ-ῆναι (-θῆναι Gal.), intr. -αι (LXX; Schwyzler: 756), fut. -ῶ, pass. -ήσομαι, perf. med. ἔσφαλ-μαι (IA), act. -κα (Plb.).
- COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, παρα-.
- DER σφαλ-ερός 'slippery, treacherous, staggering' (IA), -μα [n.] 'fall, accident, misstep, mistake' (IA), -μός [m.] 'id.' (Aq.), hence -μῆσαι (ἀπο-) 'to stumble' (Plb.) and σφαλ-μᾶ· σκιρτᾶ, σφάλλεται 'springs, is tripped up' (H.). σφάλ-σις (ἀνά-, περι-, ἀμφί-) [f.] 'fall, accident' (Hp., Vett. Val.), σφάλ-της [m.] epithet of Dionysus 'he who ruins' (Lyc.). ἀ-σφαλ-ής (also ἐπι-, περι-, ἀρι-σφαλής etc.), ntr. -ές, adv. -(έ)ως 'not falling, not staggering, firm, safe, reliable' (Il.), -εῖα [f.] (Att.), -ίζομαι, -ίζω (Hell. and late), all deverbal. The hapax σφάλος [n.] (trag. *POxy.* 676, 16) is uncertain. See also on ► ἄσφαλος, which may have been folk-etymologically adapted.
- ETYM The derivational patterns are the same as those of e.g. ► πάλλω and ► σκάλλω. Traditionally connected to Skt. *skhálate*, -ti 'sumble, stagger, err', Arm. *sxalem*, -im 'id.'. Rix 1976: 31 (also LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*(s)g<sup>wh</sup>h<sub>2</sub>el-) reconstructs \*s<sup>g</sup>g<sup>wh</sup>h<sub>2</sub>el- with Siebs' Law, which seems a good possibility. Attempts to connect the root to that of ► σπολάς and ► ἀσπάλαξ are unfruitful, because the initial clusters do not match.

**σφαλός** [m.] 'foot block' (Epich., Poll., H.), 'disc' (Poll., H.). <PG?>

- DER σφαλίζω 'to fetter' in ἐσφάλιζεν (Phot.), -ίξεν (H.).
- ETYM A technical expression; hardly identical with Latv. *spals* 'grip, handle' and PGm. \**spal*- 'cross-beam, rundle (of a ladder etc.)' (ON *spōlr* [m.], MHG, ME *spale*), which reflect \**spol*-. Fur.: 351 connects σφέλας, and considers the words to be Pre-Greek, which is possible.

**σφαραγέομαι** [v.] 'to crackle, sizzle' (ι 390), 'to teem, be full to bursting' (ι 440). <IE \*sb<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>2</sub>(e)ǵ- 'burst, crackle'>

- VAR Only ipf. σφαραγεῦντο; also σφαραγίζω in ἐσφαράγιζον 'excited (with noise)' (Hes. *Th.* 706), -ίξει· βροντᾶ, τάραττει, ψοφεῖ 'thunders, disturbs, sounds' (H.).
- DER σφάραγος = ψόφος 'sound' (H.); furthermore only as a second member, e.g. ἐρι-σφάραγος 'with loud noise' (h. *Merc.* et al.), βαρυ-σφάραγος 'with dull noise' (Pi.).

•ETYM Perhaps of Indo-European origin (for the formation, cf. σμαραγέω), with cognates in Skt. *sphūrjati*, -áyati 'to crackle, drone', OE *sprecan*, OHG *sprehhan* 'to speak', etc.; Skt. *sphūrjati* 'break up', Lith. *sprógti* 'to burst, explode' are probably also related (see s.v. ► σπαργάω). These have been taken to reflect \**sprh<sub>2</sub>ǵ*-, but the aspirate in Greek and Sanskrit rather points to \**sb<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>2</sub>ǵ*-. Cf. ► σφραγίς.

**σφάραγ[γ]ος** [m.] · βρόγχος, τράχηλος, λοιμός, ψόφος 'throat, neck, plague, sound' (H.), = φάρυγξ 'throat' (Apion *apud* Phot.).

- ETYM See s.v. ► ἀσφάραγος 1.

**σφεδανός** [adj.] 'violent, vehement' (Il. [-όν adv.], Xenoph., Hell. epic, AP). <?>

- DER Next to σφοδρός, adv. -ρα, -ρῶς 'id.' (μ 124) with σφοδρ-ότης [f.] 'violence, vehemence' (Pl., X. et al.), -ύνομαι, -ύνω 'to become, make violent, vehement' (A. *Pr.* 1011, Ph., Plu. et al.), also with ἐπι-, after the opposite प्राῦνομαι, see Fraenkel 1906: 37; σφοδρ-όομαι 'id.' (Ph. v.l., Gal.).
- ETYM The formation of σφεδανός is similar to that of ἐδανός, στεγανός, σκεπανός, ἰδανός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 196f., Schwyzler: 489f.). Together with σφοδρός, σφεδανός may reflect a heteroclitic *r/n*-stem (Benveniste 1935: 20), but this is uncertain. Possible Greek cognates are ► σφαδάζω and ► σφενδόνη.

**σφεῖς** [pron.] 'they, them(selves)' <IE \*se- 'oneself'>

- VAR anaphoric and reflexive 3 pl. Forms: ntr. σφέα, acc. Att. σφᾶς, Ion. Hom. σφέας, Aeol. Hom. Dor. σφε, Cret. Syrac. ψε, gen. σφῶν, Ion. Hom. σφέων, Hom. also σφείων, dat. σφίσι(ν), Aeol. Ion. Hom. Dor. σφι(ν), Cret. Syrac. ψιν, Lac., etc. φιν, (σφι(ν), σφε also 3sg.); epic 3du. σφωε, -iv, 2du. σφῶϊ, -iv, Att. σφῶ, σφῶν.
- DER Hence the possessive pron. σφέτερος, σφῶϊτερος (Il.), epic also σφός 'their' (rarely reflexive), with σφετερίζομαι, -ίζω 'to make one's own' (Att. Hell. and late), -ισμός, -ιστής (Arist.).
- ETYM The oldest forms were probably \*σ-φει and σ-φι(ν), with σ- a zero grade of IE \*se- (Lat. *si-bī*, Osc. *sí-feí*, OCS *se-bě*). The forms σφε, σφεῖς, σφᾶς, σφῶν, etc. were created in analogy to ἄμμι(ν), ἄμμε, ἡμεῖς, etc.; φιν and ψιν developed irregularly from σφιν with loss of σ- and metathesis, respectively. See further Schwyzler: 600ff. and Chantraine 1942: 266ff., 273.

**σφεκλαρᾶς** glass-maker of special glass (L. Robert 1969: 93-932). <LW Lat.>

- ETYM Derived from σπέκλον 'speculum', which itself is a borrowing from Lat. *speculum*.

**σφέλας** [n.] 'footstool' (ρ 231, σ 394, A. R. 1159), 'socle' (Delos VI<sup>a</sup>), 'log?' (Nic. *Th.* 644). <PG?>

- DER Diminutive σφελίσκον [n.] 'stool' (?) (Samos IV<sup>a</sup>). Hypostasis ἐπι-σφελ-ίτης· ὁ θρανίτης 'the top-rower (i.e., in a trireme)' (H.).
- ETYM Fur.: 351 concludes from the possible connection with ► σφαλός that the word is Pre-Greek.

**σφένδαμνος** [f.] 'maple, Acer monspessulanum' (Thphr., Dicaearch.). <PG>

- VAR Note σπένδαμνον· ξύλον 'wood' (H.).

•DER -ΙΝΟΣ 'of maple' (Cratin., Ar.).

•ETYM Formation like δίκταμνον, ράδαμνος, etc. Often connected to σφενδόνη 'sling etc.', either through a meaning 'trembling' or after the form of the seeds (Carnoy *Ant. class.* 27 (1958): 318 and Carnoy *REGr.* 71 (1958): 99). Fur.: 164 compares σπένδαμνον· ξύλον (beside ἄκαστος· σφένδαμνος and κάστον· ξύλον [H.]). The word is probably Pre-Greek (Schwyzer: 524, Alessio *Studi etruschi* 15 (1941): 177). See also Amigues *RPh.* 73 (1999): 102f.

**σφενδόνη** [f.] 'sling', from wool, hair, animal sinews, etc., often metaph. of sling-like objects, e.g. 'bandage, headband, case on a ring, white of the eye' (Il.); also 'throw, missile' (Ar., X.), referring to σφενδονάω. <PG>

•COMP Rarely as a second member, e.g. βελο-σφενδόνη 'arrow-sling, fire-missile' (Plu.).

•DER σφενδον-ήτης, Boeot. -άτας [m.] 'slinger' (Hdt., Th. et al.), -ητική (τέχνη) 'the art of slinging' (Pl.), -ηδόν 'like a sling' (sch., EM); -αίαν· σφενδόνην, ἥ τὴν σφραγίδα 'sling, signet' (H.). Denominative verb σφενδον-άω 'to sling' (IA), also with ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-; thence -ησις [f.] (Hp., Pl. et al.). Similarly σφενδον-ίζω 'id.' (Ps.-Callisth.), -ιστής [m.] (Them.).

•ETYM Formation like ἀγχώνη, περόνη, βελόνη. No convincing etymology; most often connected within Greek to σφεδανός, σφοδρός, σφαδάζω, and to Skt. *spandate* 'to pull, beat out' (Pok. 989). Further often compared with Lat. *funda* 'leather strap, sling', which would point to a common loan from a Mediterranean or Anatolian source (E-M s.v. *funda*). This source is likely to have been Pre-Greek.

**σφήν, σφηνός** [m.] 'wedge' (A. Pr. 64, Ar., Arist., Hell. pap.). <?>

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. σφηνό-πους, -ποδος 'with wedge-shaped feet', of κλίνη (Ceos V<sup>a</sup>), ἐπί-σφηνος 'wedge-shaped' (Lebadeia), see Strömberg 1946: 100; ἀντι-σφήν 'counter-wedge' (Ph. Bel.).

•DER Diminutives σφην-ίσκος [m.] (Hp. et al.), -άριον [n.] (late medic.), uncertain -ίς, -ίδιον (Hero). Further σφανίον· κλινίδιον 'small couch' and ἐν σφανίῳ· ἐν κλιναρίῳ 'in bedsteads' (H.); but παρα-σφήν-ιον [n.] 'side-block for wedging' (Hell. inscr. and pap.). σφην-όομαι, -όω 'to be wedged, to wedge (in)' (Arist., medic., Hell. and late), often with, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, παρα-; σφήνωσις (ἀπο-, δια-, ἐπι-) [f.] 'wedging in' (medic. et al.), ἀποσφήν-ωμα [n.] 'wedge-shaped block' (pap. IP<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM The form σφήν reflects \*σφᾶν, \*σφανσ-, or \*σφα-ην (cf. σφανίον and Cean σφηνόπους < \*σφᾶν-). The traditional identification with a PGm. \*spēn-u- 'chip' (OHG *spān*, OE *spōn*, ON *spánn*, *spónn*) must be given up because the labials do not match. The same goes for the connection with Skt. *sphya-* [m.] 'shoulder-blade', Khot. *phvai* 'spade, shovel', which are rather related to ▶σπάθη (see s.v.). The word σφήν therefore remains without an etymology.

**σφήξ, -ηκός** [m.] 'wasp' (Il.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR Dor. (Theoc.) -ἄκός [m.].

•DER σφηκ-ιά [f.] 'wasp-nest' (S., E., Ar., LXX et al.), see Scheller 1951: 68, -ίον [n.] 'comb in a wasp-nest' (Arist., Thphr. et al.), cf. also ἐπι-σφήκ-ιον [n.] of unknown meaning (Delos III<sup>a</sup>). σφηκ-ίσκος [m.] 'pointed wood, rafter, etc.' (Ar., Arist., inscr.

et al.), -ίας [m.] 'id.' (Pherecr.), also name of a verse (Ps.-Plu.), cf. σφηκικός, σφηκώδης. σφήκ-ειον [n.] 'wasp-like insect' (Nic.), -εἰα [f.] old name of the island Cyprus (Lyc., H.).

Further in the adjectives σφηκ-ικός 'wasp-like', name of a verse (Eust.) and -ώδης 'id.' (Ar. et al.), also name of a verse (sch.). We further find a denominative verb σφηκ-όομαι 'to be contracted, bound in the middle', -όω 'to contract, bind' (P 52, Ar., Hell. and late epic, late prose), often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, ἐπι-; thence -ωμα [n.] 'point of a helmet' (S., Ar.), 'cord, cable' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>, etc.). Rarer derivatives are σφηκισμός· εἶδος αὐλήσεως, εἰρημένον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμφερείας τῶν βομι<β>ῶν 'an imitation of the buzzing of a wasp on the flute' (H.), -ίωσις· κηρία σφηκῶν 'honeycombs of wasps' (H.), the unclear σφηκός = σφηκώδης (S. Fr. 29), σφηκός λόφου· τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ λόφου κτλ. 'the summit of a hill, etc.' (H.) and σφήκη [n.pl.] of unknown meaning (pap. III<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. ▶μύρμηξ and ▶σκώληξ. A comparison with σφῆν 'wedge' seems attractive, but is morphologically impossible. Persson 1912(1): 396 hesitantly compares σφάκελος, referring to the constricted body of the wasp; one may also think of the sting of a bee, but again the formal side of the derivation remains unclear. The word has also been connected to ψήν 'gall-insect' (see Fur.: 393). This comparison points to Pre-Greek origin (ψ-/σφ-), which seems most attractive. Connection with ψήν 'to rub' cannot be proven.

**σφίγγω** [v.] 'to bind, embrace, jam in' (since Emp., A. Pr. 58). <PG(V)>

•VAR Aor. σφίγξαι, σφιγχθῆναι, fut. σφίγξω, perf. med. ἔσφιγμαι; non-pres. forms almost only Hell. and late.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. περι-, συν-, ἐπι-.

•DER Verbal adjective σφιγκτός 'bound' (AP, Opp. et al.). σφιγκ-τήρ [m.] 'that which binds' (AP, Nonn.), 'contractile muscle closing an aperture' (medic. et al.), also = χιτών. Ταραντῖνοι 'tunic (Tarantinian)' (H.); -τωρ of reins (AP); -της = κίναιδος (Cratin., H.).

σφίγις (ἀπό-, διά-, περί-), also ἀπό-σφιγξ [f.] 'the binding' (medic. et al.). σφίγμια (ὑπό-) [n.] 'obstruction' (Hero, medic.).

•ETYM The pres. σφίγγω has been taken to be the oldest form, and the nasal-less forms ἔσφιγμαι, σφίγμια and ἀπόσφιγξ to be secondary. It is possible, however, that the variation is due to Pre-Greek prenasalization. Borrowed as Lat. *spinter* 'bracelet', *spintria* 'male prostitute' (because of the contractile muscle of the anus).

**Σφίγξ, -ιγγός** [f.] 'sphinx' (Hdt., A., E., etc.), also name of a monkey (Agatharch. et al.). <PG(S, V)>

•VAR Further acc. Φῖκα [f.] (Hes. Th. 326, v.ll. Σφῖκα, Φίγγα, Σφίγγα), Σφίξ, -ικός (Choerob.; also Thess. inscr. VII<sup>a</sup>?); Βίκας· Σφίγγας (H.).

•COMP ἀνδρό-σφιγξ [m.] 'male sphinx' (Hdt.), σφιγγό-πους 'with sphinx-feet' (Hell.).

•DER σφιγγ-ίον [n.] 'kind of monkey' (Plin., inscr. Praeneste), meaning unclear (Luc. *Apol.* 1); -ίδιον [n.] 'little sphinx' (inscr.).



•ETYM The by-forms Φῖκα, Σφῖκα as well as φιγγα = σφίγγα (Pl. *Cra.* 414d) point to substrate origin. Cf. also the TN Φίκιον ὄρος north of Thebes (von Wilamowitz 1931: 269). The word may have been connected with σφίγγω 'to bind' by popular etymology. On the possibility of an Egyptian loan, see Mac Creedy *Glotta* 46 (1968): 250.

σφίδες [?] χορδαὶ μαγειρικαὶ 'tripe fit for cookery' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM Reminiscent of Lat. *fidēs* 'cords of a lyre'; cf. E-M s.v. They were probably borrowed from the same Mediterranean language.

σφόγγος ⇒ σπόγγος.

σφόδρα, -ός ⇒ σφεδανός.

σφονδύλη [f.] 'kind of beetle which lives on the roots of plants and emits a strong smell when attacked' (Ar., Arist. [v.l. σπονδ-], Thphr.). <PG(S)>

•VAR σπονδύλη· ἡ γαλή παρ' Ἀττικοῖς 'weasel (Attic)' (H.).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. κορδύλη, σχενδύλη etc. Formally close to σφόνδυλος 'vertebra', but no semantic connection can be established. Borrowed as Lat. *sphondyle*, -*lum*, -*lium*. The word contains the Pre-Greek suffix -υλ-.

σφόνδυλος [m.] '(cervical) vertebra', metaph. 'a tambour in a column, spindle-whorl' (Ar., Pl., Arist., inscr., etc.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Also (non-Att.) σπόνδυλος, often as a v.l. beside σφ- (Pherecr., Hp., Arist. et al.; details in Hiersche 1964: 204).

•COMP σφονδυλο-δίνητος 'spun with the spindle-whorl' (AP), πολυ-σφόνδυλος 'with many whorls' (Luc.).

•DER σφονδύλιον [n.] 'cervical vertebra' (Y 483, Antim.), plant name 'common medicinal herb, Heracleum sphondylium' (Dsc. et al.). σφονδυλ-ίς [f.] 'id.' (Ps.-Dsc.), -όεις 'consisting of whorls' (Man.), -ώδης 'whorl-like' (sch.). ἐκ-σφονδύλιζω 'to break a vertebra' (LXX, EM).

•ETYM Formation like κόνδυλος, δάκτυλος, probably first from a noun \*σφόνδος. Sometimes connected with words like ►σφενδόνη, ►σφεδανός, and ►σφαδάζω, supposedly containing a verbal root 'to jerk vel sim.', but this is mere speculation. The variation σπ/σφ- points to Pre-Greek origin.

σφραγίς, σφρηγίς, -ίδος [f.] 'seal, seal of a state, impression of a seal, signet, seal-ring, cut stone' (IA), 'sealed field-plot' (pap.). For extensive discussion on the mg. of σφραγίς, see Diehl 1938 (with lit.); also Kenna *JHS* 81 (1961): 99ff., Kranz *RhM* 104 (1961): 3ff., 97f. <PG(S)>

•DER Diminutive σφραγίδιον [n.] (Ar., Thphr., inscr.). Denominative verbs σφραγίζω, -ίζομαι 'to provide with a seal, seal, signet, stamp, confirm' (IA), often with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-, συν-; thence -ισμα (ἀντι-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-) [n.] 'impression of a seal, sealed document' (E., X., Hell., late); -ισμός (ἐπι-, παρα-, περι-) [m.] 'sealing, confirmation' (Hell. and late); ἐν-, ἐπι-σφράγ-ις [m.] 'sealing' (late); -ιστήριον [n.] 'seal, stamp' (pap.); -ιστής (ἐπι-, ἀπο-) [m.] 'sealer, witness' (Plu., Luc., pap. et al.).

Σφραγίδιον, the name of a cave (ἄντρον) of prophesying nymphs on the Cithairon (Paus. 9, 3, 5), where the νύμφαι Σφραγίδιδες live (Plu. *Arist.* 11).

•ETYM Formation like κληῖς, κνημῖς, etc., which points to a secondary derivative. The Σφραγίδιδες νύμφαι were connected to ►σφαραγέομαι by Lobeck 1837: 51<sup>99</sup>. Prellwitz 1892 s.v. suggested connection with Lith. *spróga* 'crevice', *sprógti* 'to explode, burst'. Though formally possible, these etymologies are rightly called "semantically enigmatic" by DELG. Fur.: 324<sup>7</sup> takes the word to be Pre-Greek because of the suffix -ιδ-. This is possible; DELG remarks that the use of the saw in the Aegean is pre-Hellenic.

σφριγᾶω [v.] 'to be full to bursting' especially of women's breasts, metaph. 'to be swollen with passion or pride', more generally 'to brim with vitality' (Hp., A. *Pr.* 382, E., Pl.). <PG?>

•VAR Only pres. stem, especially ptc.

•DER Backformation σφρίγος [n.] 'power, strength' (Hermipp.), -ώδης 'teeming' (Orib.), -ανός 'teeming, swelling' (Theoc. 11, 21 v. l., Hp. *apud* Tim. *Lex.*, Poll., sch.).

•ETYM Intensive formation in -άω (Schwyzer: 719). Hardly related to MoNw. dial. *sprikja*, MoSw. dial. *sprika* 'to unyoke, spread out, split apart, etc.'. The word σφριαί· ἀπειλαί, ὀργαί 'boasts, anger' (H.) must also belong here, with irregular loss of -γ-. Fur.: 175 compares Celtic \**brīgos* 'power, courage, liveliness'; beside σφριαί, he adduces (168) βρι, βριάω, (247) βριμάω, (375) ὄβριμος, and βρίμιος, which would suggest substrate origin.

\*σφυδόω [v.] only in ἐσφυδωμένος (Timocl. 29) 'stuffed with food'. <?>

•DER σφυδών· ισχυρός, εὖρωστος, σκληρός 'strong, stout, hard' and δια-σφυδῶσαι· αὐξῆσαι 'to increase' (H.).

•ETYM A rare word of which the meaning is only roughly known; no etymology.

σφύζω [v.] 'to beat violently', of the pulse, 'to twitch, rush to something' (Hp., Pl., Arist., Thphr. et al.). <?>

•VAR Dor. (Theoc.) σφύσδω, only pres. and ipf.

•DER σφυγ-μός [m.] 'pulse, heartbeat, twitch' (Hp., Arist., Plu. et al.), with -μώδης and -ματώδης (as if from \*σφύγμα) 'twitching like a pulse' (Arist., medic. et al.). σφυγ-μικός 'of the pulse' (medic.); σφύξις [f.] 'id.' (Arist., Gal.). ἄ-σφυκ-τος 'without pulse-beat, easy', hence ἄ-σφυκ-τέω 'to have no pulse', ἀσφυξ-ία 'stopping of the pulse'; also ἄ-σφυγμ-ία [f.] 'id.' (medic.). Newly-formed present σφύττω 'to strive eagerly' (D. Chr.).

•ETYM In form and meaning, σφύζω resembles σφαδάζω and σπεύδω. No etymology.

σφῦρα [f.] 'hammer, beetle' (γ 434, Hes. *Op.* 425, Hdt., A., com., Arist.), metaph. 'ridge between two furrows' (Poll. 7, 145), as a measure (Daulis II<sup>p</sup>) = τῆς σπορίμιου γῆς τὸ μέτρον, ὁμό-σφυρος = ὁμόχωρος 'neighboring' (H.); name of a fish (H.), cf. σφύραινα below. <?>

•COMP E.g. σφυρ-ήλατος 'wrought with the hammer, thorough' (Hdt., Pi., A., Pl., etc.), with -έω (Ph.).

•DER Diminutive σφυρ-ίον [n.] (Hell.), σφύρ-αινα [f.] name of a fish, bicuda (Stratt., Arist., etc.), after its shape (Strömberg 1943: 35); -ιδόν 'hammer-like' (Philostr.); -ωσις [f.] 'the hammering, forging' (Didyma II<sup>a</sup>), = διάρσις (H.), -ήματα· τὰ σιδήρια, ὅτι οὐ χεῖται 'grappling-iron, because it does not melt' (H.).

•ETYM Frisk s.v. connects this etymon to ►σφαῖρα 'ball etc.', in which case the latter would reflect QIE \*sg<sup>mh</sup>ur-ih<sub>2</sub> vs. σφῦρα < \*sg<sup>mh</sup>ur-V-. This seems far-fetched, especially since the semantic connection is not evident. The etymology of σφῦρα thus remains unclear.

σφυραθία, etc. ⇒σπύραθοι.

σφυρίς ⇒σπυρίς.

σφυρόν [n.] 'ankle, foot-joint' (Il.), metaph. 'the lower part of a mountain' (Pi., Theoc. et al.). <?>

•COMP τανύ-σφυρος 'with slender ankles' (h. Cer., Hes.), ἐπι-σφύρ-ια [n.pl.] 'ankle-buckles' (Il.).

•DER σφυρόμαι [v.] 'to tie one's ankle-buckles, put on one's laced boots' (Carm. Pop. 7), -ωτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'shoe-strap' (LXX), see Solmsen IF 31 (1912/13): 492ff.

•ETYM The traditional etymology connecting this word with Skt. *sphurāti* 'to push away with the foot', etc. cannot be maintained, because the labials are incompatible. The variant σφυδρά [pl.] (Act. Ap. 3, 7, pap. III<sup>p</sup>, H., gloss.) is unexplained (hardly after σφοδρός 'violent, vehement', pace Frisk s.v.).

σφώ, σφῶϊ ⇒σφεῖς.

σχαδών, -όνος [f.] 'hatch or honey-cell', plur. 'honeycomb' (com., Arist., Theoc., pap. III<sup>a</sup>), 'larva (of bees or wasps)' (Arist.), = κυβευτικός βόλος 'throw of a dice' (H.). <?>

•VAR Also accented σχάδων, gen. also -ωνος, -οντος (Arist.).

•ETYM Perhaps from σχάζω 'to make an incision, let flow', as is traditionally assumed, but the semantics of this etymology are vague.

σχάζω [v.] 'to make an incision, tear open, open a vein, let (the blood) flow, let something take its course, release, drop, abandon' (Hp., X., Arist., etc.). <IE? \*skeh<sub>2</sub>- 'split'?>

•VAR Also σχάω (Hp., com., Arist. et al.), mostly aor. σχάσαι (Pi., B., Hp., E., com., X., Arist., Hell. and late) with pass. σχασθ-ῆναι, fut. pass. -ήσομαι, act. σχάσω, perf. mid. ἔσχασμαι (in ἔσχασμένη as a plant name; see Strömberg 1940: 43).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, κατα-.

•DER 1. σχάσις (ἀπό-, κατά-) [f.] 'the tearing, bloodletting, release' (medic., Ph. Bel.). 2. σχάσμα (κατά-) [n.] 'incision, release' (Hp., Dsc., Ph. Bel.). 3. κατα-σχασμός [m.] 'draft' (medic.). 4. σχαστήρ = Lat. *tendicula* (gloss.); κατασχ[χ]αστήρ mg. unknown (IG 11(2), 165: 11 [Delos III<sup>a</sup>]). 5. σχαστηρ-ία [f.] 'trigger, release in mechanisms, etc.' (Arist., Ph. Bel., Hero, Plb., etc.); -ιον [n.] 'lancet' (Hippiatr.).

•ETYM Usually an original meaning 'make an incision, tear open' is assumed, whence 'open, let loose, etc.'; the word would be characteristic for the language of physicians.

A basic meaning 'let loose' vel sim. seems possible as well, in which case the common professional expression φλέβα σχάσαι would have a direct correspondence in MLG (also MoDu.) *aderlāten* 'let blood', lit. 'let the vein'. As the whole formal system is clearly built on the aor. σχάσαι, from which σχάζω, σχάω and all other verbal and nominal forms are derived, this form should be the starting point for the etymology. Certain correspondences outside Greek have not yet been found. The word σχάω is generally compared with Skt. *chyati* (*anu-*, *ava-*, *vi-*, etc.), ptc. *chā-ta-*, *chi-tā-*, caus. *chāy-āyati* (IE \*skeh<sub>2</sub>-, \*skh<sub>2</sub>-i-) 'to split, hurt', especially of the skin (on the meaning, see Hoffmann MSS 19 (1964): 61ff.; on the phonetics, Hiersche 1964: 103f., 214f.). Although the connection is semantically unobjectionable, it should be remarked that of the Skt. verb forms, the non-presentic finite forms (e.g. the full grade *s*-aorist *a-chā-s-it*) occur only in grammarians. Further combinations, e.g. that with Lat. *sciō*, remain hypothetical. The form σχάσαι is a Greek innovation (perhaps a cross of σχίσαι and ἑάσαι, χαλάσαι vel sim.)? Note that σχ- cannot be directly explained from the assumed IE form.

σχαλῖς [f.] 'fork used as a support for erected hunting-nets' (X., Poll.). <PG?>

•VAR Gen. -ίδος.

•DER σχαλίδ-ωμα 'id.' (Poll.).

•ETYM Technical word in -ίς like ►σανίς (further references s.v.), δοκίς, etc.; base form unknown. One might connect σκαλῖς 'mattock' (see ►σκάλλω); cf. the gloss σχαλίδες δι' ὧν σχάζουσι τὰ δίκτυα ὀρθὰ ἐστῶτα 'by which fishing nets standing upright are torn open' (H.). Alternatively, was it influenced by σχεῖν 'to hold'? Cf. the synonym ►στάλιξ. The explanations do not convince; the technical word may instead be of Pre-Greek origin.

σχαλίσαι [v.] θηλάσαι, καὶ ἀνίσχαλον τὸ ἄτοκον καὶ ἀθήλαστον 'to suckle; a childless or barren [animal] is also called ἀνίσχαλον, i.e. without milk' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

σχεδάριον •VAR σχέδιον. ⇒σχίζω.

σχεδῖν [adv.] 'slowly, easily' (X., Plu.). <GR>

•ETYM Taken with σχεῖν as "holding back"; opposite ἀνέδην. Cf. ►σχεδόν.

σχεδία [f.] 1. 'raft' (Od., Att., Hell. pap.), 'pontoon bridge' (Hdt., A. [lyr.]), 'frame' (Ath. Mech.). 2. 'clamp, clip' (Ph. Byz.). <?>

•VAR Ion. -ίη.

•COMP As a first member in σχεδι-ουργός [m.] 'raft-builder' (Them.).

•ETYM Acc. to Bq s.v., a substantivization of an adjective σχεδία (ναῦς, γέφυρα), the feminine of σχέδιος (see ►σχεδόν). Alternatively, a collective abstract formation in -ία from σχεδόν (cf. κλισία, οἰκία, ἐστία) with original mg. "unprepared formation, improvisation". However, the semantics are unconvincing. Not from σχέδη, which is a loan from Lat. *scheda* (if authentic at all; see ►σχίζω). The semantic development to 'clamp, clasp' in Ph. Byz. can be understood if one assumes influence of σχεῖν 'hold'.

**σχεδόν** [adv.] 'near', of place and time (epic lyr. Il.), 'nearly, almost, about' (post-Hom. IA). <IE \**segʰ-* 'hold'>

•VAR Also -όθεν 'from nearby' (Hom., A. R.).

•COMP Compound αὐτο-σχεδόν (-δά P 319) 'really close' (Hom., Arat.), 'at once' (A. R.) with αὐτοσχεδ-ίη, which only occurs in the oblique cases: dat. -ίη (μάχη, ὑσμίνη; cf. Trümper 1950: 113), acc. -ίην 'in close combat, man to man' (Hom.), ἐς ~ 'in close combat' (Tyrnt.), ἐξ -ίης 'inconsiderate, offhand' (h. Merc.); adj. -ιος 'unprepared, improvised' (Arist., Hell. and late).

•DER σχεδ-ιος 'nearby, belonging to close combat' (A. [lyr.]), 'adjacent, concerning the immediate present, instantly, unprepared, improvised' (Hell. and late); adv. -ίην 'in close combat' (E 830), 'soon' (Nic.). Hence the verbs: 1. σχεδι-άζω (also with ἀπο-, etc.) 'to improvise, do or make offhand, act thoughtlessly' (Hell. and late), with -ασμα, -ασμός, -αστικῶς (Hell. and late; on the mg. Koller *Glotta* 40 (1961-1962): 183ff.). 2. αὐτοσχεδι-άζω 'id.' (Att.) with -αστής (X.), -ασμα, -ασμός, -αστός, -αστικός (Pl. Com., Arist.).

•ETYM From σχεῖν, σχέσθαι (see ► ἔχω) with a suffix -δον (Schwyzer: 626); properly 'holding to, connecting'. Borrowed as Lat. *schedius*, -ium. See ► σχεδῶν.

**σχεδῶνος** [adj.] 'tenacious'. <IE \**segʰ-* 'hold'>

•VAR Only in σχεδῶνη φιλότης (Emp. 19).

•ETYM Formation from σχεῖν like πῖσυνος, θάρσυνος, with δ after σχεδόν.

**σχελῖς** [f.] mg. instable, 'rib of beef, thigh-bone, side of bacon' vel sim. Acc. to H. = τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ράχεως ἕως τοῦ ὑπογαστρίου 'the part from the spine down to the lower belly', also = κρέα ἐπιμήκη τετμημένα 'longish or oblong cut of meat'. <PG(V)>

•VAR Mostly plur. -ίδες (A. Fr. 443 = 724 M. (?), com., Luc., Poll.); also σκελῖς, plur. -ίδες (pap. III<sup>a</sup>, D. Chr., Poll.).

•ETYM Generally taken as from ► σκέλος 'thigh, leg', which is not impossible semantically, but certainly incorrect given the variant form, which points to Pre-Greek origin (not in Fur.).

**σχενδύλη** [f.] name of an instrument of the χαλκεῖς, probably 'pair of tongs' (Eleusis IV<sup>a</sup>, H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR <σ>κένδυλᾶ (AP; preceded by -οῖς; on the secondary -ᾶ, see Solmsen 1909: 260 and 262).

•DER σκενδύλια [n.pl.] '(small) pincers, nippers' (Hero), also κένδυλα (*trad.* AP 11. 203). In H. also σχενδυλό-ληπτοι 'caught between tongs' and the perf.ptc. ἐσχενδυλῆσθαι, from \*σχενδυλάω 'to pinch with tongs'.

•ETYM Suffix like in κανθύλη, κορδύλη. The variation shows that word is Pre-Greek.

**σχερός** [?] · ἀκτή, αἰγιαλός 'cape, shore' (H., Theognost. *Can.*). <?>

•ETYM Hiersche *Zeitschr. f. Phon.* 17 (1964): 515ff. assumed a pre-form \*σκερός, related to OE *score*, MLG *schore* 'rocky' coast, shore' (IE \**sker-*; see ► κείρω), whence ► ξερός would have arisen by metathesis. This is improbable. Acc. to Hennig *RhM* 75 (1926): 266ff., Σχερία is from Phoen. *Schchr* = *Sxr* 'trading post'.

See further ► ἐπισχερώ and Janko *Glotta* 57 (1979): 20-23.

**σκέτλιος** [adj.] expressing strong emotion, usually used in a denigrating sense 'audacious, heinous, cruel, miserable' (Il.), seldom in positive sense 'obstinate, tireless' (Hom.). Details on the mg. in Brunius-Nilsson 1955: 46ff., 75ff. <?>

•DER σχετλι-άζω, quite rarely with κατα-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-, 'to experience something as cruel, to rise against, to complain' (Att.) with -ασμός (Th., Arist. et al.), -αστικός (late).

•ETYM Frisk assumes dissimilation from \*σχέ-θλιος, a by-form of \*σχέ-θλό-ς (comparing μείλιχ-ος : -ιος, ἥσυχ-ος : -ιος and the antonym ἐσ-θλό-ς). The original meaning would be 'persevering'. This proposal is not supported by any evidence, however.

**σχιῆμα** = ἔχω.

**σχιζω** [v.] 'to split, cut, separate' (Pi., Hdt., Att.). <IE \**skid-* 'cut, split, separate'>

•VAR Aor. σχίσ(σ)αι (Od.), pass. σχισθ-ῆναι (P 316), fut. -ήσομαι, act. σχίσω, perf. med. ἔσχισμαι (Hell.).

•COMP Frequently with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, ἀνα-, περι-.

•DER A. With unchanged root auslaut: 1. σχίδα· σχίδος σινδόνης, ῥήγμα 'cutting of fine cloth; breakage' (cod. π-) (H.) like κλάδ-α [acc.sg.], if not a Doric or Hell. nom. (Kretschmer *Glotta* 10 (1920): 170); as a second member in ἀπο-, δια-, παρα-σχίδες [f.pl.] (rarely sing. -σχίς) 'secessions, branchings, etc.' (medic.). 2. σχίδ-αξ, -ἄκος [m.] 'split wood, piece of wood, splinter' (LXX, D. S.), with -ακηδόν (ὑπο-), -ακώδης (medic.); cf. χάραξ, κάμαξ, etc. 3. σχίδος τὴν ἀπόσχισιν 'division' (H.), also -σχιδής e.g. with ἄ-, ἀκρο-, νεο- (Hell.), directly from the verb. 4. σχίδ-ια ὠμόλινα [pl.] raw flax; items of raw flax' (H.), whence Lat. *schidia* [f.sg.] 'chip of wood' (Vitr.). 5. σχιδανός (like πιθανός), in σχιδανό-πους (Arist.) = σχιζό-πους 'with split feet or toes' (Arist.).

B. With altered root auslaut: 1. σχίζα [f.] 'split wood, piece of wood, etc.' (Hom., Ar., pap.), 'shaft, javelin' (LXX, AP); diminutive -ίον [n.] (Poll., Alciphro.); -ίας [m.] 'lath, like a lath' (Cratin., Dicaearch., Hell. pap.). 2. σχιστός (also ᾶ-) 'split' (Hp., Att.). 3. σχίσις (ἀπό-, διά-, etc.) [f.] 'split, carving' (Pl., Arist.). 4. σχισ-μός (δια-, περι-, ὑπο-, ἐν-) [m.] 'id.' (A. Ag. 1149, Delph. inscr., pap.); -μα (also with ἀπό-, διά-, etc.) [n.] 'split, tear' (Arist., Thphr.); -μή [f.] 'id.' (LXX, H.).

•ETYM A number of identical formations are found in other IE languages, which may be archaic: 1. ἀπο-σχιδ-ες = Skt. *apa-chid-* [f.] 'section, clipping', 2. σχιστός = Lat. *scissus* < \**skid-to-*, Av. *a-sista-* (but note Skt. *chinná-* < \**chid-ná-*), 3. the aor. σχίσαι, -ασθαι to Skt. aor.med. *chit-s-i*, 4. traces of an old nasal present in Lat. *sci-n-dō*, Skt. *chi-ná-d-mi*, 3pl. *chi-n-d-ánti* 'to cut off, split' (not in ► σκινδάλαμος, etc. [s.v.]). The yod-present σχίζω is a Greek innovation (Wackernagel 1916: 133 pleaded against identification of σχίζεται and the Skt. pass. *chid-yá-te*). A full grade appears in Lith. *skiedžiu* 'separate, divide'. Skt. *vi-chitti-* 'interruption' is independent of σχίσις (which was innovated; cf. πίστις).

Further cognates, e.g. Arm. *c'tim* (from \**c'it-im*) 'tear, scratch', can be found in LIV<sup>3</sup>. The reconstruction of the root as PIE \**skʰeid-* given there is not endorsed here. There is no explanation for the aspirate -χ-.

Lat. *scheda* [f.] 'stroke of papyrus' is a loan from \*σχίδη (or σχίδα; see A. 1 above), also 'concept', via influence of *schedium* [n.] 'unprepared speech, draft, sketch' (= late and MoGr. σχέδιον 'id.'). on the meaning, see σχέδιος, from σχεδόν, σχεδάριον; on the history of these words, including Ital. *schizzo*, MoFr. *esquisse*, MoHG *Skizze*, see Kretschmer *Glotta* 10 (1920): 168 ff.

Other words mentioned by Frisk s.v. are not cognate with σχίζω: ►σκινδαλμός, σκινδύλιον, ►σκιδαρόν, σκοιδ-.

**σχινδαλμός** = σκινδαλμός.

**σχίνος** [m.] 'mastich tree, Pistacia Lentiscus' (Hdt., Thphr., Theoc., LXX), 'squill, σκίλλα' (Epich., Hp., com.). ◀PG?►

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. σχινο-κέφαλος 'with a squill-like head' (Cratin.).

•DER σχιν-ίς [f.] 'mastich-berry' (Thphr.), -ινος 'of mastich' (medic.), -ειος 'id.' (Theognost.), -ίζω, -ίζομαι 'to clean one's teeth with mastich' (Jamb., EM, Phot.), also a name of certain dance movements (Ath.).

•ETYM Without a doubt, this word, denoting a tree and a marine organism, is Pre-Greek.

**σχοίνος** [m., f.] 'rush, reed, rope plaited of rush' (ε 463), also as an (Egyptian) land measure (Hdt. 2, 6, Hero, pap.). ◀PG(V)►

•VAR Μγc. *ko-(i-)no* (?).

•COMP σχοινο-τενής 'in a straight line' (Hdt.), 'stretched, plaited from rushes' (late).

•DER 1. σχοιν-ίον [n.] 'rope, cord' (Hdt., com.), 'measuring cord, linear measure' (Arist., Hell.). 2. σχοιν-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'rope, cord' (Theoc., Hell. inscr.), also -ίς, ἴος [adj.] 'plaited from rushes' (Nic.). 3. -ιά [f.] 'bunch of rushes, cluster, enclosure' (Thphr., Str.), -αία [f.] 'enclosure' (Olbia, Odessus III<sup>a</sup>). 4. -ίλος (v.l. -ίλος) [m.] name of a bird, perhaps 'wagtail' (Arist., see Thompson s.v.), -ίων [m.] 'id.' (Arist.), also 'effeminate flute melody' (Plu., Poll.). 5. -εὺς [m.] name of a bird (Ant. Lib.), also PN, eponym of the town Σχοίνος in Boeotia (Paus., St. Byz.; cf. Σχοινοῦς below); -ής, -ῆδος (-ῆς, -ῆδος) [f.] epithet of Aphrodite (Lyc. 832; acc. to sch. ad loc. because of the sexual effect of the rush). 6. -άτας [m.] epithet of Asclepius ἐν τῷ Ἐλει (Sparta III<sup>p</sup>). 7. -ᾶς [m.] 'rope-maker' (pap. IV<sup>p</sup>). 8. -ίτις (καλύβη) 'made of rushes' (AP). 9. -ινος [adj.] (com., E.), -ικός (Hell. pap., Gp.), -ιος (pap. III<sup>a</sup>) 'plaited from rushes'; -ώδης 'full of rushes, rushy' (Nic., Dsc.); -οῦς, -οῦντος 'rich in rushes' (Str.), Σχοινοῦς HN and TN (Boeotia, Arcadia; Str., Paus.; cf. -εὺς above). 10. Verbs: ἀπο-, παρα-, περι-σχοινίζω 'to rope off, enclose' (D., D. H., Plu.), with (περι-)σχοινισμός (Delph., pap.), (παρα-, περι-)σχοίνισμα (LXX, Plu.).

•ETYM Fur.: 391 compares κοίνα· χόρτος 'fence' (H.); because of the variations κ/χ and σ/zero, the word is Pre-Greek.

**σχολή** [f.] 'rest, leisure' (Pi., IA), '(learned) conversation, lecture' (Pl., Arist.), 'place of lecture, auditorium, school' (Arist.). ◀GR►

•COMP As a second member in ἄ-σχολος 'without leisure, busy', with ἀσχολ-ία [f.] 'business' (Pi., IA), -έω, -έομαι (Arist.), -ημα (Str.), -ηματικός (Vett. Val.).

•DER 1. σχολ-αῖος 'leisurely, slow' (IA), with -αιότης [f.] (Th.). 2. -ικός 'reserved for a lecture, belonging to school' (D. H., D. Chr.). 3. -ερός 'leisurely' (late). 4. -ιον [n.] 'explanation, comment, scholion' (Hell.), with -ύδριον, -ιάζω, -ιαστής (Tz., Eust.). 5. -εῖον [n.] 'school' (Arr.), also 'place of rest' = 'grave?' (Anatol. inscr.). 6. -άζω (also with ἀπο-, συν-, etc.) 'to have leisure' (Att.), 'to be busy with something' (X., D., etc.), 'to give a lecture' (Hell.), with -ιαστής [m.] 'living leisurely' (Com. Adesp., LXX, Plu.), with συ- 'fellow-student' (Hell.), -αστικός 'leisurely' (Arist.), 'dedicated to study, scholar', especially 'armchair scholar' (Hell.), 'public adviser' (late pap.).

•ETYM Properly "holding back", derived from the aor. stem σχ- (see ►έχω) with a suffix -λ-, with a thematic vowel -ο- after verbal nouns like βολή, στολή, γονή, etc. Cf. perhaps ►ἀσχαλάω.

**σῶκος** [adj.] epithet of Hermes (Υ 72). ◀?►

•VAR Σῶκος [m.] PN (A 427ff.).

•DER Further σωκέω 'to be strong, have power' (A. Eu. 36, S. El. 119 [anap.]); so σῶκος would mean 'strong, powerful'.

•ETYM Unexplained. Bechtel 1914 s.v. assumed \*Σάοκος as a short form of \*Σαοκράτης (> Σωκράτης; cf. Cyp. Σαφο-κλεφης), in which case the appellative would have derived from the PN. Various hypotheses have been put forward for the etymology, e.g. relation to σηκός (Pok. 1098), or kinship with σῶζω from IE \*t<sub>2</sub>yoH-ko- (Fraenkel *Lexis* 3:1 (1952): 66ff.), who compares the suffix -k- in Lith. *tūkti* 'become fat', *taukai* [pl.] 'fat, grease, marrow'.

**σωλήν, -ῆνος** [m.] 'pipe, channel' (Ion., Archil., Hell.), 'grooved tile' (Hell. inscr.); name of a crustacean, 'razor-fish' (Dor. and Att. com., Arist.); see Thompson 1947 s.v. ◀PG?(s)►

•COMP As a first member in σωληνο-ειδής 'pipe-shaped' (Aen. Tact.); on σωληνοθήρας, -κέντης, see Fraenkel 1912: 93 and 108f.

•DER Diminutive σωλήν-ιον, -ίδιον, -άριον, -ίσκος (Hell.); also -ωτός 'pipe-shaped' (Lyd.) and the verbs -ίζω 'to hollow out' with -ισμός (Ruf. *apud* Orib.), -όομαι 'to serve as a pipe' (v.l. Paul. Aeg.). -εύομαι = συμπεριφέρομαι (EM, H.); to this -ιστής [m.] 'one who fishes for the σωλήν' (Phaenias *apud* Ath.).

•ETYM Formation like κωλήν, πυρήν, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 166f.), so probably first derived from a noun \*σωλος (-ον). Etymology unclear; Solmsen 1909: 129ff. (who deals extensively with meaning and attestations) proposes a reconstruction IE \*t<sub>2</sub>yoH- for ►σῦριγξ and σαυρωτήρ (see s.v. ►σαύρα), but these are Pre-Greek. Fur.: 172<sup>118</sup> suggests that the word is Pre-Greek (giving other such words in -ην).

**σῶμα** [n.] 'living or dead body' (Il.; in Hom. it is necessary or possible to translate it as 'corpse'), 'person' (Att.), 'slave' (Hell.); metaph. 'totality' (A., Pl., Arist.), 'text of a document' (pap.). On the development and spread of the mg., see Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1929): 80f.). ◀?►

•COMP E.g. σωματο-φύλαξ 'bodyguard' (Hell.); univerbation σωμα-ασκ-ία [f.] 'bodily exercise' (Pl., X.) from σῶμα ἀσκέω; in addition to this, as a back-formation, σωμασκ-έω 'to do bodily exercise' (X., Plb., etc.); τρι-σώματος 'with three bodies' (A., E.), late τρί-σωμος 'id.' (An. Ox.).

•DER 1. Diminutive σωμάτ-ιον [n.] (Pl. Com., Arist.; mostly depreciatory). 2. -ίδιον [n.] 'text of a document' (pap.). 3. -εῖον [n.] 'corporate body, college' (*Cod. Just.*). 4. -ικός 'bodily' (Arist.), -ινός 'id.' (gloss.), -ώδης 'bodily' (Arist.). 5. -όομαι, -όω (ἐν-, ὑπο-) 'to be embodied, embody' (Arist., Thphr.), with -ωσις [f.] (Thphr.). 6. -ίζω (δια-, ἐν-) [v.] 'to edit a text', with -ισμός [m.] (pap.).

•ETYM Among several IE expressions for 'body', only \**krp-* (Lat. *corpus*, Skt. *kṛp-*, and other cognates) has a large distribution. For the Greek word for 'body', σώμα, there is no convincing etymology. Formally, it could be compared with σω-ρός 'heap', assuming a pre-form \**tiōH-mḡ* for σώμα, with a basic meaning 'compactness, swelling' (?). Other proposals are doubtful or uncertain (see Frisk); relatively most promising seems an analysis as \*(s)*tiōH-mḡ* 'what has stiffened', related to Skt. *styā-* 'to flow, get stiff' (mentioned by LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**stjēH-*). See ►σωρός.

σώομαι [v.] •VAR σώοντο, σωομένους (A. R.). ⇒σεύομαι.

σωπάω ⇒σιωπάω.

σῶρι [n.] name of an ore, perhaps 'ferrous sulfate, melanterite' (Dsc.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Gen. -εως (Dsc., Hippiatr.), Lat. -eos (Cels., Plin.), σῶρυ (Gal., Orib.).

•ETYM A foreign word of unknown origin. The formation recalls στίμι, σάρι, or μίσυ, μῶλυ, et al., respectively. The variation ι/υ (Fur.: 367) points to a Pre-Greek word.

σωρός [m.] 'heap (of corn)' (Hes., Hdt., X., Ar., Arist.). <?>

•COMP A few late compounds, e.g. πολύ-σωρος 'of many corn-heaps', epithet of Demeter (AP; cf. σωρίτις below).

•DER 1. σῶρ-ακος [m.] 'box, basket' (Ar. *Fr.* 248, inscr. and pap., after θύλακος?), with -ακίς [f.], designation of an instrument to clean horses (pap. III<sup>a</sup>, Poll.). 2. -ίτης [m.] (scil. λόγος, συλλογισμός) 'conclusion of heaping' (name of a sophism, Chrysipp., Cic., S. E.), with -ιτικός (S. E.); -ίτις [f.] epithet of Demeter (Orph.). 3. -εός = σωρός (EM, sch.). 4. -ηδόν 'by heaps' (Plb., LXX, AP). 5. -εύω (also with ἐκ-, ἐπι-, συν- et al.) [v.] 'to heap up, pile up' (E., Arist., Hell.), with -ευσίς (ἐπι-, προσ-, ὑπο-) [f.] 'heaping up, piling up' (Arist.), -ευμα (ἐπι-) [n.] 'that which is heaped up, heap' (X., Eub.), -εία (ἐπι-) [f.] 'heaping', also as a mathematical term 'summation, series' (Nicom., Plu.), -ευτής [m.] 'heaper' (Phld.), with -ευτικός (sch.). Unclear is σωρότερος, which is explained as 'big cup' in a Greek-Coptic glossary; see *Aegyptus* 6, 215.

•ETYM There are no known cognates outside Greek. Within Greek, some connect σώμα (comparing γνῶ-μα : γνῶ-ρ-ιμος and κλη-μα : κλη-ρος, etc.). Starting from \**tiō-ro-* (so IE \**tiōh<sub>2</sub>-ro-*), Solmsen *IF* 26 (1909): 213ff. seeks connection with ►σῶς, σάος and cognates, also pleading against connection with σωρός. For the root, see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**teuh<sub>2</sub>-* 'schwellen, stark werden'.

σῶς [adj.] 'safe, healthy, intact' (Att.; also Hom., Hdt.). <IE? \**teuh<sub>2</sub>-* 'be strong'>

•VAR σάος (epic poet., Il. [σάώτερος], also Cypr., Arc., Lac., etc.), σῶος (Hdt., Hp., X., Hell.), σόος (epic, also Hdt.); compar. σαώτερος (A 32, X., Theoc., AP).

•COMP As a first member in Σαφο-κλέφης (Cypr.), σαό-φρων (epic poet.), σώ-φρων (Att.), Σαυ-κράτης (Boeot.), Σά-δαμος (Arc.) et al.; as a second member in νηο-, τεκνο-σσοός (poet.), but cf. on ►σεύομαι.

•DER Epic aor. σαῶ-σαι, pass. σωθῆναι, to which fut. σαώσω, pres. σαόω; contracted IA σῶσαι, σωθῆναι, σώσω (inscr. σωῶ), σῶζω (ε 490, Hes. *Op.* 376; from \*σω-ῖζω); to this perf. med. σέσωμαι (trag.), σέσωμαι (Pl.), act. σέσωκα (Hell.) 'to keep alive, save', med.-pass. intr. 'to stay alive, save oneself'. All these forms often occur prefixed, e.g. with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-. As a first member in σωσί-πολις 'saving the city' (Ar., Str.) et al. Deverbative formations: 1. σωτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'saviour' (*h. Hom.*, Pi., IA), with σωτηρ-ία, -ίη [f.] 'rescue', -ιος 'bringing rescue, saving' (IA), -ιώδης 'wholesome' (Gal.), -ιασταί [m.pl.] 'worshippers' (of the θεοὶ σωτήρες, or of Ἄρτεμις Σώτειρα; Rhod., Att.). Archaizing byforms: σωτήρ (Call.), σαώτωρ (Maiist. III<sup>a</sup>), Σαώτης epithet of Dionysus (AP, Paus.); hypocoristic enlargement Σωτήριχος PN (Plu., Luc.); 2. σῶτειρα [f.] 'id.' (Pi., IA); 3. σῶστρα [n.pl.] (-σ- like in σέσωμαι, etc.) 'reward for saving, thankful offering for saving lives' (Hdt., X.), with 3sg. σαοστρεῖ (probably for σαω-, Cephallenia). 4. σωστικός (δια-) 'saving, preserving' (Arist.); 5. δια-σώστης [m.] 'policeman' (Just.); 6. ἀνα-σωσιμός (Aq.), -σωσιμα (Tz.) 'rescue'. On the frequent PNs in Σω(ι-), Σωσ(ι-), Σωτ(ο-), etc. see Bechtel 1917b: 413ff.

•ETYM The above forms may all go back to PGr. σάφος (cf. Cypr. Σαφο-κλέφης). It is unnecessary to posit alternative basic forms like \*σῶφος. The form σῶς arose from σά(φ)ος by contracted, and σῶος in turn by thematization (perhaps the ntr.sg. σῶον via plur. σῶα); epic σόος may stand for σάος after σῶς, or arose by metrical lengthening. PGr. σάφος is probably a thematization of \*σαυς < \**teuh<sub>2</sub>-u-s*. Connection with σωρός, σώμα (as \**tiōH-ro-*, \**tiōH-mḡ*) is quite uncertain: the original meaning would be something like 'to be strong', which fits poorly for a corpse; moreover, a reconstruction \**tiōh<sub>2</sub>-mḡ* (with *o*-grade) is improbable. See ►σωρός and ►ταῦς.

σῶσικες ⇒σαῦσαξ.

σώχω ⇒ψύχω.

## T

**τάβελλα** [f.] 'tablet' (I<sup>p</sup> to VI<sup>p</sup>). <LW Lat.>

- DER -άριος (from Lat. *tabellarius*), -ίων (from *tabellio*).
- ETYM From Lat. *tabella*.

**τάβλα** [f.] 'dice-table' (I<sup>p</sup>). <LW Lat.>

- VAR Also -η.
- DER ταβλ-ίζω [v.] 'to play dice', -ιόπη 'game of dice', formed after Καλλιόπη (AP 11, 373), ταβλάριος from Lat. *tabellarius* (pap., inscr.).
- ETYM From Lat. *tabula*.

**ταγγή** [f.] 'rancid smell' (Alex. Aphr.), 'kind of tumour' (Hp.). <PG?>

- DER ταγγ-ίζω [v.] 'to emit a rancid smell' (medic., Gp.), -ιάσις [f.] 'kind of swelling' (gloss.), -ός 'rancid' (Gp.; perhaps back-formed).
- ETYM An isolated word. The comparison with WGM. words like MoHG *stinken*, OHG *stanc* 'stench' on the one hand, and with ON *stækr* 'stinking' on the other (PGm. *\*stēkja-*), meets with serious phonological problems (like the *a*-vocalism in Greek). The word could be Pre-Greek.

**τάγηνον** [n.] 'frying pan' (com., Luc.). <PG?(V)>

- VAR τήγανον (com., LXX; both forms Gal.), -άνη [f.] (gloss.); also ἥγανον (Ath. ex Anacr.), with ἡγάνεα· πέμματα τὰ ἀπὸ τηγάνου 'what has been fried in the τ.' (H.), perhaps from τ' ἥγανον (see Schwyzer: 413).
- COMP ταγηνο-στρόφιον [n.] 'frying-spit' (Poll.), ταγηνο-κνισο-θήρας [m.] 'frying pan-sniffer' (Eur.), τηγανό-στροφον (H. s.v. λίστρον); ξηρο-τήγανον (Hegesand.; Syracus.), χαλκο-ξηρο-τήγανον = *scutra* (gloss.).
- DER ταγην-ίας [m.] 'pancake' (com.), -ίτης 'id.' (Gal., Ath.), -ίζω (also with ἀπο-) [v.] 'to fry in a pan' (com., Ph., Gal.), with -ιάσις [f.] (Gal., Alex. Aphr.), -ιστός (Alex., Gal.), -ισταί [m.pl.] title of a comedy by Ar. From τήγανον: τηγαν-ίτης (Hippon., gloss.), -ίζω (com., Hell., also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-), with -ισμός [m.], -ιστός (Hell.); -ητόν = *frictum, frixum* (gloss.).
- ETYM Of the two different forms, τάγηνον is probably original; τήγανον (Hell.-Asiat., acc. to Gal. 6, 490) then underwent metathesis after the frequent instrument names in -ανον.

A technical word without etymology. Bezzenger & Fick BB 6 (1881): 237f. compared OE *þeccan* 'to burn', OHG *dahhazzen* 'loderi', which are further isolated.

Fur.: 391 thinks that the form in ἡγαν- proves Pre-Greek origin, which is quite possible.

**τᾶγός** [m.] 'chief, commander' (trag.), especially a title of Thessalian officials and of the chief of the Thessalian league (Thess. inscr., X.), 'president of a phratry' (Delph. inscr.); on the mg. see Bowra *JHS* 54 (1934): 56. <?, IE? \**teh<sub>2</sub>g-* 'order, fit'>

•DER ἄ-ταγ-ία [f.] 'lack of a τᾶγός' (Thess.), ταγ-εύω (also with συν-) 'to be τᾶγός' (Thess., Delph., X.), med. 'to summon to the chief' (A. *Th.* 58), -έω 'to be commander' (A. *Pers.* 764). Uncertain τᾶγά [f.] 'leadership' (A. Ag. 110 [lyr.]); cf. ταγή s.v. ▶ τάσσω. On apparent τᾶγοί (Ψ 160) see Wackernagel 1916: 222.

•ETYM A Thessalian title, which was used to create a foreign 'couleur locale' by the tragedians; cf. Björck 1950: 153. Traditionally connected with ▶ τάσσω, in which case the long vowel in τᾶγός must be very old. ToB *tās* 'commander' is probably related, for which Adams 1999 s.v. reconstructs a pre-form \**tāgyu-*. Lith. *pa-togūs* 'convenient, pliable, pleasant', *su-tógti* 'to rely on, be wedded, commit oneself' has been further compared, which would presuppose a root \**teh<sub>2</sub>g-*.

**τάγυρι** [n.] 'small thing' (Eup. 3, Theognost. *Can.*). <PG(V)>

•DER ταγύρια (leg. -ι?)· τὰ ἐλάχιστα, τὰ τυχόντα (H.).

•ETYM Fur. 261 compares σαγύριον· ἄρτου κλάσμα 'piece of bread' (H.), and thinks the word is Pre-Greek.

**τάγχουρος** [m.] 'gold' (sch. Theoc.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ἄγχουρος (Besant.), τάγχαρας (Cosmas ad *OGI*, 199).

•ETYM Fur.: 391 concludes from the variation that the word is Pre-Greek.

**ταθρίσιον** [n.] a fish. <?>

•VAR Also -ιος (*PLond. ined.* 2143).

•ETYM Unknown.

**ταινία** [f.] 'band, binding, headband, spit of land, sandbank' (IA, Emp., Epid.), 'tapeworm' (Gal.); name of a band-like fish (Epich., Arist.; Strömberg 1943: 37f.), also name of a region near the Sea Mareotis (Ath.). <?>

•COMP Compounds ταινιό-πωλις [f.] 'band-seller' (Eup., D.), ὑπο-ταίνιος 'forming a spit or sandbank' (Ph.).

•DER Diminutive ταιν-ίον (Priene, *EM*), -ίδιον (medic., Delos); adjective -ιώδης 'band-shaped' (Thphr.), -ιωτικός (οἶνος) 'wine from Tainia' (Ath.), ~ *papyrus* (Plin.); verb -ιόω 'to adorn with bands' (Att., etc.).

•ETYM Formation comparable to ▶ κειρία 'band, tapeworm, etc.'; cf. also κοιλία, ἀντλία, and other secondary formations in -ία. Probably ultimately related to τείνω, but the details are rather unclear. The missing link may be a noun like \*ταῖνα or \*ταινά; cf. σφαῖρα.

**τακερός** •VAR τάκωνες. =τήκομαι.

**τάλα-** 'bearing, enduring, etc.' <IE \**telh<sub>2</sub>-* 'bear, endure'>

•COMP As a first member in verbal governing compounds (epic poet.): ταλα-(φ)εργός 'enduring labor' (Hom., Hes., Theoc.), ταλα-πενθής 'enduring harm' (ε 222,

B.), ταλα-πείριος 'who has overcome many tests' (Od., etc.). Besides, with the second member as a subject, ταλά-φρων 'of enduring mind' (N 300, Opp; also ταλασι-, ταλαι-). After this ταλα-κάρδιος 'with tolerant heart, suffering' (Hes. Sc., S. [lyr.]).

•ETYM From ▶ ταλάσσαι. Further also ταλαι-; see ▶ ταλαίπωρος. Cf. also ταλαύρινος (to ▶ ρίνος) and ▶ ἀταλός; ▶ ταλαός, ▶ τάλας, ▶ τάλαντα, ▶ τάλαρως.

**ταλαίπωρος** [adj.] 'enduring hardship or distress, pestered, unhappy' (A. *Pr.*, S., Ar., Pl., D.). <?>

•VAR Substantivized: τὸ ταλαίπωρον 'endurance, effort' (Hp., Ar., D. H., App.).

•COMP Bahuvrihi ἄ-ταλαίπωρος 'without endurance' (Hp., Th., Ar.).

•DER ταλαιπωρ-ικός 'persistent, hardened' (Gal.); -ία (Ion. -ίη, often plur.) [f.] 'effort, labor, ἐνέργεια' (Hp.), 'effort, hardship, suffering' (Hdt., Att.); -έω, -έομαι [v.] 'to make effort, toil, suffer' (IA), the active sometimes also trans. 'to pester, agonize' (Isoc., D. C.), with -ησις, -ημα (late); also -ίζω = -έω (Phld., Sm.), with -ισμός (Phld.).

•ETYM The first member ταλαι- equals ▶ ταλα- (s.v.). For the second member, some words that are almost only transmitted by lexicographers (H., Suid.) have been compared, and connected with πῆμα, πηρός by WP 2, 8: πωρεῖν· κηδεύειν, πενθεῖν 'to mourn, suffer' (Elean, acc. to Suid.), πωρήσαι· λυπῆσαι 'to be grieved', πωρητύς· ταλαιπωρία, πένθος 'suffering' (also Antim.), also πῶρος· ὁ ταλαίπωρος; however, πωρός· τυφλός, πῶρωσις· τύφλωσις (Suid.) derive from πῶρος 'stone', πωρόω 'to harden, strike with blindness'. Others compare the Gm. word for 'danger', \**fēr-* (older litt. in Frisk).

**τάλαντα** [n.pl.] 'scales, balance' (epic poet. Il.), also a designation of a unit of weight and currency, 'talent' (since Il.). <IE \**telh<sub>2</sub>-* 'bear, endure'>

•VAR Secondary sing. τάλαντον 'balance' (Thgn., B., A., Ar.), 'talent' (since θ 393).

•COMP As a second member in ἡμι-τάλαντον [n.] 'half a talent' (since Ψ 751 and 796), properly a substantivized adjective, 'consisting of half a talent' (Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 51); ἄ-τάλαντος 'having the same weight, equal' (Il., Hell. epic).

•DER ταλαντ-ιαῖος 'worth one talent' (Att.), -ιεῖος 'id.' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>); -εύω (also with ἀμφι-, ἀντι-) [v.] 'to weigh, balance, sway to and fro', pass. 'to swing' (Arist., D. S.), with -εῖα [f.] (conj. Pl. *Cra.* 395e); -όομαι (δια-) [v.] 'to swing to and fro' (Pl., Ach. Tat.), with ἐκ- 'to be robbed of one's talents' (Sopat. Com.); τάλαντ-ωσις [f.] 'weighing, swinging to and fro' (Antipho Soph., Arist.); -άω = -εύω (*EM*).

•ETYM Properly "bearing", a participial formation \**tlh<sub>2</sub>-ent-* from the root \**telh<sub>2</sub>-* in ▶ ταλάσσαι, etc. (see Beekes 1975: 51). Borrowed as Lat. *talentum*, -a. On ▶ Ἀταλάντη, see s.v. See ▶ τάλᾱς.

**ταλαός** [adj.] 'enduring, tolerant, unhappy' (Ar. *Av.* 687 [anap.], Q. S.). <GR>

•ETYM Formation liké ταναός, but perhaps just a shortening of ταλα-κάρδιος vel sim.

**τάλαρος** [m.] 'basket' (Hom., Hes. Sc., Ar., Mosch., Paus.). <IE \**telh<sub>2</sub>-* 'bear'>

•DER Diminutives ταλαρ-ίσκος [m.] (Arist., Theoc., AP), -ιον [n.] (pap. III<sup>p</sup>, Poll.).



•ETYM Properly “bearer”, a substantivization from an adjective \*ταλα-ρός, built from the root \*telh<sub>2</sub>-, with regular shift of accent. For the formation, cf. λαγα-ρός, χαλα-ρός, etc. See ► ταλάσσαι.

τάλας [adj.] ‘wretched, unhappy’, expression of compassion (epic poet. Od.). <IE \*telh<sub>2</sub>- ‘bear, endure’>

•VAR τάλαινα [f.], τάλᾱν [n.], gen. τάλανος, -αίνης, -ανος, dat. also -αντι (Hippon.), voc. τάλαν.

•ETYM Originally, a formation in -ντ- from ► ταλάσσαι (like τάλαντα), which turned into an *n*-stem after the example of μέλας, -ανος because of the frequent vocative (Solmsen *IF* 31 (1912/13): 499ff.). See ► τᾱν.

ταλασία [f.] ‘wool-labor, wool-spinning’ (Pl. *Lg.*, *X.*, *Ph.*, *Plu.*). <GR>

•DIAL Myc. *ta-ra-si-ja* ‘quantity of bronze or wool weighed for working’.

•COMP As a first member in ταλασι-ουργ-ός [f.] ‘wool-spinner’ (Pl. *Ion.*, Trypho *apud* Ath.), with -ικός (Pl. *Plt.*, *X.*), -ία [f.] (Pl. *Plt.*), -έω [v.] (*X.*, *D. S.*, *Luc.*) after δημιουργ-ός, -ικός, -ία, -έω.

•DER ταλάσ-ιος (in -α ἔργα) ‘concerning wool-spinning’ (*X.*), -ήϊα ἔργα (*A. R.*, Nonn.; after πολε-μῖα ἔργα); ταλάσια· τὰ ἔρια ‘wool’ (*H.*).

•ETYM The word ἐργασία probably served as an example for the formation of ταλασία (cf. Pl. *Ion* 540c: ἀλλ’ οἷα γυναικὶ πρέποντά ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ταλασιουργῶ περὶ ἐρίων ἐργασίας, ‘but as far as it befits a wool-working woman to say things about wool-working’). The form ταλασία was created from ταλάσ(σ)αι after the examples of ἐργάσασθαι : ἐργασία, γυμνάσασθαι : γυμνασία, δοκιμάσαι : δοκιμασία, etc. (Schwyzer: 469).

It is best to assume ‘to weigh’ (like in τάλαντα) as another meaning of ταλάσ(σ)αι ‘to endure’ (although further unattested). Thus, ταλασία would properly mean ‘weighing (for sbd.)’, like Lat. *pēnsūm* ‘(weighed off) wool, wool-labor, day-work for a woman’. Differently, Solmsen *IF* 31 (1912/13): 503ff., who assumed an intermediate form \*ταλάτης, properly meaning ‘who has to endure laborious work’, comparing Ru. *stradát* ‘to suffer’, dial. ‘to harvest’, with *stradá* ‘heavy labor, harvest work’.

ταλάσσαι [v.aor.] ‘to endure, tolerate’ (Il.). <IE \*telh<sub>2</sub>- ‘bear, endure’>

•VAR Med. -ασθαι (Opp.), fut. ταλάσσω (Lyc.); τελάσσαι· τολμῆσαι ‘to dare’, τλῆναι (*H.*). Further τλῆναι (Dor. τλᾱναι), also with ἀνα-, etc., fut. τλήσομαι (Dor. Aeol. τλάσ-), perf. τέτληκα, plur. τέτλαμεν, ptc. τετληώς.

•COMP As a first member in τλή-θυμος (Dor. τλᾱ-) ‘of patient mind, patient’ (Pi., AP), Τλη-πόλεμος PN (Il.), also τλησι-κάρδιος (*A.* [Iyr.]); besides ταλα-(φ)εργός, ► ταλαίπωρος, ταλασί-φρων. As a second member in πολύ-τλᾱς ‘much-enduring, persisting’, of Odysseus (Hom.), probably from a stem \*-tleh<sub>2</sub>-t-, so Aeolic. Not here ► Ἄτλας.

•DER 1. ► ταλαός. 2. τλητός, Dor. τλᾱτός ‘able to tolerate, bearable’ (Ω 49, trag.), more usual ἄ-τλητος, ἄ-τλᾱτος ‘unbearable’ (epic poet. Il.), πολύ-τλητος ‘much-enduring, much-tested’ (λ 38). 3. τλήμων, Dor. τλᾱμων ‘persevering, steadfast, tolerant, troublesome, unhappy’, also ‘enterprising, bold, brutal’ (epic poet. Il.), with τλημοσύνη [f.] ‘steadfastness, patience, patient acceptance’ (Archil., *h. Ap.*).

•ETYM The aorist ταλάσσαι has a secondary disyllabic zero grade (cf. δαμιά(σ)αι, χαλάσαι), but we also find τελάσσαι (*H.*), which probably represents the old full grade \*telh<sub>2</sub>-, like in ἐλάσαι, κεράσ(σ)αι, κρεμάσαι, etc. In the other tenses (except for the present), τλη- was generalized. The short vowel in τέτλαμεν is secondary after ἔσταμεν. The form τλῆναι may be a replacement of τελάσσαι after στήναι et al. The present ► τέλλω in ἀνατέλλω ‘go up, rise, lift up’, etc. is isolated formally and semantically.

For cognate verbal forms, see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*telh<sub>2</sub>-, and for the history of the Greek formations, Harðarson 1993b. Latin has a perfect *te-tul-i* continuing \*te-tolh<sub>2</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>ei (ToA *ca-cāl* ‘he raised’ [caus.pret.] is a regular formation). The *to*-ptc. in τλη-τός, τλᾱ-τός neatly corresponds to Italo-Celtic forms: Lat. *lātus* from \*tlā-tos < \*tlh<sub>2</sub>-to-, MW *tlawdd* ‘poor’ (with the same meaning as in τάλας). A zero grade of the root is found in Skt. *tulā* [f.] ‘balance’ < IE \*tlh<sub>2</sub>-eh<sub>2</sub>- and in Germanic, e.g. Go. *þulan*, OHG *dolēn* ‘tolerate’ from a stative \*tlh<sub>2</sub>-eh<sub>2</sub>-.

In Greek, the meaning has been narrowed to ‘tolerate, endure’ in the verbal forms, while ἀείρω is used in the sense of ‘support’.

See ► τέλλω 2, ► τελαμών, ► τόλμη, ► Τάνταλος, ► τάλαντα, etc.

ταλαύρινος ‘shield-bearing’. ⇒ ῥινός.

ταλάωρ, -ωρος [m.] ‘bow’ (Euph. 9, 12; of the bow of Artemis, Choerob. in *Theod.*).

<?>

•DER ταλαώρεα· τοξεύματα ‘bows’ (*H.*).

•ETYM Unexplained.

τᾱλῖς, -ιδος [f.] ‘young, nubile girl, bride’ (S. *Ant.* 629 [anap.], Call. *Ait.* 3, 1, 3). <?>

•ETYM Perhaps an Aeolic form of ► τῆλῖς (s.v.).

ταμία [f.] ‘housekeeper, conductress’ (Hom., Alc., *X.*, Hell. inscr.). <GR>

•VAR Ion. -ίη. More usual ταμίας (Ion. -ίης) [m.] ‘housekeeper, conductor, manager, treasurer’ (Il.), also used for Lat. *quaestor* (Hell.).

•DIAL Myc. PN *Ta-mi-je-u*.

•COMP As a second member in Ἑλληνο-ταμίαι [pl.m.], designation of Athenian officials that administered the funds of the league at Delos (Att.).

•DER ταμι-εύω [v.] (sometimes with δια-, etc.) ‘to manage, economize’, med. ‘to manage, save up, take in’ (IA), with -εῖον [n.] ‘storehouse, treasury, *fiscus*’ (IA), diminutive -εῖδιον (Suid., perhaps Men. *Sam.* 402 [=233] Jacques), -εῖα [f.] ‘management, administration’ (Pl. *Lg.*, *X.*, *Hp.*, *Arist.*), -ευσίς [f.] ‘id.’ (Ael.), -εύματα [pl.n.] ‘economy measures’ (*X.*), ‘provisions’ (*D. S.*), -ευντής [m.] ‘administrator’ (Poll. v.l.), -ευντικός ‘economic’ (pap., Poll.), τὸ ταμεινικόν ‘economy’ (M. Ant.), -εὐτώρ [m.] ‘id.’ (Man.), -εὐς [m.] (St. Byz.; back-formation), -ευντήριον = ταμείον (sch.). Further ταμι-ικός, -ιακός ‘of the ταμίας or ταμι(εῖ)ον’ (Hell. and late inscr. and pap.).

•ETYM Connected with ταμεῖν ‘to cut (up), divide’, but the details of the formation are not quite clear. Since examples of primary derivatives in -ίας do not exist, an intermediate nominal form is needed. Generally, ταμίας is considered to be a

masculine innovation of the feminine ταμία '(female) housekeeper', which is more common in Homer, but much rarer elsewhere. However, this is contradicted by the fact that comparable primary formations in -ία (πενία, μανία, θασία) are abstracts. Schwyzler: 470 and 473<sup>3</sup> assumes that ταμία is based on τάμι-α (Pi., doubtful), from which ταμίας was then secondarily created. Conversely, one might think that \*ταμία [f.] 'cutting up, division' led to ταμίας [m.], from which ταμία 'housekeeper' was formed based on ἀγγελίη from ἀγγελίης 'messenger' (cf. on ▶ ἀγγελος).

**τάμιος** [f.] 'rennet' (Hp., Theoc., Nic.). <PG(S)>

•DER ταμιοσ-ίνης τυρός 'cheese made with rennet' (Diocl. Fr.; like ὀξίνης, etc.), -ιον [n.] 'coagulum' (gloss.).

•ETYM Has been compared with ταμειν, with the suffix found in μάδιος, κύτιος (cf. Chantraine 1933: 435). DELG and Frisk justify the development of meaning by pointing to σχίζειν τὸ γάλα 'to curdle milk' (Dsc.) and to γαλατμόν = λάχανον ἄγριον 'wild herb' H., if this contains the root \*temH- 'to cut'. However, this etymology for γαλατμόν may well be wrong. Rather, τάμιος is Pre-Greek because of the suffix -ισ-.

**τᾶν** only in ὦ τᾶν (ὦ τάν), a popular form of address (Att.). <GR>

•VAR Also τάν.

•ETYM Acc. to Kretschmer *Glotta* 1 (1909): 58, it may have developed from τάλαν. Doubts by Björck 1950: 275ff., who deals extensively with meaning and attestations.

**ταναός** [adj.] 'thin, narrow, outstretched, expanding widely, long, high' (epic poet. since P 589). <IE \*tnh<sub>2</sub>-eu- 'thin'>

•VAR Myc. ta-na-wa (of wheels).

•COMP As a first member in ταναό-δειρος 'with a narrow or outstretched neck', of οἰωνοί (Ar.), often with elision of the -ο-, e.g. τανα-ήκης 'with a long point, edge', of weapons (Hom.), 'lofty', of rushes, mountains (Opp., Orph.; cf. on ἡκή), also ταναύ-ποδα epithet of μῆλα 'thin-legged, with stretched feet' (ι 464, h. Ap., h. Merc.). With -αι- (after τάλαι-, παλαι-, etc.): ταναί-μῦκος 'far-bellowing', of βοῦς (AP).

•ETYM Christophe KZ 114 (2001): 90-116 recently argued that the root \*ten- had no laryngeal. However, the laryngeal is necessary for almost all branches: Celtic forms like OIr. tanae 'thin' < PCl. \*tanauijo- < \*tnh<sub>2</sub>-eu-o-, Lith. tēvas 'thin, slender, high (of voices)', Latv. tiēvs 'thin, slender' < \*tenh<sub>2</sub>-u-ó-, OCS tьnъkъ, Ru. tónkij, Sln. tănak 'delicate, fine' < \*tnHu-k-, and probably also Lat. tenuis < \*ten(a)ui- < Plt. \*tn(a)ui- < IE \*tnh<sub>2</sub>-eu-. The Germanic evidence is ambiguous regarding the laryngeal, e.g. OHG dunni < PGm. \*þunw-. The Greek form presupposes \*tnh<sub>2</sub>-eu-o-; cf. Beekes MSS 34 (1976): 9-12. Within Greek, comparanda are ▶ τανυ- and ▶ τάνυται. Christophe's assumption that \*tnu- gave τανυ- in Greek is unnecessary, and his assumption of another prop vowel in t<sup>o</sup>n<sup>o</sup>-wo-, giving ταναός, is improbable.

**τανεῖαι** [f.pl.] 'beam' (Thphr. HP 4, 1, 2). <IE \*tenh<sub>2</sub>-u- 'thin'>

•ETYM Formally, this seems to be the feminine of an adjective \*τανός (see ▶ τανυ-); semantically, this is quite possible.

**τανηλεγής** [adj.] 'reckless, heedless, inconsiderate', only in τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο (Hom., Tyrnt.). <IE \*h<sub>2</sub>leg- 'care for'>

•VAR Also -έως (metr. inscr. Phrygia).

•DER Similarly δυσ-ηλεγής (also of θάνατος χ 325), also of πόλεμος, etc. (epic), ἀπ-ηλεγέως (epic since Il.), ἀν-ηλεγής (πόλεμος), -έως (Q. S.), νηλεγής, -έως (H.).

•ETYM The second member belongs to ▶ ἀλέγω 'to care for'; νηλεγής < \*h<sub>2</sub>leg- contains the negative prefix. In view of the meaning, Leumann 1950: 45 (following Blass and Bechtel 1914 s.v.) reads τ' ἀνηλεγής, which would fit the semantics excellently. Szemerényi 1964: 154, 159 defends the connection with τανυ-.

**τανθαρούζω** [v.] 'to quiver'. <PG(V)>

•VAR Only in ἐκτανθαρούζω· τρέμω H.; also τανθαλύζει· τρέμει. Δωριεῖς, οἱ δὲ σπαίρει 'trembles (Dor.), others: quivers' (H., cod. ταντ-, but at an alphabetically wrong position); influenced by τανταλίζει (see ▶ Τάνταλος). With o-vocalism τοιθορύσσειν· σείειν 'to shake', τοιθορύκτρια· ἡ τοὺς σεισμοὺς ποιοῦσα 'who causes shaking' (H.). Also ἐτανθόριζον· ἔτρεμον (H., leg. ἐτανθάριζον?). Further details in Debrunner IF 21 (1907): 266.

•DER Also τανθαrustoί [pl.] 'the quivering ones', epithet of ὄρμοι 'necklaces' (Theopomp. Com. 95).

•ETYM Popular words with intensive reduplication; as to be expected, without clear genealogy. Frisk cites an old proposal to connect some Balto-Slavic words for 'to tremble, etc.', e.g. Ru. drógnut 'tremble', dróz' [f.] 'shiver', Lith. drugys [m.] '(cold) fever, butterfly'. Discussion in Tichy 1983: 212f. The word ▶ τονθορούζω may be identical, with α > o before v. If so, the variation points to Pre-Greek origin.

**Τάνταλος** [m.] father of Pelops, grandfather of Atreus, mythical king of Sipylos in Asia Minor, famous for his riches and punished in the underworld for his faults (Od.). <?>

•DER Τανταλ-ίδαι [m.pl.] 'offspring of T.' (A. [lyr.]), -ίς [f.] 'daughter of T.', i.e. Niobe (APL), -ειος 'belonging to T.' (E., etc.), also -εος (AP) and -ικός (Man.); -ίτις [f.] name of a plant = Γοργόνειον, λιθόσπερμον (Ps.-Dsc.) referring to the rock that threatened to crush T. (Redard 1949: 77, Strömberg 1940: 101).

Verbs: 1. τανταλ-ίζω 'to hover' (Anacr.), med. 'to weigh?' (proverb in Zen.), τανταλίζεται· σαλεύεται 'is rocked', ἐταντάλιζεν· ἔτρεμεν 'trembled', ἐτανταλίχθη· ἐσεισθη 'was shaken' (H.). 2. -όομαι in τανταλωθείς (S. Ant. 134 [lyr.]), acc. to sch. ad loc. = διατιναχθείς ἄνωθεν κάτω, διασεισθείς 'shaken from top to bottom, shaken all over'.

•ETYM Connection with the root ταλα- is impossible, as this contained a laryngeal. It is unclear how the verbs τανταλ-ίζω, -όομαι relate to Τάνταλος. They were probably influenced semantically by τάλαντα; cf. Pl. Cra. 396d, where Τάνταλος is interpreted as τάλαντατος 'who has to bear much' (from ▶ τάλας). On τανθαλύζει (cod. ταντ-), see s.v. ▶ τανθαρούζω. An IE interpretation is most improbable.

**τανυ-** 'thin, narrow, slim'. <IE \*tenh<sub>2</sub>-u- 'thin'>

•COMP As a first member in several compounds, and originally adjectival, e.g. τανύ-φλοιος 'with thin bark' (P 767, etc.), -φυλλος 'with narrow leaves' (Od.), τανύ-

σφυρος (beside τανί-σφυρος, after καλλί-σφυρος or dissimilated from υ ... υ?) 'with slim ankles' (Hes., *h. Cer.*, Ibyc., B.), τανυ-ήκης 'with a thin point' (Il.; also τανα-ήκης, see ► ταναός). τανυ- disappeared as an independent adjective at an early date. In some cases, it may have been semantically influenced by ► τάνυται, τανύω, which seems clear in τανύ-πτερος (Hes., *h. Cer.* et al.), τανυ-πτέρυξ (Il.), also τανυσί-πτερος (Od.) 'with spread wings' or 'spreading the wings' (less clear are cases like τανύ-πεπλος, -γλωσσος, -θριξ. Sommer 1948: 127f., tries to show that τανυ- was originally a verbal member (to be rejected).

•ETYM An adjective \*τανύς, which apparently disappeared in Greek, has exact correspondences in several languages: Skt. *tanú-* 'thin, sweet, unimportant', Lat. *tenuis* 'thin, etc.' (regularly reflected as an *i*-stem), ON *þunnr* < \**þunwa-* (*i*-stem in OHG *dunni* 'thin'), OCS *tъnъkъ*, Ru. *tónkij* 'thin, fine, slender' (for the suffix, cf. Skt. *tánuka-*), all ultimately reflecting IE \**tnh<sub>2</sub>ú-*. An old feminine form of \*τανύς seems to have been preserved in ► τανείαι.

**τάνυται** [v.3sg.pres.med.] 'to stretch, tense, extend, expand' (P 393, epic lyr., Ion. prose). <IE \**tenh<sub>2</sub>-* 'stretch'>

•VAR τανύ-ω, -ουσι, -οντο, etc. (Hom., Hdt.), aor. τανύσ(σ)-αι, -ασθαι, -θῆναι, perf. med. τετάνυσμαι (Il.), fut. τανύ-ω (Od.), pass. -σσομαι (Archil.), -σ(σ)ω (AP, Orph.).

•COMP Also with ἐν-, ἐπι-, etc.

•DER Very few derivatives: 1. τανυστός [f.] 'stretching', of a bow (φ 112) (for the formation cf. ἀκοντιστός et al.); 2. τάνυσις = τάσις 'tension, extension', of an organ (Hp., Aret.); 3. ἐντανυσμός as an explanation of τανυστός, sch. to φ 112.

•ETYM A formation parallel to τάνυται is found in Skt. *tanuté* 'stretches, expands'. The thematic present τανύω, etc. is an innovation, probably starting from the 3pl. τανύουσι, -οντο. All other forms, like τανύσ(σ)-αι, etc., developed from the present, probably after ἐρύω, ἐρύσ(σ)-αι. A new present ► τείνω was created at a later date. See ► τανυ-.

**ταπεινός** [adj.] 'low-lying, inferior in rank, vile, insignificant, meek' (Pi., IA). <PG?>

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ταπεινό-φρων 'of humble mind, meek', with -φρονέω, -φροσύνη (LXX, NT, Plu.).

•DER ταπειν-ότης [f.] 'humility, pettiness, lowliness' (IA); -όομαι, -όω [v.] (also with ἐκ-, συν-) 'to humble oneself, act. 'to humiliate, disparage, etc.' (IA), with -ωσις [f.] 'humiliation' (Pl. *Lg.*, Hell.), -ωμα [n.] 'dejection of a planet' (Plu., S. E.).

•ETYM Formation like αἰπεινός, ὀρεινός, but further analysis is unclear. Frisk and Pok. mention the old comparison with ON *þeffja* [v.] 'to stamp', *þöf* [n.] 'crowd', assuming a root \**tap-*, but this does not convince. Fur.: 158 considers substrate origin.

**τάπης, -ητος** [f.] 'carpet, rug' (Hom., Herod., Ar., inscr. Cos IV-III<sup>a</sup>). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also τάπις, -ιδος (X., Delos IV-III<sup>a</sup>), ► δάπις 'id.', τάβης (*Edict. Diocl.* 7, 62).

•COMP Few compounds: ταπιδ-υφάντης [m.] 'carpet-weaver' (Hell. pap.), ἀμφι-τάπης [m.] (middle com.), ἀμφί-ταπις [f.] (late), ἀμφί-ταπος [m.] (Hell. pap., LXX) 'rug that is woolly on both sides' (also -δάφος *POxy.*, Fur. 178).

•DER Diminutive ταπήτ-ιον (late), ταπίδ-ιον (Hell. and late pap.); ταπητ-άριος, ταπιτ-άριος, -ᾶς [m.] 'manufacturer of carpets' (late pap.).

•ETYM Formation like λέβης, κάλπις and technical words of debated origin (Chantraine 1933: 267 and 335f.). Traditionally taken to be an Oriental loan: Iranian, from MoP *tāb-ad*, inf. *tāftan*, *tābīdan* 'turn, spin' (Schrader *KZ* 30 (1890): 484). The form ἀμφί-ταπος shows a form without suffix. There are several variant forms (Fur. *passim*), which proves Pre-Greek origin. Borrowed as Lat. *tapēt-e*, -um, whence Ital. *tappeto*, OHG *teppid*, *teppih*, MoHG *Tapete*, etc.

**ταρ** [pcl.] <GR>

•ETYM Seems to be attested in the Venetus A of the Iliad. See ► τε.

**τάρανδος** [m.] designation of a horned animal in northern regions, probably 'reindeer' (Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 503), acc. to H. ζῶον ἐλάφου παραπλήσιον, οὗ τὰς δορὰς εἰς χιτῶνας χρώνται Σκύθαι 'animal reminiscent of the deer, the hides of which are used for coats by the Scythians'. <LW? Orient., PG?(V)>

•VAR Also -δρος.

•ETYM Fur.: 389 cites Lat. *parandrum* (Sol.) as a variant with *p-*, which might point to a Pre-Greek word. Isebaert *Glotta* 60 (1982): 62-65, reconstructs Old Ossetic \**tharan-tara-* from \**k(e)ren-tero-*, properly "the horned animal par excellence".

**ταράσσω** [v.] 'to stir, agitate, confuse, arouse, startle' (Pi., IA). <IE \**d<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>h</sup>-* 'confuse'>

•VAR Att. -άττω; aor. ταρ-άξαι (Il.), pass. -αχθῆναι, fut. -άξω, pass. -άξομαι, perf. pass. τετάραγμα (IA), act. -αχα (late).

•COMP Often with prefix, especially συν-.

•DER ταρ-αγμός [m.] 'confusion' (trag.), -αγμα [n.] 'confused state' (E., D. H.); on the difference in mg. between -μός and -μα Chantraine 1933: 146; -αξίς (also with ἐκ-, ἐπι-, συν-) 'confusion, etc.'; -άκτωρ [m.] 'trouble-maker' (A.), -άκτης [m.] 'id.' (Lyc.), -ακτικός 'fit for confusion, disturbing' (late), -ακτρον [n.] "spatula" as a term of abuse, 'trouble-maker' (Ar.), -ακτήριον [n.] 'id.' (sch.).

ταραχ-ή [f.] 'confusion, trouble, uproar' (Pi., IA), with -ώδης (IA); as a second member in ἀ-τάραχος 'without trouble, calm' (Arist., Hell.), also ἀ-τάρακτος, with ἀταραξ-ία, -ίη (Hp., Hell.); rare τάραχος [m.] = ταραχή (X., Hell.).

•ETYM Greek formed two presents from the root \**d<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>h</sup>-*: θράσσω (with aor. θράξαι) and τaráσσω (with aor. τaráξαι, perf. intr. τέτριχα, etc.); the latter could also be a denominative from ταραχή. For further connections, see ► θράσσω. Since a formation \**d<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>2</sub>-eg<sup>h</sup>-* is rather doubtful, ταραχή seems to require a special development of the zero grade \**d<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>h</sup>-*, perhaps conditioned by the accent (as defended by Rix).

**ταρβέω** [v.] 'to be startled, shy, shun' (epic poet. since Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Aor. ταρβῆσαι, perf. τετάρβηκα (E.).

•DIAL Boeot. τάρβεμι (Hdn. Gr.).

•COMP Rarely with προ-, ὑπο-, ἐκ-.

•DER τάρβος [n.] 'fright, shyness' (Ω 152 = 181, trag.; ταρβο-σύνη [f.] (σ 342), with -συνος 'frightening' (A. Th. 240 [lyr.]), after γηθο-σύνη, -συνος; ἀ-ταρβ-ής [adj.] 'fearless' (N 299, Pi.), from ταρβέω or τάρβος; verbal adjective ἀ-τάρβ-ητος 'id.' (T 63), also ▶ἀτάρβακτος. Further ταρβαλέος [adj.] 'terrible, fearsome' (epic poet., h. Merc.; after σμερδαλέος, θαρσαλέος), ταρβήεις 'fearsome' (Nonn.), like κοτήεις; ταρβάλυξ, -υγος = ὁ ταρακτικός (Hdn. Gr. 2, 743). Further details, especially on the use in Hom., in Ruijgh 1957: 163.

•ETYM The date of the attestations and their frequency suggest that τάρβος was secondarily created from ταρβέω, so denominative origin is improbable for the verb. The word τάρβος is often compared with Skt. *tarjati* (epic, class.) 'threaten, revile', Lat. *torvus* 'grim, fierce', MW *tarfu* 'disturb, trouble, scare', Hitt. *tarkuuant-* 'looking angrily', for the reconstruction of a root \**terg-*. However, there are problems in the reconstruction of the Welsh word (see Matasović 2009 s.v. \**targw-o-*), and the semantic development of 'angry, fierce' to 'shy' in Greek is not clear.

Fur.: 219 compares ταρμύσσω. Moreover, it is difficult to explain the element ταρβ- from the proposed IE forms, as a zero grade would give \*τραβ-. On the Skt. forms, see Kuiper 1956: 215<sup>18</sup>. ToA *trak* 'blind', ToB *tärrek* 'id.' are certainly unrelated, since they are compounds with *ek* 'eye' (A *ak*) as a second member.

**τάργανον** [n.] 'sick wine, vinegar' (Phoen. [III<sup>a</sup>]). <PG(V)>

•VAR Acc. to EM 753, 54, the Attic form is ▶σαργάνη (see s.v.).

•DER Further οἶνος τεταργανωμένος 'sour wine' (Pl. Com.), ταργαίνειν 'arrogate' (H.).

•ETYM Not well explained. Traditionally compared with ▶στεργάνος and ▶τρύξ. The difference in final velar makes comparison with the group of \**terk-*, *trek-* 'turn' (Lat. *torqueō* 'to turn, wind', Skt. *tarkú-* 'spindle', etc.; see Pok. 1077) impossible. Expressions for 'turn' are often applied to drinks that have "turned" sour, bitter, or the like, viz. ὁ οἶνος τρέπεται, with τροπίας 'spoiled wine, τάργανον', Ital. *il vino dà la volta* 'id.', MoFr. *le lait tourne* 'the milk becomes sour', and many more examples. Semantically, one may compare MoDu. *wrang* 'herb, bitter, sour' to Go. *wruggo* 'snare'. The variation τ-/σ- shows that the word is Pre-Greek. However, the appurtenance of the following glosses, adduced by Frisk, is uncertain: ταργάναι, πλοκαί, συνδέσεις, πέδαι 'twinnings, links, shackles' and τεταργανωμένη, συμπεπλεγμένη, συνειλημμένη 'plaited together, taken together' (H.); they barely attest a meaning 'turning, winding', etc.

**τάριχος** [m.] and [n.] 'fish or meat conserved by salting, smoking or drying' (IA, etc.), also 'mummy' (Hdt. 9, 120, S. Fr. 646) <PG>

•VAR Also -ον [n.] (Hell.); back-formed as an adjective 'pickled' (Ael.); rare.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ταριχο-πώλης [m.] 'dealer in τ.', with -πώλιον and -πωλέω [v.] (Pl., Hell.); ὤμο-τάριχος [m.] = σὰρξ θύννου τεταριχευμένου 'dried tunny meat' (middle com., Dsc.).

•DER 1. Diminutive ταρίχ-ιον [n.] (Ar.), 2. -ηρός [adj.] 'ptng. to pickling, pickled', also msc. 'pickler, embalmer of bodies' (Arist., pap.), like ἐλαι-, ὀξ-ηρός; 3. -ᾱς [m.] 'dealer in τ.' (pap. II<sup>p</sup>); 4. -εύω (also with προ-, ἐν-) [v.] 'to pickle, smoke, dry', also

'to embalm', med. also 'to wither' (IA, pap.), with -εία (Ion. -ήη) [f.] 'pickling, embalming' (Hdt., Arist.), -ευσίς [f.] 'id.' (Hdt.), -εῖον [n.] 'pickle factory' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>), -ευτής [m.] 'embalmer, pickler' (Hdt., Hell. pap.), -ευτήρ [m.] 'id.' (Man.), -ευτικός = -ηρός (Dsc.). Of uncertain mg. ταριχώτης, perhaps = ταριχευτής (Tab. Defix.); cf. τριχῶσαι· θάψαι 'bury' (H.).

•ETYM The word is probably Pre-Greek, in view of the meaning of -α-. The formation is isolated (on the long ī, cf. Schwyzler: 644; ▶ἄρριχος 'basket' has ī); the gender may have been adapted to ἰχθύς 'fish' or κρέας 'meat' (cf. Egli 1954: 73ff.). From Greek came Arm. *tařex* 'herring', Syr. *ṭārīxā* 'salted fish'. See ▶ταρχύω.

**ταρμύσσω** [v.] 'to startle' (Lyc. 1177). <PG?>

•VAR Aor. ταρμύσασθαι· φοβηθῆναι 'get scared' (H.); ἀτάρμυκτος 'undaunted' (Euph., Nic., H., EM).

•ETYM Formation like αἰθύσσω, κινύσσομαι, σκαρδαμύσσω, which may be either denominative or deverbative. Connection with τρέμω seems attractive, but the zero grade ταρμ- as opposed to τραμ- (in τέ-τραμ-ος, τε-τραμ-αίνω) raises some doubts. Debrunner IF 21 (1907): 243 posited \*ταρμός 'distress', from ▶τείρω. Fur.: 219 compares ταρβέω, which is possible but remains uncertain; if correct, the word would be Pre-Greek.

**τάρπη** [f.] 'big basket' (Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>, Poll., EM, H.). <PG>

•VAR Also ταρπός [f.] 'id.' (Poll.).

•DER Further τερπώνη [f.] 'id.' (Peripl. M. Rubr. 65), τερπος of uncertain mg. (pap. III<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Frisk compares ταργάναι· πλοκαί... (see on ▶τάργανον), σάρπους· κιβωτούς. Βιθυνοὶ δὲ ξυλίνους οἰκίας (H.), ▶σαργάνη, and even ▶ταρσός. Of these, the comparison with σ/ταργάν- is useless; it is unclear whether σάρπους is cognate or not. Fur.: 183, etc. compares δάρπη· σαργάνη, κόφινος (H.), which would point to a Pre-Greek word.

**ταρσός** [m.] 1. '(plaited) device for dehydrating and drying cheese, etc.' (I 219, Theoc.), 'plaited tube, mat of rushes, kind of flat basket' (Hdt., Th., Ar.), 'entangled roots forming a network' (Thphr.). 2. designation of all kinds of flat objects, like 'sole of the foot' (L 377, 388, Hdt., Hp.), also 'palm of the hand' (late medic.), 'blade, rudder, row of oars' (Hdt., Th., E., Plb.), 'flat of the outstretched wing, etc.' (Mosch., D. H., AP, Ael.). <IE? \*ters- 'dry'>

•VAR Att. ταρρός.

•COMP Rarely as a second member, e.g. σύνταρπος 'with a network of roots' (Thphr.), of δένδρον, back-formation from συν-ταρρόμαι.

•DER 1. τρασιά (Eup., Ar., S.), ταρσίη (Semon.), τερσιά (Jul.; -ε- after τέρσομαι) [f.] 'hurdle for drying figs, etc., dried figs, place for drying cereals, etc.'. 2. ταρσώδης (-ρρ-) 'like a hurdle or mat, plaited' (Thphr.). 3. ταρσῆται· ἀγγεῖα, ἐν οἷς οἱ τυροὶ ψύχονται 'vessel for keeping cheese cool' (H.); 4. ταρσ-όμαι [v.] (rarely with συν-, ἐκ-) 'to form a network', of veins and roots (Hp., Thphr.), -όω 'to equip with rudders or wings' (Polyaen., Lyd.), with -ωμα [n.] 'row of oars' (Poll.).

•ETYM Words in Armenian and Germanic have been compared: Arm. *t'ar* 'bar for drying grapes, etc.' < IE *\*t̥s-*, OHG *darra* [f.] 'apparatus for drying fruits, etc.', MoSw. and MoNw. *tarre* [m.] 'frame for drying malts, etc.', from PGm. *\*parzō* [f.], secondary *\*parzán-* [m.], IE *\*torsā* (would be Gr. *\*τορσί*). Both Frisk and DELG assume that the remarkable shift of meaning to 'blade of the foot, etc.' started from the flat form of the relevant objects. There are also phonological problems with this explanation: it is improbable that *\*t̥s-* would give ταρσ- in Greek, and the co-occurrence of ρα and αρ is also problematic in itself. (The maintained intervocalic -σ may be explained by the chronology of sound changes, however: cf. Manolissou and Pantelidis 2008.) Chantraine 1933: 82 points to the *a*-vocalism. Was it a loan from an intermediate language? See ► τέρσομαι.

**τάρφρα** [n.pl.] 'thicket, shrubbery' (A. R. 4, 1238). ◀?▶

•VAR Dat. -εσι (E 555, O 606).

•DIAL Perhaps Myc. *ta-pa-e-o-te*, see Aura Jorro s.v.

•DER ταρφύς 'dense' (epic poet. Il.), -έες [m.pl.], -εῖαι [f.pl.] (perhaps after πυκιναί, θαμνειαί; cf. Chantraine 1942: 191), ntr.pl. -έα as an adverb 'frequently, often' (cf. Leumann 1950: 166).

•ETYM Derived by Frisk from ► τρέφω 'to feed' as a zero grade (τάρφρα would be analogical after ταρφύς, acc. to Porzig 1942: 246). However, the development to ταρφ- from a zero grade is irregular, and the semantics are not compelling.

**ταρχύω** [v.] 'to inter' (A. R. 3, 208). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR Fut. -ύσω (H 456 = 674), aor. -ύσαι (H 85, Q. S.), med. -ύσασθαι (A. R., Nonn.), pass. -υθῆναι (Lyc., AP), perf. pass. τετάρχυμαι (late verse-inscr.).

•COMP ἀ-τάρχυτος 'uninterred' (Ps.-Phocyl., Lyc.).

•DER Several glosses in H.: ταρχάνιον· ἐντάφιον 'ptng. to burial'; ἐπίταρχον· ἐπιτάφιον, ἐντάφιον; τέρχανον· πένθος, κῆδος 'grief, sorrow'; τέρχνα· ... ἐντάφια; στέρχνα· περίδειπνον. Ἡλείοι 'funeral feast (Elean)'. Also τάρχεα and ταρχώματα = τὰ νομισμένα τοῖς νεκροῖς 'what is to be done with corpses' (sch. A and B to H 85).

•ETYM Has been compared with τάριχος, -εύω 'to pickle, embalm', but this obviously leads to formal and semantic problems. Fur.: 351 takes the forms with (σ)τερχ- as variants, and concludes that the word is Pre-Greek.

**τάσσω** [v.] 'to post, align in ranks, establish; to put in order, arrange' (post-Hom.). ◀?▶

•VAR Att. -ττω; aor. τάσαι, pass. ταχθῆναι, later ταγῆναι, fut. τάξω, perf. pass. τέταγμαι, 3pl. τετάχεται (Th., X.), act. (young Att.) τέταχα.

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐπι-, παρα-, προ-, συν-.

•DER 1. ταγή (δια-, ἐπι-, συν-, ὑπο-, etc.) [f.] 'array, order, supply, etc.' (Ar. Lys. 105 [Dor.], Hell.); 2. τάγμα (διά-, ἐπί-, σύν-, πρόσ-, etc.) [n.] 'array, order, line-up, etc.' (IA); 3. τάξις (διά-, παρά-, σύν-, ὑπό-, etc.) [f.] 'array, line-up, etc.' (IA); συντάξι-μιον [n.] mg. unclear, perhaps name of a tax, 'census-list' (?) (pap. P); 4. τακτός (ἐπί-, ὑπό-, ἀπό-, etc.) 'established, measured out, ordered' (IA); 5. τακτικός 'concerning the line-up of an army, tactical' (X. et al.), frequently with ἐπι-, προσ-, συν-, ὑπο- to prefixed ἐπι-τάττω, etc. (Pl., Arist., Hell.); 6. ἀνα-, δια-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-τάκτης (from ἀνα-

τάσσω, etc.) [m.] names of various officials (Hell.); λιποτάκτης [m.] 'deserter' (D. H.), to λιποταξίου (γραφῆ, Att.), compounded from τάξιν λιπεῖν; 7. ἐπι-τακτήρ [m.] 'commander' (X.), ἀπο-τακτήρ 'hermit' (pap. VP: ἀποτάσσομαι 'to take leave'), συν-τακτήρ 'arranger', with -ήριος (EM); 8. ἐν-τάγ-ιον [n.] 'order', diminutive ἐπιταγ-ίδιον [n.] (late pap.); ἐν-ταγ-ής 'ordered' (late pap.), also with nominal first member, e.g. ὅμο-ταγ-ής 'equal in status, etc.' (Euc., Hero, etc.); 9. ἐπιτάξ [adv.] 'in a row, etc.' (Hell.). See ► τᾶγός.

•ETYM The -γ- in ταγή and ► τᾶγός (as to whether the latter is connected, see s.v.) shows that τάσσω, -ττω is analogical for \*τάζω. In other languages, it has been compared with the Parthian title *tgmdr*, which Bailey 1985: 98 takes to be *tagma-dāra* 'giver of order', OP *ham-ataxšata* 'they have put in order', ToB *tās* 'commander', and (less certain) Lith. *patogūs* 'convenient', *sutógti* 'to be wedded; to commit oneself, etc.'. If the OP form lost its laryngeal as a result of Lubotsky's Law (loss of laryngeal before two or more consonants, of which the first one is glottalized), we may reconstruct a root *\*teh<sub>2</sub>g-* (instead of the awkward *\*tag-* suggested by LIV<sup>2</sup>).

**τατᾶ** [voc.] 'daddy' (AP 11, 67). ◀IE *\*tata* 'father' ONOM▶

•DER τᾶτί [voc.] 'mummy' (Herod. 5, 69); τᾶταλίζω [v.] 'to address with τᾶτα, flatter' (Herod.); for the enlargement in -λ- cf. πυκταλίζω (to πύκτης).

•ETYM Familiar address like Lat. *tata*, Ru. *táta*, Skt. *tatá-*, Luw. *tati(ia)-* 'father', etc. Also τέττα voc. 'id.' (Δ 412) with *e*-vocalism, like Lith. *tētis*, -te 'id.', *tetá* 'aunt', Cz. *teta* 'id.'. See ► ἄττα and ► πάπα.

**τατύρος** = τέταρος.

**ταῦ** [n.indecl.] name of a letter (Hp., Pl., Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>). ◀LW Sem.▶

•ETYM From Hebr. *tāw*. Cf. Schwyzler: 140.

**ταῦρος** [m.] 'bull' (Il.). ◀IE? *\*teh<sub>2</sub>u-ro-* 'bull' (cf. *\*steuro-*).▶

•COMP Very frequent as a first member, e.g. ταυρο-κτόνος 'bull-slaying' (S. [Iyr.]); also as a second member, e.g. θεό-ταυρος 'god-bull', of Zeus (Mosch.).

•DER 1. Diminutive ταυρ-ίδιον [n.] (Suid.). 2. -ειος [adj.] 'of bull, of beef', also epithet of Poseidon (Il. [only fem.], trag., Ar., pap.), -εῖα, -έα [f.] 'hide of a bull or ox, a whip made of it' (Artem.), with -ίζω = τείνω 'stretch' (An. Ox.). 3. -εος [adj.] 'id.' (Hes. Sc. 140, Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>, Lyr. Adesp. Alex., pap.). 4. -ικόν ζεύγος 'span of oxen' (Hell. pap.), τὸ τ. 'id.' (late pap.). 5. -ώδης 'like a bull' (Nic.). 6. -ε(ι)ών, -ε(ι)ώνος [m.] name of a month in Asia Minor (inscr., Herod.), -ών [m.] 'id.' in Alexandria (Ptol.). 7. -ίνη [f.] from Lat. *taurīna* [f.] 'shoe made of bovine leather' (Edict. Diocl.). 8. -εασταί [m.pl.] 'worshipper of Apollo Taureios in Ephesus' (inscr. I<sup>a</sup>). 9. -ιηδόν [adv.] 'bullishly' (Ar., Pl.). 10. ταυρίνδα· φαλλική παιδιὰ παρὰ Ταραντίνους (H.). 11. -όομαι (also with ἀπο-) [v.] 'to behave like a bull' (A., E.); ταύρων· ταῦρον ποίησον 'make a bull' (H.); cf. ταυ-ρίνδα; ταῦρος also = αἰδοῖον, κοχώνη (Poll., Gal., Phot., Suid.). 12. -(ι)άω 'to long for a bull', of cows (Arist.).

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *taurus*, Osc. ταυρομ (acc. sg.), U *turuf*, *toru* [acc.pl.], Lith. *taūras* 'aurochs', OPr. *tauris* 'bison', OCS *turъ*, Ru. *tur* 'buffalo'. Metathesis occurred

in Celtic words like OIr. *tarb* 'bull', MW *tarw* 'id.'. The fact that Lat. *taurus* did not undergo metathesis like *parvus* and *nervus* suggests that it is a LW (De Vaan 2008 s.v.). –Gm. words with initial *st-* are probably not cognate, e.g. Go. *stiur*, OHG *stior* 'bull', because these point to older *\*eu* (without initial *s-*, ON *þjórr*). Av. *staora-* [m.] 'big cattle' deviates slightly in meaning. Comparable forms are found in Semitic: Akk. *šūru*, Aram. *tōr*, Hebr. *šōr*. If the similarity is not accidental, there must have been a loan, either from IE into Semitic or vice versa, or from a third common source. If the word is IE, ταῦρος is traditionally connected with the group of ▶ ταῦς.

ταῦς [adj.] · μέγας, πολὺς (H.). <IE?>

•DER ταῦσας· μεγαλύνας, πλεονάσας 'having furthered, having enlarged' (H.) (presupposes *\*ταῦζω*).

•ETYM Formation like παχύς, ταχύς, etc. Indo-Iranian has an *s*-stem in Av. *tauuah-* [n.] 'might, power', Skt. *tavás-* 'strong, powerful, active', and a primary verb Skt. *tavīti* 'to be strong, have power' (from *\*teuh₂-*). Greek cognates of this root are ▶ σῶς and (possibly) ▶ σωρός. Perhaps ▶ ταῦρος was derived from this root as well, with a suffix *\*-ro-*, but see s.v. According to Lubotsky 1988: 123, ταῦς and σῶς (< σάφος) point to an alternating paradigm of a *u*-stem adjective: nom.sg. *\*tueh₂-u-s* (ablaut like in Lat. *brevis, gravis*) > Gr. *\*σαυς* (with subsequent thematization), gen.sg. *\*tuh₂-u-os*, etc., from where initial *τ-* was introduced into ταῦς (the disyllabic pronunciation of which is far from certain anyhow).

ταυτότης ⇒ αὐτός.

ταφί [f.] 'interment'. •VAR τάφος [m.], τάφρος [f.] 'grave'. ⇒ θάπτω.

τάφος [n.] 'astonishment'. ⇒ θάμβος.

ταχύς [adj.] 'swift, fast' (Il.). <?, IE? *\*dʰngʰ-u-* (?) 'swift'>

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. ταχύ-πῶλος 'with swift steeds' (Il., Theoc.). Adverb τάχ-α 'fast, easily', grammaticalized 'perhaps' (Il.), also -έως 'fast' (Ψ 365, Hes. *Th.* et al.), with -εωστί 'id.' (Pherecr.) like νεωστί. Compar. θάσσων (Att. -ττ-), adverbial θάσσον, superl. τάχιστος, adv. -α (all Il.). Also ταχύ-τερος (Ion., Arist.), -τατος, -τατα (Pi. et al.), -ίων, -ιον (Hp. *Mul.*, Hell. and late prose).

•DER 1. τάχος [n.] 'swiftness, speed' (for *\*τήχος?*), often adverbial (Il.). 2. ταχυτής (Dor. -τάς) [f.] 'id.' (Ψ 740); attempt at a semantic differentiation between τάχος and ταχυτής by Chantraine 1933: 418. 3. ταχινός = ταχύς (Hell. and late), after ῥαδινός, θαμινός, etc., with ταχίνης (Dor. -νας) [m.] 'hare' (Lacon. acc. to Ael.), acc. to H. also 'ἐλαφος'. 4. ταχύνω (also with ἐπι-, συν-, etc.) [v.] 'to accelerate, hurry' (IA). 5. καταταχέω [v.] 'to hurry, arrive first, prevent' (Plb., pap.), hypostasis of κατὰ τάχος.

•ETYM All the above forms are based on ταχύς, except for the comparative θάσσων with long vowel, the judgement of which remains difficult as long as the etymology is unknown. Acc. to Bechtel 1917b: 426 and Bechtel 1921(3): 126, the PN Τήχιππος (Eretria) would contain an old noun *\*τήχος* = τάχος. Seiler 1950: 40 explains θάσσων, θάσσον as an adaptation of *\*θήσσων* to the timber of ταχύς, τάχιστος. More likely is secondary lengthening of an older short vowel in θάσσων, as argued by Wackernagel *Gött. Nachr.* 1914: 124f. For extensive discussion on the comparison, see

Seiler 1950: 37ff. The etymology remains unclear. Against the old connection with Lith. *dėngti* 'run, hurry', etc., see Fraenkel 1955 s.v. *dėngti*. The word ταχύς ousted the old PIE word ὤκύς, which remained alive only in poetry.

ταῶς [m.] 'peacock' (Att. com., Antiph., Arist., Hell.); also a fish name (Philostr.), because of its color, acc. to Strömberg 119. <LW Orient.>

•VAR Att. ταῶς (acc. to Trypho *apud* Ath. 9, 397e; on the inner aspiration see Schwyzer: 219), also ταῶν, gen. ταῶ (ταῶ), ταῶνος, etc.

•DER ταῶν-(ε)ιος 'of a peacock' (Luc.), -ικός 'peacock-colored' (Alex. Aphr.), ταῖτης [m.] name of a stone = πάγρους (Cyran.).

•ETYM Borrowed from an unknown Oriental source (Frisk compares Tamil *toghai*). On the history of the peacock, see Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 163f.; on the name, WH s.v. The Lat. word was borrowed as OHG *pfāwo*, also found in other European languages. On Oriental continuants of ταῶς, see Spies *IF* 62 (1955/56): 202 with litt.

τε [pcl.] 'and' (Hom.), enclitic. <IE *\*-kʷe* 'and'>

•VAR Myc. *qe*.

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *-que*, NPhr. -κε, Skt. -ca, Go. -h in *ni-h* 'neque', etc., from IE *\*kʷe*. Also in adverbs: -τε (IA, Arc. Cyp.), -τα (Lesb.), -κα (Dor.), e.g. τότε, πότε, ὅτε; τότα, πότα, ὅτα; τόκα, πόκα, ὅκα, etc. See also on ▶ ὅτε.

τέγγυρος [?] · ὄρνειον ποιόν 'kind of bird' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

τέγγω [v.] 'to wet, moisten, pour out, soften' (Pi., B., IA; mostly poetic). <IE *\*teng-* 'wet, moisten'>

•VAR Aor. τέγξαι, pass. τεγχθῆναι, fut. τέγξω.

•COMP Rarely with ἐπι-.

•DER τέγξις (ἐπί-) [f.] 'moistening' (medic.), τεγκτός (ἐπί-) 'softenable by moistening' (Arist., medic.).

•ETYM A primary verb identical with Lat. *tingō* [v.] 'to wet, immerse, dip, paint' (from *\*tengō*; *tinguō* after *unguō*). A secondary zero grade formation in OHG *thunkōn, dunkōn* [v.] 'to immerse' (MoHG *Tunke* [f.] 'sauce'), full grade in Swiss *tink* 'moist'.

τέγος ⇒ στέγω.

τέθηπα ⇒ θάμβος.

τεθμός ⇒ θεσμός.

τείνω [v.] 'to stretch, pull tight, expand', intr. 'to extend, range'. <IE *\*ten(h₂)-* 'draw, stretch'>

•VAR Aor. τείναι, pass. ταθῆναι, perf. med. τέταμαι (Il.), fut. τενῶ (Att.), perf. act. τέτακα (Pl., D. H.). Reduplicated τιταίνω (rarely with ἀνα-, etc., Il. and epic, also medic.), with the aorist forms τιτήνας (N 534), τιτηνάμενος (Orph.).

•COMP Very often with prefix: ἀνα- (συν-ανα-), δια- (ἐπι-δια-), ἐκ- (δι-εκ-), ἐν- (ἐπ-εν-), παρα- (ἀντι-παρα-), ὑπερ-, etc., etc.



•DER 1. τόνος [m.] 'tension, cord, string, sinew', in the sense of 'tension of the voice' also 'tone, accent, sound; effort, strength' (IA), as a second member in παλίν-τονος 'with backward tension, rushing backwards, elastic' (Hom., S. [lyr.], also Hdt., Ph. Bel., Hero Bel.), πρότονοι [m.pl.] 'front ropes' (Hom., etc.), with -ίζω [v.] 'to pull up by π.'; from the prefixed verbs e.g. διάτον-ος 'stretched, strained' (Thphr.), with -ικός 'diatonic' (of music), -αιον [n.] 'crossbar, etc.' (pap.). From τόνος: τον-ικός 'stretchable; related to tone' (Arist., Hell.), -αῖος 'stretched' (Alex.), -αῖος 'consisting of a tone, measuring one tone' (Arist.), -ώδης 'tension-like' (medic.), -ίζω [v.] 'to provide with a tone' (gramm.), med. 'to be provided with a tone' (Eust.); χειρο-τον-έω [v.] 'to stretch out one's hand, vote, elect', with -ία (Att.), as if from χειρο-τόνος (A. [lyr.]), originally a compound of χεῖρα τείνειν; τον-όω (ἐπι-, συν-) [v.] 'to stretch, strengthen, provide with a tone' (Ti. Locr., Hell.), with -ωσις, -ωτικός (medic.). 2. τονή [f.] 'duration of a tone' (music). 3. τάσις [f.] 'tension, stretch, etc.', mostly from the prefixed verbs, e.g. ἔντασις : ἐν-τείνω (IA), τατός (Arist.), ἐντατός (Pl.), etc. 'stretchable', τατ-ικός 'giving a tension' (Orib.), almost only with prefix, e.g. διατατ-ικός (Hell.). 4. τένων, -οντος [m.] 'sinew, neck-muscle, tendon of Achilles' (Il., epic Ion. poet., Arist.). 5. With reduplication τετανός 'stretched, tense, tight, lank' (Hp., Thphr.), 'tight, lank-haired' (Hell. pap.) = τετανό-θριξ (Pl.). τέτανος [m.] 'catalepsy, tetanus' (Hp., Pl., Arist., etc.), with τεταν-ικός 'suffering from catalepsy', -ώδης 'cataleptic' (medic.), -όω [v.] 'to stretch out, make lank, smoothen' (Dsc.), -ωθρον [n.] 'skin-smoothening agent' (Dsc.), -ωμα [n.] 'id.' (medic.). 6. τεινεσμός [m.] 'constipation' (medic., Nic.), with -ώδης (medic.), after πεισμός (the variant with την- (Bechtel 1921(3): 333f.) remains to be explained. 7. \*τένος [n.] in ▶ἀτενής; from the verb e.g. διατεν-ής 'stretching out' (Thphr.), often with nominal first member, e.g. ἀλι-τενής 'stretching out unto the sea', also 'shallow' (Hell.); on ▶εἰλιτενής s.v.

•ETYM The system of Greek τείνω derives from the root \*ten- 'to stretch', found in most branches of IE (forms in LIV<sup>2</sup>). Skt. preserved an old athematic aorist *á-tan* 'stretched', from IE \**He-ten-t*. In Greek, the full grade of the verbal root is preserved in the primary derivative τέν-ων, -οντος (see Strunk 1967: 107), and in the *s*-stem adjective ἀ-τενής, where \*τένος is formally identical with Lat. *tenus*, -oris [n.] 'string with a noose' and Skt. *tānas*- [n.] 'posterity' (only RV 5, 70, 4) from IE \**ten-s*.

Beside this root-aorist, Skt. had an *s*-aorist *atāmsīt*, med. *atasi* (zero grade), which corresponds to Greek ἔ-τειν-α from IE \**Hé-tens-η*. Instead of the old *vu*-present in ▶τάνυται, τανύω, Greek innovated a *yod*-present τείνω, which agrees with Alb. *nden* 'to stretch', if from \**en-ten-īd*. Among the nominal formations, we find Greek τόνος beside Lith. *tānas* [m.] 'ulcer', Skt. *tāna*- [m.] 'thread, tone' (with remarkable identity of meaning), *tāna*- [n.] 'posterity'.

τείρεα •VAR Τειρεσίας. ⇒τέρας.

τείρω [v.] 'to exhaust, wear out, distress, trouble' (Il., epic poet.). <IE \**ter*(*H*)- 'rub'>

•VAR Only pres. and ipf. (Aeol. inf. perf. τέτορθαι Hdn. Gr.).

•ETYM Full grade *yod*-present of the root \**terh<sub>1/3</sub>*- which is also found in ▶τέρην, ▶τέρυς, ▶τετραίνω, ▶τιτρώσκω, ▶τρώω, ▶τρίβω.

τείχος [n.] 'wall, city wall, fortification' (Il.). <IE \**d<sup>h</sup>eiǵ<sup>h</sup>*- 'knead, form, fashion'>

•VAR Also τοῖχος [m.] 'wall' (Il.).

•DIAL Myc. *to-ko-do-mo* /toik<sup>h</sup>o-domos/.

•COMP Το τοῖχος: τοιχ-ωρύχ-ος [m.] 'butlar, house-breaker', with -ία [f.], -έω [v.] (Att.); ἀργυρό-τοιχος 'with silver walls' (A. [lyr.]), ἐν-τοῖχ-ιος 'on the wall' (D. H., Ruf. *apud* Orib.; uncertain X. *An.* 7, 8, 1). Compounds, e.g. τειχεσι-πλήτα (s. πέλας); with transition to the *o*-stems e.g. τειχο-μαχ-έω 'to fight at the walls', -ία f. (IA), -ᾱς m. (Ar. [lyr.]), -ος m. (App.); εὐ-τειχής 'with fair walls, well walled in' (Pi., E.), also εὐ-τείχ-εος (Il.; metr. condit., Sommer 1948: 19), -ητος (*h. Ven.* 112: τειχέω).

•DER Το τοῖχος: τοιχ-ίδιον [n.] (late), -ιος 'belonging to a wall' (Lebadeia), -ίζω 'to list, heel over', of a ship (Ach. Tat., Eust.). Το τεῖχος: 1. Diminutive τειχ-ύδριον [n.] (X.), -άριον [n.] (pap. IP; belittling), -ίδιον [n.] (Zonar.). 2. -ιον [n.] 'wall (of a house)' (Od., Ar., Th., X.). 3. -ωμα = φραγμός (AB; enlargement), -ωτός = Lat. *vallaris* (Rom. time). 4. -ιόεις 'walled in' (B 559 = 646), -ιοῦσσα [f.] island near Milete (Th.); also -ιόεσσα (Archestr.). 5. τειχ-ικός = Lat. *vallaris* (στέφανος ~ = *corōna vall*; Rom. time). 6. τειχ-ίζω [v.] 'to build a wall, fortify with a wall' (IA since H 449, also Dor.), often with prefix, e.g. περι-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-, with -σις, -ισμα, -ισμός (also with περι-, etc.) 'wall-building, fortification' (Att.); -ιστής [m.] 'mason, builder' (LXX, Lib.). 7. -έω = -ίζω (Hdt.), with -ητός 'fortified' (Att. IV<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Greek τοῖχος corresponds exactly to Skt. *deha*- [m.] (also [n.]) 'body', with *dehī* [f.] 'wall, dam, hill', Av. *pairi-daēza*- [m.] 'surrounding wall' (see ▶παράδεισος), and Gm. words like Go. *daigs* [m.] 'dough', all from IE \**d<sup>h</sup>oiǵ<sup>h</sup>o*- [m.]. ToB -*tsaika* 'shaper', from *tsik*- 'to form, build', and Arm. *dēz* 'heap' are both probably innovations (cf. Arm. *dizanem*, aor. *dizi* 'to heap up'). The formation of τεῖχος < IE \**d<sup>h</sup>eiǵ<sup>h</sup>-s*- [n.] is isolated, but the *e*-vocalism is also found in Osc. *feihūs* [acc.pl.] 'walls', *o*-stem. The basic verb is preserved in Skt. *deh*- 'to spread, lute' as an athematic formation *dēhmi*; Latin has a nasal present in *figō* 'to spread out on, knead, build'. Greek ▶θηγάνω is unrelated.

τέκμαρ [n.] 'sign, emblem', rarely 'goal, end' (Hes., Pi., A., E., A. R.), also 'symptom' (Hp., Aret.). <IE \**k<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>h</sup>*- 'see, appear'>

•VAR Indeclinable. Also τέκμωρ [n.] 'goal, end', sometimes 'sign, proof' (Hom.).

•DER τεκμαίρομαι (also with συν-, δια-, etc.) [v.] 'to determine, appoint' (Hom.), 'to detect, conclude, deduce from signs' (post-Hom.), aor. τεκμήρασθαι (Il.), fut. τεκμαροῦμαι (X.), aor. pass. ptc. ἐκτεκμαρθεῖς (Orac. *apud* Euseb.); act. τεκμαίρω, τεκμήραι 'to indicate, testify' (Pi., A. *Pr.* [lyr.], Nic., Arat.). τέκμαρ-σις [f.] 'conclusion from signs, deduction' (Hp., Th., etc.), -τός 'deducible' (Cratin.), -τικός 'fit to conclude' (Poll.).

From τέκμωρ: τεκμορ-εύω [v.] 'to testify one's loyalty to the emperor', with -εἶοι ξένοι (inscr.). From τεκμήρασθαι: τεκμήριον [n.] 'sign, feature, emblem, proof, evidence, symptom' (IA) with -ιώδης 'evidential, giving evidence' (Arist.), -ιόω [v.] 'to provide a testimony, proof' (Th.), -ιόομαι [v.] 'to detect, conclude from signs' (Hell.), with -ίωσις [f.] 'testimony, proof' (Arr.).

•ETYM Etymologically, τέκμαρ is connected with the Indo-Iranian group of Skt. *cāṣṭe*, *cākṣate* 'to see' < \**k<sup>w</sup>e-k<sup>w</sup>k<sup>h</sup>-toi*, -*e-toi*, also *cākṣus*- [n.] 'eye', Av. *cašman*- [n.] 'id.', where the latter also displays a suffix starting with -*m*-.



**τέκνον** [n.] 'child, young animal, shoot' (Il.). <IE \*teḱ- 'beget, bear'>

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. τεκνο-ποιός 'begetting children', with -έω, -ία (IA), εὖ-τεκνος 'with good or many children', also (Arist.) 'good to the young', with -ία, -έω (trag., Arist.).

•DER 1. Diminutive τεκν-ίον (late), -ίδιον (Ar.); 2. -οὔσσα 'rich in children' (S. Tr. 308; cf. Kamerbeek ad loc.); 3. -όω (rarely with ἐπι-, συν-, etc.) [v.] 'to beget children', usually of the man, -όομαι [v.] 'to bear children', usually of the woman (Hes. Fr. 138, Pi., trag., Arist.), with -ωσις [f.] 'production of children' (Th., Arist.), 'adoption' (D. S.), -ωμα [n.] 'production, child' (A. Fr. 315 = 625 M.).

•ETYM Usually connected with a Germanic word for '(free) follower, servant, warrior, hero', also 'boy, youngling': ON *þegn*, OE *þeg(e)n*, OS *thegan*, OHG *degan* [m.], from PGm. \**þegna-*. This identification is not without problems, however, as IE \**teḱ-nó-* would have yielded PGm. *þekka-*. Skt. *ták-man-* [n.] 'descendant' is only attested in lexicographers and is better left aside. The word has several cognates in Greek; see ► τίκτω.

**τέκτων, -ονος** [m., f.] 'carpenter, craftsman, artist, initiator' (Il.). <IE \*te-tk-n- 'carpenter'>

•DIAL Myc. *te-ka-ta-si* /tektasi/ shows the regular reflex of the zero grade of the suffix, see Guilleux BSL 92 (1997): 207-9.

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. τεκτόν-αρχος epithet of μοῦσα (S. Fr. 159); very often as a second member, e.g. ἀρχι-τέκτων [m.] 'builder, contractor, architect' (IA).

•DER 1. τέκταινα [f.] 'craftswoman, initiator' (Hes. Th. apud Chrysipp. Stoic., Call. Fr. anon.). 2. τεκτο-σύνη [f.] 'art of building' (ε 250, E. [lyr.], AP), also with ἀρχι- 'id.' (Pisidia). 3. Τεκτον-ίδης [m.] patronymic (θ 114). 4. τεκτον-ικός 'belonging to a carpenter, skilled in building', also with ἀρχι- 'belonging to the architect or to the art of building' (Pl., Arist.). 5. -εῖον [n.] 'carpenter's workshop' (Aeschin., Delos). 6. τεκτον-εὖω [v.] 'to carpenter' (Hero), also with ἀρχι- 'to plan, construct', with -εῦμα [n.] 'construction' (Bito). 7. τεκτον-έω [v.] 'to carpenter, be a carpenter' (Ph.), with -ία [f.] (Thphr. [?], AP); also with ἀρχι- 'to be a builder, construct' (Ar., Hell.), with -ία, -ημα [n.] (Hell.).

Older denominative τεκταίνομαι [v.] 'to carpenter, manufacture, invent, machinate' (Il.), aor. τεκτ-ήνασθαι, fut. -ανοῦμαι, Hell. and late also -αίνω (also with prefix, e.g. παρα-, συν-, ἐπι-); ἐπιτεκταντῆρες (-τεκν- cod.) οἱ παρασκευασταί 'providers' (H.). See ► τέχνη.

•ETYM Old expression of carpentering and building, identical with Skt. *tákṣan-* [m.] 'carpenter' and Av. *tašan-* [m.] 'builder, creator', going back to an *n*-stem built on the reduplicated root \**teḱ-*. On the feminine type τέκταινα versus Skt. *takṣṇī-*, see Peters 1980a: 158f. Several languages preserve the basic reduplicated verbal formation \**te-tk-*: Skt. *tákṣati* 3pl., OAv. *tāšt* 'to timber, create', Latv. *tešu*, *test* 'hew', iterative Lith. *tašau*, -ýti, OCS *tešq*, *tesati* 'id.'. Hitt. *takš-zi* 'to devise, produce, etc.' is probably an *s*-present, while Lat. *texō* 'weave, twine', also 'build, timber', is ambiguous between \**teḱs-* and \**tetk-*; see De Vaan 2008 s.v. Greek replaced the verb with the denominative τεκταίνομαι.

**τελαμών, -ώνος** [m.] 'carrying-strap, belt, strap, binding, bandage' (Il., epic Ion.), as an expression of architecture 'column' (Hell., late Pontic inscr.), also 'base of a column' (Argos V<sup>a</sup>)? Plur. *telamones* 'male figures used as supporting pillars, ἄτλαντες' (Vitr.). Also as a mythical PN (perhaps originally the bearer of the vault of heaven). <IE \*telh<sub>2</sub>- 'bear, endure'>

•DER τελαμών-ίδιον [n.] 'small bandage' (late medic.), -ίζομαι [v.] 'to be bound' (Hell.). Patronymic Τελαμώνιος (Αἴας; Il., etc.).

•ETYM The original meaning is "bearer" and, like τλήμων, τελαμών is an agent noun to the verb for 'bear' seen in τλῆναι, ► ταλάσσαι, with a full grade root like in τελάσσαι, τολμῆσαι, τλῆναι (H.). It has been compared with a Celtic word for 'sling, trap', e.g. OIr. *teilm* (*tailm* DIL), MW *telm*, for which a reconstruction PCl. \**telmi-* is possible.

#### τελέθω

•VAR τελετή. ► τέλομαι.

**τελευτή** [f.] 'end, end of life, fulfillment, closure, termination' (Il.). <?>

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ἀ-τέλευτος 'endless' (A. [lyr.]); also προ-τελευτή [f.] 'early death' (Vett. Val.), back-formation from προ-τελευτάω.

•DER τελευτ-αῖος 'located at the end, outmost, last' (IA, also completed in Pi.); -άω [v.] (also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, προ-, etc.) 'to end (life), fulfill, conclude', with ἀποτελεῦτησις [f.] 'conclusion, result' (Pl.).

•ETYM An isolated verbal noun, which seems to presuppose a verb \*τελεύω (like κελεύω); the pair τελευτή: τέλος recalls ► κρατεῦται: κράτος. A remarkable similarity is found in ToB *klutk-* 'turn', etc., which can be derived from a Pre-Tocharian root \**k<sup>w</sup>louT-* vel sim., to which a suffix -sk- was added. However, genetic relation to Greek τελευτή is highly unlikely. See ► τέλομαι, ► τέλος.

**τέλθος** [n.] 'payment, tribute, debt' (Call.). <GR?>

•VAR Also τέλθος χρέος 'obligation, debt' (H.).

•ETYM A transformation of ► τέλος 2 after ἄχθος, βρήθος, πλήθος.

**τελλίνη** [f.] name of a testacean, 'ξιφύδριον' (Hp., Dsc.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Also τέλλιν [acc.] (Epich. 43; uncertain 114).

•ETYM Clearly a Pre-Greek formation, with palatal *ʎ* and the suffix -iv-.

**τέλλομαι 1** [v.] with περι- 'to turn around in circles' (Il.). <IE \*k<sup>w</sup>el- 'turn'>

•VAR In absolute participial constructions, e.g. περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν 'in the cycle of years', -ένου ἔτεος, -έναις ὥραις (epic poet.); the finite forms are said of constellations, with adaptation to ► τέλλω 2, -ομαι in ἀνα-τέλλω, etc. (Alc., Arat.). Also act. περιτέλλη (Arat.), of the sun.

•DER As a simplex in τελλομένου ἔτεος (A. R.). Also finite forms in the sense of 'to change, originate, become', like ἐς χάριν τέλλεται (Pi.); perhaps this is the same word as (ἀνα-)τέλλω, -ομαι 'to rise, spring up': γένος ... φυτευθὲν ... τέλλετο (Pi.); see ► τέλλω 2.

•ETYM The corresponding expression περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν [ptc.aor.] (Hom., Hes.) shows that τέλλομαι is a Ionic yod-present beside the Aeolic root present in ►πέλομαι, from IE \**k<sup>w</sup>el-*. See ►τέλομαι and ►τέλλω 3.

**τέλλω 2** [v.] 'to make rise or spring, produce', intr. 'to rise, spring, originate', of constellations, plants, waters, etc. (Il., epic Ion. poet.), rarely med. 'to shoot up high' (Pi.). <IE \**telh<sub>2</sub>-* 'bear, endure'>

•VAR Aor. τεῖλαι, -ασθαι, perf. med. τέταλμαι, act. τέταλκα (Arist.).

•COMP Almost only with prefix: A. ἀνα-τέλλω (also ἐξ-, ἐπ-, προ-, συν-ανατέλλω, etc.), ὑπερ-τέλλω, -ομαι 'to rise up' (Hdt., E.), ὑπο-τέλλομαι 'to rise, originate' (Arat., A. R.); B. ἐπι-τέλλω, -ομαι 'to assign, impose, order' (epic poet. Il., late prose), intr. 'to rise' of constellations, etc. (epic Ion., Arist., Plb.); ἐν-τέλλομαι (also with προσ-εν-), rarely -τέλλω 'to assign, order' (IA). Rarely as a simplex: ἡλίου τέλλοντος (S.), ἶρις τέλλει 'springs, emerges' (Nic. Fr. 74, 32; cf. ►τέλλομαι 1), also med. ἡοῦς τελλομένης (A. R.), τέλλεται of rising stars (Arat.).

•DER 1. ἀνα-τολ-ή (also with ἐπ-, συν-) [f.] '(sun)rise, east' (μ 4 [ἀντολαί plur.]); ἐπιτολ-ή [f.] 'rise of a constellation' (Hp., Th., E., Arist., etc.); ἐντολ-ή [f.] 'assignment, order' (Pi., Hdt., Decr. *apud* D.), with -ίδιον, -ιος, -ικός, -ικάριος, -μαίος, -εύς (late). 2. ἐνταλ-μα [n.] = ἐντολή (LXX, NT). 3. See ►τέλος.

•ETYM The forms τεῖλαι, τέταλμαι, τέταλκα were innovated from the present τέλλω after the pattern of στέλλω and other verbs. As a yod-present, \*τέλ-ιω 'to raise, rise' and 'to assign' belongs to ►ταλάσσει, etc., thus originally \**telh<sub>2</sub>-ie/o-* (with loss of the laryngeal in accordance with Pinault's Law)? Or is it rather the same verb as ►τέλλομαι 1?

**τέλλω 3** [v.] 'to achieve, perform', = τελέω. <IE \**k<sup>w</sup>el-* 'turn'>

•VAR Inf. τελλεν (Gortyn), aor. ἔτειλαν (ὁδόν) 'they completed (the road, journey) back' (Pi.).

•COMP συν-τέλλω = συν-τελέω in [συν]τελλοντα (Argos V<sup>a</sup>; not quite certain).

•ETYM Factitive of ►τέλλομαι 1, with the same development of meaning as found in ►τέλος 1 'turning', 'end, completion'.

**τέλμα** [n.] 'puddle, swamp, marsh, mire, mortar, dung' (IA). <?>

•DER τελματ-ώδης 'swampy' (Arist., D. S.), -ιαῖος 'forming a swamp, living in a swamp' (Arist.), -όομαι [v.] 'to become swampy' (Str.); also τελμῖς, -ῖνος [m.] 'mire, dung' (EM, H.); cf. ῥηγμῖς (to ῥήγμα), also ►θίς.

•ETYM Unexplained; cf. on ►σταλάσσω. Arm. *tełm, tiłm* 'mire, dung' is a loan from Greek (Pedersen KZ 39 (1906): 374).

**τέλομαι** [v.] = ἔσομαι, ἔσται (Crete). <IE \**k<sup>w</sup>el-* 'turn'>

•VAR 3sg. τέλεται, also with συν-. τένται 'id.' (Cyrene), from \*τέλ-ται.

•DER Extension in -θ-: τελέθω [v.] 'to come up, appear, become, be' (Il., epic poet., also Ion. and Dor. prose); on the terminative meaning see Chantraine 1942: 327. Old primary formations ►τέλος 1 and τελετή [f.] 'ceremonial rite, consecration' (Pi., IA), with τελετ-άρχης [m.] 'head of the τελεταί' (late), τελετής = τελεστής 'who performs a consecration' (Hell.; cf. on Euphron. 1 [Coll. Alex. 177]); cf. Lat. *cultus* to *colō*, Skt.

*cáraṇa-* [n.] also '(liturgical) action, religious ceremony' (to *cáрати*, -te = *colit*, τέλεται); see also ►τέλλω 3 and τελέω (to ►τέλος 1).

•ETYM Identical with Aeol. ►πέλομαι, so originally 'I become' with future meaning. The form \*τέλ-ται is an old athematic formation acc. to Meillet BSL 32 (1932): 198 (comparing ἔσται), but this is improbable. It was rather formed from τέλομαι after the synonymous pair ἔσομαι: ἔσται (Fraenkel *Glotta* 20 (1932): 89ff.). Syncope from τέλεται, as assumed by Szemerényi 1964: 165ff., is also improbable. The pair τέλος: τελετή recalls γένος: γενετή (where the latter may have a reflex of the laryngeal from \**genh<sub>1</sub>-*).

**τέλος** [n.] 1. 'end, limit, goal, fulfillment, accomplishment, determination; executive function, office; initiation, etc.' (Il.). 2. 'duty, tax, toll, expense, cost' (IA). 3. 'division of an army, troops, military unit, squadron of ships' (Il., IA). <IE \**telh<sub>2</sub>-* 'lift, carry'>

•DIAL Myc. *te-re-ta* (Morpurgo Davies 1963 s.v.).

•COMP As a first member in τελεσ-φόρος 'bringing τέλος', epithet of ἐνιαυτός (Hom.), of Ζεύς (*h. Hom.*), of ἀραί, εὐχαί, etc. (trag.), of χῶραι (Thphr.), etc., with -φορ-ία, -έω, -ησις (Hell.); τελ-ώνης [m.] 'tax-collector' (Att., Herod., Hell.), with -ών-ιον, -ία, -ικός, -εῖον, -έω, -ησις (most Hell. and late). Very frequent as a second member, partly in back-formations of τελεῖν, e.g. ἀ-τελής 1. 'endless, unfulfilled, incomplete' (since ρ 546), opposite ἐν-τελής 'entire, complete' (Att., A.); 2. 'without duty, tax-free' (IA), with ἀτέλ-εια, -εῖη [f.] 'incomplete state' (Arist.), 'exemption from taxes' (IA); πολυ-τελής 'of many expenses, thriftless, costly' (IA); εὐ-τελής (referring to τελεῖν) 'easy to pay, cheap, small, economical' (IA); ἐκτελής 'complete, ripe' (Hes., A., E.) from ἐκ-τελέω (Il.). With a suffix -το-: ἀ-τέλεσ-τος (may also belong to τελεῖν) 'endless, incomplete' (Hom.), 'without initiation, uninitiated' (E., Pl.).

•DER 1. τέλειος (Il.), -εος (post-Hom.), -ηος (Crete), -εως (Cos) 'concerning the end or goal, etc., fulfilled, full-grown, etc.'; the formation could be \*τελεσ-ιος, \*τελεσ-φορ, or τελε-ιος, and is much-discussed; hence τελε(ι)-ότης [f.] 'completeness' (Democr., Arist.), τελε(ι)-όω [v.] 'to complete, finish', med. and pass. 'to be fulfilled, reach maturity' (IA), also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc.; thence -ωσις, -ωμα, -ωτής. 2. τελήεις, epithet of ἑκατομβαί (Hom.), also of οἰωνοί (*h. Merc.*), of ἔπεα (Tyrt.), of Ὠκεανός (Hes. *Th.*). 3. τελικός 'belonging to the end' (Hell.), συν- 'forming a community (συντέλεια)' (Plb.), 'payed jointly' (late); ὑπερ-συν-τελικός (χρόνος) 'pluperfect' (gramm.). 4. τελεστα [m.] 'official' (Elis VI<sup>a</sup>); to ►τελεστής s.v.

5. Denominative verb τελέω 'to finish, complete, initiate; to discharge, pay, spend' (Il.), epic also -εῖω, aor. τελέσ(σ)αι, pass. τελεσθῆναι, fut. τελέσ(σ)ω, epic also -έω, Att. -ῶ, perf.pass. τετέλεσμαι (Il.), to which act. τετέλεκα (Att.), also -ηκα (Hell. pap.), -ημαι (Cret.); very often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, συν-. From τελέω: τέλε-σις (ἀπο-, συν-, etc.) [f.] 'completion, conclusion' (Arist., Hell.); τέλεσμα [n.] 'payment, tax' (D. S., pap., inscr.), also to prefixed verbs (e.g. with ἀπο-) 'completion, goal, result' (Arist.); τελεσ-τής [m.] 'initiating priest' (late), Ὀρφεο-τελεστής (Thphr.); with συν- (to συν-τελέω) 'member of a union of tax-payers' (Cod. Just., etc.); -τικός 'concerning the initiating priest or the initiation' (Pl.), 'fit to perform' (Arist.), also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-, συν-; τελεσ-τήρ [m.] 'initiating priest'

(Troezen II<sup>a</sup>), -τωρ epithet of Apollo (AP), also as a PN; -τήρια [n.pl.] 'sacrifice for succeeded undertakings' (X., Ael.), -τήριον 'place of initiation' (Plu.); -τρα [n.pl.] 'costs of initiation' (Hell. inscr.); -τρια [f.] 'priestess of initiation' (Suid.). Lengthened present τελίσκω (συν-) = τελέω (Hell.). In compounds, τελέω occurs as a first member, e.g. τελεσι-ουργός 'completing the work', with -ία, -έω, -ημα (Pl., Arist.).

•ETYM Two etymologically different words seem to have merged in τέλος; in the sense of 'end, goal', τέλος can be derived from ►τέλομαι, ►πέλομαι as \*'turning point (of the race-course, the field)'; beside it stands πόλος 'hinge, etc.', like γένος : γόνος. Given the broad root meaning of \**k<sup>w</sup>el-* (cf. Lat. *colō*, Skt. *cārati* which also occur as 'to commit, complete, etc.'), a different original meaning may also be envisaged. In the sense of 'delivery, tax', τέλος fits excellently with ►τέλλω 2, ►τελαμών, ►ταλάσσαι, τλῆναι 'to lift, carry, yield', like φόρος 'tax' with φέρω. For τέλος as 'division of an army', connection with Skt. *kūla-* [n.] 'generation, family, crowd', Ru. *čeljad* 'crew' has been suggested, but this is neither formally nor semantically convincing. Frisk compares the German military expression *Aushebung* 'levy, conscription', in order to argue for derivation from the group of ταλάσσαι. In view of the striking similarity of the expressions τείνειν τέλος and τιταίνειν τάλαντα (Υ 101 εἰ δὲ θεὸς περὶ ἴσον τείνειν πολέμου τέλος, Hes. Th. 638 ἴσον δὲ τέλος τέτατο πτολέμοιο, and X 209 καὶ τότε δὴ χρύσεια πατὴρ ἐτίτανε τάλαντα), Holwerda *Mnem.* 4:16 (1963): 337ff. connects both τέλος and τάλαντα with the balance and explains them as 'tongue of a balance', *librae iugum*. This seems very convincing. However, in the meaning 'tongue of a balance', τέλος must not be taken with τέλομαι, πέλομαι as "quod verti potest" (with H.), but with τάλαντα as 'levy'.

**τέλσον** [n.] 'end of the field', where the plough is turned (ἀρούρης N 707, Σ 544, νεοῖο Σ 547). <IE \**k<sup>w</sup>els-* 'carve, draw'>

•DER τέσας· στροφάς, τέλη, πέρατα 'turnings, ends' (H.).

•ETYM Probably corresponds to Hitt. *gulš-zi* 'to carve, engrave, inscribe', Skt. *karṣ-* 'to pull, drag, plow', and Av. *karš-* 'id.'; the retention of -λσ- is regular if the accent was on the preceding syllable. Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 260f. does not accept this phonological rule, and therefore reconstructs \*τελ-τι-ο- from the root of τέλος, which is highly unsatisfactory and unnecessary.

**Τέλφουσα** [f.] name of a source in several places in Greece. <IE \**d<sup>h</sup>elb<sup>h</sup>-* 'dig'>

•ETYM Neumann explains the form as a ptc. of the root \**d<sup>h</sup>elb<sup>h</sup>-* 'to dig', as in OHG *bi-telpan*, MoE *delve*, MoDu. *delven* 'id.'.

**τέμαχος** ⇒ τέμνω.

**τέμενος** [n.] 'separated piece of land, precinct, holy area' (Il., epic Ion.). <IE \**temh<sub>1</sub>-* 'cut, separate'>

•VAR Myc. *te-me-no*.

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. τεμεν-ουρός [m.] 'guard of a τ.' (Cnidos).

•DER 1. τεμέν-ιος 'belonging to the τ.' (S., Chios IV<sup>a</sup>), -ία [f.] epithet of Ἑστία (Erythrae III<sup>a</sup>); ἐντεμέν-ιοι θεοί (Milete, Priene). 2. -ικός 'id.' (Anaxandr. [?], St. Byz., EM). 3. -ίτης [m.] epithets of various gods, e.g. Ἀπόλλων, Ζεὺς (Th., inscr.), fem.

-ίτις name of a height near Syracuse (Th.). 4. -ίζω (also with ἐν-, Poll.) [v.] 'to establish or initiate a τ.' (Pl., D. H.), with -ισμα [n.] (D. C.); προ-τεμένισμα 'outer court of a temple' (Th. 1, 134, Hld.).

•ETYM Traditionally connected with τέμνω (e.g. Z 194 τέμενος τάμον, and cf. πᾶς ὁ μεμερισμένος τόπος τινὶ εἰς τιμὴν κτλ. H.), which seems both formally and semantically satisfactory: a suffix -νος (like in κτῆ-νος, ἔρ-νος, etc.) was added to the disyllabic root \**temh<sub>1</sub>-*. Manessy-Guitton *IF* 71 (1955): 14ff. (with extensive treatment and bibliography) does not accept a suffix -nos-, and considers Oriental origin: Akk. *temennu* 'foundation charter', Sum. *temen* 'id.'. The old connection with τέμνω would then be folk-etymological. This is not very probable.

**τέμνοντα** [ptc.acc.sg.m.] · ἀμέλγοντα 'sucking up' (H.). <IE \**k<sup>w</sup>em-* 'gulp'>

•VAR Also ἔτεμεν· ἤμελεγεν (H.), τέμει (N 707).

•ETYM Connected to an IE word for 'gulp, swallow' in Skt. *ā-cāmati* 'to gulp', etc., MoIc. *hvoṃa* 'id.' (most recently by Strunk *Glotta* 68 (1990): 49-61).

**τέμνω** [v.] 'to cut, cut up, split, destroy' (Hom.). <IE \**temh<sub>1</sub>-* 'cut'>

•VAR Epic Ion., Dor. τέμνω (on τέμει N 707 see on ►τέμνοντα), aor. τεμεῖν, epic Ion., Dor. ταμεῖν, fut. τεμῶ, Ion. τεμέω; τιμῆ- (Archim. τιμᾶ-) in the aor. pass. τιμηθῆναι, perf.pass. τέτιμη-μαι (Od., Pi.) and act. -κα (Att.), verbal adj. τιμητός (Att., A., S. [lyr.]), ἐϋ-τιμητος (Hom.).

•COMP Very frequent with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, κατα-, περι-, συν-.

•DER A. With *o*-grade 1. τομή (Dor. -ά) [f.] 'cutting, cut, cut off part, stump' (Il.), also with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, περι-, etc. (from ἀνα-τέμνω, etc.). 2. τόμος [m.] 'section, piece, part of a literary work, scroll of papyrus, volume' (com., inscr., pap.); often to the prefixed verbs with adjectival function, e.g. ἀπότομος 'cut off, steep, craggy' (IA), with fem. -άς (D. S., J.), -ία [f.] 'cragginess' (Hell.). Adjective τομός 'incisive, sharp' (S., Pl.), often as a second member in univentions, e.g. δρυ-τόμος 'cutting wood' (Il.). 3. τομ-εύς (ἐκ-, περι-, ὑπο-, ἀπο-) [m.] 'cutter, blade, knife', mathematical 'sector' (*Trag. Adesp.*, Pl. *Alc.*, X., Arist., Hell.); on τομεύς, τομή, τόμος and τιμήμα as mathematical (geometrical) terms see Mugler 1958-1959: s.vv. 4. τομ-ίας (usually with ἐκ-) [m.] 'who has been cut' (IA), with -ιαῖος (*PMag. Par.*, gloss.). 5. τομ-άς [f.] 'excavation, clearance' (Arc. IV<sup>a</sup>). 6. -ίς [f.] 'knife' (LXX). 7. τόμ-ιον, plur. τὰ τόμ-ια 'cut victim, cut out parts of a victim, cut' (Att., etc.), τόμ-ιος = -ίας (pap.). 8. τομ-αῖος 'provided with a cut, cut off' (A., E.). 9. -ικός, only with ἀνα- (to ἀνατομ-ή) 'belonging to the anatomy' (Gal.); also with nominal first member, e.g. λατομ-ικός (to λατομ-ία, λατόμ-ος) 'belonging to a quarry, quarry-worker' (D. S.). 10. -άριον [n.] 'small volume' (Stob., Eust., EM). 11. Denominative verbs: -άω (only ptc. τομώντι [dat.], of πήματι) 'needing cutting' (S. *Aj.* 582); ἐκ-, συν-τομίζω = ἐκ-, συν-τέμνω (*PMag. Par.*, Suid.); ἐκτομ-άζω 'to castrate' (gloss.).

B. With zero grade < \**tmh<sub>1</sub>-*: 1. τιμή-μα (also with ἀπο-, περι-, etc.) [n.] 'section, part' (Hp., Pl., Att. inscr., etc.), -μάτιον (Eust.), -ματώδης (Hp. *Loc. Hom.*). 2. -σις (also with ἀπο-, ὑπο-, etc.) [f.] 'cutting, destroying' (Pl., Arist.). 3. -τήρ [m.] 'cutter' (Nonn.); -τής as an explanation of ἐκτομεύς (H.); -τικός (ἀνα-) 'cutting, stabbing' (Pl., Arist.). 4. -διγν 'incising' (H 262).

C. With full grade: τέμαχος [n.] 'piece, especially of salted fish', diminutive -ιον [n.] (IA), with formation like σέλαχος, στέλεχος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 403 and 421). Hence τεμαχ-ίτης (ιχθύς) [m.] 'sliced and salted fish' (com., pap.), -ίζω (ἀπο-) [v.] 'to slice for salting, pickle', with -ισμός, -ιστός (late).

D. From the aorist ταμεῖν: ταμεσί-χρως 'cutting the skin' (Il.).

Cf. also ► τέμενος, ► ταμία, ► ταμίας, ► τάμισος.

•ETYM The nasal present τάμνω << PGr. \**tamnēmi* < PIE \**tm-neh<sub>1</sub>-mi* is original, as is a root aorist 3sg. \**etemet* < \**h<sub>1</sub>e-temh<sub>1</sub>-t*, which was replaced by a thematic aorist ἔτεμον (Harðarson 1993b: 157-8, 160-1, 166). This situation was levelled in various ways in the dialects: Att. innovated with the present τέμνω, while epic Ion. and Dor. secondarily created the aorist ἔταμον. Extensive treatment by Forssman *Glotta* 44 (1966): 5ff. The monosyllabic τέ-τιμ-ται, τιμ-θῆναι, etc. agree with βέβλιται, βλιθῆναι et al. A pre-form τιᾶ- seems to be confirmed by the forms in Archim. and by τιᾶξαι (see ► τιμήγω); on the other hand, τέτιμνται is unambiguous in Pi. I. 6, 22, and is also to be found in the lyrical parts of the tragedians (Forssman 1966: 158ff.). This means that the root was \**temh<sub>1</sub>-* (thus also LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.).

Celtic has the original athematic nasal present in OIr. *tamnaid* 'to cut off' < \**tm-n-(e)h<sub>1</sub>-*; in Latin, this was also thematicized to (*con-*)*temnō* 'despise', perhaps via 'cut up, mutilate'. A nasal present is also found in Balto-Slavic, e.g. ORu. *tjati*, 1sg. *tvnu* 'to beat', Lith. *tinti*, 1sg. *tinū* 'to sharpen'. See also ► τένω and ► τιμήγω.

**τέναγος** [n.] 'shallow water, shallow spot, shoal' (Pi., Hdt., Th., Arist.). <PG> \**tenh<sub>2</sub>g-* 'shallow water'►

•DER τεναγ-ώδης 'full of shoals, shallow' (Hell.), -ίτις [f.] 'id.' (AP), -ίζω (Str., Plu.), -όμοι (Xenocr. *apud* Orib.) [v.] 'to form a τ., be shallow'.

•ETYM Formation like the opposite πέλαγος, and perhaps influenced by it. Bezzenger BB 18 (1892): 267 compared Latv. *tīgas* < \**tīh<sub>2</sub>g-* 'deep spot between two shallow places', but in view of the root structure, this seems highly unlikely.

**τένω** [v.] 'to gnaw at' (Hes. *Op.* 524; v.l. τένωθω [see τένης]; conj. AP 9, 438, 1). <IE \**tend-* 'split, cut off'►

•ETYM An old primary thematic present; Latin has an iterative *tondeō* 'shave'. Celtic has several cognates, e.g. Mlr. *ro-s-teind* 'he split it (the nut)', pres. *teimnid*, *tenmaid* 'splits, breaks', *tonn* (< \**tond-ā*) 'skin'. Traditionally connected with τέμνω as IE \**tem-d-* (where one could assume that root-final \**d* became \**h<sub>1</sub>*), but this leaves the -*m-* unexplained. Fur. connects τένης and thinks the verb is rather Pre-Greek.

**τένης** [m.] 'glutton, gourmand' (com.). <PG>

•COMP As a second member in λιχνο-τένης 'lickerish glutton' (Poll.).

•DER Primary verb τένει [3sg.pres.] (v.l. Hes. *Op.* 524 acc. to sch. Ar. *Pax* 1009, Suid. s.v. τένης); τενο-εύω [v.] 'to be a glutton' (Poll.), -εία [f.] 'gluttony' (Ar., Alciph.); προτένο-αι [m.pl.] 'participant of the celebration of Δορπία' (at the first day of the Apatouriae), also 'forestaller' (com.), sing. 'greedy' [adj.] (Ael.), with -εύω [v.] 'to forestall, anticipate' (Ar.), -εύομαι 'id.' (Eust.).

•ETYM Acc. to Bechtel 1921, 1: 310, τόνθων· παρὰ Κορίννη, ἐπὶ νωτιαίου (cod. νοτιβίου) κρέως τὸ ὄνομα 'spinal meat' (H.) also belongs here, which Frisk analyzes

as belonging to \*τόνθος, like γρόνθων : γρόνθος. Instead, we should envisage to connect τένης with ► τένω, in which case the variation δ/ θ points to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 196, 88). The words have nothing to do with the IE root \**tem(h<sub>1</sub>)-*.

**τενθίνοι** [n.]· λίθοι πλατεῖς 'flat stones' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Doubtful hypothesis by Mayrhofer *Wien. Stud.* 67 (1954): 162: it would originally mean \*'hewed' > 'smooth', and belong to Skt. *gandhā-* [m.] 'smell' (originally \*'to stab, blow, cut'). No etymology.

**τενθρηδών, -όνος** [f.] 'wasp, forest-bee' (Arist., Dsc.). <PG(V)>

•DER Also τενθρήνη [f.] 'id.' (Nic.), -ήνιον [n.] 'nest of a τ.' (Arist.), -ην(ι)ώδης 'like a honeycomb, perforated' (Hp., Plu., Democr. *apud* Ael.).

•ETYM See ► άνθρηδών, άνθρήνη, as well as ► πεμφρηδών, and perhaps also ► θρήνος. The variant forms clearly show the Pre-Greek character of the word. Fur.: 196 suggests to connect ► τένης.

**τένων** = τείνω.

**τέραμνα** [n.pl.] 'house, residence' (E., almost only lyr., also Artem.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also τέρεμνα; sing. -άμνφ [dat.] (Maiist. 12). Here also τέραμνοι· στεγανοί, σκιαί, σκηνώματα 'covered, shadowy place, tents' and τέραμνος· κυψέλη 'vessel, chest, box' (H.).

•ETYM Previously connected with an IE word for 'beam, building, habitation' found in several European languages, e.g. U *tremnu* 'tabernaculo', Lat. *trabs* 'beam' (with *taberna* 'shed, habitation' from older \**trab-*), OW *treb* 'living', Lith. *trobà* 'house, building', to which probably also belong Gm. words like OS *thorp*, OHG *dorf* 'village'. However, these words cannot be related to τέραμνα, which would presuppose a pre-form \**terh<sub>2</sub>b-no-*, while the other languages point to a root \**treb-* (thus De Vaan 2008 and Matasović 2009). The form τέρεμνα, often explained by progressive vowel assimilation, rather points to substrate origin. We should definitely compare θεράπνη, which occurs both in the meaning 'servant, maid' and as 'house, residence' (see ► θεράπων). Because of the alternations α/ε and θ/τ, β/π, the word is Pre-Greek (likewise Fur.: 351).

**τεράμων, -ονος** [adj.] 'soft by boiling', of pulse, etc. (Thphr., Phot.). <?>

•DER τεραμό-της [f.] 'softness' (Thphr.).

•ETYM For τεραμότης, cf. μειότης to μείων. The word is probably secondary to ἀτεράμων 'hard, tough', like πήμων to ἀπήμων (see ► πήμα), or like τέραμινον· ἀπαλόν, ἔψανόν 'weak, boiled' (Phot., Suid.) to ἀτέραμνος. See ► ἀτέραμνος and ► τέρην.

**τέρας** [n.] 'sign, emblem; wonder, monster' (Il., epic poet., IA prose). <IE? \**k<sup>w</sup>er-* 'magical sign, omen'►

•VAR Gen. -αος and -εος (Hdt.), plur. -αα (-ᾶ, -α), -εα (metrically lengthened τεῖρεα), Hell. -ατος, -ατα, etc.

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. τερατο-λόγος 'telling wonders, wonderful' (Pl., Philostr.), with -ία (Isoc., etc.), also -έω [v.] (Arist.), -ιμα (late); τερα[σ]-σκόπος (τερατο-) [m.] 'interpreter of signs' (Pi., trag.).

•DER 1. τερατ-ώδης 'miraculous, meaningful' (Att.), 2. -ίας [m.] 'performer of miracles' (D. S.), 3. -ικῶς 'wonderful' (Epicur.), 4. τεράσ-τιος 'bringing omens, of bad omens, remarkable' (Hell.; like Σεβάστιος to σεβασ-τός, also Γεράστιος), 5. τέρασμα [n.] 'miracle' (Plu.), cf. φάντασμα, etc. 6. Denominative verbs: a. τερατ-εύομαι (also with ἐπι-, ἀπο-, etc.) 'to talk marvels' (Att. Hell.), with -εία [f.] (Att. Hell.), -ευμα [n.] (Ar., D. H.); b) -όομαι [v.] 'to stare at as a wonder' (Timo); c) τεράζω (-άζω Hdn. Gr.) [v.] 'to interpret signs' (A. Ag. 125 [lyr.]); 7. τερατ-ισμοί [m.pl.] 'wonders' (Lyd.). 8. Τειρεσίας [m.] PN, taken to stand for \*Τερετ-ίας with metrical lengthening.

•ETYM Archaic word in -ας (cf. κτέρας, βρέτας, σέλας, etc.). Connected with ►πέλωρ (and τέλωρ) 'monster' (if this is from \**k<sup>w</sup>er-ōr* by dissimilation; s.v.). Perhaps these words can be connected in turn with Lith. *kēras* 'magic, sorcery', Ru. *čary* 'magic', Skt. *kr-* 'to make, perform', etc. (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**k<sup>w</sup>er-* '(ab)schneiden, schnitzen'); note that this presupposes that -ας was secondarily added within Greek, since the root is *aniṭ*.

τερέβινθος ⇒ τέρμινθος.

τερείτης [m.] a musical instrument in Egypt (BGU 1125, 4). <LW Eg.??>

•ETYM May be a loan from Egyptian.

τερετίζω [v.] 'to twitter, chirp, hum' (Phryn. Com., Arist., Thphr.). <ONOM>

•COMP Rarely with συν-, ὑπο-.

•DER τερέτ-ισμα [n.] (Arist., Hell.), -ισμός [m.] (late) 'twittering, etc.'.

•ETYM It is generally assumed that this word is onomatopoeic.

τέρετρον [n.] 'auger, borer' (Od., Att. inscr., LXX, Plu.). <IE \**terh<sub>2</sub>-* 'bore'>

•DER Diminutive -τριον (Thphr.). With a suffix -ηδον-: τερηδών, -δόνος [f.] 'borer, caries' (Hp., Ar., Arist.), with -δονίζομαι [v.] 'be consumed by caries', -δονισμός [m.] (Dsc.); cf. τενηρηδών, ἀλγηδών, and see Gil Fernández 1959: 115.

•ETYM A primary instrument noun formed with the suffix -τρο- from the disyllabic root \**terh<sub>2</sub>-* seen in τέρεσσαν· ἔτρωσεν, ἐτόρνωσε 'pierced' (H.), τερέσω (Eust.), zero grade τρήσαι. In the same meaning, we find OIr. *tarathar* < \**-tro-*, Lat. *tere-bra* < \**-sr-*. See ►τετραίνω and ►τείρω.

τέρην [adj.] 'tender' (Il., epic poet.). <IE \**ter-n-* 'tender, soft'>

•VAR Fem. -εῖνα, ntr. -εν.

•COMP As a first member in τερενό-χρως 'with tender skin' (Anaxandr., Opp.). Comparative τερέν-τερος (Antun.), τερενώ-τερος (Lyr. Adesp.), fem. τερεινο-τέρη (AP).

•ETYM An adjectival *n*-stem like ἔρην, ἄρην, identical with Sabin. *terenum* 'soft' (ascribed to Favorinus by Macrobius [late 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD]) save for the thematic vowel. Lat. *tener*, -*era*, -*erum* 'tender' also belongs here, if transformed from \**terenos* after *tenuis* (see De Vaan 2008). See ►τέρυς and ►τεράμων.

τερθρεύομαι [v.] 'to speak subtly' (D., Arist., Plu.). <?>

•DER τερθρ-εία [f.] 'sophistic reasoning, hairsplitting' (Isoc., Phld., D. H.), also as military expression = ἡ στρατεία ἢ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν καλουμένη (Phot., Suid.; similarly EM 753, 5), -εύμασι· φλυαρίαις 'nonsense' (H.), -εὺς [m.] as a PN (Hermipp.).

•ETYM Can hardly be separated from τέρθρον 'topmost end, point', though a convincing argumentation for the semantic development is lacking. Prellwitz points to μετεωρολόγος; one could also compare MoHG *spitzfindig*, MoFr. *pointiller* 'to cavil'. One may also think of ►τονθορούζω 'mumble, speak inarticulately'.

τέρθρον [n.] 'top end (e.g. of the sail-yard), summit, highest point' (h. Merc. 322, Emp., Hp., E. Fr. 371, Poll.). <?>

•DER τέρθριοι (κάλοι) [m.pl.] 'ropes at the end of the sail-yard' (Ar. Eq. 440, Erot., Gal.), τερθρία πνοή (S. Fr. 333) = ὀπισθία πνοή. Glosses τερθρωτήρ· ὅπου ὁ πρῶρεὺς προορᾷ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ 'place whence the prow officer keeps watch of what happens at sea' (H.) and τεθηρηδών· πρῶρεὺς 'prow officer' (H.).

•ETYM A suffix -θρο- with the root τερ- 'reach the other side' has been assumed, but this root ended in \*-*h<sub>2</sub>*, thus the connection is impossible (see ►τέρμα).

τέρμα [n.] 'finish (of a race-course), end, highest point, supreme power' (Il., mostly epic poet.). <IE \**terh<sub>2</sub>-* 'cross'>

•COMP As a first member in τερμο-δρομέω 'to run to the finish' (Man.), τερματοῦχος H. as an explanation of βαλβιδουῦχος. Often as a second member, e.g. ἀ-τέρμων 'without an end, boundless' (A., E., Arist.), derived from τέρμων.

•DER 1. τέρμ-ιος 'at the end, final' (S.); cf. στόμιος from στόμα; 2. -ιεύς [m.] epithet of Zeus (Lyc.), after Ιιολι-εύς; 3. -ιόεις epithet of Ἀσπίς (H 804), of χιτών (τ 242, Hes. Op. 537), mg. unclear (ποδινηκῆς 'stretching to the feet', acc. to the ancients); formation like ταχίους; hence τέρμις· πούς 'foot' H.; on Myc. *te-mi-dwe-te*, -*ta* see Auro Jorro s.v.; 4. -άζω [v.] 'to limit' (Tab. Heracl., Thermon III<sup>a</sup>), with -αστήρες [m.pl.] 'boundary officials' (Epid. III<sup>a</sup>); 5. -ατίζω (seldom prefixed with ἀπο-, ἐπι-) 'id.' (Str., S. E., Vett. Val.).

Besides τέρμων, -ονος [m.] 'end, boundary, edge' (A., E., Hell. and late prose); cf. μνήμα to μνήμων, etc., with τερμ-όνιος 'at the end' (A. Pr. 117 [lyr.]), -ονίζω [v.] 'to delimit', -ονισμός 'delimitation' (Epid. III<sup>a</sup>); τερμο-σύνᾱ [f.] (Trag. Adesp. 509 [lyr.]), nonce formation.

•ETYM The *n*-stem in τέρμα and τέρμων corresponds to that of Lat. *termin*, -*inis* [n.], also *ter-mō*, -*ōnis* [m.] 'frontier stone, marking stone, frontier' (see De Vaan 2008 for further forms), as well as that of Skt. (RV) *su-tārman-* 'carrying over, saving' (of a ship); Lat. *terminus* and U *terminom-e* 'ad terminum' show thematic enlargements. The basic verb is preserved in Skt. *tārati*, *tirāti* (\**terh<sub>2</sub>-*) 'to carry across, transfer'. See on ►τέρθρον, which is probably unconnected. On Hitt. *tarma-* 'nail, peg', see ►τόρμος.

τέρμινθος [f.] 'turpentine tree, Pistacia Terebinthus' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., LXX). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Secondarily τερέβινθος, metathesized τρέμιθος (Nic. Th. 844).

•DER τερμίνθ-ινος (τερεβ-) 'belonging to the turpentine tree' (X., Diocl. *Fr.*, Thphr.) fem. -ίς, haplological for -ίνης (Nic. *Al.* 300); τερεβινθ-ώδης 'rich in turpentine trees' (AP), -ίζω [v.] 'to be like turpentine' (Dsc.). Τερμινθεύς (Lyc.), Τερβ- (Milete II\*) epithet of Apollo as a god of medicine, Τρεμιθοῦς TN (Cyrus; Ptol., St. Byz.).

•ETYM The younger form τερέβινθος was perhaps influenced by ἐρέβινθος (Güntert 1914: 138), rather than dissimilated from μ ... ν. Fur.: 219 assumes variation β/μ. The word is Pre-Greek; this is confirmed by the suffix -ινθος.

τερμιόεις •VAR τέρμων. ⇒τέρμα.

τέρνακα [?] · τῆς κάκτου τοῦ φυτοῦ καυλόν 'stalk of the cactus plant' (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Formation like δόναξ, etc., explained by Frisk from earlier \*τέρνον, -ος, which would have an *e*-grade compared to the zero grade in Skt. *tṛṇa-* [n.] '(blade) of grass, straw, herb', Go. *þauranus* 'thorn', MoHG *Dorn* [m.], OCS *trъnъ* 'άκανθα' (from IE \**tṛh<sub>1</sub>-o-*, -*u-*). A problem with the etymology of these words is that the root \**terh<sub>1</sub>* 'to pierce' is *set*. Etymologies between Greek and Sanskrit plant names are often wrong, and the word could be Pre-Greek.

τέρπομαι [v.] 'to satiate, refresh, delight' (Il.). <IE \**terp-* 'satisfy'>

•VAR Aor. ταρπῆναι, ταρφθῆναι, ταρφθῆναι, epic also ταρπόμεθα [1pl.subj.], reduplicated τετάρπετο, τέρψασθαι, fut. τέρψομαι. Also active τέρπω, τέρψαι, τέρψω.

•COMP Also with ἐπι-, κατα- et al. Compounds: ἀ-τερπ-ής 'unpleasing' (Il.), opposite ἐπιτερπ-ής (*h.Ap.*); uncertain ἀτέρπου οἰζύος (Z 285); ἄ-τερπνος 'άγρυπνος' (Stesich., Ibyc.). As a first member probably in τερπι-κέραυνος epithet of Zeus, 'who delights in thunder and lightning' (Hom., Hes.); τερψί-μβροτος 'rejoicing people' (Od., *h.Ap.*, etc.).

•DER 1. τερπ-νός 'delightful, joyful' (θ 45 [v. l.]), with -νότης [f.] (LXX); recent superlative τέρπ-νιστος (Call.). 2. τέρψις [f.] 'delight, enjoyment' (Hes., mostly poet.). 3. τερπ-ωλή [f.] 'id.' (σ 37, Archil., Thgn., late prose). 4. τέρπεα or -η (dat. -εσι) [n.pl.] 'id.' (epigr. Itanos I<sup>a</sup>-I<sup>p</sup>). Proper names, e.g. Τέρπ-ανδρος, with short forms Τέρπις (AP), Τέρπων, name of satyrs (vase inscr.). Πολύ-τερπος (Corinth VI<sup>a</sup>; Threatte *Glotta* 45 (1967): 186ff.), patronymic Τερπ-ιάδης (χ 330); Εὐ-τέρπη, Τερψι-χόρη (Hes.).

•ETYM Skt. present *tarpati* 'to be satisfied' is an innovation (ep.) for earlier *tṛpyati*, *tṛpnōti*, *tṛmpati* (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 634f.); the Greek root present τέρπομαι may also be an innovation for an earlier yod-present. The intransitive aorist ταρπῆναι probably replaces earlier \*τραπ-ῆναι (which fell together with the same formation from ►τρέπω 'to turn'). LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 1. \**terp-* 'sättigen' compares the thematic root aor. Skt. *ā-tṛp-at* with Hom. ταρπόμεθα. Other cognates are Lith. *tārpti*, 1sg. *tarpstū* 'to prosper', and probably also the Gm. group of Go. *þaurban*, OHG *durfan* 'to need', which is semantically more problematic, but possible acc. to Seebold and Kümmel apud LIV<sup>2</sup>.

τέρσομαι [v.] 'to dry', both trans. and intr. (Hom., Hp.). <IE \**ters-* 'dry'>

•VAR Aor. τερσῆναι (P 519), -ήμεναι (ζ 98), act. τέρσαι (Theoc., Nic.), τέρσαιο (Nic.) [2sg.opt.med.], pres. τερσαίνω, -ομαι (Hell. epic), with 3sg.aor. τέρσηνε (P 529).

•ETYM Traditionally, τέρσομαι is identified with Go. \**ga-þairsan*, but only *gaþaursana* [pret.ptc. acc.sg.f.] (of *handu* = ἐξηραμμένην χεῖρα) is attested, which may also belong to *ga-þaursnan* 'ξηραίνεσθαι'. On the retention of -ρσ- < intervocalic \*-rs-, see Manolassou and Pantelidis 2008. A zero grade yod-present is found in Skt. *tṛsyati*, Go. *þaursjan* 'to thirst', and a causative \**tors-eie-* in Skt. *tarśáyati*, Lat. *torreō*, OHG *derran* 'to scorch'. Greek has several nominal formations, e.g. ►ταρσός with τρασιά. In Greek, τέρσομαι was replaced by the denominatives αὐαίνομαι, -ω (from αὔος), ξηραίνομαι, -ω.

τέρυς [adj.] 'soft, weak' only in τέρυ· ἀσθενές, λεπτόν 'weak, small' (H.), τέρυας ἵππους· οὕτω λέγονται ὅσοι ἀδδηφάγοι εἰσὶ. ἔνιοι τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς 'τ. horse are called those which are greedy; some: the weak ones' (H.). <IE \**ter-u-* 'tender, weak'>

•DER Besides τερύνης· τετριμμένος ὄνος, καὶ γέρων ἢ δυσανάληπτος γέρων 'beaten off donkey, also an old man, who is in a bad shape for recovery'; τερύσκεται· νοσεῖ, φθίνει 'is ill, declines'; τερύσκετο· ἐτίετο 'was tired off' (H.).

•ETYM The gloss τερύνης may be compared with Skt. *táruṇa-*, Av. *tauruna-* 'young, tender', from IE \**teru-no-*. Beside disyllabic τερυ-, we find τρυ- in ►τρώω; cf. also ►τιτρώσκω. An *s*-stem is seen in κυκλο-τερής 'rounded' (cf. ►κύκλος), for the meaning of which cf. Hdt. 4, 36: τὴν γῆν ἐοῦσαν κυκλοτερέα ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου 'the earth being round, as if from a τ.'.

τέρφος ⇒στέρφος.

τέρχνος [n.] 'sprout, twig' (Max., AP, H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also τρέχνος. Cypr. *te-re-ki-ni-ja* 'fruit', if this stands for τέρχνα.

•ETYM Formation like ἔρνος, κτήνος, etc. Niedermann *IF* 26 (1909): 46f. pleaded for connection with τρέχω 'to run'. In τέρχνεα = ἐντάφια 'ptng. to burial' (H.), we may be dealing with a specialization of the meaning 'fruits'; cf. καρποί, κάρπιωμα, -ωσις, which also denote fruits as offerings, κάρπιωσις· θυσία Ἀφροδίτης ἐν Ἀμαθούντι 'sacrifice for Aphrodite in Amathous' (H.). Fur.: 351 compares ταρχάνιον· ἐντάφιον, and therefore suggests a Pre-Greek word.

τέσσαρες, -α [num.] 'four' (Hom.). <IE \**k<sup>w</sup>etuer-* 'four'>

•VAR Att. τέτταρες, Ion. Arc. Hell. τέσσερες, Dor. NWGr. τέτορες, Aeol. (Hom.) πίσυρες, Lesb. πέσ(σ)υρες, Boeot. πέτταρες.

•DIAL Myc. *qe-to-ro-we* /k<sup>w</sup>etr-ōwes/ 'with four ears'.

•COMP As a first member in Hom. τεσσαρά-κοντα, Att. τετταρά-κοντα, Ion. Hell. τεσερά-κοντα, Dor. τετρώ-κοντα 'forty'; also in τεσσαρά-βοις 'worth four oxen' (Ψ 705), etc. Very frequent τετρα-, e.g. τετρά-κυκλος 'four-wheeled' (Hom., etc.), τετρα-κόσιοι, Dor. -κάτιοι 'four hundred'.

•DER Hence the ordinal τέταρτος, epic also τέτρατος, Boeot. πέτρατος 'fourth' with τεταρτ-αῖος (Theoc. τετόρτ-αῖος) 'arriving at the fourth day' (IA), as a kind of fever (msc., scil. πυρετός) 'Quartana'. Collectives: τετράς (Boeot. πετράς) [f.] 'period of four days, quaternary', usually 'fourth day of the month' (*h. Merc.*, Hes.); τετρακτύς, -ύος [f.] 'quaternary' (Pythag.). Numeral adverb τετράκις (ε 306; Boeot. π-), post-



Hom. also -κι 'four times'. Further adverbs: τέτρα-χα, -χῆ, -χόθι, -χῶς, etc. (IA); also -χθά (Hom.); adjective τετραξός (Arist.), -ασσός (late pap.), like διξός, δισσός, etc.

•ETYM The inflection of the IE numeral for 'four' can be reconstructed on the basis of the forms found in the separate languages. Among the Greek forms, the following are important for the reconstruction: nom.pl. *\*k<sup>w</sup>etuor-es* in τέτορες (with τ instead of σσ/ττ after τέτρασι); identical with this are Arm. č'ork', ToA štwar, ToB štwēr, Skt. catvārah (with ā < o by Brugmann's Law); Lat. quattuor has a secondary a in the initial syllable. Then, the acc.pl. *\*k<sup>w</sup>etur-ns* in πέσυρας, corresponding to Skt. catúrah, Lith. keturi, Go. fidur- in fidur-dogs 'τεταρταῖος, of four days'; from this stem form, a new nom. πέσυρες was created (it has been assumed that πίσυρες is a variant of this form with reduced vowel). The loc.pl. *\*k<sup>w</sup>etur-su* (Skt. catúrśu) is continued in the dat. τετράσι. The ordinal *\*k<sup>w</sup>etur-to-* in τέτρατος, τέταρτος corresponds to Lith. ketvirtas, ToA štärt, ToB štarte beside Skt. caturthāh. The e-grade of τέσσερες may be compared with that in the Balto-Slavic collective, Lith. ketveri, OCS četverŭ, < IE *\*k<sup>w</sup>etueres*; its origin is unknown (τέσσερες did not arise from τέσσαρες by vowel assimilation). For τετρώκοντα, Kortlandt MSS 42 (1983): 100 assumes that the laryngeal feature that arose from the initial *\*d-* of the second member was colored to *\*h<sub>3</sub>*, because of the preceding *\*u* in *\*k<sup>w</sup>eturdkomt*. Lillo MSS 49 (1988): 71-73 assumes that in Doric, the τ of the accus. was extended to the nom., giving τέτορες. See ▶ τράπεζα and ▶ τρυφάλεια.

**τεταγών** [v.] 'seizing, grasping' (A 591, O 23). <IE *\*teh<sub>2</sub>g-* 'touch'>

•ETYM A reduplicated aor. ptc., like ἀμ-πεπαλὼν (see ▶ πάλλω). Cognate with Lat. tangō 'touch', perf. tetigī, OLat. subj. tagam. For further combinations, see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.

**τετανός** •VAR τέτανος. ⇒ τείνω.

**τέταρος** [m.] 'pheasant' (Ptol. Euerg. 2 J). <LW Orient.>

•VAR τατύρας· ὁ φασιανὸς ὄρνις 'id.' (H.; also in Pamphil. apud Ath. 9, 387a).

•ETYM LSJ remarks that the word is a loan from the Orient, referring to MP tedzrev 'pheasant'. They further compare Lith. tetervà 'black grouse'; cf. on ▶ τέτραξ. Ath. 14, 654c states that τέταρος was imported from Media.

**τετίημαι** [v.] 'to be sad' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Perfect denoting the result of an event, in 2du. τετίησθον (Θ 447), further only the ptc. τετιημένος (Hom., Hes. Th. 163), also act. τετιηώς, dat. -ότι plur. -ότες (Il.).

•ETYM Isolated within Greek, but possibly related to the root *\*k<sup>w</sup>ei-* 'to perceive, care'. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. assumes that the Greek perfect, with original meaning *\*'am aware'*, was built on the basis of an unattested aorist *\*έ-τίην* 'noticed'. For the meaning, cf. from the same root Lat. cūra 'anxiety, care' < *\*k<sup>w</sup>ois-h<sub>2</sub>-*. Within Greek, cf. ▶ τηρέω.

**τετμεῖν** [v.] 'to find, reach, obtain' (Il., epic). <?>

•VAR Ind. τέμμεν, ἔτεμεν, τέμμιον, subj. τέμμη, etc.

•DER Here perhaps the unclear form τέμει (N 707), cf. Chantraine 1942: 309.

•ETYM A reduplicated aorist like πε-φν-εῖν, among others. Without a convincing etymology. There is no convincing semantic argumentation for the formally obvious connection with τέμνω 'cut'. ToAB tām- 'to be born', caus. 'to generate', which was

first compared by Van Windekens *Phil. Stud.* 11: 175f., deviates strongly in meaning as well. For argumentation in favor of this connection, see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *tem-* 'erreichen'.

**τετραίνω** [v.] 'to pierce, perforate' (A. [lyr.], Hdt.). <IE *\*terh<sub>1</sub>-* 'rub'>

•VAR Aor. τετρήναι (Hom.), τετράναι (Att. inscr.), med. τετρήνασθαι (Ar., Gal.), pass. τετρανθῆναι (Lyc., AP), fut. τετρανέω (Hdt.), -νῶ (IV<sup>a</sup>); further aor. τρήσαι (Hp., Pl., Hell. and late), med. -σασθαι (Gal.), pass. -θῆναι (Trypho apud Ath., Gp.), fut. τρήσω (Lyc.), perf. med. τέτρημαι (IA), with secondary pres. τιτράω, τίτρημι, τιτράινω (Hell. and late), to which aor. τιτράναι (Thphr.).

•COMP Mostly with prefix, especially δια-, συν-.

•DER 1. τρη-τός 'pierced' (Il.), ἄ-τρη-τος (Pl., Arist.), from the prefixed compounds e.g. παράτρητος (medic.). 2. τρήμα (διά-, παρά-, ἐκ-) [n.] 'hole, opening, eye of a needle, dot on a die' (IA), with -άτιον (Hero), -ατώδης 'perforated', -ατόεις 'id.' (AP), -ατίζω [v.] 'to dice', -ατίκτας (Dor.), -ατίται [pl.] 'dice-player' (Sophr., Poll., H.). 3. τρήσις (διά-, σύν-, etc.) [f.] 'perforation, opening, hole' (IA).

•ETYM The verbal forms τέτρημαι, τρητός, τρήμα correspond with βέβλημαι, βλητός, βλήμα; τέτρημαι, τρητός, τρήμα, etc. The disyllabic root is preserved in τέρε-τρον, like in βέλε-μνα. The root present of this root is preserved in Lat. terō 'rub'. The presents τετραίνω, τετρανέω, as well as the aorist τετράναι, must be innovations, apparently after the verbs in -αίνω. The comparison with Lith. trinti 'rub' is not reliable, given the strong productivity of nasal presents in Lithuanian. Also remarkable in τετραίνω, etc. is the ε-vocalism of the reduplication syllable, which seems to have been taken from the perfect and fits better for an aorist than for a present; cf. the incidental aorists τέτορεν, τετορήσας (see ▶ τορεῖν). Cf. ▶ τείρω.

**τέτραμος** •VAR τετραμαίνω. ⇒ τρέμιω.

**τέτραξ** [m.] name of 'a bird', after Thompson 1895 s.v. 'black-cock' or 'guinea-fowl', after Benton *JHS* 81 (1961): 48 ff. (w. extensive treatment) 'large bustard' (Epich., Ar., Hell. a. late). <IE? *\*tetr-* 'hen-like bird'>

•VAR Also -ακος, -αγος.

•DER τετράζω [v.] 'to cackle' (Alex. Mynd.). Also τέτριξ, -ιγος [f.] (Arist.), identification uncertain (Thompson s.v.). Further glosses: τετράων· ὄρνις ποιός 'kind of bird' (Lat. tetraō Plin.), τετράδων· ὄρνεόν τι. Ἀλκαῖος 'id. (Alc.)', τετραῖον· ὄρνιθαρίον τι. Λάκωνες 'small bird [Lac.]'; τατύρας· ὁ φασιανὸς ὄρνις 'pheasant', etc. (see ▶ τέταρος).

•ETYM For the suffix of τέτραξ, -ιξ, cf. the bird names ▶ κόραξ, ▶ πέρδιξ, et al. Similar birdnames are Lith. tetervà 'blackcock, gray hen', tētervinas 'blackcock, bustard', Ru. tēterev 'blackcock', ON þiðurr 'capercailzie', Skt. tittirá- 'partridge'. Originally onomatopoeic.

**τετρακίνη** [f.] 'θρίδαξ' (Hippon. fr. 168 M). <LW Phr.?>

•ETYM Cleitarchus identified the word as Phrygian. Complicated explanation by Haas *Ling. Balkan.* 2 (1960): 57f.

**τέττα** ⇒ τατά.



**τέττιξ, -ἶγος** [m.] 'tree-cricket, cicada' (Il.); metaph. a hair-pin with the shape of a cicada (Att.). ◀ONOM▶

•VAR Gen. also -ἶκος (Hdn. Gr.).

•COMP As a first member in τεττιγο-μήτρα [f.] 'subterranean larva of the cicada' (Arist.).

•DER τεττίγιον (H. s.v. κερκώπη), also name of a coin (Delos III<sup>a</sup>); τεττιγ-όνιον [n.] designation of a small mute cicada (Arist., Plin.), with suffix after ἀηδ-, χελιδ-όνιον; -ότης [f.] 'state of a cicada' (comm. Arist.), -ώδης 'like a cicada' (Luc.).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic; cf. τιτίζω s.v. ▶ τιτιγόνιον and Gil Fernández 1959: 130f., 190.

**τευθίς** [f.] 'kind of cuttlefish' (Semon., Ar., Thphr.). ◀PG?(V)▶

•VAR Gen. -ίδος, -ἶδος. Variant θεῦτιν [acc.]<sup>1</sup> (Hippon. ex H.). Also τεῦθος [m.] a bigger kind of cuttlefish (Arist.); τευθιάς [f.] (Philox.).

•DER τευθίδ-ιον [n.] (com.), -ώδης 'like a τ.' (Ath.); details in Thompson 1947 s.v. The TN Τευθίς (Arcadia, -έα Achaia) has also been compared.

•ETYM Several attempts have been made to explain the word in IE terms, but none of them convinces: Pok. 264f. posited IE \**d<sup>h</sup>eu-d<sup>h</sup>*, comparing Skt. *dódhat-* 'shatter, turbulent, raging', etc., and assumed a meaning "making the water muddy, entangling" for Greek, which hardly makes sense. Schindler KZ 81 (1967): 71, with some reservations, gives the same reconstruction and assumes an original color term, like in the plant name τεύθριον = πόλιον, ἐρυθρόδανον. Semitic etymologies have been proposed by Lewy 1895: 18, Lewy *RhM* 80 (1931): 108, and Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 17.

The word could be Pre-Greek, in view of the variant and the meaning. Tovar *MSS* 10 (1957): 71-83 convincingly argued that Μyc. *te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro* should be interpreted as τευθρ-αγόρος 'collector of orchils', a plant from which colors were produced, *Rocella tinctoria*. See ▶ τεῦθλον.

**τεύθριον** [n.] plant name, 'tree-germander' (Dsc.). ◀?▶

•ETYM See ▶ τευθίς.

**τευμάομαι** [v.] 'to erect, build' (Antim.; on Call. *Fr.* 567 cf. Pfeiffer). ◀IE \**kieu-* 'set in movement'▶

•VAR Only τευμήσατο; τευμᾶται τεχνάζει 'builds' (H.).

•DER Further τευτάζω (also med.), perf. τετεύτακα [v.] 'to be regularly occupied with sth.' (com., Pl.), also -άσω (Orac. in *Ath. Mitt.* 25, 399); thence τευτασμός· στραγγεία 'hesitation, loitering' (H.).

•ETYM From \*τεύμα (or \*τεύμα?), which might be identical with Av. *šiiāo-man-* [n.] 'deed, work', IE \**kieu-mn-*. The primary verb is seen in ▶ σεύομαι. The form τευτάζω was probably extended from a verb in -τω, -τάω, which ultimately belongs to ▶ σεύομαι as well.

**τεύτλον** [n.] 'beet, *Beta maritima*' (Hp., com., Thphr., pap.). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR Ion. Hell. σεῦτλον.

•COMP As a first member in τευτλο-φακῇ [f.] 'mix of beet and lentils' (medic.).

•DER τευτλ-ῖον (Ar., Diocl. *Fr.*, Thphr., pap.; also with initial σ-); -ίς (Thphr., Diph.); Τευτλοῦσσα [f.] "beet-island", island on the coast of Caria (Th.).

•ETYM The proposal by Tovar *MSS* 10 (1957): 77ff. to derive it from IE \**d<sup>h</sup>eu-* 'walk, run' and assume an original meaning 'juicy' (cf. s.v. ▶ τευθίς) should be rejected. Acc. to Frisk, the interchange τ-/σ- may represent an artificial Atticism or Ionicism. However, it may instead be a Pre-Greek variation, representing a palatalized dental \**ʔ*.

**τεύχω** [v.] 'to manufacture, accomplish, produce', of manual labor, building and cutting; 'to prepare', often of food and drinks; 'to arrange, cause' (Il., epic poet.). ◀IE \**d<sup>h</sup>euǵ<sup>h</sup>-* 'hit the mark, meet'▶

•VAR Aor. τεῦξαι, -ασθαι, reduplicated τετυκεῖν, -έσθαι (with analogical -κ-), aor. pass. τυχθῆναι, fut. τεύξω, -ομαι, pass. τετεύξομαι, perf.ptc. τετευχώς (μ 423, with passive mg.), ind. τέτευχα (late), τετεύχεται (N 22), τέτυκται, plpf. (ἐ)τετεύχατο, (ἐ)τετύμην.

•DIAL Myc. perf.ptc. *te-tu-ko-wo-a* /*t<sup>h</sup>et<sup>h</sup>uk-wo<sup>h</sup>a*/.

•COMP Also prefixed with ἀμφι-, ἐπι-, κατα-, etc. Compounds, e.g. τευχες-φόρος 'wearing armor' (A., E.), τευχο-πλάστις [f.] 'manufacturing vessels' (Lyc.); ἀ-τευχής 'without armor' (E., AP); referring to the verb: νεο-τευχής = νεό-τευκτος (E 194).

•DER 1. Verbal adjective τυκτός 'wrought, accomplished' (Hom., Theoc.), εὖ-τυκτος 'well-formed' (Hom., B.); τυεκτός 'id.' (Antiph., H., Suid.). νεό-τευκτος 'newly wrought' (Φ 592). 2. τεῦχος [n.] (mostly plur. -εα, -η) 'device, weapon, equipment' (epic), sing. 'tool, vessel' (trag., X., Arist.), 'papyrus case' (pap.), also of the human body (Hp., Arist.). Thence τευχ-ιστής (ἀνὴρ) 'armed warrior' (A., Call., A. R.), -ιστήρ 'id.' (A.), -ήεις 'armed' (Opp.), -ήρης 'id.' (Orph.), -ῖτις [f.] plantname, σχοῖνος Ἀραβική (Dsc.), -*itēs* (Plin.). 3. τεύχημα [n.] (A. *Fr.* 375 = 6 M.), either from τεῦχος or from τευχέω, which is found in τετευχῆσθαι 'to be armed' (χ 104) for expected \*τετευχέσ-(σ)θαι, like τευχησ-τής, -τήρ (which replace τευχες- after ὠμηστής, ὀρχιστής, etc.); ἀ-τευχ-ητος 'without armor' = ἀτευχής (AP, Hell. epic). 4. τεύκ-τωρ, -ορος [m.] 'manufacturer, creator' (Man.), -τήρ [m.] 'id.' (H., Phot., Suid.). 5. τεῦγμα [n.] 'work' (Dosiad. *Ara*), τεῦξις κατασκευή, ποίησις 'manufacture, production' (H.), also τύξεις [pl.] 'arts' (Athens II<sup>p</sup>), τύξιν τεῦξιν, παρασκευήν 'equipment' (H.). 6. Τυχίος [m.] PN, who fashioned the shield of Aias (H 220: Τυχίος κάμε τεύχων).

•ETYM Beside the thematic root present τεύχω (aor. τεῦξαι) 'manufacture', Greek has the nasal present τυγχάνω (with them. aor. τυχεῖν) in the more original meaning 'hit the mark, meet'. Both verbs are derived from the root \**d<sup>h</sup>euǵ<sup>h</sup>-* 'hit', to which belong the Skt. stative *duhé* 'gives milk', Go. *daug* 'is fit' (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. for further cognates). See ▶ τυγχάνω.

**τέφρα** [f.] 'ash' (Il.). ◀IE \**d<sup>h</sup>eg<sup>wh</sup>-* 'burn', \**d<sup>h</sup>eg<sup>wh</sup>-r-h<sub>2</sub>*▶

•VAR Epic Ion. -ρη.

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. ἔν-τεφρος 'ash-color' (Dsc., Ath.).

•DER Many adjectives, mostly indicating colors: τέφρ-ινος (Hp.), -αῖος (Ael.), -ακός (beside σποδιακός), τὰ τεφρακά 'ash-colored ointments' (Aet.), -ός (Arist., Herod.),

τὸ τεφρόν 'ash-colored ointment' (late medic.), -άς [f.] 'kind of cicada' (Ael.; after the color, Gil Fernández 1959: 100), -ήεις (Nonn.), -ώδης 'ash-like' (Thphr., Str.). Verbs: τεφρ-όμαι, -όω (also with κατα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-) 'to be incinerated; incinerate' (Hell.), with -ωσις [f.] (Dsc., sch.); -ίζω [v.] 'to be ash-colored' (Dsc., Aret.), ἐτέφρισεν· ἐνέπρησεν 'incinerated' (H.).

•ETYM Formation like πέτρα, ἔδρα, χώρα, λαύρα, etc., derived from a root for 'burn' seen in Skt. *dāhati*, Lith. *degū*, ToAB *tsäk-*, etc., IE *\*dʰegʰh-*. This is confirmed by the gloss ►θέπτανος· ἀπτόμενος 'kindled' (H.). Like τέφρα, Lat. *febris* 'fever' presupposes an *r*-stem.

**τέχνη** [f.] 'craftsmanship, handicraft, business, art; artifice, trick' (Il.). <IE *\*tek-* 'produce', *\*te-tk-* 'build, timber'>

•COMP As a first member e.g. τεχνο-γράφος [m.] 'performer of rhetoric' (Arist., D. H.); often as a second member, e.g. ἄ-τεχνος 'artless, inapt' (IA), also -τέχνης, e.g. πολυ-τέχνης 'skilled in many arts' (Sol.).

•DER 1. Diminutives: τεχν-ίον [n.] (Pl., middle com.), -ύδριον [n.] 'id.' (Pl. *Resp.* 475e), -ύφιον [n.] 'workshop' (Suet. *Aug.* 72). 2. -ίτης [m.] 'craftsman, artist' (IA), with fem. -ίτις, -ίτι-κός, -ίτεύω, -ίτεια, -ίτευμα. 3. Adjectives: -ικός 'experienced in art, practical, artistic, technical' (Epich., Pl.), -ήεις 'cunningly wrought, artificial' (Od., Q. S.), -ήμων 'id.' (Opp., AP), -ητός 'artificial' (Hp., Plu.; from τεχνάομαι?), -ητικός 'id.' (Plb.). 4. -οσύνη [f.] = τέχνη (AP). 5. Verbs: a. -άομαι (often with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, ἐκ-, προ-) 'to manufacture by art, contrive or execute cunningly' (Il.), with -ημα, -ησις, -ήτωρ, (-ητός?); b. -άζω (often med., also with ἐπι-, etc.) 'id.' (IA), with -ασμα, -ασμός; c) -όω (προ-) [v.] 'to initiate into an art' (Gal.), with -ωσις.

•ETYM Derived from *\*tek-sneh₂-* (for the suffix, see ►πάχνη, ►λάχνη, ►λύχνος). Sometimes, a basic form *\*τεκτ-σνā* is suggested (Skt. *tákṣati*, etc.), from the reduplicated IE root *\*te-tk-* 'to build', whence ►τεκτων is derived.

**τέως** [conj.] 'this long' (Il.). <IE *\*to-* demonstrative pronoun; *\*teh₂-u-o-*>

•VAR Epic τῆος (written τεῖως, τέως, τεῖος).

•DER τάως· τέως, Κρήτες (H.), for *\*tās* from earlier *\*tāos*, after τέως; cf. ἄς = ἔως.

•ETYM From PGr. *\*tāfos*, identical with the Skt. demonstrative *tāvat* (stem *tā-vant-*) 'that far', except for the unclear final consonant (see ►ἔως).

**τῆ** [interj.] always with the ipv.: 'there! here! take this!' (Hom.). <IE *\*to-* demonstrative pronoun>

•ETYM The old instrumental of the demonstrative pronoun *\*to-* (see ►το-), identical with Lith. *tē* 'id.' < IE *\*teh₁*. The plur. τῆτε (Sophr.) was made after reanalysis of τῆ as an imperative. See ►τῆνος.

**τήβεννα, -ος** [f.] designation of a garment of a distinguished person, Lat. *toga* (Hell. and late). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also τημενίς.

•COMP τηβεννο-φορέω [v.] 'to wear a τ.' (Larissa II<sup>a</sup>).

•DER τηβενν-ίς (Poll., cod. τημενίς), -ικός 'consisting of a τ.' (Str.), -εῖος 'belonging to a τ.' (Suid.).

•ETYM In antiquity, the word was derived from the Arcadian PN Τήμενος, Τήβεννος. Fur.: 220, 387 showed that the word is Pre-Greek (variation β/μ and ν/vv).

**τήγανον** ⇒ τάγηνον.

**τήθεα** [n.pl.] designation of a sea-animal, probably a 'sea-squirt, ascidia' (P 747).

<PG(V)>

•VAR Also -η (Nic., Poll.), sing. -ος (Arist. *Fr.* 309), also τήθουν (v.l. -εον; Arist.).

•DER Diminutive τηθυνάκια [pl.] (Epich. 42). Frisk comments that the form is doubted by the editors, but that the form, if correct, can be derived from *\*τηθύνη* (cf. χελύνη) after οστράκια et al. With some reserve, one may connect the sea-goddess Τηθύς.

•ETYM Extensive treatment by Kalén 1918: 20ff., 98ff.: starting from the form τήθουν, he assumes earlier *\*θή-θουν* and connects the word with θήσθαι 'to suck' and *\*θύον* 'bag' (whence ►θύλακος). This explanation is nonsensical and typical of older Greek etymologies. Probably a Pre-Greek word, with variation υ/ε. On the facts, see Thompson 1947 s.v. ►τήθουν.

**τήθη** [f.] 'grandmother' (Att.). <IE *\*dʰēdʰē* 'grandmother'>

•VAR Also -ή.

•DER τηθίς, -ίδος [f.] 'father's or mother's sister, aunt' (Is., D., Hell.), τηθα 'old woman' (Eust.); προ-τήθη [f.] 'great-grandmother' (D. C., Poll.), ἐπι-τήθη [f.] 'id.' (Theopomp. Com., Poll.).

•ETYM One may compare Illyr. *deda* 'nurse' (Krahe *IF* 55 (1937): 121f.), Slavic words like OCS *dědъ* [m.] 'πρόγονος', Ru. *ded* 'grandfather', Lith. *dėdė, dėdė, dėdis* 'uncle'.

**τήκω** [v.] 'to melt, dissolve, consume' (Il.). <IE *\*teh₂-* 'melt, decay'>

•VAR Dor. τάκω; aor. τῆξαι, -ασθαι, fut. τῆξω; often intr. τήκομαι 'to melt down, dissolve, decay', whence aor. τακῆναι, also τηχθῆναι, fut. τακήσομαι, also τήξομαι, perf. τέτηκα (Dor. τέτᾱκα), late τέτηγμαι

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. συν-, κατα-, ἐν-, ἐκ-.

•DER 1. τῆξις (σύν-, ἀπό-, ἐκ-, etc.) 'melting' (Hp., Arist., Hell.). 2. σύν-, περί-τηγμα [n.] 'that which is melted together, fading away' (Arist.), 'dross' (Chrysipp.). 3. τηκεδών, -όνος [f.] 'emaciation, decay, melting' (λ 201, Hp., Pl.). 4. τηκ-τός 'melttable, liquid' (Pl., E., Arist.), -τικός (σύν-) 'dissolving' (Arist., Dsc.).

With zero grade: 5. τακ-ερός 'melting, liquid, soft, tender' (Hp., com.; cf. φανερός, σφαλερός, etc.), with -έρωσις [f.] (medic.); also -ηρός 'id.' (Dsc.). 6. Uncertain τάκων (-ᾶ-), -ωνος [m.] name of spiced food, 'sausage, lump of meat?' (Poll. 6, 53 from Crates Com.).

•ETYM The forms τέτηκα (τέτᾱκα) and τακῆναι point to a root *\*teh₂k-* (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.). Leaving aside the root-final -κ- of Greek, we may compare verbs in other languages: OCS *tajr, tajati* 'to melt', with *talb* 'melting, fluid, τακερός'; further, Arm. *t'a-nam*, aor. *t'a-c'i* 'to moisten', -c'ay 'to get wet'; OIr. *tám* 'death, pest'. Latin has a root enlargement in *\*-bʰ-*: *tābēs* [f.] 'corruption, putrefaction', *tābēscō* 'to melt, decay', etc.

**τήλε** [adv., prep.] 'in the distance, far away' (Il., epic). <IE *\*kʷel-* 'far'>

•COMP Very often as a first member, e.g. τηλε-κλειτός 'far-famed' (epic Il.), PN Τηλέ-μαχος, originally "fighting from afar" (opposite ἀγχέ-μαχος; also Arc. Τηλί-μαχος after ἀγχί-μαχος).

•DER Adverbs τηλε-οὔ, -όθι 'id.', -όθε(ν) 'from, in the distance', -όσε 'in the distance, far away'; also τηλε-δαπός 'from a far country, far off, distant' after ποδ-απός, ἀλλοδαπός, etc. (all Il., epic); unclear is τήλεμος (Theognost. *Can.*), perhaps after τήμος, ἥμος? Comparative forms τηλε-τάτω (Od.), -τέρω (Hp., Arat.), -τερος (AP), τήλιστα (Orph.; nonce formation after ἀγχιστα). Further Aeol. πήλυι (-οι) [loc.] = τήλε, τηλεοῦ, with Boeot. Πειλε-στροτίδας PN.

•ETYM Harðarson KZ 108 (1995): 205f. proposed that it is a locative *\*k<sup>w</sup>ēlh<sub>i</sub>-* from the root of ►πέλομαι. It is doubtful, however, that the word contained a laryngeal. For the semantics, cf. τέλος 'end, goal, etc.' from the same root.

τηλεθάω ⇒θάλλω.

τηλία [f.] 'table or board with an elevated edge', of the table of a baker, the stage on which game-cocks fight, a gaming table (com., Aeschin., Arist., pap.), also of a sieve (Ar. *Pl.* 1037, sch. σηλία); unclear Ar. V. 147 (of a flue?). Uncertain σαλ[ία] 'sieve' (*Suppl. Epigr.* 1, 414, Crete V-IV<sup>a</sup>). On the mg. Chantre *RPh.* 68 (1994): 77-86. <PG(V)>

•ETYM A technical expression in -ία, like σχεδία, κλισία, ἐστία, etc. In the sense of 'hoop of a sieve', τηλία and σηλία are often connected with σήθω, δια-τάω 'sieve', but the derivation is unclear. In the meaning 'table, board', the connection with words for 'plane, surface, etc.' (Skt. *tala-* [n.] 'plane', Lat. *tellūs* 'ground') is still given by Pok. 1061, but this cannot be upheld as Greek would have a lengthened grade formation. Also, as Scheller 1951: 62ff. remarks, the special character of the table is not sufficiently accounted for in this way. Therefore, Scheller considers the meaning 'hoop of a sieve' or 'sieve' as original, and assumes a development to 'table (for gaming, baking, etc.)'. For such a technical word, substrate origin is likely, and since the variation τ/σ is typical for Pre-Greek words, we must assume such an origin.

τηλίκος [adj.] 'of such an age, this old, this young, this large' (Il., epic). <IE *\*to-* demonstrative pronoun>

•VAR Dor. τα-.

•DER τηλικόσδε, τηλικούτος (after ὅδε via τηλικόν-δε, etc., οὔτος) 'id.' (Att.).

•ETYM Derived, via a suffix -κ-, from IE *\*teh<sub>2</sub>li-* in Lat. *tālis* (beside OCS *tolb* 'so much', pointing to *\*toli-*), which is the demonstrative *\*tā* 'thus' (see ►το-) with a suffix -li-. The form seems to correspond with MInd. *tārisa-* 'such a one, of that kind', but this is derived from Skt. *tādṛśa-* (Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *tādṛś-*). Cf. ►πηλίκος and ►ήλικος.

τήλις, -εως, -ιος [f.] 'fenugreek, Trigonella' (Hp., Thphr., pap.). <?>

•DER τήλ-ινος 'of fenugreek', -ον (μύρον) [n.] (Hell.); -ίνη = κύτιος (Ps.-Dsc.; Strömberg 1940: 43f.), -ίτης οἶνος (*Gp.*); on ►ἐπι-τήλις s.v.; cf. also on ►τάλις.

•ETYM This plant name has no certain explanation. The older dictionaries compare Skt. *tāla-* [m.] 'wine-palm', Lat. *tālea* 'stave, cutting', OLith. *talokas* 'adult daughter,

younger girl', but such wild guesses have been abandoned in more recent days (cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia* and De Vaan 2008).

τηλύγετος [adj.] epithet of children of unknown mg. and origin (Il., epic). <GR>

•ETYM The ancients connected both τέλος 'end' ('latecomer', sch. T on I 482) and τήλε ('born far away', E. *IT* 829 [Iyr.], Simm., H. in τηλυγέτων ἀποικιών τῶν μακρὰν ἀπεχουσῶν; but τηλύγετος ὁ τηλοῦ τῆς ἡλικίας τοῖς γονεῦσι γεγονώς, ἐπὶ γῆρα παῖς μονογενής). For the formation, cf. ►ἀτρύγετος and ►Ταῦγετος. Janda *Glotta* 66 (1988): 20-25 connects the second member with ►λύζω 'hiccup, swallow' as 'in der Ferne schluchzend'; not very convincing. Vine 1998: 64-66 connects λυγρός 'painful' and analyzes the word as *\*τηλε-λύγετος* 'having misery/pain at a distance'.

τημελέω [v.] 'to take care, watch, look after' (E., Pl. *Lg.* 953a, D. H., Plu.). <?>

•VAR Aor. -ῆσαι

•DER τημέλεια [f.] 'care, attendance' (Hp. *Ep.*), -ία [f.] (sch.), τημελητής, ἐπιμελητής 'manager' (H.). With privative prefix ἀ-τημέλητος, -τως 'careless, uncared for, neglected' (A. Ag. 891, X.), ἀ-τημελής, -έως, -ῶς 'id.' (E. *Fr.* 184, A. R., Plu.), with ἀτημέλ-εια (Plu.), -ίη (A. R.). Backformation τημελής, -ές (H., Phot., Suid.), -έως, -ῶς (Aglaïas, Max. Tyr.).

•ETYM Without a certain explanation. The semantic and formal similarity with μέλομαι gave rise to several unsuccessful attempts to connect τημελέω etymologically. Not related to Lith. *tėmyti(s)* 'note, imprint in the memory' (a Slav. LW), Ru. *tjāmit'* 'understand'. Pisani *RILomb.* 77 (1943-44): 564ff. suggested that τημέλεια (whence τημελέω) arose from *\*τηλε-μέλεια* by syllabic dissimilation, orig. "to care from afar", which is semantically unconvincing.

τήμερον [adv.] 'today' (Il., Att.). <IE *\*k<sub>i</sub>-* this>

•VAR Epic Ion., Hell. σήμερον; Dor. σάμερον.

•DER σημερινός 'present' (Call.).

•ETYM From *\*k<sub>i</sub>-άμερον* (cf. ►αὔριον), a univerbation of pronominal *k<sub>i</sub>-* 'here, this' (see ►έκεῖ) and ἡμέρα, ἀμέρα 'day', perhaps via an adjective *\*k<sub>i</sub>-άμερος* 'belonging to this day'.

τήμος [adv.] 'there, then, at that time' (Il., epic poet.), secondarily 'today' (A. R.), after ἡμαρ, ἡμέρα. <IE *\*teh<sub>2</sub>-mo-* 'at the time, then'>

•VAR Dor. τᾶμος.

•DER Nominalized τὸ τᾶμον (scil. ψάφισμα) 'the present decree' (Thess.); extended τημοῦτος (Hes., Call., Nic.), τημόσδε (Theoc., Call.) 'id.'.

•ETYM Like τέως < PGr. *\*τᾶ-φος*, from the pronoun το-, τᾶ-, with a suffix -μ- also found in OCS *tamo* 'there', and which may be somehow related to Skt. and Hitt. -mant- (-μος to Skt. -mat, like *\*τᾶ-φος* to Skt. *tā-vat*). Beside τήμος, τᾶμος stands the relative ἥμος, ἄμος 'as, while' (Il., epic poet., rare in Hp. and Hdt.).

τήνελλα a ritual exclamation, taken from the cult of Demeter in Paros by Archilochos, acc. to sch. Ar. *An.* 1764, and used in a poem (τήνελλα καλλίνικε χαῖρ' ἄναξ Ἡράκλεες [*Fr.* 119]). <?>

- DER Thence τήνελλα καλλίνικος 'hurray! hail!' to a victor (Ar.), and τήνελλος 'to whom one says τήνελλα' (Ar. *Eq.* 276).
- ETYM Origin unknown.

**τηνίκα** [adv.] 'then, at that time' (S., A. R., Theoc.). <IE \*to- 'there'>

- VAR Dor. (Theoc.) τανίκα.
- DER τηνικ-αὔτα (IA), -άδε (Pl., Plb., Ph.) 'id.' (after ἐνθ-αὔτα, -άδε).
- ETYM From the demonstrative pronoun ►το-, with the same unclear formation as ►ήνίκα.

**τήνος** [pron.demonstr.] Doric for ἐκείνος (Epich., Sophr., Theoc., inscr.). <IE \*to- 'that'>

- DER την-εἶ = ἐκεῖ (Epich., Theoc., Delph., etc.). -όθι 'then' (Theoc.), -ῶ (Theoc.) and -ῶθε(ν) (A. R., Theoc., AP) = ἐκεῖθεν; to την-εἶ (old loc.), -ῶ (abl.) Schwyzer: 549f.
- ETYM Formation like ►ἐκείνος, so from \*τέ-ενος or τή-ενος, from the demonstrative ►το- (cf. τῆ).

**τηρέω** [v.] 'to observe, guard, watch, keep an eye on, provide' (h. Cer., Thgn., Alc., Pi., Att.). <?, IE? \*k<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>(-i)- 'observe'>

- VAR Boeot. δια-ταρέω [II<sup>a</sup>] is hypercorrect; see Thumb-Scherer 17.
- COMP Often with prefix, e.g. παρα-, ἐπι-, δια-, συν-.
- DER 1. τήρη-σις (παρα-, ἐπι-, δια-, συν-) [f.] 'observing, guarding, custody' (Att., Hell.), with παρατηρή-σμιος (H. on ἀποφράδας). 2. -μία (παρα-) [n.] 'observation' (D. H., A. D.). 3. -τής (παρα-, ἐπι-, τοπο-, κνισο-) [m.] 'guardian, watcher' (Hell.), -σία (only καιρο-, τοπο-) [f.] 'the observation of the right time or place' (Aristeas, late). 4. -τήριον = Lat. *servatorium* (gloss.). 5. -τρα [n.pl.] 'custodial costs' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>). 6. -τικός (παρα-, ἐπι-, δια-, συν-) 'observing, keeping' (late). Also 7. ἐπιτηρ-ία [f.] 'attention, care' (Pamphyl.; from ἐπιτηρ-έω). 8. τηρός [m.] 'guardian' (A. *Supp.* 248; probably back-formation).
- ETYM Since the *hapax* τηρός is most probably a back-formation, the prehistory of τηρέω remains obscure. Relationship with Skt. *cāyati* [v.] 'to observe, feel shame or anxiety' and OCS *čajō*, -ati 'ἐλπίζω, προσδέχομαι, προσδοκῶ' < IE \*k<sup>w</sup>ēi- has been assumed, but this is unsatisfactory, as Greek shows no trace of the root-final \*-i-. On Skt. *cāra*- 'messenger, watcher', which was earlier wrongly identified with τηρός, see Mayrhofer KEWA s.v. (it belongs to *car*- 'be around' = πέλομαι).

**τητάομαι** [v.] 'to lack, be in want, be robbed' (Hes. *Op.* 408, S., E., Pl., Arist.). <IE \*teh<sub>2</sub>-(i)- 'steal, rob'>

- VAR Dor. τατ- (Pi.). Only present, especially τητώμενος [ptc].
- DIAL Myc. *ta-ti-qo-we-u*, see Plath 1999: 511-519.
- DER Beside τήτη ἀπορία, ἔνδεια, στέρησις 'difficulty, lack, loss'; τήτει· σπάνει 'lack' (H.) (like χήτει).
- ETYM From the root \*teh<sub>2</sub>- 'to steal'. As τήτη (which is only attested lexically) may be a back-formation, τητάομαι is probably a verb in -τάω. However, either way we have to reckon with a nominal dental stem, as seen in OCS *tatb* [m.] 'thieve', etc. (IE \*teh<sub>2</sub>-t-i-); see ►τηῦσιος.

**τήτες** [adv.] 'this year' (Att. com.). <IE \*ki- + \*uet-es- 'year'>

- VAR Ion. σῆτες (EM), Dor. Hell. σᾶτες (Gela PCair. Zen. III<sup>a</sup>; cf. Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 126), also τᾶτες, τῆδες, τῆτα (sch., Eust., Suid.).
- DIAL Myc. *za-we-te /zawetes/*.
- DER τητ-ινός (Luc. *Lex.*, Hdn. Gr., Phryn., Poll.), σατ-ινός (PCair. Zen., EM) 'of this year, this year's'; also σσητ-άν(ε)ιος (Ion., Hell.), σατ- (sch.), τητ- (Poll. v.l.) 'id.' (of produce of the fields; for the suffix cf. ἐπηετ-ανός, κριθ-, σιτ-ανίας); to this σσητ-αν-ώδης 'id.' (Hp. *apud* Gal.), σσητείους· νέους 'young, recent' (H.).
- ETYM The petrified ntr. accus. of an adjective (cf. τρί-ετες), built on φέτος and the demonstrative \*ki- (see ►ἐκεῖ). The expected form \*ki-(φ)ετες seems to have been replaced at an early (pre-Mycenaean) date by \*kiāwetes, after the precursor of semantically related σήμερον, τήμ-, σάμ-, giving Myc. *za-we-te*, Class. σῆτες, τήτες, τᾶτες.

**τηῦσιος** [adj.] 'idle, vain' (γ 316 = ο 13, h. Ap., Alc., B., A. R., Theoc.). <IE \*teh<sub>2</sub>-(iu)- 'thief'>

- VAR Dor. ταῦσιος; also ταύσιμον· μάταιον 'idle' (H.) (for -σιον?).
- ETYM An isolated poetic adjective. If it originally meant 'deceptive', it belongs to a word for 'thief' in Skt. *tāyū-*, Av. *tāiiu-*, which are derived from a primary verb preserved in Hitt. *tāie/a-* 'to steal', OCS *tajiti*, 1sg. *tajō* 'to hide, conceal'. Neumann 1961: 65 connected the gloss τεγοῦν· Λυδοὶ τὸν ληστήν (H.) with this root, but it is now supposed that \*i would give Lyd. *d*, not γ, in this position. The suffix -σιος may have been added directly to a noun \*τάϋς after the pattern of διημόσιος from δῆμος (cf. also synonymous ἐτώ-σιος), so an intermediate form \*ταϋ-τά(ς) seems unnecessary. See ►τητάομαι.

**τιάρα** [f.] designation of a Persian headdress, 'tiara, turban' (Hdt., A., X.). <LW Orient.>

- VAR Also τιάρας, Ion. τιήρης [m.], τιάρης (H.).
- COMP τιαρο-ειδής 'like a tiara' (X.), περι-τιάρα, -ριον 'round headgear' (Tz. with sch.), etc.
- ETYM Oriental foreign word of unknown origin. Rejected explanations from IE are given by Bq. Lat. LW *tiāra*, *tiārās*.

**τιβήν, -ήνος** [m.] 'tripod' (Lyc., EM), τίβηνος· λεβης, τρίπους 'id.' (H.). <PG? (S, V)>

- ETYM Fur.: 189 connects τίβις, τίβωνος 'basket', which he derives from a Hebrew or Egyptian word. He remarks that the suffix -ην points to Anatolian origin, which may perhaps indicate that the word is Pre-Greek.

**τιγγάβαρι** =κιννάβαρι.

**τίγρις, -ιος, -ιδος** [f.] 'tiger' (Arist., Thphr., middle com.). <LW Orient.>

- COMP ἱππό-τιγρις 'kind of large tiger' (D. C.), τιγρο-ειδής 'tiger-colored' (D. C.).
- DER Also the HN Τίγρης, -ητος [m.] (Hdt., X., Arr., etc.), also Τίγρις, -ιος, -εως, -ιδος (Arist., Plb., Str., Plu.).
- ETYM Oriental LW, first from Iranian. Acc. to Varro (*L. L.* 5, 100), the word is Armenian, while acc. to D. P., Eust., and others, it is Median, with the original mg.

'arrow'. This means that it can be equated with Av. *tigri-* [m.] 'arrow', as well as *tiyra-*, OP *tigra-* 'pointed' (cf. Skt. *tigmá-* 'id.'). etc. (from the root of Greek ▶στίζω). On the hydronym, which is OP *tigrā*, we may compare Varro ("vehementissimum flumen") and D. P. ("ποταμὸς ὡκιστος ἀπάντων" 'the fastest river of all'). We have to reckon with folk-etymological adaptation of a foreign word to Iranian (cf. MP, Akk. *Diqlat* 'Tigris'). From Greek came Lat. *tigris*, etc.

**τιθαιβώσσω** [v.] epic word of agriculture, originally popular: of bees (v 106 'to collect honey?'), of hens (Nic. *Th.* 199 'to brood, feed, tend?'), watering the field (Lyc. 622 'to make fertile, nourish?'), of a quiver (Antim. in *PMilan.* 17, 37 'to stuff, store up?'). <?>

•ETYM Formation in -ώσσω, perhaps reduplicated. Fur.: 209 compares Lyc. *tideimi-* 'son, child', CLuw. *titaimma/i-* 'id.', and assumes a Pre-Greek word. This conclusion is mistaken, as the Anatolian words have a secure IE etymology: the root is *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* 'to suck'.

**τιθασός** [adj.] 'tamed, domestic, cultivated, mild' (A. *Eu.* 356 [lyr.], S. *Fr.* 866, Pl., Arist.). <PG(S)>

•DER **τιθασ-εύω** (also with ἐκ-, προ-) [v.] 'to tame, cultivate' (Pl., D., X., Arist.), with -εία [f.] 'taming' (Pl.), -ευσίς [f.] 'id.' (Plu.), -εύματα [n.pl.] 'arrangements for taming' (Porph.), -ευτής [m.] (Ar.), -εύτωρ [m.] (Opp.) 'tamer, domesticator', -ευτικός [adj.] 'fit for taming, easy to tame' (Arist.); ἀ-τιθάσεντος 'untamed, wild' (Hell.), also ἀ-τίθασος 'id.' (Ph.). Backformation **τιθαι** ὄρνιθες (Arat. 960), **τιθās** ὄρνις (*AP* 9, 95).

•ETYM The word **τιθασός** differs from other words in -ασος in its oxytone accent and in its adjectival function (these are probably interconnected). The traditional connection of **τιθασός** with **θησθαι** 'suck', **τιθήνη** 'nurse', etc. must be rejected, not only because of the weak semantics, but also because words in -ασος generally have Pre-Greek origin.

**τίθημι** [v.] 'to put (away), lay (down), fix, make; to place, set up, establish, create' (Hom.). <IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* 'put, lay down, create'>

•VAR Aor. ἔθηκα, Boeot. ἀν-έθε (doubted by Forssman *MSS* 23 (1968): 7ff. but now found in two Phocian dedications, see Jacquemin, *BCH Supp.* IX (1984) 764 [p. 150] and 769 [p. 152]); plur. ἔθεμεν, fut. θήσω (all Il.), aor. pass. ἐτέθην (Att.), perf. τέθηκα, -εῖκα, med. -εῖμαι (IA, Hell.).

•COMP Frequently with one or two prefixes in different mgs., e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-, συν-, προ-, προσ-, ὑπο-.

•DER Many derivatives are treated under separate entries: ▶θέσις, ▶θεσμός, ▶θέμις, ▶θέμεθλα, ▶θεμέρη, ▶θήκη, ▶θωή, ▶θωμός. Further derivatives are: 1. θῆμα [n.], almost only from prefixed verbs, e.g. ἀνάθη-μα [n.] 'sth. positioned, votive offering' (Od.), with -ματικός (Plb.). 2. θέμα (with zero grade) [n.] 'proposition, input, theme, etc.' (Arist., Hell.), with θεμ-άτιον, -ατικός, -ατίτης, -ατίζω, -ατισμός; ἀνά, ἐπί-θεμα, etc. from ἀνα-, ἐπι-τίθημι, etc. 3. θημῶν, -ῶνος [m.] 'pile' (ε 368, Arist., Opp.), θημων-ιά [f.] 'id.' (LXX et al.). 4. θέ-της [m.], as a simplex only in Is. 10, 24 'who pawns' and Pl. *Cra.* 389d (nonce formation), especially frequent in univerbations,

e.g. ἀγωνο-θέ-της (: ἀγῶνα θεῖναι) 'arbiter at a contest' (IA), with -θέτις, -θετικός, -θετέω, -θεσία. 5. θετήρ· τολμητής, πράκτης 'who wages' (H.), διαθε-τήρ 'arranger' (Pl. *Lg.*, Them.); διαθέ-της Hdt. et al., ἀγωνο-θε-τήρ = -της (verse-inscr. Catana). 6. θετός 'adopted' (Pi., IA); often of the prefixed verbs, e.g. ἐπίθε-τος 'added, artificial' (Att.); θητόν· βωμόν 'step, base, altar' (H.). 7. θετικός (to θέσις) 'belonging to a θέσις, i.e. concerning adoption, disputation, etc.' (Arist., Hell.); συνθε-τικός (to σύνθεσις), etc. 8. -θε-σία, -ία in συν-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-θεσία(ι) 'agreement, assignment, etc.' (Il.).

•ETYM This important inherited verb was inherited from the PIE root *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-*, which assumes a wide range of meanings: 'put, lay down, make, create, etc.'. The following survey is limited to forms and words that are directly relevant for Greek. The active root aorist in Boeot. ἀν-έθε corresponds to Skt. *ádthāt*, OP *adā*, Arm. *ed*, IE *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-t*. The κ-aorist θῆκε (Hom.) is also found in OLat. *fēced*, perhaps already Myc. *te-ke* (meaning uncertain), from IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-k-et*. The middle root aorist ἔθετο is matched by Skt. *adhita*, from IE *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-to*. The reduplicated athematic present τίθημι is found in Skt. *dádhāmi*, Av. *dadāmi* < IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>i-d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-mi*, etc., where the Greek reduplication vocalism is probably older (Iir. may have taken its *dá-* from the 3pl.). The verbal adj. θετός is formally identical with Skt. *hitá-* (for *\*dhitá-*) 'put, designated, fit, etc.', as well as with Lat. *fēced* from IE *\*(-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-tó-*; the gloss θητόν [acc.sg.] is formally identical with Av. OP *dāta-* [n.] 'law', Lith. *dētas* 'put'. Greek θῆμα formally corresponds to Skt. *dhāman-* [n.] 'seat, place, statute, law, etc.', Av. *dāman-* [n.] 'place, creation', IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-m<sup>h</sup>*; θετήρ, to Skt. *dhātár-*, Av. *dātar-* [m.] 'contriver, creator', Lat. *con-ditor* 'contriver, founder'. The perfect τέθη-κ-α is a Greek innovation (like ἔστηκα), in opposition to Av. *dadā*, Skt. *dadhāu*. The forms τέθεικα, τέθειμαι were created analogically after εἶκα, εἶμαι. Details on the Greek morphology and inflection are found in Schwyzler: 686ff., 741, 761f., 774f., and 782. Cf. further forms with comments in LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* 'stellen, legen, setzen; herstellen, machen'.

**τιθήνη** [f.] 'wet nurse' (Il., Pi., S. [lyr.], also Pl., Arist.). <IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* 'suck'>

•VAR Dor. (Pi.) -ᾱ.

•DER **τιθην-έομαι** (sometimes with ἀνα-, ἐκ-, συν-εκ-, rarely -έω) [v.med.] 'to be wet nurse, suckle; to raise, foster' (h. *Cer.*, Thgn., S. [lyr.], also Hp., X., LXX), also -εύομαι (H.), with -ις, -ιμα, -ιτήρ, -ιτήριος (Pl., E., Thphr., *AP*), -ίαι, -εἶαι [f.pl.] (LXX, Opp.), -ευτήρες (conj. orac. Sibyll.). Innovated aorist ἐτιθήνατο (Luc. *Trag.* 94), as if from *\*τιθαίνομαι*. **τιθηνός** [m.] 'foster father' (LXX, Nic., Plu.), also adj. 'fostering, feeding' (E., Lyc.). Short forms with expressive gemination: τίτθη [f.] 'wet nurse' (Ar., Pl., Thphr.), also 'mother's breast' (Arist.), with τιτθεύω (ἐκ-) [v.] 'to suckle, give the breast' (D., Arist.), -εία [f.] (D., Sor.); τιτθός [m.] 'mother's breast', also of the breast of the man (Hp., Att.), with -ιον, -ίδιον (com.), -ίζομαι (Aq.).

•ETYM Reduplicated formation of children's language, derived from the middle aorist θῆσθαι 'to suck'. For the suffix -ν-, cf. γαλαθηνός (see ▶γάλα).

**τιθύμαλλος** [m.] 'milkweed, Euphorbia Peplus' (com., Thphr., Dsc.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Plur. also -α (*AP*).

•DER -ίς [f.] designation of several plants (Dsc., Ps.-Dsc.); see Strömberg 1940: 19.

•ETYM Probably a reduplicated formation; cf. θυμελαία. As all words in -αλλος are Pre-Greek (see Beekes 2008: 49ff.), the same holds for this one.

**Τιθωνός** [m.] Son of Laomedon, abducted by Eos (Il., Hes., et al.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 191 compares τιτώ = ἡμέρα (sch. Lyc. 941), also = ἥως, ἡ αὔριον (H.); because of the variation τ/θ, the word is Pre-Greek.

**τίκτω** [v.] 'to beget; to produce, generate, cause' (Hom.). <IE \*teḱ- 'produce'>

•VAR Aor. τεκεῖν, τεκέσθαι, fut. τέξω, often (and more original) -ομαι [med.] (all Hom.), inf. τεκεῖσθαι (h. Ven. 127, verse-final), perf. τέτοκα (Hes.), intr. ἐντετοκυῖα (Ar.), pass. aor. τεχθῆναι (Hp., LXX), perf. τέτεγμαι (late).

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, etc.

•DER 1. τέκος [n.] 'child, cub' (Il., epic poet.). 2. τόκος [m.] 'bearing, birth, offspring' (Il.), 'interest' (Pi., Sophr., Att.), with several derivatives: 3. τοκάς [f.] 'female giving birth', mostly of animals (since ξ 16). 4. τοκίς [f.] 'id.' (Hell. pap.). 5. τοκαδεῖα [f.] 'poultry farming', to \*τοκαδεύω (pap.). 6. τοκαρίδιον· *usurula* (gloss.). 7. Lat. *tocullio* 'usurer' from Hell. \*τοκυλλίων or \*τὰ τοκύλλια (Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 207). 8. τοκήεσσα [f.] 'woman giving birth, fertile' (Hp.). 9. τοκεῖον [n.] 'hatchery' (Hell. pap.). 10. τοκ-εῖς (epic -ῆες) [m.pl.] 'parents' (Il.), sing. -εὺς 'begetter, father' (Hes., A.). 11. τοκεῶνες [pl.] 'id.' (Heraclit. 74), cf. West *Class. Rev.* 81 (1967): 127f.). 12. τοκετός [m.] = τόκος (Hp., Arist.), cf. παγετός to πάγος et al. 13. τοκίζω (also with ἐκ-, etc.) [v.] 'to lend with interest, practise usury' (Att., Hell.), with -ισμός, -ιστής, -ιστρια. 14. τοκάω [v.] 'to be close to delivery' (Cratin.). 15. From the present stem πικτικόν (φάρμακον) [n.] 'drug for women giving birth' (Ar. *Fr.* 872). 16. ►ἐπίτεξ [f.] 'before delivery, near delivery'; after it καλλί-τεξ = καλλί-τεκνος (Hp. *Epin.*). --17. As a second member in several univerbations, e.g. μονο-τόκος 'giving birth to one cub' beside εὖ-τόκος 'having an easy birth, giving birth easily' (Arist.) wiht μονο-, εὖ-τοκέω, -ία, etc. On ►τέκνον, see s.v.

•ETYM Belongs to the old root \*teḱ- 'to produce', which appears in reduplicated form in \*te-tḱ- (Skt. 3sg. *tāṣṭi* 'fashions', 3pl. *takṣati*, etc.). Apparently, Greek is the only language that kept the root in its simple form.

**τίλλω** [v.] 'to pluck, tear, pick' (Il.; rare in Att. prose). <?>

•VAR Aor. τίλαι, -ασθαι, fut. τιλῶ, -οῦμαι (com., etc.), aor. pass. τιλθῆναι (Ar.), τιλῆναι (LXX, pap.), perf. med. τέτιλμαι, especially the ptc. τετιλμένος (Ar., LXX), act. τέτιλκα (Hell.).

•COMP Also with παρα-, ἀπο-, περι-, etc. As a second member in νάκο-τιλτος 'whose fleece has been plucked, from whom the wool has been plucked off', also -τιλτης, -τιλτέω (com.); to this, as back-formations, the verbs θρυο-τίλλω 'to pluck bulrush', ὄλο-τίλλω 'to pluck entirely' (only ptc. pres., account *PLond.* I<sup>p</sup>).

•DER 1. τιλμός (ἀπο-, παρα-) [m.] 'plucking' (A. [lyr.], Hp., Men., pap.). 2. τίλμα (ἀπό-, διά-) [n.] 'something plucked, something torn, sprains' (medic., Herod., Theoc.), with -μάτιον (medic.). 3. τίλσις [f.] 'plucking' (Arist., pap.). 4. τίλτρον [n.] 'plucking fee' (late pap.). 5. παρατίλ-τρια [f.] 'plucker', designation of a female slave (Cratin., Philostr.). Backformations τίλοι [m.pl.] 'the fine hairs of the eyebrows' (Poll.), τιλλά-πτερά 'wings' (H.) (leg. πτίλα?).

•ETYM A verb τίλλω (from \*τιλ-ιω) cannot be an old primary formation. If not a loan, it must be a denominative from \*τίλος, \*τίλον, vel sim. There are no cognates outside Greek. Frisk suggests a pre-form \*πτίλλω, which would belong to πτίλον, via dissimilation in the compounded forms παρα-, περι-, ἀπο-(π)τίλλω.

**τίλος** [m.] 'thin stool, diarrhoea' (Sophr., Poll.). <?>

•COMP ἵππο-τίλος 'horse diarrhoea' (*Hippiatr.*).

•DER τιλάω (often with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ἐν-, προσ-, ἀπο-) [v.] 'to have a thin stool, to have diarrhoea' (Ar., Hippon., *Hippiatr.*), with τίλημα [n.] (EM). Here probably also τίλων, -ωνος [m.] name of a fish in the Thracian Sea Prasias (Hdt., Arist.), see Strömberg 1943: 61f.; cf. also ὀπισθυ-τίλη, Boeot. ὀπιτθο-τίλα [f.] 'squid' (Stratt., H.), perhaps after ►σπατίλη.

•ETYM No etymology. The comparisons with Arm. *t'rik* 'mist, dung', if from \*tiHr-, OE *bīnan* 'be(come) wet, moist', OCS *tina*, Ru. *tina* 'mud, dirt' < \*tiHn-, etc. remain speculative, since there is no evidence for a root \*tiH- or \*tiH-i- in this meaning. The same holds for the connection within Greek with ►τίφος. The word ►τήκω is not related, either.

**τίλφη** ►σίλφη.

**τίμη** [f.] 'estimate, price, value, honor, honorary office' (Il.) 'compensation, penalty, retribution' (Hom.). <IE \*k<sup>w</sup>ei->

•VAR Dor. -ά.

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. ►τιμωρός, ἄ-τιμος 'honorless, rightless, despised' (Il.), seldom 'without compensation' (π 431), 'unpunished, unavenged' (A., Pl.), with ἀτιμία, -ίη [f.] 'dishonor, defilement' (since ν 142), -άω [v.] 'to dishonor, disdain' (Il., epic poet., also epic prose), -άζω (Il.), -ωθῆναι, -ῶσαι, -όομαι, -όω [v.] 'to dishonor, ostracize' (IA), to which ἀτίμη-ητος, ἀτιμ-αστήρ, -ωσις, etc.

•DER 1. τίμ-ιος [adj.] 'appreciated, honored, valuable, precious' (since κ 38), with -ιότης, -ιόομαι; as a first member in τιμι-ώρα [f.] 'expensive time, high prices' (Hell. and late inscr. and pap.). 2. -ήεις (epic -ῆς, Dor. -άεις, Pamph. -άεσσα [f.]) [adj.] 'appreciated, honored' (Hom., Pi.). 3. -αῖος 'highly appreciated' (Diocl. Com.), PN Τίμαιος. 4. -ίλος 'honorable' (Cypr.). 5. -ίδαι [m.pl.] 'judges of the games' (Arc.-Cypr.). 6. Denominative verb τιμάω (often with ἐπι-, προ-, ἀπο-, ἐν-, ἐκ-, etc.) [v.] 'to estimate, appreciate, honor, appraise' (Il.), with τίμ-ημα, -ησις, Dor. -ασις, Arc. -ασία (Chantraine 1933: 84), -ητής, Boeot. -ατάς, -ητήρ, -ητήριος, -ητικός, -ητεύω, -ητεία; from the prefixed verbs e.g. ἐπιτίμ-ησις [f.] 'blame, reproach', -ημα -ητής, etc. From τιμάω (and from τίμιος?) the back-formation τίμος [m.] 'value, price' (Archil., Herod., A., Com. *Adesp.*, late prose), with τιμοῦς (< -όεις) in τιμοῦντας· τιμίους ὄντας 'ones who are valued' (H.), τιμούστερος (Olbia III<sup>a</sup>); τετίμονται (Elis) from τιμόω, which may be explained as a denominative from τίμος, but also as analogous to ἀτιμόω. Further many PNs, e.g. Τιμα-, Τιμη-, Τιμο-, Τιμησι-κράτης, Ἐργό-τιμος, Τίμαιος, Τίμων, etc.

•ETYM See ►τίω.

**τιμωρός** [adj.] 'protecting, protector, avenging, avenger' (Hdt., Att.). <GR>

- VAR Dor. τιμάορος (Pi., trag.), Hell. epic τιμήορος (A. R.).
- DER τιμωρ-ία, -ίη, -έω, -έομαι, -ησις, -ημα, -ητής, -ητήρ, -ητικός, -ίζομαι.
- ETYM Originally “preserving or guarding τιμή”, from \*τιμα-φορ-ος, a univerbation of ► τιμή and ► οράω.

**τινάσσω** [v.] ‘to sway, shake, quake’ (Il., epic Ion. and Aeol. poet.). <?>

- VAR Aor. τιν-άξει, -αχθῆναι, fut. -άξω, perf. med. τετί-ναγμαί.
- COMP Also with ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἀπο-, δια-, etc.
- DER τιναγ-μός (ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἀνα-) [m.] ‘shaking, quaking’ (LXX, Hell. and late pap.), also -μα (ἀπο-, ἐν-) [n.] ‘shake’ (LXX, AP), τινάκ-τωρ [m.] ‘shaker’, of Poseidon (S. [lyr.], Nonn.), -τειρα [f.] of the trident of Poseidon (A. Pr. 924); ἐκτιναγμός also ‘(suddenly) departing, sale of a product’ (pap.); cf. ἐκτινάξει· ἀποκινήσαι ‘drive away’ (H.) and ἀποκινεῖν· τὸ ἀπέρχεσθαι καὶ ἀποτρέχειν ‘run away’ Suid. Also -ακτρον [n.] ‘winnowing fan’ (pap. III<sup>p</sup>), -αξις [f.] ‘pushing away’ (Heph. Astr., EM).
- ETYM Without a certain explanation. Acc. to an old hypothesis by Fick, τινάξει, -ξω may have been dissimilated from \*κινάξει, -ξω (from ► κινέω, κίνυμαι), from which τινάσσω (after πατάσσω, ἀράσσω, etc.) was later created.

**τινθαλέος** [adj.] ‘boiling hot’ (Nic., Nonn.). <PG?(V)>

- COMP δια-τινθαλέος ‘id.’ (Ar. V. 329; cf. διά-θερμος).
- ETYM Formation from ► τινθός after αὐαλέος, etc. The meaning of ► τινθός is unclear: perhaps ‘hot steam’, of a kettle (Lyc. 36)? It has been compared with τιντόν· ἐφθόν ‘boiled’ (H., but alphabetically incorrect). The variation τ/θ in the gloss (if it is reliable) points to a Pre-Greek word (Fur.: 191).

**τινθυρίζω** [v.] ‘to twitter’ (Call.). <PG?(S)>

- ETYM Onomatopoeic; cf. τιτίζω (s.v. ► τιτιγόσιον) and ► ψιθυρίζω. The prenasalized consonant and perhaps the suffix -υρ- may point to a Pre-Greek word.

**τίνω** [v.] act. ‘to pay, settle, atone’, med. ‘to make (oneself) pay or atone, punish, avenge’. <IE \*k<sup>w</sup>ei- ‘punish, avenge’>

- VAR Ion. ἰ, Att. ἱ; also τείνυμαι (Hom., Hes., Hdt.), Cret. ipv. ἀπο-τεινύτω (V<sup>a</sup>), Hell. and late (ἀπο-)τείνυμι, -τίννυμι, -τιννύω, Arc. ἀπυ-τειέτω; aor. τεῖσαι (Aeol. πείσαι), -ασθαι, fut. τείσω (Cypr. πείσει), -ομαι (Hom.), aor. pass. τεισθῆναι, perf. τέτεισμαι (Att.), act. τέτεικα (Hell.).
- DIAL Myc. ptc. med. *qe-ja-me-no* /k<sup>w</sup>ei<sup>h</sup>ameno-/ (interpreted as a sigmatic aorist by LIV<sup>2</sup>, as opposed to Lejeune 1958-1963: 305-6, 300<sup>ss</sup> and DELG s.v.).
- COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀπο- and ἐκ- (also προσ-απο-, προσ-εκ-, etc.).
- DER τίσις [f.] ‘payment, compensation, penitence, punishment, revenge’ (Il., epic Ion. poet.); from ἐκτίνω: ἐκτισίς (also -ει- after τεῖσαι, τείσω), Arc. ἔστεισις [f.] ‘payment, atonement’ (Att. Hell. and late), ἐκτεισμία [n.] ‘id.’ (Pl., Hell.); from ἀποτίνω: ἀπότισις [f.] ‘repayment’ (Ath.), ἀπότεισμα [n.] ‘id.’ (Amorgos). Also τιτυς in τιτυφος [gen.] ‘amends’ (Gortyn); τίτας [m.] ‘avenger, avenging’ (A. Ch. 67 [lyr.]), Dor. for \*τί-τής; also designation of an official (Gortyn), τίται· εὐποροί, ἡ κατήγοροι τῶν ἀρχόντων ‘resourceful; accusers/prosecutors of rulers’ (H.); also ἀ-τίτας ‘non-payer’ (A. Eu. 256 [lyr.]).

•ETYM The difference between the Ion. and Att. presents shows that τίνω goes back to a thematicized nasal present \*τινῶ. Dialectally and in Homer, Greek preserves the athematic formation τείνυμαι (mostly written τίν(v)-; see Wackernagel 1916: 77ff. with important details), which has a secondary full grade replacing \*τίνυμαι (perhaps after aor. τείσασθαι, fut. τείσομαι); Arc. ἀπυ-τειέτω was also built on the latter forms. Later attestations are τεισθῆναι, τέτεισμαι, τέτεικα (all innovations). Regarding cognates of the Greek verb, it is now customary to distinguish three roots \*k<sup>w</sup>ei-: 1. ‘to observe’ (whence probably Gr. ► τίω), 2. ‘to gather, pile up’ (whence perhaps Gr. ► ποιέω), and 3. ‘to punish, avenge’ (see LIV<sup>2</sup>). The original Greek *nu*-present \*τίνυται has a formal counterpart in Av. *cinuuant-* [ptc.pres.act.] ‘penitent (?)’ < \*k<sup>w</sup>i-nu-ent-. Others connect \*k<sup>w</sup>ei- 1. and 3., assuming a semantic development ‘to observe, *animadvertere*’ > ‘to avenge, punish’. This allows comparison of Skt. thematic *cáyate* ‘avenge, punish’ (which would be Gr. \*τέτεται = IE \*k<sup>w</sup>ei-e-toi; cf. Arc. ἀπυ-τειέτω [act.]), to which the act. Av. *ci-kaiiaṣ* ‘should pay/mend, ἀποτεινύτω’ (with reduplication; cf. Skt. *cikéti* ‘observes’) is related. In Anatolian, we may now compare Lyc. A *ttiti*, B *kikiti* ‘to fine’. More cognate Avestan forms are given by LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. The *ti*-stem in τίσις is compared with Skt. *ápa-citi-* [f.] ‘requittal’, IE \*(-)k<sup>w</sup>i-ti-. Within Greek, the *o*-grade *h*<sub>2</sub>-stem ► ποινή ‘penalty’ is related, corresponding to Lith. *káina* ‘price’, and found in Av. *kaēnā-* ‘punishment’, IE \*k<sup>w</sup>oi-nh<sub>2</sub>-.

**τίπτε** [adv.] ‘why then?’ (Hom., A. Ag. 975 [lyr.]). <GR>

- ETYM Various explanations have been given throughout time. Szemerényi assumed syncope from τί ποτε (Szemerényi 1964: 218f.); Kretschmer compared τίπτε with Lat. *mihī-pte*, *suā-pte*, etc.; others equated \*τιτ-πε and Lat. *quippe* (e.g. Schwyzler: 266). Recently, Lillo *Glotta* 70 (1992): 15-19 brilliantly solved the problem by arguing that the word represents \*k<sup>w</sup>id-k<sup>w</sup>e (thus an older variant of τί τε), giving \*k<sup>w</sup>itk<sup>w</sup>e > \*k<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>te > τίπτε.

**τίς** [pron.] ‘who, which, what?’. <IE \*k<sup>w</sup>i- interrogative and indefinite pronoun>

- VAR Ntr. τί, gen. τέο (Ion.), τοῦ (Att.), younger τίνος; dat. τέωι, τῶι, τίνι; acc. τίνα, etc.
- DIAL Thess. κίς, Arc. and Cypr. σίς, El. and later Lac. τῖρ. Myc. displays the old labiovelar in *jo-qi* = later ὅτ(τ)ι.
- DER Enclitic τις, τι, etc.: indefinite pronoun ‘some(once), whoever, etc.’.
- ETYM Identical with Lat. *quis*, *quid*, Hitt. *kuiš*, *kuit*, etc., from IE \*k<sup>w</sup>i-s, ntr. k<sup>w</sup>i-d. The gen. τέο corresponds to OCS *česo*, Go. *hvis* ‘whose’, from IE \*k<sup>w</sup>e-so. Av. *cahiia* received the nominal ending \*-sjo. In Greek, the dat. τέωι, τῶι was formed after τέο, τοῦ. The accus. τίνα added the ending -α to older \*τίν (= Hitt. *kuin*, Av. *cim*, etc.), just like ἐν-α, Ζῆνα, etc. From this point, the forms τίν-ος, τίν-ι, etc. with stem-final -v- spread (already Hom.). The old ntr.plur. \*k<sup>w</sup>i<sub>h</sub> is found in ἄ-σσα, ἄ-ττα (= ἄ-τινα), and in ἄσσα, ἄττα. It arose by reanalysis of ὁποῖα σσα as ὁποῖ ἄσσα, etc. As an independent element, it was preserved in Boeot. ► τά, Megar. σά ‘why, how?’.

**τιταίνω** ⇒ τείνω.



**τίτανος** [f.] 'chalk, plaster, crayon, marble-scrapings' (Hes. Sc. 141, Arist., Str., medic.).

◀PG(V)▶

•VAR In H.: τίτανος and τέτανος· κονία, χρίσμα, ἄσβεστος 'dust, plaster, unslaked lime'.

•DER τίτανις [f.] (medic.); τιτανωτή χροά· γυνωπή ἢ λευκόχροος 'of pale complexion', τιτανωμένας· γεγυνωμένας 'rubbed with chalk' (H.).

•ETYM Like most expressions for 'chalk', the word must be a loan. A different hypothesis is offered by Reichelt *IF* 40 (1922): 47, who connects Skt. *śvitnā-* 'whitish', as well as the TN Τιτάνη, Aeol. Lac. Πιτάνη, and (with different anlaut) κίττανος ἢ κονιακή τίτανος (H.) (assuming a cross with κόνις?). However, given the variation ε/ι, the word is probably Pre-Greek.

**τίθη** •VAR τιθός. ⇒τιθήνη.

**τιτιγόνιον** [n.] name of an insect, like the τέττιξ (Epil. Com., Paus. Gr., EM, Eust.).

◀?▶

•DER Backformation τιτίς, -ίδος [f.] name of a small bird, also 'vagina' (Phot.). Besides the birdnames τίτυρος, τιτύρας (H.).

•ETYM Presupposes \*τιτιγών (cf. τρυγών, χελιδών, ἀηδών, which all have by-forms in -όνιον). Zenodotus read τετριγώτας (B 314) as τίτιζοντας, assuming an onomatopoeic verb τίτιζω 'chirp'.

**τίτλος** [m.] 'title, inscription' (NT, Lyd.), 'tattoo' (sch. Hermog.). ◀LW Lat.▶

•VAR Also [f.].

•ETYM A loan from Lat. *titulus*.

**τιτρώσκω** [v.] 'to wound, harm, damage' (IA). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR Also τρώω (φ 293); aor. τρώσαι, fut. τρώσω (Il.), pass. aor. τρωθῆναι, perf. τέτρωμαι (Pi., IA), act. τέτρωκα (late).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ἐκ-, the last in the sense of 'to have a miscarriage', with the athematic root aorist ἐξέτρω· ἐξεβλάβη, ἐξεκόπη ἢ κύησις 'the conception is terminated' (EM), subj. ἐκτρώ.

•DER 1. τρώ-σις [f.] 'wound' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., Plu.). 2. -σμός [m.] 'miscarriage' (Hp., Dsc.). 3. -μα (Ion., Dor. [Theoc. 21, 50]), Att. τραῦμα [n.] 'wound, damage, leak (on ships), setback, defeat', with diminutive -μάτιον, -ματίας, -ίης [m.] 'wounded, injured' (Pi., IA), -ματικός 'belonging to injuries' (Dsc.), -ματιαῖος 'wounded' (pap.), -ματίζω 'to wound' (IA), -ματισμός [m.] (Ruf.). 4. -τός 'vulnerable' (Φ 568). To this, semantically independent, ἔκτρω-μα, -σις, -σμός 'miscarriage' (Hp., Arist.), with -ωτικός (Plu.), -ματικός, -ματιαῖος, -ματισμός (gloss.).

•ETYM Because of the -υ- in Att. τραῦμα, τρω- used to be explained as from a long diphthong τρωυ-, and connected with ▶τέρυς. Alternatively, Att. τραῦμα has been considered an innovation after θραῦμα, θραῦω. In this case, τιτρώσκω should be derived from a root \*terh<sub>3</sub>- (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.). It rather seems, however, that influence of θραῦμα is most improbable. Moreover, introduction of vocalism -αυ- in a root τρω- would be incomprehensible. We have to start from a root τρω-/τραυ-, which cannot be explained in IE terms. In Pre-Greek, however, a variation αυ/ω is found: see Fur.:

237, 242, 301<sup>32</sup>, 387 (κασαύρα, -άς / κασωρίς; σαῦσαξ / σώσικες; τραύξανα / τρώξανον, as well as ▶θαῦμα/ θῶμα). This means that the word is Pre-Greek; the connection with Skt. *turá-* 'wound, ill' should then be discarded, and connection with \*teru- (▶τέρυς) 'soft, weak' is semantically unconvincing. Peters 1980b: 328ff. tries to revive Martinet's theory of labialized \*h<sub>3</sub>, but this theory is now generally rejected. The root \*terh<sub>3</sub>- in LIV<sup>2</sup> should therefore be deleted. For \*terh<sub>1</sub>- 'to pierce', see ▶τείρω, ▶τετραίνω, ▶τεράμων, ▶τέρετρον, etc.

**τιτ(τ)υβίζω** [v.] 'to twitter', said of swallows and other birds (Ar., Babr.), 'to cluck', said of partridges (Thphr. Fr. 181). ◀ONOM▶

•COMP Also with ἀμφι-.

•ETYM An onomatopoeic word, like Skt. *tittirá-* 'partridge', *tiṭ(ṭ)ibha-* bird name 'Parra jacana', Lith. *titilvis* 'sanderling', *tilvikas* 'snipe, sanderling, (German) Brachhuhn'. These words are similar, but independent formations.

**τίτυρος** [m.] 'he-goat' (sch. Theoc. 3, 2; -ίς Phot.), 'bell-wether' (Dor.; Serv. ad Verg. *E. Prooem.*), = Σάτυρος (Ael.), but Τίτυροι are distinguished from Σάτυροι and Σιληνοί (Str. 10, 3, 15); also designation of a short-tailed ape (Thphr.; cf. ▶σάτυρος); name of a shepherd (Theoc., Verg.), father of the poet Ἐπίχαρμος (Suid.), Τιτυρεία γυνά (Larissa III<sup>a</sup>). Also glossed as κάλαμος 'reed, etc.' (H.). ◀PG?(V)▶

•VAR Also τῖ- (metrical lengthening?).

•DER τιτύρ-ινος (αὐλός) 'shepherd's whistle' (Ath., H.); -ιστής [m.] 'whistler' (App.), after κιθαριστής, etc. On τίτυρος = ὄρνις 'bird' see ▶τιτιγόνιον.

•ETYM Fur.: 184 compares διθύρ-αμβος, which would contain a variant of τιτυρ- with a Pre-Greek suffix -αμβος. Previous proposals include connection with ▶σάτυρος, from IE \*tū- 'swell' (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*teuh<sub>2</sub>-), by Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912): 32ff. This is rejected by Nehring *Glotta* 14 (1925): 158ff., who considers both words to be loans from Asia Minor. Deroy *Par. del pass.* 17 (1962): 421ff. connects -τυρος with ταῦρος 'bull' (which would also stem from Asia Minor). See ▶διθύραμβος.

**τιτύσκομαι** [v.] 1. 'to aim' with weapons, etc.; also mentally 'to aim at, strive for' (Hom., Theoc., AP); 2. 'to make ready, prepare, harness' (Il.), in this mg. post-Hom. -ύσκω (B., Arat., Lyc., etc.). ◀IE \*d<sup>h</sup>euǵ<sup>h</sup>- 'hit the mark, meet'▶

•VAR Only present and imperfect.

•DER Also τετύσκετο· κατεσκευάζετο 'prepared', τετύσκων· ἐμφανίζων 'manifesting' (H.) (cf. also τετυκεῖν, -έσθαι s.v. ▶τεύχω).

•ETYM Reduplicated σκ-present from ▶τεύχω, ▶τυγχάνω, from \*τι-τυχ-σκομαι (or τι-τυκ-?). On the use in Hom., see Trümper 1950: 110f.

**τιώ** ⇒Τιτᾶνες.

**τίφη** [f.] 1. 'close-grained wheat, einkorn, Triticum monococcum' (Arist., Thphr., etc.). 2. name of an insect = σίλφη, τίλφη (Poll., Phryn., Ael.). 3. mg. unclear in Ar. (*Ach.* 920, 925), acc. to sch. Rav. ad loc. and Suid. s.v. θρυαλλίς = σίλφη. ◀1. ? 2. PG? 3. ?▶

•DER τίφινος [adj.] 'belonging to the einkorn' (Gal., Orib.).

•ETYM 1. and 3. unknown. On 2., see Fur.: 167, 249, 261: Pre-Greek assibilation, thus from \*tʰ. Further related to Lat. *delpa*.

**τίφος** [n.] 'soggy place, marsh, pond' (Theoc., A. R., Lyc.). <?>

•DER τιφώδης 'soggy' (Str.), τιφια ὄρνεα· τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι γινόμενα 'which are born in the marsh-meadows' (H.).

•ETYM Frisk and others analyze it as τῖ-φος (gender like in ἔλος, τέναγος), and connect τῖ-λος, τή-κω with a labial suffix, comparing Lat. *tābēs*. This is phonetically impossible, and the etymology simply remains unknown. See ► τίλος.

**τίφουν** [n.] 'Scilla autumnalis, squill' (Thphr.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM The variation in τίφουν / ► ἴφουν points to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 391).

**τίω** [v.] 'to honor, estimate, appreciate' (Il., epic poet.). <IE \*k<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-i- 'observe, hold back, honor'>

•VAR The epic interchange ī / i is metrically conditioned; later only τίω. Aor. τίσαι, fut. τίσω, perf. ptc. pass. τετιμένος.

•COMP

Rarely with προ-, περι-.

πολύ-τί-τος 'highly honored' (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 5, 92), ἀ-τί-ετος 'unhonored' (A. [lyr.]), 'not honoring' (E. [lyr.]), also ἀ-τίει (Thgn. 621), perhaps nonce formation opposed to preceding τίει; after this ἀτίουσι (Orph. L. 52). On ► ἀτίζει, see s.v.

•DER On ► τίμη, see s.v.

•ETYM The connection with τίνω 'to punish' depends on the reconstruction of the root of τίω. On the basis of Slavic material cognate with τίω (OCS *čajati* 'to expect, hope for', SCr. *čājati* 'to wait'), Derksen 2008 opts for a reconstruction \*k<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-i-, with internal laryngeal. The same would work well for OCS *kajati se* 'to repent', in spite of semantic doubts by Derksen 2008 s.v. The Skt. verb 3pl. act. *cāyanti*, ptc. med. *cāyamāna-* (RV) 'to observe, honor', *cāyú-* [adj.] 'showing reverence', etc. are also easily explained from a root \*k<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-i-, whereas a reconstruction without laryngeal would force one to assume a so-called Narten present for PIE, a type for which most evidence has now disappeared. If we look at Greek, the alternation between ī and i in Homer could also be explained by an alternation \*k<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>ie/o- / \*k<sup>w</sup>h<sub>1</sub>ie/o- (note that -τίτος is long as well, which could be from a metathesized \*k<sup>w</sup>h<sub>1</sub>i-to-), where the latter form would give τίε/o-, while in the former, \*tēje/o- may have been replaced by τίε/o-. Moreover, τίμη is best explained as from a root with laryngeal, instead of assuming a suffix \*-smeh<sub>2</sub>-. The root formed an i-present \*k<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-i-, and a vestige of the old root \*k<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>- may be found in Gr. ► τηρέω.

For the shift meaning in Greek, Lat. *observāre* 'to observe, honor, etc.' has been compared.

**τλήμων** •VAR τλήναι. ► ταλάσσαι.

**τμήγω** [v.] 'to cut, cleave, divide' (Il., epic). <GR>

•VAR Aor. τμήξαι, -ασθαι; Aeol. τμάξαι (Pi., Balb.), fut. τμήξω, them. aor. διέτμαγον [1sg.] (η 276), pass. (διε)τμάγεν [3pl.] (Hom.), Hell. and late τμηγήναι.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀπο-, δια-.

•DER ἀπο-τμήξ, -ήγος [adj.] 'cut off, steep' (σκοπιή, A. R. 2, 581; cf. ἀπορρώξ); also -τμήξ [f.] 'cutting off' (late), τμήγος ... βούτμημα 'furrow'; also τμήγας· γατόμος, ἀροτήρ 'cleaving the ground, plougher' (H.).

•ETYM Enlargement of τμη- in τμη-τός, -θῆναι, etc. (from ► τέμνω), after several models. The short vowel in τμάγεν (to ἐτμάγην) recalls ἐρράγην, ἐάγην. Perhaps this was the origin of the *hapax* διέτμαγον. Further, τμήξαι, τμήξω were built on ῥήξαι, ῥήξω, etc.; see Chantraine 1942: 392 and 400. Güntert 1914: 132 supposes a cross with θήγω (θάγω) 'to whet'; Chantraine 1942: 330 attempts to find a semantic differentiation from ► τέμνω. The Doric forms with τμᾶ must be secondary; see the discussion in DELG s.v.

**το-** [pron.] 'this, that; the' (Hom., epic poet., Dor.). <IE \*to-, teh<sub>2</sub>- 'the, that'>

•VAR In acc. τόν, fem. τήν (Dor. τάν), ntr. nom.acc. τό, plur. nom. τοί, fem. ταί, ntr. nom.acc. τά, etc.

•ETYM Inherited demonstrative pronoun, used in post-Homeric Greek as the article, and in Homer as a demonstrative and anaphoric pronoun. Ionic-Attic replaced the old nom. τοί, ταί with οἱ, αἱ, after the nom.sg. ὁ, ἡ. The formation is identical with Skt. acc.sg. *tām, tām, tād*, nom.pl.m. *té*, etc., and with Gm. forms like Go. acc. msc. *þan-a*, fem. *þo*, ntr. *þat-a*, plur. *þai*. A new nom.sg. was created in Lith. *tās, tā*, OCS *tъ, ta, to*, etc. See ► ὁ, ἡ.

**τοί** [encl.pron.] 'to you', dat.sg. corresponding to IA σοί (epic Ion., Dor. Aeol.), from ► σύ. <IE \*tu- 'you'>

•VAR Dor. also accented τοί.

•DER Hence Att. τοί as an enclitic pcl. 'indeed, truly, etc.'. Also at the beginning of a sentence and with orthotonic accent, τοί γάρ, τοιγάρ (epic poet.).

•ETYM The atonic particle corresponds to Skt. *te*. For the stressed sentence-initial particle, connection with the demonstrative το- has been proposed; see Schwyzler 1950: 58off., who also discuss strengthened τοιγάρτοι, τοιγαροῦν, as well as τοίνυν, μέντοι, etc.

**τοιθορύσσω** ► τανθαρύζω.

**τοῖος** [demonstr. pron.] 'such, such as' (especially poetic, Il.+). <GR>

•VAR fem. τοία (Ion. -η), ntr. τοῖον.

•DER τοιοῦτος, τοιόσδε 'id.' (esp. IA prose) built on οὔτος, ὅδε.

•ETYM Greek formation built on the pronominal stem το-. The origin is disputed: \*tosio- (< gen.sg. \*tosio) or \*toiso-? The second option is chosen by W. Petersen TAPA 46 (1915): 59ff., who starts from the gen.pl. τοίων = Skt. *tēsām*, ON *þeira*, from PIE \*toisom to \*to-, Gr. ► το-. Thence, the other case forms, e.g. τοῖοι, τοῖος, etc. In the same way, ποῖος, οἷος could have been derived from ποίων, οἷων (= Skt. *kēsām*); after this also arose the other words in -οῖος.

**τοῖχος** ► τεῖχος.

**τόκος** ► τίκτω.

**τόλμη** [f.] 'boldness, courage, daredevilry, dauntlessness, brashness' <IE \**telh₂-* 'raise, weigh, bear'>

- VAR -μη is rare; usually τόλμᾶ (IA), cf. below on τολμήεις, -μάω; Dor. τόλμᾶ (Pi.).
- COMP ἄτολμος 'without daring, daring nothing' (Pi., IA), πάντολμος 'daring everything' (A., E.); ἀπότολμος 'dauntless, courageous' (late) from ἀποτολμάω.
- DER 1. τολμήεις, Dor. -άεις 'courageous, dauntless, enduring' (Hom., Pi.). 2. -ιηρός 'id.' (Att.), -ιηρία [f.] (Hell. pap.). 3. Denominative -άω [v.] 'to show courage, bring oneself to courage; to act in spite of oneself, endure' (Il.), Hdt. -έω, aor. -ῆσαι, etc., also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα-, etc. Thence -ιημα [n.] 'venture, risk' (Att.), -ιεις [f.] 'reckless deed' (Pl. *Def.*), -ιητής [m.] 'daredevil' (Th., Ph.), more popular -ιητίας 'id.' (Com. *Adesp.*), -ιητικός = -ιηρός (late). 4. ἵπποcoristic τόλμιλλος [m.] 'daredevil' (Theognost. *Can.*).
- ETYM PIE \**tolh₂-m(e)h₂-* > PGr. \**tolmā-*. The root-final \**h₂* of the PIE pre-form was lost before it could vocalize to \**a*. Traditionally, this loss is ascribed to the influence of the \**o* in the root, a change known as "De Saussure's Law"; cf. Beekes 1969: 238-242. Van Beek 2009 now disconnects the laryngeal loss from the presence or absence of the *o*-grade, and ascribes it to the environment \*-VLHNV-. The usual form τόλμα arose as a back-formation from τολμάω. See ► ταλάσσαι.

**τολύπη** [f.] 'a clew of wool or yarn', also metaphorically of onion bulbs, pumpkins, ball-shaped cakes (Ar. *Lys.* 586, Eub., S. *Fr.* 1102, LXX, AP, etc.). <PG>

- DER τολυπέω 'to wind wool or yarn into a clew' (Ar. *Lys.* 587 [anap.], ambiguous τ 137), mostly metaph. 'to instigate, accomplish with difficulty, undergo' (epic poet. Il.), also with ἐκ-; hence τολυπνευμα [n.] = τολύπη, -ευτικός (Phot., Suid., H.).
- ETYM Maurice *RPh.* 65 (1991) connects τυλυφάντης 'cushion-cover-weaver', which he relates to Myc. *tu-ru-pte-ri-ja*, assuming influence of κορύνη or τορύνη to account for the vocalism. Fur.: 340 compares Luw. *taluppi* 'clump of dough' (and MoFr. *taloupe*); the word may have *o* < *a* before *v*. A recent attempt at an analysis has been made by Melchert *Orpheus* 8 (1998): 47-51: there is a Hitt. verb *tarupp-*<sup>21</sup> 'to gather, collect', with the rare variant *talupp-* (2x); cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 850. The *o* may come from *a* before *u*, like in Pre-Greek. The word must belong to the Pre-Greek substrate, (a language cognate to) which must have spoken in large parts of Anatolia as well. This may explain why a similar word is found in Anatolian.

**τόμouroι (-οῦροι)** [m.pl.] designation of the priests of Zeus in Dodona by Strabo 7.7.11, who cites it as a v.l. in π 403; voc.sg. τόμουρε· μάντι (Lyc. 223). Acc. to H. = προφῆται, ἱερεῖς, οἰωνοσκόποι, διάκονοι 'interpreters (of the oracle), priests, augurs, officials (of a temple)'. <PG?>

- ETYM Unexplained. Strabo (l.c.) interprets the word as \*τομάρ-ουροι = τομαροφύλακες 'guardians of the mountain Τόμαρος (Τμάρος)' near Dodona. Possibly a Pre-Greek term.

**τονθορύζω** [v.] 'to murmur, speak inarticulately, gurgle' (A. *Fr.* 298 = 630 M., Ar., Herod., Luc., Opp.). <PG>

- VAR Aor. -ύσαι, fut. -ύζω; pres. also τονθορίζω and τονθρύζω.
- COMP Rarely with ὑπο-, δια-.

•DER τονθ(ο)ρυσμός [m.] 'murmuring' (Phryn.), τονθρυστής = γογγυστής (Aq.); backformation τονθρύς· φωνή 'voice' (H.).

•ETYM Expressive reduplicated formation in -θορ-, with dissimilation to τ- in the initial syllable. It belongs to ► θόρυβος, ► θρυλέω, ► θρέομαι, whereas the suffix is the same as in γογγύζω, γρύζω, ὀλολύζω, etc. Gr. τονθολυγέω 'to gargle, cluck' (Pherecr.) has a similar meaning. On τοιθορύσσειν, see under ► τανθαρεύζω. = The formation, with prenasalization, is clearly Pre-Greek (Fur.: 382).

**τόνθων** [?] · παρά Κορίννη ἐπὶ νωπιαίου (νοτιβίου codd.) κρέως ὄνομα 'name of the flesh on the spinal vertebrae (Corinna)' (H.) = *fr.* 685 P. <?>

•ETYM Bechtel 1921, 1: 310 supposes that it denotes a special delicacy, connecting τένθω 'to be a glutton' (see ► τένθης).

**τόνος** = τείνω.

**τόξον** [n.] 'bow', plur. 'shooting device(s), (bows and) arrows' (Il.). On the plur. see Schwyzler 1950: 43 and 51, Chantraine 1953: 31f. <PG>

•DIAL Myc. *to-ko-so-ta* = τοξότας, *to-ko-so-wo-ko*.

•COMP τοξοφόρος [m., f.] 'bearing the bow, bowbearer', epithet of Apollo, Artemis and others (epic poet. Φ 483, also Hdt.), τοξόκλυτος 'famous for the bow' (Pi., B.), also κλυτότοξος 'having a famous bow', epithet of Apollo (Hom., B.), ἀγκυλότοξος 'having a crooked bow' (Il., Pi.).

•DER 1. τοξ-ότης, Dor. -ότας [m.] 'archer' (Il.), -ότις [f.] (Call. et al.), meaning unclear in Plb. 8, 7, 3 (not with LSJ 'loophole for shooting arrows'); also plant name = ἀρτεμισία (Poet. *de herb.*). 2. -ίτις [f.] (νευρά) 'bowstring' (Hero, Ph. *Bel.*), epithet of Artemis (Cos); uncertain -ιτησία = ἀρτεμισία (Ps.-Dsc. 3, 113; read -ίτις?). 3. -ίας in Τοξίου βουνός· τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Σικυῶνι 'of Apollo in Sicyon' (H.). 4. -ία [f.] name of a goddess (mentioned beside Ἄρτεμις; Gortyn). 5. -οσύνη [f.] 'archery, bowmanship' (N 314, E. [lyr.]). 6. -ιανοί [pl.] 'people born under the sign of τοξότης (Sagittarius)' (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*). 7. -εύς [m.] myth. PN (Hes. *Fr.* 110, 4), hypocoristic like Τόξος (Corinth. vase). 8. Diminutive -άριον [n.] (Luc. et al.). 9. -ικός 'belonging to the bow, the archer', -ική (τέχνη) [f.] (Att.), -ικόν (φάρμακον) [n.] 'arrow poison' (Arist., Str. et al.); also for \*τοξοτικός. 10. -ωτός = *arcuatus* (gloss.). 11. Denominative verb τοξ-εύω 'to shoot with bow and arrows' (Il.), also κατα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc. Thence -ευμα [n.] 'projectile, arrow' (IA), -ευσίς [f.] 'shooting with bow and arrows' (Lib.), -εία [f.] 'id.' (Hell. and late); -ευτής [m.] 'archer' (Ψ 850 et al.), also -ευτήρ [m.] (Arat., Nonn.); mostly referring to the constellation (metri causa for -ότης, -ευτής), [f.] -εὔτερα (Opp.), -ευτική [f.] 'archery' (Gal.). 12. τοξ-άζομαι 'to shoot at someone with bow and arrow' (Hom., Opp.), -άζω 'id.' (Heracleit. *All.*), also with ἐπι-; derived from plur. τόξα?

•ETYM Gr. τόξον replaces inherited βίος; in Homer, τόξον is already the more usual word for 'bow'. As the Iranians, and especially the Scythians, were famous archers, one might suspect τόξον to be a loan from an Iranian language; compare MoP *taxš* 'bow, arrow' and Scythian PN Τόξαρις, Τάξακις. However, the Mycenaean attestations disprove this possibility. Thus, τόξον could be of Pre-Greek origin. Latin *taxus* 'yew-tree' could also be related, but it cannot be a borrowing from Greek.

**τοπάζιον** [n.] 'topaz', probably also of chrysolite and of other stones (LXX, Str., D. S., *Apoc.*). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also -αζος [m.] (AP, J., Orph. et al.), -αζον [n.] (Eust.).

•ETYM A loanword which (according to Iuba in Plin. *HN* 37, 108) was taken from the language of the Trogodytes, and named after an island of the same name in the Red Sea (likewise *HN* 6, 169). The form ταβάσιος, -ις (PHolm.) presents another variant. Fur.: 155, 344 assumes that the variation ταβάσ- / τοπάζ- points to a Pre-Greek word.

**τόπος** [m.] 'place, region, space; subject of a speech, etc.' (IA since A.). <IE \*top-o>

•COMP τοπάρχης [m.] head of a district, esp. in Egypt; thence -έω [v.] -ία [f.] (LXX, pap., etc.); ἄτοπος 'not at its place, out of place, unusual', ἐντόπιος 'situated in the region, indigenous' (Pl., etc.).

•DER 1. τοπικός 'local' (Arist., pap., medic. et al.). 2. -ιον [n.] 'place (of burial)' (PLond., inscr. Asia Minor). 3. -ίτης [m.] 'inhabitant of a place' (St. Byz.). 4. -εῖον (-ήιον) [n.] 'cord, rope' (com., Call., Hell. inscr.). Denominative verbs: 5. τοπάζω 'to aim at a place or a point, suspect, guess' (Att.), also with ὑπο-; thence τοπαστικός 'inventive, sharp-witted' (Men.), ὑποτοπασμός [m.] 'suspicion' (J.). 6. τοπίζω 'to localize', -ισμός [m.] 'localization' (comm. Arist.), ἐκτοπίζω 'to remove', thence -ισμός, -ιστικός (Arist., Hell. and late). 7. ὑποτοπέομαι, -έω (-εύω) 'to suspect, surmise' (Ion., Th., Ar.).

•ETYM The broad semantic range renders etymologizing difficult. The noun can go back to PIE \*top-o- or \*tok'-o-. A connection with PIE \*tek'- 'to run, flow' is semantically difficult. The root \*tep- 'to hit, stick, smear' (whence OCS *teti*, 1sg. *tepo* 'to beat', Lith. *tèpti* 'to smear, grease') could yield a noun \*top-o- 'stain, spot', which then developed to 'spot, place'; compare the similar semantic change which took place in MoE *spot* or MoHG *Flecken* (a suggestion by M. de Vaan; p.c.). Alternatively, Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 74 (1997/8): 99f. has derived τόπος from \*tep- 'to be hot', supposing an original meaning 'hot place, hearth' > 'any place'.

**τοράλλιον** [n.] 'bed-cover' (Dura-Europos) <LW Lat.>

•VAR with metathesis τολάριον.

•ETYM Possibly borrowed from Lat. *toral(i)*, according to LSJ.

**τόρβηλος** [adj.] · μεμψίμοιρος 'criticizing, querulous' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Specht KZ 59 (1932): 34 explains it by dissimilation from \*τόλβηλος, which could belong to the isolated form τέλβεσθαι· μεμψιμοιρεῖν, ἐπικαλεῖν 'to grumble, complain' (H.). These forms could go back to a root \*telg'-, but no cognate forms are known.

**τόργος** [m.] 'vulture' (Call. Fr. 204, Lyc.), τόργος ὑγρόφοιτος 'swan' (Lyc.). <?>

•ETYM Word belonging to learned Alexandrian poetry, without a convincing etymology. A connection with Germanic 'stork' (ON *storkr*, MoHG *Storch*) seems gratuitous. Thompson 1895 s.v. compares Coptic *t(o)re, θre* 'kite'.

**τόρδυλον** [n.] name of an umbelliferous plant, 'hartwort, Tordylium officinale' (Ruf. *apud* Orib., Gal., Plin.). <PG(V)>

•VAR -ύλιον (Dsc.), -ίλον (Nic. [-ει-], Dsc.), -ίλιον (Dsc. v.l.).

•ETYM Unknown etymology. Fur.: 367 compares ὄρδειλον (Nic. Th. 841), which is perhaps a mistake for τ-. It cannot be explained as an old variant without τ- pointing to Pre-Greek origin, pace Fur.: 391.

**τορεῖν** [v.aor.] 'to pierce' <IE \*terh<sub>1/3</sub>- 'rub, bore, pierce'>

•VAR ἔτορε Λ 236, τορεῖν· τορῆσαι, τρῆσαι, τεμῆιν (H.). Reduplicated in τέτορεν· ἔτρωσεν 'to damage', τετόρη· τρώση 'wounding' (H.); thence ptc. τετορήσας (h. Merc. 119; verse-final), fut. τετορήσω 'to pierce with tones, proclaim with shrill tones' (Ar. Pax 381, parodizing, see Schwyzer: 783), perf. ptc. τετορημένος (Nonn.). Also s-aor. τορῆσαι = τορεῦσαι 'to stitch, chase, form' (Arat., AP, Sardis), also with ἀντι- 'to pierce, pervade, penetrate' (E 337, K 267), fut.ptc. ἀντιτορήσων (h. Merc. 178), pres. ptc. ἀντιτοροῦντα (ibid. 283); aor. pass. διατορηθῆναι (Anon. *apud* Suid.). Verbal adj. τορητός 'vulnerable' (Lyc.).

•DER τορεύω, -εῦσαι 'to carve, emboss, form' (S. Fr. 315, Hell. and late.), also with δια-; ὥδην τορεύειν (Ar. Th. 986 [lyr.]) 'to carve a song' (?). Hence τορευ-τός 'chased, engraved', -τής [m.] 'chaser, engraver', -τική (τέχνη) 'the art of engraving', -μα [n.] 'chased or engraved work', -σις = *caelatura* (gloss.), -εῖα [f.] 'engraving', -εῖον [n.] 'chased work' (all Hell. or late). τορεύς [m.] 'borer' (Philyll. *apud* Phot., AP), probably a backformation from τορεύω, not from τόρος 'id.' (Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>, H., Eust.). Both τόρος and διάτορος 'piercing, pervading, loud; pierced' (A., S., Plu., Luc.: δια-τετραίνω) could be derived from τορεῖν. Read διατορία in Thphr. *HP* 11, 4.

•ETYM The meaning of the verb fits perfectly with that of the PIE root \*terh<sub>1</sub>- 'to drill', but the o-grade in aor. is problematic. It has been proposed that it developed through metathesis of a sequence \*-ero- > -ore- (similarly for ►πορεῖν, ►μολεῖν, ►θορεῖν). This would mean that there was a root aorist \*tero- < \*terh<sub>3</sub>- (cf. ►τιτρώσκω), but this remains speculative. Alternatively, we could be dealing with real o-grade verbal formations. Epic ἀντι-τορήσαι, -τορήσων, -τοροῦντα are innovations. DELG adduces Skt. *tará-* 'piercing, which resonates' and perhaps OIr. *tairm* 'sound'. See further ►τορός, ►τετραίνω, ►τείρω, and ►τέρυς.

**τόρμος** [m.] 'socket, nave, peg' (Hdt., Ph. Bel., Hero Bel., Hell. inscr.). <IE \*torh<sub>1/3</sub>-mo- 'piercing, boring'>

•DER τορμ-ίον [n.] 'small peg' (Ph. Bel.), -ικά [n.pl.] 'mortises' (Hero Bel.); τόρμη [f.] = πλήμνη, καμπή, καμπτήρ, νύσσα, ὕσπληξ, δρόμος (Ael. Dion., H., Suid.); the meaning of the variant τόρμα (Lyc. 262) is unclear: πλήμνη or νύσσα? (sch. = τὸ χάραγμα τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ τροχοῦ 'trace of a wheel'). Glosses: ἐκ τορμῶν· ἀπὸ τοῦ καμπτήρος ἢ τοῦ σύμπαντος δρόμου 'from the turning point, or the whole course', ἐκτορμεῖν· ἐκτετράφθαι τοῦ δρόμου 'to be turned off the road' (H.).

•ETYM A derivative of the root \*terh<sub>1/3</sub>-; cf. ►τορεῖν. Cognates: Hitt. *tarma-* 'nail, peg', CLuw. *tarma/i-* [c.] 'nail, peg' < \*tor(h<sub>1</sub>)-mo-; the appurtenance of ON *þarmr* [m.], MoHG *Darm* < PGm. \*þarma- is less certain. For the non-vocalization of the laryngeal in PIE \*torh<sub>1/3</sub>-mo-, see on ►τόλμη.

**τόρνος** [m.] 'carving knife, lathe, turning-lathe, pair of compasses, circle' (Thgn., IA).

<IE \*torh<sub>1/3</sub>-no- 'turner, borer'>

- COMP ἔντορονος 'processed with a turning-lathe, turned, revolved' (Pl., Arist. inscr.), whence ἔντορνία [f.], -εύω [v.] (Hero).
- DER 1. τορν-ίσκος [m.] 'turning-lathe' (Ph. Bel., Delos). 2. τορν-ία σταφυλή (Poll.) kind of grape. 3. τορν-όμαι, -όω 'to draw a circle, measure precisely' (Ψ 255, ε 249, D. P., Tryph., H.), -ωτός 'revolved, turned' (Hdn. Gr.), ἀποτορνῶσις [f.] 'rounding off' (Heliod. *apud* Orib.). 4. τορν-εύω [v.] 'to spin round, turn' (E. [lyr.], Ar., Pl.), also with ἀπο-, κατα-, περι-, etc. Thence -εσμα [n.] 'turning motion' (E. HF 978), plur. 'turner's chips' (Hp., Hell. inscr.), -εία [f.] 'curved timber for shipbuilding' (Thphr.), -ευτός 'turned, fit for turning' (Hell.), -ευτής [m.] 'turner' (Att. inscr.), -ευτήριον [n.] 'turning-lathe' (Thphr.). With a prop vowel -o-: τόρονος (cod. -όνος)· τόρνος. Ταραντίνοι (H.); τορνευτός = τετορνευμένος (Lacon. in *Edict. Diocl.*).
- ETYM An instrument noun with PIE suffix \*-no- from the root of τείρω, τετραίνω, πορεῖν, etc. For the semantics, compare κυκλο-τερής 'turned around, round as a circle', κύκλου τόνος (X.), κυκλοτερὲς τορνεύσασθαι (Pl.), and also Lat. *teres*, -*etis* 'rounded off, smooth' to *terō* 'to rub'. For the non-vocalization of the laryngeal in PIE \**torh<sub>1</sub>/s-no-*, see on ►τόλμη.

**τορός** [adj.] 'loud, shrill, perceptible, clear', of the voice; also 'fast, agile' (A., E., Ar., Emp., Pl., X.). <IE \**torh<sub>1</sub>/s-o-* 'piercing'>

- ETYM Adjectival *o*-derivative of the root PIE \**terh<sub>1</sub>/s-* 'to pierce, bore'. The semantic change of 'piercing' to 'loud, shrill' is also found in the aor. and fut. stem τετορήσ-; see ►πορεῖν. Connection with Lith. *tarýti* 'to say, speak', Hittite *ter-zi* / *tar-* 'to speak, state' < PIE \**ter-/tr-* is therefore unwarranted. Cognates: Skt. *tārā-* 'piercing' (Mayrhofer *Sprache* 10 (1964): 193f.).

**τορύνη** 1 [f.] 'stirring spoon, stirring ladle' (Sophr., Ar., Pl.). <PG?(S)>

- VAR Dor. -α (ῥ Ar., ῥ AP 6, 305).
- DER τορυνάω [v.] 'to stir' (medic., Eub.), also συν-; τορύνω (Ar. *Eq.* 1172) is probably a backformation to the noun (different Schwyzer: 491: τορύνη a backformation from τορύνω).
- ETYM The origin of the suffix -ύνη is unclear; compare κορύνη 'club', σιβύνη 'spear', χελύνη 'lip, jaw', etc. Semantically, one could connect the Germanic verb \**þuer-* 'to stir', e.g. OE *þweran*, OHG *dweran*, OE *þwiril*, OHG *dwiril* 'stirrer' < PGm. \**þwer-ila-*. Yet formally this etymology is implausible, since it would require a zero grade \**τυρ-ύνη*, whence τορύνη with dissimilation. Derivation from the root of ►τείρω is semantically difficult. Lat. *trua* 'stirring spoon' has the same meaning, but the form cannot be reconciled with that of τορύνη. Since there is a PG suffix -ύν-, τορύνη could be Pre-Greek. Its *o* could continue original \**a* before a following \**u*.

**τορύνη** 2 [f.] · σιτώδεις τι 'cereals' (H.). <?>

- ETYM No etymology. See ►πύρνος.

**τόσος** [demonstr. pron.] 'as large, as much' (Il., epic poet.). <IE \**to-ti*>

- VAR Epic also τόσος; in prose only subst. τόσον [n.].
- DIAL Myc. *to-so*.

- DER τοσ(σ)οῦτος, τοσ(σ)όσδε 'id.' (Il.), τοσσ-ῆνος 'id.' (Theoc.), after τῆνος; -άτιος 'id.' (A. R., AP), -άκι (Hom., Simon.), τοσάκις (Polyaen.) 'so many times', -αυτάκις (And., Pl., Arist.).

•ETYM From PIE \**toti-o-*, built on the PIE adverb \**toti* 'so many' (in Skt. *tāti*, Lat. *tot*, *toti-dem* 'so many'). The Greek formation probably first arose as a plural τόσ(σ)οι 'as many', whence the sing. τόσ(σ)ος 'as large'.

**τόσσαι** [v.inf.] 'to meet, get into, happen to' (Pi., Fr. 22). <?>

- DER Aeol. ptc. τόσσαις for \*τόσσας (Pi. P. 3, 27), ἐπι-τόσσαις; 3sg. ind. ἐπέτοσσε = ἐπέτυχε (Pi. P. 10, 33; 4, 25).
- ETYM No certain etymology. Because of the semantic agreement with τυχεῖν, Pisani *RILomb.* 77 (1943-44): 565 regards τόσσαι as a false Ionisation of Boeot. \*τόξαι for \*τύξαι = τυχεῖν. Cf. Schwyzer: 755<sup>2</sup>.

**τότε** [adv.] 'at that time, then' (IA Arc.). <IE \**so* / \**to-* 'this, that'>

- VAR Aeol. τότα, Dor. τόκα 'then'; τοτέ (μὲν ... τοτέ δὲ) 'sometimes'.
- ETYM Demonstrative (τότε) and indefinite (τοτέ) adverbs, derived from demonstrative ►το- with different particles. See ►ὅτε and ►πότε.

**τούρπαινα** [f.] the fish 'torpedo' (Al. Trall., Paul. Aegin.). <LW Lat.>

- ETYM A loanword from Lat. *torpēdō* 'torpedo, crampfish, electric ray'.

**τούτις** [?] · ὁ κόσσυφος 'blackbird' (H.). <?>

- ETYM Unknown.

**τόφρα** [demonstr. adv.] 'up to, during, so long, meanwhile' (epic poet. Il.+). <IE \**to-* demonstr. pron.>

- ETYM From demonstrative το- with an unclear extension; see ►ὄφρα with references.

**τράγος** [m.] 'he-goat, buck', also metaphorically 'smell of a he-goat' (epic Ion. poet. 1 239+, Hell. and late prose), often 'puberty', 'lechery' (Luc.); name of a fish = male μαινίς (Arist. etc.); several plant-names, e.g. = ἐρινεός in Messenia (Paus.), 'spelt' (Dsc. and others), name of a constellation of the Dodekaoros (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*), comet's name (Lyd. *Ost.*). <GR>

- COMP τραγοπύγων [m.] plant name 'goatsbeard, salsify'; βούτραγος [m.] 'ox-goat', a fabulous creature (Philostr.), ἐπίτραγοι [m.pl.] 'lush but infertile shoots of the vine' (D. H., Poll., EM), ἐπιτραγίας [m.] an unfertile and very fat kind of carp (Arist.; see below on τραγῶν for the semantics); Ἐπιτραγία [f.] epithet of Aphrodite (Plu. *Thes.* 18, Att. inscr. from Imperial times).
- DER 1. τραγ-ίσκος [m.] 'small he-goat' (Theoc., AP), fish name 'kipper' (Marc. Sid.), also a kind of ornament (Delos II<sup>a</sup>). 2. -αῖνα [f.] 'hermaphrodite' (Arist.). 3. -ικός 'goat-like' (Plu., Luc.), short for τραγωδικός 'belonging to the tragedy, tragic' (IA; like κωμικός = κωμωδικός, thence -ικώδης μῦθος (Palaeph.); -ικεύομαι 'to speak as in a tragedy' (sch.). 4. -ε(ι)ός 'of a he-goat' (late), -εῖη (Theoc.), -έα (Thphr.), -ῆ (Poll., Eust.) [f.] (sc. δορά) 'goatskin'. 5. -ινος = -ειος (AP). 6. Τράγιος [m.] month name in Thessaly (inscr.); -ιον [n.] plant name (Dsc.). 7. -ανός (H.) as an

explanation of χόνδρος. Denominative verbs: 8. τραγίζω (ὑπερ-) 'to break one's voice, speak roughly' (Hp., Arist.), 'to smell like a goat' (Gal., Dsc.). 9. τραγάω 'to break one's voice' (Gal. etc.) 'to grow over-luxuriant, to grow only leaves and shoots without yielding fruit', of vines (Arist., Thphr.).

•ETYM Literally 'gnawer, eater of sweets', agent noun of τραγεῖν; see ▶ τρώγω. There, it is concluded that the group of τρώγω is of Pre-Greek origin, but the formation of τραγεῖν may be an inner-Greek creation. See ▶ αἶξ, ▶ ἀρνειός, ▶ κάπρος, ▶ κρύος, and ▶ τραγωδός.

**τραγωδός** [m.] 'singer and dancer in the tragic choir, tragic actor' (Att. Hell. and late), very rarely and mostly uncertain 'poet of tragedies'; οἱ τραγωδοί also 'rendering of a tragedy'. <GR>

•VAR Boeot. τραγαυδος (Orchom. I<sup>a</sup>, archaizing).

•DER 1. τραγωδ-έω 'to act as a τραγωδός, treat in a tragedy, to display or relate with tragic pathos', whence late -ημα, -ητής, -ητός. 2. -ία [f.] 'tragedy', also 'elevated poetry, grand display' (Pl., Hell. and late). 3. -ικός 'like a tragic actor' (Ar.). 4. -άριον [n.] diminutive of -ία (D. H.). 5. -εύς = -ός (sch.).

•ETYM Probably formed after the pattern of ▶ ῥαψωδός; further etymology uncertain. Traditionally derived from τράγος 'buck', which would have been given as a prize to the winner in the oldest dramatic Agon; thus also Else *Herm.* 85 (1957): 17ff. with ref.

**τράκτα** [n.pl.] 'layers of a cake, καπύρια' (Ath.); τράκτον [sg.] 'white, bleached wax' (EM) = τρακτὸς κηρός (late med.) <LW Lat.>

•DER τράκτ-ωμα [n.] 'plaster of white wax' (*Hippiatr.*), -αἶζω 'to bleach or whiten like wax' (EM); τρακτεύω 'to manage', whence -ευτής, -ευτικός (*Cod. Iust.*, *Lyd. Mag.* et al.), τρακταῖζω [v.] 'id.' (Men. Prot.).

•ETYM A loanword from Lat. *tractum* 'piece of dough for making cake', *tractāre* 'to handle'.

**τράμις** [f.] 'the narrow space between the legs between the anus and the genitals: the perineum' (Archil., Hippon., Ar., Ruf., Luc.), acc. to H. = τὸ τρήμα τῆς ἔδρας, ὁ ὄρρος. τινὲς ἔντερον, οἱ δὲ ἰσχίον 'the hole of the seat, the rump; the innards, the hip-joint (or the flesh around it)' <PG?>

•DER διά τράμις = λισπόπυγος (Stratt.).

•ETYM Frisk explains it as a zero grade verbal noun in \*-mi-, from the same root as τόρμος 'socket, peg' (from ▶ τείρω, ▶ τετραίνω.). This is formally difficult, because that root probably had a final laryngeal. It could well be a Pre-Greek word.

**τράμπις, -ιδος, -ιος** [f.] according to sch. Lyc. 'βαρβαρικὸν πλοῖον' (Lyc., Nic. [v.l. -βις]). <PG>

•VAR v.l. τράμβις.

•ETYM Probably a loanword. Fur.: 165 thinks it is a variant of τράφηξ, τρόφηξ, τράπηξ, τρόπηξ 'bar, beam, board, handle'. In that case, τράμπις could be a Pre-Greek word.

**τράνῃς** [adj.] 'clear, distinct, definite, sure' (trag., D. H., Ph., Plu.). <IE \*terh<sub>2</sub>- 'pass through, cross'>

•VAR Late also -ός, often adv. -ώς, -όν.

•COMP περίτρανος 'very clear' (Hell. and late).

•DER τραν-ότης [f.] 'clarity' (Ph., Plu., etc.), -όω [v.] 'to make clear, attract attention', also with δια-, ἐκ-; thence -ώματα (γλώσσης) [pl.] 'perceptions' (Emp. 4, 11), -ωτικός 'serving for brightening' (*Theol. Ar.*).

•ETYM From PIE \*trh<sub>2</sub>-n-, from the root \*terh<sub>2</sub>- 'to pass, cross' (cf. E *seeing through*). Alternatively, it could have secondary long -ā- for \*ē, in which case it derives from the root \*terh<sub>1</sub>- 'to pierce' (cf. E *sharp sight*). The s-stem adj. recalls σαφηνής, etc. (see ▶ σαφής).

**τράπεζα** [f.] 'table, plate, meal, dish, money changer's counter, bank' (Il.). <IE \*k<sup>w</sup>etuer- 'four', \*ped- 'foot', \*k<sup>w</sup>tur-ped-ih<sub>2</sub>->

•VAR Dor. τράπεσδα (Alcm.), Boeot. τρέπεδδα (Orchom. III<sup>a</sup>).

•DIAL Myc. to-pe-za /torpeza/.

•COMP τραπεζοφόρος [m.] 'table-bearer' (Ar. *Fr.* 124), designation of a priestess of Athena (Lycurg. etc.), τὸ τραπεζοφόρον [n.] 'serving table, sideboard' (Cic., Poll., etc.), ὁμοτράπεζος 'eating at the same table' (Hdt., Pl., etc.).

•DER 1. Diminutive τραπέζιον [n.] (Late Attic), geometric 'trapezium' (Arist.+). 2. -εύς in κύνες τραπεζῆς 'table dogs' (Hom.), 'parasites' (Plu.). 3. -ίτης, Dor. -ίτας, Boeot. τρεπεδ(δ)ί-τας [m.] 'money changer, banker' (Late Att., Hell. and late); thence -ιτικός, -ιτεύω, -ιτεία, [f.] -ίτις (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>), -εῖται κύνες = ἦες κ. (Hdn. Gr.; -ει- probably itacistic), -ίτην Πάριν· τὸν παραβάντα τὴν τράπεζαν 'who stood beside the table' (*Trag. Adesp.* 270), ἐντραπεζίτης = παράσιτος (Suid., Zonar.). 4. -ία [f.] 'carpentry' (Thphr.). 5. -ότης [f.] 'tableness, the idea of a table' (Pl. *apud* D. L.). 6. -ίεις 'belonging to the table' (Nic., Opp.). 7. -ώδης 'trapezoidal' (Str. etc.). 8. -ώ(ν)· ἱερεῖά τις Ἀθήνησιν 'a priestess at Athens' (H.) (= τραπεζοφόρος above). 9. -όομαι, -όω 'to be dished up, dish up' (S. *Fr.* 611, Hell. and late inscr.); thence -ώματα [pl.] 'offerings' (Pergamon II<sup>a</sup>), -ωσις [f.] 'serving' (Plu.). 10. Τραπεζοῦς, -οῦντος [f.] town in Arcadia and on the south coast of the Black Sea; χώρα Τραπεζοῦντία (Paus.+).

•ETYM PIE \*k<sup>w</sup>tur-ped-ih<sub>2</sub>- 'having four feet' > PGr. \*t(w)ṛ-ped-ja-. Compound of a zero grade of PIE 'four' (\*k<sup>w</sup>tuṛ) with the word for 'foot', plus a derivational suffix \*-ih<sub>2</sub>-. Myc. to-pe-za /torpeza/ shows the vocalization with o instead of a that is regular in that dialect. Folk-etymological connection with 'three' yielded τρίπεζαν· τὴν τράπεζαν. Βοιωτοί (H.), whence Boeot. τρέπεδδα. A different reflex \*k<sup>w</sup>tru- > τρυ- is found in ▶ τρυφάλεια, which agrees with Av. *caθru-*, OW *petru-*, Lat. *quadru-* 'four-'. See ▶ τέσσαρες.

**τραπέω** [v.] 'to press (grapes)' (η 125, Hes. *Sc.* 301, Anan.), τραπῆν· ληνοπατεῖν 'to treat the wine-press', τραπέοντο (also [Aeol.?] τροπέοντο)· ἐπατοῦντο (ἐπάτου) 'were treading' (H.). <IE \*trep- 'tread'>

•VAR Only pres. and ipf.

•DIAL Myc. jo-te-re-pa-to = ὡς τρέπαντο athem. aor. (Taillardat *REGr.* 97 (1984): 365-373).

•DER τραπητός· ὁ οἶνος 'wine'; οἱ τραπηταί 'wine-pressers' as an explanation of πατηταί (H.). With o-grade τροπήιον [n.] '(wine-)press' (Hippon.), πρότροπος



(οἶνος) 'wine before the pressing' (medic. etc.), Οἶνο-τρόποι [f.pl.], epithet of the three daughters of Anios (Lyc. 580). See on ▶ ἀτραπός.

•ETYM Literally 'to tread (out)', a zero-grade iterative present \**trp-eie/o-* of a PIE root \**trēp-* 'to tread'; cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. With an *e*-grade, we find e.g. Lith. *trepšėti* 'to scratch (with the feet), trample'; with *o*-grade, Lith. *trapinėti* 'to push with the feet', Ru. *tropát'* 'to stamp, trample, knock', formally identical with the Gm. group of OS *thrabōn*, MHG *traben*, etc. Cf. ▶ τρέπω.

τράπηξ ⇒ τράφηξ.

τρασιά ⇒ τασός.

τραυλός [adj.] 'suffering from a speech disorder, with deficient speech', for instance 'lispings, stammering', metaphorically of swallows 'chirping' (Hdt., Hp., Call. com., Arist., AP, etc.). <PG?>

•COMP τραυλόφωνος 'with lispings speech' (H. s.v. Βάττος, beside ἰσχνόφωνος; from Hdt. 4, 155), ὑπότραυλος 'lispings something' (Hp.), ποικιλότραυλα (Theoc., of the μέλη of the κόσσυφοι); PN Τραύλη (Lucr.).

•DER τραυλ-ότης [f.] 'speech disorder' (Arist., Plu.), -ίζω (ὑπο-) 'to speak deficiently, etc.' (Ar., Arist., Luc.), whence -ισμός (Plu.); also -ωσις [f.] (Gal.).

•ETYM The suffix -λος is also found in other expressions for physical and psychical defects, such as τυφλός, χωλός, σιφλός. Unclear etymology. Wackernagel 1897: 16f. connects it as \**trs-u-* = Go. *haursus* 'ξηρός', to which ▶ ἀτειρής from \**ἀ-τερσ-ής* could belong as well. Yet the loss of σ in τραυλός and in ἀτειρής is improbable beside τρασιά and τέρσομαι. Alternatively, does it belong to τραῦμα (see on ▶ τιτρώσκω)? The word might well be Pre-Greek.

τραῦμα ⇒ τιτρώσκω.

τραύξανα [n.pl.] 'dry wood, brushwood' (Pherer.). <PG>

•VAR Also τραύσανον· ξηρὸν πᾶν ἢ φρύγανον 'all dry items or firewood' (H.) (on σ for ξ see Schwyzler: 211).

•ETYM Acc. to Frisk, it may replace τρώξανα (see ▶ τρώγω) after θραύω. However, the variation αυ : ω betrays a Pre-Greek word (Fur.: 286). It is improbable that the -au- was taken from θραύω; cf. on τραῦμα s.v. τιτρώσκω. The meaning of τραύξανα does not warrant a derivation from τρώγω.

τράφηξ, -ηκος [m.] meaning uncertain. According to H. (similar EM, sch. Lyc. etc.), it means χάραξ, σκόλοψ. ἔνιοι τὸ δόρυ, ἄλλοι τὸ τῆς νεῶς χεῖλος; acc. to EM also = τὸ ξύλον ἔνθα τιθέασι τὸν ἄρτον. Rare in literary language: Bito ('beam, pole?'), Lycophr. 641 ('beam, plank?'), 1001 ('spear?'), Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup> ('board of a ship?').

<PG>

•VAR In H. also: τράπηκι· δόρατι (from Lyc. 1001?); also with *o*-vocalism: τρόφηξ (cod. -φῆς)· χάραξ, σκόλοψ (cod. σκώληξ), τρόπηκος· μερίς τῆς κώπης ὁ τρόπηξ, οὗ ἐπιλαμβάνονται οἱ ἐρέσσοντες ὥστε ἀπὸ μέρους τὴν κώπην.

•ETYM Instrument name in -ηξ (cf. οἶαξ, πῆληξ, etc.). In theory, one might connect Lat. *trabs* 'beam', but this cannot be substantiated. It is a loanword, according to

Porzig ZII 5 (1927): 269, especially in view of the suffix. The variation α/ο and π/φ is frequent in Pre-Greek words. Fur.: 165 also compares τῤάμις, τῤάμις 'foreign ship', in which case we have prenasalized variants as well. Thus, it is clearly a Pre-Greek word; the *o* cannot be explained from the noun τροπή, as Frisk surmised.

τῤαχηλος [m.] 'neck, throat', sometimes including the head, also metaphorically (IA).

<PG?>

•VAR Dor. (Epid.) -αλος.

•COMP τραχηλοκοπέω 'to cut the throat' (Plu., Arr., etc.; like δειροτομέω); περιτῤαχηλος 'running around the neck' (ἄλυσις, pap. IP), whence περιτῤαχήλ-ιον, -ίδιον [n.] 'necklace' (Hell. and late).

•DER 1. τραχήλ-ια [n.pl.] 'meat scraps, originally of the neck' (Hp., com.). 2. -ιον [n.] 'neck piece', 'the lower end of a spear' (EM, Harp.). 3. -ίς· *collare* (gloss.). 4. -ιαῖος 'of the neck' (Hippiatr., H., Eust.). 5. -μαῖος 'id.' (Str.). 6. -ώδης 'stubborn' (EM), -ώδης 'neck-like' (sch.). 7. -ίζω (ἀπο-, προσ-) 'to bend back, lay bare, turn the neck', metaphorically of a ship 'to turn towards the wind', also 'to lay bare, expose; overpower' (Hell. and late); thence -ισμός, -ιστήρ (late). Further ἐκτραχηλίζω (of a horse) 'to throw the rider over its head', metaphorically 'to precipitate into ruin' (Ar., X., D., etc.), whence -ισμός (gloss.); παλιτραχηλίζω 'to be stubborn' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>). 8. τραχηλιάω 'to arch the neck proudly, accompany proudly' (LXX+).

•ETYM Probably a Greek innovation, as opposed to inherited αὐχὴν and δέρη 'neck'. Formally, one would like to connect τρέχω 'to run', τροχός, but the 'neck' is usually denominated as "turner, turn(ing)"; compare OCS *vratъ* to *vratiti* 'to turn', probably also Lith. *kāklas*, rather than 'runner'. Guilleux RPh. 73 (1999): 104 (see also DELG Supp.) follows an article by Létoublon-De Lamberterie RPh. 54 (1980): 305-326, which point to traces of an older meaning 'turn' for ▶ τρέχω. However, the word may also be Pre-Greek, as Fur.: 115<sup>2</sup> believes (the suffix -ηλο- is frequent in Pre-Greek).

τῤαχός [adj.] 'rough, uneven, stony, bumpy', metaphorically 'severe, harsh' (II.). <IE \**d<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>2</sub>-g<sup>h</sup>-u-* 'rough'>

•VAR Epic Ion. τρηχός.

•DIAL Myc. PN *ta-ra-ke-wi-[ja]*? (Lejeune REGr. 75 (1962): 342).

•COMP τραχύφωνος (-η-) 'with a coarse voice' (Hp., D. S. et al.), ὑπότραχος (-η-) 'somewhat rough' (Hp. et al.).

•DER 1. τραχύτης (-η-), Att. τραχυτής [f.] 'coarseness, unevenness, severity' (Democr., Pl., X., Arist., etc.). 2. τραχ-ύνω [v.] 'to make rough, angry', sometimes 'to be rough', pass. 'to be harsh, angry' (A., Pl., Arist., etc.), also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc. Thence -υντικός 'making rough' (Arist., Dsc.), -υσμα [n.] 'roughness, hardness', -υσμός [m.] 'making rough' (medic. et al.). 3. τῤαχος· *duretum* (gloss.). 4. τραχ-ώματα [n.pl.] 'hardenings in the eye, trachoma' (Dsc., Gal., pap. III<sup>p</sup>; after γλαύκωμα etc.), -ωματικός (Gal.). 5. -ών, -ώνος [m.] 'rough, stony area' (Str., D. H., pap. II<sup>p</sup>), Τῤαχων, -ωνός, name of a Syrian province and mountain (J., Str.); thence -ωνίτις (χώρα Ev. Luc.), -ωνίται [m.pl.] (J., Ptol., etc.). 6. Τῤαχίς (-ίς), Τρηχίς, -ίνος [f.], town in Thessaly (B 682+), whence -ίνιος, -ίνις (IA).



•ETYM PIE adj. *\*dʰrh₂ǵʰ-u-*? See ► θράσσω for reconstruction and cognates. Compare also τάρχη· τάραξις, ἄταρ[α]χον· ἀχείμαστον (H.); cf. Schwyzler: 362.

τρε ⇒ σύ.

τρεῖς [numeral] 'three' (IA). <IE *\*trei-es* 'three'>

•VAR Aeol. (gramm.) τρής, Dor. τρής (Thera), τρέες (Gortyn), ntr. τρία, gen. τριῶν, dat. τρισί, Aeol. τρίσσι, Ion. also τριοῖσι (Hippon.), acc. τρεῖς (IA), Old Attic τρίς, Dor. τρινς (Gortyn).

•DIAL On Myc. *ti-ri-se-ro-e*, see Morpurgo Davies 1963.

•COMP As a first member τρι-, e.g. τριήρης 'a trireme'; τριάκοντα, Ion. τριή- 'thirty'; -κόσιοι, Arc. -κάσιοι, Dor. -κάτιοι 'three hundred', -κάς, -κάδος [f.] 'the number thirty, a gathering of 30 persons, the thirtieth day of the month' (IA).

•DER 1. τρίς [adv.] 'thrice' (Il.), also τριάκις (Ar.+). 2. τρίτος [adj.] 'third' (Il.), Aeol. τέρτος, enlarged τρίτατος (epic poet. Il.+), Aeol. τέρτατος (Pi.; codd. τετρ-); τριτ-αῖος 'arriving at the third day, of three days, etc.' (IA), -εὺς [m.] 'the third of a μέδιμνος', also -εὺα, -ευμα, -ευτής, -εῖα (Hell. and late inscr.); -εῖα [n.pl.] 'the third prize' (Pl. etc.). 3. Distributive adverbs τρί-χα, -χῆ, -χόθεν, -χοῦ, -χῶς, -χθά 'triple, in three pieces, at three places, etc.'; τρισός, τριττός, Ion. also τριξός 'threefold'. 4. τριάς, -άδος [f.] 'triad' (Pl., Arist., etc.), whence -αδικός, -αδίω (late). 5. τρίτρα [n.pl.] 'threefold payment' (Gortyn).

•ETYM The nominative forms τρεῖς, τρής, τρέες go back to PIE *\*treies*, whence also Skt. *tráyaḥ*, Lat. *trēs*, etc. Acc. *\*trins* > Go. *þrins*, Gortyn. τρινς (disyllabic after τριῶν, -σί), contracted τρίς. Ionic-Attic τρεῖς was based on the nominative. Neuter τρία < PIE *\*trih₂*; cf. Skt. *tri(-ni)*, Lat. *tri-ginta* (*tria-* innovation). The adverb τρίς agrees with Skt. *trīh*, Lat. *ter* (Plaut. *terr* < *\*ters* < *\*tris*). The ordinal τρίτος is also inherited; compare ToB *trite*, ToA *trit*. For the first member of compounds τρι- as in τρί-πους, compare Skt. *tri-pád-*, Lat. *tri-pēs* 'three-footed'. Cf. ► τριτύς, ► τρίαῖνα, and ► τριάζω.

τρελλός [adj.] in MoGr. 'mad' (only in PNs, L. Robert 1963: 261f. <?>)

•ETYM Unknown.

τρέμω [v.] 'to tremble (of fear), shiver' (Il.). <IE *\*trem-* 'tremble'>

•VAR Only pres. and ipf. (but Dor. τετρέμηκα EM).

•COMP Also with ὑπο-, περι-, ἀμφι-.

•DER τρόμος [m.] 'trembling, shivering, fear, fright' (Il.), τρομός [adj.] 'trembling' (E. Fr. 876), also -ερός (Sapph., E., A. R. etc.), -ώδης (Hp., Str., Plu.), -αλέος (Eust.), -ικός (gloss., Suid.) 'id.'. Verb τρομέω (Il.) = τρέμω, deverbative or denominative; also with ὑπο-, περι-, ἀμφι-, etc.; originally only pres. and ipf., the aor. τρομήσαι is late (LXX [v.l. ἐτρόμασαν as if from τρομάζω], lit. pap. III<sup>p</sup>). PN Τρόμης, -ητος [m.] created for Ἀτρόμητος (Dem.), etc. Further τέτραμος [m.] 'trembling', with reduplication and zero grade of the root; also τέτρομος after τρόμος (Hp.+). Thence τετραμαίνω [v.] 'to tremble', v.l. τετρεμ- after τρέμω (Hp., Ar., Gal., etc.). Adv. ἀτρέμα, -ᾶς 'without trembling, immovable, quiet' (Il.), of uncertain origin, cf.

ἡρέμα(ς), ἦκα; also ἀτρεμ(ε)ί (Ar.). Adj. ἀτρεμ-ής with -ία, -έω, -ίζω (especially Ion. poet. since Hes., Thgn.), -αῖος (Hp., E. [lyr.], Call. etc.).

•ETYM A primary present, identical with Lat. *tremō* 'to tremble', Alb. *trem* 'to frighten', ToA *tärm-* (e.g. 3. pl. *tärmiñc*) 'to be angry, be excited, tremble'; further, ToB *tremi* [pl.] 'trembling' = Gr. τρόμοι. Lith. *treñti*, 1sg. *tremiù* 'to smite down', *trimstu*, *trimti* 'to tremble, etc.'. Cf. ► ταρμύσσω, ► τρέω.

τρέπω [v.] 'to turn, revolve, put to flight; to turn oneself, change, take flight, etc.'. <IE *\*trep-* 'turn'>

•VAR Dor. Ion. also τράπω, -ομαι, s-aor. τρέψαι, -ασθαι, them. aor. τραπεῖν, -έσθαι, fut. τρέψω (ἐπι-τραψῶ Crete), τρέψομαι, pass. (intr.) aor. τραφθῆναι, perf. τέτραμμαι (all Hom.), also τραπῆναι (A., etc.), τρεφθῆναι (E.), ptc. ἐν-τρεπέντες (pap. II<sup>a</sup>), perf. act. τέτροφα, later τέτραφα (Att.).

•COMP Very often with prefix: ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, μετα-, παρα-, περι-, etc. with different shades of meaning

•DER A. With -ο-: 1. τρόπος [m.] 'turn; way, custom, attitude, character' (Pi., IA), 'beam' (Moschio *apud* Ath. 5, 208c; also MoGr., = δοκός τετραμμένος). Compounds, e.g. πολύ-τροπος 'much-wandering' (etc.; see ► πολύς), whence -ία (Hdt., Hp., etc.); often from prefixed compounds, e.g. ἐπίτροπος [m.] 'supervisor, steward, administrator' (IA). Thence τροπ-ικός 'belonging to the turn' (Arist., etc.), ἐπιτροπ-ικός, -εὺα, -εῖα, -ευσίς, -εὺσιμος, -ευτικός. Denominative τροπ-όμαι, -όω, also with κατα- etc., 'to put to flight' (LXX, D. H. et al.). 2. τροπός [m.] 'turner', 'straps, by means of which the rudder turned around the κληῖς while rowing' (Od., Opp.), τροπ-όμαι 'to be provided with a τροπός' (A., Ar., Poll.), -ωτήρ [m.] = τροπός (Ar., Th. et al.). 3. τροπή [f.] 'turn (of the sun, of the enemy, etc.), change' (o 404+); compounds, e.g. ἀποτροπή [f.] 'avoidance, etc.' (Att.), whence -αῖος, -ιμος, -ία, -ιάζω, -ίασμα, -ιασμός, -ιαστής. Thence τροπ-αῖος 'causing the turning (of the enemy), granting victory'; τὸ τροπαῖον, -αῖον 'victory monument' (Att.), scil. σημεῖον vel sim. 4. -τροπία [f.] frequent in derivations, e.g. ἐντροπ-ίη = ἐντροπ-ή 'consideration, attention' (Hp.), -ίαι [pl.] '(cunning) twists, intrigues' (*h. Merc.*), μετατροπ-ίαι [pl.] vicissitudes of fate' (Pi.); παλιντροπ-ίαι [pl.] 'changes of mind' (A. R.), to παλίν-τροπος. 5. -τρόπιον [n.] in derivatives, e.g. ἐκτρόπιον name of an eye-disease, 'everted eyelid' (medic.), ἡλιοτρόπιον plant name 'heliotrope' (Thphr. et al.), 'sun-dial' (Delos III<sup>a</sup> et al.). 6. τροπίας οἶνος (also ἐν-, ἐκ-) 'turned, sour wine' (Ar. et al.). 7. τρόπις, -ιος (-ιδος, -εως) [f.] 'ground beams of a ship, ship's keel' (epic Ion. since Od., Arist., etc.), properly 'turner'? Thence τροπιδεῖα (also -ία) [pl.] 'id.' (Pl. *Lg.* 803a, Pell., Phot.); ναῦς τετροπισμένη (: τροπίζω) 'provided with a keel' (Hp.); hypostasis ὑποτρόπιος 'located under the keel' (Opp., Orph.). 8. ἀνατροπεύς [m.] 'overturmer, destroyer' (to ἀνατροπ-ή, ἀνα-τρέπω; Antipho, Plu., D. Chr.). 9. Adv. -τροπάδην, Dor. -δᾶν, only from prefixed compounds, e.g. προτροπάδην 'directed forward, with headlong speed' (*P* 304, Pi., Pl., etc.); τρόπα παίζειν name of a game (Cratin., Poll.). 10. τροπέω = τρέπω (Σ 224; Myc. *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no?*), iterative or denominative; also with παρα-, περι- (Hom.+), and nominal first member, e.g. κακοτροπέω 'to act badly'. 11. -τροπάζομαι only in ὑπετροπάσθην 'turned back, had a relapse' (to ὑπότροπ-ος, ὑπο-τρέπομαι; pap. III<sup>a</sup>); also -τροπιάζω, with ὑπο- 'to

have a relapse', -ιασμός (Hp.); with ἀπο- 'to avert', -ιασμός etc. (LXX, pap. et al.). 12. With λ-enlargement: τροπαλίζει· στρέφει 'turns', whence -ισμός· μεταβολή 'change' (H.); ptc. ἐντροπαλιζόμενος 'turning round, turning back' (Il., Q. S.), ipf. μετατροπαλίζω 'you turned around' (Υ 190). 13. τροπᾶλις (v.l. -αλλίς). -ίδος [f.] 'bunch' of onions (Ar. *Ach.* 813), τρόπηλις (Hdn. Gr.), τρι(τ)οπηλός (H.), formation unclear.

B. With -ε-: 1. ἀπό-τρεψις 'aversion', ἔκ- 'distortion', ἀνά- 'turn' (to ἀπο-τρέπω etc.; Hp., Arist. etc.). 2. τρεπτικός 'causing a change or a turn' (late), mostly from prefixed verbs, e.g. προτρεπ-τικός 'challenging' (Att.).

C. With -α-: 1. τραπ-έμπαιιν [adv.] 'turned backward' (: ἔμπαιιν τραπέσθαι, Pherecr.). 2. -τραπελος only with prefix, e.g. εὐτράπελος (: εὐ τραπέσθαι) 'turning easily, mobile, adroit, witty' (Pi., Att.), whence εὐτραπελ-ία, -ίζομαι, -εύομαι; similarly with δυσ-, ἔκ-, ἐν-, etc.; τραπελιζόμενος· συνεχῶς ἀναστρεφόμενος 'continuously upset' (H.).

D. With lengthened grade: τρωπάω, -άομαι [v.] 'to turn, change', iterative verb, only in pres. and ipf.; also with ἀπο-, παρα-, ἐπι-, μετα-.

•ETYM From PIE *\*trep-*, *\*trp-* 'to turn', caus. pres. *\*trop-éie/o-*. Cognate forms: Lat. *trepit* 'vertit' (found only in Paul. Fest. p. 367, and perhaps a construction of grammarians), Skt. (ep.) *trapate* 'feels ashamed, becomes timid', Hitt. *terepp-*<sup>21</sup> 'to plough'; cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *\*trep-*. Semantically, ἐντρέπομαι 'to care about sth.', also 'to be ashamed for sbd.' may be connected. The connection of Myc. *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no* (meaning unknown; with *q*) and of Lat. *torqueō* is untenable. The verb τραπέω 'to tread (out), press (grapes)' should probably be separated from τρέπω 'to turn'. See Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *trap*.

**τρέφω** [v.] 'to make fat, feed, bring up, care for', also 'to cause to curdle', of γάλα 'milk' (ι 246) and of τυρός 'cheese' (Theoc. 25, 106, cf. τροφαλός below). <PG>

•VAR Dor. τράφω, -ομαι, s-aor. θρέψαι, -ασθαι, ἔθραψα (epigr. Crete II-III<sup>p</sup>), them. aor. τραφεῖν (mostly intr.), pass. (intr.) τραφήναι (all Il.), θρεφθῆναι (rarely since Hes.), ἐθράφθη (Eretria VI<sup>a</sup>), fut. θρέψω, -ομαι (*h. Ven.*, etc.), perf. τέτροφα (ψ 237 etc., intr., also trans.), midd. τέθραμμαι (IA), whence τέτραφα (Plb.), also τέτρεφας (pap. III<sup>a</sup>, after τρέφω).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἔκ-, συν-.

•DER A. With -ο-: 1. τροφή [f.] 'nurture, nourishment, care, race' (Pi., IA), also ἀνα-, ἔκ-, δια-, etc. 2. τροφός [f.], secondarily [m.] 'wet nurse, nourisher, caregiver' (Od.+); replaced by τροφῶ [f.] 'id.' (late, Rhodos). 3. -τροφος with prefixed verbs, e.g. σύντροφος 'fed or brought up together, familiar' (IA); with nominal first member, e.g. νεότροφος 'recently fed, newborn' (A. [lyr.], Cratin.), κουροτρόφος 'bringing up boys, nurse of the youth'; often as epithet of different goddesses (ι 27+). From τροφή (and τροφός, partly also directly from τρέφω) are derived: 4. τροφεύς (ἀνα-, οἰωνο-) [m.] 'feeder, caregiver' (Att.). 5. τροφίας [m.] 'brought up in the house, stall-fed' (Arist., inscr. etc.; antonym φορβάς). 6. τροφίτις [f.] (συγγραφή, also γυνή, γῆ) 'concerning nourishment, taking care of feeding' (pap.). 7. τρόφιον [n.] 'food, sustenance, diet' (medic. etc.). Adj.: 8. τρόφι-ος 'plump, fat, large' (Λ 307 [κῦμα], Hdt., Lyc.); thence τροφιούται· παχύνεται 'grows fat' (H.). 9. -όεντα κύματα 'id.' (O 621, γ

290), metrical enlargement; cf. τροφέοντο below. 10. -μιος 'feeding, fed, brought up', [m.] 'foster-father, ward, alumnus' (IA), [f.] -ίμη 'housewife' (Poll.), -ιμότης [f.] (Eust.). 11. -ικός 'concerning nourishment' (Gal., Poll.), ἵπποτροφικός (pap. II<sup>a</sup>). 12. -ώδης 'serving as nourishment, nourishing' (Arist. et al.). -ιώδης 'coagulated, thick' (Hp.; in H.). 13. -ητικός 'belonging to sustenance' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>). Verbs: 14. -εὔω 'to suckle, still' (LXX, pap.), -εῖα [f.] 'serving as a wet nurse' (pap. I<sup>a</sup>), -εῖα [n.pl.] 'pay for serving as a wet nurse and bringing up, sustenance' (Att.), 'boarding wages' (pap.). 15. -έω 'id.' (pap., also Gal.?), -ήματα [pl.] (medic.; uncertain); but ἵπποτροφέω (Att.) from ~ -ος. Iterative τροφέοντο 'to swell' acc. to Aristarch. γ 290 for τροφόνετα. 16. -τροφία [f.] abstract to -τροφος, e.g. συντροφία 'joint upbringing' (Hell. and late), ἵπποτροφία 'the keeping of horses, stud farming' (Simon., Pi., Att.). 17. With λ-enlargement τροφαλός, -ίδος [f.] 'fresh cheese' (com., Arist.), also -άλιον [n.] (com.), τρυφαλός (LXX, Luc., Hdn. Gr., H.; folk-etymologically after τρυφή), τράφαλλος (see below), -ίς (H.). B. With -ε-: 1. θρέμμα (ἀνά-) [n.] 'one brought up, alumnus, spawn' (IA), -άτιον, -ατικός. 2. θρέψις (ἀνά-, ἔκ-) [f.] 'breeding' (medic., S. E. etc.). 3. θρεπτικός (ἀνα-) 'nourishing' (Pl., Arist., etc.). 4. θρέπ-τρα [n.pl.] 'fostering wages' (Il., Q. S.), -τήρια [n.pl.] 'id.' (Hes., *h. Cer.*), 'nourishment, food' (S.), -τήριος 'nourishing' (A.), -τήρ [m.] 'foster-father' (inscr., AP), -τειρα [f.] 'nurse' (E., Opp., AP), -τρᾶ [f.] 'id.' (inscr.), -τήτωρ = -τήρ (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>). 5. θρεπ-τάριον = θρεμματίον (late inscr. and pap.). 6. τρέφος [n.] = θρέμμα (S. Fr. 154; v.l. βρέφος). 7. -τρεφής, e.g. Διοτρεφής 'fed by Zeus' (Il., Hes.). 8. PN Τρεφέλεως (Paros). C. With -α-: 1. τραφερός epithet of γῆ (Hom., *h. Cer.*), of ἄρουρα, κέλευθος etc. (Hell. and late epic), antonym ὕγρος, so 'dry, solid'; also of fishes 'plump' (Theoc.). 2. -τραφής, e.g. εὐτραφής 'well-fed, fat, plump' (Hp., trag., Arist., etc.). 3. ▶τάρφεα, -ύς. See also on ▶θρόμβος.

•ETYM Formally closest to τρέφω are two Lithuanian verbs: the full-grade yod-present *drēbti*, 1sg. *drebiù* (= Latv. *drēbt* 'to rain wet snowdrift') 'to throw a thick fluid', and the zero-grade nasal present *drimbù* (inf. *dribti*) 'to fall down in flakes, to plump down, etc.'. The semantics are not convincing, to say the least. Further, the Greek words are close to some expressions for 'dregs' in Germanic, Slavic, and Celtic: e.g. MLG *draf*, OHG *trebir* [pl.] 'dregs', MoE *draff* 'dregs', Ru. *drobá* (also *drob*, *dreba*) 'dregs' (loan from German?), Mlr. *drab* 'dregs' (all from IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>rob<sup>h</sup>-*). The correspondence of ON *drafli* [m.] 'curdled milk' with τροφαλός is certainly accidental.

The meaning of τρέφω was given by Benveniste as 'favoriser (par des soins appropriés) le développement de ce qui est soumis à croissance'. This renders the actual use of the Greek verb quite well, but it does not do justice to the original concrete meaning, which can still be seen in τρέφειν γάλα (according to Benveniste, 'favoriser la croissance naturelle du lait, le laisser atteindre l'état où il tend'), τρέφειν τυρόν (also τροφαλός), as well as in τρέφειν ἀλοιφήν (ν 410), τρέφειν ἄλμην (ψ 237). On the nasalized forms, see ▶θρόμβος.

The cheese name τράφαλλος must be Pre-Greek: in FS Kortlandt I demonstrated, following Kuiper, that all words in -αλλ-(ος) are Pre-Greek (cf. ▶δκταλλος). The root has no IE cognates (see ▶θρόμβος). A connection with θρόμβος is quite

possible, if we assume that τρέφω as a whole is Pre-Greek. Prenasalization is well-known in Pre-Greek; the β is not problematic, as Pre-Greek did not distinguish between aspirated, voiced and unvoiced stops. Thus, θρόμβος *proves* that the verb is of Pre-Greek origin.

**τρέχω** [v.] 'to run, hurry' (Il.). <IE \*d<sup>h</sup>reg<sup>h</sup>- 'run'>

•VAR Dor. (Pi.) τράχω, mostly pres. and ipf.; aor. θρέξαι (N 409 et al.), iter. θρεξασκον (Σ599, 602), fut. (ἀπο-, etc.)-θρέξομαι (Ar.), simplex θρέξω (Lyc. 108), uncertain θραξίται ... πορεύσεται 'will be conveyed' (H.) (see Latte ad loc.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, παρα-, περι-, συν-, ὑπο-. As a first member in τρεχέδειπνος 'running to the feast' (Plu., Ath.), as a PN (Alciphr.); as a second member in [εὐθ]υτρεχής 'running straight' (Att. inscr. 307-6<sup>a</sup>), whence ἐντρεχ-ής 'skilled, able' (Pl., late) with -εια (late). See on ►όλοοίτροχος.

•DER 1. τροχός [m.] 'wheel, wheel of torture, circlet, (potter's) wheel, round cake, etc.' (Il.), πρότροχος 'front wheel' (Ath. Mech.), ὑπότροχος 'with wheels underneath', i.e. 'provided with wheels' (Hell.), diminutives τρόχ-ιον, -ίσκος, -ίσκιον, -ισκάριον. 2. τρόχος [m.] '(circular) course' (Hp., S., E.); τροχός [adj.] 'running, hurrying' (Pi.), 'circular' (Lyd.; uncertain); often from prefixed verbs, e.g. περίτροχος 'running in a circle, circular' (Ψ 455, A. R., Call. etc.), -ιον [n.] 'rim of a wheel' (Papp. Mathem.). 3. τροχή [f.] 'course' (Trag. Aesp.). 4. τρόχης [m.] 'runner, messenger' (A. Pr. 941, S. Inach.). With -ε-: θρεκτ-ικός 'able to run' (after Moiris Att. for τροχαστικός), -ικώτατος· ὀξύτατος 'most sharp' (H.).

Further derivatives: A. Adjectives: 1. τροχ-αῖος (πούς) [m.] 'trochee' (Pl., Arist., etc.), -αῖκος 'trochaic', -αῖα (πανία 'spool') 'running' (AP). 2. -ιαῖος (σφήν) 'belonging to a wheel of torture' (LXX). 3. -μιος 'hurrying' (S. Fr. 219 beside βάσιμος). 4. -ερός (ῥυθμός) 'running' (Arist.). 5. -οίς, -εός, -ιός 'wheel-shaped, circular' (Hell. poet.). 6. -ικός (χαλκός) 'granulated' (pap.). 7. -ώδης 'wheel-like' (Apollon. Lex.). 8. -αλός 'running in a circle, circular' (poet. since Hes. Op. 518), -αλεῖον [n.] 'globe, sphere' (Arat.), -αλισθεῖς δίσκος 'rolled' (Pherecyd.); εὐτρόχαλος = εὐτροχος 'running well, quickly' (Hes., Hell. epic.).

B. Nouns: 1. τροχ-ιά [f.] 'size of the wheel, track' (Hell. and late). 2. -ίλος [m.] 'stint, wren' (IA); technical 'sheave in a block and tackle' (Pl. R. 397a [v.l.], Att. inscr. 329-8<sup>a</sup>, Hero), -ιλία (-έα, -εια), -ιλεῖον, -ιλίδιον; architectural 'hollow on the base of a column' (Vitr.). 3. τροχίας· πορ<ε>ίας 'gaits' (H.); also as epithet of χαλκός (Poll.; cf. -ικός; antonym τυπίας). 4. τροχίτης οἶνος (Dsc.; uncertain). 5. τροχάδες σανδάλια ἀπὸ αἰγείου δέρματος 'sandals of goat hide' (H.), τροχ-άδια (Edict. Diocl.), -αδάριος [m.] 'shoemaker' (Attica, Imperial times); διατροχάδες· εἶδος ποιήματος, ὡς ιστορεῖ Πραξιφάνης 'kind of poetic work, as Praxiphanes informs' (H.). 6. τροχ-αντήρ [m.] 'round projection of the hip bone' (Gal., H.); -αντήρες· πρὸς τὰ πηδάλια· καλεῖται τῆς πρύμνης μέρος 'towards the rudders; part of the stern' (H.), as if from \*τροχαίνω. 7. τρόχ-μαλος (pl. -οι, -α) 'round stone that has been ground smooth by water' (Thphr., Nic., Lyc.), from \*τροχ-μός or a contamination of τροχαλός and ὁμαλός with oppositive accent? 8. -ωσις [f.] 'circular motion' (Lyc.), as if from \*τροχόομαι; can also be enlarged from τροχός.

C. Adverbs: τροχ-άδην 'running' (Epigr., A. D.), ἐπι- 'running rapidly, fluent' (Hom. et al.).

D. Verbs: 1. iterative τροχ-άω 'to run', -όντα (O 451), also with ἐπι-, περι-, συν-, ὑπο- (Hell. and late poetry). 2. τροχ-άζω 'id.' (Hdt., X, E., Arist., Hell. and late), aor. -άσαι, often with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, παρα-, προσ-, συν-, by-form in -άω, whence -αστής, -αστικός, -ασμός, -ασμα. 3. τροχ-ίζω 'to break on the wheel, furnish with wheels' (Antipho, Arist., Bito, D. S., etc.), -ίζομαι 'to run (round)' (Arist.; v.l. -άζομαι), quite rarely with κατα- etc.; περι-τροχισμός 'running round' (Antyll. apud Orib.). 4. -ιάζω· *roto, rotor* (gloss.), -ιασμα [n.] 'wheelwork' (Bito). 5. -εύομαι = *rotor* (Dosith.). 6. With lengthened grade: iterative (μετα-, περι-)τρωχάω (χ 163, ζ 318, A. R., Q. S. etc.).

•ETYM Like the synonymous verb θέω, τρέχω was originally limited to the present stem (the aorist being provided by δραμεῖν, as well as by ἀπο-δρᾶναι). The verb τρέχω is isolated within IE, but τροχός 'wheel' agrees completely with OIr. *droch* 'wheel' (IE \*d<sup>h</sup>rog<sup>h</sup>o-). A form with lengthened grade (like τρωχ-άω) is probably seen in Arm. *durgn*, gen. *drgan* 'potter's wheel' (originally a root noun); on the phonetics, see Clackson 1994: 209<sup>63</sup>. The Germanic verb for 'walk' in Go. *þragjan*, etc., had initial *t-*, just like the Celtic group of MW and Co. *tro* 'change, time', OIr. *traig* 'foot'. See also ►τέρχνοϛ.

The basic meaning of the verb is 'to run, hurry'. This is confirmed by the aor. δραμεῖν, and by several derivations and compounds: τροχίς 'runner, messenger'; τροχίλος 'birds that run'; τρεχέδειπνος 'who hurries to the feast'. The verb does not mean 'turn', a notion that is difficult to combine with 'run, hurry'. As for the notion 'wheel', DELG notes that one generally thinks that a 'wheel runs' (Frisk explains 'Läufer'). (In Dutch, one says "the wheel runs well" ["het wiel loopt goed"], not "the wheel turns well" ["het wiel draait goed"].) We must reject Chantraine's suggestion that the verb may have meant 'courir en rond'. Therefore, τράχηλος cannot be derived from τρέχω.

**τρέω** [v.] 'to flee full of fear, be afraid' (especially epic poet., Il.+), 'to live in exile' = φεύγω (Argos VI-V<sup>a</sup>); ὁ τρέσας 'deserter' (Sparta), to which τρεσᾶς, -ᾶ 'id.' (com.). Verbal adj. ἄτρεστος 'dauntless' (trag.). <IE \*tres- 'tremble'>

•VAR Aor. τρέσ(σ)αι, whence ὁ τρέσας 'deserter' (Sparta), to which τρεσᾶς, -ᾶ 'id.' (com.). Verbal adj. ἄτρεστος 'dauntless' (trag.).

•COMP Also with δια-, παρα-, περι-, ὑπο-.

•DER ἔτερσεν· ἐφόβησεν 'he put to flight' (H.). On the meaning, cf. Trümpy 1950: 222ff.

•ETYM As an inherited verb, τρέω derives from \*tres-e/o-; cf. Skt. *trāsati* 'to be afraid, tremble', and PIE \*t<sub>ṛ</sub>s-(s)ke/o- in Av. *fra-tarāsaiti*, OP *tarsatiy* 'to be afraid, fear', causative Skt. *trāsayati* 'to frighten, make tremble', Av. *θrāyhaiiete* 'to frighten' < \*tros-eie-. A different position of the liquid is found in Italic: U *tursitu* 'terreto, fugato' < \*tors-, an unexplained *e*-vowel in Lat. *terreō* 'to frighten'. Further, ἄτρεστος matches Skt. (*sam-ut*)*trasta-* 'frightened, trembling' < \*tres-to- << PIE \*t<sub>ṛ</sub>sto- (full grade innovated after τρέω, *trāsati*), Av. *taršta-* 'fearful' < \*t<sub>ṛ</sub>sto-. Next to \*tres- in

τρέω, we find \**trem-* in τρέμω, and *trep-* in Lat. *trepidus* (cf. ▶τραπέω). Cf. ▶τρήρων.

**τρήμα, τρήσις, τρητός** = τετραίνω.

**τρήρων, -ωνος** [f.] epithet of πέλεια, -ειάς 'dove' (Hom., *h. Ap.*, A. R.), also of κέφος 'a water bird' (Ar. *Pax* 1067); also = περιστέρα, metaphorically for 'woman' (Lyc.). <IE \**tres-* 'tremble'>

•COMP πολυτρήρων 'abundant in pigeons' (B 502, 582), whence εὐτρήρων 'id.' (Nonn.).

•ETYM Individualizing substantivization of τρηρός in τρη[ι]ρόν· ἐλαφρόν, δειλόν, ταχύ, πλοῖον μικρόν 'light, wretched, quick, small ship' (H.). Because of the Doric forms τραρόν· τ[ρ]αχύ (H.), and ταρόν· ταχύ with dissimilation, we must start from \*τρασ-ρόν < \**trs-ró-* with a zero grade from the root of ▶τρέω. In the sense of ἐλαφρόν, ταχύ, τρηρόν is usually (cf. Pok. 1095, 1100) connected with ▶ότρηρός, ▶ότραλέος, but this is improbable.

**τριάζω** [v.] in the language of sports 'to throw down thrice and thereby to win definitively', said of fist-fighters (Poll., *EM*, Zonar., H. et al.), <GR>

•VAR -άσσω, -άττω, aor. -άξαι, pass. -αχθῆναι (ἀπο-).

•DER τριακτήρ [m.] 'winner (in fist-fighting)', ἀτρίακτος 'undefeated' (A. Ag. 171 resp. *Ch.* 339, both lyr.); πεντετριάζομαι 'to be defeated five times' (AP). Aor. τριάσαι in mathematics 'to multiply by three' (Theo Sm., Iamb.), ἀτρίαστος 'not admitting triplicity' (Dam.); τριαγμός, -οί (Harp. et al.), -ασμοί (Suid.) 'triad(s)', name of a philosophical work of Ion of Chios.

•ETYM Denominative of τρεῖς, ▶τρία.

**τρίαίνα** [f.] 'trident', weapon of Poseidon (epic poet. Il.+); in medicine, designation of a cautery (Paul. Aeg.). <IE? \**trei-es* 'three', PG?>

•COMP τριαινούχος [m.] 'wielder of the τρίαίνα' (comm. Pl.).

•DER Denominative τριαινών 'to shake (with the trident)' (E., com.), also συν-, etc.; thence probably τριαινατήρες· ἀντί τοῦ ἀροτριοῦντος (H.) (probably for \*τριαινω-).

•ETYM From τρεῖς, τρία after the instrument names in -αίνα, e.g. ἄκαινα, ἀρύταινα. Chantraine 1933: 109 considers a folk-etymological transformation after the numeral. Fur.: 189 compares τρίναξ, and asks whether the word for trident could be a transformation of a Pre-Greek loan for an agricultural tool.

**τρίβω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to rub, grind, wear down, exhaust, consume, wear off; med. 'to occupy oneself with'. <IE \**terh-* 'rub'>

•VAR Aor. τρίψαι, -ασθαι (Il.), fut. τρίψω, -ομαι (Od.), pass. aor. τριβῆναι, τριφθῆναι, perf. τέτριμμαι (IA), 3pl. Ion. τετρίφεται, act. τέτριφα (Hell. and late).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, κατα-, συν-.

•DER 1. τριβή [f.] 'grinding, wear, practice, occupation, pastime, delay' (IA), also δια-, ἀπο-, etc. Thence several derived formations: 2. τρίβων, -ωνος [m., f.]: a. '(outworn) simple cloak' (Att.), diminutives -ώνιον (Att.), -ωνάριον (Hell. and late); -ωνικῶς 'like an outworn cloak' (Ar. V. 1132 with allusion to meaning b); b. 'shrewd (person), versed, skillful' (Hdt., E., com. etc.), verb τριβωνεύομαι, meaning unclear (Antipho).

3. τριβάς [f.] 'lecherous woman' (late). 4. τριβεύς [m.] 'rubber, massager, pestle, etc.' (Hell. and late). 5. τριβακός 'rubbed, devious, experienced' (Hell. and late; probably to τρίβων). 6. τρίβαξ [m., f.] 'shrewd person' (late). 7. τριβικός 'based on practice' (late). 8. τριβίδι(ο)ν (H.) as an explanation of δ<ο>ιδυξ. 9. τριβαία [f.] 'mortar' (Suid., Zonar.). 10. τρίβανον [n.] designation of a measure of content (Gal., pap.), = λήκυθος (H.). Further derivatives: 11. τρίβος [f., m.] 'worn road, path' (Hdt., E., X., etc.), also = τριβή 'practice, wear, etc.' (*h. Merc.*, A. [lyr.]), 'friction, friction surface' (Hp.). 12. τριῖμα (secondarily -ί-) [n.] 'which is rubbed, snippet, scrap' (Hp., inscr., Gal.), 'drink made of ground spices' (com., pap. etc.), 'shrewd person' (Ar.); diminutive -μάτιον (com., medic.); often from prefixed verbs, e.g. περίτριμμα 'cunning person' (Ar., D.), 'ointment' (medic.), ἐπίτριμμα 'plaster, make-up' (Joh. Chrys.); τριμμός [m.] 'worn road' (X. etc.), ἐπι-, συν-τριμμός 'grinding' (LXX). 13. τρίψις (ἀνά-, ἔν-, σύν-, etc.) [f.] 'rubbing, wear, massage' (IA). As a second member: 14. -τριψ, e.g. ἀμφίτριψ 'crafty, misestimated' (Archil.), οἰκότριψ 'house-slave' (Ar. et al.), rather = ὁ οἶκον τρίβων as ὁ ἐν οἴκῳ τριβόμενος, so transitive like πορνότριψ, σκευότριψ, πεδότριψ etc.; but note αἰγότριβες ἀτραποί 'paths worn out by goats' (D. H.). With transfer to the *s*-stems: 15. -τριβής, e.g. ἐντριβής 'skillful, experienced', ἀτριβής 'not rubbed, not traversed, inexperienced, undamaged' (Att.); ἀτρίβαστος of a horse 'not trained' (X. *Eq. Mag.* 8, 3; antonym οἱ τοὺς πόδας ἐκπεπονημένοι, as if from \*τριβάζω, if not analogical after the numerous privatives in -αστος. 16. After the *ā*-stems: -τριβής, e.g. παιδοτριβής, -ου [m.] = ὁ παῖδας τρίβων 'gymnastic master' with -ία, -ίη, -έω, -ικός (IA). See ▶ἀλετριβανος.

•ETYM The whole Greek system of forms is built on the present τρίβω with long vowel, whence analogically with a short vowel aor. τριβῆναι (after ριφήναι, τυπήναι, etc.), τρίβος, -ή (after στίβος, στίχος, etc.), etc. No exact agreement exists outside Greek. Closest are Latin forms like perf. *trivī* with *tritūs*, *dētrimentum*, etc. To AB *triv-* 'to mix' (not 'to shatter') is far off in meaning. Does the Greek derive from \**trh-i-gʷ-*? See also on ▶τείρω, ▶τετραίνω, ▶τιτρώσκω, and ▶τρώω.

**τρίγλη** [f.] 'trigla, gurnard', a fish (Epich., Sophr., Att. com., Arist., Hell. pap., etc.); <GR?, PG?>

•VAR Dor. -ᾱ, second. -ᾱ̃ (-ῖ- and -ί-).

•COMP τριγλοφόρος 'catching gurnards' (AP), -βόλος 'id.' (Plu.).

•DER Diminutives τριγλ-ίς [f.] (Antiph., Arist.), -ίον [n.] (Hell. pap., Gp.); thence -ίτις [f.] 'kind of ἀφύη' (Dorio *apud* Ath.). Also τριγόλας [m.] name of a fish (Sophr.).

•ETYM From ▶τρίζω, referring to the grunting sound from the friction of the gill cover bones when the fish is taken out of the water. Cf. τριγλίζειν κατὰ μίμησιν ἐπὶ τῶν γελώντων (H.). The by-form τριγόλας joined the nouns in -όλας, -όλης, e.g. μαινόλας, -όλης (Bechtel 1921, 2: 245). Extensively on τρίγλη Thompson 1947 s.v.

**τρίδακνον** [n.] 'large oysters of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean' (Plin. 32, 63). <LW Orient.>

•ETYM Explained by Pliny as 'eaten in three bites', but this is probably a folk-etymological interpretation of a loanword; see Thompson 1947 s.v.

**τρίζω** [v.] 'to buzz, gnash, squeak' (ω 5, 7, Hp., Arist., etc.). <ONOM>

•VAR More usually perf. (with present meaning) τέτριγα (Il.), late fut. τρίσω (Sm.), τριζήσω (Aq.).

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, δια-, ὑπο-, etc.

•DER τριγμός, τρισμός [m.] 'buzzing, gnashing, etc.', of animals (partridge, mouse, fish), also of teeth and saws (Hp., Arist., Thphr., Plu.); see ► τρίγλη. Compare τριξέλλας = *gryllus* (gloss.), and τριγόνια v.l. for τεττιγόνια (Arist.) in Gil Fernández 1959: 124f.

•ETYM Onomatopoeia like ► στρί(γ)ξ, Lat. *strīdeō* 'to sizzle, drone, creak', and probably also ToA *trisk-* 'to drone'. Cf. ► τρύζω.

**τριήρης** ⇒ ἐρέτης.

**τριόρχης** [m.] kind of hawk, perhaps 'buzzard, *Buteo vulgaris*' (Semon., Ar., Arist., Thphr., etc.). <?>

•VAR Also -ος.

•ETYM Probably a loanword, adapted to τρι- and ὄρχης; cf. ἐν-ορχος and ἐν-όρχης (see ὄρχις). This would be an allusion to the folk-etymological meaning 'three-testicled' = 'very lascivious' in Timae. 145 (Plb. 12, 15, 2). Details in Thompson 1895 s.v.

**τριοττίς** ⇒ ὄσσε.

**τρίπλαξ** ⇒ δίπλαξ.

**τρίς, τρίτος** ⇒ τρεῖς.

**τριτῦς** [f.] 1. 'third of a phyle' (Att.); τριττύ-αρχος [m.] 'principal of a τ.', whence -αρχέω (Pl., inscr., Poll. et al.), also τρικτυαρχέω (Delos III and II<sup>a</sup>). 2. 'sacrifice of three animals' (Call., sch.). 3. 'triad', of a threefold victory (Philostr.); τριτύς: τριάς 'number three, triad' (H.). <PG>

•VAR τριπτύς (Ceos), τρικτύς (Delos, see below), -ύος.

•DER τριττύα [f.] 'sacrifice of three animals' (Ister, Porph.; doubtful Epich. 187, rather to be read -κτύα); also τριττο(ι)α (Athens V<sup>a</sup>), τρικτοι<α> (Sophr. 3; uncertain) 'id.'; unclear: τρικτευαν κηναν (Delph. IV<sup>a</sup>), see on κηνα. Further τρίκτειρα (-εῖρα cod.) θυσία Ἐνυαλίου. θύεται δὲ πάντα τρία καὶ ἔνορχα 'sacrifice to Enyalios, all three are offered uncastrated' (H.); τριττοια (IG 1<sup>2</sup>, 76), accent unknown, probably after τριττός; thence -οα (IG 1<sup>2</sup>, 5; 5 [Eleusis V<sup>a</sup>]) with loss of the ι.

•ETYM The form τρικ-τύς supposes a velar enlargement, as seen also in τρισσός, τριττός, τριξός (from \*τριχ-ιός); an original voiceless -κ- is also conceivable, given Skt. *triká-* 'threefold'. This form would have been replaced by τριττύς on the model of τριττός. The third variant τριπτύς might have been introduced after τρί-πυχος 'threefold'. The variation more probably points to a Pre-Greek word (not in Fur.).

**τριφυλλίνος** [adj.] of οἶνος, from Trifolium in Campania (Ath. 26 e). <LW Lat.>

•VAR Hellenized in τριφύλλινος (Gal. 14, 19).

•ETYM From the toponym.

**τριχᾶϊκες (ἱ)** [m.pl.] epithet of the Dorians (τ 177, Hes. Fr. 191). <GR>

•ETYM Probably 'hair-shaking', from θρίξ, gen. τριχός 'hair', like κορυθ-αῖξ (χ 132) 'helmet-shaking': see for instance Leumann 1950: 65, in antiquity already Apollon. *apud* sch. τ 177, EM. Since early times, the word was taken to refer to the three tribes of the Dorians (thus already Hes. l.c.). Differently, Pisani *Arch. glott. ital.* 50 (1965): iff.

**Τροίη** [f.] 'the land of Troy'; in the Iliad already used for the town, Ilios. <LW Anat.>

•ETYM The word is no doubt derived from Τρῶες 'Trojans'. It has often been remarked that Troia was the land, not just the city (e.g. Page 1959: 294). It is explicitly stated by Del Valle Muñozerro *Glotta* 75 (1999): 68-81 that it did not indicate the town, but this is clearly wrong (cf. the name-epithet formulae εὐτείχεος, εὐπυργος, εὐρυάγνια, ἐξαλαπάξαι) and unnecessary; the meaning gradually shifted to the town (going to Troy always included fighting for Ilios).

The annals of Tudḥaliya IV, from around the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., mention *Wi-lu-ša* (= Ilios) and *Ta-ru-(ú-)i-ša* at the end of an expedition to the north. This must be understood as '[the city of] Wilusa and [the land of] Troy.' *Ta-ru-(ú-)i-ša* must be read /*Trūisa*/. Thus the original form had *Trū-*, which surfaced in Greek as Τρω-.

**τροπαλῖς, τρόπις, τρόπος, etc.** ⇒ τρέπω.

**τροφαλῖς, τροφή, τρόφις, etc.** ⇒ τρέφω.

**τροχός, τρόχος** ⇒ τρέχω.

**τρύβλιον** [n.] kind of drinking vessel of unknown shape and varying size (Ar., LXX, Ev. Matt.), also a measure of capacity (medic. etc.). <PG>

•ETYM Usually explained as 'bowl, dish' or 'bottle, jug'. No etymology. Fur.: 367 compares τρίβανον and considers the word to be Pre-Greek.

**τρῦγάω** [v.] 'to gather (especially of grapes), reap' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Aor. τρυγήσαι, fut. τρυγήσω.

•COMP Rarely with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, προ-, etc.; τρυγηφόρος 'bearing corn or grapes' (h. Ap.).

•DER τρύγη [f.] 'vintage, harvest' (h. Ap. 55, pap. II<sup>p</sup>, Ath., AP et al.), 'drought, dryness' (Nic. Th. 368), probably a backformation to the verb. Further derivatives: 1. τρύγ-ητος [m.] 'vintage, harvest' Th., Thphr., LXX, pap., etc.), -ητικός 'belonging to the vintage' (late pap.). 2. -ησις [f.] 'vintage' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>, Plu.), -ήσιμος 'ripe for harvest, vindemialis' (EM, H., gloss.). 3. -ημα [n.] 'harvest' (of honey; Atticista ined.). 4. -ητήρ [m.] (Hes. Sc.), -ητής [m.] (LXX, pap. et al.) 'winegrower, harvester', fem. -ήτρια (D., Poll.), -ητήριον [n.] 'wine-press' (gloss.); προτρυγητήρ, -τής name of a star which rises shortly before the vintage (since end V<sup>a</sup>). 5. τρύγος [n., m.] = τρύγη (Et. Gud., H.). 6. PN Τρυγ-αῖος (Ar.), -ία name of a Bacchante (Nonn.). 7. διατρύγιος, of ὄρχος (ω 342), perhaps 'ripening at different times'; but acc. to Schwyzler 1950: 449 'interspersed with fruit trees or vines'; Προτρύγαιος epithet of Dionysus (Ach. Tat., Ael.), θεοὶ II. (Poll.); προτρύγαια· ἐορτὴ Διονύσου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος (H.). Also τρύγει, τρυγεῖ, τρύσκει = ξηραίνει, -εται '[trans.] dries up, [intrans.] becomes dry' (Zonar.,

Theognost., H.), ξτρυγεν· ἐξηράνθη, ἐπὶ λίμνης 'was dried' (about a pool of water) (H.); for the meaning, compare τρύγη and τρυγαβόλια· εἰς ἃ καρποὺς ξηροὺς ἀπετίθεντο 'in which dried fruits are stored' (H.).

•ETYM No etymology, unless related to ►τρύξ. The words ὀτρύγη (-χη cod., alphabetically misplaced)· χόρτος, καλάμη 'pen, fodder, stalk or straw' (H., also medic. *apud* Gal.), and ὀτρυγηφάγος epithet of an ass (Archil. 97; in H. also ὀ-) are unrelated: the traditional explanation from τρυγη-φάγος with prothetic ὀ- must be rejected. It rather means ἀκανθο-φάγος; compare OE *risci bita* 'panicle-, bulrush-biter' = 'horse'.

**τρύγοιπος** [m.] 'must strainer' (Ar., Phryn., Poll.). <?>

•DER τρύγοιπέω [v.] (Suid.).

•ETYM From ►τρύξ 'must' and a second member from a verb meaning 'to sieve'. Frisk connects -οῖπος with Germanic \**seip-* 'to trickle', but this is connected by LIV<sup>2</sup> with εἶβω 'to let flow'. Alternatively, one may derive -οῖπος from PIE \**seikʷ-* 'to pour' as reconstructed by LIV<sup>2</sup>, whence, among others, OHG *sīhan* 'to sieve' is derived. Yet see ►ικμάς 'moisture', where the root is reconstructed as \**seik-*.

**τρύζω** [v.] 'to coo, murmur' (I 311, Hp., Hell. and late epic). <ONOM>

•VAR στρύζω (Erot.); rare aor. τρύξαι.

•COMP Also with ἐπι-, etc.

•DER τρυγών, -όνος [f.] 'turtle-dove' (Ar., Hell. and late epic), also as a fish name, 'stingray' (Epich., Arist.+); the naming motive is unclear: a euphemism? Diminutive τρυγόνιον [n.] (AP, Them.), also 'pigeonry' (Ps.-Dsc.), -ιος [adj.] (Opp.); τρυομός [m.] 'cooing, etc.' (Hp., Gal., H.). Furthermore, τρυλ(λ)ίζω (ἐν-) 'to chuckle, babble' (Ar. *Th.* 341, Hp., Poll.), whence -ιομός (Hp.); for the suffix, cf. θρυλίζω (see ►θρῦλος).

•ETYM Onomatopoeia in -ύζω, like γρύζω, ιύζω, etc.; cf. ►τρίζω.

**τρυήλη(ς)**, -ίς [f.] 'ladle' (Luc. *Lex.*, H.). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM From Lat. *truella* 'dipper, scoop', after τρύω and the instrument names in -ήλη, e.g. ξυήλη. Was Gr. τρυπήλα· τορύννη (H.) modelled on τρυπάω?

**τρύμη** [f.] '(grated) hole' (sch.), metaph. 'shrewd, cunning fellow' (Ar. *Nu.* 448). <GR>

•VAR Also τρυῖμα (sch.), -άτιον (EM); τρύμα (ῥ) = πόνος (Theognost. *Can.*)

•DER τρυμαλ-ία [f.] 'hole' (LXX, *Ev. Marc.*, etc.), also with obscene meaning (Sotad.), -ῖτις· Αφροδίτη (H.).

•ETYM Verbal noun from ►τρύω.

**τρύξ**, -γός [f.] 'young unfermented wine with yeast, must' (Ion. since Archil., com., Theoc., Thphr., etc.). <PG?>

•COMP See ►τρύγοιπος; also ὑπό-τρυγος 'yeasty' (Hp.).

•DER 1. τρυγ-ία [f.] 'yeast (of wine), young wine' (Ph. *Bel.*, medic., pap. I<sup>p</sup>), -ίας (οἶνος) 'id.' (LXX, pap. III<sup>p</sup> e.g.). 2. τρύγιος· τρυγία οἶνου ἢ ἐλαίου 'sediment of wine or olive oil' (H.). 3. τρύγ-ινον [n.] 'pigment made of yeast' (auct. *apud* Plin.). 4. -ώδης 'yeast-like, yeasty' (Arist., medic. et al.). 5. -ερός 'id.' (Polyzel. *Com.* V-IV<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Without certain etymology. The traditional connection with τάργανον 'spoiled wine, wine-vinegar' is neither phonetically nor semantically convincing. The formal identity with τρυγάω is remarkable, especially since both words refer to viniculture and wine production. Possibly, τρυγάω originally referred both to the harvesting and the first pressing of grapes, but was ousted from the second meaning by τραπεώ. Porzig *ZII* 5 (1927): 271f. pleads for Pre-Greek origin of both τάργανον and τρύξ, as well as that of related τρύγη.

**τρυπάω** [v.] 'to bore (through)' (I 384+) <IE \**truH-p-*?>

•VAR Aor. τρυπήσαι, etc.

•COMP Also with ἐκ-, δια-, etc.; ἐκ-τρυπάω also intr. 'to slip out through a hole' (ἐκτετρύπηκεν Ar. *Ec.* 337; from τρύπη?).

•DER 1. τρύπ-ημα, -ημάτιον [n.] 'bore-hole, hole' (com., Arist., Hero), with ἐκ- also 'chippings made by boring' (Thphr.). 2. -ησις (ἐκ-, περι-) [f.] 'boring (through)' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.+). 3. -ητής [m.] 'borer' (Pl. *Cra.*), -ητήρ [m.] 'pierced vessel' (Ph. *Bel.*). Further τρύπανον [n.] 'borer, push drill, trepan, strands of wood for making fire' (since I 385), whence -άνιον, -ανώδης, -ανικός, -ανίζω, -ανισμός (rare and late); also -άνη [f.] 'id.' (Hdn. Gr., H.), -ανία [f.] 'thong of a push drill' (Poll.). A back-formation is τρύπη, τρύπα [f.] 'hole' (Hdn. *Epim.*, AP, H., Eust.). As a first member in τρυπ-αλώπηξ 'a fox which slips in through a hole', designation of a cunning person (*Com. Adesp.*).

•ETYM Probably related to ►τρύω, whence also τρύχω; further afield are ►τρίβω, ►τείρω, and ►τετραίνω. Because of the late and rare attestation of τρύπη, the verb can hardly be denominative. It is more likely to be an old iterative formation. BSL. \**trup-*, \**troup-* has been compared, as in ORu. *trupō* 'trunk, (field of) corpses', Ru. *trupō* 'corpse', OPr. *trupis* 'log'; however, the circumflex vowel of BSL. (from PIE \**treup-*; see LIV<sup>2</sup>) does not match Greek -ῡ-, which is also found in τρύχω. A better candidate is PSlav. \**tryti* 'to rub' < \**truH-*; see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**treuH-*. In that case, τρυπάω would have a root enlargement \**-p-*.

**τρυτάνη** [f.] 'tongue of a balance' (IA). <GR>

•DER τρυτανεύω [v.] 'to weigh' (gloss.).

•ETYM Noun in -τάνη from the verb τρύω; it probably refers to the opening in which the tongue moves, "foramen, intra quod linum vel lingua, de quo examinatio est" (sch. on Pers. 1, 7 as an explanation of the borrowing Lat. *trutina*).

**τρυφάλεια** [f.] name of a helmet (Il., χ 183), literally 'provided with four φάλοι', = κόρυς τετράφαλος. <IE \**k<sup>w</sup>etuer-* 'four'>

•ETYM Compound of τρυ- 'four' (from the original zero grade of ►τέσσαρες, \**k<sup>w</sup>tur-* > \**k<sup>w</sup>tru-*; see also ►τράπεζα) and φάλος, with a suffix -εια-; originally an epithet of κόρυς.

**τρυφή, τρύφος** ⇒ θρύπτω.

**τρύχω** [v.] 'to wear out, exhaust, afflict', med. 'to wear down, pine' (mostly epic Ion., poet. since Il.). <GR>

•VAR Almost only pres. and ipf. (fut. ptc. τρύχοντα ρ 387).



•COMP Also with κατα-, etc.

•DER τρύχος [n.] 'rag, scrap, tattered garment' (S., E., Ar., Arist., Thphr.), diminutive τρυχ-ίον [n.] (Hp., Aret.), adj. -ηρός 'ragged, worn' (E.), 'stringing, afflicting' (Vett. Val.), after λυπηρός etc.; -ινος 'ragged' (J., Gal. et al.). Denominative verb τρυχόμαι, -όω (ἐκ-) = τρύχομαι, -ω in τετρυχωμένος (Hp., Th., etc.), τρυχ-ωθῆναι (Hp.), -ώσαι, -ώσιν (Th.), -οὔται (Mimn.), -όω (Gal., Hdn.); thence -ώσεις [f.pl.] 'afflictions' (Max. Tyr.).

•ETYM Formation like σμήχω, νήχω, ψώχω, etc. (Schwyzer: 702 and 685, Chantraine 1942: 330); see ► τρύω. See Mumm and Richter *IJDLR* 5 (2008): 33-108 on the enlargement -χ-.

**τρύω** [v.] 'to wear down, exhaust' (IA). <IE \*truH- 'rub'>

•VAR Aor. τρῦσαι, fut. τρύσω, mostly perf. pass. τέτρυμαι with ptc. τετρυμένος.

•COMP rarely with ἀπο-, κατα-, etc. As a first member in τρυσάνωρ 'wearing down men' (S.), τρυσίβιος 'wearing down life' (Ar.), τρυσίπυον [n.] 'mark, branded on a disused horse' (Eup., Poll., EM), back-formation τρύσιππος [m.], name of such horse (Theognost. *Can.*).

•DER τρῦσις· νόσος, πόνος 'illness, labor'; τρυσ[σ]όν· νοσερόν, λειπτόν, ἀσθενές 'of illness, weak, feeble or sickly' (H.); τρύος [n.] = πόνος (Call. *apud Et. Gen.*). Also τρύσκει· τρύχει, ξηραίνει 'wears out, dries' (H.).

•ETYM The same zero grade as in τρῦμα, -μη, τρῦπάω, τρύχω. The Balto-Slavic cognates (OCS *tryjo*, *tryti* 'to rub', Lith. *trūnėti*, 1sg. *trūniū* 'to spoil, putrefy, decay') point to a root \*treuH-; cf. LIV. This obviates the need to explain Gr. -ū- as taken from the pf.pass. τέτρυμαι. Cf. ► τείρω, ► τετραίνω with further litt.

**τρώγω** [v.] 'to gnaw, browse, eat', mostly of raw fruits (IA since ζ 90), later 'to eat' in general. <PG>

•VAR Aor. τραγεῖν (mostly with prefix, especially ἐν-), younger κατα-τρώξαι, fut. τρώξομαι, perf. pass. τέτρωγμαι.

•COMP Often with prefix, especially in aor., e.g. κατα-, ἀπο-, παρα-, ἐν-.

•DER A. With full grade: 1. τρώγες [m.pl.] = θηρία τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὀσπρίοις (Stratt.); 'weevil' (LSJ s.v.; like θρίψ, πτώξ, etc.); as a second member e.g. in κυμοτρώξ 'bean eater' (Ar.); cf. τρώγας (nr. 3. below). 2. τρώκ-της [m.] 'gnawer, nibbler, beguiler, knave' (ξ 289, ο 416, etc.); also name of a fish (Ael.), perhaps borrowed as Lat. *tructa* (WH s.v.); as a second member e.g. in πτερνο-τρώκτης (Batr.); -τίς [f.] (Tz.), -τικός 'greedy' (Ph., Tz.). 3. τρώγ-λη [f.] 'hollow, hole' (Hp., Herod., Arist., LXX, Batr.), diminutive -λῦδριον (Hdn. Gr.), -λίτης [m.] name of a bird (Hdn. *Epim.*, Eust.), -λίτις [f.] epithet of several plants = τρωγ(λ)ο-δύτις, -δυτική (*Edict. Diocl.* etc.; see below). As a first member in τρωγλο-δύτης [m.] 'hole-crawler', said of several animals, e.g. foxes, snakes, also wren, whence -δυτέω, -δυτικός (Arist. et al.); -δύνων [m.] mocking epithet of a mouse (Batr.). Further Τρωγο-δύται [m.pl.] name of an Ethiopian people (Hdt. 4, 183 codd. ABC, pap.; in Str. et al. also written Τρωγλο-), whence -δύτις, -δυτικός (D. S., Plu. et al.); cf. τρώγας· τρώγλας (H.). 4. τρωγ-άλια [n.pl.] (rarely sg.) 'sweets' (Pi., *Fr.* 124, Ar., Arist., Hell. inscr.). 5. -ανα [n.pl.] 'id.' (Sparta P). 6. -ματα [pl.] 'id.' (Philox.). 7. τρώξ-ις (ἀπό-) [f.] 'gnawing' (Hp., Arist.+),

whence -ιμος 'edible, in raw state' (Theoc.), -ιμα [n.pl.] 'edible fruits' (Hp., pap.). 8. -ανα [n.pl.] 'dry wood' (Thphr.) (cf. ► τραύξανα). 9. On ► τρωξαλλίς, -ίδος [f.] 'locust', see s.v.

B. With zero grade (from the aorist τραγεῖν): 1. τραγ-ανός 'edible' (Hdn. Gr., EM), like ἐδανός. 2. -αλίζω = τρώγω (Ar. V. 674), after πυκταλίζω etc.; -άλια = τρωγάλια (Theognost.). 3. -ήματα [n.pl.] (rarely sg.) 'sweets, dessert' (com., X., Arist., etc.), whence -ημάτια, -ηματώδης, -ηματίζω, -ημα-τισμός. On ► τράγος, see s.v.

•ETYM The vocalic alternation in τρώγ- : τραγ- is explained by LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*treh<sub>3</sub>(ǵ)- as a secondary zero grade τραγ- for original \*τρωγ-. LIV<sup>2</sup> also connects ToAB *trāsk-*, ToB *treššām* 'to chew', from a PTo. root \*tarsk-; see also Adams 1999: 319 s.v. *tresk*. Yet the IE connection is very doubtful, and had better be abandoned (the secondary zero grade is doubtful, and there is no root \*treg-). In view of the vocalic vacillation in τρώξανα, τραύξανα, and τρωξαλλίς, these are Pre-Greek words. As there is no IE etymology for τρώγω, this word could also be Pre-Greek (though τρώξανα, τραύξανα, and τρωξαλλίς are probably not derived from it).

**τρωξαλλίς** [f.] 'locust' (Alex., Dsc., Plin. et al.) <PG(S)>

•VAR Also τροξαλλίς and τριξελλας.

•ETYM = In Beekes 2008, I demonstrated that all words in -αλλ- are of Pre-Greek origin (with λλ from palatalized l, i.e. l'); thus the word is Pre-Greek. There is no reason to derive the word from τρώγω (note the difference in meaning!).

**τρωπάω** ⇒ τρέπω.

**τρωχάω** ⇒ τρέχω.

**τρώω** ⇒ τιτρώσκω.

**τύβαρις** [f.] designation of a Dorian salad = "ἐν ὄξει σέλινα", i.e. 'celery pickled in wine vinegar' (Poll. 6, 71). <?>

•VAR Acc. -iv.

•ETYM Unexplained. Neumann 1961: 86f. argues against a connection with the toponym Σύβαρις (thus Fick *BB* 22 (1897): 50) and instead, hesitantly, proposes to connect τύβαρις with HLuw. *tuwarsa-* 'wine, vine' (whence also θύρσος). Fur.: 262 is sceptical.

**τυγχάνω** [v.] 'to achieve an aim or goal, to meet, come across, encounter accidentally', intr. 'to meet, get or acquire incidentally'. <IE \*d<sup>h</sup>euǵh- 'hit the mark, meet'>

•VAR Aor. τυχεῖν, epic also τυχήσαι, redupl. subj. τετύχησι, opt. τετύχοιμι (late and artificial), fut. τεύξομαι (all Il.), perf. τετύχηκα (since κ 88), ptc. -ηκώς or -ηώς (P 748), τέτευχα (later Att., etc.), ἐτετεύχεε (Hdt.), τέτυχα (Aristeas etc.), med. aor. τεύξασθαι (LXX), pass. ἐν-ετεύχην, perf. ἐπι-τέτευγμα (Plb.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, ἐπι-, ἀπο-, συν-. In compounds, as a second member -τυχής, referring to τύχη and τυχεῖν, e.g. εὐτυχής 'lucky', δυστυχής 'unlucky', whence -ία, -έω, -ημα, -ησις (Pi., IA); very often to prefixed verbs, e.g. ἐπιτυχ-ής (to ἐπιτυχεῖν) 'successful', whence -ία, -ίη 'success, luck' (IA). Also -τυχος



(quite rare), e.g. ὁψίτυχος 'who attains (luck) late' (late). As a first member in PNs, e.g. Τυχ-ἀρετος, Τυχ-ανδρος.

•DER 1. τύχη [f.] 'coincidence, incident, luck, fate, destiny', also personified like Lat. *Fatum* (since *h. Cer.* 420, *Hes. Th.* 360; appellative since Archil. and Pi.); τυχηρός 'coincidentally, fortunately' (A. [lyr.], Ar., Arist., etc.), -αῖος 'coincidentally' (Plu., J., AP), τὸ Τυχαῖον 'templum Fortunae' (D. C., inscr.), ἡ Τυχαία = Τύχη (inscr. Palestine); τὰ Τυχεῖα 'festival in honor of Τύχη' (Lampsakos); -ικός 'coincidentally' (Plb., Phld., etc.), -άδιον [n.] diminutive (Eust.); -άζεσθαι· στοχάζεσθαι 'to aim (at)' (H.) (τυχασάμενον Erot. = στοχασάμενον Hp.); ἐντυχαλός· ἐντευκτική 'affable' (H.). Τύχων, -ωνος [m.] epithet of Hermes (Magnesia III<sup>a</sup>, Str., AP). 2. τεύξις [f.] 'attainment' (Plu., Arr., S. E.), earlier and more often to prefixed verbs, e.g. ἐπί- 'attainment, obtainment' (Arist. etc.), ἔν- 'meeting, visit, request' (Pl., Arist. etc.), ἀπο- 'failing, vain request' (Hell. and late), whence ἐπι-, ἐν-, ἀπο-τευκτικός, etc. 3. Το ἀπο-τυγχάνω, etc.: ἀπο-τενγμα 'failed enterprise' (Arist., etc.), ἐν-τενγμα 'encounter' (D. S.), ἐπί-τενγμα 'success, luck' (Hell. and late); but τεύγμια to ► τεύχω.

•ETYM The nasal present τυγχάνω (\**d<sup>h</sup>u-n-g<sup>h</sup>*), them. aor. τυχεῖν (\**d<sup>h</sup>ug<sup>h</sup>-e/o-*), and their derivatives preserve the more original meaning 'hit the mark, meet', as opposed to the thematic root present τεύχω 'to manufacture'. They are derived from the root \**d<sup>h</sup>eug<sup>h</sup>*- 'to hit', to which belong the Skt. stative *duhé* 'gives milk', Go. *daug* 'is fit' (see LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. for further cognates).

τυι [adv.] · ὦδε. Κρήτες 'thus (Cretan)', ἰν τυῖν· ἐν τούτῳ 'by this' (H.). To this Aeol. τυῖδε 'here' (Sapph.). <IE \**k<sup>w</sup>o-* 'somebody'>

•ETYM Formation after \**τυῖ* seen in Arg. Cret. ὁ-*τυῖ*, loc. of *πυ-* = Skt. *kū* 'where?', *kū-tra* 'where(to)?', Osc. *puf* 'where', etc. These derive from IE \**k<sup>w</sup>u-* which stands beside *k<sup>w</sup>o-* as in ► πόθεν, etc. Further, πῦς (Sophr.) and Rhod. ὄπυς arose from a change of *υῖ* to *υ* (Schwyzer: 199), and added -ς.

τύκος [m.] 'tool for processing stones, blacksmith's hammer, pickaxe', also 'battle axe' (Hdt. 7, 89: codd. κ and χ; Poll. 7, 118 and 125). <PG>

•VAR τύχος (Hell. inscr., H.; in E. HF 945 τύχαις cod. for τύχοις or τύκοις).

•COMP εὐτυχος (-χ-) 'willing, ready' (B., A., Theoc., Call., etc.), whence εὐτυκ-άζου (cod. -άζον)· εὐτυκ[τ]ον ἔχει, ἔτομον 'it stays ready, prepared' (H.) (hence to be restored in A. Th. 150 [lyr.]), εὐτυκίζω (EM), εὐτυκῶς· ῥαδίως καὶ τὰ ὅμοια 'easy or ready vel sim.' (H.).

•DER τυκ-ίζω 'to work stone' (Ar. Av. 1138, Poll.), -ίσματα (τυχ-) [n.pl.] 'stone buildings, walls' (E.), also ἀπο-τυκίζω = ἀποπελεκᾶω (Paus. Gr., H.), also with ἐκ-, προσ- (Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>); τυκ-ιον = τύκος (Eust.), τυκ-άνη [f.] 'thrashing equipment, flail' (Theognost., Eust., gloss.), -άνιον [n.] 'id.' (pap., gloss.). Also τυτάνη· ὄργανόν τι, ᾧ χρῶνται εἰς τὸν ἀλοητὸν τοῦ σίτου 'tool which is used for threshing grain' (H.), τρυγάνη· ἡ τὸν σίτον ἀλοῶσα 'she who is threshing grain' (gloss.), after τρυγάω?

•ETYM Traditionally, τύκος is derived from a PIE root \**teuk-*, as in OCS *tknŭti*, Ru. *tknut* 'to thrust' and, with a different ablaut, CS *is-tukati* 'to cut from metal, pour, found', OCS *tykati*, Ru. *týkat* 'to thrust', Latv. *tūkāt* 'knead, press'; cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**teuk-*. The aspirated forms τύχος, -ίζω are supposed to be due to the influence of

τεύχω. Yet the consonant variation rather seems to demonstrate that the word is Pre-Greek; influence of τεύχω is improbable, as its meaning is not specific enough.

τύλη [f.] 'bulge, callosity, pad, cushion' (Sapph., com., pap., AP, etc.). <PG?>

•VAR Also -ῦ- (AP); τύλος [m.] 'bulge, callosity, hunch, nail, peg' (X., Ar., Nic., Hero, Str., etc.).

•COMP τυλ(ο)-υφάντης [m.] 'cushion weaver' (Hyp., pap. VI-VII<sup>a</sup>), -ειδής 'bulge-, callosity-like' (medic.), περίτυλος 'surrounded by τύλοι' (Delos), 'callous' (Sor.).

•DER 1. Diminutives τυλ-ιον [n.] 'small nail' (Hero et al.), -άριον [n.] to τύλη or τύλος (pap. and inscr. III-VI<sup>a</sup>), -αίνιον [n.] 'small callosity' (Aret.), from \*τύλαινα after φλύκταινα? 2. -εῖον [n.] 'pad' (S. Fr. 468, Hell. pap.). 3. τύλαρος· μάνδαλος, τυλαρώσας· μανδαλώσας (H.). 4. τύλ-ων, -ωνος [m.] 'provided with a callous skin' (gloss.). 5. -όεις 'callous' (Nic.), -ώδης 'id.' (Plu., medic.). 6. τυλόομαι 'to get callosities', -όω 'to make callous' (X., Theoc., medic. etc.), also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, περι- etc. Thence τυλωτός, τετυλωμένος 'knobbed' (Hdt.); thence (ἐκ-, περι-)τύλωσις (medic. etc.), adj. -ωπτικός; -ωμα [n.] (Poll., H.). 7. τυλ-ίσσω, -ίττω 'to make into a bulge, twine into a ball, swathe (up)' (com., Hp., Ev. Matt., Luc., Gal., etc.), almost only prefixed, especially with ἐν-; τύλ-ιγμα (H.) as an explanation of ἔλιξ, τυλιγμός [m.] 'swathing' (sch.). Backformation ἐντύλη [f.] 'swaddling cloth' (pap. II<sup>a</sup>). Unclear is τύλλος [m.] 'box, chest' vel sim. (D. C. 79, 20).

•ETYM Because of its vacillating meaning and its short form, τύλη, -ος can easily be provided with an etymology. Various cognates have been proposed: the Balto-Slavic group of OPr. *tūlan* [adv.] 'many', Lith. *tūlas* 'several, rather many', *tulis* 'nail on a car, plug, nail of an axle, etc.', OCS *tylъ*, Ru. *tyl* 'neck', but these presuppose \**tuH-*; Germanic ON *pollr* 'tree, peg', OE *poll*, MLG *dolle*, MoHG *Dolle* 'thole', MLG (Westfäl.) *dülle* 'booty', all seemingly < PIE \**tul-no-*; also, Lat. *tullius* 'gush', W *twl* 'round elevation', Alb. *tul* 'piece of meat without bone, roe', Skt. *tūlam* [n.] 'plume, fan, bundle, etc.'. Greek σάλος 'unquiet movement of the sea, gulf of waves' (cf. Lat. *tullius*) has also been connected as \**tul(H)o-*. Yet none of these IE words is a close match for τύλη in form and meaning, so the word may rather be Pre-Greek.

τύμβος 1 [m.] 'mound, burial mound, grave' (Il.). <PG>

•COMP τυμβοχόος 'raising a grave' (A.), τυμβοχο-έω 'to raise a burial mound' (Hdt., v.l. Φ 323), -η [f.] 'raising a burial mound' (v.l. Φ 323), ὀθινότυμβος 'interred in a foreign country' (Man.).

•DER 1. Adj. τύμβ-(ε)ος 'belonging to the burial mound' (Lyc., inscr.), -ίδιος 'id.' (Orph.). 2. -ίτης λᾶας 'gravestone' (AP). 3. -ίον [n.] diminutive (sch.). 4. τυμβᾶς γυνή· τυμβάδας ἔλεγον τὰς φαρμακίδας, ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τοὺς τύμβους διατρίβειν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀκρωτηριάζειν (H.). 5. -οσύνη name of a wall in Constantinople, which was made of tombstones (VP). 6. τυμβεύω [v.] 'to bury', intr. 'to rest in the grave' (S., E., Ar., etc.), ἐν-τυμβεύομαι 'to rest in the grave' (Ph.), whence -εῖα [f.] 'burial' (Suid.), -εῦμα [n.] 'grave' (S.), 'corpse' (E.). Several hypostases, e.g. ἐπτύμβ-ιος (A., S., Plu., AP etc.), -ίδιος (A. [lyr.] etc.) 'at or on the grave, belonging to the grave'.

•ETYM Beside τύμβος, we find Corcyr. τύμος (VI<sup>a</sup>; the length is metrically ensured) with the same meaning. The variation shows that the word is Pre-Greek (not

recognized by Fur.). Lat. *tumulus* 'earth-hill' and Arm. *t'umb* 'landfill, earthen wall' may contain the same Pre-Greek/Mediterranean word. It is possible that Celtic forms such as Mlr. *tomm* [m.] 'small hill', MW *tom* [m., f.] 'dung, mound' belong here, as well.

**τύμβος 2** [m.] in ὦ τύμβε, referring to an old man (Ar. *Lys.* 372), γέροντα τύμβον (E. *Med.* 1209), γέροντος ... τύμβου (*Heracl.* 167); τυμβογέρων· ἐσχατογήρως καὶ παρηγγμένος τῇ διανοίᾳ (H., Ar. *Fr.* 35, *Com. Adesp.* 1172 et al.); παρτετύμβει· παραφρονεῖ, ἡμάρτηκεν (H.); τετυμβωμένος = *decrepitus* (gloss.). <GR>  
•ETYM Clearly a metaphorical use of τύμβος 1.

**τύμπανον** [n.] 'kettledrum, hand drum' (IA *h<sup>2</sup>*:*Hom.* 14, 3), also metaphorically as a technical expression, 'instrument of torture' (Ar. etc.), 'water wheel' (Plb., pap.), 'drum in a machine' (Hero; also -ος [m.]), etc. <PG(V)>  
•VAR Also τύπανον.

•COMP τυμπανότερης 'delighting in drums' (Orph.), φρεατοτύπανον [n.] 'water wheel' (Plb.).

•DER 1. τυμπάνιον [n.] 'machine drum' (Hero), designation of a hair style (Str.), etc. 2. -εύς [m.] 'cylinder' (Hero). 3. -άριος [m.] 'drummer' (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>). 4. -ίας, Ion. -ίης (ὑδρῶς) [m.] 'kind of dropsy (by which the stomach is stretched like a drum)', or 'who is afflicted by dropsy' (medic.). 5. -ίτης [m.] 'kind of dropsy' (medic.). 6. -ικός 'afflicted by dropsy' (Alex. Trall.). 7. -όεις ὑδρῶς (Nic.). 8. -ώδης 'kettledrum-like' (Sor.). 9. τυμπανίζω 'to beat the kettledrum, to drum' (com., LXX, Str. etc.), also = ἀπο- (Ep. *Hebr.*, Luc.); thence τυμπανισμός [m.] 'drumming' (Ar. etc.), -ιστής [m.] 'drummer' (Str., pap.), plur. name of a play by Soph., -ιστρία [f.] (D., Luc.); ἀποτυμπανίζω 'to stretch on the wheel, to torture, beat' (Lys., D., Arist., pap., etc.), -ισμός (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*). 10. τυμπανόμαι 'to be stretched like a drum' (*Hippiatr.*).

•ETYM Formation like ὄργανον, etc. Traditionally (e.g. *EM* 771) connected with τύπτω (whence the spelling τύπανον), with a nasal of PIE or secondary origin. Others have regarded it as a Semitic loanword (cf. Aram. *tuppa*, Hebr. *top*, etc. 'to beat the drum'), with folk-etymological adaptation to τύπτω and the instrument names in -ανον. Fur.: 287 suggests that the instrument, used in the cult of the Magna Mater and Dionysus, rather comes from Asia Minor. The variant may also point to Pre-Greek origin (prenasalization).

**τυννός** [adj.] 'small, inferior' (Call., Theoc. et al.). <?>

•DER τυννοῦτος, -ί 'this small' (Ar.), after τηλικούτος.

•ETYM The geminate -vv- is possibly hypocoristic; cf. ► τυτθός.

**τύντλος** [m.] 'faeces, mud' (Men., sch. Ar. *Pax* 1148). <?>

•DER τυντλ-ώδης 'muddy, turbid', of speech (*Com. Adesp.*), -άζω (Ar.) of vines, which is explained in various ways: πιλοπατέω, ἐπιρραίνειν πηλῶ, etc. (see LSJ).

•ETYM Unexplained; a contamination of τύρβη and ἄντλος seems improbable.

**τύπτω** [v.] 'to poke, stab, beat with a weapon or a stick'. On the suppletive system τύπτω : ἐπάταξα : πέπληγα, see Kölligan 2007: 303ff. <IE \*steup- 'push, beat'>

•VAR Aor. τύψαι, also τυπεῖν (E. [lyr.]), τυπτήσαι (late), pass. τυπῆναι, also τυφθῆναι and τυπτηθῆναι (late), perf. pass. τέτυμμαι (all Il.), fut. τυπτήσω (Att.), τύψω (late), perf. act. τετύπηκα (Philostr., Poll.), τέτυφα (Theodos.), ptc. τετύποντες? (Call.).

•COMP Also with προ-, κατα-, etc.

•DER A. τύπος [m.] 'blow, beat; impression, embossed work, relief, outline, form; image, example, type' (post-Hom.). Often as a second member, e.g. ἀντίτυπος 'causing a counter-blow, striking back, echoing, obstinate, harsh; containing or matching an image', as a subst. [n., m.] 'image' (IA); thence ἀντιτυπ-ία, -έω, -ής, -ησις. From τύπος are derived: 1. diminutive τυπ-ίον, -ίδιον [n.] 'small example' (Hell. inscr.), -άριον [n.] 'small figure' (Tz.). 2. -ίς [f.] 'club, hammer' (A. R., Call. etc.), -άς [f.] 'id.' (S. *Fr.* 844, H.). 3. -ετός [m.] = κοπετός (D. H.), -ητός 'id.' (epigr.). 4. τύπης· πλήκτης (H. Theognost.; probably for -της). 5. -ίας χαλκός 'hammered copper' (Poll.; antonym τροχίας). 6. -ικός (adv. -ικῶς) 'figurative, exemplary' (Plu., Gal., Ep. *Cor.* etc.), -ώδης 'comprising the main features, in outline' (Arist., Str., etc.). Verbs: 7. τυπ-όμαι, -όω, very often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀντι-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, ὑπο-, 'to receive an impression, be formed; to form, mould, model' (IA), whence -ωσις, -ωμα, -ωτής, -ωτός, -ωτικός (ἀνα-, etc.). 8. τυπ-άζομαι = -όμαι (Opp.); τυπάζειν· κόπτειν, τυπαστήριον· τὸ τῶν ἀλιέων στυννίον (H.).

B. τυπή [f.] 'blow, thrust' (E 887, A. R., Nic.); τύμια [n.] 'blow, stab, wound' (Hp., A. Arist., etc.); τύψης [m.] 'striking, wound' (J., Nic.), with ὑπό- technical expression of unclear meaning (Delos II<sup>a</sup>). C. Also ἐντυπᾶς κεκαλυμμένος 'emerge in outline', i.e. 'enshrouded tightly, closely' (Ω 163; similarly A. R., Q. S.; = ὥστε τὸν τύπον τοῦ σώματος φαίνεσθαι H.), and ἐντυπαδία· ὅταν τῷ ἱματίῳ τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς πρόσωπα κατελημμένος στήσῃ (H.), but cf. Latte ad loc.; cf. ἐν-τυπος 'embossed, coined' (ἀργύριον Poll.), 'able to be impressed' (Phot.), ἐντυπόμαι 'to be imprinted', -όω 'to imprint' (Arist., Hell. and late), ἐντετύπασται 'he is enshrouded' (Pisidia). With verbal reference προτυπής 'pressing forward' (Plot.; H. R.); ὀροτύπος 'beating the mountain' (ὑδωρ; A. *Th.* 85 [lyr.]), ὄρει- (ὄρεο-, ὄροι-)τύποι [pl.] 'mountain worker', and -ία, -ίη (Hp., Thphr., Nic. et al.). Blanc *RPh* 70 (1996): 199-210 thinks that the first element comes from ὄρευς 'mule', which were lashed on to make them advance. On ► τύμπανον, see s.v.

•ETYM Built on PIE \*(s)teup- 'to push, beat', as attested in Lat. *stupeō* 'to be(come) numb, amazed', *stuprum* 'dishonor', Albanian *shtyp* 'to crush', etc.; probably also

► στύπος. See LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*(s)teup-.

**τύραννος** [m.] 'absolute ruler, monarch, tyrant', rarely fem. 'lady, princess', also adj. 'dictatorial, imperious, ruling' (h. *Mart.*, Pi., IA, etc.). <PG>

•COMP μισοτύραννος 'hating tyrants' (IA), τυραννοκτόνος [m., f.] 'killing tyrants' (late).

•DER 1. τυρανν-ίς (scil. ἀρχή?) [f.] 'autocracy, despotism, tyranny' (Pi., IA since Archil.). 2. -ία [f.] 'id.' (Xenoph., late pap.). 3. -εῖον, often plur. -εῖα 'residence of an autocrat' (Str., D. S., J., Plu., etc.). 4. -ικός 'of an autocrat, violent, tyrannical' (since A.). Verbs: 5. -εῶ (after βασιλεύω), -έω (rarely with συν- etc.) 'to be an autocrat, to rule (absolutely)' (IA). 6. desiderative -ησεῖω 'to strive after tyranny' (Sol. *apud* D.

L.). 7. -ιάω 'to be greedy for power, pursue tyranny' (J., D. L. et al.). 8. -ίζω 'to take the part of tyrants' (D.).

•ETYM A Pre-Greek word. None of the alternative hypotheses is plausible.

**τύρβη** [f.] 'confusion, noise, tumult' (Hp., Isoc., X., Plb. etc.); <PG>

•VAR σύρβη (Suid., Eust.)

•DER Adv. τύρβᾱ (σύρβα H.) 'pell-mell' (A. Fr. 311, 3 = M. 61 8, 3; acc.sg.). Hence τυρβάζω (ἀνα-) 'to stir up, confuse, revel' (Ar. et al.), -ασία [f.] (Poll., H.), -ασμα (uncertain; late). Unclear τύρβησις· ἡλιβατὸν ἀέρα and Τυρβηγνός· ἐπίθετον τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος (H.). Also συρβάβυττα (?) 'higgledy-piggledy' (Ar. Fr. 866); συρβηγνέως = αὐλητής (σύρβη γὰρ ἡ αὐλοθήκη) ἢ ταρᾶχώδης (H. = Cratin. 84), συρβηγνέων χορός (Ath., Suid.).

•ETYM The variation τύρβη - σύρβη points to a palatal /t/ and therefore to a Pre-Greek word (not in Fur.). A connection with Lat. *turba* 'confusion, noise, crowd, troop' and *turma* 'troop, squadron, crowd' is difficult. Latin *turba* might be a loanword from Greek, cf. E-M.

**τύρός** [m.] 'cheese' (Il.). <IE \**teuH-* 'swell'>

•COMP τυρόκηστις [f.] 'cheese-grater, cheese-knife' (Ar., Delos III<sup>a</sup> etc.) (see on -κναίω); πολύτυρος 'rich in cheese' (Pherecr.). See also ► βούτυρον (-ος).

•DER 1. Diminutive τυρ-ίον [n.] (com., pap. etc.), -ίσκος (late), -άσιον [n.] (pap. III<sup>a</sup>; or 'tool for preparing cheese?'). 2. -ακίνας [m.] (Dor.) 'kind of cheese-cake' (Philox. V-IV<sup>a</sup>), presupposes earlier \*-ακίνας, after ὀμφάκ-ινος, etc. 3. -ίτης (πλακοῦς) 'cheese-cake' = Lat. *scriblita* (gloss.). 4. -όεις, -οῦς, Dor. -ῶς, fem. -οῦσσα, -ῶσσα (scil. ἄρτος, πλακοῦς) 'cheese-like, made of cheese' (Sophr., Theoc. et al.), -ῶδης 'id.' (Hp., Cos IV-III<sup>a</sup>, Plu.). Verbs: 5. τυρ-εύω 'to make cheese', metaphorically 'to concoct' (Com. Adesp., D., Arist. etc.), also with ἐν-; -εύματα [n.pl.] 'curdled food, cheese' (E.), 'intrigue' (Com. Adesp.), -εῖα [f.] 'id.', also 'making cheese, cheese-press' (Tab. Heracl., Myscel IV<sup>a</sup>, Arist. etc.), -ευσίς [f.] 'making cheese' (Arist.), -ευτήρ [m.] 'maker of cheese' (of Ἐρμῆς, AP). 6. -έω 'to make cheese' in aor. ἐτύρησας (Alcm.). 7. -όομαι, -όω 'to become cheese', also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-, συν- (Ar., LXX, Dsc., etc.), whence -ωτός, -ωσις (late).

•ETYM Cognate with Av. *tūiri-* [n.] 'cheeselike milk, whey', *tūiriia-* 'curdled, of milk'; perhaps also with MInd. (Apabhr.) *tūra-* 'cheese'. Further connections are disputed. Phonologically, τύρός can be derived neither from PIE *tuer-* 'to stir' (see ► ὀτρύνω, ► τορύνη, ► τύρβη), nor from PIE *\*tuerH-* 'to hold, fence in' (whence Lith. *tvėrti* 'seize, fence in' etc.). Phonologically unproblematic, and semantically possible, is a derivation as *\*tuH-ró-* to PIE *\*teuH-* 'to be strong, swell' whence, for instance, RuCS *tyti* 'to become fat'.

**τύρσις, -ιος, -ιδος** [f.] 'tower, keep, turret; palace, castle, fortified town' (Pi., Hp., X., Hell. poet. etc.); in H. also τύρρις· πύργος, ἑπαλξίς, προμαχών and τύρσος· τὸ ἐν ὕψει οἰκοδόμημα. <PG>

•VAR Plur. -εις.

•DER Diminutive τυρρίδιον [n.] (Sicily).

•ETYM A loanword from a Mediterranean language (Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 110ff. with many details), borrowed into Latin as *turris*. On the several attempts to derive τύρσις, *turris* as a borrowing from an IE language (e.g. Illyr. TN *-dorgis* like Illyr. Bou-δοργίς etc., Lyd. TN Τύρρα, Τύρσα with Τυρσήνοί and *\*Turs-ci* > *Tusci* beside *Etrusci*), see Heubeck 1961: 65f.

**τυτθός** [adj.] 'small, tender, young', e.g. τυτθά κεάσαι 'to chop into small pieces'; adv. τυτθόν, -ά 'a little, a bit, hardly, just barely' (epic poet. since Il.). <ONOM>

•ETYM A nursery word with hypocoristic gemination and aspiration. With a similar form and meaning, compare MoSw. *tutta* 'little girl', with a different meaning OHG *tut(t)a* 'nipple' etc. Cf. ► τυννός.

**τυτώ** [f.] · ἡ γλαῦξ 'the little owl' (H.). <ONOM>

•ETYM Onomatopoeic, rendering the cry of the owl; cf. Plaut. *Men.* 653 *noctuam, quae 'tū, tū' usque dicat*, also Lat. *tutubāre* 'to cry, of an owl', Lith. *tūtūoti, tutūtis* 'first flute, pipe', name of a bird, 'crow, hoopoe' vel sim., MoHG *tuten* etc. Similarly in Greek τοῦτις· ὁ κόσσυφος, ταῦτασος· ὄρνις ποιός (H.).

**τύφη (ῦ?)** [f.] name of a plant used for padding cushions and beds, 'Typha angustata' (Thphr., Str., Dsc.), designation of a head-covering (Tz.; cf. Lat. *tūfa*). <IE *\*tuH-bh-* 'hump, bump'>

•DER -ήρης [adj.] 'made of τ.' (AP).

•ETYM Gr. τύφη is often regarded as cognate with Lat. *tūber*, -*eris* [n.] 'hump, bump, tumour', and Gm. words such as ON *þúfa* [f.] 'hill in grassland', OE *þūf* [m.] 'tuft, bundle of feathers'; they may or may not be derived from PIE *\*teuH-* 'to be strong, swell'. Yet the meaning of the Greek word is sufficiently different to render its connection with the other words purely hypothetical. Also, the length of the -ύ- is uncertain.

**τυφλός** [adj.] 'blind, dark, blocked, clogged' (since Z 139). <IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eubh-* 'foggy'>

•COMP τυφλόστομος 'with blind mouth' (Str.), ὑπότυφλος 'half-blind, weak-sighted' (Plu. etc.).

•DER 1. many animal names, such as snakes: τυφλ-ίας, -ώψ, -ῖνος, -ίνης (MoGr. dial. -ίτης), and fish: -ῖνος, -ήν, -ινίδιον. 2. -ότης [f.] 'blindness, obstruction' (Democr., Pl., Gal., Plu.). 3. -ώδης (H.) as an explanation of βλάβος. 4. τυφλ-όομαι 'to go blind', -όω 'to blind, obstruct' (Pi., IA), also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc.; -ωσις (ἀπο-, ἐκ-) [f.] 'loss of sight' (IA). 5. τυφλ-ώττω 'to go blind, be blind' (Hell. and late).

•ETYM τυφλός belongs to the numerous adjectives in -λός that indicate physical or psychical defects, e.g. σιφλός, χωλός, τραυλός, δειλός (Chantraine 1933: 238). No exact correspondence exists outside Greek. The root could be the same as in OIr. *dub* 'black' < *\*d<sup>h</sup>ubh-u-*, and Go. *daufs*, ON *dauftr*, OHG *toub* 'deaf' < PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>oubh-o-*. The original meaning seems to have been 'obstructed, clogged, dark'. Due to the short *u* in Celtic, the adjective cannot be derived from the verbal root PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-* (cf. ► τύφομαι 'to smoke').

**τύφοι** [m.] · σφήνες 'wedges' (H.). <IE? *\*d<sup>h</sup>eubh-* 'peg, wedge'>

•ETYM In theory, one might connect Germanic words such as MLG *dövel*, MHG *tübel*, MoHG *Döbel*, *Dübel* [m.] (with LG initial), MoE *dowel* 'spool, peg, tap, nail' < PGm. \**dub-ila-*; with gemination MoSw. *dubb*, MoNw. *dobb* 'iron bolt', and verbal forms: ON *dubba* 'to equip; to dub someone knight', OE *dubbian* 'to dub someone knight'. Thus, one might reconstruct PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>ub<sup>h</sup>-* 'to hit'. Yet the isolated position of the Greek gloss calls for caution: the technical meaning 'wedge' may have arisen in various ways.

**τύφομαι, -ω** [v.] 'to smoke, smoulder, glow', act. 'to make smoke, fume, singe, burn slowly' (IA). <IE \**d<sup>h</sup>uH-* 'smoke, steam'>

•VAR Aor. τυφῆναι (Ar. etc.), θῦναι (Plb., H., Suid.), fut. τυφήσομαι (Men.), perf. τέθυμαι, τετύφθαι (Pl., Poll.), plpf. ὑπετέθυπτο (Apolloph. Com. V<sup>a</sup>),

•COMP Also with ἐπι-, ὑπο-, etc.

•DER 1. τυφός [m.] 'kind of fever' (Hp.), 'conceit, stupidity, fallacy, folly' (Hell. and late); as a first member in τυφογέρων 'feeble-minded old man' (Ar.). Thence τυφώδης 'feverish' (Hp.), 'befogged, bloated' (Vett.Val.); -όομαι (mostly perf. τετύφωμαι), -όω 'to be befogged, foolish, bloated', act. 'to befog, delude' (Att., Hell. and late), rarely with ἐκ-, ὑπο-, ἐπι-; -ωσις [f.] 'befoggedness' (Tz.); backformation ὑπότυφος 'bloated' (Ion Chius). 2. τυφεδών, -όνος [f.] 'stupidity' (Call. et al.), -εδανός 'stupid' (Ar. V. 1364). 3. ὑπόθυψις [f.] 'spurring on, incitement' (Plb.), θύψις 'fuming, singing' (Suid.). 4. Τυφ-άων, -άονος (h. Ap., Hes. etc.), -ῶν, -ῶνος (Pi. et al.); -ώς, gen. acc. -ῶ (Pi., A., Ar., Hdt.) [m.] 'whirlwind', personified 'Typhon, Typhos'; also -ωεύς, -ωέος [m.] 'Typhoeus' (B 782f., Hes. Th. 821, h. Hom., A. R. etc.); hence adj. -αόνιος, -αονίς, -ώνιος, -ωνικός (late).

•ETYM All verbal forms seem to be based on the present. There are no exact correspondences of τυφ- outside Greek. It is thought to be derived from the PIE root \**duh<sub>2</sub>-* / \**duh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to smoke' (see ►θύω, also ►θυμός and ►θύμιος) by means of an enlargement \*-b<sup>h</sup>-. See LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**d<sup>h</sup>ueh<sub>2</sub>-*. ►τυφλός is probably unrelated, but see s.v.

**τύχη** ⇒ τυγχάνω.

**τωθάζω** [v.] 'to mock, sneer, jeer' (IA); also θωτάζει· ἐμπαίζει, χλευάζει, ἐπιθωτάζοντες· ἐπιχλευάζοντες (H.). <?>

•VAR Aor. τωθάσαι, fut. -άσομαι.

•COMP Also with ἐπι- etc.

•DER τωθ-ασμός (ἐπι-) [m.] 'sneering, mockery, banter' (Arist., Plb., D. H. etc.), -άσματα [pl.] 'id.' (Suid.), -αστής [m.] 'scorner' (Poll., H.), -αστικός 'mocking, sneering' (D. H., D. L., Poll.).

•ETYM Unexplained.

## Υ

**ὕ** [prep., pref.] <IE \**ud* 'up'>

•VAR Cypr. in ὕ τύχα = ἐπι τύχη (also ἰ(ν) τύχαι), also ὕ-χιρος [f.] 'handsel', corresponding to Att. τὰ ἐπίχειρα.

•ETYM Traditionally, ὕ is identified with Skt. *ut-*, *ud-* 'upwards, up', Go. *ut* 'out(wards)', MoHG *aus*, etc. < PIE \**ud*. The analysis of ὕχηρος seems certain, but for ὕ τύχα, other analyses are possible (Cypr. ὕν = ὄν 'ανά', Risch *Kratylos* 10 (1965): 92; or from earlier σὺν τύχα, Thumb-Scherer 1959: 172).

The same preposition has also been claimed to be present in the expression υφαις ζαν *u-wa-i-se za-ne* 'διὰ βίου (?)' (ICS 217, 10), but this is rather doubtful; see for instance the analysis of Weiss MSS 55 (1994): 151f., positing \**h<sub>2</sub>iu(u)-h<sub>2</sub>ei-s-* 'bis in [alle] Ewigkeit' for *u-wa-i-se*. See further ►ὑσπλη(γ)ξ, ►ὑστριξ, ►ὑστερος.

**ὑαίνα** [f.] 'hyena' (Hdt., Arist. et al.), also the name of a sea-fish 'Charax puntazzo' (Numen. *apud* Ath., Ael.); with the same meaning also ὑαινίς [f.] (Epich.); see Thompson 1947 s.v. and Strömberg 1943: 100f. <GR?>

•DER ὑαίν-(ε)ίος 'of the hyena' (Plin., Cyran.), -ίτης [m.] designation of a stone (probably after the color).

•ETYM Derived from ὕς 'swine' on the model of λέαινα, λύκαινα, etc. DELG thinks that the animal resembled a swine by its airs and its bristly hair. Yet the hyena is a species of its own and looks more like a dog than a sow; could it be that ὑαίνα replaces a loanword or a Pre-Greek word?

**ὑάκινθος** [m., f.] 'hyacinth' (Ξ 348, Sapph., Thphr., Theoc., Paus. et al.); designation of a blue cloth or a blue color (LXX, Ph., J., pap.); also of a precious stone (late). <PG>

•DER ὑακίνθ-ινος 'of the hyacinth, hyacinth-colored' (Od., E., X., Samos IV<sup>a</sup>, etc.), -ώδης 'hyacinth-like' (Dsc.), -ίζω [v.] 'to resemble a hyacinth' (Plin.). Also the name of a Laconian youth, who according to legend was killed by Apollo with an unfortunate throw of the discus. He probably was a Pre-Greek god who was superseded by Apollo, and sank to be a mere hero; but he also merged with this god to become Ἀπόλλων Ὑακίνθος (-θος). Thence τὰ Ὑακίνθια (Cret. φακ-), name of a Doric festival (Hdt., Th., X.), Ὑακίνθιος (Cret. Βακ-) [m.] Doric month-name (Sparta, Rhodos, Thera, Crete, etc.). On the Ionic sound substitution in Ὑακίνθος for original γάκινθος, see Schwyzler: 224.

•ETYM A clear Pre-Greek word, cf. Fur.: 242, 377 (but not with a prothetic *u-*!). It is disputed whether ὑάκινθος is related to Lat. *vaccinium* 'blueberry, whortleberry'; Deroý *Glotta* 35 (1956): 185ff. and Meillet *MSL* 15 (1908-1909): 162 consider both

words to be independent loans from a Mediterranean language, to be connected with Lat. *bāca* 'berry' and Gr. Βάκχος.

**ὑαλος** [f., m.] 'transparent stone, e.g. alabaster, crystal, amber' (IA), 'glass' (Pl., Arist. etc.; in Hdt. χυτή λίθος). <PG>

•VAR Also ὑελος.

•COMP ὑαλουργός (ὑελ-) [m.] 'glass-maker' (Str., pap.), whence -ικός, -εῖον (late). Also ὑάλη 'id.' (H., Phot., Suid.).

•DER 1. ὑάλ-ινος (ὑέλ-) 'glassy' (Corinn., Hp., Ar., inscr., etc.), -εος, -οῦς 'id., transparent like glass' (Str., pap., AP etc.), -ικός 'serving for glass-making' (I.), -ῖτις (ἄμιμος, γῆ) 'id.' (Thphr., Str.), -όεις 'glass-color' (AP), -ώδης 'glass-like' (medic.). 2. ὑαλ-ᾱς [m.] 'glass-maker' (late inscr.); -ωμα [n.] name of an eye-disease of horses (Hippiatr.; cf. γλαύκωμα); diminutive ὑέλιον [n.] 'mirror' (Suid.); hence (or from ὑελος?) ὑ(ε)λι-άριος [m.] (Asia Minor). 3. ὑαλ-ίζω (ὑελ-) [v.] 'to have glass-color' (Dsc., Ph. Byz. et al.).

•ETYM A Pre-Greek word, cf. Fur.: 351; it may have had palatal *ʎ*, cf. the variant ὑελλος. This may also explain the coloring of the preceding *a* to *e*. The ancient grammarians, such as Phryn., call ὑαλος Attic, and ὑελος Hellenistic. There is a remarkable similarity with the first member of the North-European name for amber, *suali-ternicum* (called "Scythian" by Plin. HN 37,33). A similar identity of the words for 'glass' and 'amber' is found in OGM. *glēsum* [Plin., Tac.] 'amber' and OHG *glas*.

**ὑβός** [adj.] 'hunchbacked' (Hp., Theoc.). <PG?>

•VAR codd. ὕβος (for ὕ-?) [m.] 'hunchback, hump', of a camel, a Cyprian ox (Arist.), ὕβε [voc.] (Theoc. 5,43), perhaps metrically conditioned.

•DER ὑβόομαι 'to become hunchbacked' (Gal.), ὕβ-ωμα [n.] 'hump' (or enlarged from ὕβος?), -ωσις [f.] 'hunchbackedness' (Hp., Gal.).

•ETYM The element -β- in ὑβός is reminiscent of words like στραβός, κλαμβός, and other words for corporeal defects (Chantraine 1933: 261); ὑβός may have been influenced by these. A convincing etymology has not been found. Petersson 1918: 74 compares Lith. *subinė* 'hindmost, back, bottom', which would have been derived from *\*subas* = ὕβος. The word may well be Pre-Greek.

**ὑβρις, -ιος, -εος, -εως** [f.] 'arrogance, haughtiness, exorbitance, violence, offence, abuse' (Il.). <PG?>

•COMP ὑβρίγελως [m.] 'arrogant laughter' (Man.), μίσυβρις 'having arrogance' (LXX).

•DER ὑβρίζω, Dor. (Theoc.) -ίσω, aor. ὕβρ-ίσαι, pass. -ισθῆναι, etc. 'to be arrogant or unbounded, to exert violence, offend, abuse' (Il.), often with prefix, e.g. ἄφ-, ἐν-, ἐξ-, ἐφ-, καθ-. Derivatives: 1. ὕβρ-ισμα (ἐν-) [n.] 'arrogant action, etc.', also object of it (Hdt., E., D., Plu. etc.). 2. -ισμός [m.] 'id.' (A. Fr. 179 = 485 M.). 3. -ισις (only with ἀνθ-) [f.] 'counter-abuse' (comm. Arist.). 4. -ιστής (ἐφ-) [m.] 'violinist, offender' (N 633 [cf. -ιστήρ], Od., etc.), fem. -ιστις (EM); -ιστήρ [m.] 'id.' (v.l. N 633, Opp., Nonn., AP), fem. -ιστρια (LXX). 5. -ιστος 'arrogant, scoffing' (Pherecr., Pl. Com.), grades of comparison -ιστότερος, -ιστότατος (Hdt. 3, 81 [v.l. -ιστικώτερον], Att.). 6. -ιστικός 'id.' (Att., Arist., etc.). 7. ἐφύβριστος 'contumelious, disgraceful' (LXX, Plu., Man.,

Vett. Val. etc.). Also ὕβρις, -ίδος [f.] name of a nocturnal bird of prey, perhaps 'eagle-owl, Strix bubo' (Arist., H.).

•ETYM No certain explanation. The -β- and initial ὕ- hardly look IE, so the word could well be Pre-Greek. Frisk is sympathetic to the connection with the prefix / preposition ►ὑ-, but this means nothing. Nikolaev *Glotta* 80 (2002): 211-230 assumes that ὕβρις contains the root of ἥβη and, with many additional assumptions, reconstructs *\*ioHg<sup>w</sup>ri-*. But as the *Wetter*-rule that he assumes is probably wrong, we would expect *\*ῶβρι-*, and the construction must be rejected. Note that ἥβη is always a positive notion, whereas ὕβρις certainly is not.

**ὑγγεμιος** = γέντο.

**ὕγιής** [adj.] 'healthy, unharmed, beneficial' (since Θ 524). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>iu-* 'span of time' and *\*g<sup>w</sup>ih<sub>3</sub>-* 'live'>

•COMP ὕγιο-ποιέω 'to heal' (D. S.).

•DER 1. Adjectives: ὕγι-ηρός 'healthy, beneficial' (Pi., IA), -ηρέστερος (Hdt.) (after ὑγιέστερος); ὕγι-εις 'id.' (Pi.); ὕγ(ε)ιος 'id.' (pap. II-III<sup>p</sup>, gloss.); ὕγι-ώτερος (Sophr.). 2. Abstract ὑγεία, -εἰᾶ, Ion. -εἰη [f.] 'health', also personified (Simon., Pi., IA), -εινός 'beneficial to the health, belonging to health, beneficial' (IA), Hell. ὑγεία, -ία, PN (Hell. and late) Ὑγ(ε)ῖος = Lat. *Hyginus*; quite rarely -ότης [f.] 'health' in logic (S. E.). 3. Further nouns: Ὑγιατής [m.], epithet of Dionysus (Ath., Eust.); ὑγείδιον [n.] name of several unguents (Gal.). 4. Verbs: a. ὕγι-αίνω 'to be healthy, be in good health' (IA), also δι-, ἐξ-, συν-, -ανσις [f.] 'healing' (Arist. etc.). b. -άζω 'to heal', -άζομαι (ἀφ-, ἐξ-) 'to be cured' (Hp., Arist., Hell. and late), -άσματα [n.pl.] = ἀκέσματα (AB), -αστήριον [n.] 'hospital' (pap. II<sup>p</sup>, gloss.), -αστός 'curable' (Arist.), -αστικός 'serving for healing' (Arist., Str., Gal. etc.); ἀφυγι-ασμός [m.] 'healing' (Iamb.). c. ὕγι-ῶσαι 'to heal' (Hp.), perhaps false for γυῖῶσαι?

•ETYM Traditionally explained as a compound of PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>su-* 'well, good' (see ►έως) and 'to live' (see ►ζῶω and ►βίος), with *s*-stem inflexion: IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>su-g<sup>w</sup>ih<sub>3</sub>-es-*. Initial ὕ- instead of εὐ- would be due to laryngeal loss in the compound. A close correspondence seems to be found in Av. *hu-jiiāiti-* [f.] 'a good life'. However, Weiss MSS 55 (1994): 151f. much more convincingly assumes that it derives from *\*h<sub>2</sub>iu-g<sup>w</sup>ih<sub>3</sub>-es-* 'having eternal life'; he compares Lat. *iūgis* 'constant' and Av. *γauuaē-jī-* 'living forever'.

**ὕγρός** [adj.] 'wet, moist, watery, fluid; weak, soft, flexible' (Il.). <IE *\*ug<sup>w</sup>-ro-* 'moist'>

•COMP ὕγρομελής 'with flexible limbs' (X., Poll.), κάθυγρος 'soaked' (Hp., Thphr. etc.).

•DER 1. Subst. ὑγρότης, Dor. -ότας [f.] 'moisture, weakness, etc.' (IA, Ti. Locr.); -ηδών, -ηδόνης [f.] 'id.' (Hp.); -ήν· τὸ οὖρον. Διονύσιος (H.). 2. Verbs: a. ὕγρ-αίνω 'to wet, water' (IA), very often with καθ-, δι-, ἐξ-, etc.; -ανσις [f.] 'wetting' (Gal. etc.), -αντικός 'wetting' (Diph. Siph. *apud* Ath. etc.); καθυγρασιός [f.] 'wetting' (late medic.). b. -άζω 'to be, become wet or moist' (Hp.), -ασία [f.] 'moisture' (Arist., Thphr. etc.), -ασμα [n.] 'id.' (Hp.); may also be connected with -αίνω. c. -ώσσω 'to be wet, moist' (A. Ag. 1329).

•ETYM Possible cognates include ON *vrkr*, acc. *vrkvan* 'moist, wet' < PGm. *\*uakua* < PIE *\*uog-u-* or *\*uog<sup>w</sup>-o-*; and Lat. *ūvidus*, *ūdus* 'id.', which can go back to PIE *\*ug<sup>w</sup>-*, *\*ue/og<sup>w</sup>-* or *\*uh<sub>1</sub>-*, see de Vaan 2008. Thus, all forms may go back to a root *\*u(e/o)g<sup>w</sup>-*.

**ὕδρος** [m.] 'dropsy' (Hp., Arist.). <IE? *\*udero-* 'belly'>

•VAR Also ὕδρος· γαστήρ (H.), with dialectal ὄ- for ὕ-? Differently Güntert *IF* 27 (1910): 48: rather for ὕδρος, because of the spiritus asper. Also ὕδρος εἰς ἀμίδα 'diabetes' (Gal.).

•DER Adj. ὕδερ-ικός, -ώδης, -ιώδης 'dropsical'; verbs -αίνω, -ιάω (with -ίσις), -άω 'to suffer from dropsy' (all medic.).

•ETYM Cognate with Skt. *udāra-* [n.], Av. *udara-* 'abdomen, belly', Lat. *uterus* 'belly, womb' (*tr* < *\*dr* in oblique cases), OPr. *weders* 'belly, stomach', Lith. *vėdaras* 'sausage, intestines' (with long vowel from Winter's Law). Gr. ὕδρος must separated from ὕδωρ 'water', since a full grade ὕδερ- is further unknown in Greek. The semantic shift from 'belly' to 'dropsy' is unproblematic: Skt. *udāra-* is also used in the sense of 'pathologically swollen belly'.

**ὕδω** [v.] 'to sing, glorify' (Hell. epic, conj. in E. *Hyps.* 3, 15). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ued-* 'speak'>

•VAR -εῖω metrically conditioned; also ὕδω, ὕδιν (Suid. etc.).

•DER ὕδρ- φήμη, ὕδρ- (Theognost. *Can.* 19), ὕδρ- συνετός, ἡ ποιητής (H.).

•ETYM Without ascertained etymology. It would be attractive to assume that ὕδ- is cognate with ▶αὐδή 'voice', and with Skt. *vādati* 'to speak', ppp. *uditá*. Yet there is no good explanation for the different reflexes in Gr. */hud-/* vs. */aud-/*.

**ὕδρον** [n.] name of a mushroom, 'truffle' (Hell. and late). <PG>

•COMP ὕδρονόφυλλον· ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὕδρσι φυομένη πόη (H.) (Pamphil. *apud* Ath. 2, 62d).

•ETYM The word has hesitantly been connected to ὕδωρ as 'juicy' (Pok. 79), to ὕει 'rains' as 'rain-plant', and to ὕς 'swine' as 'sow-bread'. Under ▶ἵτρον, I have argued that we must assume a Pre-Greek word, in view of the variants ὕτρον, οἶδρον, οἶτρον, adduced by Fur.: 110, 184.

**ὕδρα** [f.] 'water-snake', especially ἡ Λερναία ὕδρα (Hes., Herod., S., E., Pl.); ὕδρος [m.] 'id., Coluber nutrix' (B 723, Hdt., Arist., Call. etc.); ὕδρα / ὕδρος (Hell. and late since Eudox. *apud* Hipparch.) 'the constellation Hydra'. <IE *\*ud-ró-* 'of the water'>

•VAR Ion. -η.

•ETYM PIE name for a water-animal, especially 'otter': Skt. *udrá-* [m.], Av. *udra-* [m.] 'otter', OHG *ottar* 'id.', Lith. *ūdra* [f.], Ru. *výdra* [f.] 'id.' (with *\*ū* from Winter's Law); Lat. *lutra* [f.] 'id.' with additional *l-* by folk etymology. Cf. ▶ὕδωρ, ἔνυδρις.

**ὕδωρ, -ατος** [n.] 'water' (Il.). <IE *\*uod-r*, *\*ud-n-*, coll. *\*ud-ōr* 'water'>

•DIAL Myc. *u-do-ro* /udros/ or /udron/ designation of a bucket-shaped pot.

•COMP ὕδροφόρος [m., f.] 'water-bearer', ἄνυδρος 'without water' (IA); ὕδατοτρεφής 'fed by water' (p 208), ἄνυδατος 'without water' (Man.), etc.; rarely ὕδασι-<σ>τεγής 'protecting from water, waterproof' (AP 6, 90). Hypostases: ἔνυδρις (-ίς) [f.] 'otter' (Hdt., Ar., Arist.), Μεθύδριον [n.] town in Arcadia, 'between the rivers' (Th.), -ιεύς [m.] 'inhabitant of M.', gen.pl. Μετυδρίων (Orchom.).

•DER A. Stem ὕδρ-: Nouns 1. ὕδρία [f.] 'water-bucket, urn' (Att., Locr. V<sup>a</sup>), diminutive -ίσκη, -ιον, -ίδιον (Hell. and late). 2. -ινεῖον [m.] 'id.' (pap. II-III<sup>p</sup>), to *\*ὑδρίνος* or *\*ὑδρινός*. 3. -ότης [f.] 'moisture' (Procl.). 4. -ωμα [n.] = -ευμα (Eg. inscr.), enlarged or from *\*-όομαι*. 5. ὕδρανας [acc.pl.] 'vessel for lustration water' (Andania I<sup>a</sup>), rather from ὕδρανῃ than from ὕδραν (cf. H.: ὕδρανῃ τὸ ἀκραιφνές καὶ καθαρὸν; ὕδραν· εἰς θυσίαν ἀκραιφνές. Πίνθων; ὕδρανός· ὁ ἀγνιστὴς τῶν Ἐλευσινίων). 6. Ὑδρ-οῦς, -οῦντος [m.] town on the Ionic Sea in Calabria. 7. -ών, -ῶνος [m.] month-name (Ptol.).

Adjectives: 1. ὕδρ-ηλός 'watery, wet' (epic poet. since ι 113, also Hp.). 2. -ηρός 'id.' (Sophr., *Trag. Adesp.*, etc.). 3. -ώδης 'id.' (Thphr.). 4. -αῖος 'belonging to water' (Olymp. in *Phd.*); οὐδραία· ὕδρία, μέτρον τι, Ἀττικοῦ μετρητοῦ ἥμισυ (H.), Lacon. or Boeot.? 5. -ιος 'of water' (Hero). 6. Unclear ὕδραλης· μετάβολος, also ὄφις ὕδατος (H.).

Verbs: 1. ὕδρ-αίνομαι, -αίνω (ἀφ-) [v.] 'to bathe, water, wet' (Od., E. [almost only lyr.]), -αντικός (pap. III<sup>a</sup>). 2. -εὔομαι, -εὔω [v.] 'to scoop, fetch water' (Od.), quite rarely with ἐφ-, προσ-; thence -εῖον (-ήιον), -εῖα, -ευμα, -ευσις, -εὺς, -ευτής, -ευτικός. B. Stem ὕδατ- (on the whole younger than ὕδρ-): Nouns 1. ὕδάτιον [n.] 'little water, little rain, rivulet' (Pl., Arist., Thphr., etc.). 2. -ίς [f.] 'blain' (medic.).

Adjectives: 1. -ώδης 'watery, dropsical' (Hp., Arist., Thphr. etc.). 2. -ινος 'belonging to water, watery, water-clear, flexible' (Hell. and late). 3. -ικός 'of water, watery' (Thphr., pap. II<sup>p</sup>). 4. -όεις 'watery, transparent like water' (AP, Nonn.). 5. -εινός 'wet, moist' (Hp.). 6. -ηρός 'containing water' (A. Fr. 96 = 44 M.).

Verbs: 1. ὕδατόομαι (ἐξ-) [v.] 'to be / become watery, dropsical', ἐξυδατόω [v.] 'to turn into water, dilute with water' (Hp., Thphr. etc.), -ωσις [f.] (medic.). 2. -ίζω only in δι-ὕδατίζω 'to give to drink' (sch.), ἐξυδατισθέν· ὡς ὕδωρ (H.), ὕδατισμός [m.] 'murmur of water' (medic.).

C. Other formations: 1. ὕδος [n.] (Call. Fr. 475), dat. -ει (Hes. Op. 61) 'water'. 2. ὕδ-αλέος 'dropsical' (Hp.), -αλῖς· ὕδρωπιών (H.). 3. -αρής 'watery, diluted', especially of wine (IA); τὸ ὕδαρόν (H.) as an explanation of ὕδαρές; ἐξ-ὕδαρόομαι, ἰόω [v.] 'to become water, make into water' (Arist., late). See also ▶ὕδρα, ▶ὕδρος and ▶ὕδρος.

•ETYM A PIE *r/n*-stem for 'water'. In Greek, the *n*-stem was enlarged with a *\*t*, hence *\*ud-η-t-* > gen. ὕδατ-ος, etc. The denominative ὕδραίνομαι might continue older *\*ὕδαινω* = Skt. *udanyāti* 'to water'.

Cognates: U *utur* [n.] (< *\*ud-ōr*), abl. *une* (< *\*ud-n-*), Latin *unda* 'wave, sea, river' < *\*ud-n-*; Alb. *ujë* 'water'; Hitt. *uātār / uītēn-* [n.] 'id.' (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.); Skt. gen. *udnás*, loc. *udán(i)*, adj. *anudrás* 'without water'; Go. *wato*, gen. *watins*, ON *vatn*, OS *watar*, MoHG *Wasser*; OCS *voda*, Lith. *vanduō* 'water'. The rare *s*-stem in ὕδος, dat. ὕδει is also found in the zero grade in Skt. *útsa-* [m.] 'source, spring' < *\*ud-s-o-*.

ὕει, ὕετός = ὕω.

**ὕφαις ζαν** •VAR Cypr., written *u-wa-i-se za-ne* (ICS 217, 10). ⇒ ὕ.

**ὕθλος** [m.] 'idle talk, prank' (Pl., D., Porph., Jul.). <?>

•COMP ὕθλορρήμων 'talking idly' (Tz.).



•DER ύθλέω [v.] 'to prate' (Ar., Ephipp., Phld., Luc.), also with έξ-, συν-. Cf. ύσθλόος, σαλόος, φλύαρος 'silly talk, nonsense' and ύλλει· θρυλλεῖ, λέγει, also ύλάει· θρυλλεῖ, ύλακτεῖ, λέγει, θρηνηεῖ 'babbles, barks, says, laments' (H.).

•ETYM No etymology. The word may contain the suffix -θλο- (as in ἄεθλος etc.), but there is no good explanation for initial ύ-.

ύιήν [?] · τήν ἄμπελον 'vine' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

υῖός [m.] 'son' (Il.). <IE \*suH-i(e)u- 'son'>

•VAR Also υός (Att.); older υῖός (Lac., Gort., etc., Old Att. also υός, υς); obl. forms: gen. υιοῦ (Corc. VI<sup>a</sup> [epigr.], χ 238, etc.), υἱός (Il.), υἱός (Hell. and late epic), υῖος (Hom., Thess.), acc. υ(ι)όν, υῖόν, υἱά, υἱά, nom.pl. υ(ι)οί, υἱέες, υἱεῖς, υἱές, υἱες, etc.

•DIAL Myc. i-jo /<sup>h</sup>ios/, perhaps i-ju (i-<sup>h</sup>65) /<sup>h</sup>iūs/, dat. i-je-we /<sup>h</sup>iēwei/, i-we /<sup>h</sup>iwei/. Most recently -u-jo (TH Fq 229: ra-ke-da-mo-ni-jo-u-jo) /<sup>h</sup>ūjōi/.

•COMP υιοθεσία [f.] 'adoption' (Hell. and late); univerbation of υῖόν θέσθαι.

•DER 1. Derived fem. υῖη 'daughter' (Sammelb. I<sup>p</sup>), also υἱά (Mytilene I<sup>p</sup>[?]). 2. Diminutive υῖδιον [n.] (Ar.), υἱάφιον [n.] (gloss.). 3. Denominative υῖω, -όομαι [v.] 'to adopt as a son', -ωσις [f.] 'adoption' (late). 4. As 'grandson': a. υῖωνός (Hom., Theoc., Plu., late inscr. and pap.), plur. υῖωνεῖς· υῖών υἱέες (H.), after υἱεῖς; fem. υῖωνή 'granddaughter' (J., gramm.). b. υ(ι)ιδοῦς (Pl., X., D., Arist. etc.), υ(ι)ιδεῦς (Isoc., H.); fem. υῖδῃ (pap. I<sup>p</sup>, Poll., H.).

•ETYM The o-stem in υῖός is secondary against the u-stem in υῖός; perhaps it arose by dissimilation. The (proterodynamic) inflexion of υῖός shows the full grade \*-eu- of the suffix in υἱέος, υἱέι and υἱεῖ, υἱέες and υἱεῖς, du. υἱέε, υἱεῖ, and the zero grade \*-u- (which would point to hysterodynamic inflection) in υῖός, υῖι (with Aeolic retraction of accent?), υἱές, υἱε. The generalized zero grade is limited to the epic, with the exception of Thess. gen. υῖιος. The acc. υἱά, υἱάας as well as υῖόν, υῖόν (Gort., etc.) must be innovations.

The same preform PIE \*suH-iu- yielded ToB soy, ToA se, gen. seyo 'son'. Most other languages have a different suffix in \*suH-nu-: Skt. sūnū- 'son', Av. hunu- 'offspring', Lith. sūnūs, OCS synъ, Go. sunus, OHG sunu 'son'. These nouns are probably derived from PIE \*suH- 'to bring forth' as in Skt. sūte 'to give birth', sūta- 'son'; OIr. suth 'fruit' < \*su(H)-tu- 'birth, fruit'. Thus, PIE \*suH-iu-, suH-nu- must be interpreted as 'produce of the body'.

The absence of the suffix \*-ter- in 'son', as opposed to the words for 'father, mother, daughter, brother', is striking; perhaps PIE \*suH-n/iu- replaced a different word for 'son', e.g. the one continued in Skt. putrá-, Av. puθra-.

ύκης [m.] name of an unknown fish (Antim., Philet., Call.), acc. to Zenod. Cyrenaean for ἐρυθρίνος; acc. to Hermipp. = ιουλός (see Ath. 7, 304e, 320d, 327b and c). <?>

•VAR ύκας ἀγελήϊδας [acc.pl.] (Numen.); also ύκος (H.).

•ETYM No etymology.

ύλακόμωροι [adj.] epithet of κύνες (ξ 29, π 4), thence μόθος ύ., also of dogs (Nonn. D. 36, 197). <GR>

•ETYM The initial ύ- is due to metrical lengthening. Formed in emulation of ►έγχεσίμωροι, ►ιόμωροι, so probably "famous for barking". The first element probably represents a noun ύλακή, which Porzig 1942: 239 explains as an artificial formation for metrically impossible \*ύλακτο-. See ►ύλάω.

ύλάω [v.] 'to bark', of dogs (Od., Theoc.), metaphorically of Cassandra (Tryph.), of a man (S. Fr. 61 conj. for ύλακτώ). <IE \*ul-, ONOM, PG?>

•VAR Only pres. and ipf.; med. ipf. ύλάοντο (π 162, verse-final). Usually with enlargement -κτ- in ύλακτέω 'id.', only pres. and ipf. except aor. ύλάκτησα (Luc. Nec. 10), also with prefix, e.g. έξ-, περι-, προσ- (since Σ 586; mostly late).

•DER ύλακτικός 'prone to barking' (Arist., Luc., Ph.), προσύλακτησις [f.] 'the reviling' (Simp. in Ph.); epic ptc. ύλακτιώντες (Q. S.), as if from \*ύλακτ-ιάω (metrically conditioned). Furthermore ύλάσσω 'id.' (A. Supp. 877 [lyr.], uncertain), aor. ύλάξαι (D. C.), pres. ύλάσσω (Chariton, Eust.).

Nouns with velar suffix: 1. ύλακή [f.] 'the barking' (poetic in Pl. Lg. 967d, A. R., AP, Plu., Luc.), μαψυλάκας [m.] 'who barks or cries in vain' (Sapph., Pi.), ύλακ-όεις 'barking' (Opp.), -όωντες 'id.' (Opp.), patronymic Υλακ-ίδης (ξ 204), as if from \*Υλαξ (= Hylax ... latrat, Verg. Buc. 8, 106); on ►ύλακόμωροι, see s.v. 2. ύλ-αγμός [m.] 'the barking' (Φ 575, X., Arist. etc.), κυν- (Stesich.); ύλ-αγμα [n.] 'id.' (A., E.), from \*ύλάζω? Also ύλασμα [n.] (Cyrano). On the hero Υλας, see Kretschmer Glotta 14 (1925): 33ff.

•ETYM Probably an onomatopoeic word for 'howling, barking', compare Lat. ululāre 'to howl', ulula 'owl', Skt. ululī- 'crying loudly', ulūka- [m.] 'owl', Lith. uliūti 'to howl', etc., and in Greek ►όλολύω. For -άω, one may compare the semantically close verbs βοάω, γοάω, etc. The suffix -(α)κτ- is regarded as expressive by Frisk (see ►πυρακτέω), but it may have been a Pre-Greek suffix; in fact, the word as a whole may have been Pre-Greek.

ύλη [f.] 'forest, wood, timber, firewood, shrubbery' (Il.), 'stuff, matter' (Arist., Plb., medic., etc.); also = τὸ καθίζον τοῦ οἴνου ἢ τοῦ ὕδατος (Phot.), 'sediment, mud, slime, bodily secretion' (Ar. Fr. 879, UPZ 70, 9 [II<sup>a</sup>], Hell. and late medic.); cf. ►ύλις. <IE? \*suol-h<sub>2</sub>- or \*h<sub>2</sub>eus-l-h<sub>2</sub> 'firewood'>

•COMP ύλοτόμος [adj.] 'felling wood', [m.] 'woodcutter' (Il.), ύλάτόμος 'id.' (Theoc.), ύληκοίτης [m.] 'having his camp in the woods' (Hes.), ύληωρός [m.] 'forester' (A. R., A.P.), ύλωρός 'id.' (Arist.), -ωρέω [v.] (Thess.V<sup>a</sup>); thence ύληώρεας εὐνάς [acc.pl.] (Nic. Th. 55), ύληρεύς· νομεῦς ἐν ύλῃ φυλάττων H.; ύλομήτρα· εἶδος σκώληκος (H.). As a second member in ένυλος 'provided with matter, material' (Arist., late).

•DER 1. Adj.: ύλήεις, Dor. -άεις 'rich of wood, woody' (epic poet. Il.), -ώδης 'id.' (Th., S., X. etc.), 'muddy' (Dsc., Plu. et al.), -ιμος 'belonging to the wood' (E.), -ικός 'bodily, material' (Arist. etc.), -αῖος 'woody, wooded, in the forest, material' (Hell. and late), Υλαίη [f.] name of a wooded region on the Borysthenes (Hdt.), -ῶος 'belonging to matter' (Orph. Fr. 353); -ειῶτα [voc.] epithet of Πάν (AP 6, 106; after Πάν ὀρειώτας AP 9,824). 2. PN Υλεύς name of a dog (X.). 3. ύλημα [n.], mostly pl. 'bushes', -ηματικός [adj.] (Thphr.). 4. Verbs: a. ύλάζομαι, aor. -άσασθαι 'to fetch wood' (Att. inscr., Poll., H.), -ασία [f.] 'the fetching of wood' (Att. inscr.), -άστρια [f.]



‘wood-fetcher’ (Phot.). b. ὑλίζω, -ίσαι, ptc.pf. -ισμένος ‘to clean, clear, filter’ (Cratin. 354, Pl. *Ti.* 69 a, Archyt., LXX, Dsc., pap., etc.), also with prefix, esp. δι-; -ιστήρ (δι-) [m.] ‘filtering-cloth, sieve’ (medic., pap.), -ιστήριον (δι-) [n.] (pap., sch., H.), διύλισμα [n.] ‘clarified fluid’ (Gal.), -ισις [f.] ‘clearing filtering’ (Suid.), -ισμός [m.] ‘clearing, cleaning’ (Clem. Al.), ἀφύλισμα γάλακτος as an explanation of ὀρός γάλακτος H., -ισμός χωμάτων, παρ- ~ τενάγους ‘removing the mud, cleaning’ (pap.).

•ETYM The meaning ‘mud’ can easily be explained by a recent development from ‘matter’ to ‘solid matter, dregs, secretion’ as against clear wine and pure water, as appears already from the explanation by Phot. as τὸ καθίζον τοῦ οἴνου ἢ τοῦ ὕδατος. The earlier etymologies connecting ὕλη with Lat. *silva* or with ξύλον must be rejected. If the original meaning was ‘firewood’, one may follow Vine 1999b: 573 in deriving ὕλη with Cowgill’s Law (\*o > Gr. υ in certain environments) from PIE \**suol-h₂-*, to the root \**suel-* ‘to smoulder’; see LIV² s.v. \**suel-*. Alternatively, starting from the same meaning, connection with ON *usli* [m.] ‘glowing ashes’, from \**h₂eus-l-h₂* to the root of εὔω, Lat. *ūrere* ‘to burn’, etc., may be envisaged (Wackernagel 1916: 185).

ὕλιγγες [?] · λόγχα ‘troops of spearmen, vel sim.’ (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

ὕλιμη [f.] · μάχη τις (H.). <?>

•ETYM Kronasser *Sprache* 6 (1960): 178 compares Hitt. *šulli-* ‘fight, quarrel’, *šulliazi* ‘to fight, quarrel’; if a derivative \**šullima-* ‘fight’ existed in Hittite, this could have been the source of the Greek word.

ὕλις [f.] ‘mud’ (pap. IV-III<sup>a</sup>, LXX, EM). <?>

•VAR Also ὕλις.

•ETYM Frisk suggests that ὕλις might have arisen from ἰλύς ‘mud, slime’ by way of contamination with ὑλίζω, ὕλη ‘mud’ (cf. IG 1², 94: 20; 23 beside 2², 2498: 9). This solution does not inspire much confidence.

ὕλλος [m.] ‘the Egyptian ichneumon (glossed by LSJ as ‘tracker’), Pharaoh’s rat’ (Tim. Gaz.); name of a fish (Cyran.). <LW Egypt.??>

•ETYM The meaning suggests a loanword. The hypothetical connection with ὕδωρ ‘water’ as \*ὕδ-λος, which is found in older literature, must be given up as it finds no support whatever.

ὕμεις [pron.pers.] ‘you (pl.)’ (Il.). <IE nom. \**iuH*, acc. \**usmé*, loc. \**usmi* ‘you (pl.)’; gen./acc. \**uos*, \**uōs*>

•VAR Acc. ὕμᾱς, Ion. ὕμέας; Dor. ὕμές, acc. ὕμέ; Aeol. ὕμμες, acc. ὕμμε.

•DER Possessive adjective ὕμέτερος, Dor. also ὕμός, Aeol. ὕμμος ‘your’.

•ETYM The acc. ὕμέ, ὕμμε go back to \**usme*, and the nom. ὕμές, ὕμμε arose by analogy with the nominal inflexion; later also ὕμεις < \**-έες*, and a new acc. ὕμέας, ὕμᾱς were created. Furthermore, the gen. ὕμῶν, ὕμέων, ὕμμεων, and dat. ὕμῖν, ὕμιν, ὕμμι(ν) were formed.

Cognate forms: Skt. nom. *yūyām*, acc. *yusmān*, *vas*, OCS nom. *vy*, acc. *vasъ*, Hitt. nom. *sumēs*, acc. *sumās*, etc. The PIE basis \**us-(s)me* contains the zero grade of the full grade seen in Lat. *vōs*, Skt. *vas* (encl.), etc. < PIE obl. \**uōs*.

ὕμην 1, -ένος [m.] ‘thin or weak skin, film, membrane, sinew’ (Hp., Arist., Thphr., A. R., etc.). <IE \**siuH-mn-* ‘thread, sinew’>

•COMP ὕμενοειδής ‘membrane-like’ (Hp., Arist., etc.).

•DER Diminutive ὕμένιον [n.] (Arist. etc.), -ώδης ‘provided with a film, membrane-like’ (Hp., Arist.), -ινος ‘consisting of a film’ (Clearch.), -όομαι [v.] ‘to turn into a film’ (Hp., Gal.), -όω ‘to cover with a film’ (comm. Hp. VII<sup>p</sup>); ἐξυμην-ίζω [v.] ‘to remove a film’, -ιστήρ [m.] ‘knife for flaying’ (medic.).

•ETYM Except for the quantity of the υ-, the Greek word is formally matched by Skt. *syūman-* [n.] ‘band, throng, bridle’. For the verbal root, compare Lat. *suere*, *sūtum* ‘to sew’, Go. *siujan*, Lith. *siūti* ‘id.’ < PIE \**siuH-C-* from earlier \**siH-u-C-*, cf. Skt. *śivyatu* ‘to sew’. Formerly, Hitt. *šumanza-* ‘rope, snare’ used to be compared too, but Melchert 2003 has shown that the word means ‘(bul)rush’ and must be posited as *šumanzan-* (cf. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.); it is therefore unrelated to ὕμην.

ὕμην 2, -ένος [m.] ‘wedding-cry’, secondarily ‘god of wedding’, ‘hymen’ (trag., Ar., Theoc., Opp., Ovid., etc.), usually in connection with ὕμέναιος ‘id.’, also ‘wedding’ (Σ 493, Hes. Sc., Pi., trag., Ar., Catull. etc.), Aeol. ὕμήναος (Sapph., Cyrene), ὕμηναιος (Call.), e.g. Ὑμὴν ὦ Ὑμέναι ἄναξ (E. *Tr.* 314). <PG?>

•VAR Also ὕ- metrically lengthened; voc. ὕμέν Call. *Fr.* 473 Pf.

•DER ὕμεν-ήϊος epithet of Dionysus (AP), -αἰκὸν μέτρον (Serv.); ὕμεν-αἰώω [v.] ‘to strike up the ὕμέναιος’ (A. *Pr.* 557 [lyr.], S. *Fr.* 725, Plu.), ‘to marry’ (Ar. *Pax* 1076), also with ἀν-, συν-.

•ETYM Frisk insists on the identity of the wedding-cry with ▶ ὕμην 1 in the sense of ‘membrana virginalis’. A different, non-IE (Pre-Greek) origin of the wedding-cry is assumed by Muth *Wien.Stud.* 67 (1954): 5ff. Similarly Fur.: 383, but without further argumentation.

ὕμνος [m.] ‘song, chant, hymn, elegy’ (θ 429). <PG?>

•COMP ὕμνωδ-ός [m.] ‘hymn-singer’, whence -ία, -έω (A., E., Pl., etc.), πολύμνος ‘with many songs, much sung of’ (h. *Hom.* 26, 7, Anacr., E. etc.).

•DER 1. diminutive ὕμν-άριον [n.] (Lyd. *Mens.*), adjective -ώδης ‘full of lauds, praising’ (Philostr.), -ικός ‘consisting of hymns’ (Didyma II-III<sup>p</sup>). 2. ἐφύμνιον [n.] ‘refrain’ (A. R., Call. etc.), -ιάζω [v.] (Eratosth.). 3. ὕμνέω [v.] ‘to sing (a song), praise, glorify in a chant’ (Hes., h. *Hom.*, Alc., Sapph., IA, etc.), often with prefix, e.g. ἐφ-, ἀν-, καθ-, ἐξ-, ὕμνητής [m.] ‘glorifier’ (Pl., Att. inscr.), -τήρ ‘id.’ (AP, Opp.), fem. -τρια (Attica, Pergam.), -στρια (Pergam.), -τρίς (Poll. v.l.), -σις [f.] ‘the praising’ (LXX, D. S.), -τικός ‘praising’ (Str.).

•ETYM No certain etymology. It could be derived from ὕμην < \**siuH-mn-* ‘tie, seam’ as \**siuH-mn-o-* ‘construction of song(s)’ (compare formally λιμήν : λίμνη, etc., semantically MoHG *Liedgefüge*). This explanation can be supported by an antique conception (e.g. ὑφάνας ὕμνον in B.), but a derivation of ὕμνος from the root of ὑφ-, ὑφ-αίνω is phonetically difficult (only PGr. \**bn*, *g<sup>w</sup>n* > μν, not e.g. PGr. \**p<sup>n</sup>*).

Alternatively, ὄνις could be connected with ὄμην 'wedding-cry', cf. Maas *Phil.* 66 (1907): 590ff. The word was also considered to be a Mediterranean loanword, for instance by Autran 1938: 33, and by Fur.: 383. The latter regards ὄνις as Pre-Greek without further comment; Pre-Greek origin may be suggested by the sequence -μν-. Yet, another solution would be to connect ὄνις with Skt. *sāman-* 'song of praise' (< \**sh<sub>2</sub>omen-*) and Hitt. *išhamai-* 'song, hymn' to PIE \**sh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to bind'; ὄνις would then require a preform \**sh<sub>2</sub>omn-os*, Mallory & Adams 1997: 520a.

Vine 1999b: 576 reconstructs \**suon(H)-mo-* with development \**suon-* > \**smun-*, analogous to that of \**TuoR-*. This seems phonetically preferable to \**sh<sub>2</sub>omn-o-*, on account of the conditioning of the change of \**o* to Gr. *u*, on which see Vine op.cit.

**ὄνις, -εως, -ιος** [f.] 'ploughshare' (Hell. and late pap., Corn., Babr., Plu., AP, etc.) <PG(V)>

•VAR Rare variants ὄννις (sch. Hes. *Op.* 425, H.), ὄννη (H.), acc.pl. ὄννας (Aesop.); ὄννιμάχος 'fighting with a ploughshare' (Max. Tyr.).

•DER Diminutive ὄνιον (pap. IV<sup>p</sup>).

•ETYM Already in antiquity (Plu. 2, 670a), ὄνις was connected with ὄς 'swine'. The ploughshare would have been compared to a swine browsing the earth. A parallel case is provided by W *swch* 'swine-snout' and 'plough-share'. Brugmann *IF* 28 (1911): 366ff. unconvincingly explains ὄνις as a compound of ὄς and a word for 'snout' (to MHG *snouwen* 'to snuffle'), with the ending after ὄφνις, so from IE \**su-sn-i-*; then the geminate would have to be old.

Fur.: 387 regards the word as Pre-Greek on account of the incidental gemination.

**ὄπαρ** [n.] 'vision', as opposed to ὄναρ 'deceiving dream' (τ 547, υ 90), 'true and visible appearance, reality, being awake', often as an adverb 'while being awake, in reality, really' (Pi., IA, Epid., etc.). <IE \**suep-ōr* 'sleep'>

•VAR Indeclinable.

•ETYM Originally 'sleep, dream'; the opposition to ὄναρ 'deceiving dream' > 'dream', led to the meaning 'true dream', whence 'reality' (Frisk *Erans* 48 (1950): 131ff.). Cognate with ▶ ὄπνος, which points to a PIE *r/n*-stem. The *r*-stem further appears in the denominative Hitt. *šuppari-ia-* 'to sleep' < \**sup-r-īe/o-*, and in Lat. *sopor* < \**suep-ōs* or \**sue/op-r-*. Gr. ὄπαρ may regularly go back to \**sup-r-* for an earlier nom.acc. \**suep-r-*.

**ὄπατος** [adj.] 'the uppermost, highest' (Il., epic Ion. poet.). Also as a msc. noun = Lat. *consul*. <IE \**up-* 'from' below, up, above'>

•VAR With metrical enlargement ὄπατήϊος 'id.' (Nonn.).

•COMP ἀνθόπατος = *proconsul*, etc. (Plb., D. H. etc.).

•DER (ἀνθ-)ὄπατ-ικός, -εύω, -εῖα (Str., D. S., D. H., etc.), ἀνθυπατ-ιανός = *proconsularis* (Iust.).

•ETYM Superlative to ▶ ὄπο. Instead of the original suffix -*mo-*, as found e.g. in Skt. *upatá-*, Lat. *summus* < \**sup-mo-*, we find -*to-* after ἔσχατος, δέκατος, μέσσατος, etc. Cf. ▶ ὄψι, ▶ ὄψος.

**ὄπεμνήμυκε** (X 491) ⇒ ἡμύω.

**ὑπερ** [adv., prep.] as an adverb 'over, above measure' (very rare); preposition with acc. and gen. (Arc. also dative [Tegea III<sup>a</sup>]): 'over, beyond' (local and temporal), 'above, protecting from or against, because of' (Il.). <IE \**uper(i)* adv. 'over, above', \**upero*-adj. 'upper'>

•VAR ὑπέρ (metrical lengthening ὑπεῖρ). Dialectal forms: Lesb. ἵπερ (gramm.), Pamph. ὑπαρ (-αρ for -ερ phonetic, or after πάρ), Arc. ὀπέρ, Boeot. οὐπέρ.

•DER 1. ὑπερον [n.] (-ος [m.]) 'pestle' (Hes. *Op.* 423), ὑπέρα, plur. -αι [f.] 'upper ropes on the sails, steering-ropes' (ε 260 etc.). 2. comparative forms: ὑπέρτερος 'located above, upper, higher', -τατος 'upper, highest' (Il., epic poet., also late prose); -ώτατος 'id.' (Pi.), from the adj. \*ὑπερος (cf. below).

•ETYM Cognate forms are Skt. *upári*, Av. *upairi* 'above, over', OP *upariy* 'over, on', Arm. *i ver* 'up, above', Go. *ufar*, OHG-*ubir* 'over'; also Lat. *super* 'above, over'. The adjective ὑπερος is matched by Av. *upara-* 'upper', Skt. *úpara-* 'below, under, later', Lat. *superus*, Osc. *supro-* 'upper'. ▶ ὄπο.

**ὑπερδεής** [adj.] only in ὑπερδέα δῆμον ἔχοντας (P 330), with hyphaeresis for -δεέα. Meaning uncertain. <GR>

•ETYM Perhaps 'highly inadequate' to δέομαι 'to lack' (Apollon. *Lex.*, H.), inflected after the *s*-stems. Yet, Eust. ad loc. connected it to δέος 'fear'. Cf. Chantraine 1942: 74 and Sommer 1948: 108.

**ὑπερήνωρ** [adj.] 'arrogant' (Hes., E.). <GR>

•DER ὑπερηνορέη (A. R.).

•ETYM A compound in -ήνωρ, see ▶ ἀνήρ.

**ὑπερήφανος** [adj.] 'overbearing, haughty, arrogant', rarely positive 'outstanding' (Hes., Pi., B., A. Pr. 405 [lyr.], Att. prose, etc.). <?>

•VAR Dor. (Pi., B.) -άφανος, -ηφάνως [adv.].

•DER ὑπερρηφαν-ία, -ιη (καθ-) [f.] 'haughtiness, pride' (Sol., Att. prose, etc.). Enlarged ὑπερρηφανέοντες [m.pl.] 'wanton' (A 694), after ὑπερηνορέοντες etc. Denominative verb ὑπερρηφάνεω (also -εύω) 'to be haughty, treat haughtily' (Hell. and late), rarely with καθ-, ἀνθ-.

•ETYM Origin unknown. The compositional vowel -η- may have been taken from ὑπερήνωρ etc.; the ending -ανος can be suffixal. All of the solutions proposed (see Frisk s.v.) involve difficult ad hoc-hypotheses.

**ὑπέρινος** ⇒ ἰνάω.

**ὑπερκύδας** ⇒ κύδος.

**ὑπέροπλος** [adj.] 'presumptuous, arrogant, excessive, immense' (Il., epic poet.). <GR>

•VAR Superl. ὑπεροπλήεστατος (A. R. 2, 4), as if from an enlarged \*ὑπεροπλήεις.

•DER ὑπεροπλ-ία, -ιη [f.] 'presumptuousness, arrogance' (A 205, Rhian., Theoc.), -ίζομαι (only in aor. opt. -ίσσαιτο p 268) 'to treat presumptuously or arrogantly; to despise' (acc. to Apollon. *Lex.*).

•ETYM Literally \*'whose ὄπλα are superior' = 'superior (in battle), presumptuous'.

**ὑπερφίαλος** [adj.] 'superior, arrogant, excessive' (Il., epic poet.). <GR>

•VAR Adv. -ως.

•ETYM Probably contains a suffix -αλος, but the further analysis is unclear. The old connection to φιάλη 'dish' is semantically unconvincing. The adjective is usually connected with ὑπερφύης 'extraordinary' and Lat. *superbus*, compounds with a second member in PIE \*-bʰ(h₂)u- 'being, arising'. With a dissimilation of u - u to u - i, ὑπερφύαλος could stem from \*ὑπερφύαλος (Mastrelli *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 32 (1960): 109, De Lamberterie 1994), compare ὑπερφύης 'enormous' and ὑπέρφεν 'excessively'.

**ὑπερῶα** [f.] 'palate' (X 495, Hp., Arist., Plu.). <GR>

•VAR Ion. -ώη.

•DER Beside it ὑπερώϊον, -ῶον [n.] 'upper story, upper chamber, attic, garret' (Hom., Ar., inscr., pap., LXX, *Act. Ap.* etc.). Adjective ὑπερώϊος, -ῶος 'belonging to the ὑπερώϊον, situated upstairs, living upstairs' (LXX, Hell. and late inscr., D. H., Plu. etc.).

•ETYM From ►ὑπέρ; but the formation not explained. It would be easiest to start from an adverb \*ὑτέρω (cf. ὑπερώτατος Pi.), formed like ἄνω, κάτω.

**ὑπήνη** [f.] 'moustache', secondarily 'beard' (A. Fr. 27 = 58 M., com., Arist. etc.). <PG?(S)>

•COMP ὑπηνόβιος 'living off his moustache', i.e. 'acting arrogantly' (Pl. Com.), ἀνύπηνος 'without a moustache' (Eust., H.).

•DER ὑπηνήτης [m.] 'the bearded one' (Ω 348 = κ 279, AP, late prose).

•ETYM For 'beard', Greek has an innovation formed on the basis of PIE 'chin' in γένειον; further it has ►μύσταξ. Both πώγων 'beard' and ὑπήνη are without etymology. The older connection with a word \*āno/ā- 'face' (to Skt. *ānā-* 'face, mouth, nose' to the root \*h₂nh₁- 'to breathe') is revived by Adams *Glotta* 64 (1986): 16f., who posits \*upo-āno/eh₂-. Yet, this etymology is semantically unsatisfactory and formally difficult; see ►ἀπηνής and ►πρηνής for the formal problems.

Alternatively, the word has often (and understandably) been considered to be Pre-Greek (with folk-etymological connection with ὑπό). Pre-Greek indeed has a suffix -ήνη.

**ὑπηρέτης** [m.] 'servant, helper, mate, aide' (Att., Hdt., etc.). <GR>

•VAR Dor. (since IV<sup>a</sup>) -τας.

•COMP ἀρχ(ι)υπηρέτης [m.] 'chief minister' (late inscr. and pap.).

•DER 1. ὑπηρ-έτις [f.] 'servant (fem.)' (E., Pl., et al.). 2. -ετικός 'belonging to the servant, serving, assistant, subordinate'; -όν (scil. πλοῖον), -ὸς κέλῃς 'little boat, express boat' (Att., etc.). 3. ὑπηρ-εσία, often plur. -εσίαι [f.] 'crew, staff, service' (Att., Hell. and late). 4. ὑπηρ-έσιον [n.] = -ετικὸν πλοῖον (Eratosth. *apud* Str.). 5. ὑπηρ-ετέω [v.] 'to be a ὑπηρέτης, to serve, aid, obey' (IA), also with συν-, ἐξ- etc.; ὑπηρ-έτιμα [n.] 'attendance' (Att.), -έτισις (ἐξ-) [f.] 'service' (Arist., pap. etc.). 6. ὑπηρ-ετεύω [v.] 'id.' (Messen., Cos), -ετεία [f.] (*App. Anth.*).

•ETYM A compound of ὑπ- and ►ἐρέτης 'rower', originally a sailors' expression. The literal meaning cannot have been 'under-rower'; rather, ὑπ- is a hypercharacterising prefix stressing the opposition to the higher κελουστής; cf. ὑπο-δμῶς = δμῶς. On the meaning and spread of ὑπηρέτης and its cognates, compare Kretschmer *Glotta* 18

(1929): 77f. and Fraenkel 1910: 190 (different on details). Gr. ὑπηρέσιον is an independent formation meaning 'cushion for rowers', metaphorically 'riding cushion' (Att. Hell. and late); it is probably a hypostasis ('lying under the ἐρέτης').

**ὑπισχνέομαι** [v.] 'to promise' (Att., Hdt.). <GR>

•VAR Older ὑπίσχομαι (epic Ion., Delph. etc.), aor. ὑποσχέσθαι (Il.), fut. ὑποσχίσσομαι, perf. ὑπέσχημαι (Att., etc.).

•ETYM In Attic and Hdt., the ν-formation ὑπισχνέομαι replaced ὑπίσχομαι due to the antonym ἀρνέομαι, acc. to Wackernagel 1916: 217f. See ►ἐχω 1.

**ὑπνον** [n.] 'a kind of lichen' (Aet.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**ὑπνος** [m.] 'sleep' (Il.). <IE \*su(e/o)p-no- 'sleep'>

•COMP ὑπνο-δότης, fem. -δότειρα 'giver of sleep' (A. and E. [lyr.]); ἄυπνος 'sleepless' (Il.), whence ἀυπν-ία, -έω, -οσύνη. Hypostasis ἐνύπνιος (to ἐν ὑπνῳ) 'occurring in one's sleep' (A., etc.), -ιον [n.] 'dream' (since B 56 = ξ 495; cf. below).

•DER 1. Adjectives: ὑπν-ικός 'somniferous' (Hp., Aret. etc.); -ώδης 'sleepy, sleeping, somniferous' (E., Pl., Arist., etc.), -ωδία [f.] (Iamb.); -ηρός 'sleepy' (Hp.), -ηλός 'sleepy, somniferous' (Nic., late prose), -αλέος 'id.' (Pi. *Pae.* 8, 34 [?], Nic. etc.). 2. Verbs: a. ὑπν-ώω (καθ- etc.) 'to lull to sleep, fall asleep' (Ion. Hell. and late), -ωτικός 'sleepy, lulling' (Hp., Arist., Plu., etc.), καθύπνωσις [f.] 'falling asleep' (Arist.); b. ὑπν-ώσσω, Att. -ώττω (ἀφ-, ἐφ-) [v.] 'to be sleepy' (IA); c. ὑπν-ίζω [v.] 'to fall asleep' (Phryn.); but ἐξυπν-ίζομαι, -ίζω 'to wake up' from ἐξυπνος; 4. ὑπν-έω = -ώω (Anon., Fig.). 5. ὑπν-ώω, almost only ptc. -ώντας, -ώουσα, etc. (Il., epic), ipf. -ώεσκε (Q. S.) 'to sleep'.

•ETYM Gr. ὑπνος goes back to PIE \*sup-no-, as do Alb. *gjumë* and OCS *spъnъ*, Ru. *son* 'sleep'. With a different root ablaut, we find PIE \*suop-no- in Arm. *k'un*, Celtic (OIr. *súan*, MW *hun*) and Baltic (Lith. *sāpnas*), and \*suepno- in Germanic (ON *svefn*) and Tocharian (ToA *spām*, ToB *spane*). Indo-Iranian (Skt. *svāpna-*) and Lat. *somnus* could reflect either \*suepno- or \*suopno-. The presence of three different ablaut grades may point to an older athematic n-stem. For a complementary r-stem, which points to an older PIE r/n-stem, see ►ὑπαρ. The nouns were probably formed on the basis of the corresponding verbal root \*suep-/ \*sup- 'to fall asleep', cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*suep-.

**ὑπο, ὑπο** [adv., prep.] 'under, underneath; (from) under, below, down (to), by, because of' (Il.). <IE \*upo 'below, under'>

•VAR With gen., dat., acc. Epic poet. also ὑπαί, Aeol. etc. ὑπα, Ion. also *hupv* (Cumae V<sup>a</sup>), Arc. οπυ.

•DIAL Myc. *u-po*.

•ETYM Cognate forms: Skt. *upa*, Av. *upa* 'towards, near, to, etc.', Go. *uf* 'on, under', OIr. *fo* 'under', all < PIE \*upo. With additional \*s-, Lat. *sub* (as in *super* : ὑπέρ). Greek ὑπαί after παρὰ, κατὰ, and ὑπα after κατὰ, μετὰ etc.

**ὑπόβρυχα** = βρύχιος.

ὑπόγυ(ι)ος ⇒ ἐγγύη.

ὑποδεξίη ⇒ δέχομαι.

ὑπόδρα (ιδών) [adv.] 'glancing from below, with a glance from below' (Hom., Hes.).

◀ IE \**derk-* 'see' ▶

• VAR ὑποδράξ 'id.' (Call., Nic.), after ὀδάξ, ἀναμίξ, etc.

• ETYM From \*ὑπό-δρακ < \**upo-drk-* 'having a glance from below', formally identical to Skt. *upa-dś-* [f.] 'sight, look'; for the verb, cf. ὑποδέρκομαι. Greek ὑπόδρα represents the original neuter of the compound, used as an adverb.

ὑπολαῖς ⇒ λαῖας.

ὑποπετρίδιος [adj.] 'winged'. ▶ GR ▶

• VAR In ὑποπετρίδιων ὀνείρων 'winged dreams' (Alcm.); variant ὑποπετρίδιος (Dionys. *apud* EM 783, 20f.).

• ETYM Derived from ὑπόπτερος 'winged' (Pi., Ion. Att.), see ▶ πτερόν, the IE cognates of which go back to PIE \**petr-*. Therefore, the Alcman variant ὑποπετρίδιος could in theory preserve the PIE sequence \**petr-*. Yet, since this would require separating ὑποπετρίδιος from all other Greek attestations of πτέρον and its derivatives, the Alcman form may be due to an idiosyncratic development of \*ὑποπτερ-.

ὑπτιος [adj.] 'lying on one's back, bent backwards, reverse, downside up' (Il.), 'flat' (Hdt., etc.), metaph. 'inoperative, supine' (late), 'passive', of verbs (as opposed to ἀνύπτιος) 'not passive' (D. L.), παρύπτιος as a geometrical term beside ὑπτιος (Papp.); τὰ ὑπτια also 'belly', i.e. the upper side when lying ὑπτιος. ▶ IE \**upo* 'below' ▶

• DER ὑπτι-ότης [f.] 'reverse position, flat shape, slackness' (Thphr., Str. etc.). Verbs: 1. ὑπτι-άζω 'to bend (oneself) back, stalk along, be slack' (Att. Hell. and late), also with ἐξ-, etc.; -ασμα [n.] 'bending back, bent back figure' (A.), -ασμός [m.] 'bending back, aversion' (Hr., late prose). 2. ὑπτι-όμαι [v.] 'to turn back, be upset, supine, slow' (A., late prose), -ωσις [f.] 'slowness, aversion' (late medic.). 3. ὑπτι-άω (ptc. -όωσα, subj. 3sg. -άησι) 'to bend oneself back' (Arat.).

• ETYM Derived from \**upo* 'below' with the suffix PIE \**-tio-*, which was productive in Greek as -τιο- (cf. αἴτιος, ἄρτιος, σκότιος, νύκτιος). Compare Lat. *supīnus* 'lying face downwards' < \**sup-ino-*, *subtus* 'underneath, below' (on the model of *intus*).

ὑραξ, -ακος [m.] 'shrew-mouse' (Nic. *Al.* 37). ▶ PG(S) ▶

• ETYM The word is close in form to Lat. *sorex*, -*icis* [m.] 'id.', and is probably related to it. The suffix -αξ is Pre-Greek, like (probably) the word itself; the Latin word may come from the same source. On Lat. *o* beside Gr. *υ*, cf. Fur.: 361. The older connection with Latin *susurrus* 'humming, whisper, etc.', Gr. ὕρον· σμήνος. Κρήτες 'beehive, swarm of bees (Cret.)' (H.), and the PIE root \**suēr-* 'to resound' is semantically unconvincing, as is the supposed ablaut Gr. \**sur-* : Lat. *smōr-*. Still, the IE etymology is defended by Vine 1999b: 572f., arguing for the possibility of an *o*-grade \**suor-* in Greek.

ὑράξ [adv.] · μίγδην, ἀναμίξ 'promiscuously' (H.), see also on θιλύρα.

• VAR Also ὕρραξ or ὕρραξ, if the word is Aeolic (Theognost. *Can.* 23).

• ETYM Perhaps a variant of εὐράξ (DELG)? There is no connection with ▶ ὕραξ.

ὑριχός ⇒ σύριχος.

ὑρτήρ [?] πλυνεύς 'cleaner of clothes' (H.). ▶ ? ▶

• ETYM Unknown.

ὑρχη [f.] 'earthen vessel used for salting fish, etc.' (Ar., Hell. pap., Poll., sch.). ▶ PG ▶

• ETYM A technical word, Aeolic acc. to Poll. and others. Lat. *orca* 'large-bellied vessel, tun', whence *urceus* 'pot, pitcher', may have been borrowed from Greek, as may Lat. *urna* 'water-, ash-pot'. Alternatively, both languages may have independently borrowed them from a Mediterranean language (thus also Fur.: 361, etc.).

ὑς, ὕος [m., f.] 'swine, sow, boar' (Il.); ὕς (θαλάττιος) name of a fish (Epich., Archestr.). ▶ IE \**suH-* 'swine' ▶

• COMP ὑφορβός [m.] 'swineherd' (Od., etc.), ὑφορβέω [v.] (Chios V-IV<sup>a</sup>); also ὑοφορβός, whence -ία, -ιον (Hell. and late); ὑσπέλεθος [m.] 'swine excrement' (D. C., Poll.), ὑσπολεῖν· συβωτεῖν (H.), Ὑσπορος [m.] name of a river (Nonn.), perhaps folk-etymology after Βόσπορος, cf. Maas KZ 52 (1924): 305.

• DER 1. Diminutive ὕδιον (ὕδ-) [n.] (X. etc.). 2. adj. ὕειος 'of the swine' (IA), ὕικός 'id.' (X., Hell. and late); pejorative ὑιγνός 'hoggish, piggish', ὕια [f.] 'piggish, loutish creature', ὕέω [v.] 'to be piggish, dumb', ὕεύς [m.] 'piggish, base person' (Att.); ὕωδης 'swinish' (Plu.), fem. -ωδία (Ath.). 3. ὕών [m.] 'pigsty' (Hell. pap.). 4. ὕζω 'to cry like a pig', whence -ισμός (Poll.). 5. Ὑστήρια [n.pl.] name of an Aphrodite festival in Argos (Zenod. *apud* Ath. 3, 96a). See further ▶ Ὑάδες, ▶ ὕαινα, ▶ ὕκης, ▶ ὕνις.

• ETYM A PIE word \**suH-s* for the swine and wild boar. Cognate forms: Lat. *sūs*, U *si-* < \**sū-*, OE *sū*, OHG *sū*, Av. *hū-*. With additional suffixes Skt. *sūkara-* [m.] 'wild boar', OHG *swin* = MoHG *Schwein*, OCS *svinŭ* [adj.] 'pig-', *svinija* 'pig, swine', ToB *suwo*, etc. Cf. ▶ σῦς, ▶ χοῖρος and ▶ χλούνης.

ὕσγη [f.] name of a shrub, probably 'kermes oak, Quercus coccifera' (Suid.; also Paus. 10, 36, 1 [conj.]). ▶ PG(V) ▶

• VAR Variant ἰσγένη (*Edict. Dioclet.* 24, 9-12), ἰσγίνη (ibid. 19, 8).

• COMP ὕσγινοβαφής 'colored with ὕσγη' (X., Clearch., et al.); ὕσγινοεῖς 'ὕσγη-colored' (Nic.), with metrical shortening?

• DER ὕσγινον [n.] name of a red pigment taken from the ὕσγη, also 'red cloak' (Nic., AP [both with *ī* due to metrical lengthening], pap., Plin., *Dig.* etc.).

• ETYM Pausanias (l.c., where the codices have ὕς [before γίγεται; probably haplography]) calls the word Galatian (Celtic?), identical to κόκκος 'kermes oak'. Fur.: 367 regards the word as Pre-Greek, because of the variants in ἰσγ-.

ὑσκληος, ὕσκληος [m.] 'a device (ἀγκύλη, βρόχος) on sandals used to fasten the straps' (Phryn. *PS*, Poll., H., Theognost.). ▶ PG(V) ▶

• VAR ἐννήυσκλοι· ὑποδήματα Λακωνικῶν ἐφήβων 'sandals of Laconian ephebes' (H.), ἔπτυσκλοι· ἀνδρείον ὑπόδημα (H. = Hermipp. 67).

• ETYM In view of the variants, the word is clearly Pre-Greek.

ύσκυθά [?] · ύος ἀφόδευμα (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

ύσμινη [f.] 'battle, fight' (Il., epic, lyr.). <IE? \**Hiud<sup>h</sup>-(s)mo-*, PG?(S)>

•VAR Dat. also -ῖνι (μάχεσθαι [verse-final] B 863, Θ 56).

•DER ύσμιναταί [m.pl.] name of a phyle (Epid.).

•ETYM If the word was inherited from PIE, we have to posit a basis \*ύσμός (with analogical -σμο- for \*-μο-?) which can be compared with Skt. *yudh-má-* [m.] 'warrior', to IIr. \**Hiud<sup>h</sup>-* 'to battle' from PIE \**Hieud<sup>h</sup>-* 'to move'. Gr. ύσμινη can be explained as a derivative in \*-ῖν- (cf. ῥιγμῖν-, σταμῖν-), remade into an *ā*-stem. Another derivative of \*ύσμός might be the ΠΝΥσμῶν (Elis). Alternatively, ύσμίνη could equally well be a loanword from Pre-Greek, given its suffixation.

ύσπληξ, -ηγος [f., m.] 'triggering device for releasing footracers, for catching birds and animals, etc.' (Att. inscr. [end V<sup>a</sup>], Pl. *Phdr.* 254e, Hell. and late). It is unknown what the device actually looked like (a snare, small stick, or rope?). <PG?(V)>

•VAR Dor. (Epid.) -ἄκος; also (rarely) -ηγξ, -ηγγος, Dor. (Theoc.) -ἄγξ.

•ETYM Traditionally analysed as a compound of ►πλήσσω and ύσ- in ►ύσπερος, but the use of suffixless ύσ- would be unique, and the semantics are hardly convincing. If this is indeed a compound with ►πλήσσω, the first part may reflect ύς 'swine' (as already suggested by Eustathius Episcopus Thessalonicensis in a comm. to Dionysius Periegeta). In that case, the animal trap would reflect the oldest meaning. In view of the variant with prenasalization, however, Pre-Greek origin seems the most likely option (see also Jüthner *Die Antike* 15 (1939): 251).

ύσσακος [m.] only ύσσάκου· πασσάλους (EM 785, 7, Phot.); gen.pl. -άκων 'cunnus' (Ar. *Lys.* 1001); also ύσσακος· ύστακός (H.), = πάσσαλος (Theognost. *Can.* 24), ύσταξ· πάσσαλος κεράτινος 'penis made of horn' (H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also -αξ? (cf. s.v. ύσσαξ).

•ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek word, given the suffix -ακός or -αξ. In the sense of πάσσαλος, it can hardly be separated from ύσσός 'javelin'; as a vulgar expression in Ar., ύσσακος perhaps alludes to ύς as a substitute for χοῖρος, which is often used for 'cunnus' in comedy.

ύσσαξ [?] 'sex of the woman' (Ar. *Lys.* 1001, gen.pl. ύσσάκων).

•ETYM Ernout *BSL* 41 (1940-1941): 121' derives it from ύς, with the suffix -ακ-; but this etymology is obviously wrong, as it would have given \*ύαξ. The word is no doubt a variant of ►ύσσακος.

ύσσός [m.] 'javelin', Lat. *pīlum* (Plb., D. H., Str., Plu.). <?>

•ETYM Technical word of uncertain origin; no IE etymology is available. Bechtel *BB* 30 (1906): 271f. derives it from Carian, comparing PNs like 'Υσσις, 'Υσσωλος, Μαύσσωλος. Lewy *KZ* 55 (1928): 30f. compares Assy. *ussu*, Hebr. *hēs* 'arrow'. The word could well be Pre-Greek.

ύσσωπος [f.] 'hyssop, *Origanum hirtum*' (inscr. Ceos V<sup>a</sup>, Hell. and late). <LW Sem.>

•VAR Also ύσ-. Also -ον [n.].

•DER ύσωπίς· ή σάμψυχος (H.); ύσ(σ)ωπίτης (οἶνος) 'wine prepared with hyssop' (Dsc., Plin., Colum., Gp.).

•ETYM A loanword from Semitic, compare Hebr. *ēzōb* (Lewy 1895: 38 with references).

ύστακός, ύσταξ ⇒ ύσσακος.

ύστάς · π[λ]αστάς ἀμπέλων 'row of vines'; ύστάδα· ή δασεία ἄμπελος 'dense(ly planted) vine' (H.). Cf. παστάδες ... τῶν ἀμπέλων οἱ συστάδες 'vines standing close together' (H.). <GR>

•ETYM Probably a dialectical (Cypr.) form of συστάς, plur. συστάδες [f.] 'vines planted closely together (but not in rows)' (Arist. etc.), metaphorically of water cisterns (Str.), which derives from συνίσταμαι, as παστάς from παρίσταμαι.

ύστέρα [f.] 'womb, uterus', also 'ovary' (Ion., Pl. *Ti.* 91c, Arist., etc.). <IE \**ud-tero*->

•VAR Ion. -ρη.

•DER ύστερικός 'concerning the womb, suffering from one's womb, hysteric' (Hp., Arist., Gal. etc.); compare MoGr. ύστερίτις 'hysteria'.

•ETYM Feminine (scil. μήτρα 'womb?') of the comparative ►ύστερος 'outer'. The semantics can be explained from a shift \*'outer, protruding' > 'belly'. A close cognate is ύστρος· γαστήρ (H.) < \**ud-tro-*. With a suffix PIE \*-ero- instead of \*tero-, we find the same meaning 'belly' in Skt. *udāra-* [n.] 'belly', Gr. ►ύδερος, Lat. *uterus* < PIE \**ud-ero-*.

ύστερος [adj.] 'ulterior, posterior', superl. ύστατος 'latest, last' (Il.). <IE \**ud-tero*- 'higher, outer'>

•VAR Adv. ύστερον, -α, ύστατον, -α (Il.), -έρως, -άτως (late and rare).

•COMP ύστερόποινος 'bringing later punishment, punishing later' (A. [lyr.]).

•DER 1. ή ύστεραία (ήμέρα) 'the next day' (IA). 2. ύστερ-εω [v.] 'to be late, miss the right time, be inferior or in want' (IA), often with καθ-, also ἀφ-, ἐφ-; thence ύστερημα, -ησις 'lack, want' (LXX, NT), -ησμός 'arrear, debt' (pap.), -ητικός 'happening later', of fever (Gal.). b. ύστερίζω [v.] 'to be late, lag behind' (also ἐφ-, καθ-).

•ETYM Identical with Skt. *uttara-* 'upper, higher', also 'behind, later', derived from PIE \**ud* 'on high, up, out'.

ύστιακόν [n.] 'drinking cup' (Rhinh. 3 = Ath. 500f.). <PG(V)>

•VAR ύστιακός · ποτήριον ποιόν. 'Ιταλιῶται (H.); ύστίς (ms. ύετίς)· ύδρίς. Ταραντίνοι (H.).

•ETYM In view of the variant in -κκ-, the word may be Pre-Greek (Fur.: 150).

ύστριξ, -ιχος [m., f.] 'porcupine, hedgehog' (Hdt., Arist., Ael.), plur. metaphorically 'swine-breasts' (Pl. Com.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Gen.pl. ύστρ-ίγγων (Opp.), as if from ύστριγξ.

•DER ύστριχίς, -ίδος [f.] 'cat-o'-nine-tails', for punishing slaves (Ar., etc.).

•ETYM Uncertain etymology. Often analysed as ύσ-τριξ, from θριξ, τριχός 'hair' and ύσ- like in ►ύστερος, so 'with rising hairs'. The ancients (e.g. Pl. Com.) connected it

with ύς 'swine'. To my mind, however, the nasalization proves Pre-Greek origin.  
► ύσπληξ.

ύζω [v.] 'to make the sound u-u', of owls (Poll.). <ONOM>

•ETYM An onomatopoea. Varia lectio for ύζω, according to LSJ.

ύφαίνω [v.] 'to weave, warp, devise, produce' (Il.). <IE \*(h<sub>1</sub>)uebh<sup>h</sup>- 'weave'>

•VAR Aor. ύφῆναι (Od.), ύφᾶναι (B. [Dor.], Hell. and late after τετραῖναι etc.), pass. ύφανθήναι (IA), fut. ύφανῶ (Att.), perf. pass. ύφασμαι (IA), act. συν-, παρ-, ἐξ- ύφαγκα (D. H. etc.),

•DIAL Myc. *e-we-pe-se-so-me-na* /ewepsēsomena/ 'which are to be woven', see Beekes 1969: 67.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, ἐξ-, συν-. As a second member: 1. adjectives in -υφής, e.g. συνυφής 'woven together' (to συνυφή, συνυφαίνω, Arist.), fem.pl. συνύφειαι 'cells of a honeycomb' (Arist.; uncertain reading), παρυφ-ής 'equipped with an edging (παρυφή)' (Ar. Fr. 320, 7, Poll., Phot.), fem. -ίς 'garment equipped with an edging' (Men., Poll.); ἡμιυφής 'half-woven' (Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>). 2. nominal -υφος, e.g. λίνυφος (λινό-) [m.] 'cloth-weaver' (pap., inscr.).

•DER 1. ύφαντός (τρι-, ἀν-, ἐν-, etc.) 'woven' (Od.). 2. ύφάν-της (συν-, ταπιδ-, etc.) [m.] 'weaver' (Att., Arist., pap., inscr.), -τρια [f.] (late; -τρα [f.]), whence -τικός, ἡ ύφαντική (τέχνη) 'belonging to the weaver, weaving' (Att., etc.). 3. ύφαν-τάριος 'id.' (Cyzicus). 4. ύφασμα [n.] 'weaving, fabric' (γ 274), also ἐξ-, ἐν-, etc.; hence -μάτιον (H.); ύφαμια (Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>). 5. ύφανσις (συν-) [f.] 'weaving' (Pl., Gal., Poll.). 6. ύφαν-τρον [n.] 'weaver's wage' (pap.). 7. ύφαν-τεῖον [n.] 'weaving mill' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>); -τών (?) 'id.' (pap. II<sup>p</sup>). Epic byforms: ύφάω in ύφώωσι (η 105), ύφανάω in ύφανόωντας (Man. 6, 433).

Further nouns, probably back-formations: 1. ύφή (παρ-, συν-, ἐφ-, γυναικο-) [f.] 'fabric' (trag., Pl., Arist., Hell. and late). 2. ύφος [n.] 'id.' (Pherecr., Eub., Hell. and late).

•ETYM The Myc. form may prove that the root was \*h<sub>1</sub>uebh<sup>h</sup>-. The chronology of the attestations suggests that ύφαίνω is not a denominative from ύφή, ύφος, but was transformed from an older primary present, a nasal present (cf. the Skt. forms) or from a nominal form in \*ub<sup>h</sup>-n- (thus LIV). Gr. ύφή, ύφος may be explained as PIE derivatives, or as back-formations within Greek. The hapax legomena ύφώωσι, ύφανόωντες are incidental formations of the epic language.

Cognate forms: Skt. pres. *ubhnāti*, inj. *sām unap*, pres. *umbhāti* 'to bind, fetter', *ūrṇā-vābhi*- 'spider' [m.], YAv. *ubdaēna*- [adj.] 'consisting of woven texture'; Alb. *ven* 'weave' (also from a nasal present?); OHG *weban* 'to weave, twist, spin'; ToA *wāp*-, ToB *wāp*- 'to weave'.

ύφεαρ, -εαρος [n.] Arcad. name of the mistletoe, 'Viscum album' (Thphr., H. who has ύφαίαρ). <?>

•ETYM Traditionally derived from Cypr. ►ύ- and \*φέφαρ, which would be a verbal noun to ἔφυν 'grew', following the explanation in H.: τὸ ἐπιφυόμενον ταῖς πεύκαις καὶ ἐλάταις 'what grows on firs'. This is quite doubtful, as a full grade φευ- from this root has further not been demonstrated in Greek with certainty (cf. on ►συφεός).

Perpillou therefore assumed that the word underwent dissimilation from \*u-p<sup>h</sup>uwar (doubtful); the note by Nikolaev *Glotta* 80 (2002): 221-230 is hardly acceptable. Connection with ►σῦφαρ 'wrinkled skin' (Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 27) is implausible, too.

ὑψι [adv.] 'up, above; aloft, upwards; high' (Hom., Hes.). <IE \*up-s- 'above'>

•COMP E.g. in ὑψιβρεμέτης 'high-thundering', of Zeus (Hom., Hes.), ὑψαύχην 'with the neck high, proud' (E., Pl. *Phdr.* 253d, AP, late prose), whence ὑψαυχεν-έω, -ίζω 'to bear the neck high, to strut' (Hell. and late).

•DER 1. adverbs ὑψ-οῦ, -όθι, -όσε, -όθε(ν) 'above', 'upwards, from above' (Il., epic poet.). 2. superl. ὑψιστος (Pi., trag., A. R. etc., also late prose), compar. -ίων (Pi. Fr. 213), -ίτερος (Theoc. 8, 46); also superl. -οτάτω [adv.] (B. Fr. 16, 6). 3. ὑψος [n.] 'height' (Hdt., Emp., Att. since A., Hell. and late), ὑψ-ήεις 'high' (Nic., AP), after αἰγλήεις, etc.; ὑψ-όω 'to raise, elevate' (Hell. and late), ptc. ὑψεύμενος (Hp.), also with ἀν-, ἐξ-, etc.; hence -ωμα, -ωματικός, -ωσις, -ωτής, -ωτικός. 4. ὑψηλός 'high' (Il.). 5. short names: Ὑψεύς [m.] (Pi.), Ὑψώ [f.] = Ὑψηλύη (Ar. Fr. 225, EM, Suid.).

•ETYM Old locative in \*-i, as in ἦρι, ἄρτι, ἄντι, etc., derived from the adverb \*up(-) as seen in ►ὑπατος, ►ὑπερ, ►ὑπο. The enlarging -σ- has a parallel in Aeol. ὄψι, Hom., etc. ὄψε 'late', in ἄψι beside ἄπ-ο, etc. In Latin, too, it was productive: *ab(s)-*, *ec/ex-*, *sub(s)-*. An additional \*s to PIE \*up- is also found in Celtic, e.g. OIr. *ós* 'above, over' < \*oupso-, OIr. *úasal* 'high', W *uchel*, Gaul. *Uxello*- 'high' < \*oupselo- 'higher', perhaps with the same *l*-suffix as in Gr. ὑψηλός < \*up-s-ēl-? Also in Slavic, e.g. Ru. *vyše* 'higher' < \*Húps- (see Derksen 2008: 535), OCS *vysoka* 'high'.

ὑω [v.] 'to rain', mostly impersonal 'it is raining', also 'to cause to rain, send rain'; passive ὑόμενος (ζ 131), ὕεται, ὕσθηναι (Hdt. etc.), ἐφυσμένος (X.) 'to be affected by rain, get rain'. <IE \*suh<sub>2</sub>-ie/o- 'rain'>

•VAR Only 3sg. pres. ipf. ὕει, ὕε (Il.), 3pl. ὕουσι, of νεφέλαι (Luc.), aor. ὕσαι (Pi., Hdt., etc.), ipv. ὕσον (ᾠ Ζεῦ, prayer by M. Ant.), fut. ὕσει (Cratin.), 1pl. ὕσομεν, of the clouds (Ar.).

•DER ὑετός [m.] 'rain' (M 133), ὑέτ-ιος 'rainy, bringing rain' (Ion., Arist., Hell. and late; Hdt. 2, 25 codd. ὑετώτατοι, -ώδης 'id.' (J.), -ία [f.] 'rainy weather' (Hell. and late), ὑετ-ίζω [v.] 'to send rain, rain upon' (LXX, pap.).

•ETYM Present in \*-ie/o- to the PIE root \*suh<sub>2</sub>- 'to pour, scatter'. Cognate forms: Hitt. *šuhha*-<sup>i</sup> / *šuhhi*- 'to scatter', *išhuu*-<sup>i</sup> / *išhui*- 'to throw, scatter, pour' (Kloekhorst 2008: 396, 773), ToA 3pl. *swiñc*, ToB 3sg. and pl. *suwam* 'it rains', ToA *swase*, ToB *swese* 'rain'; Alb. *shi* 'rain' < \*sū-, OPr. *suge* (= *suje*) 'id.'. Compare LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*sh<sub>2</sub>eu-. For other IE expressions for 'rain', see on ►οὐρανός, ►ἔρση and ►πλέω.

## Φ

**φαγεῖν** [v.aor.] 'to eat, consume, swallow' (Il.), late and MoGr. also metaphorically 'to swallow, endure'. <IE \*b<sup>h</sup>(e)h<sub>2</sub>g- 'distribute'>

•VAR Fut. φάγομαι (Hell. and late).

•COMP Also with κατα-, ἐν- etc. In compounds ὠμοφάγος 'eating raw flesh', of animals, also of wild peoples (Il.), ὠμοφαγέω [v.], -ία, -ιον; παματοφαγέισται [inf.med.] 'to be affected by confiscation' (Locr.), from \*παματο-φάγος. Hence by reanalysis φάγος [m.] 'devourer, glutton' (Ev. Matt., Ev. Luc.). Rarely as a first member: φαγανθρώπων· ἀκαθάρτων (H.), reversal of ἀνθρωποφάγων; φαγολοίδωρος 'bearing insults' (gloss.), φαγέ-σωρος 'gluttonous', whence -σωρίτις γαστήρ (Com. Adesp.). Hypostasis προσφάγιον [n.] 'side dish, cheese'.

•DER 1. φάγ-ᾱς [m.] 'devourer' (Cratin.), κατα- 'id.' (A. Fr. 428 = 709 M.), κατω- (nick)name of a bird (Ar. Av. 288). 2. φάγ-έδαινα [f.] 'cancerous ulcer' (Hp., trag., D., etc.), 'gluttony' (Gal.), whence -εδαινικός 'cancerous', -εδαινόμαι, -όω 'to suffer from cancer', -ωμα (medic., Plu., Poll. etc.); to \*φαγεδών. 3. Also φάγαινα· ἡ μετὰ τὰς νόσους πολυφαγία (Ammon. Diff.), acc. to H. also = φαγέδαινα. Further φάγων, -ωνος [m.] 'glutton' (Varro, Vopisc.); also φαγόνες· σιαγόνες, γνάθοι 'jaws' (H.). 4. φάγ-ημα [n.] 'food, dish' (late), προσ- 'side dish' (Aesop.). 5. -ήσια (scil. ιερά) [n.pl.] 'eating festival', -ησιπόσια 'eating and drinking festival' (Clearch.). 8. φάγυλοι· μαστοί, μάρσιπποι (H.), φάγυλιον· μαρσίππιον (Phot.). On ►φάγιλος, see s.v.

•ETYM Gr. φαγεῖν functions as an aorist to ἐσθίω. Cognate forms: Skt. *bhājati* pres. 'to distribute, assign', med. -*te* 'obtain, participate in, enjoy'; *bhaktá-* [n.] 'portion, meal, food', *bhakṣá-* [m.] 'food, drink, delight'. PIE \*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>go- [m.] > Skt. *bhága-* [m.] 'prosperity, well-being, happiness', Av. *baga-*, *baṇa-* [n.] 'share, (favourable) lot', OP *baga-* 'god'. The short vowel of Ilr. \*b<sup>h</sup>aga- is explained by Lubotsky's Law (Lubotsky MSS (1981)) from the loss of the laryngeal in front of a voiced stop plus another consonant; this condition would have been given, for instance, in athematic verb forms, and in *bhakṣ-*, Av. *baxš-*. ToB *pāke*, ToA *pāk* 'part, piece' might reflect a borrowing from Middle Iranian (Adams 1999: 363), and the Slavic cognates (e.g. OCS *bogatъ*, Ru. *bogátyj* 'rich', OCS *bogъ*, Ru. *bog* 'god') must also be loanwords from Iranian, since they do not show reflexes of Winter's Law. See ►βαγαῖος.

**φάγιλος** [m.] = ἄμνός 'lamb' (Arist. Fr. 507). <GR>

•ETYM Derived from ►φαγεῖν and referring to the age of the lamb, scil. when becomes edible.

**φαγνος** 'salvia' (gloss.), cited by Fur.: 124.



•ETYM Cf. ►σφάγνος.

**φάγρος 1** [m.] Cretan word for ἀκόνι 'whetstone', acc. to Simias (*fr.* 27) apud Ath. 6, 327e. <?>

•ETYM Might be formally and semantically identical with Arm. *bark* 'bitter, sharp of taste, vehement, angry', if from PIE *\*bʰh₂g-ro-* 'sharpening'; but see ►φοξός.

**φάγρος 2** [m.] name of a fish, perhaps 'sea bream, *Pagrus vulgaris*' (Hp., com., Arist., etc.). <PG>

•VAR Variants πάγρος (Hdn. Gr. 1, 203); φάγωρος· ἰχθύς ποιός (H.), φαγώριος (Str.), dissimilated from \*φάγρ-? Also πάγουρος?

•ETYM Probably identical with ►φάγρος 1, because of the pointed shape of the body, or the sharp teeth. Acc. to Isidorus, the Greeks called this fish *fagrus* "quod duros dentes habeat, ita ut ostreis in mari alatur". The variants π-/φ- and -ρος/-ωρος show that the word is Pre-Greek (Fur.: 165). Differently Taillardat in DELG *Supp.*

**φαδάσαι** [v.] · γνάψαι 'to card' (H.). <GR>

•ETYM Read φαδ<ι>άσαι, derived from φάδι = *trāma*, κρόκη, πηνίον 'woof, weft', whence the denominative verb φαδιάζειν; φάδι is the popular form of ὑφάδιον (see ►ύφαίνω).

**φάε, φαέθων, etc.** ⇒φάος.

**φαζάλη** [f.] · πάθος σωματικόν, ὃ γίνεται τοῖς ἐρυθράν θάλασσαν πλέουσι (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**φάζαινα** [f.] a disease of horses (*Hippiatr.*). <PG(S)>

•ETYM Clearly a Pre-Greek word in -αίνα (Fur.: 172<sup>117</sup>).

**φαίδιμος** [adj.] 'shining, noble', often as an epithet of Ἑκτωρ, Ἀχιλλεύς, and others (Il., epic poet.), also as a PN; metrically enlarged -ιμός (N 686). <IE *\*gʷʰ(e)h₂id-* 'bright, clear'>

•DER φαιδρός 'bright, clear, cheerful, joyous' (Pi., Sol., A., etc.; Φαίδρη λ 321); in compounds e.g. in φαιδρόνους 'with a joyous mind' (A.), φαιδρωπός 'with a bright look' (A., E.). Hence 1. φαιδρ-ότης [f.] 'brightness, cheerfulness' (inscr., Plu. etc.). 2. -όομαι 'to be cheerful' (X.). 3. -ύνω 'to make clear, clean, wash; to cheer up, refresh' (mostly poet. since Hes. *Op.* 753), rarely with ἐκ-, ἐπι-, ἀπο-; thence -υντής [m.], lit. 'purifier', of the statue of Zeus in Olympia (Paus., Poll.), but usually φαιδυντής, -ταί (El. and Att. inscr.; cf. below); fem. φαιδρύντρια (A. *Ch.* 759). Isolated is φαίδει· ὄψει (H.), probably from \*φαῖδος [n.].

•ETYM We find a stem φαιδ- with various suffixes: φαιδ-ρός, φαίδ-ιμος, \*φαῖδ-ος; for a similar system, compare e.g. κυδρός : κύδιμος : κύδος, etc. Another derivative must have been \*φαιδ-ύνω (compare αἰσχρός : αἴσχος : αἰσχύνω), which has left a trace in φαιδυντής, and may have been replaced in the transmission by φαιδρύνω. However, formations such as φαιδρύντρια and φαιδρόνους (for \*φαίδι-νους) in A. testify to the productivity of the adjective φαιδρός. Cognate forms are Lith. *gaidrūs* 'bright, clear', *gaidrà* 'cloudless heaven, clear weather', also *giēdras*, -rūs 'id.' < PIE *\*gʷʰeh₂id-*.

**φαίκανον** [n.] = πήγανον 'rue, *Ruta graveolens*' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM Probably foreign, acc. to Schwyzler: 490. The word is probably Pre-Greek; compare φαικός.

**φαικός** [adj.] synonym of λαμπρός (S. *fr.* 1107 P., H.).

•DER φαικῶς· λαμπρῶς (H.); φαικός, -άδος, also φαικάσιον (Eratosth.) 'white shoes', also shoes of farmers (H.), borrowed into Latin as *phaecasia*. Here probably PN Φαικίας, Φακίνας, Φακύλος, Φαίκων (Bechtel 1917b: 495).

•ETYM A variant of φαῖός? Fur.: 328<sup>24</sup> separates the two, in view of the difference in meaning.

**φαιλόνης** ⇒φαινόλης.

**φαινόλης** [m.] 'thick upper garment, cloak' (pap. since IP, Arr., Ath.). <GR?>

•VAR Dor. φαινόλα (Rhinh.); also φαίνουλα, παίνουλα, πένουλα (*Edict. Diocl.*).

•DER Diminutive φαινόλιον [n.] (pap. IP). With metathesis φαιλόνης, φελ- (2 *Ep.* Ti. 4, 13), and the more usual φαιλόνιον (pap.), probably after the instrument nouns in -όνη, -όνιον; MoGr. φαιλόνη (φελ-).

•ETYM Formation like μαινόλης 'raving', σκωπτόλης 'mocking', etc. (Chantraine 1933: 237f.), but since it refers to an instrument, the semantics are deviant. An old feminine formation (like μαινόλης etc.) is found in φαινόλης, an epithet of ἡώς, αὔως (*h. Cer.*, Sapph.), in the sense of 'bright, illuminating' clearly belonging to φαίνω. It is unclear why the cloak was referred to as "the illuminating / shining one". Borrowed as Lat. *paenula*.

**φαίνω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to show, make visible, bring to light, make known', med. and act. intr. 'to become visible, come to light, appear' (Il.). <IE *\*bʰeh₂-* 'light, shine'>

•VAR Reduplicated παμ-φαίνω, ptc. -φανόωσα, -φανό-ωντα (Il., epic poet.), παμφανά· λάμπει (H.), aor. φῆναι (Dor. φᾶναι), intr. φανῆναι (all Il.), fut. φανέω, -ῶ (since T 104), -έομαι (since μ 230), -ήσομαι (Hdt. et al.), Dor. -ησέω (Archim.), πεφήσεται (P 155), perf. med. πέφασμαι, 3sg. πέφανται (Il.), act. intr. πῆφηναι (IA), Dor. πέφᾶναι (Sophr.), trans. πέφαγκα (later Att.), aor. med. trans. φήνασθαι (IA), intr. and pass. φανθῆναι (Att.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, κατα-, προ-, ὑπο-. Compounds: as a first member e.g. in φαινομηρίδες (Ibyc.), sing. φανόμηρις (Poll.) [f.] 'showing the thigh, with visible thighs'; PNs, e.g. Φαινέλαος, Φαννόθεμις, Φανότιμος. As a second member, adapting to the s-stems, e.g. τηλεφανής 'far-seen, conspicuous' (poet. since ω 83); innumerable PNs, e.g. Ἀριστο-φάνης; very often from prefixed compounds, e.g. ἐμφανής 'visible, apparent, evident' (IA) (to ἐμφαίνω), whence -εα, -ία, -ίζω, -ισις, -ίσιμος, -ισμός, -ιστής, -ιστικός.

•DER 1. φαν-ερός 'visible, apparent, clear' (Pi., IA), whence -ερ-ότης (late), -όομαι (Hdt.), -όω (late), -ωσις. On φανερός meaning 'quidam' in Byzantine Greek, see Tabachovitz *Eranos* 30 (1932): 97ff. 2. Φάνης, -ητος [m.] name of an Orphian god (Orph.). 3a. φά-σις [f.] 'announcement' (Att.), 'appearing, appearance' (Ti. Locr., Arist., Hell.+); frequently from prefixed compounds, e.g. πρόφασις [f.] 'alleged motive, pretence' (Thgn., IA), whence -σίζομαι (Thgn., IA), -ιστικός (LXX, Ph.);

ἔμφα-σις [f.] 'appearance, reflection, clarification, emphasis' (Arist., Hell.+), -τικός 'emphatic' (Demetr. *Eloc.*, etc.). b. φάνσις [f.] 'appearance' (very rare and late), ἀπόφαν-σις [f.] 'declaration, statement' (Arist., Hell.+; beside ἀπόφασις), whence -τικός (Arist. etc.), ἀνάφανσις [f.] 'appearance' (late), ἄμφαν-σις 'adoption' (*Leg. Gort.*), -τός 'adopted' (ibid.). 4. ἀμφαντός [f.] 'id.' (*Leg. Gort.*). 5. φάσμα [n.] 'appearance, omen' (Ion. poet., Arist., etc.). 6. Verbal adj.: a. -φαντος, often in compounds: ἄφαντος 'invisible' (Il., epic poet., late prose), νυκτίφαντος 'appearing in the night' (A., E.); πρόφαντος 'announced, revealed' (Pi., Hdt., S. etc.), to προφαίνω; secondarily φαντός as a simplex 'visible' (Orph.). Also b. -φατος in ἀπαρέμφατος (to παρ-εμ-φαίνω), scil. ἔγκλισις, lit. "not showing anything alongside", as a grammatical term = Lat. *modus infinitivus* (D. H., etc.), opposed to παρεμφατικός, also ἀν-, κακ-έμφατος, etc. (late), also πρό-, ὑπέρ-φατος (Pi.).

7. -φάντης [m.] in univerbations, e.g. ἱεροφάν-της (ἱρο-) "who explains holy practices", 'senior priest' (IA), whence -τις, -τέω, -τία, -τικός. 8. -φα(ν)τικός to prefixed compounds, e.g. ἔμφα(ν)τικός 'expressive, demonstrative' (Hell.+). 9. φάντωρ [m.] 'one who displays' (Att. epigr. IIP), ἐκφάν-τωρ, -τορία, -τορικός (late); also in univerbations, e.g. ἱερο-φάντωρ (Suid.), -φάντρια [f.] (Rom. inscr. IVP). 10. Denominative (to derivations in -τ-): φαντάζομαι [v.] 'to become visible, appear' (IA), occasionally with ἐκ-, ἐν-, κατα- etc., act. -άζω 'to make visible, present' (late), whence φάντασ-μα [n.] 'appearance' (trag., Pl., etc.), -μάτιον (Plu.), -μός 'id.' (Epicur.), -ις (ἐμ-) [f.] 'sight, appearance' (Pl., etc.), -ία [f.] 'sight, imagination, fantasy' (Pl., Arist., etc.), whence -ιώδης, -ιάζομαι, -ίομαι, -ίω, -ιαστικός; φαντασ-τός (Arist. et al.), -τικός (Pl., Arist., etc.) 'able to produce the appearance'. 11. Adverbs: -φадόν in ἀμφαδόν 'publicly, openly' (Hom.), adj. -δός (τ 391, A. R.), -διος (ζ 288), adv. -δίην (H 196, Thgn., et al.); -φανδόν in (ἐξ-)ἀναφανδόν 'id.' (Hom.); δια-, ἀμφάδην, Dor. -δαν 'id.' (Archil., Sol., Alcm.), ἐκφάνδην 'id.' (Philostr.); ἀναφανδά (Od., A. R.).

Hence, from the present stem, the jocular adverb φαίνινδα παίζειν 'to play ball' (Antiph. Com. etc.). On φανή [f.] 'torch', see on φανός (s.v. ► φάος).

•ETYM Derived from the PIE root *\*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-* 'to shine, appear, seem'. A primary verb is found in Skt. *bhā-ti* 'to light, shine', noun *bhānū-*, Av. *bānu-* [m.] 'splendour'; a nominal *n*-suffix is also found in OIr. *bán* 'white', ToA *pañi*, ToB *peñiyo* [m.] 'splendour', and in Germanic: OE *bōnian*, LG *bohlen* 'to polish, scrub'.

Most of the Greek forms are formed on a verbal stem φαν-, whence φαίνω < *\*p<sup>h</sup>an-je/o-*. Acc. to LIV, this goes back to a PIE nasal present *\*b<sup>h</sup>n-(e)h<sub>2</sub>-*, whence with thematization Proto-Greek *\*φανε/o-*. Cognate nasal presents are (continued in) Arm. *banam* 'to open, reveal', nasalless aor. *bac'i*, Alb. Gheg *bāj*, Tosk *běj* 'to make, do' < *\*ban-*. A verbal form without stem-final nasal is the hapax legomenon πεφήσεται; it is also found in zero grade φάσις, -φατος, -φατικός and φάσμα. Some of these may also have been formed analogically: for φάσμα, compare ὕφασμα to ὑφαίνω, for φάσις, -φατος, compare βάσις, -βατος to βαίνω; and πεφήσεται could have been supported by βήσεται to βαίνω. Alternatively, φάσις, -φατος reflect nasalless forms in *\*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-*, and πεφήσεται < PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-*. The H.-glosses πέφιη, ἐφάνη ἢ πεφύκασι and φάντα· λάμποντα are not very reliable. See ► φάος, ► φημί.

φαιός [adj.] 'grey, dark grey, blackish', also of dark colors in general (Pl., Arist., Hell.+), metaphorically of the voice (Arist.). ◀?►

•COMP φαιοχίτωνες [f.pl.] 'having dark chitons' (A.), λευκόφαιος 'whitish grey' (pap., Ath., Poll.).

•DER φαιότης [f.] 'dark grey color', ὑποφαιώ (to ὑπόφαιος) [v.] 'to color grey' (late). The ethnonym Φαίακες, Φαίηκες has also been compared to this adjective (cf. Björck 1950: 260f.). Furthermore φαικός = λαμπρός (S. Fr. 1107, H.), φακῶς λαμπρῶς ... (H.), influenced in form and meaning by λευκός. Hence φαικ-άσιον [n.] (Hell.+), -άς [f.] (AP) designation of a white (?) shoe? Here also φωτός (of χλαῖνα Delph. IV<sup>a</sup>), or to φάος?

•ETYM φαιός has been compared with Lith. *gaĩsas* 'beam of light, redness in the sky', and reconstructed as PIE *\*g<sup>wh</sup>aiso-* or *\*g<sup>wh</sup>əiso-* (compare φαιδρός : Lith. *gaidrūs*); neither is possible in the current reconstruction of PIE (at the most, *\*g<sup>wh</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>i-so-*). Other reconstructions which have been proposed are *\*φαιφός* and *\*φαισφός*. Lith. *gaĩsas* has also been derived from *\*gaid-sas* (cf. *gaidrūs*), but apparently without any support. In short, the etymology of φαιός is unknown.

φαιρίδω [v.] = σφαιρίζω (H.). ◀GR►

•ETYM For the form, see Schwyzler: 1, 334. It must be a dialectal form of σφαιρ-.

Φαιστός [?] town in Crete, in the Peloponnese, in Thessaly (Plu.). ◀PG►

•VAR Φαῖστος is a PN, a Trojan (E 43ff.).

•DIAL Myc. *pa-i-to*.

•DER Φαίστιος inhabitant of Phaistos.

•ETYM A Pre-Greek name (DELG); strangely enough the name is not mentioned in Fick 1905, except on p. 15, where no interpretation is given.

φάκελος [m.] 'bundle' (Hdt., Th., E. Cyc. 242, Arist., Hell.+). ◀PG(V)►

•VAR Also φακελλος (Arist.).

•COMP ὀλοφάκε[λος] [adj.] 'forming a whole (unbroken) bundle' (pap. IIP).

•ETYM The suffix is reminiscent of πύελος, σκόπελος etc. (Chantraine 1933: 244), but the variant in -λλ- proves that this word is Pre-Greek. Fur.: 173 further compares φάσκωλος and βάσκιος, βασκευταί, φασκίδες. Solmsen 1909: 7<sup>2</sup> hesitatingly compared σφάκελος 'gangrene, spasm' (which is quite possible if the word is Pre-Greek); the common meaning would be "drawn together, tied together".

φακιάλιον [n.] 'face-cloth, headscarf, towel' (late pap. etc.). ◀LW Lat.►

•VAR Also -ιάριον, -ιόλιον, πακιάλιον.

•ETYM Loanword from Lat. *faciāle*; details in Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 187.

φακός [m.] 'lentil', often metaphorically of lentil-like objects, e.g. 'hot-water bottle, birthmark, freckle' (IA). ◀PG?►

•COMP φακοειδής 'lentiform' (Arist., Str. etc.).

•DER 1. φάκ-ιον [n.] 'decoction of lentils' (Hp.). 2. -ινος 'prepared with lentils', -ινᾶς [m.] 'seller of lentil-products', φακινο-πώλιον [n.] 'shop with lentil-products' (pap. etc.). 3. φακ-ώδης 'lentil-like, full of lentil-like spots' (Hp. etc.). -ωτός 'lentiform' etc.). 4. φάκ-ωσεις [f.pl.] 'formations of freckles' (Heph. Astr.). Also 4. φακέα (Epich.),

φακή (Ar., Hell.) [f.] 'dish made of lentils, lentil soup'; φακεψός, φακηψός [m.] 'cooker of lentil (soup)' (Hell. and late pap.). 5. nickname Φακᾶς [m.] (Suid. s.v. Διοσκορίδης). On ► άφάκη, see s.v.

•ETYM Possibly Pre-Greek, if άφάκη, άφακος 'vetch' can be connected. Phonetically, φακός agrees well with Albanian *bathë* 'broad bean' < earlier \*b<sup>(h)</sup>a/oḱ-. For the ending, cf. άρακος. The initial syllable φα- also occurs in Lat. *faba* < \*b<sup>h</sup>ab<sup>h</sup>ā, Ru. *bob*, OPr. *babo* 'bean', and Gr. ► φάσηλος.

\*φάκται = φάκτον.

φακτωνάριος [m.] "head of a company of charioteers with the colors of his faction of the circus". <LW Lat.>

•VAR Also φακτονάριος.

•ETYM From Lat. *factiōnārius*.

φάκτον 1 [n.] 'act, action, fact' (Leo Mag., Priscian.). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM From Lat. *factum*, which entered Greek after the VP.

φάκτον 2 [n.] 'a recipient and a measure'. See Naoumides *Gr. Rom. Byz. St.* 9 (1968): 280, who cites from Cyr. (cod. Matritensis) φάκον· μέτρον παρὰ Ἀρκάσιν, κοτύλαι Ἀττικάι τρεῖς. Compare H. [on φ 74] φάκτει [leg. φάκτα]· ληνοί, σιπύαι, πύελοι. <PG?>

•DIAL Perhaps Myc. *pa-ko-to*, see Lejeune 1958: 341<sup>29</sup>.

•ETYM An Arcadian measure. Meier-Brügger KZ 107 (1994): 90f. follows Neumann, who derives the word from the root of φαγεῖν 'eat' (originally 'distribute'), \*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>g-, with substantivizing accent. DELG suggests a connection with παχύς, which seems highly improbable to me. Fur.: 171 compares \*βάκανον, and βαβάκινον <καὶ βαβάκινον>· χύτρας εἶδος (H.), and βακάιον· μέτρον τι (H.); there also extensively on MLat. *baccinus*.

φαλά [?]· μικρά κάρα (H., Fur.: reads φάλα). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also φάλαι· ὄροι, σκοπιαί (H.).

•ETYM Fur.: 172 connects βαλόν· οὐρανόν (H.), and further ► φάλος.

φάλαγξ, -αγγος [f.] 'round and longish piece of wood, log, roller, beam' (Hdt., Delos III<sup>a</sup>, A. R., Orph.), 'balance beam' (Arist.), 'joint of the fingers' (Arist., medic.), 'row of eyelashes' (Paul. Aeg.), 'spider' (com., X.), after the long joints of its legs; traditionally a technical term in the military: '(close or dense) battle-array, line of battle' (Il.), in later times of the so-called Dorian and especially of the Macedonian phalanx, with heavy-armed infantry (X., Plb. etc.). <PG(S)>

•COMP φαλαγγομαχ-έω [v.] 'to fight in or against a line of battle (on foot)' (X., D. S.), opposed to ἵππο-, πυργο-μαχέω; φαλαγγομάχ-ᾱς [m.] 'fighting in a line of battle' (AP).

•DER 1. φαλάγγ-ιον [n.] 'kind of poisonous spider' (Att., etc.), "spider herb", used against spider-bites (Dsc.), 'roller' (H., Eust., EM). 2. -ίτης [m.] 'soldier of a phalanx' (Plb. etc.), "spider herb" (Gal.), -ίτης [f.] 'id.' (Dsc.). 3. -ιτικός 'consisting of soldiers of a phalanx' (Plb.). 4. -ηδόν 'in battle-array' (O 360, Plb. etc.). 5. φαλαγγ-όω [v.] 'to

furnish with rollers' (Ph. Bel., etc.), -ωμα [n.] 'roller' (Phryn. PS), also = πομπή τις ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις (H.), -ωσις [f.] name for a disease of the eyelashes (medic.). 6. φαλαγκτήρια [n.pl.] 'round logs' (Milete V<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Formation like φάραγξ, σῆραγξ, φάρυγξ etc. The prenasalized form proves Pre-Greek origin (not in Fur.!). The nasal and the consistent vocalization as -αλα- render the earlier comparison with Germanic 'beam' (ON *bjalki* [m.] < \*belkan-, OHG *balko* [m.] < \*balkan-) and Balto-Slavic words (Lith. *balžiena(s)* 'flexible crossbeam on a sledge, stick', Ru. (dial.) *bólozno* 'thick plank', etc.) obsolete. Latin *sufflāmen* [n.] 'clog, break' (if < \*flāg-(s)men- or \*flag-smen-) is also problematic. The Greek noun was borrowed into Latin as *phalanga*, whence late Latin / Romance *planca*, MoHG *Planke*, etc.

φαλακρός <PG>

•VAR Also φάλανθος, φάλαρος, φάληρος, φαλιός, etc.

•ETYM The group of φάλανθος and φαλακρός is no doubt of Pre-Greek origin; see on ► φάλος.

φάλαρα [pl.] = φάλος.

φαλίζει [v.]· θέλει (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

φαλικρόν [adj.]· ἄκρατον 'unmixed, pure' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM Fur.: 389 compares ► χάλις.

φαλίσ [?]· κάνναβις (H.). <GR>

•ETYM To ► φάλος = λευκός; cf. SCr. *bjelojka*, Sln. *belica* 'white hemp', MoHG *Wißhampf*.

φάλης [m.] part of a ship, acc. to Poll. 1, 85f. = τὸ τῇ στείρᾳ προσηλούμενον, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ δευτέρα τρόπις, usually interpreted as 'beam, board, rib of a ship'. <PG?>

•ETYM The uncertainty about the exact meaning renders etymologizing difficult. The word has been connected with φάλαγξ and with Lat. *falx*, *flectō* (see Frisk s.v.). The Latin noun might be related to Gr. ἐμφαλκωμένοις· περιπεπλεγμένοις (Suid.). Another unclear word is φάλκη· ὁ τῆς κόμης αὐχμός, ἢ νυκτερίς (H.). In the first meaning, perhaps related to πάλκος (see ► πηλός)? On the different names of the bat, see Schwentner KZ 71 (1954): 95f. The word may well be Pre-Greek.

φάλλαινα [f.] 'whale' (A. Fr. 464 M., Arist., Str., Nonn., etc.), of a monster (Ar. V. 35, 39, Lyc. 841); also 'moth' (Nic. Th. 760; Rhodian acc. to sch.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Codd. often φάλαινα, but the length of the syllable is metrically ascertained.

•DER Shorter form φάλλη [f.] 'whale' (Lyc. 84, 394), = ἡ πετομένη ψυχὴ (H.); φάλ<λ>αι· φάλ<λ>αῖναι (H.).

•ETYM Formed with the feminine suffix -αῖνα to a stem \*φάλλων or φαλλος; see ► φαλλός. Borrowed as Lat. *ballaena*; Latin *b-* instead of *p(h)-* shows that it entered Latin through a third language. The word will be of Pre-Greek origin (note the variation between single and geminate λ); see Fur.: 171<sup>77</sup> on words in -αῖνα.

**φάλλαινα 2** [f.] 'night-moth'. <?>

•ETYM DELG discusses the possible relation between this word and ►φάλλαινα 1. Cf. Keller 1913: 437ff.; Gil Fernández 1959: 204-207.

**φαλλός** [m.] 'membrum virile' (Hdt., Ar., Att. inscr. etc.). <PG(V)>

•COMP φαλλοφόρος, -φορέω (late), also φαλληφορέω, -φόρια [n.pl.] (Plu.), ἰθύφαλλος (Cratin., D. [from youth slang] etc.).

•DER φαλλικός 'belonging to the φ.' (Ar., Arist.); Φαλλήν, -ήνος [m.] epithet of Dionysus (Paus. 10, 19, 3; codd. Κεφαλήνα); φαλλίων = φαλλοφόρος (Suid.); περιφαλλία· πομπή Διονύσῳ τελουμένη τῶν φαλλῶν (H.). Also φάλης, -ητος (-ῆς, -ῆτος) [m.] = φαλλός, also personified (Sophr., S. *Ichn.*, Ar., Theoc., H.); Ion. gen. φάλλεω (Hippon. 14b).

•ETYM The meaning 'membrum virile' probably developed from another, more concrete meaning. In meaning, the word βαλλία 'private parts' (Herod.) is closest; some have connected the ethnonym Τριβαλλοί (= \*Τριφαλλοί). Other look-alikes in form and meaning are MoHG (dial.) *bille* 'penis' and OIr. *ball* 'member, body-part', which have often been compared with various words (especially from Germanic) for 'ball, bullet, sack, drinking vessel, testis, bull', from a hypothetical PIE root \*b<sup>h</sup>el- 'blow (up), swell'. Because of its body shape, the whale ►φάλλαινα might also be cognate with φαλλός. The connection with 'pyralis, night-moth' remains unclear (Immisch *Glotta* 6 (1915): 194ff.; cf. also Güntert 1919: 219f.).

The forms with β (βαλλίων Herod. 6, 69) and the variation λ/λλ clearly point to Pre-Greek origin, see Fur.: 172.

**φάλος** [m.] helmet ornament or part of the helmet, 'grainy top?', 'band of the helmet?' (Il.). <PG?(V)>

•COMP ἄφαλος 'without a φ.' (K 258), τετράφαλος 'with four φάλοι' (M 384, X 315), ἀμφίφαλος 'with a φάλος on both sides, surrounded by φάλοι' (E 743 = Λ 41, Q. S. 3, 334). On ►τρυφάλεια, see s.v.

•DER φάλαρα [n.pl.] part of a helmet, 'decorations?', 'jaw piece' ? (Π 106), 'jaw piece of horses' (Hdt., E., X. etc.), 'jaw dressings' (late medic.), metaphorically 'decorations' (Plu., D. Chr.), -ἄρον [sg.] 'ornament of the τιάρα' (A. Pers. 663 [lyr.]); acc. to H. = ἀστραγάλισκος ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς περικεφαλαίας, καὶ παραγναθίδες, χαλιννοὶ ἢ ἵπποκόσμια. Hence Φαλαρτίτις [f.] epithet of Athena (Call. Fr. 503). Also τετραφάληρος, epithet of κυνέη (beside ἀμφίφαλος; E 743 = Λ 41).

•ETYM As the form and function of the φάλοι and φάλαρα remain unknown, any attempt at an etymology remains hypothetical. Borrowed as Lat. *phalerae*. Fur.: 231 adduces βαλόν· οὐρανόν 'sky'; see also op.cit. 257<sup>36</sup> on the suffix -αρα. So the word may be of Pre-Greek origin, provided that the identification is correct.

**φαλός** [adj.] · λευκός (H.). <PG(V)>

•DER φαλύνει· λαμπρύνει; φαλίσσεται· λευκαίνεται, ἀφρίζει, probably also φαλίπτει· μωραίνει and φαλωθείς· πατραπείεις (all H.); cf. λευκαὶ φρένες· μαινόμεναι (H.), from Pi. P. 4, 194, and φαλός also = μωρός, ἐμμανής (H.) (not to φιηλός, pace e.g. Pok. 489f.).

Furthermore: 1. φαλός 'bright, white-spotted' (Call., Hell. pap., Procop.), after πολίος; φαλιόπουν· λευκόπουν (H.). 2. φάληρος (Nic.), Dor. -ἄρος (Theoc.), 'white-spotted', also as an animal name (Theoc.), denominative ptc. φαληριδώντα 'frothing up white' (κύματα N 799). Hence φαληρίς, -ἄρις [f.] 'Eurasian coot, Fulica atra' (Ar., Arist., etc.), also 'canary grass, Phalaris nodosa' (Dsc.), -ήριον [n.] 'id.' (Ps.-Dsc.). TN Φάληρον [n.] a harbour of Athens. 3. φαλακρός (also ἀνα-, ἥμι-, etc.) 'bald-headed, round and bald' (IA), -ότης [f.] (Hp., Arist.), -δομαι 'to become bald-headed', -όω 'to make bald' (Hdt., Arist., LXX), ἀπο- (Phryn. PS), -ωμα, -ωσις (LXX, Plu., etc.); -ιάω 'id.' (Suid. s.v. ἀωρόλειος); fem. φαλάκρα 'bare hill' (St. Byz.); TN Φαλάκρα(ι), -ἄκριον etc.; also Βάλαγρος, -άγραι. As Frisk 1934: 62-64 showed, -ακρο- is suffixal and has nothing to do with the word for 'top'. 4. φάλανθος 'baldheaded, bald' (AP, D. L., pap., etc.), also as a PN and TN; -αντίας [m.] 'bald head' (Luc.), -άντωμα [n.] 'bare spot' (v.l. LXX), often ἀναφάλαντος (-ανθος) 'id.' (pap., LXX), and -αντίας (-ανθίας), -αντιαῖος, -αντίασις, -άντωμα (Arist., LXX, Luc. etc.); probably after the verbal adjectives in -αντος (cf. e.g. ἀθέρμαντος = ἄθερμος, etc.), then sporadically adapted to ἄνθος. See also ►παμφαλάω and ►φαλίζ.

•ETYM All Greek forms may be derived from the adj. φάλος, which was compared with Lith. *bālas* 'white', as a plant-name 'snowdrop, etc.' (beside more usual *bāltas* 'white'), and with Alb. *balë* 'horse with a white spot on its forehead'. A lengthened grade to this root is found in Latv. *bāls* 'pale', and OCS *bělъ*, Ru. *bélyj* 'white' < \*b<sup>h</sup>ēlH-o-.

Among numerous other formations, the Lat. and Germanic designations of the coot (= φαληρίς) has also been compared: Lat. *fulica* (probably < \*b<sup>h</sup>ol-ik-), OHG *belihha*, MoHG *Belche*. It was further supposed that ►βαλιός was related as a word from the Balkans, with Βαλιός (name of a horse of Achilles), see Brandenstein *Sprache* 2 (1950-1952): 76 with further combinations.

However, the whole group, with interchanges φ/β, τ/θ, κ/γ, is clearly of Pre-Greek origin, see Fur.: 192.

**φάνδουρος** ⇒ πάνδουρος.

**φανός** ⇒ φάος.

**φάος** [n.] 'light, daylight', also metaphorically (Il., epic poet.). <IE \*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>- 'shine'>

•VAR φώς (epic), φῶς (Att.), also φάβος = φάφος (Pamphyl.), gen. φάεος, Att. φάους and φωτός, nom.acc.pl. φάεα, φάη, φῶτα, etc.

•COMP φαεσφόρος (Call.), φαοσφόρος (Lyr. *Adesp.*), φωσφόρος (Att.) 'bringing light, bearing a torch'; φαυοφόροι· Αἰολεῖς· ἰέρειαι (H.). Frequent as a second member, e.g. λευκοφαής 'with white light, white-gleaming', παμφαής 'all-shining, wholly radiant' (trag.), αὐξίφαής 'increasing light' (Man., Cat. Cod. Astr.), Εὐρυφάεσσα [f.] mother of Helios (h. Hom. 31; analogical formation metri causa); furthermore φωτ(ο-) (Hell.) in e.g. φωτοειδής 'luminous, full of light', φωταγωγός 'bringing light', fem. 'opening for light, window', whence -αγωγέω, -ία; αὐξίφωτος 'increasing light', whence -φωτέω, -ία.

•DER 1. From φάος: φαεινός < \*φαεσ-νός (Il., epic poet.), φάεννος (Aeol.), PN Φαηνος (Dor.), Φαινα (Arc.), φᾶνός (Att.) 'shining, bright, pure'; thence φανότης

[f.] 'brightness'; as a noun φᾶνός [m.] 'torch' (com., X., etc.), also φᾶνή [f.] (Hes. *Fr.* 47, E.), perhaps after φᾶνῆναι, -φᾶνής? Φᾶναῖος epithet of Zeus (E. *Rh.* 355 [lyr.]), of Apollo (Achae.). From φαεινός: φαείνω (ἀμφι-) [v.] 'to come to light, shine, glow' (Od., epic), also trans. 'to bring to light' (Nic.), pass. 'to appear' (Call., A. R.); aor. pass. φαάνθην (Il., μ 441), probably for \*φαένθην after φάνθην (Chantraine 1942: 81; cf. Schwyzler: 723), whence φαάντατος 'most radiant' (v 93), compar. φαάντερος (AP).

2. From φῶς: φωτ-εινός 'glowing, light, bright' (X., Hell.+), φωτ-ίζω [v.] 'to (en)lighten, brighten, reveal, instruct', also of baptism (Hell.+), also with δια-, ἐπι-, κατα- etc.; thence -ισμός (κατα-, ἐπι-, περι-) [m.], -ισις (δια-) [f.] 'enlightenment' (Hell.+), -ιστικός 'enlightening' (late), -ιστήριον [n.] 'baptistery' (*Epigr.* VI<sup>p</sup>), plur. = *luminaria* (gloss.), -ισμα [n.] 'lunar phase' (comm. Arist.). On φωστήρ, φώσκω, see φαυστήρ, φαύσκω below.

Them. aor. φάε 'lighted up, appeared' (Hώς, ξ 502), subj. προφάησι (Max. 280), ptc. φάουσαι (or rather φαούσαι, Arat. 607 of the constellation Χηλαί), also φῶντα-λάμποντα (H.). Thence two presents: 1. With an enlargement -θ- only ptc. φαέθων 'shining, radiating', of the sun (Il., epic poet.), also as a PN Φαέθων (Od., etc.), and -οντίς, -οντιάς (AP, Opp.); as a first member φαεσίμβροτος 'bringing light to mortals', of Hώς, Hέλιος, etc. (epic poet. since Ω 785, κ 138), φαυσί- (Pi.), note φαέσασθαι ἰδεῖν, μαθεῖν 'see learn' (H.). 2. With a suffix -σκ- and reduplication: πι-φαύσκω [v.] (only pres. and ipf.) 'to reveal, show, announce' (Il., epic, lyr.); prefixed without reduplication: δια-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-φαύσκω, rarely aor. -φαῦσαι, fut. -φαύσω 'to shine, rise' of stars, 'to dawn' of daylight (Arist., Hell.+), also (after φῶς) -φώσκω (Hdt., late); simplex φώσκει· διαφαύει (H.).

To the primary verb belong several nouns: ἄ-φauστος 'unilluminable, unannouncable' (Plot.), ἡμί- (Poll.); φαῦσις (διά-) [f.] 'enlightenment, illumination' (LXX, Plu.), ὑπό- '(narrow) opening, opening for light' (Hdt. 7, 36, LXX, Ph.); διάφauμα [n.] 'dawn' (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>); φαυστήρ [m.] 'lamp, torch' (Epid. III<sup>a</sup>), whence φαυστήριος epithet of Dionysus (Lyc.); also φωστήρ [m.] 'light, radiance', plur. 'lights of heaven' = 'stars, sun and moon' (LXX, NT, Vett. Val. etc.) = θυρίς (H.). Several PNs: Φαύδαμος, Φώκριτος, Νικοφάης, Εὐρυφάων, Δημοφῶν, Ἀντιφῶν, etc.

•ETYM All the above forms can be derived from a thematic aorist φαεῖν (Schwyzler: 747), which is seen only in the hapax legomena φάε, προφάησιν, φάουσα (\*φαούσα), from PIE \*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-u-V-, and perhaps in φαύω (EM, etc.). The derived noun φάος yields φῶς with contraction (whence φῶς by diectasis, Chantraine 1942: 81); thence the gen. φωτός after χρωτός, ἔρωτος, ἥπατος etc.; and the derivatives φωστήρ, φώσκω. It is superfluous to assume a special by-form φῶς < \*b<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>2</sub>-s- (= Skt. *bhās-* [n.]; cf. below).

The PIE root is \*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>- 'to shine' as seen in Skt. *bhāti*. The forms with -u- are not found outside Greek. A cognate with long vowel is generally seen in Skt. *vi-bhāva(n)*- 'shining, lighhting', but this belongs to *bhāti* 'to lighten, shine' and thus allows for an analysis as *vi-bhā-va(n)*-. A form without -u- is seen in πεφήσεται (see ►φαίνω).

**φάραγξ, -αγγος** [f.] 'gully, chasm, deep trench, abyss' (Alcm., trag., Th., X., etc.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Also σφάραγγες (H. *sine expl.*); ἄσφαραγος (Il., Plu., Q. S.).

•DER φαραγγ-ώδης 'full of gullies' (Arist., D. S., etc.), -ίτης [m.] epithet of the wind Iapyx (Arist.), φαραγγαῖον· τῆς φαρέτρας τὸ κάλυμμα 'quiver-case' (H.), φαραγγόομαι in γῇ (ἄρουρα) πεφαραγγωμένη 'craggy field (caused by the Nile)' (Hell. pap.).

•ETYM Connection with a verb 'to cut, split, bore' (Frisk) is a chimaera. Like ►σῆραγξ, ►φάλαγξ, φάραγξ is of Pre-Greek origin (note the prenasalization). Fur.: 227 compares μάραγοι· οἱ ἀπόκρημνοι τόποι 'overhanging places' (H.) and Spanish (Pre-Roman) *barranca* (cf. Alessio *REIE* 2 (1939): 153).

**φάραι**· ὑφαίνειν, πλέκειν 'to weave, plait' (H.).

•ETYM The gloss is suspect, see DELG.

**φαρέτρα** [f.] 'quiver' (Il.). <GR?>

•VAR Ion. -τρη. Also φαρατρίτας (Boeot.).

•COMP φαρετροφόρος 'bearing a quiver' (AP).

•DER Diminutive φαρέτρ-ιον [n.] (Mosch.), -εών, -εῶνος [m.] 'quiver' (Hdt.), after the local nouns in -(ε)ών; -ίτας [m.] 'archer'.

•ETYM Instrument noun and local noun in -τρᾶ, for which derivation from φέρω with a reduced grade has been assumed (cf. Schwyzler: 358), beside a full grade in φέρετρον; one compares βάραθρον : βέρεθρον, χαράδρα : χέραδος, etc. However, because a reduced grade is not accepted anymore since the laryngeal theory, a loanword should be considered, e.g. from Iranian, with folk-etymological adaptation (see Chantraine 1933: 333 and especially Hubschmid 1953a with more examples of loanwords for 'quiver').

**φαρία** unknown (pap. II<sup>p</sup>).

•VAR χαμαιφάριον (pap. III<sup>p</sup>).

**φᾶρικόν** [n.] a fish (Nic. *Al.* 398, Dsc.); also φαριακὸν φάρμακον (Phylarch. *apud* Athen. 81e).

•ETYM Unclear, see DELG.

**φαρκάζει** [v.]· κλέπτει 'steals' (H.).

•ETYM Unclear, see DELG.

**φάρκες** [pl.]· νεοσσοί 'young birds' (H.).

•ETYM The gloss does not appear in the correct alphabetical place; does it contain an error? Speculations in DELG.

**φαρκίς, -ῖδος** [f.] 'wrinkle' (S.*Fr.* 1108, Erot.). <PG?>

•VAR Also ►φορκόν· λευκόν, πολιόν, ῥυσόν 'white, gray, wrinkled' (H.), s.v.

•DER φαρκιδώδης 'wrinkly' (Hp. *apud* Erot.), -ιδούμενοι· στυγνάζοντες (H.), of a gloomy look, literally 'wrinkling'.

•ETYM Gr. φαρκίς has been compared with Lat. *fricāre* 'to rub off', Lith. *brūkis* 'stroke, line' and *braũkti* 'to strike, rub', but this is formally hardly possible; so Pre-

Greek? The connection with φορκόν is quite uncertain. In the meaning 'white, grey', φορκός may belong to a verb for 'gleam', to which e.g. Go. *bairhts*, MoE *bright*; this would presuppose a secondary shift from 'grey' to 'wrinkling' (ῥυσός).

**φάρμακον** [n.] 'healing or harmful medicine, healing or poisonous herb, drug, poisonous potion, magic (potion), dye, raw material for physical or chemical processing' (Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR φάρμακος (accent following Hdn. Gr. 1, 150) [m.] 'poisoner, enchanter' (LXX, *Apoc.*).

•DIAL Myc. *pa-ma-ko*.

•COMP φαρμακοπώλης [m.] 'medicine seller, pharmacist' (Att.), πολυφάρμακός 'having many φ., skilled in many φ.' (Hom., Sol., A. R., Thphr.).

•DER A. 1. φαρμάκ-ιον [n.] 'healing or harmful medicine' (Pl., Hell. pap., Plu. etc.). 2. φαρμακ-ία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'remedy' (Hp., LXX etc.). 3. φαρμακ-εύς [m.] 'who prepares φ., poisoner, enchanter' (S., Pl. etc.), probably backformed from -εύω. 4. φαρμακ-ίτης [m.], -ίτις [f.] 'containing φ., concerning φ.' (Hp., Eup., etc.). 5. φαρμακ-ίων [m.] epithet of a physician (Gal.). 6. φαρμακ-ίς (Ar., D., Arist. etc.), -εια (Arist.), -εὔτρια (Theoc. in tit., Eust.), -ισσαι [pl.] (H., see βαμβακεύτριαι) [f.] 'enchantress'. 7. φαρμακ-ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'dye works' (S. Fr. 1109).

B. Adjectives 1. φαρμακ-ώδης 'medicinal, poisonous, rich in φ.' (Arist., Hell.+). 2. φαρμακ-όεις 'id.' (Hell. and late poetry). 3. φαρμακ-ηρός 'treated with φ., imbued, impregnated' (pap. II<sup>p</sup>). 4. -ικός 'concerning the φ.' (Tz.; usually -ευτικός for euphonic reasons).

C. Denominative verbs: 1. φαρμακ-εύω 'to prepare or use φ., to heal, poison, enchant' (IA), also with κατα-, δια-; hence -ευτής = -εύς (late), -ευτικός 'concerning the use of φ., belonging to φ.' (Pl., Gal. etc.), -εία [f.] 'preparation or use of φ., healing, poisoning, enchantment' (Hp., Att., Hell.+), -ευσίς [f.] 'id.' (Hp., Pl.), -εὔτρια (see A 6); also as a back-formation -εύς (see A 3). 2. φαρμακ-άω 'to feel the effect of a φ., to long for φ.' (D., Thphr., Plu. etc.). 3. φαρμακ-όμαι 'to be poisoned, enchanted' (Plu., pap.), aor. act. -ῶσαι 'to provide with φ.' (Pi.). 4. φαρμάσσω, Att. -ττω 'to treat with φ., to heal, poison, enchant' (i 393), rarely with κατα-, ἐν-, ἐπι-; hence φάρμαξις [f.] 'medical treatment, enchantment, metalworking' (Pl., Plu., etc.), -ακτήρ, -άκτης [m.] = φαρμακεύς (Opp.), -ακτήριος 'healing' (Lyc.). Also back-formation φαρμάκος [m.] 'lustration, scapegoat', also as a term of abuse (Hippon., Ar., Lys., D., Call.); perhaps, the long α was introduced after pejorative words in -ᾶξ (the length is certain in Hippon. and Call., but shortvowel in Ar. *Eq.* 1045, both are possible in Ar. *Ra.* 733).

•ETYM The original meaning of φάρμακον cannot be established with certainty. The word is clearly Pre-Greek. Fur.: 220 compares φόρβαντα· ιατρικά φάρμακα (H.), φόρβια· φάρμακα, οἱ δὲ φόρβα (H.). Note the variations α/ο and μ/β, well-known from Pre-Greek. Foreign origin is already pleaded for by Chantraine 1933: 384 and Schwyzler: 497.

**φάρος** [n.] 'plough?' (Alcm., Antim. *Eleg.*; both very doubtful), 'ploughing' (H., *EM*), also = φάρυγξ (Lyc.)? <?>

•DER φαροῦν· ἀροτριᾶν· φαρῶσαι· ἀρόσαι ... (H.); 3pl. φάρωσι 'to plough' (Call. *Fr.* 183 = *EM* 788, 24), perhaps after ἀρόωσι? ἄφαρος, ἀφάρωτος = ἀνήροτος, ἀναροτρίαστος? (Call. *Fr.* 183, 82 c = 555 Pf.; very uncertain, cf. Pf. ad loc.), βούφαρον (-ην cod., -ῆ Latte)· τὴν εὐάροτ[ρ]ον γῆν. φάρος γὰρ ἢ ἄροσις (H.). Further aor. φάρσαι = σχίσαι (*EM*). Compare ► φάραγξ.

•ETYM The relation between the words cited is unknown, because of their meagre attestation. The present φάρωσι seems an intensive deverbative (\*φαράω); imitation of ἀρόωσι is quite improbable. The sequence φαρ- could be interpreted as the original zero grade of a verbal stem PIE \*b<sup>h</sup>erH- 'to pierce, bore', continued e.g. in OHG *borōn* 'to bore', *bora* [f.] 'borer', Alb. *birë*, *brimë* [f.] 'hole'; with o-grade Lat. *forāre* 'to bore (through)'; with e-grade Mlr. *bern(a)* [f.] 'cleft, split', Arm. *beran* 'mouth'; with ē- or ō-grade Arm. *brem* 'to dig up, bore up', < \**birem* < PIE \*b<sup>h</sup>ēr-, or \**burem* < PIE \*b<sup>h</sup>ōr-. Words for 'to beat, hew', such as Lat. *ferīre*, ON *berja*, OCS *borjъ*, *brati* 'to fight' have been kept separate by E-M for their deviating meaning.

**φάρος** [m.] 'lighthouse' (AP). <?>

•ETYM Origin unknown. Borrowed into Late Latin, French, etc. Hence derives the name of the island in Alexandria, famous for its lighthouse (δ 355).

**φᾶρος** [n.] 'cloth, linen, garment, cloak, costume' (Il., epic poet.). <PG?>

•VAR Later also φάρος (φᾶρέεσι Hes. *Op.* 198 codd.).

•DIAL Myc. *pa-we-a* [pl.].

•COMP μελαμφᾶρης 'having a black garment' (B.).

•DER φάραι· ὑφαίνειν, πλέκειν 'weave, plait' (H.); also φορμός?

•ETYM An isolated word, which could well be Pre-Greek. On the erroneous connection with Lith. *būrė* 'sail', *barva*, *būrva* 'color' see Fraenkel 1955 s.vv. with Nieminen *KZ* 72 (1955): 129ff. and 147ff. Acc. to Solmsen 1909: 246, it belongs to ► φάρσος, ► φάρυγξ, etc.

**φαρσάγγιον** = ► παρασάγγης.

**φάρσος** [n.] 'quarter, part' of a city (Hdt. 1, 180f., 186 said of Babylon, which is divided into two parts by the Euphrates), of a house (Poll.); of a felt hat and of a bunch of grapes (AP); of a root (Nic.); of a gown (J.), 'cloth, covering, banner' (J.). <IE? \*b<sup>h</sup>rs- 'break', PG?>

•COMP φαρσοφόρος = *signifer* (gloss.); διαφάρ(σ)ους χιτῶνας (*EM* 175, 37).

•DER φάρσωμα [n.] 'frame of a ship' vel sim. (Demetr. in *Cat. Cod. Astr.*).

•ETYM An Ionic word according to Solmsen 1909: 6f. Connection with φάρος 'plough' makes little sense. Previously, it was assumed that the -σ- was suffixal, and ἄψος, μύσος etc. were compared (Schwyzer: 513). Fur.: 254 suggests a Pre-Greek word, because of the suffix -σος.

The most promising etymology, however, is a connection with Hitt. *parši-*<sup>a(r)</sup>, *parš-*<sup>a(r)</sup> 'to break', *parša-* 'morsel, fragment', if we assume that in a zero grade \*b<sup>h</sup>rs-o-, the -s- was preserved between vocalic resonant and vowel. The Hitt. word is compared with the Gm. group of ON *bresta*, OHG *brestan*, OE *berstan* 'to burst'. Within Greek, we find a verbal form φάρσαι = σχίσαι (*EM*).

**φάρυγξ** [f.m.] 'throat, gorge, larynx, windpipe' (Od.), also 'throat disease' (Hp.).

◀PG(S)▶

•VAR Also -υξ, gen. -υγος, -υγος, acc. -υγγα.

•COMP φαρυγγοτομία [f.] 'laryngotomy' (late medic.), μακροφάρυ(γ)ξ 'long-necked' (AP).

•DER φαρ-ύγ(γ)εθρον (medic., Poll.), -ύγαθρον (H.) 'id.', on the model of the synonyms βέρεθρον, βάραθρον [?]; φαρ-υγ(γ)ίνδην 'like a gullet' (Com. Adesp., Lex.); φαρυγγίζω = λαρυγγίζω (Poll.). Cf. κολοί-φρυξ, also φάραγξ and λάρυγξ.

•ETYM Frisk interprets this as an inherited Indo-European word for 'throat, gorge', identical with Lat. *frūmen* 'id.' < \**frūgsmen*, Arm. *erbuc*, gen. -ογ (o-stem) 'chest, breast-piece of sacrificial animals'; it would be further connected with ▶φάρος. Yet, this analysis is completely wrong: the prenasalized suffix -υ(γ)γ- shows that the word is of Pre-Greek origin.

**φάσγανον** [n.] 'sword' (Il., epic poet., Cyprian acc. to AB 1095), 'sword lily, gladiolus, iris' (Thphr., Dsc. etc.), 'sword of the swordfish' (Opp.). ▶PG(S)▶

•DIAL Myc. *pa-ka-na*.

•COMP φασγαν-ουργός 'sword-forging' (A. [lyr.]), χρυσοφάσγανος = χρυσάωρ (sch.).

•DER Diminutive φασγαν-ίς, ίδος [f.] 'razor blade' (AP 6, 307), -ιον [n.] 'sword lily' (Dsc., Gal. etc.); verbs φασγάνεται· ξίφει ἀναιρείται (H.), φασγανιάω in φασγανιώσαν· ἐξιφισμένην, φασγανιών<των>· ἐξιφισμένων (H.).

•ETYM Formation like δρέπανον, κόπανον and other instrument names. The traditional connection with σφάζω, σφαγή through \*σφαγ-σκ-ανον (Prellwitz) is unconvincing phonetically and morphologically. The connection with Skt. *khadgá* 'sword' (Specht KZ 66 (1939): 220) is refuted by Mayrhofer KEWA s.v.

The word is no doubt Pre-Greek (cf. the *a*-vocalism, suffix -αν-). Fur.: 300 takes up the traditional connection with σφαγ- (s.v. σφάζω) and interprets it in Pre-Greek terms. Isebaert *Glotta* 63 (1985): 150f. connects Skt. *bhájate*, but he does not explain the Greek -α-, nor the meaning.

**φάσηλος** [m.] 'an edible bean' (Epich., Ar., pap. III<sup>a</sup>, etc.). ▶LW?▶

•DER φασήλιον [n.] 'id.' (Dsc., pap. IV-V<sup>p</sup>).

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *phasēlus* [m., f.] 'kind of beans, husk-like bread' (Cat., Cic., Aug. poetry, Colum., etc.), which probably was a loanword from Greek. The inverse direction was assumed by Pisani *Rend. Acc. Linc.* 6:6 (1930): 184ff.: φάσηλος would be an Italic loanword into Greek, cognate with φακός 'lentil'. Because of Alb. *bathë* 'tick-bean' (see ▶φακός), Kretschmer *Glotta* 21 (1933): 181f. considered Illyrian intervenience. Further details are found in WH s.v., where Mediterranean origin is assumed. From the Lat. diminutive *phaseolus* (Colum., etc.), Greek took φασίολος, -ίωλος, πασίολος (Gal., Poll., *Edict. Diocl.*). Fur. 175 follows Alessio in comparing Lat. *basēlus* 'light vessel', which would point to substrate origin, either Mediterranean or Pre-Greek.

**φάσις 1** [f.] 'notification'. •VAR Also φάσιμα. ⇒φαίνω.

**φάσις 2** [f.] 'declaration'. •VAR Also φάτις, φάσκω. ⇒φημί.

**φασκαίνω** = βασκαίνω.

**φασκάς** = βασκᾶς.

**φασκία, -ιδος** [f.] 'bandage, strip' (Sor., Poll.). ▶LW Lat.▶

•ETYM From Lat. *fascia*.

**φασκίς** in 1. βασκευταί· φασκίδες, ἀγκάλαι (H.). 2. διάφυσος· φασκίς. ▶?▶

•ETYM 1. Could be a loan from Lat. *fascis*, or a Greek word, cf. βάσκοι· δεσμοὶ φρυγάνων. 2. Possibly to be read as σκαφίς 'cup'.

**φάσκος** [m.] 'tufts of moss drooping from oak trees' (Thphr., H.). ▶PG?▶

•ETYM Starting from original \*φαρσκος, Solmsen 1909: 5ff. proposes three possibilities: 1. related to the group of LG *barsch* 'sharp, rough, stern' < PGm. \**barska-*, OIr. *barr* 'point, top, etc.' < PCl. \**barso-*, OHG *burst* 'bristle', Lat. *fastigium* 'point, ridge, etc.';

2. related to ▶φάρσος 'piece, part';

3. from earlier \*φαρκ-σος to φορκόν· λευκόν, πολιόν, ῥυσόν.

Differently Mann *Lang.* 17 (1941): 12: to Alb. *bashkë* 'pellicle'. On φασκάς, -άδος 'kind of duck', see ▶βασκᾶς.

Fur.: 124 compares σφάκος 'kind of moss', σφαγνος, φάσκον (Thphr.) 'kind of moss'. Op.cit.: 300 he adduces φάσκωλος and βάσκοι, etc. It is impossible to make a definite choice. A Pre-Greek word seems quite possible.

**φάσκος** [n.] 'bundle of wood' (Edict. Diocl.). ▶LW Lat.▶

•ETYM Adaptation of Lat. *fascis*.

**φάσκω** ⇒φημί.

**φάσκωλος** [m.] 'leather bag, bag for clothing, for metal objects, etc.' (Ar. *Fr.* 319, Lys. and Is. *apud* Harp., Att. inscr.). ▶PG▶

•VAR -ογ [n.].

•DER Diminutive -ώλιον [n.] (Hell.+).

•ETYM It seems formally evident to connect ▶φάσκος (cf. ἀσκώλια : ἀσκός), in which case the bag would have been denominated after a skin from which the hairs have not been removed (Solmsen 1909: 7). Pok. 111 connects βάσκοι· δεσμοὶ φρυγάνων 'bundles of dry wood' (H.) as Macedonian. Borrowed as Lat. *pasceolus* (since Plaut.), *phasolum* (Paul. Fest.). Pre-Greek origin seems probable (Fur.: passim).

**φάσσα** [f.] 'wood-pigeon, ringdove' (Ar., Pl., Arist., etc.). ▶PG?▶

•VAR Att. -ττα.

•DER φασσοφόνος [m.] 'killing pigeons, pigeon killer' (Ἰρηξ O 236), 'kind of hawk' (Arist., Gal. etc.), -φόντης [m.] 'id.' (Ael.); φάψ, -βός [f.] a wilde dove (A. *Fr.* 210, 257 = 3, 403 M.; Arist., Lyc.), difficult to distinguish from φάσσα; φαβο-τύπος [m.] 'kind of hawk' (Arist.), φαβοκτόνος· ιερακοκτόνος (H.).

•ETYM As φάσσα may have been reshaped after νήσσα, κίσσα etc., we cannot draw any conclusions from the opposition φάσσα : φάψ for the origin of -σσ- and -β-. For



φάψ, compare monosyllables such as γύψ, σκώψ, γλαῦξ etc. The hypothesis by Hamp 2005: 102-5, seems too complicated. The word is probably Pre-Greek.

**φάτνη** [f.] 'crib, manger' (Il.), 'depression, coffer in a coffered ceiling, coffer' (Hell. inscr.), 'tooth socket' (Poll.), name of a star in the constellation Cancer, beside the Ὀνοί (Thphr.). <PG>

•VAR Late also πάθνη.

•DER 1. Diminutive φατνίον [n.] 'tooth socket, gums' (late medic., Ph.), name of a star = φάτνη (Hephaest.). 2. Verbs: a. φατν-εύω [v.] 'to feed at the manger' (late), -ίζομαι (ἐκ-) 'to be fed at the manger' (Hld., Nic. Dam.), -άζομαι 'id.' (Aq.); b. φατν-όω [v.] 'to deepen a ceiling, furnish with panelwork; to coffer' (LXX), -ωμα [n.] 'coffering, coffered ceiling, coffer, embrasure on a ship' (A. Fr. 78 = 114 M., Plb. etc.), 'tooth socket' (Gal.), -ωματικός 'panelled' (Plu., Anatol. inscr.), -ωτός 'id.' (H., Phot.), -ωσις [f.] 'coffering' (LXX). 3. as a hypostasis from \*ἐκ φάτνης: ἐκφατν-ίζομαι 'to be cast out (of the manger)' (Posidon., Eust.), -ισμα [n.] 'litter, scrap' (Philostr. VA, etc.). 4. Φάτνιος, epithet of Zeus in Phrygia (Laodicea Combusta; imperial period).

•ETYM The byform πάθνη, attested by Moeris 212, 9 as Hellenistic, lives on in MoGr. and could come from Ionic (Schwyzer: 121; Wackernagel 1916: 23 with ref.). It is widely assumed (Frisk, DELG) that πάθνη is the oldest form, whence by shift of aspiration φάτνη. Inverted writing yielded another variant πάθμη (LXX; Schwyzer: 216). Yet, Beekes 2003: 109-112 stresses that φάτνη is the oldest form (Hom.), whereas πάθνη is only Hellenistic. There are parallels for a progressive shift of aspiration (φιδάκνη > πιθάκνη).

Frisk follows the traditional etymology of φάτνη as a derivative \*b<sup>h</sup>ṛd<sup>h</sup>-n-h<sub>2</sub>- to PIE \*b<sup>h</sup>end<sup>h</sup>- 'to bind' as in Skt. *badhnāti*, perf. *babāndha*, Go. *bindan*. The same *n*-suffix is recognized in some Celtic forms with full grade: Gaul.-Lat. *benna* 'two-wheeled chariot with a plaited basket', W *benn* 'carriage', and, as a loanword, MoHG dial. *benne* 'waggon box'.

It has been assumed, on the basis of the Celtic word, that φάτνη originally denoted a 'wicker basket'. However, the crib to which horses were tied is a solid construction (ἐνξέστη) and cannot have been of wicker-work. As φάτνη cannot be derived from \*b<sup>h</sup>end<sup>h</sup>-, the word is most probably Pre-Greek.

**φαττάγης** [m.] 'scaly ant-eater' (Ael.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also σπατάγης (Sophr.), πατάγης (Poll.).

•ETYM The variants show that the word is Pre-Greek (Fur.: 164, 281).

**φαύζειν** ⇒ φαῦσιγξ.

**φαῦλος** [adj.] 'bad, unfit, ill, mean, poor, etc.' (IA). <PG>

•COMP φαυλόβιος 'leading a bad life' (sch.), ὑπόφαυλος 'somewhat bad, etc.' (Hp.).

•DER φαύλιος (of fruits) 'coarse, etc.' (Thphr. etc.). φαυλ-ότης [f.] 'bad character, etc.' (Att.), -ίζω [v.] 'to regard as bad, despise' (Pl., X., LXX, late), also with δια-, ἐκ-, etc., whence -ισμός (ἐκ-) [m.] (LXX, J.), -ισμα [n.] 'contempt', -ίστρια [f.] 'despiser' (LXX).

•ETYM Pejorative adjective with a suffix -λο- and barytone accent, like μάχλος, στύφλος, etc. May have been dissimilated from \*φλαῦλος; compare the synonym φλαῦρος. The form is also reminiscent of ▶ἀφαιρός 'weak, powerless', and is no doubt a Pre-Greek word.

**φαῦσιγξ** [f.] 'blister from burns, blister' (Ar. Fr. 883, Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 150, Poll. 7, 110, EM 789, 52, H.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Also φαῦστιγξ, plur. -ιγγες.

•COMP No compounds or derivatives.

•ETYM Formation like μῆνιγξ, στρόφιγξ, etc. that has been compared with φαύζει-φρύγει 'roasts, dries' (H.). The prenasalized suffix and the variation σ/στ show that the word is Pre-Greek; note the intervocalic -σ-.

**φάψ** ⇒ φάσσα.

**φέβομαι** [v.] 'to flee, take flight' (Hom., A. R.). <IE \*b<sup>h</sup>eg<sup>w</sup>- 'run away, flee'>

•VAR Only pres. and ipf.

•DER Causative-iterative φοβέω 'to put to flight, frighten', -έομαι 'to flee, take flight, be put to flight' (Hom.), also 'to frighten' and 'to be frightened' (post-Hom.), also with ἐκ-, κατα-, ὑπερ-, προ-, etc.; later, the verb was interpreted as a denominative. Hence φόβ-ημα (ἐκ-) [n.] 'fear' (S. [lyr.], sch.), ἐκ-φόβ-ησις [f.] 'fright' (Hdn., Sch., H.), φοβ-ητικός (ἐκ-, προ-) 'fearful, daunting' (Arist. etc.), -ητρον (ἐκ-) [n.] 'terror, scarecrow, terrible event' (Hp., LXX, Ev. Luc., AP). As a first member in Φοβεσιστράτη, epithet of Athena (Ar. Eq. 1177), on the model of ἐλκεσι-, ἀλφεσι-, ταμεισι- etc.), also Φοβέστρατος 'id.' (Hes. Th. *apud* Chrysipp. Stoic., EM 797, 54; after Ἀρχε- etc.). Verbal noun φόβος [m.] 'flight' (Il., epic poet.), 'fright' (post-Hom.), probably also Λ 544 etc.; often as a second member, e.g. περί-, ἐκ-, ἔμ-, ὑπέρφωτος, partly back-formations from ἐκφοβέω, -έομαι, etc. Hence φοβερός 'dreadful, fearful' (IA), φοβερ-ότης [f.] 'terribleness', -ίζω 'to terrify', -ισμός [m.] (LXX). φόβος 'fright' replaced the noun δέος (to δείδω). On ▶φόβη, see s.v.

•ETYM Beside thematic φέβομαι with \*e, we find Balto-Slavic cognates with -ē- from Winter's Law: Lith. *bėgti*, 1sg. *bėgu* 'to walk, run', Latv. *bēgt*, 1sg. *bēgu* 'to walk', *bēgtiēs* 'to flee' (*bēga* 'flight', *bēglis* 'fugitive'), OCS *běžati*, 1sg. *běžō* 'φεύγειν', Ru. *bežātʹ*, 1sg. *begú* 'to walk, flee'. Van Windekens 1941: 96 suggested connecting ToA *pkānt* 'apart', *pukāl* 'year', ToB *pikul* 'year'; considered conceivable by Adams 1999 s.v. *pikul*.

**φέγγος** [n.] 'light, splendour, lustre' (mostly poet., *h. Cer.* 278, also Att., Hell.+). <?>

•COMP E.g. χρυσοφεγγής 'with golden radiance, gold-radiant' (A. Ag. 288); φεγγοβολέω 'to cast light' (Man.).

•DER φεγγίτης [m.] name of a stone = σεληνίτης (Plin., etc.); βραχυφεγγίτης = βραχυφεγγής (λύχνος) 'casting a sparse light' (AP 6, 251; metrically enlarged). As a back-formation: φέγγω [v.] 'to glow, shine, enlighten' (Ar. Ra. 344 [lyr.], A. R., late), only pres. and ipf., also with περι-, occasionally κατα-, ἀνα-.

•ETYM No etymology. Has often been connected with Lith. *spingiù* (*spingu*), *spingėti* 'to give a weak light, glitter' and with OE *spincan* 'to spark', OHG *funko*, MoHG

*Funke* 'spark', but this suggestion is impossible in view of the initial stops. Nor is a contamination of \*σπέγγος and φάος probable.

**φεί** [n.] name of a letter.

- VAR Indeclinable.
- ETYM After ► πεῖ, s.v.

**φείδομαι** [v.] 'to spare, save, refrain from' (Il.). <IE? \*b<sup>h</sup>eid- 'split' (?)>

- VAR Sigm. aor. φείσασθαι (Ω 236, etc.), redupl. them. aor. πεφιδέσθαι, opt. -οίμην (Υ 464, Φ 101, ι 277); on the differentiation in meaning against φείσασθαι, see Chantraine 1942: 415; fut. φείσομαι (Att.), πεφιδήσεται (O 215, Ω 158 = 187), φεισθήσομαι (pap. IP), perf. med. ptc. πεφεισμένος (Luc., D. C.), πεφιδιμένος (Nonn.), ipv. πεφιδησο (late epigr.).
- COMP Rarely with ὑπο-, περι- (X., A. R. etc.). As a first member in the univerbation φειδαλιτ-ῆσαι (aor.) 'to handle the barley thriftily' (Com. Adesp.), -ως (Phryn. PS). Numerous PNs, e.g. Φείδιππος with Φειδιππίδης, Λεωφείδης, Φειδ-ύλος, -ίας, -ων, etc., a king in Argos (Hdt.), whence -ώνειος, -ωνίδης.
- DER φειδ-ώ [f.] (Hom., Hes., Democr., Th., LXX etc.), -ωλή [f.] (X 244, Sol.) 'saving, thrift, sparing', -ωλός 'thrifty' (Hes. Op. 720), whence -ωλία [f.] (Ar., Pl. etc.), φειδώς · *parsimonia* (gloss.). Backformed adjective φειδός 'thrifty' (Com. Adesp., Democr., Call. Fr. 460), whence φείδων, -ωνος [m.] 'oil-can with a narrow neck' (Poll.), frequent as a PN (see below).
- ETYM Gr. φείδομαι must be inherited, and agrees phonetically PIE \*b<sup>h</sup>eid- 'to split, etc.', as attested in Go. *beitan*, E *bite*, Skt. *bhinádmī*, Lat. *findō* 'to split', root aorist Skt. *ábhedam*, *ábhēt*. A convincing semantic motivation has not been found: originally 'to cut off niggling, nip off' or 'to cut away from sth. = to withdraw'?

**φελγύνει** [v.] · ἀσυνετεί, ληρεῖ 'is stupid, talks nonsense' (H.). <?>

- ETYM Has often been connected with Skt. *phalgú-* 'futile, weak, useless, etc.', Lith. *spilgti* 'to languish from lack of light, die off (of plants), get a bad appearance (of men)' and others, but this comparison is doubtful in all respects.

**φελλεύς** [m.] 'uneven, stony ground', also the name of a mountainous region in Attica (Cratin., Ar., Pl. etc.). <?>

- DER Φελλεΐτης [m.] 'inhabitant of the Φ.' (St. Byz.). Also φελλία [n.pl.] (X. Cyn. 5, 18), φελλίσ (γῆ, Poll. 1, 227), φελλεών, -ώνος [m.] (Arr. Cyn. 17) 'id.'; Φελλεῖς [f.] region in Attica (IV<sup>a</sup>).
- ETYM The word has been connected with πέλλα· λίθος 'stone' (H.) in different ways; Fur.: 161 suggests that it shows Pre-Greek interchange π/φ; uncertain. Alternative: to φελλός, referring to the uneven, porous structure of corc?

**φελλός** [m.] 'cork, cork-oak' (Pi. P. 2, 80, A. Ch. 506, Thphr., Hero, pap. III<sup>p</sup>). <?>

- COMP φελλόδρυς [f.] 'cork-oak' (Thphr.), perhaps from Arcadian (cf. Ruijgh 1957: 90).
- DER φέλλ-ινος 'made of cork' (Luc.), -ώδης 'id.' (Poll.), φελλίνας· κούφος, ἀπὸ τοῦ φελλοῦ; φελλεῦον· ἐπιπλέον (H.); probably also φελλ-ῖναι [pl.] name of a fast water

bird (Dionys. Av.), φελλίνιοι· ὀροβάκχαι (H.). Also Φελλώ [f.] the land of the Φελλόποδες (Luc. VH 2, 4).

- ETYM One may compare ► φολίς and a Slavic word of comparable meaning, e.g. Ru. *boloná* 'outgrowth on trees', *bólonb* 'sap-wood, weak bark'. If correct, than φελλός could derive from \*φελ-νός - but given the limited distribution of the words, this is highly improbable. Fur.: 164 compares ἀκρό-σπελλος and σιτό-σπελλος, on which I have no opinion.

**φέλλουρα** [f.] 'giant fennel, *Ferula communis*' (sch. Hes. Op. 52a). See André 1958: 60. <LW Lat.>

- ETYM As DELG remarks, probably metathesized from \*φέρουλα vel sim., which itself must be a borrowing from Lat. *ferula*, the Greek word for fennel being νάρθηξ. Given the productivity of the suffix -ουρ- in plant names, folk etymology has certainly been at work.

**φένאַξ, -ἄκος** [m.] 'impostor, trickster' (Ar., rare and late). <PG>

- VAR Cf. πηνήκη 'wig' (Luc.); see below.
- DER φενακίζω (ἀπο- Men. Prot.) [v.] 'to deceive, trick', -ισμός [m.] 'deceit, trickery' (com., Att. orators), -ίσματα [pl.] (H.) as an explanation of πηνήκισματα; φενακιστής [m.] 'deceiver' (Phld., sch.), -ιστικός 'deceitful' (Poll.), -ικώς 'id.' (EM). Also φέναγμα [n.] (Phot.), to \*φενάσσω; φενάκη [f.] 'false hair, wig' (Luc.).
- ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek word (compare the variant πηνήκη) with a characteristic suffix -ἄξ.

**φεννήσις** [m.] 'priest of Isis' (Wilken, *Griech. Ostraka* 413, 417, 420 [IP]). <LW Eg.>

- ETYM An Egyptian word; see Masson *Revue d'Égyptologie* 29 (1977): 58.

**φεννίον** [?] · Μηδική ὁδός. Παιφύλιοι (H.). <?>

- ETYM Unknown.

**φεννίς, -ίδα** [f.] 'ball game' (H., Phot., Suid.). <?>

- ETYM The same game as φαινίνδα (παίξιν); the word was made from φενίνδα (Et. Gen.), with expressive gemination.

**φέρβω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to pasture, tend, feed, nourish', med. 'to feed upon, consume, enjoy' (Ion. poet., Hes. Op. 377, h. Hom. 30). <?>

- VAR Only pres. and ipf., except plpf. ἐπεφόρβει (h. Merc. 105).
- DIAL Myc. *po-qa* /p<sup>h</sup>org<sup>wā</sup>-l/, also *i-po-po-qa-i* /<sup>h</sup>ippo-p<sup>h</sup>org<sup>wōi</sup>h/ = ἵπποφορβοῖς with dissimilation \*k<sup>w</sup> - p - k<sup>w</sup> > p - p - k<sup>w</sup>, also *po-qe-wi-ja-i* /p<sup>h</sup>org<sup>wē</sup>wiā<sup>h</sup>/ = φορβειαῖς (see 4. below).
- COMP πολύφορβος 'rich in pastures, feeding many' (Il., Hes.), εὐφορβος 'well-fed' (Orph.), εὐφορβία [f.] 'good food' (S. Fr. 848), -ιον [n.] name of a tree, 'Euphorbia resinifera', and its juice (Dsc., Gal., S. E. etc.). Also ἐμφορβιον· τελώνημα (H.), whence Arc. ἰνφορβίεν (= \*ἐμφορβίεν) 'to raise pasture taxes', ἰνφορβισμός (Tegea IV<sup>a</sup>). As a second member e.g. in συ(ο)-φορβός [m.] 'swine-herd' (Hom., etc.).
- DER φέρβουσα [f.] plant name (Ps.-Dsc.), φέρβητας· νομεῖς 'herdsmen' (H.). With o-grade: φορβή, Dor. -ά [f.] 'pasture, food, nourishment' (Ion. poet. since Il.).

Thence: 1. φορβάς, -άδος [m., f.] 'feeding, grazing, nurturing' (Pi., S., E., etc.; mostly poetic), whence -αδικός (Plu.). 2. φορβ-ἄμων 'id.' (*Hymn. Is.*). 3. φορβ-αῖος 'belonging to the pasture' (Call.). 4. φορβ-εἰά, -εά [f.] 'halter', metaphorically 'mouthband of a piper' (Ar., S. Fr. 768, X., Arist., etc.), perf. ptc. ἐμπεφορβειωμένος 'equipped with a mouthband' (Ar.); 5. φορβ-αῖα [f.] 'id.' (LXX). 6. φορβ-ασία [f.] 'id.' (Suid.). 7. φόρβ-ιον [n.] plant-name (Gal.). On φόρβια· φάρμακα 'drugs' (H.) see ▶ φάρμακον. Note φορβά [n.pl.] = φορβή (Orph.).

•ETYM Agricultural term without etymology.

φερέσβιος ⇒ φέρω.

φερεσσακῆς ⇒ σάκος.

φέριστος [adj.] almost only in voc. φέριστε as a courteous address (Il., epic poet.). <IE \*b<sup>h</sup>er-ist(H)o>

•ETYM Identical with Av. *bairišta* [voc.] 'helping best', so probably inherited from PIE. Superlative of the PIE root \*b<sup>h</sup>er- 'to carry, etc.' attested in Gr. φέρω, etc. The original meaning is disputed: 'most serviceable, most helpful, useful?', 'strongest in carrying'? The co-occurring variants φέρτερος 'stronger, braver, better' and φέρτατος 'strongest, bravest, best' (Il., epic poet.) are innovations after ὑπέρ-τερος, -τατος; compare also φίλ-τερος, -τατος etc. Differently on φέριστος, etc. Seiler 1950: 94ff. On the meaning, see also DELG s.v. φέρτερος.

φερνή [f.] 'dowry' (IA) <IE \*b<sup>h</sup>er-n>

•VAR Aeol. (Hdn. Gr., EM) φέρενᾶ, Dor. φερνά [f.] 'god's share at the sacrifice' (Epid. V-IV<sup>a</sup>).

•COMP ἀντίφερνος 'instead of the dowry' (A. Ag. 406 [lyr.]), τὰ ἀντίφερνα 'return present of the groom for the bride' (Cod. Just.); τὰ παράφερνα 'what the bride brings beside the dowry' (pap. I-II<sup>p</sup>, Just. Nov.); ἄ-, πολύ-φερνος (H.); ἐπιφέρνια [n.pl.] 'dowry' (sch. I 147, Eust.).

•DER Diminutive φερνάριον [n.] (pap. Aug. times), φερν-ίζω 'to furnish with a dowry' (LXX, Hell. and late pap.).

•ETYM Verbal noun of ▶ φέρω, originally meaning 'load'. The nasal suffix is also seen in Arm. *beřn*, gen. *beřin* 'burden, load', Lith. *bėrnas* 'boy, (farmer's) servant', Latv. *bērn*s 'child, baby'; with o-grade Go. and ON *barn* [n.] 'child' < "what was borne", Alb. *barrë* 'load'. The disyllabic root-shape in Aeol. φέρενᾶ agrees with that of φέρετρον, φόρετρον; on the secondary -ᾶ, see Solmsen 1909: 259. See also ▶ βερνώμεθα (H.).

φέρνιον [n.] 'fish-basket' (Men., Com. Adesp., Ael.). <GR>

•ETYM Like ▶ φερνή, but with agentive meaning ("carrier").

φέρτερος ⇒ φέριστος.

φέρω, -ομαι [v.] 'to bear, endure, carry off, bring away, provide, reach, move along, etc.' (Il.). <IE \*b<sup>h</sup>er- 'bear, carry'>

•VAR Only pres. and ipf.

•DIAL Myc. *pe-re* = φέρει.

•COMP Verbs frequently with one or two prefixes (in various meanings), e.g. ἀνα- (συν-ανα-, etc.), ἀπο- (προ-απο-), δια-, εἰς- (ἐπ-εἰς-), etc., etc. Nominal compounds, e.g.: φερέ-οικος 'carrying one's house' (Hdt.), "house-carrier" > 'snail' (Hes. Op. 571), = ζῶν ὁμοιον γαλῇ (Cratin. 94, EM, H.); also φερέσβιος 'bringing sustenance, nourishing' (h. Hom., Hes. etc.); φερεσσίπινος 'enduring, suffering' = φερέπινος (epigr.). On -φερής see A 6, on -φόρος and -φορος B 3.

•DER A. With e-grade (rare): 1. φέρμα [n.] 'fruit of the womb, of the earth' (A. [lyr.]). 2. φέρτρον (Σ 236, Ael.), φέρετρον (Plb.) [n.] 'bier', φερετρεύομαι 'to be carried on a bier' (Plu.). 3. φέρτρυς· ἄθλος. Θούριοι (H.); hardly correct, perhaps for \*φερτύς? 4. φερτός, only in οὐ τλατὰς οὐ φερτὰς (E. Hec. 158 [lyr.]), ἄφερτος (A. [lyr.]), συμφερτός 'united' (N 237, Nonn.); cf. below. 5. ▶ φέριστος and -τερος, -τατος. 6. -φερής in derivatives from prefixed verbs, e.g. προφερής (to προ-φέρω) 'outstanding, excellent' (Il., epic poet.), περιφερής (to περιφέρομαι) 'running around, revolving, circular', whence -εἰα, -εἴη [f.] 'convolution, circumference' (IA); hence rarely in compounds, e.g. οἶνο-φερής (H.), see ▶ οἰνόφλυξ.

B. With o-grade: 1. φορά, Ion. -ή [f.] 'bearing, burden, fee, product, motion, course' (IA); frequently from prefixed verbs, e.g. συμφορά, -ή 'event, coincidence, accident, etc.' (IA), -άζω 'to lament, beweepe' (Hell.+), -αῖνω (Ps.-Hdt. Vit. Hom.); similarly ἀνα-, δια-, ἐπι-, προσ-φορά, etc. 2. φόρος [m.] 'earnings, (collected) tribute, payment' (IA). 3. φορός 'bearing, conducive, pregnant, advantageous' (Hp., Arist., Hell.+). Independently in compounds, e.g. τοξοφόρος 'bearing a bow, archer' (Φ 483); in derivatives from prefixed verbs, e.g. σύμφορος (to συμφέρω) 'conductive, suitable, advantageous' (since Hes.), διάφορος 'various' (IA), whence -ότης [f.] 'difference' (Pl., late).

To φορά or φόρος: 4. φορεύς [m.] 'bearer' (Σ 566, A. R., Plu.), ἀμφι-, ἀνα-, etc. 5. φοράς, -άδος [f.], -άδιον [n.] 'brood-mare' (late pap.), also 'productive' (Thphr.). 6. φορεῖον [n.] 'litter, sedan chair' (Din., Hell.+), 'porter's wages' (Poll.). 7. φόρετρον [n.] 'porter's wages, expenses of transport' (pap.), -τρίζω 'to load, transport' (pap.). 8. φόριμος 'fertile' (Hell., AP, et al.), ποτι- 'conductive, useful' (Epich.). Adverbs 9. φοράδην 'borne along, quickly' (S., E., D. etc.), -άδαν (Epid.); -ηδόν 'by bundles' (Luc.). 10. φόρ-τος [m.] 'load, freight' (Od.), whence -τίς (ναῦς) [f.] 'freightship' (Od., late prose), -τίον [n.] 'load, batch, freight, cargo', plur. 'goods' (Aeol. poetry, Att.), -ταξ, -τακος [m.] 'carrier, barge' (Com. Adesp., pap. I<sup>a</sup>), -τικός 'bearing a burden, burdensome, coarse, crude' (Att., etc.), -τικότης [f.] (Arist.), -τικεύομαι (sch.), -τιμος 'bearing a burden' (sch.), -τίζω, -τίζομαι 'to load up' (since Hes.), also with ἀντι-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, ἀπο-, etc., whence -τισμός (ἐπι-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-) [m.] 'loading' (late), -τόω 'to load' (late). 11. Iterative-intensive verb φερέω 'to bear, etc.', aor. φορήσαι (Il.), late -έσαι, very frequent with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐπι-, συν-; thence -ιγμα (ἐπι-, δια-, συν- etc.) [n.] 'garb, load, dress, bier' (IA), -εμα (Phot., Suid.), -ησις (δια-, ἐν-, συν- etc.) [f.] 'bearing' (Hell.+), -εσις (Suid., sch.); -ητός (ἀπο- etc.) 'bearable, endurable' (Pi. Fr. 88, 1, A. Pr. 979, E., late prose), -ητικός (ἀνα-, δια-, περι-) in different meanings (late). With apparent nominal first member, e.g. καρπο-φερέω (X., Arist., etc.), denominative from καρπο-φόρος (Pi., Hdt., E., Ar., X., etc.).

C. With lengthened grade: ► φῶρ (not ► φωριαμός). See further ► φαρέτρα, ► φερνή, ► ἀμφορεύς, ► δίφρος; ► φορμός (unrelated is ► φάρμακον).

•ETYM A PIE present *\*b<sup>h</sup>er-(e/o)-* 'to bear, etc.'; cognate forms are e.g. Lat. *ferō* 'id.', Go. *bairan* also 'to give birth', Arm. *berem*, Skt. *bhāratī*, OCS *berŭ* 'to collect', Ru. *berŭ* 'to take'. Beside the thematic forms, Greek has a unique form without a thematic vowel, the ipv. pl. φέρτε (verse-initial in I 172), which agrees exactly with Lat. *ferre* and also with *fer, fertis, fers, fert*, as well as with Skt. 3sg. *bhārti* (RV, bis). These may well be old athematic forms.

PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>er-* was originally limited to the present stem (fut. οἶσω, aor. ἐνεγκεῖν, ἐνεῖκαι, also τληῖναι, ταλάσσαι, Lat. perf. *tulī*). Non-presentic forms are found in Greek only occasionally: the late aor. ἤφερα (IG 3, 1379 = MōGr., after ἤνεγκα), the isolated gloss ἔφερσεν· ἐκύρησεν (H.), the incidental poetic formations φερτός, ἄφερτος, συμπερτός with a remarkable full grade (as against the zero grade in Skt. *bhṛtā-*).

Cognate forms of the nominal derivatives (often independent innovations): φόρος = Skt. *bhāra-* [m.] 'taking away, profit, booty' (*bhārā-* [m.] 'burden, load'), OCS *sъborъ* [m.] 'congregation', Ru. *sbor* 'collecting'; -φόρος = Arm. -vor, e.g. *lus-a-vor* 'bringing light' (from *loys* 'light'; cf. Lat. *Lūci-fer*), Skt. *-bharā-*, e.g. *vājam-bharā-* 'bringing the prize of a contest'; φέρμα formally = Skt. *bhārman-* [n.] 'maintenance, nurture, care', to which OCS *brěmę*, Ru. *berémja* 'load, burden' with acute intonation (cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 247, 249); φέρ(ε)τρον is formally comparable to OE *beorðor* [n.] 'birth'. However, the existence of a root variant *\*b<sup>h</sup>erh<sub>1</sub>-* (for φέρετρον, Skt. *bharīman-*, Ru. *berémja*) seems doubtful.

φεῦ [interj.] 'alas, woe, ah!' (trag., etc.). <ONOM>

•DER Aor. φεύξαι 'to cry φεῦ' (A. Ag. 1308); also φῦ 'faugh' (Ar. *Lys.*).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic form, like Lat. *fū*, MoFr. *fī*, MoE *phew*.

φεύγω [v.] 'to flee, escape, be on the run, go into exile; to be prosecuted' (Il.). <IE *\*b<sup>h</sup>eug-* 'flee'>

•VAR Also pres. φυγάνω (IA); aor. φυγεῖν, fut. φεύξομαι (Il.), φευξοῦμαι (Att.), ἐκφεύξω (pap. II<sup>a</sup> etc.), perf.ptc.med. πεφυγμένος (Hom. etc.), act. πεφευγότες (α 12), πεφυζότες (Il.), sg. -ώς (Nic.), after φύζα; ind. πέφευγα (IA), opt. πεφεύγοι (Φ 609), ἐκπεφευγοίην (S. OT 840).

•COMP Frequently with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-. Nominal: e.g. φυγοπτόλεμος 'who shuns battle' (ξ 213, Q. S.); rarely φυξ(ι)-, e.g. φυξ-ανορία or -άνορα [acc.] 'fleeing from men' (A. *Supp.* 8 [anap.]), also φεγυδρος 'shunning water' (late medic.), φευξίκτηρος, a plant name (Ps.-Dsc.).

•DER Root noun φυγ- in φύγα-δε (Il.), -ά-δης (Theognost. *Can.*, EM) 'to flight', φύγδα (A. *Eu.* 256 [lyr.]), -δην (Nic. *Th* 21) 'on the run'.

Hence: 1. with suffix -ια-: φύζα [f.] '(wild) flight, panic' (Il., ξ 269 = ρ 439), -ακινός 'fugitive, shy' (N 102), as if from \*φύζαξ; -αλέος 'id.' (AP), φυζηλός, δειλός, φυγάς (H.); also isolated verbal forms: aor.ptc. φυζηθέντες (Nic. *Th* 825), to \*φύζαομαι; inf. φυζάναι· φυγεῖν, δειλιάσαι (H.), for -άναι, or an artificial athem. formation? Cf. πεφυζότες above.

2. With suffix -ᾱ-: φυγή [f.] 'flight, exile' (Od.); frequently from prefixed verbs, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, κατα-. 3. Adjectives πρό-, πρόσ-φυξ 'fleeing, searching for cover' (late), πρόσφυγος 'id.' (Aesop.), ἀφυγής 'who cannot flee' (Timo); καταφύγιον [n.] 'refuge' (Democr.), προσ-, συμφύγιον 'id.' (late). 4. From φυγ- or φυγή: φυγάς, -άδος [m., f.] 'refugee' (IA), whence -αδεύω [v.] (Att.), -αδείω (El.) 'to expel, banish'; -αδεῖον [n.] 'place of exile' (LXX), -αδεία [f.] 'banishment' (Plb., Vett. Val.), -αδευτικός 'banishing' (Hld.); φύγιον [n.] 'place of refuge' (Andania I<sup>a</sup>).

From φυγεῖν and φεύγειν: 5. φύξις [f.] 'flight, rescue' (K 311 = 398, 447, Nic.), younger φεύξις [f.] 'id.' (S. *Ant.* 362 [lyr.]); from the prefixed verbs: ἀνά-, ἀπό-, διά-, κατά-φυξις, -φενξις (Ar., Th., Pl., etc.), often mixed up in the transmission; hence φύξιμος (Hell.+ also φεύξιμος, Delph. [III<sup>a</sup>] φύκτιμος) 'granting refuge, rescue' (ε 359, Plb., Plu.), 'capable of fleeing' (S. *Ant.* 788 [lyr.]), 'escapable, avoidable' (Hp., Max.), κατα- (Plu.). From φύξις also: φύξιος 'belonging to the flight' (A. R.), as epithet of Zeus, also of Apollo, 'granting refuge' (Apollod., Lyc., Paus., inscr. etc.); -ηλις 'fugitive, faint-hearted' (P 143, Nic., Lyc.), formation unclear. 6. Verbal adjective φυκτός 'avoidable, escapable' (Hom.), only with negation = ἀφυκτος (Pi., Simon., Att.); younger φευκτός 'id.' (S. *Aj.* 224 [lyr.]), with negation = ἀφευκτος (late); φευκταῖοι· ἀποτρόπαιοι (H.), φευκτικός 'fit or prone for escaping' (X., Arist., Str.), also with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-; φευκτ-ιάω [v.] 'to want to escape' (Arist. *Fr.* 130). 7. Desiderative φευξείω (E. *HF* 628; cod. -ιῶ).

•ETYM Gr. φεύγω is built on a PIE aor. continued in φυγεῖν, cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 1. *\*b<sup>h</sup>eug-*. The nasal pres. φυγάνω was built on the aorist on the model of τυχεῖν : τυγχάνω. The Greek and Lat. nouns often agree with each other, e.g. φυγή = *fuga*. Cognate forms are Lat. *fugiō*, perf. *fūgī* 'to flee', Lith. *būgsti*, *būgti* 'to be frightened' (with long vowel from Winter's Law), *baugūs* 'fearful, afraid'. Less certain (because alternatively derived to *\*b<sup>h</sup>eug-* 'to be useful') is the appurtenance of YAv. *būjaiiamna-* 'setting himself free', YAv. *būjaṭ* 'sets free'.

φέψαλος [m.] 'spark of fire' (Ar., Arist.). <PG>

•VAR φεψάλυξ, -υγος (Archil., Ar., Plb.).

•DER φεψαλόομαι in ἐφεψαλώθη 'he was covered in sparks of fire' (A. *Pr.* 364).

•ETYM Unclear. Usually interpreted as a reduplicated form to ► ψόλος, but since -αλο- is a suffix, the words can at best be remotely cognate (cf. ► ψάμμος, ► ψῆν). φέψαλος rather seems Pre-Greek.

φή [conj.] 'like, as' (B 144, E 499 acc. to Zenodotus, h. *Herm.*, Call.). <IE *\*b<sup>h</sup>e/o-*>

•VAR Also φῆ.

•ETYM Not certainly explained. Probably cognate with Av. *bā* 'indeed', *bōit* 'even', Lith. *bā* 'really', OCS and Ru. *bo* 'for', Go. *-ba-* 'even', etc. < PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>e/o-*. Gr. φή could reflect PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>* [n.pl.] (cf. Frisk), *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>* [ins.sg.] (cf. DELG) or a lengthened grade *\*b<sup>h</sup>ē* (cf. De Vaan 2009: 53). Differently Fraenkel *Gnomon* 28 (1956): 238 (with semantic parallels from Slavic) and Ruijgh *Lingua* 58 (1982): 205 (on the oxytone accent): φή as a suffixless ipv. of φημι 'say'.

φηγός [f.] 'oak, Quercus Aegilops' (Il.). <IE *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>g-* 'beech'>

•VAR Dor. (Theoc.) φαγός.

•DER φήγινος (E 838, Call., Dsc.), with extended suffix -ίνος (AP, Orph.) 'of the oak, oaken' (borrowed as Lat. *fāginus*, -*ineus*), PN Φηγεύς (E 11 etc.).

•ETYM Inherited word, identical with Lat. *fāgus* [f.] 'beech', Gaulish *\*bāgos* 'beech' (in French place names), and with Gm. forms, e.g. ON *bók*, OHG *buohha* [f.] 'beech', Go. *boka* [f.] 'letter'. The absence of the beech in Greece proper caused the change of meaning of φηγός to 'oak'. The name of the beech tree played an important role in the discussion on the 'Urheimat' of the Indo-Europeans. An important question was whether Eastern tree-names, like Kurd. *būz* 'kind of elm', Ru. *boz* 'elder' and corresponding Slavic words had to be derived from *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-*, too. This was dismissed by Eilers and Mayrhofer 1962: 61ff.

φήληξ, -ηκος [m.] 'wild fig' (S. Fr. 781[?], Ar. Pax 1165). <PG(S)>

•COMP φηληκόθρεπτον· ὑπὸ δόλυνθου (cod. δλονθον) τῆς συκῆς τεθραμμένον (H.).

•ETYM An evident Pre-Greek word in -ηξ (cf. Fur.: 245<sup>70</sup>). It might have been folk-etymologically adapted to ► φηλός, cf. Chantraine 1933: 381, Nehring *Glotta* 14 (1925): 181.

φηλός [adj.] 'deceitful, deceptive' (EM, sch. Ar. Pax 1165, H., Suid.). <PG?>

•VAR Accent following Hdn. Gr. 1, 155, 20.

•COMP βροτόφηλος· ἀνθρώπους φηλῶν, τουτέστιν ἀπατῶν (H.).

•DER Denominative φηλῶ [v.] 'to deceive' (few attestations in A., E., A. R., etc.), whence φήλωμα [n.] (Antipho Soph.), -ωσις [f.] (EM) 'deception'. φηλήτης (accent following EM 794, 1) [m.] 'deceiver' (Hes. Op. 375 (?), h. Merc., trag. etc.), often written as φιλ-, and at a very early date; hence -ητεύω 'to deceive' (h. Merc.), -ησία: κλεπτοσύναις (H.), -ατία [f.], -ατίας [nom.sg.m.] = -ήτης? (Delphi III<sup>a</sup>). For the origin of the spelling φιλ-, cf. Bechtel 1921(3): 336, Luther 1935: 167f.

•ETYM Has been connected with Lat. *fallō* 'deceive', and with ► ἀποφώλιος. On φαλός = μωρός, ἐμμανής with φαλίπτει, φαλωθείς see ► φαλός· λευκός. DELG thinks that the writing φιλ- is not original, but to my mind, the argumentation is wrong. The word may well be Pre-Greek.

φημί [v.] 'to say, explain, argue', perfective (Il.), as against imperfective λέγω, ἀγορεύω etc. 'to speak, talk'. Hence, the old ipf. ἔφην got aoristic function. Pres. med. ἐφάμην, ἔφατο, etc. <IE *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-* 'say'>

•VAR Dor. φαμί, Aeol. φάμι, also φάσκω, inf. φάναι (Att.), φάμεν (Hom.), ipf. ἔφην, ἔφᾶν, epic also ἐφάμην, inf. φάσθαι, fut. φήσω (Θ 148, 153), Dor. φασῶ (Ar. Ach. 739, et al.), φάσομαι (Pi.), aor. φῆσαι (Hdt., Att.), perf. med. πέφαται (A. R.), ipv. πεφάσθω (Pl. Ti. 72d).

•DIAL Myc. 3sg. *pa-si* /p<sup>h</sup>āsī/.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀντι-, ἀπο-, παρα-, προσ-, συν-.

•DER A. With full grade: 1. φήμη, Dor. Aeol. φάμα [f.] 'quotation, enunciation, rumour, reputation, speech' (Od.); as a second member e.g. in εὐφημος, -φαμος 'bringing a good message, containing no evil omen = mute, boding well' (Il.; PN B 846), whence -έω, -ία, -ίζομαι, -ισμός; πολύφημος, -φαμος 'speaking much, much spoken of, famous' (Il.; PN A 264, Od. [PN], Pi., Parm. etc.), whence -ία. From φήμη is derived the PN Φήμιος [m.] name of a singer (Od.), epithet of Zeus (Erythrae III<sup>a</sup>),

-ία epithet of Athena (ibd.). Denominative φημίω [v.] 'to announce, spread by rumour' (Hes.), also with ἐπι-, δια-, κατα- etc.; hence ἐπιφήμια [n.] 'acclamation of ill or good omen' (Th., J.), -ισμός [m.] 'benediction' (Str.). From H.: ἀφήμονες· ἄρρητοι, οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενοι; ἀφημοῦντας· ἀγροίκους; ἀφημίστους· ἀγροικίας (read -κούς?); ἀφαμῶται· οἰκέται ἀγροῖκοι, περίοικοι (Cret.). 2. φῆμις, -ιος [f.] 'speech, talk' (epic poet. since K 207), probably a contamination of φήμη and φάτις. 3. φήματα· ῥήματα, φάσματα (H.). 4. φημοσύνη [f.] 'oracle?' (Crete II-I<sup>a</sup>). 5. -φήτης [m.] in ὑποφήτης 'interpreter, expositor' (P 235, Hell. epic), -φήτις [f.] (AP etc.), -φάτις (Pi.), -φητεύω, -εἶα (late); προφήτης (IA), Dor. Boeot. -φάτας (Pi., B., Corinn.) 'announcer, seer, prophet', -φήτις [f.] (E., Pl., LXX, etc.), -φητεύω, -εἶα, also -φητίζω (Hp.), -φητάζω (Man.), -φητικός (late); PN Εὐ-, Περιφήτης (Il.). 6. -φήτωρ = -φήτης in ὑπο-, προφήτωρ (Hell. and late poetry), συμφήτωρ· μάντις, μάρτυς (H.). B. With zero grade: 1. φάτις [f.] 'quotation, rumour, enunciation' (epic poet. since Od., Hdt.), φατίζω (κατα-) [v.] 'to state, confirm, betroth' (epic poet. since Parm., Hdt., et al.). 2. φάσις 'id.' (Hdt., Pl., Arist., etc.), often to the prefixed verbs ἀντί-, ἀπό-, ἔκ-, κατά-, whence (ἀντι-, ἀπο-)φατικός (Arist. etc.); φάτις· ψεύστης (H.). 3. φατός, as a simplex only in opposition to ἄφατος 'unmentioned, unknown' (Hes. Op. 3) and with negation = ἄφατος 'ineffable, unspeakable' (Hes. Sc. 230, Parm., Pi., etc.); as a second member (in original univerbations), e.g. παλαί-φατος 'spoken of long ago, ancient' (Od., epic poet.). 4. φατειός, only with οὐ: 'unutterable' (Hes., verse-final); probably metrical (or στίχος μείζους) for -τέος, if not = Skt. -*tavā-*.

•ETYM PIE root present *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-* / *\*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-* 'to say'. Cognate verbs are Arm. *bam* 'say' < *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-mi*, bay < *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-ti* 'says' introducing direct speech (see Schwyzler KZ 57 (1930): 242ff. on Lesb. φαι 'you say'), Latin med. *fatur* (cf. φάτο), Ru. *bájati*, 1sg. *báju* 'to talk, speak', possibly OE *bō(i)an* 'to brag'. A derived nasal present may be Skt. *bhānati* 'speak, sound'. Gr. φάτις corresponds to Arm. bay 'word, speech', and φήμη to Lat. *fāma* 'rumour, fame'. Gr. ἄφατος corresponds to Latin *infitiās ire* 'to deny' from *\*in-fato-* 'not said'; *\*fato-* is also the basis for *fateor* 'to admit'. Further nominal derivations are Lat. *fās*, *fātum*, *fābula*, *fācundus*; Armenian *ban*, gen. *ban-i*, instr. *ban-iw* 'word, speech, matter' with a suffix *\*-ni-*, ON *bón*, OE *bēn* 'request, prayer' < PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>e/oh<sub>2</sub>-ni-* (cf. φωνή).

The PIE root *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-* 'speak' may be identical in origin with *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to shine' in Skt. *bhā-ti* 'to light, shine', see ► φαίνω. They are formally the same, and the semantic derivation is common: 'say' < 'explain, make clear', etc., cf. Lat. *dēclārō*, *arguō*, etc. See ► φωνή.

φήνη [f.] large bird of prey, perhaps 'bearded vulture' (Od., Ar., Arist., Opp., etc.).

<PG?(V)>

•VAR Also φίνις (v.l. Dsc. 2, 53); see Fur.: 171<sup>114</sup>.

•DER Φηγεύς [m.] (Apollod.), Φηνώ [f.] (Paus.).

•ETYM Without convincing etymology. The variant φίνις may point to a Pre-Greek word, which is most probable anyway. Osthoff 1901: 246 compared Skt. *bhāsa-* [m.] bird a prey, in which case Greek would continue *\*b<sup>h</sup>ēs-nā* or *\*b<sup>h</sup>ās-nā*. Risch 1937: 98 supposes an original color designation, perhaps 'bright', like περκνός, κελαινός etc.; cf. the bird names ► μύρφνος and ► κύκνος.

**φήρ, -ρός** [m.] 'wild beast, predator', also of Centaurs (A 268, B 743) and satyrs (Telest., Gal.).

•DER Φηρεύς [m.] a satyr (Nonn.); also φήρεα (-εῖα?) [n.pl.] 'swollen tonsils', because of the similarity with budding satyr-horns (Hp.); adv. φηρεατικῶς (Gal.).

•ETYM Aeolic for ►θήρ.

**φῆρον** [n.] = βρώμια θεῶν (Hdn. Gr. 1, 385) 'food of the gods'; φῆρος· ἡ τῶν ἀρχαίων θεῶν τροφή (H.). <?>

•ETYM We find related forms in Germanic (Go. *barizeins* 'from barley', ON *barr* 'grain', OE *bere* 'barley' < \**bar(e/a)z-*), Celtic (OIr. *bairgen*, MW *bara* 'bread' < PCL. \**barag(en)o/ā*, Matasović 2009: 56), and Balto-Slavic (OCS *brašbno* 'food'), pointing to a root \**b<sup>h</sup>ar(s)-*, probably of non-IE origin (de Vaan 2008: 202).

**φθάνω** [v.] 'to anticipate, be ahead', absolute and with acc., often with ptc. <IE \**d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>wh</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-* 'come near, nearly reach, pass'>

•VAR Pres. Hom. ᾶ, Att. ᾶ; aor. ἔφθην (Il.), inf. φθῆναι (IA), ptc. φθάς (Hom., Hdt.), med. φθάμενος (epic), φθάσαι (IA), Dor. ἔφθασσα (Theoc.), fut. φθήσομαι (Il.), φθάσω (X.), perf. ἔφθακα (Philipp. *apud* D., Hell.+), πέφθακα (late), pass. φθάνομαι (Arist. etc.), φθασθῆναι (D. H., etc.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. προ-, ὑπο-, παρα-.

•DER προφθασία [f.] (or -ια [n.]?) "the anticipation", name of a festival in Clazomenae (D. S. 15, 18), παραφθαδόν [adv.] 'in anticipation' (Opp.), ptc. καταφθατουμένη = κατὰφθατον ποιουμένη 'to take in possession beforehand' (γῆν A. Eu. 398), φθατήση φθάση (H.), cf. Schwyzler: 705.

•ETYM Without any doubt an inherited word. Connected with Skt. *dhag-nu-*, by Hoffmann *apud* Eichner MSS 31 (1973): 67, 94<sup>53</sup>; the laryngeal was reconstructed by K.T. Schmidt 1988: 475f.

The root aorist ἔφθην follows the model of ἔστην, ἔβην, ἔπτην, ἔφην etc., with a zero grade φθάμενος. The 3pl. ἔφθασαν for ἔφθαν (φθάν Λ 51) gave rise to the sigmatic aorist ἔφθασα; to these aorists were joined the futures φθήσομαι (from full grade \**d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>wh</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-*) and φθάσω, and subsequently the perfects ἔφθακα, πέφθακα. The present φθάνω < \*φθά-νφ-ω probably continues \**d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>wh</sup>-nu-V-*, with the suffix \*-*neu/-nu-* replacing \*-*neh<sub>2</sub>-/-nh<sub>2</sub>-* (LIV<sup>2</sup>: 135<sup>11</sup>).

On the glosses ψατάσθαι· προκαταλαμβάνειν 'to anticipate'; ψατήσαι· προειπεῖν 'to warn'; ψαέναι· φθάσαι (H.), which have ψ- instead of φθ-, see Schwyzler: 32.

**φθέγγομαι** [v.] 'to utter a sound, sound, raise one's voice, call, talk' (Hom.). <?>

•VAR Aor. φθέγξασθαι, fut. φθέγξομαι (Il.), perf. ἔφθεγμα, 2sg. ἔφθεγξαι, etc. (Pl., Arist. etc.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. προσ-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-.

•DER 1. φθέγμα (πρόσ-, ἀπό-, etc.) [n.] 'sound, voice, cry, quotation' (Pi., Att.), -ματικός (ἀπο-, ἐπι-) 'sounding, etc.' (Hell.+). 2. φθέγξις (ἀνά-, ἐπί-, πρό-) [f.] 'utterance, talk' (Hp., late). 3. φθεγκ-τός 'effable' (Plu.), often and earlier in compounds, e.g. ἀφθεγκτος 'ineffable, unpronounced, soundless' (B., A., etc.); -τικός 'sounding' (Max. Tyr.); προσ-φθεγκτήριος 'addressing, greeting' (Poll.). 4. φθόγγος [m.] (Il.), also φθογγή [f.] (Il., epic poet.) 'sound, voice'; in compounds λιγύφθογγος

'clear-voiced' (Il., epic poet.), σύμ-φθογγος 'with one voice' (A.), ἀντί-φθογγος 'resounding' (Pi.), to συμ-φθέγγομαι, etc.; hence φθογγ-άριον [n.] 'sound-pipe', -άζομαι = φθέγγομαι (Pi. etc.).

•ETYM Could be a stem φθεγ- with regular ablaut and with nasalization (as in κλαγγή, κλάγξαι etc.), but it has no certain etymology. None of the existing connections with semantically comparable words (e.g. with OCS *zvęgo* 'ἄδειν', Ru. *zvjágatb*, 1sg. *zvjagú* 'to bark, yap', Lith. *žvėngti*, 1sg. *žvėngiu* 'to neigh', or with Lith. *speñgti*, of the ears, 'to resound, bite, hum, drone' (cf. Frisk) is phonetically convincing.

**φθείρ, -ρός** [m., f.] 'louse' (IA); also a fish that lives on dolphins, 'Naucrates ductor' (Arist. etc.); metaphorically of the seed of the spruce-fir (Phot.), of the middle part of the rudder (Poll.). <?>

•COMP φθειροκτόνον [n.] plant-name (Ps.-Dsc.).

•DER φθειρ-ίον [n.] plant-name (Ps.-Dsc.), -ώδης 'lousy' (Arist.), -άριος 'id.' (gloss.). Verbs: 1. φθειρ-ιάω 'to suffer from lice or phthiriasis', -ιάσις [f.] 'phthiriasis' (Com. *Adesp.*, Str., medic. etc.); 2. φθειρ-ίζομαι, -ίζω 'to delouse oneself' (Arist., Thphr., LXX etc.), -ιστικός 'delousing, searching for lice' (Pl.), -ισμός [m.] 'delousing' (gloss.).

•ETYM The word was already derived from φθείρω, φθεῖραι by Galen, i.e. as a back-formation with retained -ει-. Doubt about this is voiced by Schwyzler: 326 and Chantraine 1933: 3, the latter of whom considers folk-etymological adaptation of the original word to φθείρω. DELG mentions the fact that the Greeks thought that lice grew from rotten flesh, and then defends the connection with φθείρω, which is doubtful.

**φθείρω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to ruin, destroy, destruct', intr. (pass.) 'to be ruined, perish, suffer shipwreck, fall out of course, be ruined, destroyed' (Il.). <IE \**d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>wh</sup>er-* 'flow away, disappear'>

•VAR Aeol. φθέρρω (Hdn. Gr.), Arc. φθήρω (Tegea IV\*), Dor. φθαίρω (Eust., EM), aor. φθεῖραι (IA), φθέρσαι (Lyc), fut. φθερώ, -οῦμαι (A., etc.), Ion. -έω, -έομαι Hdt.), epic 3sg. διαφθέρσει (N 325), perf. pass. ἔφθαρμαι (IA), act. ἔφθαρκα (Att.); intr. (pass.) φθαρήναι (Pi., IA), fut. -ήσομαι (IA; whence Ion. also -έω), perf. δι-έφθορα (O 128, Hp., late prose), also trans. (trag. and com.).

•COMP Mostly with δια- (including συν-, προ-, κατα-, ἐπι-διαφθείρω, etc.), also with ἀπο-, συν-, κατα-, etc.

•DER 1. φθερσίβροτος (Epigr. *apud* Paus. 3, 8, 9) = φθεισίμβροτος. 2. With *o*-grade: φθορά, Ion. -ή (δια-, κατα- etc.) [f.] 'deterioration, destruction, ruin, plague, seduction, abortion, miscarriage' (IA), φθόρος [m.] 'deterioration, destruction' (Thgn., Att.), mostly in sayings. From φθορά (φθόρος) the nouns: 3. (δια-)φθορεύς [m.] 'destructor, seducer' (E., Pl. etc.); φθορία [f.] 'destruction, mischief' (Hp. *Iusi*), often from compounds, e.g. οἰκοφθορία (Pl., Plu.), to οἰκοφθόρ-ος, -έω; φθορ-εῖον (-εῖον) [n.] 'drug for producing abortion' (Hell. and late inscr.). 4. adjectives φθόρ-ιος 'producing abortion' (medic.), 'concerning seduction' (pap. V<sup>p</sup>), δια- 'decayed' (Gal.); -υιος 'destructive, perishable' (Man., Herm. *apud* Stob.); -ικός 'destructible'



(late), χρηματο- 'wasting money' (Pl.); -ώδης 'depraved, harmful' (Hdn., Lyd.). With zero grade: 5. φθάρμα [n.] 'corruption, throw-off' (LXX, J.), ἀπό- 'miscarriage' (Hp.). 6. σύμφθοαρσις [f.] 'simultaneous destruction' (late). 7. φθοαρτός 'destructable, perishable' (Arist. etc.), often ἀφθοαρτός 'imperishable' (Arist., Hell.+), ἀφθοαρσία [f.] 'imperishability' (Epicur., LXX, NT etc.), whence φθοαρσία (Thales *apud* Fulg.). 8. φθοαρτικός 'destructive, harmful' (Arist., medic., etc.).

•ETYM Greek φθείρω < \**d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>wh</sup>er-je/o-* corresponds to an intransitive present in Indo-Iranian: Skt. *kṣārati*, Av. *γžaraiti* 'to flow, stream', Skt. also 'to flow away, diverge, disappear'. An PIE *s*-aorist (ἐφθεῖρα < ἐφθερ-σ-) is retained in 3sg. *ákṣār* (RV) < \**a-kṣār-ṣ-t*; the other verbal formations of Greek and IIr. (e.g. caus. Skt. *kṣārayati* = Av. *γžaraieiti* 'to let flow', ptc. *kṣarita*, etc.) are innovations. The morphological identity of φθόρος and Skt. *kṣara*- [n.] 'water' (Lex.) is due to independent development, as is the comparison between ἀφθορος 'unspoiled, pure' (late) and *akṣára*- 'not flowing away, imperishable' (RV). LIV<sup>2</sup> follows the reconstruction \**g<sup>w</sup>g<sup>h</sup>er-*.

**φθίνω** [v.] intr. 'to decline, decay, perish', (exceptionally) trans. or caus. 'to cause to decline, consume, destroy' (Il.). <IE \**d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>wh</sup>ei-* 'disappear'>

•VAR φθινύθω intr. and trans. (epic poet. Il.). Further intr. forms: athem. aor. ἐφθίμην, -το, -ατο, φθίσθαι, φθίμενος, etc. (Il., epic poet.), 3pl. ἐφθιθεν (Od.), for -ίατο; act. them. subj. φθίης (β 368), fut. φθείσομαι (Hom.), aor. φθίσασθαι (-ει-; Q. S.), perf. ἐφθιται (ν 340), -ινται (A. Pers. 679 [lyr.]). Built on the present: φθιν-ῆσαι (Hp. *Epid.*), -ήσω, ἐφθίνηκα (late); trans.-caus.: epic aor. φθεῖσαι (-ι-), Att. φθίσαι, them. 3sg. ἐφθιεν (Σ 446), epic fut. φθείσω (-ι-), Att. φθίσω (-ι-), perf. ἐφθικα (Them.).

•DIAL Myc. *e-qi-ti-wo-e* /ek<sup>wh</sup>tiwo<sup>h</sup>e/.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀπο-, κατα-. Compounds: e.g. φθινόκαρπος 'whose fruit has decayed, without fruit' (Pi.), φθινόπωρον, see ὁπώρα; φθεισίμβροτος (φθισί-) 'destroying people', φθεισῆνwor 'ruining men' (epic), etc.

•DER 1. From the present: φθινάς, -άδος 'declining, decaying, consumption', as a fem. subst. 'consumption' (Hp., S., E., etc.); φθινύλλα [f.] taunting address of an elderly woman (A. *Eq.* 935; after the PN); cf. φθισα-ή λεπτή ἀπὸ φθίσεως (H.); φθινάσματα (ήλιου) [n.pl.] 'setting (of the sun)', poet. formation (A. Pers. 232). 2. From the verbal stem: φθίσις [f.] 'declining, waning, consumption' (Pi., IA), -ικός 'consumptive' (Arist., *Epid.* IV<sup>a</sup>, Hell.+), -ικεύομαι (Androm. *apud* Gal.), -ιάω (Hp., Arist.) 'to be consumptive'; φθιτοί [pl.], rarely -ός [sg.], 'the deceased' (trag., late prose), ἀφθιτος 'imperishable' (Il., epic poet.). 3. With *o*-grade: φθό-η [f.] 'consumption' (Att., also Hp.; Ion. Hell. use φθίσις instead), -ώδης 'consumptive' (Paus.). On ►φθόις, -ῖς, see s.v. Also Φθίη [f.] (Il., etc.) land of the Φθίεις (St. Byz.), perhaps originally 'land of the dead' (= φθίμενοι), a mythical place?

•ETYM PIE had a verbal root \**d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>wh</sup>ei-*, whence (acc. to LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.) a nasal present \**d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>wh</sup>-n(é)-i-*, which was remade into \**d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>wh</sup>i-n(é)u-* in Greek (whence φθινύ-θω and \*φθίνϜ-ω > φθίνω, with Ion. ῖ, Att. ῖ), and into \**d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>wh</sup>i-n(é)H-* in Indo-Iranian (whence Skt. *kṣīṇati*, Av. *jināiti* 'to destroy'). PIE also had an athem. aor. \**d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>wh</sup>(é)i-* > Gr. φθίτο, φθίμενος, etc. García Ramón MSS 51 (1990): 7-20, following Ruijgh, explains the Mycenaean form as meaning 'dead', an act. ptc. nom.pl. in -uos-, with medial-intransitive meaning, and perfect reduplication \**e-*; the form was later

replaced by °φθίμενος. In Greek, the original diphthong ει in the *s*-aorist and *s*-future was replaced by ι at an early date, at least in writing and perhaps also in reality, first after φθίνω (with ι). In Attic, shortening was introduced in φθίσαι, φθίσω after the short vowel in φθίνω and on the model of σχίσαι and denominatives in -ίσαι (-ίζω). Gr. φθίσις = Skt. *kṣīti*- [f.] 'languishing, destruction', probably also Lat. *sitis* [f.] 'thirst' < \*'disappearing, languish(ing)'. As a formula, Gr. κλέος ἀφθιτον (Hom.) = Skt. *śrávaḥ* ... *ákṣitam* (RV beside *ákṣiti śrávaḥ*). The initial \**d<sup>h</sup>*- is retained in OAv. *dājit.arata-* /*djit-arta-* 'destroying Arta-'. See also ►ψίνομαι.

**φθόις, -ιος** [f.] 'kind of cake' (Erythrae IV<sup>a</sup>, Cos IV-III<sup>a</sup>, Ar. etc.), 'pastille used for fumigation' (Hp.), 'bar of metal' (Att. inscr.), perhaps 'kind of cup' (Eup. 373 acc. to Ath. 11, 502b; very uncertain). <?>

•VAR Also φθοῖς, -ίδος.

•DER Diminutive φθοῖσκος (Hp.).

•ETYM The strongly deviating meanings provide a problem that is still unsolved; we can only speculate about the etymology. Formally, one might connect φθόη 'consumption' (to φθίνω 'to decline, consume'); the meaning 'decline' might be recognized in the explanations by H. s.v. φθόις (except for 'πλακοῦς'): τὰ πρὸς λεπτὸν ἀλληλεσμένα καὶ τὸ ἀπορρέον ψῆγμα τοῦ χρυσίου. See DELG, where the possibility of a loan is kept open.

**φθόνος** [m.] 'envy, jealousy' (Pi., IA). <IE? \**d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>wh</sup>en-* (?)>

•COMP ἀφθονος 'without envy, unenvied', usually 'bounteous, plentiful' (h. *Ap.*, Hes.), ἀφθονία [f.] 'abundance' (Pi., IA).

•DER φθονερός 'envious, jealous' (Thgn., Pi., IA), -ερία [f.] 'envy' (Arist. etc.). Verb: φθονέω [v.] 'to envy, begrudge, refuse' (Il.) also with ἐπι-, ὑπο- etc.; thence -ησις [f.] 'envying, jealousy' (S. *Tr.* 1212), -ητικός 'envious' (late).

•ETYM Probably to be analyzed as φθόν-ο-, to a root \*φθεν- (to which φθονέω is a causative or iterative?). De Vaan (p.c.) tentatively suggests connection with φθάνω 'to anticipate, be ahead of, which could imply that it is related to Av. *ayžō.nuuanm̥əm* < \**a-gžanum̥ma*- 'which cannot be missed' (De Vaan 203: 441f.).

**φιάλη** [f.] 'flat vessel, dish, flat bowl for drinking or sacrificing, etc.' (post-Hom.), also for cooking and to preserve ashes (Ψ). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also φιέλη (Hell. acc. to Moer.).

•DIAL Myc. *pi-a-ra* /p<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>alā-/ , also *pi-je-ra*, /p<sup>h</sup>ielai/.

•COMP φιαληφόρος [f.] 'bearer (fem.) of a φ.', title of a Locrian priestess (Plb.).

•DER Diminutives: φιάλιον [n.] (Eub., Arist., Hell.), -ιδιον [n.] (Hero), -ίσκα [f.] (Gortyn V-IV<sup>a</sup>), -ίσκος(?) [m.] (Maced.), -ίς [f.] (Luc.). Further: φιαλῖται ἀριθμοί [pl.] a game (Procl., etc.), -ώδης 'dish-like' (Ath., sch.), -ωτός 'id.' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>, Gp.), -ώω (βόθρον) 'to hollow (the bottom) out into a flat shape' (Gp.).

•ETYM A loanword of unknown origin, formally fitting the instrument names in -αλη, -αλο- (σκυτάλη, γυάλον, -η). Etymologies to be rejected: \*πι-σαλᾶ from πι- = ἐπι- and ἐλεῖν 'grasp'; also \*πι-φθαλᾶ < \**pi-syalā* to εἶλη 'heat of the sun' < PIE \**syel-* 'to burn'. Cf. also ►ὑπερφιάλος. The word is probably Pre-Greek on account of the interchange of suffixes that is already attested in Mycenaean (Fur.: 346).



**φιαρός** [adj.] 'gleaming, shining, oily, bright' (Alexandr. poetry). <PG?>

•VAR φιαρύνει· λαμπρύνει (H.).

•ETYM No etymology, but reminiscent of πιαρός and φαιδρός. It has been assumed to be a contamination of those two adjectives, but this is unwarranted and therefore better rejected. Fur.: 165 compares πιαλός παράλευκος and assumes Pre-Greek origin.

**φιβάλεως** [f.] 'a fig suitable for curing', also metaphorically of thin people (com.); acc. to sch. Ar. *Ach.* 802, a place in Megaris or Attica. <PG>

•VAR Plur. nom. -εω, acc. -εως.

•ETYM Without any doubt a Pre-Greek word (not in Fur.). Formation like κορών-εως [f.] 'tree with raven-black figs', μελίνεως· εἶδος ἀμπέλου 'kind of vine' (H.), κανθάρεως [m.] a vine. As the basis of the TN, the sch. gives φίβαλις = γένος συκῆς 'kind of fig', with the plur. φιβάλεις = οἱ ἰσχυροὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων; in EM 793, 26 (acc. to Apollorph.) φιβάλεα = τὰ σύκα, -λέαι = ἰσχάδες.

**φιδάκη** [f.] 'wine-jar (A., D., Thphr.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Late πιθάκη (Thasos V<sup>a</sup>, Moer., Phot.); Dor. πισάκη (H.).

•ETYM Since φιδάκη is the old form, the word has nothing to do with πίθος. Frisk assumed (s.v. πίθος) that the word had the diminutive suffix -ιχνη, which became -ακη, but this is impossible. The group of suffixes -ακ-ν- is typical for Pre-Greek. For the shift of aspiration, compare φάτνη. See Fur.: 197, 393.

**φιδίτια** [n.pl.] the collective meal of the Spartans; also the place where this meal was consumed (X., Arist., Plu., etc.). <PG?>

•VAR Rarely sing. (often φιλ-, also written φειδ-).

•DER φιδίτης, Dor. -τας (φειδ-) [m.] 'participant of a φιδίτια' (Sphaer. *Stoic.*, Ath.).

•ETYM Plu. Lyc. 12 explains the word from φιλία, with δ for λ, which is clearly a folk etymology. A connection with φειδώ 'saving, thrift' is at least formally possible. Fur.: 238<sup>45</sup> thinks that the interchange δ/λ shows that the word is Pre-Greek; this is uncertain.

**φίικς** [?] 'anus' (Hdn. 1, 88, 35), see DELG *Supp.* <IE?>

•DER φικιῶ; φιδικίζειν· ἐπὶ τοῦ παιδεραστέιν (Suid. φ 992, χ 42 Adler).

•ETYM Hardly from Lat. *fica*. Taillardat thinks of \*p<sup>(h)</sup>uk-, Pok. 847, whence \*φυκ-ιδ-, which became φυκ-ιδ-. Katz 2004: 277-284 compares Skt. *sphij-* 'hip, buttock', and reconstructs PIE \*(s)phik-(i-). Rather uncertain.

**φιλήτης** [m.] 'impostor, thief'. <PG?>

•ETYM A common, and perhaps correct, writing for φιλήτης; see on ► φηλός. The ι-form stands etymologically isolated and may be Pre-Greek.

**φιλομήλιον** [n.] 'name of a plant, celandine, Chelidonium maius' (Ps.-Dsc. 2, 180).

<GR>

•ETYM Literally 'herb of Philomela' (who was changed into a swallow). See André 1958: 60f.

**φίλος** [subst., adj.] 'friend, friendly, dear' (Il.), 'related, own', also reflexive possessive 'suus (tuus, meus)', of relatives, body-parts, clothing, etc., plur. 'kinsmen, relatives' (Il., epic poet.). <?>

•VAR Grades of comparison: a. φιλίων (τ 351 = ω 268), -ιστος (S. *Aj.* 842 [interpolated?], ascertained as a PN); b. φίλτερος (epic poet., late prose), -τατος (also Att. prose; Dor. φίντ-) ; c. φιλαίτερος, -τατος (X., Call., Theoc., etc.) after παλαίτερος, -τατος etc.; d. φιλώτερος (X., Call.); e. μάλλον φίλος (A., S., Thphr.), μάλιστα φ. (X.).

•DIAL Myc. *pi-ra-me-no* /p<sup>h</sup>ilamenos/?

•COMP As a first member e.g. φιλόφρων 'well-disposed, friendly-minded' (Pi., IA), φιλομμειδής 'with a friendly smile' (epic Γ 324+); early on in epic tradition, it was reinterpreted as a verbal element, e.g. φιλόξεινος (or -ξενος) 'to whom the guest is dear' > 'loving the guest, hospitable' (since Od.); in univerbations, e.g. φιλοθύτης [m.] (to φιλεῖ θύειν) 'loving the sacrifice, friend of the sacrifice' (Ar. etc.). As a second member, e.g. πολύφιλος 'with many friends' (Pi., Lys., Arist.), often considered verbal, with transition to the s-stems, e.g. θεοφιλής 'loved by the gods, dear to the gods' (IA); προσφιλής 'friendly, beloved, affectionate' (IA).

•DER 1. φιλότης, -ητος [f.] 'friendship, hospitality, love' (Il., epic poet.), -οτήσιος, Dor. -οτάσιος 'belonging to φιλότης' (epic poet. since λ 246); also -οτάριον address to a girl (Ar. *Ec.* 891), perhaps the hypocoristic gemination after νητάριον? 2. φιλία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'friendship, affection, love' (Thgn., Emp., IA); independent of φίλιος. Adjectives: 3. φίλ-ιος 'friendly' (Pi., IA), -(ι)ωτικός (*Theol. Ar.*). 4. -ικός 'id.' (Pl., X., Arist., etc.). 5. -ιακός 'id.' (Plot.), -ιακόν [n.] name of an association (inscr. Corycos). Verbs: 6. φιλέω (Il.) 'to be a friend, treat friendly or affectionately, to love, entertain, care', post-Hom. also 'to kiss' (especially with κατα-), with inf. 'to like to do, use to do', sometimes with prefix, especially κατα-. Forms: Aeol. φίλ-ημμι (Sapph.), -ήμεναι (X 265), aor. -ῆσαι (Il.), erroneous -ᾶσαι (Theoc.), pass. -ήθην (B 668 [3pl. -ῆθεν], Att.), med. ipv. φίλαι, (ἐ)φίλατο, φίλωνται etc. (epic since Il.), fut. -ήσω, -ήσομαι (Od.), perf. πεφίλημαι, -ηκα (Pi., etc.).

7. From φιλία (φίλιος): φιλιάζω [v.] 'to become friends' (LXX, Hell. pap. etc.), whence -ιαστής (H.); -ιόομαι, -ιόω 'to make friends' (late), -ίωσις (sch.), -ιωτής = διαλλακτήης (Suid.); -ιαίνομαι 'id.' (late). From φιλέω: φιλήτωρ [f.] 'lover' (A. *Ag.* 1446), 'loving, with love' (Nonn.); -ητής [m.] 'lover' (AP), -ητικός 'inclined to love or kiss' (Arist., etc.), -ημα (Hyperdorism -ᾶμα Mosch.) [n.] 'kiss' (A. *Fr.* 135 = 228 M., E., X., etc.), -ημάτιον PN (Luc.), ἀντιφιλήσις [f.] 'returning love' (Arist.), φιλημοσύνη [f.] 'friendliness' (Thgn.), to φιλήμων (EM, further only PN).

Also φίλτρον [n.] 'love potion' (poet. since Pi., also late prose), -τρίς λίθος 'love-bringing stone' (Dam.); φίλητρα [n.pl.] (AP 11, 218; text and meaning uncertain); φείλος (for -ί-) [n.] = φιλία (epigr. Caria, ca. I<sup>o</sup>). Numerous PNs, among others with \*φίλτο-, e.g. Φιλτό-ξενος, Φιλτ-άδης. Literature: Landfester 1966. Kakridis 1963.

•ETYM For the epic aorist forms (ἐ-)φίλατο, etc., analogical origin to φιλέω is well possible (cf. δοκέω beside ἔδοξα); there is no need to assume a present \*φίλλω. The element φίλτο-, which occurs only in PNs, may have arisen analogically to φιλο-: Φιλτό-ξενος to Φιλό-ξενος like e.g. Φαντ-αγόρας beside Φαν-αγόρας, Φαντ-ίας

beside Φαν-ίας. φίλτρον seems to have joined the numerous instrument nouns in -τρον; the causative meaning 'stimulating love' is clear.

The original meaning of φίλος was 'own, accompanying' rather than 'beloved'. The etymology is unknown; the connection with a Celto-Germanic adjective for 'fitting, good, etc.' (Ir. *bil*, W *Bil*- in PN, OHG *bil-lih*, etc.) must be abandoned. Lyd. *bilis* 'his, her' looks formally similar, but must be explained within Anatolian (from the pronoun *bi*- 'he'). Some have argued that φίλος represents an *l*-derivative of reflexive σφι, Lac. φιν (see Landfester op. cit.: 34ff. with a review of all earlier etymologies); in that case, the original meaning would be 'one's own'.

**φιλύκη** [f.] name of a shrub 'Rhamnus Alaternus, evergreen buckthorn' (Thphr.). <PG?>

•ETYM Unexplained, perhaps as a substrate word related to ►φιλύρα?

**φιλύρα** [f.] '(bast of the) lime tree' (Hdt., Thphr., Gal., etc.). <PG?>

•VAR Ion. -ρη.

•DER φιλυρ-έα [f.] 'mock privet, Phillyrea media' (Thphr.), after πελέα etc., φιλύριον [n.] 'tablet of lime wood' (Ael.), -ινος 'made of lime wood' (Hp., Ar., D. C., etc.).

•ETYM Strömberg 1940: 119 surmises a compound of φίλος and ὕρον 'swarm of bees' (see ►ῥαξ), because the lime attracts bees; compare Lat. *apium* 'celery/ivy' (to *apis*), MoHG *Bienenbaum* 'Acer campestre'. The European lime tree is not found in Greece; only in the North of the Balkans; the silver lime which is described by Thphr. *HP* 3, 10 is found especially on the Macedonian mountains. Probably a substrate word.

**φιμός** [m.] 'muzzle, gag' (A. *Th.* 463, *Fr.* 326 = 647 M., LXX, Dsc., Luc., etc.), metaphorically of a dice cup, or of its cover (Aeschin., Poll. etc.)? <?>

•VAR Plur. also -ά (*AP* 6, 312).

•COMP εὐφιμος 'astringent, styptic' (μύρτος, Nic.), 'well-bridled' (Hdn. *Epim.*), εὐφιμία (*EM* as an explanation of εὐκαμία, see κημός; cod. -φιμ-).

•DER φιμ-ώδης = εὐφιμος (μύρτα, Nic.), φιμ-ώω [v.] 'to seal with a muzzle, gag, fix, put to silence', pass. 'to fall silent' (Ar., LXX, NT, J., Luc. etc.), rarely with περι-, etc. Thence -ωσις (περι-) [f.] 'sealing, plugging' (medic., Vett. Val.), -ωτικός 'putting to silence' (*PMag. Lond., Tab. Defix. And.*), -ωτρον [n.] 'instrument for plugging' (Suid.); περιφιμίζω [v.] 'to fix, tie up' (*Tab. Defix.*).

•ETYM Unexplained. The identity of the suffix with the synonym κημός is remarkable. Contamination with ►φιτρός seems improbable.

**φιτρός** [m.] 'trunk, block, log' (Il., epic); acc. to sch. and Eust., from Amathus on Cyprus. <?, PG?>

•ETYM Traditionally (Frisk, Pok.) explained as an instrument noun in \*-tro- to the PIE root *\*b<sup>h</sup>iH-* 'to strike, hew, cut' seen e.g. in OCS *biti*, OIr. *benaid*, Lat. *perfinēs* 'perfringas'.

**φίττα** ⇒σίττα.

**φιττακίδες** ⇒ψιττάκη.

**φῖτυ** [n.] 'seed, sprout' (S. *Fr.* 889, old com.). <?>

•COMP φιτυποίμην [m.] 'gardener' (A. *Eu.* 911).

•DER φιτύω [v.] 'to sow, plant, bring forth' (trag., Pl.), aor. -ῦσαι, med. -ύσασθαι, fut. -ύσομαι 'to bear' (Hes., A. R., Opp., Mosch.), -ῦμα [n.] 'produce, sprout, son' (A. *Ag.* 1281, Plu.); back-formation φῖτυς [m.] 'begetter' (Lyc.).

•ETYM Probably a noun suffixed in -τυ-. Previously, often compared with the verbs Lat. *fīō*, *fit* 'to become, originate', OIr. *biid*, -*bí* 'is', but these probably represent PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>Hu-je/o-*, cf. ►φύω. Still, one could assume that φῖτυ is dissimilated from \*φῦτυ, but this remains uncertain.

**φλαδεῖν** [aor.] only in λακίδες ἔφλαδον 'they tore the rags' (A. *Ch.* 28 [lyr.]). <?>

•ETYM Unknown. Older, rejected etymologies of φλαδεῖν are found in WP 2, 210. See ►παφλάζω, ►φλάω.

**φλάνύσσει** · φλυαρεῖ, ληρεῖ 'talks nonsense' (H.). ⇒φληναφάω.

**φλαῦρος** [adj.] 'bad, petty, poor, useless' (Pi., Sol., IA). <PG?>

•COMP φλαουρουργός 'working badly, fumbler' (S.).

•DER φλαυρ-ότης [f.] 'poorness' (Plu., Poll.), φλαυρ-ίζω (Plu.), κατα- (Pi., Hdt.) 'to slight, humiliate'.

•ETYM No clear etymology, perhaps a Pre-Greek word? The adjective does look similar to synonymous ►φαῦλος; both could have dissimilated from an original form \*φλαῦλος. Similar form and meaning are shown by some Gm. adjectives, e.g. ON *blauðr* 'fearful, timid', *blautr* 'weak, fearful, humid'. Others have compared Latv. *blaurs* 'very angry, grim, bad' and Lith. *biaūrus* 'filthy, appalling, ugly'.

**φλάω** [v.] 'to crush, bruise' (Pi., Hp., Ar., Theoc. etc.). <?>

•VAR Aor. φλάσαι, pass. φλασθῆναι, fut. φλάσω, perf. med. πέφλασμαι.

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, κατα-, εἰσ- etc.

•DER φλά-σις (εἰσ-) [f.] 'bruise' (Hp.), -σμία (ἀμφί-) [n.] 'bruise, contusion' (Hp.), ἀναφλασμός [m.] (Eup.) to ἀναφλάω 'to masturbate' (Ar., Luc.); a back-formation is MoGr. ἀνάφλα. Unclear: φλασμός· τῦφος 'fever', φλασμένος· τετυφωμένος 'smoking, gleaming' (H.).

•ETYM An expressive word rhyming with ►θλάω and ►κλάω; cf. φλίβω beside θλίβω. On the anlaut variation θ-/φ-, see Schwyzler: 302f. With an enlargement -δ-, we find ►φλαδεῖν, cf. κλάδος beside κλάω.

**φλέγω** [v.] trans. 'to ignite, burn, light'; intr. 'to burn, flame, blaze, shine' (Il.). <IE *\*b<sup>h</sup>leg-* 'burn, shine'>

•VAR Fut. φλέξω (Il.), aor. φλέξει (Hes. *Sc.*, A. *Pr.* 582 [lyr.]), pass. φλεχθῆναι (Hom. *Epigr.*, Th.) with fut. -ήσομαι (Ach. Tat.), secondary φλεγῆναι (Luc., *AP*) with fut. -ήσομαι (J.), perf. pass. πέφλεγμαι (Lyc.).

Enlarged: φλεγέθω, only pres. and ipf. = φλέγω (Il., epic, lyr.), mostly intr., also with ἐπι-; hence Πυριφλεγέθων, -οντος [m.] river of the Underworld (κ 513, Pl. *Phd.* 114a); φλεγιάω = φλέγω (Hdn. Gr.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-, ἀνα-, περι-.

•DER A. With *e*-grade: 1. φλέγ-μα (ἐπί-) [n.] 'flame, blaze' (Φ 337), 'inflammation' (Hp., etc.), 'phlegm, slime' (Hp., Pl., Arist., etc.), -μάτιον [n.] 'slime' (Sotad. *apud* Stob.), -ματίας, Ion. -ίης [m.] 'suffering from phlegm, full of slime' (Hp.), -ματώδης 'igniting, full of slime, slimy, phlegmatic' (Hp., Pl., Arist., etc.), -ματικός 'id.' (Gal., et al.), φλεγμιατόεν ἔκρηγμα· τῆς φλογός, φλεγμιατίς· ἢ φλέγματα ἔχουσα (H.). The semantic development here is unexplained.

Derived verbs: a. φλεγμαίνω [v.] 'to be inflamed, be heavily excited', often with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-, ἀνα-, συν-, ἐπι-; hence -μανσις or -μαντύς [f.] 'inflammation' (Hp.), -μασία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'id.' (Hp., Arist.); b. φλεγματίζομαι (ἐκ-) 'to become slime' (Hp., Gal.); c. ὑπο-φλεγματίζω 'to become slimy' (Alex. Trall.), φλεγματισμός (gloss.).

2. φλεγμονή [f.] 'inflammation, inflammatory swelling, heavy excitement' (medic., Hell.+), -μονικός 'inflammatory', -μονώδης 'tumorous' (Gal.), -μονάομαι 'to be inflamed' (Alex. Trall.). 3. φλέξις *ardor, flammatus* (gloss.); further only to the prefixed verbs: ἀνά-, ἐπί-, κατά-, περί-φλεξις [f.] 'kindling, etc.' (late); isolated is the birdname φλέξις (dat. -ιδι Ar. Av. 884). 4. φλεγ-μός [m.] in Βρομίου φ. (Thespiis), uncertain; perhaps = τὸ αἶμα (H.), -μώδης = -ματώδης (Gal.). 5. φλέγος· τὸ φλέγμα (H.). 6. φλεγ-ύας [m.] 'eagle' (Hes. Sc. 134; after the color, H., EM); -υρός 'burning' (Ar. and Cratin. [lyr.], Hp. *apud* Gal.), dissimilated from -υλός?; -ύω = ὑβρίζω (Ephor.), cf. H.: Φλεγύαι· ἔθνος ὑβριστικὸν καὶ ἀσεβές. 7. Φλέγρα, Ion. -ρη [f.] old name of the Macedonian peninsula Pallene (Hdt., Str.), also Φλέγρας πεδῖον (Pi., Ar.), Φλεγραία πλάξ (A.); τὰ Φλεγραία (πεδία) plain in Campania (Plb.), after its volcanic nature. 8. -φλεγής in ἔπι-, περι-φλεγής 'fiery' (Arist., Plu.), also e.g. in πυρι-φλεγής 'ablaze, fierce' (Hp., Plu.).

B. With *o*-grade: φλόξ, -ογός [f.] 'flame, burning fire' (Il.), also as a plant-name (Thphr.), after the color. In compounds e.g. φλογ-ώψ and -ωπός 'flame-like, fiery' (A. Pr.), καλλιφλόξ 'with fair flames' (E. [lyr.]).

From φλόξ, partly also directly from φλέγω: 1. Diminutive φλόγ-ιον [n.] (Longin.). 2. -ίδες [f.pl.] 'roasted pieces of meat' (Archipp. and Stratt. [lyr.]), acc. to H. διὰ τὸ φλογίζεσθαι (so perhaps backformation); φλογίδια· αἱ κεγχρίδες δι' ἐλαίου σκευαζόμενοι (H.). 3. φλογ-ετός [m.] 'burning, heat' (gloss.), after πυρετός. 4. φλογ-ίτης [m.] name of a precious stone, which looks like carbuncle (Solin.); -ίτης [f.] 'id.' (Plin.), also kind of anemone (*PMag. Leid.*). 5. φλογ-υή (-ίη?) [f.] 'flame' (Nic.). 6. Adjective φλόγ-εος 'flaming, sparkling' (Il., E. and Ar. [lyr.]), φλόγ-ιος (?) 'id.' (Hp., Orph.), -ερός 'id.' (E. [lyr., anap.], A. R., AP etc.), -ινος 'id.', also of colors (LXX, D. S., pap., etc.), φλόγ-ινον [n.] 'wallflower' (Thphr.), -ώδης 'flame-like, blazing red, inflamed' (Hp., Arist., etc.).

7. verbs: a. φλογ-ίζω = φλέγω (S. [lyr., anap.], Arist., LXX, AP etc.), also with ἀνα-, κατα-, συν- etc. Thence -ίσματα (ἐπι-) [n.pl.] 'fire-damage, external inflammation' (Hp., H. s.v. οὐδ' ἄλα), παρα-φλογίσματα 'roasted food' (Achae.), -ισμός (περι-) [m.] 'the scorching' (Sm., Thd., H. s.v. φλογιμός), -ίστρα [f.] = εὖστρα (sch., Eust.). b. φλογ-όομαι, -όω (ἐκ-, ἀπο-) 'to inflame' (Arist., Thphr. etc.), -ωσις (ἐκ-) [f.] 'ignition, inflammation' (Th., Thphr., D. S., et al.), φλογώματα· τῶν ἄρτων τὰ ἐπιγεκαυμένα (H.). c. φλογ-ιάω 'to become inflamed' (Hp.).

C. With *o*-grade: φλογ-μός [m.] 'flame, glow, inflammation, heat of the sun or of fever' (A. and E. [lyr.], Hp., Arist., etc.), -μόω 'to burn' (*PMag. Berol.*).

•ETYM Inherited from PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>leg-* 'to burn, shine' (LIV<sup>2</sup> *\*b<sup>h</sup>le<sup>g</sup>-*), nominal also *\*b<sup>h</sup>log-*. Nearest cognates are Latin *fulgō* (secondarily *fulgeō*), perf. *fulsi* 'to lighten, glitter, shine' < *\*b<sup>h</sup>lg-*, *flagrō*, -*āre* 'to burn, flame, glow', built on nominal *\*flag-ro-*, and *flamma* 'flame', probably < *\*flag-mā*. Also ToAB *pālk-* 'to shine, burn', also 'to see' < *\*b<sup>h</sup>lg-*; OHG *blecchan* 'to make or become visible' < PGm. *\*blakjan*, MLG, MoDu. *blaken* 'to flame, glow, smoke'.

φλέδων, -ονος [m., f.] 'babbler' (A. Ag. 1195, Timo). <PG(V)>

•VAR φλεδόνες [f.pl.] 'babble' (Plu., Anon. *apud* Gal.).

•DER φλεδον-ώδης 'loquacious' (Hp. [codd. φλεβο(δο)νώδης], Erot.), φλεδονεῖ· ἀναισθητεῖ, φλυαρεῖ (H.), -εύομαι, -εύω 'id.' (H., EM), whence -εῖα (EM).

•ETYM The variation φλεδ-/φληδ- (in φληδώντα· ληροῦντα H.) has been interpreted as ablaut, and the word thus connected with φλέω, by Frisk (assuming a suffix -δον-). However, we find -α- in ►παφλάζω and παφλάσματα 'stilted words', and φλην- in ►φληναφάω 'to babble'. The variation φλεδ-/φλην- shows nasalization (i.e. replacement of a consonant by the nasal of its series), which points to Pre-Greek origin; see already Kuiper 1956: 216.

The inner-Greek variation renders the connection with the proposed non-Greek evidence doubtful: e.g. φληδώντα to OE *blātan*, OHG *blāzan* 'to bleat' (suggested by Holthausen KZ 47 (1916): 310). The connections with ToB *plāce*, ToA *plāc* 'speech, talk, word' < IE *\*b<sup>h</sup>lōd-en-* (Van Windekens, criticized in Adams 1999 s.v. *plāce*) and that with OCS *blęsti*, 1sg. *blędor* 'to err, brag' is from *\*b<sup>h</sup>lend<sup>h</sup>-* (see Derksen 2008 s.v. *\*blęsti*) are formally doubtful anyway.

φλέμινα [n.pl.] 'a disease of the knees of horses' (Hippiatr. 1, 227, 18 [ed. Oder-Hoppe]). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM Transcription of Lat. *flēmīna* (Pl.), itself borrowed from Gr. φλεγμιονή 'inflammation'. Cf. DELG s.v.

φλεβ-С- [v.] 'to burn' (trans.). <IE? *\*b<sup>h</sup>leu-* 'flow', PG?>

•VAR We find φλεβ- only before consonant: in ἐπ-έφλευσε τὴν χεῖρα (IG 4, 955 [Epidaurus II<sup>p</sup>]). Non-presentic forms: perf. ptc. pass. ἐκ τειχέων περιπεφλευσμένων πυρί 'from the walls encompassed by fire' (Hdt. 5, 77); cf. with the same metaphor ἀσβέστη κέχυτο φλόξ (II 123) and Lat. *flamma circumfusus, divino circumfuso igni*. Further aor. ἐπι-, περι-φλεῦσαι: φλόξ ἀναδραμοῦσα ἐπέφλευσε τὴν χεῖρα (Epid. II<sup>p</sup>), γαλῆ κατοικίδιος περιφλευσθεῖσα (Dsc.), in both places of encompassing flames and singeing fire; to this belongs περιφλευσμός (Aq. De.).

•DER περι-φλευσμός 'burn' (Aq.).

•ETYM DELG suggests that περιφλύω 'to burn superficially' (Ar. Nu. 396) stands for *\*φλεύω*, but I see no reason for this. In the antevocalic forms, *\*b<sup>h</sup>leu-* lost its *-u-*, giving ►φλέω. As DELG also remarks, the comparison of fire with a liquid is frequent in Greek.

**φλέψ, -εβός** [f.] 'vein' (N 546), also metaphorically 'metal-vein, spring (of water)' (X., Arist., Plb. etc.), 'vein of a plant' (Hp., Thphr.). <PG?>

•COMP φλεβοτομέω (to φλέβα τέμνω) 'to bleed', -τομία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'bloodletting' (Hp., etc.), -τόμησις, -τομική (late medic.), -τόμον [n.] 'device for bloodletting' (late medic., Luc.); ἐπίφλεβος 'having the veins on top, with prominent veins' (Hp., Arist.), also μελανόφλεβες [pl.] 'with black veins' (Aret.).

•DER φλέβ-ιον [n.] 'small blood-vessel' (Hp., Pl. *Ti.*, Arist., Str.), -ώδης 'full of veins, like veins' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., etc.), -ικός 'belonging to the veins' (Arist.), -άζοντες-βρύοντες (EM, Phot.).

•ETYM As the IE designations of the veins vary strongly, and φλέψ stands isolated, it could well be a Greek innovation. In former dictionaries, connected with a large group of words in φλ- (φλαδεῖν, φλέω, φλύω, φλύκταινα, etc.). It has been supposed to be an enlargement in -g<sup>w</sup>- of \*b<sup>h</sup>el- 'to blow, swell' (see ►φαλλός), but such an "enlargement" would not solve anything. Thus, it seems obvious to assume a Pre-Greek loan, although I see no concrete formal indications.

**φλέω** [v.] 'to overflow, flood, teem with' (A.). <IE? \*b<sup>h</sup>leu- 'flow', PG?>

•VAR Only gen.abs. φλεόντων δωμάτων υπέρφου (A. Ag. 377 [lyr.]), μήλων φλεόντων (ibid. 1416); φλέοντας φιλοῦντας (leg. φλύοντας?) ἢ φλυαροῦντας (H.).

•DER Epithet of Dionysus, with various forms: Φλεύς (Chios acc. to EM), Φλέως (inscr. Ephesus), Φλεών (Ael.), Φλοῖος (Plu.) and Φλοιά [f.] epithet of Kore (Lac. *apud* H.), Φλοιώ [f.] name of a Bacchante (Nonn.). PN Φλέας, -αντος [m.] (Priene II<sup>a</sup>). On the appellatives φλοιός, φλόος, φλοῦς, see ►φλοιός, and ►φλέως. See also ►φλύαξ, ►φλυαρέω, ►φλύκταινα. On δια-φλύξεις, see ►φλύω.

•ETYM The series φλέω, φλεῦσαι, πέφλευσμαι agrees with πλέω, πλεῦσαι, πέπλευσμαι. Beside φλέ(φ)ω, we find a zero grade in φλύω (perhaps, ἔφλυον was originally an aorist, cf. ἔκλυον). On the semantic relation between φλέω and φλεῦσαι, see ►φλευ- C-; it is unnecessary to posit a separate verb \*φλεῦω 'to burn'.

The closest comparandum to φλέω is Lat. *fluō* 'to flow, stream', of which the non-presentic forms like *fluxī*, *fluctus* may well be analogical (therefore, the velar in φλύξαι, etc. need not be old). This points to a reconstruction \*b<sup>h</sup>leuH- (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. 1. \*b<sup>h</sup>leuH-). Connection with Lith. *bliāuti* 'to roar', OCS *bljenvati* 'to vomit' is semantically unconvincing. Alternatively, if φλέω, φλύω belong together with βλύω, ►βλύζω, this could suggest that all these words are Pre-Greek.

**φλέως** [m.] 'rush, Erianthus Ravennae' (Ar., Thphr.). <PG?>

•DER φλόινος 'made of rush' (Hdt.). One assumes that the TN Φλειφοντ-ἄθεν (SEG 11, 1212, Olympia [V<sup>a</sup>]) is related.

•ETYM For φλέως, DELG assumes \*φληφ-ο-, beside \*φλωφ-ο- for \*φλόος, φλοῦς 'rind, skin'. Often derived from the verb φλέω, but Chantraine adds the word may just as well be a loan; this would agree with my suggestion of substrate origin for φλέω. So probably Pre-Greek. Cf. also ►φλοιός.

\***φληναι** [v.] Only in EM 796, 12, which is not well understood. See DELG. <?>

•ETYM Unknown. Connection with φλήναφος has been suggested.

**φληναφάω** [v.] 'to babble' (Ar., Alex., et al.). <PG(V)>

•VAR φλην-αφάομαι (Phld.), -αφήσαι (Jo. Dam.).

•DER φληναφήματα [n.pl.] 'babble' (E. *Ep.*, Ar., Alex. etc.). Probably a back-formation is φλήναφος [m.] 'babble' (Men., Phld., Luc. etc.), also 'babbler' (Men., Poll.), whence -ώδης 'babbly' (Hp. *apud* Gal.), -ία [f.] 'babble' (Phld., Suid.).

•ETYM Under ►φλεδών, I have argued that the variation φλεδ-/φλην- is a typical case of Pre-Greek nasalization. Without -αφ-, we find φληνύω 'to brag' (Hp. *apud* Gal.), φλανύσσει· φλυαρεῖ, ληρεῖ 'talks nonsense' (H.), ἐκφληναι 'to bubble up' (E. *fr.* 470); cf. also φληδώντα· ληροῦντα (H.), φληφος (leg. φληνος or φληναφος?)· φλύαρος (H.), φλεδών; also φλύω and φλυαρέω. The ending is reminiscent of ψηλαφάω.

**φλιά** [f.] 'door-pillar, doorpost', also 'door-frame, lintel' (ρ 221, Hell.+); 'jamb', e.g. of a windlass (Hp., Ruf. *apud* Orib.). <PG?>

•VAR Both ῖ and ῑ Ion. -ιή, mostly plur. -ιαί; also -ειοί [m.pl.]. Later φλειά.

•DIAL Myc. *pi-ri-ja-o* [gen.pl.]?

•DER περιφλ[ίωμα] [n.] 'framework' (Aphrodisias II<sup>p</sup>), ἀνώφλιον 'lintel (of a door)', κατώφλιον 'threshold'.

•ETYM A technical word without etymology, so possibly Pre-Greek.

**φλίβω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to press, bruise' (ρ 221 [beside φλιῆσι, most codd. have θλ-], Hp. *Loc. Hom.*, Theoc.). <IE? \*b<sup>h</sup>lig<sup>(w)</sup>->

•VAR Fut. φλίψεται.

•COMP Also with ἐκ-.

•DER φλίψις· θλίψις (H.).

•ETYM Rare by-form of much more usual ►θλίβω, like φλάω beside θλάω. Generally compared with several words from Celtic, Latin and Balto-Slavic which all have \*b<sup>h</sup>l-, e.g. W *blif* [m.] 'catapult, ballista', Lat. *flīgō* 'to strike (down)', Latv. *blaizīt* 'to bruise, press together, beat', Ru. *blizná* 'scar, wound, break of a thread in a tissue', *bliz*, *blizb* 'near' < PIE \*b<sup>h</sup>l(e/o)i-ǵ- or \*b<sup>h</sup>liH-ǵ-. See LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*b<sup>h</sup>leig-, where it is assumed that φλίβω represents earlier \*φλει-. Root-final -β- could be due to contamination.

**φλιδάω** [v.] 'to drip with fat (ἄλοιφῇ), to disintegrate out of rottenness (σηπεδόσι)' (Nic.), 'to decay, burst', of clothes (Plu.); glosses from H.: φλιδᾶν· σήπεσθαι 'to rot'; ἔφλιδεν· διέρρειν, ἐρρήγγυνεν 'flow apart, broke'; φλιδάνει· διαπίπτει, διαρρεῖ 'to collapse'; φλιδιόωντο· διεσπώντο, ἐτέμοντο 'drew apart, cut'; φλιδόνες· τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἱματίοις σπάσματα καὶ ῥυτίδες 'shreds and wrinkles in clothes', τινές δὲ σφυγμοί 'throbbing of inflamed parts, beating of the heart'. <IE? \*b<sup>h</sup>lid- 'drip, flow, swell'>

•VAR περι- (v.l. Nic. *Al.* 62), cf. below.

•DER With full grade: φλοιδᾶν· πεπρήσθαι (H.); φλοιδοῦμενος (Lyc. 35, after sch. = φλογιζόμενος) and, also from H., the primary perf. forms πεφλοιδέναι· φλυκταινοῦσθαι (cod. φλεκτηνεῖσθαι); πεφλιδώ· τὸν φλοιὸν ἀποβαλὼν (cf. on φλοιός); διαπέφλιδεν· διακέχεται; hence ὑπερφλοισμοὶ ὕγροί as an explanation of διαφλύξεις. See also on ►ἀφλοισμός [m.] 'foam, slobber' (with copulative ἀ-, or from ἀφρός).

•ETYM Part of the above verb forms is primary: φλιδάνει, ἔφλιδεν, πέφλοιδεν with the noun φλιδόνες, and part is clearly secondary: φλιδ-άω, φλοιδοῦμενος (from

-έομαι or -όομαι), and φλοιδ-ιάω (also φλιδ-). LIV<sup>2</sup> reconstructs a PIE root *\*b<sup>h</sup>leid-*, but there are no certain correspondences outside Greek; alternatively, these words may well be Pre-Greek. Formally, MoE *bloat* might be connected, if from PGm. *\*blaitōn*.

A form περιφλίοντος without dental in Nic. *Al.* 62 is given by the best tradition (v.l. περιφλιδώντος); it was probably influenced by περιφλύω. There are more aspects in which these two groups are close: beside φλιδάω, we have with a similar meaning φλυδάω and φλυδαρός 'weak, with meshes' (Hp.), perhaps already in Myc. *pu<sub>2</sub>-ru-da-ro?* Formally, it belongs to ►φλύω (see also ►φλέω), but semantically it is closer to φλιδάω. A nasalized derivative of φλυδάω is ἐκφλυνδάνω 'to burst open' (of ulcers) (Hp.). Phonetically, φλυδάω can be compared with ON *blautr* 'wet, weak'. DELG assumes a separate verb φλιώ, which LIV<sup>2</sup>: 88 does not follow. Cf. also ►φλοισβος.

**φλιμέλια** [n.pl.] 'blood-swellings on horse feet' (*Hippiatr.* 51). <LW? Lat.>

•ETYM From Lat. *flēmīna* [n.pl.] (< φλεγμονή? See ►φλέγω) 'cramped veins, inflamed ulcers round the knuckles', either through textual corruption or by folk etymology (see WH s.v.). Cf. also ►φλέμινα.

**φλοιός** [m.] 'bark (of a tree), rind, skin of fruit, pellicle of a leaf or egg', also metaphorically 'exterior hull' (since A 237). <?>

•COMP φλοιορραγής 'with cracked rind' (Thphr., Dsc.); frequent as a second member, e.g. τανύφλοιος 'with thin rind' (Π 767 etc.).

•DER φλοι-ώδης 'rind-like, superficial' (Arist., Thphr.), -ώτις [f.] 'made of rind' (Lyc.); φλοιῖζω (περι-, ἐκ-) [v.] 'to peel off the rind, to rind' (Thphr., Dsc., pap.), φλοισμός (περι-) [m.] 'decortication' (Thphr.), -ιστική (τέχνη) 'art of decortication' (Pl., Poll.); φλοιῶσαι 'id.' (Nonn., AP), ἀποφλοιῶ 'id.' (Aët.). Note also πεφλοιῶς τὸν φλοιὸν ἀποβαλὼν (H.), formally to ►φλιδάω, etc. Also φλόος (acc. φλόα Nic. after χροά), φλοῦς [m.] 'rind' (pap., AP), 'skin' of a man or a snake (Nic.; unclear mg. in Arat. 335); also = φλέως (Hdt. 3, 98), with φλόϊνος 'made of ree' (ibid., E. Fr. 284, Poll.). Furthermore, ►φλέως (-έως) [m.] 'reed, rush'. On the PN Φλόραξ, see ►φλύαξ.

•ETYM Formally, φλόος and φλοιός < \*φλόφ-ος, \*φλοφ-ιός belong to φλέ(φ)ω, like the epithet of Dionysus Φλοῖος, etc.; thus φλέως, -έως after κορώνεως, ἐρινεώς etc. Semantically, the connection with φλέω is clear in ὑπέρφλοια (μῆλα) 'super-juicy', of apples (verse-final in Emp. 80), perhaps instead of -φλοα, and similarly in φλοῖειν (φλοῖειν?) = ἄγαν ἀκμάζειν (Antim.), if not for ►φλύειν. In the sense of 'rush', φλέως and φλοῦς refer to the luxuriant growth of the plant (cf. βρύον to βρύω); Frisk thinks that the rind (φλοιός, φλόος) may have received its name from its being rich in flesh and juice, as opposed to the wood underneath. But see ►φλέως.

**φλοισβος** [m.] 'the roaring, heaving' (A., S., Lyc. etc.), metaphorically 'battle-noise, bustle' (Il., Euphr.). <?>

•COMP πολύφλοισβος, epithet of θάλασσα 'roaring much or loudly' (Hom., Hes. etc.), late also ἄ-, βαρύ-φλοισβος (Nonn., Procl.).

•ETYM The ending is reminiscent of θόρυβος, κόναβος, etc.; further analysis unknown. Relation with φλιδάω, πέφλοιδεν is semantically not quite obvious.

**φλόμος** [m.] 'mullein, Verbascum sinuatum' (Cratin. [Iyr.], Eur. [anap.], Thphr., Dsc.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also φλόνος (Ps.-Dsc.), perhaps dissimilation φ - μ > φ - ν? πλόμος (Arist.).

•COMP ἱππό-φλομος 'belladonna, Atropa belladonna' (Plin.), with augmentative ἱππο-.

•DER φλομῖς [f.] 'Phlomis samia' (Dsc.), φλονίτις [f.] = ὄνοσμα, ὄνιτις (Dsc., Ps.-Dsc.), φλομώδης πτόα (H.) as an explanation of αἰθιοπίς; πλομίζω [v.] 'to poison with πλ.' (Arist.).

•ETYM The variation φ-/π- shows that the word is Pre-Greek.

**φλύαξ, -ᾱκος** [m.] 'buffoonery' (AP), 'buffoon' (Poll., St. Byz., Eust.). <PG>

•COMP φλυακογράφος [m.] 'author of φλύακες' (Ath.), -γραφία [f.] (Suid. s.v. Πίνθων).

•ETYM A Doric word, name of a genre devised by the Tarentine Rhinthon; originally the name of a demon (Björck 1950: 61). Possibly built on φλύος [n.] 'bragging', or maybe a direct derivative of φλύω; cf. the rhyming form ρύαξ. Furthermore the PN Φλόραξ (Tanagra V<sup>a</sup>) from φλό(φ)ος (see ►φλοιός). See also ►φλύω, ►φλέω.

**φλυαρέω** [v.] 'to babble idly, maunder, make jokes' (Hdt., Att.). <?>

•VAR Ion. φλυηρέω.

•COMP Rarely with κατα-, συν-, etc.

•DER φλυαρ-ία [f.] 'silly prattle, idle babble, maundering' (Att.), -ήματα [pl.] 'maunderings, absurdities' (D. H., Ph., J.). φλύαρ-ος [m.] 'babble, etc.' (Ar. Nu. 365 [anap.], Stratt., Men. etc.), 'babbler, babbly' (LXX, Str., D. H., etc.), φλυαρολογία = φλυαρία ([Pl.] Ax.) etc., -ώδης 'absurd' (Plu., Porph.).

•ETYM Enlargement of φλύω, but unclear in detail. A dissimilation from \*φλυᾱλ- may also be considered. On Ion. φλυη- against Att. φλυᾱ-, which may originally be Doric (cf. φλύαξ), see Björck 1950: 45. The accent shows that φλύαρος, as an adjective and agent noun, must be a back-formation from φλυαρέω. It cannot be decided whether φλυαρέω or the much rarer φλύαρος (in the mg. 'babble') was primary.

**φλυδάω** [v.] 'to be soft, weak'; the original meaning seems 'to be moist': φλυδᾶ- ὑγραίνεται (Gal.), φλυδᾶν διαχεῖσθαι (H.).

•DER With nasal ἐκ-φλυνδάνω (H.). ⇒ φλιδάω.

**φλυζάκιον** ⇒ φλύκταινα.

**φλύκταινα** [f.] 'blister, pustule' (Hp., Th., Ar., Arist., etc.). <PG(V)>

•DER Diminutive φλυκταινίς [f.], -ίδιον [n.] (Hp., Diocl. Fr.), -ώδης 'blister-like' (late medic.), -όομαι [v.] 'to get blisters' (Hp., Dsc.), -ωσις [f.] 'blistering' (Hp.), also -ω (-όω?) 'to cause blisters' (Dsc.). Also φλυκτίς, -ίδος [f.] 'id.' (Thphr., LXX), acc.pl. φλύκτεες (Dsc.). Furthermore φλυζάκιον [n.] 'id.' (Hp., Cels.).

•ETYM Formation like in -αῖνα from a stem φλυκτ-, whence also φλυκτίς. The group velar + t is typical for Pre-Greek, see Fur.: 319ff. See on ► ὀλοφλυκτίς. For φλυζάκιον, compare ψυδράκιον, ἀνθράκιον; a basis \*φλύζα < \*φλύγ-ιᾱ may belong to οἰνό-φλυξ (see φύγεθλον), διαφλύξεις, and further to φλύξαι, φλύζω; see ► φλύω 1.

**φλύω 1** [v.] A. 'to be full of juice, thrive', of plants, fruits (Plu., Ael.), see ► φλέω.

B. 'to well up' (Φ 361+), 'to boil' (Hp. *apud* Gal.), fut. φλύσει· ζέσει (H.), ἀναφλύω (H., pap), διαφλύω (Hp. *apud* Gal.), ἐκφλύω 'to boil over' (Gal.), ἐπιφλύω 'to sputter at' (A. R.). Also said of a singeing lightning (Ar. *Nu.* 396).

C. 'to babble' (A., H.). <IE? \*b<sup>h</sup>leu- 'flow', PG?(V)>

•VAR Many derivatives in φλυγ- (whence φλύζω), or φλυκ- (giving φλύσσω); aor. φλύσαι (Archil. [codd. φλόσαι], A., AP).

Also φλύζω, of speech (Nic.), φλύζειν· ἀναζεῖν (H.), aor. ἐκφλύξαι γόον (A. R.), subj. ἀποφλύξωσιν ὕβριν (A. R.). On φλυδάω, ἐκφλυνδάνω, see ► φλυδάω.

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, περι-, δια-, etc.

•DER 1. φλύος [n.] 'babble' (Archil.), whence φλουάζει· φλυαρεῖ, ληρεῖ 'speaks nonsense' (H.), perhaps Lac.; also φλυάσσει· φλυαρεῖ, φλύει (H.), cf. φλύαξ. 2. φλύσις [f.] = ἐξάνθησις 'coming up', of a skin-eruption (Hp. *apud* Gal.), διαφλύξεις = ὑπερβλύσεις (Gal.).

•ETYM Many derivatives in -γ-: φλυζω, φλυγέω, φύγεθρον, or -κ-: ἔφλυξα, οἰνόφλυξ. Under ► φλέω, I explain that the verb could be Pre-Greek. The variation between the enlargments -γ- and -κ- points to substrate origin (the substrate had no distinction between voiced and unvoiced obstruents). See also on φλυκταῖνα, which has a variant stem φλυκτ-. The form διαφλύξεις (s.v. ► φλέω) may be another stem-form (with interchange κτ/ξ). See ► φλεω-C-.

**φλύω 2** [v.] 'to vomit'. <IE \*b<sup>h</sup>leu- 'vomit'>

•VAR In fut. φλύσει· ἀποβαλεῖ, ἐμέσει ... (H.), aor. ἀπ-έφλυσα (Archil.). DELG has this word s.v. φλύω C.

•ETYM Usually connected with OCS *bljnovati*, 1sg. *bljujo* 'to vomit'; the corresponding Baltic verb Lith. *bliáuti*, 1sg. *bliáuju*, also *bliúti*, 1sg. *bliūnu* is supposed to have developed into 'bleat' or 'start roaring', which seems an uncertain change of meaning.

**φύβη** [f.] 'wavy, long hair, mane', metaphorically 'foliage, bunch of flowers' (Sapph., Pi., trag.; also Thphr.). <?>

•ETYM Verbal noun from ► φέβομαι referring to hair blown by the wind; cf. on ἔθειρα, also σόβη (see ► σοβέω).

**φύβος** ⇒ φέβομαι.

**φοῖβος** [adj.] epithet of ὕδωρ (Hes. *Fr.* 274, similarly Lyc.), of αἶγλα (B.), of φλόξ (A. *Pr.* 22); explained as 'pure, clear, bright'. <?>

•VAR Φοῖβος epithet and name of Apollo (Il.).

•COMP φοιβό-ληπτος, Ion. -λαμπτος 'inspired, possessed by Φ.' (Hdt., Lyc., Plu. etc.).

•DER 1. φοιβάς, -άδος [f.] 'priestess of Phoibos, seer' (E., Tim.). 2. Φοιβή [f.] daughter of Ouranos and Gaia (Hes., A.). 3. Φοibeios, Ion. -ήϊος 'belonging to Φοῖβος' (Hdt., E. [lyr.]), fem. -ῆϊς (AP).

Denominative verbs: 4. φοιβάζω [v.] 'to prophesy, inspire' (S., Plb., Lyc., Str., etc.), also 'to purify' (Lyc.), also with δια-, ἀπο-, ἀνα-; φοιβαστής = *vaticinator* (gloss.), -άστρια [f.] 'prophetess' (Lyc.), -αστικός 'prophesying, inspiring' (Plu., Longin., Ptol.). 5. φοιβάω [v.] 'to purify' (Hell. poetry), aor. -ῆσαι, Dor. -ᾱσαι; ἀποφοιβάομαι [v.] 'to speak ardently' (*PMag. Par.*), προ- 'to prophesy' (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*); hence φοιβήσις [f.] 'inspiration' (Vett. Val.), -ητής (Man., et al.), -ητήρ (*PMag. Lond.*) [m.] 'prophet', -ήτωρ [m.] 'id.' (Orph.), -ήτρια· καθάρτρια (H.), also name of a goddess, perhaps Isis? (Ethiopia), -ητός 'inspired', φοιβητεύειν· χρησμοδεῖν (H.). 6. φοιβάναι· λαμπρύναι, μαντεύσασθαι, κοσμήσαι, καθάραι, ἀγνίσαι (H.), 'to purify' (anon. *apud* EM), ἀ-φοιβαντος 'not purified, impure' (A.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Some connect the glosses ἀφικτόν (leg. ἄφικτον?)· ἀκάθαρτον, μισητόν and ἀφικτρός (leg. ἄφικτρος?)· ἀκάθαρος, μιαιρός (H.). Φοῖβος has nothing to do with Φόβος. The word has also been connected with the town Βοίβη in Thessalia (St. Byz. s.v. Φοιβή).

**Φοίνικες** [m.pl.] people on the west coast of Syria, also the inhabitants of Carthage as Phoenician colonists. <PG>

•VAR Φοῖνιξ, -ῖκος [sg.], Φοίνισσα [f.] 'Phoenician' (Il.); also the son of Agenor, as an eponym of the people, also son of Amyntor, ruler of the Dolopians (Il.), and a river near Thermopylae (Hdt.).

•DER 1. Φοιν-ίκη [f.] 'land of the Ph.' (since Od.), also of Carthage (E.); older name of Caria (Ath.), also place in Epirus (Plb., Str. et al.). 2. Adjective -ικῆϊος (Hdt. et al.), -ικικός (Epich., Hdt., Th., etc.; see Chantraine 1956a: 120, 122, 124), -ίκιος (S. *Fr.*, D. S.), -ίκινος (Gal.). 3. -ικίας ἄνεμος 'south-east wind' (Arist. et al.). 4. -ικίδιον [n.] 'small Phoenician' (D. L.). 5. -ικιστί 'in Phoenician (Punic) speech' (Plb.). 6. -ικίζω 'to live like the Ph.' (Luc.).

•ETYM On the formation cf. Αἰθῖκες, Τέμμικες, Θρήϊκες (-ῖ-) etc.; cf. ► φοινός. Borrowed as Lat. *Poenus*, *Pūnicus*, see WH s.v. The suffix -ῖκ- is non-IE, and probably Pre-Greek. See Beekes *Kadmos* 43 (2004): 167-184, especially 181ff.

**φοῖνιξ 1, -ῖκος** [m., f.] 'palm-tree', especially 'date-palm', also 'date' (since ζ 163), also other plants (Thphr., Dsc.). <GR>

•VAR Accentuation following Hdn. Gr.

•COMP φοινικοβάλανος [f.] 'date' (Hell.+).

•DER 1. φοιν-ίσκη (for -ικίσκη) [f.] 'small palm-tree' (pap. II<sup>p</sup>). 2. φοιν-ικός [f.], -ικίδιον [n.] 'palm-ornament' (Delos III-II<sup>a</sup>). 3. Adjectives φοιν-ικῆϊος (Hdt.), -ίκιος (Gortyn V-IV<sup>a</sup>), -ίκειος (D. S.), -ίκινος (com. IV<sup>a</sup>, pap. etc.), -ικικός (Ph. *Bel.*, pap.), -ικηρόν?, of μέτρον (pap. II<sup>p</sup>). 4. -ικίτης, of οἶνος (Dsc.). 5. φοιν-ικών, -ῶνος [m.] 'palm-grove' (Hell.+).

•ETYM Literally "the Phoenician", referring to the eastern origin of the palm and the date trade of the Phoenicians.

**φοῖνιξ 2, -ἴκος** [m.] name of a stringed instrument (Hdt. 4, 192, Hell. historians). <GR>

•ETYM Related to ►φοῖνιξ 1 according to Semus, because it was made of palm-wood. DELG calls this absurd, citing Herodotus, who states that it could be made of animal horns. Rather, it was a Phoenician invention.

**φοῖνιξ 3, -ἴκος** [m.] name of a mythical bird, worshipped in Egypt (Hes. *Fr.* 171, 4, Hdt. 2, 73, etc.), whose native land was claimed to have been Arabia or India. <LW? Eg.>

•ETYM To Eg. *bjn*; further history unknown.

**φοῖνιξ 4, -ἴκος** [m.] '(the color) purple' (Hom. etc.); as an appellative or adjective (fem. also -ῖσσα) 'sorrel' or 'red-colored', of a horse (Ψ 454), 'purple, dark-red, tawny', of cattle, fire, clothes, etc. (Pi., Simon., E., Theoc.). <PG>

•DIAL Myc. *po-ni-ki-jo*.

•COMP φοινικο-πάρηος 'purple-cheeked, with red-colored sides', of a ship (Od.).

•DER 1. φοιν-ικός, -ικός [f.] 'purple cloth or blanket, red-colored cloth' (Ar., X., Aeschin. etc.), 'red banner' (Lys., Plb.), with -ικιστής [m.] 'who wears purple', name of a Persian court-official (X.). 2. Adjectives φοιν-ικός (Hom., Hes.), -ίκεος, -ικῶς (Ion., Pi., X., Arist., etc.); -ίκιος (Epich., Arist. etc.); -ικιοῦς (Ar., Arist. etc.) 'purple, crimson'. 3. Verbs: φοιν-ίσσω, aor. -ἴξαι 'to make purple, red', also intr. 'to be made red' (mostly poet. [orac. *apud* Hdt., B., trag. etc.], also Arist., Thphr.), also with ἐπι- etc.; hence -ιγμός [m.], -ίξ [f.] 'red skin' (late medic.), -ιγμία [n.] 'which is reddened' (Lib.). φοιν-ικίζω (ἐπι-) 'to be purple' (Arist., Gr.).

•ETYM Related to the people's name Φοίνικες; see also on ►φοινός.

**Φοῖνιξ 5, -ἴκος** 'Phoenician'. ⇒Φοίνικες.

**φοινός** [adj.] 'red' (of blood, αἵματι Π 159), epithet of θυμός in unclear meaning, 'blood-red? murderous?' (*h. Ap.* 362), 'deadly' (Nic.), of αἶμα (Mosch.) probably referring to the color (σ 97, A., S.), of a cobra, ἀσπίς (Nic.); of καρπός σίδης (Nic.); often with strengthening ►δα-: δαφοινός 'dark, tawny', especially of beasts of prey, also 'murderous, bringing death?' (Il., epic poet.); enlarged -εός (Σ 538, Hes. *Sc.* 159), -ήεις (Nonn.). <?>

•DER More usual φοίνιος 'bloody, blood-stained, murderous, deadly' (Pi., trag.). fem. φοινάς = ἐρυσίβη (Theognost. *Can.*); enlarged -ήεις of δράκων (M 202, 220), -ώδης 'bright red'.

•ETYM Without convincing etymology. Connected with ►φόνος 'murder' already in antiquity, but this is unconvincing semantically and morphologically (suffix -ῖο-). The word was associated with φόνος early on, so that it came to be interpreted as a variant of it. Perhaps, the EN Φοίνικες is related to φοινός; similarly, Φαίακες to ►φαιός. Traditionally, it was assumed that 'purple' got its name from the Φοίνικες, as the "Phoenician color"; yet, various scholars have claimed the reverse, viz. that φοῖνιξ 'purple, red color' was primary, whence Φοινίκη 'the red (land), the land of purple'. Others have assumed that Φοίνικες was an (oriental) loanword. If one does not want to separate φοῖνιξ and Φοίνικες from φοινός, the only remaining possibility

is to interpret poetic φοινός (with δαφοινός and φοίνιος) as a back-formation, which is difficult, but not impossible.

**φοιτάω** [v.] 'to go to and fro, go repeatedly, walk about, frequent someone, go to school, come to the market', of a commodity (Il.). <PG?>

•VAR φοιτῆσαι, πεφοίτηκα (ἐπεφοίτεε Nonn.).

•COMP Often prefixed, e.g. with ἐπι-, δια-, συν-, ἀπο-. Compounds: ἡεροφοίτις epithet of Ἐρινός 'walking in the fog' (*I* 571, T 87), 'walking in the sky', of the moon (Orph.), whence ἡεροφοίτης, ἀεροφοίτας (Ion Chius, Orph., Nonn.), ἡερό- (ἀερό-)φοίτος, of stars, birds, etc. (*A. fr.* 282 = 198 M., late poetry); ὄρειφοίτης, -φοίτος 'walking in the mountains', whence -φοιτέω (Hell.+). Hence the simplex φοίτης· ὁ κήρυξ (H.).

•DER 1. φοιτ-άς [f., m.] 'erring, swarming, raging', of Cassandra, Bacchantes, etc. (trag., etc.), φοῖτος [m.] 'the erring, aberrance' (φρενών *A. Th.* 661). 2. φοιτ-αλέος 'id.', also 'roaming, driving mad' (*A. and E.* [lyr.], Mosch., *AP*, etc.); enlarged -αλιεύς (Opp.), -αλιώτης (*AP* 9, 524, 22 verse-final) of Dionysus. 3. φοίτ-ησις (ἐπι-, συν- etc.) [f.] 'frequentation, especially of school' (Att., etc.). 4. φοιτ-ητής (συν-) [m.] 'pupil' (Att., etc.), -ητήρ [m.] 'id.' (Nonn.), also = -αλέος (epic poetry V-VIP); -ητός (*Com. Adesp.*), -ητικός (sch.). 5. verbs: φοιτ-ίζω = -άω (*h. Hom.* 26, 8, Call., *A. R.*), probably after θαμίζω; φοιτ-άζω 'id.' (Hellad. *apud* Phot.).

•ETYM All the above forms, including φοιτάς, φοιταλέος and φοῖτος, are built on the present φοιτάω. No etymology. One might think of a Pre-Greek loan.

**φολίς, -ίδος** [f.] 'scale of a reptile' (Arist., *A. R.*, D. S., Opp., etc.), metaphorically of the spots on an animal-skin (Hld.), of the mosaic of a cover (D. S.). <PG?>

•DER φολιδωτός 'provided with scales' (Arist., Thphr., Hell. inscr., etc.), -ώδης 'scale-like' (Hp. v.l.), -όμαι 'to be covered with scales' (Philum.).

•ETYM Formation with *o*-grade, like λοπίς (to λοπός), λειπίς (to λέπος, see ►λέπω). Frisk supports the usual connection with ►φελλός 'cork', but I see no reason for this. As a technical term, it is probably Pre-Greek.

**φολκός** [adj.] Epithet of Thersites (B 217) of unknown meaning. <PG?(V)>

•ETYM Traditionally interpreted as 'bandy-legged' and supposed to be related to φάλος, designation of a helm-ornament or helmet-piece and connected with Skt. *hṇárate* 'to go crooked', etc.; see ►φάλος. Fur.: 173 assumes that φολκός is identical with \*βολκός in Βόλκων, the name of a Syracusan in D. S. 11, 91; in that case, the variation φ-/β- would point to Pre-Greek origin.

**φόλλιξ** [f.] 'scab, leprous sore' (Erot. 384). Erot. l.c. explains φολλικώδη· τὰ ἐφηλῶδη καὶ λεπρώδη· οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ φόλλικας ἐκάλουν τὰς ψηρώδεις τραχύτητας; but Galen (19, 153) gives τὰ οἷον θυλακῶδεα καὶ σομφά. <?>

•ETYM Perhaps, a variant of φολίς. De Vaan (p.c.) suggests that it could be a loan from Lat. *folliculus* 'bag; husk, pod, skin, follicle, bladder, etc.'

**φύλλες κύνες** [?] · οἱ πυρροὶ ὄντες μέλανα στόματα εἶχον 'red ones, having a black mouth' (H.). <PG(V)>



•ETYM Gennadius *JHS* 46 (1926): 42f. connects the word with φολίς and proposes to read στίγματα for στόματα: “dogs of a yellow-red coat spotted with black”. A direct derivation is impossible for morphological reasons. Fur.: 228 connects φολύνει· μολύνει ‘stains, defiles’, which would mean that the word is Pre-Greek.

**φόνος** [m.] ‘manslaughter, murder’, poet. ‘bloodshed’ (Il.); also in the poetic expression ἐρευγόμενοι φόνον αἵματος (Π 162) for αἶμα φόνου or φόνιον. <IE \*g<sup>wh</sup>en- ‘slay, kill’>

•COMP φονολιβής ‘dripping with murder or blood’ (A. [lyr.]), ἀπόφονος φόνος ‘unnatural murder’ (E. Or. 163 [lyr.]), ἀπόφονον αἶμα (ibid. 192). Highly productive as an agent noun in univerbations, e.g. ἀνδροφόνος ‘killing men’ (Il.), -ία [f.] (Arist., etc.), -έω (Str.); enlargements -εύς ‘id.’ (Man.), -της (A. Th. 572); see also on ▶ ἀνδρεϊφόντη (Il.); also βουφόνος, -έω [v.] (H 466).

•DER 1. Adjectives: φόν-ιος ‘murderous, murder-, blood-stained, deadly’ (Pi., trag.); -ικός ‘belonging to murder, bloodthirsty’ (Hdt., Th., etc.); -ώδης ‘deadly’ (Hp.), ‘reminding of blood, murder’ (Thphr.), ‘murderous, bloodthirsty’ (LXX etc.). 2. φον-εύς [m.] ‘murderer’ (Il.), -εύω [v.] ‘to murder, kill’ (Pi., IA), also with κατα-, ἐπι- etc., whence -ευτής [m.] ‘murderer’ (LXX), fem. -εὔτρια (sch.), -ευτικός ‘deadly’ (sch.), -εὔσιμος ‘mortal’ (sch.). 3. φόν-αξ [m.] name of a dog (X. Cyn.). 4. Pres. -όμαι in πεφονωμένος [ptc.perf.med.] ‘blood-stained’ (Opp.).

Beside φόνος, we find φοναί [f.pl.] ‘manslaughters, massacre, murder, blood’ (Il., epic poet., also Hdt. and late prose), φονάω [v.] ‘to be eager for murder, blood’ (S. [lyr.], late prose).

•ETYM A verbal noun to ▶ θείνω, from PIE \*g<sup>wh</sup>ón-o- [m.]. Cognate forms: SCr. gōn (to gnāti ‘to drive, hunt’) ‘distance over which a horse can be driven in one time’, Cz. hon ‘hunt’; as an agent noun (cf. -φόνος) Skt. ghaná- ‘striking down, killing’, msc. ‘cudgel, club’, Lith. gānas, Latv. gans ‘herdsman’ (“the driver”). All of these may be independent formations.

**φοξός** [adj.] ‘sharp, pointed’ (B 219 of the head of Thersites, Arist., AP etc.). <PG(V)>

•COMP φοξίχαιλος, of κύλιξ, ‘with pointed edge’, i.e. ‘narrowing towards the top’ (Semon.), with φοξι- after verbal -ξι-.

•DER φοξότης [f.] ‘pointed shape’ (Gal.), -ῖνος [m.] an unknown fish (Arist., also Mnesim., written φυξ-, probably after φύξις, φυγεῖν).

•ETYM No convincing etymology. Lidén 1906: 59f. connects φάγρος ‘whetstone’. Fur.: 345 also compares φάγρος, but assuming a Pre-Greek word; op.cit. 393, he connects φοῦσκος· ὀζυκέφαλος (H.).

**φορβή** = φέρβω.

**φορίνη** [f.] ‘hard and rough skin’, especially ‘swine’s hide’ (Hp., Antipho Soph., Aristom. Com., etc.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Variant φορίνη· ἢ παρ’ ἐνίοις πυρίνη (H.).

•ETYM Without cognates, neither in Greek nor in other languages. A remote similarity is shown by a Germanic word for ‘raw, outward rind’, e.g. ON *bprkr*, LG

(> MoHG) *Borke*; ON *bára* [f.] ‘crest of a wave, hard strip on the surface, cheese-rind’. Yet, the variant πυρίνη shows that the word is Pre-Greek.

**φόρκες** [?] · χάρακες ‘pales’ (H.). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM LSJ explains it as a loan from Lat. *furcae*, which seems possible.

**φορκόν** [adj.] · λευκόν, πολιόν, ῥυσόν ‘white, gray, wrinkled’ (H.). <PG(V)>

•DER Perhaps, here also belong the PNs Φόρκος (Pi. P. 12, 13, S. Fr. 861, Lyc. 477, Phanocl. 1, 20) = Φόρκυς, -ύ(ν)ος [m.] (Od., Hes., etc.), in the sense ἄλιος γέρων ‘old man of the sea’?

•ETYM A supposition is found s.v. ▶ φαρκίς. Fur.: 157 connects Φόρκυς with Φόρκος and Πόρκος, and/or φαρκίς. Definitely Pre-Greek.

**φορμιγξ, -ιγγος** [f.] ‘cither’, especially as an instrument of Apollo (Il.). <PG(S,V)>

•COMP φιλοφόρμιγξ ‘loving the cither’ (A. [lyr.]).

•DER φορμιζώ (only pres.) ‘to play the cither’ (Hom., Hermesian.), -ικτάς Dor. (Pi., Ar. [lyr.], AP), -ικτήρ (Nonn.) [m.] ‘cither-player’, -ικτός ‘accompanied by the cither’ (S. Fr. 16).

•ETYM A loan word, similar in form and meaning to σάλπιγξ, σῦριγξ. Clearly a Pre-Greek word, on account of the suffix. Fur.: 173, 342 adds βάρμιος (Phyllis *apud* Ath. 14, 636c), βάρωμος (Euph. Fr. Hist. 8, Ath. 4, 182f), βάρμιτος (EM 188, 21), and βάρβιτος (Pi., Anacr.).

**φορμός** [m.] ‘basket’, also as a corn-measure (IA since Hes.), also of other twined objects: ‘mat’ (Hdt., Ar., Thphr.), ‘large seamen’s cloak’ (Theoc., Paus.), ‘sieve’ (Dsc.). <?>

•COMP φορμοφόρος [m.] ‘basket-bearer’ (Epicur.), -έω [v.] (D. C.).

•DER Diminutives φορμίς [f.] (com., Arist.), -ίσκος [m.] (Pl., EM), -ίσκιον [n.] (Poll.) ‘basket’, -ιον [n.] ‘id.’ (Hippon.), ‘faggot’ (D. L.).

•ETYM The formally obvious connection with φέρω as “bearer” seems difficult to combine with the varying meanings, which are all connected with the notion of ‘twining’. Schulze 1892: 110ff. therefore connected φάραι· ὑφαίνειν, πλέkein ‘to weave, plait’ (H.) and ▶ φᾶρος ‘cloth, linen’. Still, a development from ‘basket’ < ‘bearer’ to ‘twined basket’, with subsequent transition to other twined materials, is conceivable. Go. *barms* ‘κόλπος’ agrees phonetically with φορμός, but is also interpreted differently. Not related to ▶ φωριαμός.

**φόρος** = φέρω.

**φορύνομαι** [v.] ‘to be mingled, stained, blemished’ (χ 21, Q. S. 2, 356; 3, 654), φορύνει· φυρᾶ, μολύνει, συγχεῖ ‘soils, defiles, mingles’ (H.). <?>

•VAR φορύσσομαι (Opp.), aor. φορύξαι, also with ἀνα- (σ 336, Hp.), -ύξασθαι (Nic.), πεφορυγμένος (Nic., Q. S., Opp.) ‘id.’, φορυσσέμεναι· μολύνειν (H.).

•COMP αἰμο·φόρυκτος ‘blemished with blood’ (υ 348), ἀ·φόρυκτος (AP), φορυκτός (Lyc.).

•DER Also φορῦτός [m.] ‘mixture, miscellany, waste, refuse, chaff’ (Democr., Ar., Arist., Thphr., etc.); φόρυς· δακτύλιος ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἔδραν (H.), cf. μολυνίη· ἢ πυγή

(H.), also as a PN (nickname); Φορυστας (Tanagra). Unclear φαρυμός· τολμηρός, θρασύς 'daring, bold' (H.).

•ETYM Compare μολύνω, παλύνω. The formation of φορύξαι, πεφορυγμένος is like μορύξαι, μεμορυγμένος (also -χ-); φορύσσω is like ἀλύσσω, αἰθύσσω, αἰμάσσω, etc.; while φορυτός is like συρφετός, νιφετός, etc. The common element φορυ- cannot be analyzed; if it belongs to φύρω, perhaps dissimilated from \*φυρυ-.

**φραγέλλιον** [n.] 'whip' (NT); 'a weight' (inscr. Lycia). <LW Lat.>

•ETYM From Lat. *flagellum*.

**φράζομαι** [v.] 'to consider, think (up), perceive, decide, discern', act. 'to signalize, indicate, show, inform' (Il.). <?>

•VAR φράζω (post-Hom.), aor. φράσ(σ)ασθαι (Il., epic poet.), φρασθῆναι (Od., epic poet., Hdt.), act. φράσαι (λ 22), reduplicated πέφραδε, -έμεν, etc. (Il., epic), fut. φράσ(σ)ομαι (Il.), φράσω (post-Hom.), perf.ptc. προπεφραδμένος (Hes. *Op.* 655), ind. πέφρασμαι (A.), act. πέφρακα (Isoc., etc.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, συν-, περι-.

•DER 1. φραδῆ [f.] 'consideration, insight, indication, hint' (Pi., Alc., A., E., etc.), φραδ-άω [v.] = βουλεύομαι (Hdn. Gr.), φραδάων· ἐρμηνεύον (H.), -ἀτήρ [m.] an official (Sicily III-II<sup>a</sup>: γραμματεὺς καὶ φρ.), -ἄσε 'indicated' (Pi. *N.* 3, 26), -ητός (sch.); φραδεύουσι· λέγουσιν (H.). 2. φράδμων (Att. φράσμων), -μονος (also ἄ-, πολυ-, etc.) 'wise, mindful' (Il., epic poet.), -μοσύνη [f.] 'wisdom, cleverness' (*h.Ap.*, Hes. etc.), -μοσύνα (epigr.). 3. φράσις (μετά-, παρά-, ἔκ-, etc.) [f.] '(way of) expression' (Ar. *Ra.* 1122, Arist., D. H., Str., etc.). 4. φραστύς· σκέψις, ἔννοια, βουλῆ, φράσις (H.); ἀφραστύες [pl.] (Call. *Fr. anon.* 9; Suid.) from ἄφραστος. 5. φραστήρ [m.] 'enunciator, guide' (X., Ph., Plu.), -τωρ [m.] 'guide' (A. *Supp.* 492); παραφραστής 'rewriter', μεταφραστής 'translator' (late); φράστης = *eloquens* (gloss.). 6. φραστικός (παρα-, περι-, μετα-, ἀντι-, ἔκ-) 'expressive, explicit' (late).

As a second member: 7. -φραδής (Il., epic poet.), e.g. ἀφραδής 'inconsiderate, unwise', -ή 'stupidity', -έω [v.] 'to act inconsiderately, be unwise'; by decomposition φραδέος (gen. Ω 354). 8. -φραστος, e.g. ἄφραστος 'incomprehensible, imperceptible, unspeakable' (*h. Merc.*, epic poet., Hdt.), -τύς (see 4. above).

•ETYM All the above forms go back to an element φραδ-, which is seen clearly e.g. in the archaic reduplicated aorist. It has the character of a zero grade root, but it stands isolated. If one separates the dental as a root extension, connection with ►φρήν might be tried. Cf. also ►ἀποφράς.

**φράσσω** [v.] 'to fence in, enclose, barricade, equip (a horse) with scale-armour, block' <?, PG?>

•VAR Att. -ττω, also φράγνυμι, fut. φράξω (all post-Hom.), aor. φράξαι, -ασθαι (ἐφάρξαντο Hdn. Gr.), φραχθῆναι (Il.+), φραγῆναι (Hell.+), with φραγήσομαι beside φραχθήσομαι (late), perf. med. πέφραγμα (E. etc.), πεφαργμένος (Hdn. Gr.), plpf. ἐπέφρακτο (Hdt.), act. πέφρακα (Ph.), πέφραγα (sch.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀντι-, ἀπο-, ἐν-, περι-, συν-.

•DER 1. φράγμα [n.] 'enclosure, protection, defence' (IA), φάργμα [n.] 'id.' (Epid. IV<sup>a</sup>; < -κσμ-), also διά-, περι-, ἔμ-, etc. with different shades of meaning; διαφραγματίον

[n.] 'small partition-wall' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>). 2. φραγ-μός (ἐμ-) [m.] 'enclosing, fencing in, fence' (IA), -μίτης epithet of θάμνος, κάλαμος 'growing in hedges'. 3. φράξις 'fencing in, etc.' (IA), mostly with ἀπο-, δια-, ἀντι-, ἐν-, συν-, etc. 4. κατα-, περι-φράκτης [m.] 'who fences in, etc.' (late), φράκτης 'floodgate' (Procop.). 5. φρακτός 'fenced in, protected' (Opp.), φρακτεύω [v.] 'to surround' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>); φαρκτός 'id.' (EM), φαρκτόομαι in φάρκτου· φυλακὴν σκεύαζε 'prepare the watch' (H.); also φάρκτεσθαι (for -οῦσθαι?)· τὸ φράττεσθαι (H.).

Old and common in compounds, e.g. ἄφρακτος (ἄφαρκτος) 'unfenced, unfortified, not decked, without armour' (Att.), ναύφρακτος (-φαρκτος) 'protected by ships', of στρατός, etc. (A. [lyr.], E., Ar., Att. inscr.); φρακτικός (παρα-, ἔκ-, ἐμ-) 'blocking, etc.' (medic., etc.). On ►δρύφακτος, see s.v.

•ETYM As a common basis of the attested forms, φρακ- beside φαρκ- can be posited (the late attestations φραγῆναι and φράγνυμι are analogical). It is unclear which of the two is older, or even if they both derive from a zero grade. Since their distribution is unclear, we may envisage the possibility that they are due to substrate origin. This is confirmed by the fact that there is no convincing correspondence outside Greek. The traditional connection with Lat. *farciō* 'to stuff, cram, fatten' and *frequēns* 'crowded, frequent' is quite uncertain. On φύρκος· τεῖχος 'wall' (H.) see ►πύργος.

**φράτηρ, -ερος** [m.] 'member of a phratry' (Att.). <IE \*b<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>2</sub>ter- 'brother'>

•VAR Younger φράτωρ, -ορος, Ion. φρήτωρ (IG 14, 759 [Naples II<sup>a</sup>]), φρήτηρ· ἀδελφός (H.), Dor. φρατήρ (Hdn. Gr.).

•COMP φρατρίαρχος [m.] 'head of a phratry' (D., Att. inscr.), φρήταρχος, -αρχέω [v.] (Naples).

•DER φρήτηρ [f.] (B 362f.), φράτρα (D. H. = Lat. *curia*), with dissimilation φάτρα (Tenos III<sup>a</sup>, Arcad. II<sup>a</sup>); Att. etc. φρατρία, dissimilated φατρία (Chios IV<sup>a</sup>, Tenos III<sup>a</sup>, often in codd.), φ(ρ)ητρία (Naples) [f.] 'kinsmanship', 'subdivision of a phyle' (= 30 γένη), 'phratry'.

Hence 1. φατρίτας [m.] 'member of a phratry' (Arc.). 2. φράτριος, Ion. φρήτριος epithet of Zeus, of Athena and other gods as protectors of the φρήτραι and φρατρίαί (IA, Delph.). -ιον designation of the corresponding sanctuary (Poll., St. Byz.). 3. φρατριάζω (v.l. φατρι-, φρατι-) [v.] 'to belong to the same phratry' (D.). 'to join an alliance, conspire' (sch.), -ασμός [m.] 'alliance, conspiracy' (Eust.). 4. φρατρίζω [v.] 'id.' (Crateros, inscr.). 5. φρατορικόν (φρατερ-?) γραμματεῖον (D.). In later literature (D. H., Plu.), φράτρα and φρατρία are often used to translate Lat. *curia*; similarly, the derivatives φρατρι-εύς, -αστής = *curialis*, -ακή ψηφοφορία = *comitia curiata*, -κή ἐκκλησία 'id.', -ατικός νόμος = *lex curiata*.

•ETYM PIE word for 'brother'. Cognate forms: Skt. *bhrātā*-, Lat. *frāter*, Go. *broþar*, OCS *brat(r)ъ*, etc. In Greek, it was replaced in its original meaning by ἀδελφ(ε)ός. In the context of the extended family, 'brother' was probably also used for 'half-brother' and for other male cognates of the same generation, such as cousins. In several languages, this led to the creation of new words for 'brother' = 'male descendant of the same mother' (see ►ἀδελφός). The administrative meaning of the Greek word was first established in the collective formations φράτρα, -ία. Beside φράτρα, we find

Skt. *bhrātrā-* [n.] 'fraternal relation, brotherhood'; with φρατρία agrees OCS *brat(r)ija* 'brotherhood', Ru. *brát'ja* 'brothers' as a plur. of *brat*, epic Skt. *bhrātrya-* [n.] 'id.'.

**φρέαρ, -ἄτος** [n.] 'well' (Φ 197). <IE \**b<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>1</sub>-ur* 'source, well'>

•VAR Plur. Att. -ἄτα, \*φρήατα (Φ 197), written φρείατα; hence sing. φρείαρ (Nic. Th. 486), contracted φρητός (Egypt P, Hdn. Gr.), -τί (Call. Cer. 15), plur. -τα (pap. III<sup>a</sup>).

•COMP φρεατοτύπανον [n.] 'water-wheel' (Plb.), φρεωρυχέω 'to dig a well' (Ar. Str., Plu.), -ωρύχος 'digging wells, well-digger' (Plu., Them.), -ία [f.] (J.).

•DER 1. φρεάτιον [n.] (Hell. pap.), formally a diminutive, pl. φρήτια (Sicily) 'id.' 2. φρεατ-ία [f.] 'water-container, cistern' (X., Plb.), 'opening' (Apollod. *Poliore.*), φρητία· στόμα φρέατος (H.). 3. φρεατ-ιαῖος 'of a well', -ιαῖον ὕδωρ 'spring-water' (Hermipp. Com., Arist., etc.), φρηταῖος (pap. III<sup>a</sup>), -ιος 'id.' (late). 4. -ώδης 'well-like' (sch.). 5. -ισμός [m.] meaning uncertain; perhaps 'the falling into a well' (Notium IP).

•ETYM PIA \**p<sup>h</sup>rēwar* yielded Att. φρέαρ with quantitative metathesis. It derives from PIE \**b<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>1</sub>-ur* and is originally identical with Arm. *albiwr*, *albewr* 'well'. The remaining case-forms have an *n*-suffix, e.g. gen. \*φρήα-τος < \**b<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>1</sub>-ur*, but Arm. has a gen. *alber* with a generalized *r*-stem. A zero grade byform, IE \**b<sup>h</sup>rHun-*, is preserved in the Germanic word for 'source', e.g. ON *brunnr*, Go. *brunna* < PGm. \**brunna(n)*. The geminate is traditionally explained from the zero grade of an enlarging *en*-suffix (\**brun-n-* beside \**brun-en-*).

This word for 'well' might in origin be a verbal noun to a verb for 'to bubble up, move heavily', of water, etc., as attested in Lat. *fervō*, -*eō* 'to seethe, boil', *dē-fru-tum* 'boiled down must, must-sap' < \**b<sup>h</sup>er-u-*, \**b<sup>h</sup>r-u-*. Some have also seen the element \*-*u-* in ►φορύνομαι. Other Greek words for 'well' may be inherited too: ►κρουνός and ►κρήνη. An innovation is ►πηγή, -αί 'fountain-head, water(s)'.

φρέω ⇒πίφρημι.

**φρήν, -ερός** [f.] 'midriff, also as the seat of mental activity, 'sense, soul, spirit, mind, heart' vel sim. (Il.). <IE? \**b<sup>h</sup>rēn*, \**b<sup>h</sup>ren*->

•VAR Plur. φρένες, -ενών, dat. also -ασί (OAtt. epigr. VI<sup>a</sup>, Pi.).

•COMP φρενοβλαβής 'mentally injured, insane' (Hdt., Eup. etc.), φρενήρης 'sound of mind' (Hdt., etc.), μετάφρενον [n.] 'which is behind the midriff, the upper part of the back, the back' (mostly epic since Il.). Ablauting -φρων enjoyed extreme productivity, e.g. ἄφρων 'out of one's mind, foolish' (Il.) whence ἀφραίνω, ἀφρονέω, ἀφροσύνη etc., εὐφρων, epic εὐφρών 'with a cheerful mind, happy, pleasing, friendly' (Il.), whence εὐφραίνομαι, -αίνω, εὐφρονέων (ptc.), εὐφροσύνη, etc.; on ►εὐφρόνη 'night', see s.v.; πρόφρων 'of one's own accord, inclined, benevolent' (Il., epic poet.), fem. πρόφρασσα after ἔκασσα (Hom.); on σώφρων see ►σῶς.

•DER 1. φρεν-ῖτις (scil. νόσος) [f.] 'mental disease, insanity, encephalitis', -ιτικός (medic., Hp., etc.), -ιτιάω, -ιτιάσις, -ιτίζω, -ιτισμός (late). 2. φρεν-όω [v.] 'to bring to sense, instruct, inform' (trag., etc.), whence -ώσει· νοουθετήσῃ and -ωτήριον· παραινέσις (H.).

3. φρονέω 'to be minded, think, be wise' (Il.), also with κατα-, παρα-, συν- etc. It was reanalyzed from denominatives like ἀφρονέω, ὁμοφρονέω, etc. (to ἄ-, ὁμόφρων).

Thence φρόνημα (κατα- etc.), -ηματίας, -ηματώδης, -ηματίζομαι, -ηματισμός; -ησις (κατα-, παρα- etc.), -ητικός. Backformation: 4. φρόνις [f.] 'insight, skill' (γ 244, δ 258, Lyc., Opp.), beside more usual φρόνιμος 'sensible, wise' (IA); PN Φρονίμη mother of Battos, the founder of Cyrene (Hdt. 4, 154), -ιμότης, -ιμώδης, -ιμεύομαι, -ίμευμα, -ίμευσις (late).

With a suffix -τ-: 5. PN Φρόντις, -ιν, -ιδι [m., f.] (γ 282, P 40). 6. φροντίζω [v.] 'to consider, reflect, worry, be concerned' (Thgn., Sapph.), also with ἐκ-, συν-, etc.; possibly to φρονέω on the model of ἐρατίζω to ἔραμαι, φαντάζομαι to φαίνομαι, etc. If this analysis is correct, a back-formation to φροντίζω is: 7. φροντίς, -ίδος [f.] 'reflection, worry, concern' (Simon., Pi., A., etc.). Derivatives: φρόντισμα, -τισις, -τιστής, -τίστρια, -τιστήριον, -τιστικός. Isolated is φρανίζειν· σωφρονίζειν (H.); perhaps an old zero grade, like in ἀφραίνω?

•ETYM For the *n*-stem, we may compare other body-parts like ►αὐχὴν, -ένος and ►ἀδὴν, -ένος, and without ablaut σπλήν, -ηνός. A remnant of the zero grade is retained in the dat.pl. φρασί and in the *yod*-presents of the type ἀφραίνω. Semantically attractive is the connection with φράσσω 'fence, block', but this would presuppose that φρακ- (φραγ-) in φράσσω represents the zero grade of a nasalized \*φρεγκ- (< IE \**b<sup>h</sup>renk-*), and that a lengthened grade nom.sg. \**b<sup>h</sup>rēnk* was incorporated into the *n*-stems after the loss of the final velar. A similar problem is presented by ►σπλήν versus σπλάγχνα.

Connection of φρήν 'mind' (vel sim.) with φράζομαι 'to think, consider', with the act. (causative) aor. πέφραδε, is semantically straightforward. A zero grade φραδ- with enlargement -δ- has several parallels (see ►φράζομαι), so this etymology is formally quite feasible. On φρένες in Homer, see Ireland and Hull *Glotta* 53: 183-195. On φρένες and φρόνησις, see Snell *Glotta* 55 (1977): 34-64.

**φρίκες** [?] · χάρακες 'pales' (H.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR Rather -ῖ-.

•ETYM Acc. to Frisk, to φρίσσω (see ►φρίξ) in the sense "die starr Emporragenden". Besides, cf. φόρκες· χάρακες (H.). Fur.: 173 follows Grošelj *Živa Ant.* 4 (1954): 166f. in comparing ►βρίκελοι = ιστόποδες, i.e. the beams of a standing loom. This would mean that the word is Pre-Greek.

**φρίμασσομαι** [v.] 'to snort with lust for life, behave unruly', of horses, goats etc. (Hdt., Theoc., AP, Ael., Poll.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Att. -ττομαι, aor. -ξασθαι.

•DER φριμαγμός [m.] 'snorting' (Lyc., D. H., Poll.).

•ETYM Expressive enlargement (after φρυάσσομαι?) of φρίμω 'id.' (Opp.), further unclear. The earlier connections with ON *brími* [m.] 'fire' and Skt. *jarbhurīti* 'to move heavily, stretch, sprawl' cannot be maintained. Similar words in similar meanings, apart from ►φρυάσσομαι, are ►βρίμαομαι and ►σφριγάω. Fur.: 173, following Kuiper 1956: 215, assumes that ►βρίμαομαι (etc.) is a Pre-Greek variant. This seems evident, cf. Fur.: 247: σφριαί· ἀπειλαί, ὄργαι from \*σφριφαί, with variation μ/φ.

**φρίξ, -ικός** [f.] 'shiver, the shivering or ruffling of the sea-surface, the ruffle of hair' (Il., epic poet., also Hp.). <PG?>

•VAR Enlarged φρίκη [f.] 'id.', also 'frost-shiver, frost, shudder of fear' (IA).

•COMP φρικοποιός 'causing shiver', ὑπόφρικός 'with a light shiver' (Hell.).

•DER φρικία [f.] 'fever-shiver' (Dsc.), -ίας [m.] name of a horse, referring to the manes (Pi.), -αλέος (Hp., AP, etc.). -ώδης (Hp., Att. Hell.+), whence -ωδία (late), -ώεις (Hell. lyr.) 'shivering, horrible, etc.'; also φρικνόν· φρικαλέον, δεινόν, φοβερόν 'awesome, fearsome' (H.), cf. ρικνός; φριξός 'bristling', of hairs (Arist.), perhaps by reanalysis of the first member in verbal governing compounds, such as φριζοκόμης, φριζαύχην. Likewise probably in the PN Φρίξος, also as a personification of shivering (AP).

Verbs: 1. φρίσσω 'to bristle up', of ears (of corn), hairs, etc., 'to shiver (of cold), shudder (of fear)' (Il.), aor. φρίζαι, perf. πέφρικα, also with ἐπι-, ἀνα-, μετα-, etc. Thence φρικτός (ἀπό-, ἐπί-) 'shuddering, causing shiver' (Hell.+). Backformation: ἐπιφρίξ· ἡ ἐπανάστασις τῶν κυμάτων (EM). 2. Other sparse formations with the same meaning: φρικάζω (Poet. *de herb.*; also Hp.?), -ασμός [m.] (LXX), -ιάω (late medic.) with -ιασις (sch.), -όομαι, -όω 'horrescō, horrificō' (gloss.), also φρίζω (PMag. Osl.). See also ► φρίκες.

•ETYM Without certain agreement outside Greek. The word may well be Pre-Greek.

**φροίμιον** ⇒ οἶμη.

**φροντίζω** ⇒ φρήν.

**φροῦδος** [adj.] 'gone away, disappeared, vanished, lost', only predicatively (Antipho 5, 29, trag., Ar., late prose). <GR>

•ETYM Throug shift of aspiration from \*πρό-ηδος, a hypostasis from πρὸ ὁδοῦ 'further on the road', thus Δ 382: πρὸ ὁδοῦ ἐγένοντο 'they came further on the road'; compare Go. *fram-wigis* 'continuous'.

**φρουρά** [f.] 'watch, custody, guard, garrison, guarded place, prison' (IA). <GR>

•VAR Ion. -ή.

•COMP φρούραρχος [m.] 'commander of a φ.' (Att., etc.), -άρχης (Them.), whence -αρχία, -αρχέω (X., Hell.+). Frequently as a second member, e.g. the hypostasis ἔμφρουρος 'on guard, belonging to the watch, in custody, occupied, captive' (X., Decr. *apud* D., Plb., etc.), -φρουρέω 'to be on guard, keep watch' (Th., D. C.), 'to be captive' (late). Besides also φρουρός [m.] 'watcher, warden', plur. 'garrison' (Att., Epid.); προυρός name of an official (Ion., Thess. III<sup>a</sup>), PN Πρωρός (Cyren.; Paus., D. S., etc.).

•DER 1. φρουρ-ίς (ναῦς) 'look-out ship' (Att. inscr., Th., X.). 2. φρούρ-ιον [n.] 'fortress, garrison' (Att.), 'prison' (Pl. Ax. 366a), Cret. (II<sup>a</sup>) φρώριον. 3. -ικός 'belonging to watch, garrison' (Hell. inscr., D. C.). 4. -ύτης [m.] a military function (pap. IV<sup>p</sup>). 5. φρουρ-έω [v.] 'to be on guard, keep watch, guard, keep' (IA), also with παρα- etc.; cf. on ἔμφρουρος above; thence -ημα (trag.), -ησις, -ητός, -ητικός, -ητήρ, -ήτωρ (late).

•ETYM Throug shift of aspiration from \*προ-ηορά and \*προ-ηορός, compounds of old verbal nouns meaning 'to see'; see ► ὁράω with further details on the morphology.

**φρυσσομαι** [v.] 'to whinny for lust for life, sniff, behave impatiently', of horses, 'to be wanton', of men (Hell.+). <PG?>

•VAR -άσσω LXX, Att. -άττομαι (κατα-).

•DER φρύαγμα [n.] 'the whinnying, sniffing' (A., S., X.), also of a wild boar (Opp.), 'wanton behaviour' (late prose), -αγματίας 'wanton' (Plu.), ἵππος ~ as an explanation of πεδαοριστής (H.); -αγμός 'id.' (D. S.), φρυαγμοσέμνακοι (τρόποι) of Bdelycleon (Ar. V. 135), -άκτης ἵππος (D. L.).

•ETYM Expressive formation, like the synonym ► φριμάσσομαι. Frisk suggests that there were possibly old contaminations, and adduces Güntert 1914: 160, who suggests a transformation of φριμάσσομαι after ρύαξ (instead of \*ρύάσσομαι). Yet, I am very reluctant to assume such contaminations. The word may well be Pre-Greek.

**φρυγίλος** [m.] name of an unknown bird (Ar. Av. 763 and 875), maybe 'chaffinch' = Lat. *fringilla*, or a kind of heron, 'cattle egret'. <?>

•ETYM The uncertain identification renders etymologizing difficult. Some similarity in form is found in Lat. *fringilla* 'finch' or 'sparrow', and in Slavic, Ru. *bergléz* 'goldfinch'; but it remains uncertain whether they are cognate, and they may as well be onomatopoeic formations. Benton JHS 81 (1961): 44ff., referring to the association with Φρύξ and the Phrygian god Sabazios in Ar., quite differently explains φρυγίλος as "the small Phrygian", i.e. 'the small foreign slave'.

**φρύγω** [v.] 'to roast, dry, fry' (IA). <?>

•VAR Late also φρύσσω, -ττω; aor. φρύξαι, pass. φρυχθῆναι, φρύγηναι, fut. φρύξω, perf. med. πέφρυγμαι.

•COMP Also with κατα-, περι- etc.

•DER 1. φρύγανον, mostly pl. -ανα [n.] 'small dry pieces of wood, dry twigs, brushwood, fuel' (IA), diminutives -άνιον (Dsc.) and -ανίς (Eust.); -ανίτης (κάλαμος) 'fit for fuel' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>), -ανίτις (ῥλη) 'id.' (Hld.); -ανικός 'of a dry brushwood' (Thphr. etc.), -ανώδης 'of/like brushwood' (Thphr., Dsc.); -ανίζω [v.] 'to gather φ.' (Poll.), -ανισμός [m.] 'the gathering of φ.' (Th.), -ανιστής [m.] (late), -ανίστρια [f.] (Ar.) 'brushwood-gatherer'. 2. φρύγ-ετρον [n.] 'vessel or implement for roasting' (Lex Solon. *apud* Poll., H.). 3. -εὺς [m.] 'id.', also 'roaster' (Theopomp. Com., Poll.); hence -εὺς = φρύγω (Poll.). 4. φρυγία· ἡ φρύγουσα, φρύγιος, ξηρός 'dry' (H.), φρύγιον [n.] 'brushwood, firewood' (LXX), 'place for roasting' (EM). 5. φρυγμόν· καῖσιν 'burning' (H.). 6. φρυγίνδα παίειν 'to play with roasted beans' (Poll., H.). 7. φρύξις [f.] 'the roasting, parchedness' (late). 8. φρυκτός 'roasted' (Sor.), as a msc. noun 'fire, torch, fire-signal' (A., Th. etc.), φρυκτωρός [m.] 'watcher of fire-signals', whence -ωρία, -ωρέω (A., Th., E., Ar. etc.), -ώριον [n.] 'post of a fire-watcher, signal-station' (Arist., Plu., Hdn.); φρυκτός (scil. κύαμος) [m.] 'roasted beans used as lots' (Plu.), used for voting (instead of a ψήφος) (Poll., EM, Suid.); φρυκτοί [m.pl.] 'small fish for frying' (com. IV<sup>a</sup>), φρυκτά· ξηρά ιχθύδια εὐτελέη 'cheap dry fish' (H.); opposite ἐψητοί 'fish for cooking'.

•ETYM Without exact agreement outside Greek. A different vocalism is found in Lat. *frīgō*, -ere 'to roast', but it cannot be reconciled with φρύγω in a regular way. Unless the Latin word was borrowed from Greek via an intermediate language (where unrounding must have taken place), both languages could have borrowed the word from a third party.

**φρύνη** [f.] 'toad, frog' (Arist., Timae., Nic., Babr., etc.). <PG(V)>

•VAR φρῦνος [m., f.], also φροῦνος (*PMag. Osl.*).

•COMP φρυνολόγος (-λόχος) [m.] 'kind of consacration' (Arist.), -ποπείον [n.] 'toad-shaped fire-bowl' (Boeot.), -ειδής 'toad-like' (Arist.).

•DER φρυνικός 'toad-like' (late medic.); plant-*name* φρύνιον [n.] = ποτίρριον (Dsc.), = βατράχιον (Ps.-Dsc.); φρυνίτης name of a precious stone (late). PN Φρύν-ιχος, -ικίδης, -ίων, -ώνδας etc.; PN Φρυνή (of a hetaere).

•ETYM If referring to the color, φρύνη, φρῦνος might be identical in origin with Germanic 'brown', as in OHG *brūn*, etc. < PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>ruH-n-o-*. With reduplication, compare Skt. *babhrú-* 'red-brown, brown', also designation of a big kind of ichneumon, which agrees with the wide-spread name of the beaver: Av. *baβra-*, *baβri-*, Lat. *fiber*, OHG *bibar*, Lith. *bēbras*, *bebrūs*, etc. < PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>eb<sup>h</sup>ru-*, *\*b<sup>h</sup>eb<sup>h</sup>ro-*. On the many vacillating names for the toad and the frog, see ▶ βάτραχος. However, the variation between φρυν- and φρουν- rather points to a Pre-Greek word.

**φύγεθλον** [n.] 'tumour of the glands, especially in the groin and armpit' (Gal.). <?>

•VAR -θρον (Ruf. *apud* Orib., Cels.).

•ETYM Possibly from \*φλύγ-εθλον, with dissimilation and change of suffix to -φλυξ in οινόφλυξ, -φλυγος [m., f.] 'winedrunk, winedrinker', prop. 'gushing or bubbling with wine' (Hp., X., Arist. etc.), whence -φλυγία 'drunkenness' (X. etc.), -φλυγέω 'to be drunk' (LXX); cf. ▶ φλύκταινα, ▶ φλύω 'to be full of juice'.

**φυγή, φύξα** ⇒ φεύγω.

**φῦκος** [n.] 'seaweed' (I 7, Alcm., Thphr., etc.), 'red make-up', prepared from seaweed (Ar. *fr.* 320, 5, Theoc., etc.). <LW Sem.>

•COMP φυκογείτων 'neighbour of the seaweed', epithet of Priapos (AP); ἄφυκα ἀκαλλώπιστα 'without cosmetics' (H.).

•DER 1. φυκίον [n.] 'alga, seaweed' (Pl., Arist., Delos IV<sup>a</sup> etc.), mostly plur. -ία, also fish-name (AP, Orib.), cf. φύκης; 'make-up, make-up-box' (Luc., Them., Delos III<sup>a</sup>), φυκιοφάγοι 'seaweed-eater', of fishes (Arist.); φυκιώδης = φυκώδης (sch.). 2. φυκ-άριον = φῦκος (H.), see ἄφυκα, whence -αρίζω 'to make-up' (sch.). 3. φύκ-ης [m.], -ίς [f.] (Arist., com. IV<sup>a</sup> etc.), also -ήν (-ης LSJ) [m.] (Diph. Siph. *apud* Ath.) name of a fish, probably 'wrasse, Labrus', after its habitat and its food, -ίδιον [n.] (AP, pap. III<sup>a</sup>). 4. φυκ-ίτης (late), fem. -ίτις (Plin.) name of a stone, after the color. 5. φυκ-ώδης 'full of seaweed, seaweed-like' (Arist., Thphr., Dsc.), -ιόεις 'full of seaweed' (Ψ 693, Theoc.), rather with metrically conditioned -ιόεις than from φυκίον. 6. Φύκιος epithet of Poseidon (Myconos II<sup>a</sup>). 7. φυκόομαι [v.] 'to be stuffed with seaweed' (D. S.), 'to make oneself up' (Plu.).

•ETYM Loanword from Semitic; cf. Hebr. *pūk* 'eye-rouge'. The meaning 'make-up' is therefore primary for φῦκος, too; hence 'seaweed'. Borrowed as Lat. *fūcus* 'rouge, purple, make-up'.

**φύλαξ, -ακος** [m., f.] 'watcher, guardian, protector' (Il.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Also secondarily φυλακός (accent of the agent nouns) [m.] 'id.' (Ω 566, Ion. poet.), PN Φύλακος (Hom.).

•COMP οἰκοφύλαξ 'house-guard' (A., etc.), back-formation to φυλάσσω; also with συν-, ὑπο- etc. (to συν-, ὑπο-φυλάσσω).

•DER 1. Fem. φυλακ-ίς, -ίδος (προ-) 'female guard' (Pl.), ~ ναῦς 'guardship' (Th., D. S.), -ισσα [f.] (LXX). 2. φυλακή [f.] 'watch, custody, vigilance, guard-post, garrison' (Il.), probably back-formation to φυλάσσω; with ἀντι-, προ-, παρα- from ἀντι-φυλάσσω, etc.

In part referring to φυλακή: 3. φυλακ-ία [f.] = φυλακή (pap. III-IV<sup>p</sup>), beside compounds like ἀρχι-, σωματο-φυλακία (inscr., D. S.). 4. φυλάκ-ιον [n.] 'watch-house, -tower' (pap. etc.), often in compounds, e.g. ὅπλοφυλάκιον 'arsenal' (Str.) to ὅπλοφύλαξ. 5. -εἶον [n.] 'id.', also 'guard-post, watch' (Plb.); also σιτοφυλακεῖον [n.] 'granary' (Suid.), to σιτοφύλακες. 6. -εἰα [f.] 'protection, amulet' (Poet. *de herb.*, gloss.), as if from \*-εὔω, if not for -ία; thus certainly in δεσμοφυλακεία [f.] 'service as a jailer' (pap.), to δεσμοφύλαξ, -ακέω. 7. φυλακ-ῆες [m.pl.] 'watchmen' (Opp.), verse-final metrical enlargement. 8. -ίτης [m.] 'police-officer, gendarme' (Hell. pap. and inscr.), -ιτεύω 'to serve as a φ.', -ιτικόν 'police-tax' (Hell. pap.), also with παρα-, συν-, ἀρχι- (Hell.+); fem. -ίτις Pythagoraic designation of the number seven (Nicom.). 9. -ιστής in Lat. *phylacista* [m.] 'dungeon-master' (Plaut., metr. uncertain). 10. -ικός 'prudent, careful' (Pl.), with χρεο- (inscr.), etc.

Denominative verb: 11. φυλάσσω, Att. -ττω 'to watch, keep, protect', med. 'to beware' (Il.), also with δια-, παρα-, προ- etc. Several derivatives: φυλακτῆρες [pl.] 'watchmen' (Il.), -τήριος 'protecting' (Pl.), -τήριον (προ-) [n.] 'watch-house, -tower, means of protection, amulet' (IA), φυλακτηρία· παννυχίς (H.), φυλακτηριάζομαι 'to be provided with an amulet' *PMag. Par.*, φυλακ-τωρ [m.] 'watcher' (Eg. epigr. I<sup>a</sup>-I<sup>p</sup>, Nonn.), -τρον [n.] 'police-tax' (pap. II<sup>p</sup>), -ται [m.pl.] official in Cumae (Plu.), -τικός (προ-, δια-, παρα-) 'guarding, prudent, careful' (X., Arist., Plb. etc.), -ξίς [f.] 'custody, security' (S.Fr. 432, E. etc.), -γμα (προ-) [n.] 'commandment, protection' (LXX etc.). 12. φυλακίζω 'to take in custody, throw into prison' (LXX, Act. Ap.). 13. -φυλακέω, productive to compounds in -φύλαξ, e.g. τειχοφυλακέω 'to guard the wall' (D. H., Plu. etc.) from τειχοφύλαξ (Hdt., Plu. etc.).

•ETYM Without a convincing etymology. As the suffix -αξ indicates, the word may well be Pre-Greek.

**φῦλή** [f.] as an administrative notion 'tribe, group of tribes, community', thence also 'army-unit furnished by a group of tribes or community' (IA). <IE *\*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>u-* 'arise, be', > *\*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>u-(s)l-*>

•VAR φῦλον [n.] 'tribe, family, generation, kind' (Il.).

•COMP φυλοβασιλεύς 'principal of a phyle' (Arist., inscr. etc.), φυλοκρινέω [v.] 'to make tribal distinctions, select by phyle' (Th., Arist. etc.), as if from \*φυλοκρινής.

Often as a second member, e.g. πάμφυλος 'consisting of all races' (Pl., Ar., etc.), whence Πάμφυλία [f.] land on the coast of Asia Minor (Hellenized foreign word?), Πάμφυλοι [m.pl.] name of one of the Dorian phylae (Hdt., Cos, Epid., Argos); τρίφυλος 'consisting of three phyles, amounting to three phyles' (Hdt., D. H.), Τριφυλία [f.] coastal land of Elis.

•DER 1. φυλέτης [m.] 'member of (one and the same) phyle, fellow-tribesman' (Att.), συμ- 'id.' (Methymna, 1 *Ep. Thess.*), from φύλον, but referring to φυλή; thence φυλετικός [adj.] 'belonging to a phyle-member, consisting of phyle-members' (Pl., Arist., etc.), -ετεύω [v.] 'to make φυλέτης, to adopt into the phyle' (Arist.); -έτις ἐκκλησία = Lat. *comitia tributa* (App.). 2. φύλιοι θεοί 'the gods of the phyle' (Poll.). 3. -ώδης 'consisting of several φύλα' (D. S.). Also PNs, e.g. φυλοδάμας, Φύλας, Φυλεύς.

•ETYM Old derivative from φῦναι, with a suffix -(s)l-. For further etymology, see ►φύομαι.

**φύλια** [f.] name of a tree, probably a kind of wild olive (ε 477 = Nonn. 5, 474 beside ἐλαίη, Paus. 2, 32, 10 beside κότινος and ἔλαιος; Philostr. beside κόπινος, Ammon. *Diff.*); beside εἶδος ἀγριελαίας, H. also mentions the meaning (εἶδος) συκῆς and εἶδος δένδρου ὁμοιον πρίνῳ. ◀?▶

•VAR Ion. -ίη.

•DER Φυλιαδών, -δόνος name of a town in Phthiotis (*IG* 9(2), 205: 13).

•ETYM Without etymology. Fur.: 367 compares ►φιλύκη, also φυλίκη (v.l. Thphr. *HP* 1, 9, 3).

**φύλλον** [n.] 'leaf' (Il.), also as a designation of plants with conspicuous leaves, and of leaflike parts of plants (Hp., Thphr., Dsc., pap.). ◀IE \*b<sup>h</sup>el-, b<sup>h</sup>lh<sub>3</sub>- (?) 'leaf, blossom'▶

•COMP φυλλοφόρος 'bearing leaves' (Pi., etc.), τρίφυλλον [n.] 'trefoil, clover' (IA), substantivized from τρίφυλλος 'three-leaved' (Dsc., H.).

•DER 1. Diminutive φύλλιον [n.] (Pl. Com. etc.), -άριον [n.] (Dsc. etc.), also 'leaf-ornament' (Delos II<sup>a</sup>). 2. φυλλ-άς, -άδος [f.] 'heap of leaves, foliage, leafy grove' (Hdt., trag., D. S., Str. etc.), adjective 'leafy' (Nonn.), also name of the island Samos. 3. φυλλ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'foliage' (Gr.), also = -ίτις (Ps.-Dsc.). 4. φυλλιάς ἐκ λαχάνων ὑπότριμμα τι σκευαζόμενον. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ θρία (H.). 5. φυλλ-εῖα [n.pl.] 'herbs' (Ar.). 6. -ίτης (ἀγών) = -ίνης (sch.), -ίτις [f.] plant-name 'hart's tongue' (Dsc.). 7. -ινος 'made of leaves' (Theoc., Luc.), -ίνης (ἀγών) [m.] 'contest where the prize consists of a wreath' (Poll., H.), also -ιναιος ἀγών (*EM*). 8. φυλλ-ικός 'belonging to a leaf, leaf-like' (Thphr.). 9. -ώδης 'id.' (Thphr.). 10. month name -ικός (Thessal.), -ιών (Iasos). Verbs: 11. φυλλ-όμαι [v.] 'to be dressed with leaves' (Hp.), -ώματα [n.pl.] 'foliage' (D. S.). 12. φυλλ-ίζω [v.] 'to defoliate' (Gr.), with ἀπο- 'id.' (Thphr. etc.), with ἐμ- 'to engraff', -ισμός (Gr.), with ἐπι- 'to glean in a vineyard', metaphorically of a petty job (LXX), -ίς 'gleaned grape' (LXX, AP), metaphorically of the verses of epigones (Ar.). 13. φυλλάζω *frondesco* (gloss.). 14. φυλλ-ιάω in -ιόωσαι [ptc.pl.f.] 'to run to leaf (without fruit)' (Arat.). 15. φυλλεῖν ἀδολεσχεῖν (H.), of useless bragging, cf. 14.

•ETYM Possibly connected to Lat. *folium* 'leaf' as PIE \*b<sup>h</sup>ol-io-, though the vowels do not seem to match. Vine 1999b: 564ff. explains this by assuming \*o > u (Cowgill's Law) in the specific environment \*-oli- > \*-uli-. Quite a different formation with

suffix -t- is found in Germanic, Tocharian and Celtic: OHG *blat*, MoHG *Blatt*, etc., ToA *pält*, ToB *pilta* 'leaf, all with zero-grade, and Celt., e.g. MIr. *bláth* 'blossom, flower' < \*b<sup>h</sup>lō-tu-, OHG *bluot* 'flowering, blossom', etc. with full grade. See Beekes 1990: 375-381. A laryngeal may have been lost before yod in PIE \*b<sup>h</sup>ol(H)-io-, which would enable comparison with the root \*b<sup>h</sup>lh<sub>3</sub>-.

**φύλοπις, -ιδος** [f.] 'battle' (Il., epic; thence also in S., Ar., Theoc.). ◀PG▶

•VAR Acc. -ίδα, but also -iv.

•ETYM Epic word only, without etymology. In antiquity, it was interpreted as a compound from φύλον and ὄπα (ὄσσα) 'voice', which convinces neither semantically nor formally (one would have expected \*φυλωπις). For understandable reasons, modern scholars compare φύλον too, with different interpretations of the second member: to *op-* in Lat. *ops, opus*; to ὄπις 'bad look', i.e. 'enmity'; from \*φυλλο-λοπις to λέπω 'thrash' (see Frisk); all are quite hypothetical. The length of the ū can be metrically conditioned. No doubt a Pre-Greek word (but the comparisons in Fur.: 163 are not convincing).

**φύξηλις** = φεύγω.

**φύομαι** [v.] intr. med. 'to grow, arise, spring up, become', perf. (and aor.) 'to exist or be endowed by nature, be there', trans. act. (factive) 'to make grow, beget, bring forth' (Il.). ◀IE \*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>u- 'grow, arise, be'▶

•VAR φύω (ἐμφύνω Hdn. Gr.), aor.intr. φῦναι, late φυῆναι, trans. φύσαι (Il.), fut. φύσομαι, late φυήσομαι, φύσω, perf. intr. πέφυκα, epic also 3pl. πεφύασι, ptc. πεφύωτας, etc.

•DIAL Myc. *pu-te, pu-te-re* /p<sup>h</sup>uter-es/, *pu-ta-ri-ja* (interpretation not certain).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, περι-, προσ-, συν-. As a first member in ►φυσιζοος.

•DER 1. φύη, Dor. -ά [f.] 'growth, stature, nature, being' (Il., epic poet., also late prose); also from the prefixed verbs, e.g. διαφυή 'joint, space between, layer, etc.' (Pl., X., Thphr., etc.); as a second member -φυής, e.g. μεγαλο-φυής 'of a great, noble nature' (Hell.+), -φυῖα [f.] (Iamb. etc.); also e.g. προσφυής 'grown, attached, fitting' (Od.); as a noun fem. -φύας, e.g. ἀποφύας, -άδος 'outgrowth, appendage' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.); hence the simplex φύος· φύτευμα, γέννημα (H.).

2. φύμα [n.] 'growth, tumour, swelling' (IA, etc.), also ἐκ-, παρά-, πρόσ-, from ἐκφῦναι, etc. Thence -μάτιον, -ματίας, -ματώδης, -ματόομαι (Hp.). 3. φύτλη, Dor. -α [f.] 'lineage, race' (Pi., AP, Orph.), -τλον [n.] 'plant' (epigr. Nicomedia); probably for -θλη, -θλον; furthermore φύτρα· φύσις, οἱ δὲ φυτήρια (H.). 4. φύσις [f.] 'growth, character, descent, nature, being, etc.' (κ 303), also ἀπό-, ἐκ-, σύμ-, etc. from ἀποφῦναι, etc.; as a first member e.g. in φυσιολόγος [m.] 'naturalist, natural philosopher', -λογία, -λογέω, -λογικός (Arist., etc.). Hence φυσ-ικός 'belonging to nature, naturalist, physical, physician' (X. *Mem.* 3, 9, 1, Arist., etc.), -ιμος 'fit for growing, breeding' (Thphr.), -ιόομαι [v.] in πεφυσισμένος 'rooted' (Arist.), -ίωμα, -ίωσις 'natural tendency, habitude' (Hell.+); also ἐμφυσίω [v.] 'to implant, infuse, inspire' (Hp., X., LXX etc.) (see ►φῦσα)? 5. φῦτός 'grown by nature' (Pi.), 'planted' (LXX), in compounds, e.g. νεόφυτος 'newly planted' (Ar. *Fr.* 828, LXX, Hell.+); also



act. in ἐλαιό-φυτος etc. (A. etc.); from the prefixed verbs, e.g. σύμφυτος 'grown together with, grown on, overgrown, innate' (Pi., IA).

6. φυτόν [n.] 'growth, plant' (Il.). Hence several derivatives: φυτ-άς [f.] = -όν (Plu.), diminutive -άριον [n.] (Ar. Byz., Ath. etc.), -ιος 'begetting' (late), -ικός 'belonging to plants' (Arist. etc.), -ιαῖοι ὄρχοι (inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>), -ώδης 'plant-like' (Erot.), -ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'plantation' (Hdn.), -εῦω 'to plant, plan' (Od.), also δια-, ἐπι-, κατα-, παρα-, etc. Thence -εῖα, -εῦμα, -εῦσις, -εὔσιμος, -εὔτος, -εὔτης, -εὔτηριον, -εὔτικός. With enlargement -λ-: φυταλ-ία, Ion. -ιή [f.] 'plantation, orchard, vineyard' (Il., Hell.), 'time of plantation' (Hp., Gal.), Φυτάλιος epithet of Poseidon, of Zeus, etc. (Corn., Orph., Poll.), Φυταλίδαι [m.pl.] Attic lineage with the eponym Φύταλος. With a combination of suffixes φυτάλμιος, epithet of parents, of Poseidon, of Zeus, etc. 'begetting, feeding, by birth' (trag., Hell.+); formation unclear. 7. See ►φυλή, -ον, and 8. ►φῆτυ.

•ETYM The whole verbal system is built on the primary intransitive aorist φῦναι, ἔφυν. As an innovation, the factitive sigmatic aorist φῦσαι, ἔφῦσα arose, after ἔστην : ἔστησα, ἔβην : ἔβησα, ἔδυν : ἔδυσσα, etc. Then, the presentic and future forms φύομαι, φύω, φύσομαι, φύσω followed.

The transitive/factitive forms have always been much less prominent than the old intransitive ones. The perfect, though in principle old, was influenced by the aorist, too. Several of the nouns may have PIE roots, too. Cognates of the aorist ἔφυν: Skt. *ābhūt* 'he became' < PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>é-b<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-t* with metathesis of *\*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>u-* to *\*b<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-*, OCS aor. 23sg. *by*, OLith. *bu*, Lat. *fui* (OLat. *fui*), etc. The perfect πέφυκα, πεφύασι agrees with Skt. *babhūva*, but in both cases we have probably innovations against older Av. *buuāuuva* < PIIr. *\*b<sup>h</sup>ub<sup>h</sup>aHua*. Cognate forms or parallel formations of the nouns: φύμα = Skt. *bhūman-* [n.] 'earth, world, being', Alb. *bimë* 'plant'; φυτόν = OIr. *both* 'cabin', all with a short *ū* from *\*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>u-to-*, as against the long vowel in Skt. *bhūtā-* [n.] 'being, creature, past time' (after metathesis), Ru. *byt* 'being, way of life'. Further, φύσις (with -ῶ-) stands beside Skt. *bhūti-*, *bhūti-* 'prosperity, power, riches'.

Kortlandt demonstrated that the root had the form *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>u-*, Kortlandt 1975: 3; Kortlandt *Ēriu* 37 (1986): 90f.; a summary in Lubotsky 1995: 224ff.

φύρκος = πύργος.

φύρω [v.] 'to mingle, confuse, mix up, wet, besmear' (Hom.). <PG?>

•VAR Ipf. ἔφυρον (Il.), aor.subj. φύρω (σ 21), inf. φύρσαι (A. R.), ptc.med. φυρσάμενος (Nic.), pass. ἐφύρθην (A. [lyr.], LXX), late ἐφύρην (J., Luc.), ind. 3sg. ἔφῦρε (AP), ptc. φύρας (Luc.), fut. φύρω (Pi.), perf. med. πέφυρμαι, especially ptc. πεφυρμένος (Od.), with fut. πεφύρσεσθαι (Pi.).

•COMP Also with συν-, ἀνα-, ἐν-, etc.

•DER Deverbative φυράω 'to mix (up), knead, stir in' (IA), aor. φυράσαι, Ion. -ῆσαι, -άσασθαι, -ήσασθαι, -αθῆναι, -ιθῆναι, fut. -άσω, -ήσω, perf. med. πεφύρᾱμαι, -ιῆμαι; act.inf. -ακέναι (Cic.); also with συν-, ἀνα-, προ- etc.

From φύρω: 1. φύρδην [adv.] 'mingled, mixed up' (A., S., X. Plb., etc.), Dor. -δᾶν (S. [lyr.]). 2. φύρμα [n.] 'slime, filth, dung' (Nic.). 3. -μός [m.] 'mixture, confusion, disorder' (D. S., M. Ant. etc.); hence φυρμάται· πτάρνυται (H.)? 4. φύρ-σις [f.] 'the

mixing (up)' (sch.), -σιμος 'mixed up?', 'kneadable?' (Nic.). 5. φυρτός as a simplex in φυρτοῖσιν ... πεφυρμένοις (H.), in compounds, e.g. αἰμόφυρτος (Plb., Posid.), αἰματόφυρτος (AP) 'besmeared with blood'; hence φυρτίτης (-ήτης cod.)· οἶνος (H.), φυρτίζεσθαι· τὸ παίζειν συνεστραμμένοις φυροῖς τοῖς ἱματίοις (H.). 6. In φυρό-χρωμος 'mixed color, dirt-color' vel sim., of a cow (pap. II<sup>p</sup>), shortened φυρά, of βοῦς (pap. IV<sup>p</sup>); also φυροῖ· μολύνει, ῥυποῖ 'soils, defiles' (H.).

From φυράω: 1. φύραμα (προ-, ἐμ-) [n.] 'mix, dough' (com. IV<sup>a</sup>, Arist., Hell.+), -αματικά = κονιατικά 'plastering-work' (late). 2. -ασίς, -ήσις [f.] 'mixture' (LXX, late medic.), -ατής [m.] 'mixer', metaphorically 'untidy accountant' (Cic., gloss.), meaning doubtful (inscr. Ephesus), -ατός 'kneaded' (Sor.).

•ETYM Frisk still assumes a *yod*-present *\*φῦρ-ιω* as a derivative of a noun *φῦρ-*, or a zero grade verbal stem *φῦρ-* beside a hypothetical full grade *\*φερ-*. Yet, such ablaut is now generally abandoned for Greek. An IE etymology seems impossible, so it is more probably a Pre-Greek word (note the semantic sphere). Formally, φύρω might be connected with ►πορφύρω 'to well up, heave', which could be reduplicated, but the semantics would be unclear; semantically, it could be connected with ►φορόνομαι, which would also point to irregular ablaut.

φῦσα [f.] 'breath', bellows' (mostly pl.), 'bladder, flatulence' (Il.), also metaphorically of a fire gushing forth (*h. Merc.* 114), 'crater of a volcano' (Str.); name of a fish in the Nile (Str., Ath.), cf. below on φύσαλος, <PG?>

•VAR Acc. -ην (Suid.).

•COMP φουσοειδής 'bladder-like' (sch.), ἄφυσος 'without flatulence' (medic.).

•DER 1. Diminutive φυσ-άριον [n.] 'small bladder' (late medic.). 2. adjectives -ώδης 'flatulent, windy' (Hp., Pl., Arist. etc.), -αλέος 'windy' (Cerc., Nonn.). 3. -αλος [m.] 'kind of toad' (Luc.), 'Tetradon' (Ael.), 'kind of whale' (Opp., Ael.). 4. -αλλίς, -ίδος [f.] 'bladder, water-bubble' (Luc.), 'kind of pipe' (Ar.), 'pill' (late), also name of a plant (Ps.-Dsc. etc.), after the blather-like fruit-cover. 5. φύσιγξ, -ιγγος [f.] 'stalk of a garlic, garlic' (Hp., Thphr. etc.), also 'bladder' (Poll.); φουσιγγίομαι [v.] in πεφουσιγγιωμένος 'heated by garlic' (Ar.). 6. φύσκη [f.] 'intestine, sausage' (com.), diminutive -ιον (gloss.), Φύσκων [m.] 'fat-belly', nickname (Alc. etc.); -α [f.] 'bladder, weal on the hand' (sch.). 7. φυστή μᾶζα 'inflated cake, buffer' (Ar., AP etc.), also as a noun; accent after Hdn. Gr. 8. Φυσάδεια [f.] name of a source in Argos (Call.), -ειόθεν 'from Φ'. (Antim.). 9. denominative verbs: a. φυσάω 'to blow, inflate, sniff' (Il.), aor. φυσῆσαι, etc., often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, δια-, ἐκ-, ἐν-. Thence -ημα (ἀνα-, ἐκ-, ἐν-) [n.] 'blowing, breath, wind, windiness' (IA), -ημάτιον (Arr.), ἐμ-φυσ-ηματώδης (Gal.), -ήσις (ἀνα-, etc.) [f.] 'the blowing, etc.' (Hell.+), -ητήρ [m.] 'blowpipe, bellows' (Hdt., Arist. etc.), -ητήριον (-ᾶτ-) [n.] 'pipe' (Ar. etc.), -ητής (ἐν-, λοπαδο-) [m.] 'blower' (Man., Dsc. etc.), -ήτορες ἄσκοι 'bellows' (Nonn.), -ητικός (ἐν-) 'inflating' (Hp., Arist. etc.). b. φυσιάω 'id.' (epic poet. Il.), also with ἀνα-, ἐκ-, ptc. φυσιῶν etc., a metrical transformation of φυσάω. Thence -ίαμα [n.] 'breathing, snorting' (A.). c. φυσίομαι, -όω 'to inflate' (Ep. Cor. etc.), φυσιώσις 'inflation' (Ep. Cor., medic.); also ἐμ-φυσιώω? (see under φύομαι). Verbal nouns φυσασμός (opposite ἀασμός), -ιασμός [m.] 'the blowing' (Arist.), -ακτήρ· ἄρτος ποιός τις ποπανώδης (H.). As a first member in the governing compounds Φυσίγναθος 'puff-



cheek”, joking name of a frog (Batr.), -γναθέω (Tz.). See also on the intensive ►ποιφύσσω (after the verbs in -ύσσω).

•ETYM Noun in -σα, but the exact root cannot be determined. As a pre-form, one might assume φυ-, φυσ-, φυτ- or φυκ-, but none of these can be shown to have existed in Greek. Comparisons are made with e.g. Arm. *p'uk* ‘breath, wind, fart’, plur. ‘bellows’ (but φύσα cannot derive from \*φυκ-ια), Skt. *phūtkaṛoti* ‘to make a sound *phut*’, ‘to breathe, blow, etc.’ (so φύσα < \*φυτ-ια). Further Skt. *phuphusa-* [n.] ‘lung’. One may connect Lat. *pustula* ‘bladder’, OCS *puxati* ‘blow’, Ru. *pyxát* ‘to breathe heavily, cough’ < \**pous-*, \**pūs-*, etc.

Although we may clearly start from IE material, the word may well have a Pre-Greek origin; note e.g. the suffix of φύσιγξ, and φυστή, φύσκη (Φυσάδεια is unclear). There is hardly any evidence for PIE \**b<sup>h</sup>us-* (not in mentioned in Pok.); on \**p<sup>h</sup>us-* (with a phoneme *p<sup>h</sup>-* that is now abandoned), see Pok. 878.

φύσαλος, φύσιγξ ⇒ φύσα.

φυσίζοος ⇒ ζειαί.

φύω ⇒ φύομαι.

φώγω [v.] ‘to roast, fry’ (Epich.). <IE \**b<sup>h</sup>eHg-* ‘bake’>

•VAR φάζω (Stratt., Hp.), φωγύνω (Suid.), codd. -γύνω; φωγύνναι (Eust., EM), φώγνυται (Dsc.), aor. ἔφωξα (Hp., Nic.), ἔφωσα (Hp.), pass. ἐφώχθην, also with προ- (Dsc., Aret.), perf. med. (ὑπο-)πεφωγμένος (Pherecr., Dsc.), πέφωσμαι (Hp.), verbal adj. φωκτός (Nic., Dsc.).

•DER φώγανον [n.] ‘vessel for roasting barley’ = φρύγετρον (Poll.), φῶξις [f.] ‘the roasting’ (Gal.), φῶκται [pl.] ‘roasted barley-grains’ (Luc.).

•ETYM May be compared with a Germanic verb for ‘bake, roast’ in ON *baka*, OHG *bahhan*, pret. *buoh*, MoHG *backen* under an IE ablaut \**b<sup>h</sup>oHg-* : *b<sup>h</sup>Hg-*. LIV<sup>2</sup> reconstructs the root as \**b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>g-*.

Doubtful combinations with OHG *bāen*, MoHG *bāhen* ‘to warm with covers’ < IE \**b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-*, MoE *bath*, MoHG *Bad* [n.] < PGm. \**baþa-* < IE *b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-to-* in Pok. 113.

φωϊδες, φοϊδες, φῶδες [f.pl.] ‘blister from burns’ (Hippon., Hp., Ar., Diocl. Fr.). <PG?>

•ETYM The basis seems to have been retained in φάα· ἐξανθήματα ἐν τῷ σώματι (H.). It recalls ►φαῦσιγξ, ►φύσα; but the connection with a IE root \**b<sup>(h)</sup>u-*, \**b<sup>(h)</sup>eu-* ‘to blow (up), swell’ in Pok. 98ff. does not help for the Greek forms. Cf. also ►φώκη. Since IE origin is quite doubtful, is it perhaps Pre-Greek?

φώκη [f.] ‘seal’ (Od., Hdt., Ar.). <PG?>

•DER φώκαινα [f.] a dolphin-like sea-animal, ‘bottle nose dolphin?’ (Arist.), after φάλλαινα; φῶκος· κήτος θαλάσσιον ὅμοιον δελφίνι ‘sea-monster like a dolphin’ (H.); φωκίς [f.] name of a fish (Gal.); also ‘kind of pear’ (Thphr., Ath.), after its shape?

•ETYM Isolated. The connection with ►φύσα, mentioned by Frisk, makes little sense. The word, designating a sea-animal, may well be Pre-Greek.

φωλεός [m.] ‘lair, hole of wild animals’ (Arist., Hell.+). <PG(S)>

•VAR Epic gen. -ειοῦ, dat.pl. -ειοῖς (metrical lengthening), plur. also -εά (Nic.). Also -εά [f.] (Arist.).

•DER 1. Diminutive φωλ-ίον [n.] (Poll.). 2. -άς, -άδος ‘lying in a lair’ (Theoc., AP), ‘consisting of a hole, full of holes’ (Babr., Nonn.), also name of a mussel (Ath.). 3. φωλ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] a fish, ‘hole-fish’ (Arist.). 4. φωλαῖδες· ὁστράκινά τινα βρωμώδη (H.). 5. -εώδης(?) ‘hole-like’ (Plu.).

Verbs: 6. φωλεύω [v.] ‘to live in a hole, hibernate’ (Arist., Thphr., Theoc., Ph., Plu., etc.), also with ἐν-, ὑπο-; φωλ-εῖα [f.] ‘dwelling in a hole, hibernation’, -ευσίς [f.] ‘id.’ (Ael.). 7. φωλ-έω ‘id.’ (Arist.), φωλητήρ· ὁ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καθεζόμενος αἰεὶ ‘sitting at the same place all the time’ (H.), -ιγήριον [n.] ‘place for secret assemblies’ (Poll., H.). 8. φωλάζει· ἐμφωλεύει (H.).

•ETYM Formation like the synonymous γωλεός, εἰλεός, beside φωλεά like στελεός to -εά. Like γωλεός, it is only attested in the post-classical period. Frisk mentions ON *ból* < PGm. \**bōla-* [n.] ‘layer, nest of animals’, OSw. *böle* [n.] < \**bōlia-* ‘beaverhut’, which he considers as a lengthened grade of φῶλ-, but such ablaut schemes are now rejected. The ending -εος looks Pre-Greek; see *Pre-Greek*, suffixes 6. -αι/ε(ι)-.

φωνή [f.] ‘sound of humans and animals, tone, voice, pronunciation, discourse, speech, uttering’ (Il.). <IE \**b<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>2</sub>-neh<sub>2</sub>* ‘say, voice, sound’>

•VAR Dor. -ά.

•COMP φωνασκέω [v.] ‘to train one’s voice, i.e. to sound loudly, make much noise as a speaker’ (Pl., D., Arist., etc.), -ασκία [f.] (D., Thphr.), -ασκός [m.] ‘master of speech or songs’ (late).

As a second member: ὁμόφωνος ‘having the same voice or speech, homophonous’ (IA), -φωνέω [v.] (Hdt., Arist., etc.), -φωνία [f.] (Arist., etc.); σύμ-φωνος ‘resounding simultaneously, harmonious’ (h. Merc.), whence -φωνέω, -φωνία (Att., etc.).

•DER 1. Diminutive φων-άριον [n.] (com. IV<sup>a</sup> etc.), -ίον [n.] (Arist.), -ίς [f.] (Hdn. Gr.). 2. adjectives -ήεις, Dor. -αις ‘gifted with voice, sounding’ = Lat. *vocalis* (Hes., Pi.), ποτιφωνήεις ‘capable of addressing’ (ι 456), as if from \*ποτι-φωνέω; -ικός (συμ-) = -ητικός (Hell.+).

3. Denominative verb \*φωνάω, aor. φωνᾶσαι (Pi., also Sapph.), also in IA φωνῆσαι (Il.), in Hom. προσ-, μετεφώνεον, if need be also in -εε; but further φωνέω ‘to sound, raise one’s voice, speak’ (Dor., IA), very often with prefix, e.g. προσ-, ἐπι-, ἀντι-, ἀνα-, δια-. The transition to the έω-class may have been favoured by the sound verbs in -έω as well as the numerous denominatives (decompounds) of the type ὁμοφωνέω (from ὁμόφωνος).

From φωνέω (προσ-, ἐπι-, etc.): φώνημα (προσ-, ἀνα-, ἐπι-) [n.] ‘uttering, discourse’ (S., Hell.+), -ησις (προσ-, ἀντι-, ἐκ-, etc.) [f.] ‘the sounding, speaking’ (Hell.+), -ητής (ἀνα-, ἀντι-, ἐπι-) [m.] ‘speaker, etc.’ (late), -ητήριος ‘belonging to discourse’ (Str. etc.), -ητικός (προσ-, ἀνα-, ἐπι-) ‘belonging to voice, gifted with voice’ (Hell.+).

•ETYM From the root of ►φημί with *o*-grade; compare ON *bón*, OE *bēn* < PGm. \**bōni-* ‘question’, Arm. *ban* ‘word, speech’. Because the meaning of φωνή ‘sound, voice’ is not identical to ‘saying’, Frisk prefers the connection with OCS *zvono*, Ru. *zvon* ‘sound’, and the corresponding Alb. *zë*, Gheg *zá* ‘voice’, from PIE \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>uōneh<sub>2</sub>* for φωνή, a vocalism which the other

languages do not show. Therefore, we may (with DELG) retain the connection with φημί.

**φώρ, -ρός** [m.] 'thief' (Hdt., Att.). <IE \*b<sup>h</sup>er- 'bear'>

•COMP ἀγαλματο-φῶρᾱν [acc.] 'thief of statues, temple-robber' (Elis IV<sup>a</sup>), on the formation see Schwyzler: 451 and 563, also Sommer 1948: 68<sup>1</sup>). Uncertain are ἀποφῶρας· κλέπτας and ἰσφωρες· λησταί, κλέπται. Λάκωνες 'robbers, thieves' (H.).

•DER φωρά, Ion. -ή [f.] 'theft' (h. Merc. 136, 385, Nic., Bion, Hell. inscr. and pap.); φωράω 'to search for a thief, catch a thief, metaph. 'to discover' (Att., Hell.+), aor. -ᾶσαι, fut. -άσω, late perf. πεφώρακα, also with κατα-; back-formation φῶρα [f.] 'searching, tracking-down' (Phld., D. L., Aen. Tact.), or -ά, accent uncertain, see H. φωρά· κλοπή ... φώρην δέ τὴν ἔρευναν. Also φωρίᾱν = φωρᾱν (H.).

Especially as a juridical expression ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ = ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ φωρᾷ, originally 'right at the theft', i.e. 'in the very act, overtly' (Att.); adjective αὐτόφωρος 'self-caught, self-disclosed' (S. Ant. 51, D. S., App.), to φωράω; thus also κατάφωρος 'disclosed, public' (late), to καταφωράω; hence περίφωρος (εὖ-) 'easily discovered' (Plu.).

Further derivatives (from φώρ or φωρά): φώριος 'thievish, stolen', τὰ φώρια 'stolen things', 'stealthy, secret' (Hell.+), τὸ φώριον also 'catch, discovery' (late), -ειον [n.] 'theft-penalty' (lit. pap.), -ίδιος 'stolen' (AP, Max.); superl. φώρτατος (Sophr. 1, cod. φωρό-).

•ETYM Old lengthened grade agent noun \*b<sup>h</sup>ōr, lit. 'the bearer', to the IE verb 'to bear' in ►φέρω, etc., identical with Lat. *fūr*, -ris [m.] 'thief', and formally also with Arm. *buṛn* 'hand, fist, force' (the *n*-stem is secondary like in *otn* 'foot', see ►πούς).

Inherited φώρ was pushed back and replaced by the innovations κλώψ and (especially) κλέπτης (already Il.); only the derivative φωράω remained in use. An other old word for 'thief' is petrified in the poetic adj. ►τηῦσιος.

**φωριαμός** [f.] 'chest, trunk', e.g. for keeping clothes and laundry (Ω 228, ο 104, A. R. 3, 802), the gender is only visible in the latter attestation. <PG(V)>

•ETYM Isolated poetic word, connected by Eratosth. 4 with φώριος (see ►φώρ), and in modern times derived from a verbal adj. \*φώριος 'bearable' which could be identical with Skt. *bhāryā*- 'to be born'. The formation, however, still remains to be explained. Is it a folk-etymological adaptation of a loan word, such as κιβωτός, Lat. *cista*, etc. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 133)? Fur.: 389 compares χωριαμός· κίστη (H.), which seems to prove Pre-Greek origin.

**φώς, φωτός** [m.] 'man', in trag. also of heroes (Il., epic poet.). <IE? \*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>- 'shine', ?>

•ETYM Connected with Skt. *bhās-* [n.] 'light, splendour, power' by Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 536, either as an original *s*-stem \*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-os (cf. on ►φάος), or from a *t*-stem IE \*b<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>2</sub>-t-. The idea is taken up by Peters 1993b: 101ff., but it is semantically implausible.

**φῶς** 'light'. •DER φωτεινός, φωτίζω, etc. ⇒ φάος.

**φώσσων** [m.] a coarse linen garment used in Egypt (Cratin.). <LW Eg.>

•ETYM Maybe an Egyptian loanword.

**φῶπιγξ, -ιγγος** [f., m.] Alexandrian designation of a kind of flute, the 'German' flute (Plu., Juba *apud* Ath., Ath.). <PG(S)>

•DER φωτ-ίγγιον [n.] (Posidon., Ael.).

•ETYM Formation like σῦριγξ, σάλπιγξ etc., further unclear. A connection with ►φῦσα, etc. seems impossible. The suffix is Pre-Greek.

**φῶυξ** ⇒ πῶυξ.

**φῶψ** [?] · φάος 'light' (H.). <GR>

•ETYM Probably a transformation of φῶς after another word (ῶψ and compounds?). Traditionally connected with διαφάσσω (see ►παιφάσσω, and Schwyzler: 302).

## X

**χαβίτια** [n.pl.] name of unknown vessels (pap. III<sup>a</sup>). <?>

•VAR Also -ότια (?).

•ETYM Unexplained foreign word.

**χάβος** [adj.] · κημός 'muzzle' (sch. Ar. *Eq.* 1147). <PG(V)>

•VAR Cf. χαμίων below.

•DER Besides χαβόν· καμπύλον, στενόν, also χαμión· καμπύλον (H.).

•ETYM If the variation β/μ is reliable, the word is Pre-Greek. Traditionally compared with Lat. *hāmus* 'hook, fish-hook'. If this connection is correct, the Latin word could perhaps stem from a language cognate to Pre-Greek.

**χάζομαι** [v.] 'to retreat, draw back' (epic poet. Il., also X.). <IE \**ǵʰeh₁-* 'abandon, go forth'>

•VAR Aor. χάσ(σ)ασθαι, fut. χάσ(σ)ομαι, pass. ἀποχασθῆ· ἀποθάνη (H.). Very rarely act. (almost only in H.): χάζειν· ἀναχωρεῖν, φυλάσσεσθαι; προχάζοις· προβαίνεις, ἀναποδίζοις; aor. συγχάσαι· συγχωρήσαι, ipv. ἀπόχασον· ἀποχώρησον; παράχασον· ἀναχώρησον, πρόχασον· πρόελθε; also ἀναχάζοντες (X. *An.* 4, 1,16 beside ἐπιδιώκοντες), always intr. like χάζομαι; the only exception is ἀνέχασσαν (Pi. *N.* 10, 69 [codd. ἀνέχασαν or ἀνέσχασαν]), which seems to mean 'caused to retreat'.

•COMP Often with ἀνα-, rarely with ἀπο- (λ 95, *API.*), ὑπο-, μετα- (A. R.), δια- (X.), παρα- (H.).

•ETYM It is unnecessary to posit a root χαδ- with -δ-, since the facultative epic gemination in χάσασθαι, χάσσομαι may be analogical, and the rare present χάζομαι can be explained as an innovation to the aorist. An exact agreement outside Greek is unknown. Beside the medial aor. χάσασθαι with short vowel, Old Indic has active forms with long vowel in *ahās* [3sg.], *ahāśma* [1pl.] 'to abandon, epudiate'. Ruijgh and Van Krimpen *Mnem.* 22 (1969): 113-115 assumed derivation from the root \**ǵʰeh₁-*. The -α- remains unexplained under this account, however.

**χαίνω** ⇒ χάσκω.

**χαῖος** 1 [m., n.] 'shepherd's crook' (A. R. 4, 972, Call. *Fr.* 125). <IE? \**ǵʰeh₂i-so-* (?)>

•VAR Or -ov.

•ETYM The similarity with a Celto-Germanic word for 'javelin, spear' in OIr. *gae*, OHG *gēr*, etc., which is found as a loan both in Lat. *gaesum* and in Greek ► γαῖσος, -ov, is perhaps no coincidence. We may tentatively reconstruct \**ǵʰeh₂i-so-*. However,

further connection with Skt. *hēśas-* [n.] 'missile' and Skt. *hinóti* 'to urge on, hurl' is both formally and semantically unconvincing.

**χαῖος** [adj.] 'of good descent, noble, good' vel sim. (Ar. *Lys.* 91), a Laconian form. <?>

•COMP Compar. χαῖώτερος (ibid. 1157); also χᾰός 'id.' (Theoc. 7, 5); βαθυ-χαῖος mg. unknown (A. *Supp.* 858 [lyr.], text uncertain).

•ETYM Probably belongs to ▶χάσιος · ἀγαθός, χρηστός (H.), with Laconian loss of the -σ-. Further isolated. Comparison with Gm. 'good', e.g. Go. *gōþs*, and with Alb. *zot* 'firm' is improbable. Unclear is Pok. 423.

**χαίρω** [v.] 'to rejoice' (Il.). <IE \*ǵʰer(H)- 'desire, enjoy'>

•VAR Aor. χαρῆναι (Il.), redupl. κεχάροντο, -οῖτο (Hom.), sigmat. χήρατο (Ξ 270), ἐχαίρησα (Plu.), χαίρησάμενος (pap. II<sup>p</sup>), fut. χαίρήσω (Υ 363), χαρήσομαι (Hell. and late), Dor. -ησοῦμαι (Pythag.), χαροῦμαι (LXX), redupl. κεχαρησέμεν (O 98), -ήσεται (ψ 266), perf. ptc. κεχαρηότα, -ότας (H 312, Hes. *Fr.* 77) with present mg., ind. κεχάρηκα (Hdt., Att.), κεχάρημαι (h. *Bacch.*), plpf. κεχάρητο, -ντο (Hes. *Sc.*, h. *Cer.*), κεχαρμένος (E.).

•COMP Also with ἐπι-, συν-, etc.

•DER A. From the verbal stem: 1. χαρά [f.] 'joy' (Sapph., Att.). 2. χάρις [f.] 'joy of battle, bellicosity' (Hom.), also 'battle' (Hom., Pi., Lyc.), 'joy' (Ps.-Phoc.); χαρμόφρων 'belligerent, combative' (h. *Merc.*), μενε-χάρμης, -ος 'persevering in battle' (Il.), ἵππο-χάρμης 'fighting from horseback, charioteer' (Hom.); ἵππο- for ἵππο- is metrical. 3. χάρις (ἐπι-, κατα-) [n.] 'joy, delight, object of joy' (Il., epic poet., also late prose), opposed to πῆμα. 4. χαρμονή [f.] 'joy, pleasure, delight' (S., E., Pl., X.), probably after ἡδονή, see Wyss 1954: 39), with -ικός (Procl.). 5. χαρμο-σύνη [f.] 'id.' (LXX), -συνος [adj.] 'filled with joy', -συνα [n.pl.] 'festivity' (Hdt. 3, 27). 6. χαρ-τός 'joyous, delectable' (Archil., Att.), with ἐπί- 'id.', also 'gloating' (Att.), -χάρτης 'id.' (com. V<sup>a</sup>); on -χαρτος in PNs (e.g. Δαμό-χαρτος) see Bechtel 1917a: 17f. 7. -χαρής derived from the prefixed verbs (after χαρῆναι): ἐπι-, περι-, προ-, ὑπερ-χαρής 'delighting, filled with joy, raptured, etc.' (IA); as a second member extremely productive in late Greek, especially in poetry, e.g. ὀπλο-, μουσο-χαρής; likewise in PNs like Θυμο-χαρής, Χάρης, -ητος.

B. From the present stem: 1. χαίρ-ιδών, -όνος [f.] = χαρά (Ar. *Ach.* 4), like ἀλγιδών. 2. χαίρ-οσύνη [f.] = χαρά (epigr. Marathon II<sup>p</sup>, H.). 3. χαίρητικός 'happy, cheerful' (Vett. Val.). 4. χαίρετιζώ 'to say χαίρετε, to greet', with -τισμός [m.] 'greeting, attendance' (Plb., LXX); cf. αἰρετιζώ. 5. As a first member in PNs, e.g. Χαίρο-κλῆς, Χαίρε-κράτης, to which short names like Χαίρύλος. 6. χαίρε-κακέω, -κακία, -κακος are rare and late for ἐπιχαίρε-κακέω (etc.) 'to be gloating' (Arist., com. IV<sup>a</sup>), cf. ἐπίχαρτος above.

Independent of the verb is the old substantive χάρις, gen. -ιτος, acc. -ιν [f.] 'grace, beauty, delight, boon, gratefulness, thanks', also personified plur. 'the Graces' (Il.). Compounds, e.g. χαρι-δότης (Dor. [Cyrene] -ας) [m.] epithet of Hermes, Dionysus, Zeus (h. *Hom.*), PNs like Χαρι-γένης, χαριτο-βλέφαρος 'with gracious eyes (eyelids)' (Eub., Att. epigr.); ἄ-χαρις 'without grace, unpleasant, disagreeable' (Thgn., Sapph., Hdt., trag.), also ἄ-χαρι-τος 'id.' (Hdt., E.); in the same mg. (from χαρίζομαι) ἄ-

χάριστος (θ 236), compar. ἀχαρίστερος (υ 392) for ἀχαριστότερος), with -έω, -ία (Att.); opposite εὖ-χαρις, -τος, -στος with -έω, -ία; ἐπί-χαρις 'attractive, charming' (Att. since A.).

From χάρις: 1. χαρί-εις 'attractive, charming' (Il.), χαριτό-εις 'id.' (Anacr.), also χάρι-τος = Lat. *gratus* (?) (Nysa I<sup>a</sup>, letter of a proconsul). 2. χαρ-ίσιος 'accompanied by χάρις, filled with χάρις' (Arist., Call. *Fr.* 193, late), also a cake (com.), after ἀφροδίσιος, etc. 3. χαριτ-ήσιον [n.] 'thank-offering' (late), 'spell of love' (PMag.), -ήσια [n.pl.] 'festival honouring the Charites' (Boeot.), after φιλοτήσιος, etc., also -ώσιος (Ibyc., Rhegin.) like ἀνακ-ώσιος etc., see Chantraine 1933: 42. 4. χαριτ-ία [f.] 'delightful jest, joke' (X. *Cyr.* 2, 2, 13), enlargement in -ία (see Scheller 1951: 38).

Denominative verbs: 5. χαρίζομαι (-ίζω) 'to be attentive to sbd., bestow a favour or service on sbd., to give (cheerfully), etc.' (Il.), also with ἀντι-, ἐπι-, κατα-, προσ-, etc., with χάρισμα (εὖ-, ἀπο-) [n.] 'grace, favour' (late), -ισμός [m.] 'id.' (late and rare), -ιστεῖον [n.] 'thank-offering' (Thera, Cnidos), -ιστήριον [n.] 'id.', with -ιστήριος 'belonging to the thank-offering' (X., Hell. and late), -ιστικός 'generous' (Democr., Aristes). 6. χαριτ-όομαι 'to be favoured, blessed', -όω 'to favour, bless' (LXX, NT). χαροπός epithet of animals of prey, of people, of the sea, etc., esp. referring to the eyes and the cool blue-gray eye-color, 'fierce, wild, cold' vel sim. (since λ 611), with -ότης [f.] (Hell. and late); also (ἐπι-)χάροψ 'id.' (Opp., pap. II<sup>p</sup>).

Extensive discussion of χαίρω and derivatives, χάρις and χαροπός in Homer in Latacz 1966: 20ff.

•ETYM χάρις is a zero grade ι-stem, a type found in ῥάρις and in the adverbs ἄλις and πάλιν. A *yod*-present like in χαίρω is found in Skt. *hāryati* 'to find pleasure, enjoy, like' < full grade \*ǵʰer-je-, and in Italic, e.g. U *heries* [2sg.fut.] 'volēs', OLat. *horitur* 'to urge, exhort' (Enn.). In other languages, we find several isolated nouns that belong here too: in Germanic, e.g. OHG *ger* 'desiring, longing' with *gerōn* 'to desire' and the widespread *n*-derivative in OHG *gern* 'desirous, eager', Go. *faihu-gairns* 'φιλάργυρος', etc., adverb OHG *gerno* 'gladly', etc. Lubotsky *IJ* 32 (1989): 107 thinks the root was *sef* because of Skt. *harayanta* (RV 4, 37, 2) < \*ǵʰorH-eie-. This nicely explains the Greek *a*-vocalism.

A lengthened grade \*ǵʰēr-i- is continued in Arm. *jir* 'gift, mercy, favour', adverb *jri* 'for free' (see Clackson 1994: 180f.), a full grade in Av. *zara-* [m.] 'ambition, goal'. The connection of ToB *kartse*, acc. *krent* 'good' must be left aside, as the interpretation of the the To. word is ambiguous (cf. Adams 1999: 146f. Within Greek, εὖ-, ▶δυσχερής is related.

**χαίτη** [f.] 'curly hair, loose flowing hair, horse's mane' (Il., epic poet.), also 'lion's mane' (E., Arist.), metaph. 'leaves, foliage' (Theoc., Call., Str.), 'crest' (Plu.). <IE \*ǵʰeh<sub>2</sub>it- (?) 'curly hair'>

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. κυανο-χαίτης 'with dark hair', especially of Poseidon, 'black-maned' (Il., epic); on the voc. κυανο-χαῖτα in nominative function see Risch 1954: 389ff.

•DER χαίτηεις (shortened -έεις), Dor. -άεις 'with long hair, with a long mane' (Pi., Semon., A. R.), also of plants 'rich in leaves' (Nic.); χαίτ-ωμα [n.] 'crest' (A. *Th.* 385), poetical enlargement, see Chantraine 1933: 186. Hypostasis ἀναχαιτ-ίζω [v.] 'to cast

(the horseman) over the mane, to throw the mane back, overthrow, revolt, rebel, block' (S. Fr. 179, E., D., Hell. and late), with -σις, -ισμα, -ισμός 'barricade, obstruction' (late).

•ETYM Old word for 'hair, mane' with close cognates in Iranian and Celtic: Av. *gaēsa-* [m.] 'curly hair', *gaēsu-* 'curly haired', MoP *gēs* 'hair that hangs down, curls', Mlr. *gaīset* [f.] 'bristly hair'. Both groups continue an *s*-stem. Normal laryngealistic reconstruction requires a full grade *\*g<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>it-*, which is a rather awkward vocalization of the root. This is all the more problematic, as the word definitely seems IE. Or do we have to assume *\*g<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>eit-*?

**χαλάδριον** [n.] 'low bed, mattress' (pap. IIP). <PG(y)>

•VAR χελ- (pap. IIP), -τριον (pap. VIP); κεχαλατρίωμενον (πλοῖον) 'furnished with χ.' (pap. IIP). As a variant, χάλανδρον· κράββατον (H.) also belongs here: the -v- is the typical Pre-Greek prenasalization; it is no doubt authentic. Also χελάδριον (POxy. IIP).

•ETYM The gloss of Hesychius shows that this is a Pre-Greek word, and that it has nothing to do with the verb ► χαλάω; see Fur.: 185, 290, 352.

**χάλανδρον** = χαλάδριον.

**χάλαζα** [f.] 'hail' (Il.); also 'pimple, tubercle, grain, knot, knob' (Arist., Thphr., Gal., etc.). <IE? *\*g<sup>h</sup>lh<sub>2</sub>-d-* 'hail, hoarfrost'>

•COMP As a first member in χαλαζ-επής 'whose words fall like hail' (AP, of Hipponax).

•DER 1. Diminutive χαλάζιον [n.] 'granule, etc.' (medic.). 2. χαλαζ-ήεις (Dor. -άεις) 'hail-like' (Pi., AP, Nonn.), also of σκορπίος (Nic.), χαλάζιος epithet of Zeus, of Apollo (Cyzicus), 'full of knots' (comm. Hp. VII<sup>p</sup>), name of a hail-like stone (Orph.); χαλαζίας (Plin.), -ίτης (late), see Redard 1949: 63, χαλαζ-αῖος 'hail-like, mixed with hail', of νιφετός (Nonn.), 'full of knots, knobs', of φηγός (Opp.), -ώδης 'hail-like, full of hail, full of pimples, granular' (Hp., Arist., etc.). 3. χαλαζ-άω [v.] 'to hail' (Com. Adesp., Luc.), 'to suffer from pimples' (Ar. Eq. 381, Arist.), also with ἐπι-, κατα-; -ιάω 'id.' (late medic.); -ωσις [f.] 'formation of pimples or granules' (Gal.).

•ETYM Formed with the feminine suffix -ια- from a stem ending in dental, found in Slavic: Polab. *zlād* 'hail', Pol. *złód* 'glaze', etc. <PSl. *\*želd-*; often found with a velar extension, e.g. OCS *žlédica* 'glazed frost', Ru. *oželédica* 'id., fringe of ice on the snow'. In order to combine the Greek word, we have to posit a root *\*g<sup>h</sup>lh<sub>2</sub>-d-* and assume that the Greek form continues the full grade of the suffix, so *\*g<sup>h</sup>lh<sub>2</sub>-ed-*, where Slavic points to *\*g<sup>h</sup>elH-d-*. The latter form is also found in Iranian: MoP *žāla* 'hail, hoarfrost' <PIr. *\*žarda-* <IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>elH<sub>2</sub>-d-*.

**χαλάω** [v.] 'to slacken' trans. and intr., 'to lower, let down, relax, loosen; to open, be open' (Att.). <?>

•VAR Ptc. χαλαίνοντες (Hes. Sc. 308), Aeol. 3pl. χόλαισι (Alc.), see Hamm 1957: 57a 3, 228a), aor. χαλάσ(σ)αι, -άσασθαι (h. Ap.), -άξαι (Pi.), pass. -ασθῆναι (A. Pr. 991, Pl.), fut. -άσω (Hp.), perf. κεχάλασμαι.

•COMP Also with δια-, ἐπι-, παρα-, ἀνα-, etc. As a first member in χαλί-φρων 'with a feeble mind, thoughtless' (Od., AP), whence -φρονέω (ψ 13), -φροσύνη (π 310), like δαΐ-φρων, etc.; χαλαί-πους epithet of Ἡφαιστος (Nic. Th. 458), like παλαι- in compounds, μαι-φόνος, etc.; χαλα-τονέω [v.] 'to slacken, become loose' (late), like ταλα-; on the form of the first member see Schwyzler: 448.

•DER 1. χάλασις (δια-, ὑπο-) [f.] 'slackening, relaxing' (Hp., Pl.). 2. χάλασμα (δια-) [n.] 'slackened condition, relaxation, gap in the line of battle, etc.' (Hell. and late), 'border of a field' (Hell. pap.), -σμάτιον (παρα-) [n.] 'slight slackening (in a rope)' (Hero). 3. χαλασμός (ἀνα-) [m.] = χάλασις (late medic.). 4. χάλαστήρια (scil. σχοινία) [n.pl.] 'rope for lowering a portcullis' (App.). 5. χαλαστόν [n.] 'festoon, chain' (LXX, pap.). 6. χαλαστικός (ἀνα-) 'slackening, relaxing, loosening, removing' (late). 7. See ► χαλάδριον.

On itself stands χαλαρός (ἐπι-, ὑπο-) 'slackened, flaccid, loose, lax' (Hp., Att.), with -αρότης (X., Gall.), -αρόμαι (Erot.). Here probably also belongs the PN Χαλακίας (Thess. I<sup>a</sup>); cf. Dor. χαλάξαι (Pi.) and Bechtel 1917a: 46f.

•ETYM The pair χαλάσ(σ)αι : χαλαρός goes like ταλάσσαι : τάλαιος, λαγάσ(σ)αι : λαγαρός, ἰλάσ(σ)ασθαι : ἰλαρός, etc.

Etymology unknown. It seems that the aorist χαλάσ(σ)αι (innovated presents χαλάω, -αίνω) is a primary formation. The connection with Arm. *xal* 'game', *xalam* 'to play' by Meillet 1936: 36 would require IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>-*, and should therefore be abandoned.

**χαλβάνη** [f.] 'resin of the all-heal', obtained out of the root of some oriental (Persian, Syrian) umbelliferous plant of the genus *Ferula*; also a designation of the plant itself (Thphr., etc.). <LW Sem.>

•DER χαλβαν-ίς, -ίδος and -όεσσα 'belonging to the ferula' (Nic.), of ῥίζα.

•ETYM From Hebr. *helbanā* 'id.'; more details in E. Masson 1967: 60. Borrowed as Lat. *galbanum* (WH s.v.). Cf. Fur.: 139.

**χαλεπός** [adj.] 'heavy, difficult, harsh, severe, troublesome, dangerous' (Il.). <PG?>

•COMP παγ-χαλεπός 'very heavy, angry, etc.' (Att.).

•DER χαλεπ-ότης [f.] 'difficulty, hardness, severity, etc.' (Att.); -ήρης = χαλεπός (Mimn.); χαλεπαίνω 'to be evil or mischievous, to be harsh, etc., to rage' (Il.), rarely with ἀντι-, συν- etc.; χαλέπτω 'to treat harshly, enrage', also 'to rage' (δ 423, Hes. Op. 5, etc.), med. -πτομαι, -ψασθαι 'to rage' (Hell. and late epic, also late prose), -φθῆναι 'id.' (Thgn. 155 [v.l.], S. Ichn. 328 [lyr.], Com. Adesp.), with χαλεπτύς χαλεπότης (H.), after other nouns in -τύς (cf. Benveniste 1948: 73).

•ETYM Unexplained. Is the word Pre-Greek?

**χαλία** [f.] · ἡσυχία (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**χαλίδιον** [adj.] · πινάκιον (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unknown.

**χαλιμάς, -άδος** [f.] 'wild, lecherous woman', also an epithet of the Βάκχαι (A. Fr. 448 = 719f. M. [vv.ll. χαλιμάς, χαλίδας], H., Suid. [codd. -ίμα], EM, Eust.). <PG?>

•DER χαλιμάζειν (v.l. -ικάζειν) = τὸ ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἀνίστασθαι πρὸς συνουσίαν καὶ ὑποστέλλειν (EM, Et. Gen., perhaps Epich. 200 [see Kaibel ad loc.]).

•ETYM Formation like μαινάς, λαικάς, λωγάς, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 352). The lexicographers connected it with χαλάω, which is probably a folk etymology. Fur.: 138 connects γαλιάω = ἀκολασταίνω (Com. Adesp. 967) and on account of this variant thinks the word is Pre-Greek. As χαλ- is hard to explain from IE, and given the semantic sphere, this is quite likely.

**χαλινός** [m.] 'bridle, rein, bit' (Il.), also metaph. 'marine ropes' (Pi., E.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Aeol. χάλιννος (Hamm 1957: 36<sup>90</sup>), plur. also -α.

•COMP E.g. χαλιν-αγωγός 'leading by the reins, holding by the bridle' (Vett. Val.), -αγωγέω (Ep. Jac., Luc., Vett. Val. et al.), -αγωγή (Simp. VI<sup>p</sup>), χρυσο-χάλινος 'with golden reins' (IA).

•DER Diminutive χαλιν-άριον [n.] (late), -ῖτις [f.] epithet of Athena in Corinth (Paus.), as she bridled Pegasus for Bellerophon; χαλιν-όομαι [v.] 'to be furnished with reins, rein in' (IA), also with ἐν-, ἀπο-, etc.; thence -ωσις [f.] 'reining in' (X.), -ωτήρια [n.pl.] metaph. 'ropes used for mooring' (E., Opp., Nonn.).

•ETYM Borrowed into Skt. as *khalīna-*, *khalina-* 'bit of a bridle'. Foreign, i.e. Pre-Greek origin is probable, as it is difficult to explain χαλ- from IE (\*g<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>l-, \*g<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>l-V- are unmotivated) and as a suffix -iv- is frequent in Pre-Greek (κύμινον, πνύτινη, ῥιγίτην). ►εὐληρα is often taken to be an inherited word for 'bridle', but this is probably Pre-Greek, too.

**χάλιξ, -ικος** [m., f.] 'small stone, gravel, rubble used for filling up, mortar for stone building' (Th., Ar., Att. inscr., Arist., Hell. inscr. and pap., Str.). <?>

•VAR For the gender cf. ►λίθος.

•DER χαλικ-ώδης 'like rubble' (Thphr.), -ώματα [n.pl.] 'rubble and mortar, stone-mortar' = Lat. *caementa* (gloss.).

•ETYM There is no convincing etymology: the general similarity with Lat. *silex* 'gravel', Mlr. *scellec* 'rock', OCS *skolbka* 'shell' is not enough for an IE etymology to be credible. The formation is like κύλιξ, ἄλιξ, ῥήνιξ, etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 382). It is probably a loan, see Fur.: 137, 384, who connects both Lat. *calx* 'stone (of a board game), limestone' (whence OHG *kalch*, etc.) and Sum. *kalga* 'limestone', Babyl. *kalakku*. It can also be assumed that the Latin word was borrowed from Greek; note that the appurtenance of the eastern words is doubted by DELG. In this case, Pre-Greek origin is thinkable.

**χάλις, -ιν** [m.] 'unblended wine' (Hippon. 73 = 67 Masson, epigr. Cyrene I<sup>p</sup>). <PG(V)>

•COMP As a first member in χαλί-κρητος 'blended with χ.' (Archil., A. R., AP, cf. also A. Fr. 719c M.), also χαλίκραιος and compar. χαλικρότερος (Nic. Al.) 'id.'. As a second member in ἀκρο-χάλιξ 'slightly drunk' (A. R. 4, 432, D. P.), with -ξ perhaps after synonymous οἶνό-φλυξ.

•DER Perhaps derived is ►χαλιμάς, epithet of the Βάκχαι (but also connected with ►χαλάω).

•ETYM Fur.: 389 compares φαλικρόν· ἄκρατον (H.). The gloss also shows a form in -κρος, like in χαλικρότερος, which therefore cannot be explained as due to haplology (Frisk); cf. ►φαλακρός: it is a typical Pre-Greek form.

**χαλίφρων** ⇒ χαλάω.

**χαλκός** [m.] 'ore, copper, bronze', poet. metaph. of bronze objects (Il.). <?>

•VAR Cret. καυχός.

•DIAL Myc. *ka-ko*, see below.

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. χαλκο-πάρηος (Hom.), -πάραος (Pi.), see Forssman 1966: 152f.; χαλκ-ήρης 'furnished with brass, fitted with brass, brazen' (Hom.+), = Myc. *ka-ka-re-a<sub>2</sub>* /k<sup>h</sup>alkāreha/, also χαλκο-άρας 'id.' (Pi.), see Forssman op. cit. 84f.; χαλκό-δετος (trag.), Myc. *ka-ko-de-ta* [n.pl.] 'fitted with brass'; on χαλκο-κέραυνος etc. see Wærn *Eranos* 50 (1952): 20f.; ἐπί-χαλκος 'coated with brass' (Hdt., Ar.), with ἐπιχαλκίται· ὀπλῖται and ἐπιχαλκίδα· τὴν τὸ κανοῦν φέρουσιν εἰς τὰς θυσίας θεράπαιναν (H.); also δι-, τρί-χαλκον [n.] 'coins of two, three χαλκοί', etc. (Hell. and late), on the formation see Debrunner *IF* 60 (1952): 38f.

Here also Χαλκί-οικος [f.] epithet of Athena in Sparta 'having a brazen house, living in a brazen house' (E. and Ar. [lyr.], Th., Paus.), in H. as an explanation of χαλκίναος; transformed to an ι-stem, probably after Πολι-οῦχος (cf. Paus. 3, 17, 2: Ἀθηνᾶς ... Πολιούχου καλουμένης καὶ Χαλκιοῦκος τῆς αὐτῆς).

•DER A. Substantives: 1. χαλκ-εύς [m.] 'metal worker, coppersmith, blacksmith' (Il.), Myc. *ka-ke-u*; also as a name of a fish (Opp.), cf. χαλκίς below. From this χαλκήϊος, -εῖος 'belonging to the smith' (Od., Hes.), -ήϊον, -εῖον [n.] 'forge, brazen tool, especially kettle' (IA), -εῖα [n.] name of an Attic festival (IV<sup>a</sup>, Poll.); χαλκεών (-ών Hdn. Gr.), -εῶνος [m.] 'forge' (θ 273, A. R. 3, 41). 2. χαλκ-ίον (-εῖον) [n.] 'cupreous, brazen tableware' (Att., Hell. pap.), also 'copper coins' (com.), with -ίδιον [n.] 'small cupreous tableware' (com. V<sup>a</sup>). 3. χαλκ-ύδρια [n.pl.] 'small change' (pap. I<sup>a</sup>), -ύδριον = -ός (disparaging, Zos. Alch., Theognost. *Can.*). 4. χαλκ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] name of a bird (Ξ 291, Arist.) = ►κύμινδης; referring to the color, also name of a plant (Ps.-Dsc.), name of several fishes, probably 'sardine' (Epich., Arist.), perhaps also after the sounds it produced (Strömberg 1943: 74f.), name of a poisonous lizard (Arist., Plin.); as a TN town on Euboea (after the copper-mines), whence -ιδικός, -ιδική; finally also = -ίς as a fish- and lizard-name, probably with allusion to the TN (Strömberg op. cit. 86). 5. χαλκ-άς, -άδος [f.] = χαλκάνθεμον (Ps.-Dsc.). 6. χαλκ-ίτης [f.] -ῖτις (λίθος) 'copper ore' (Arist., Plu.), name of a mineral 'rock-alum' (medic., pap.), also = χαλκάς (Ps.-Dsc.); -εῖτης = -εύς (Psidia), itacistic or to χαλκεύς? Cf. Redard 1949: 36. B. Adjectives: 1. χάλκ-ειος (epic, also Hell. and late prose), epic Ion. -εος (cf. S. Schmid 1950: 6ff.), Aeol. Dor. -ιος (Myc. *ka-ki-jo* [du.], *ka-ke-ja-pi* [ins.f.]), Att. -οῦς 'brazen, cupreous', also designation of a coin (Att., Hell. pap.), whence -ιαῖος 'worth a χαλκοῦς' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>, after δραχμιαῖος, ἡμιωβολιαῖος), fem. -ιαία and -ιεῖα designations of taxes (Hell. pap.); χαλκ-ιδίτις [f.] 'low-priced prostitute' (Com. Adesp.). 2. χαλκή (εἰκών) [f.] 'bronze statue' (Antig. Mir., D. L.). 3. χάλκινος 'made of ore, concerning copper coins' (Hell. and late pap.). 4. χαλκικός 'consisting of copper coins' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>). 5. χαλκ-ώδης 'bronze-like' (Thphr.).

C. Verbs: 1. χαλκ-εύω 'to forge' (Σ 400), also intr. 'to be a blacksmith' (Att.), formally from χαλκεύς, but also referring to χαλκός, rarely prefixed, e.g. with κατα-, ἐπι-, προ-, ἀπο-. Thence -εία [f.] 'the art of forging' (Hp., Pl.), 'forge' (Hero), -ευία [n.] 'what is forged, forged tool' (A.), -ευτής = -εύς (AP), -ευτικός 'belonging to the art of forging, versed in the art of forging' (Hp., X., Arist.), -ευτήριον = -εῖον (gloss.). 2. χαλκ-όομαι [v.] 'to be coated with bronze' (Pi., Hdt., LXX, D. S.), 'to turn into ore' (AP), rarely with κατα-, περι- (to κατά-, περί-χαλκος); thence -ωμα [n.] designation of several copper instruments (Att.), with -ωματίον [n.] (Delos II<sup>a</sup>), -ωματᾶς [m.] 'copper smith' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>). 3. χαλκ-ίζω 'to play coin-spinning with copper coins' (Alex., Herod., Poll.), with -ισμός [m.] 'game of coin-spinning' (Poll., Eust.), 'to glisten or sound like copper' (late); prefixed πᾶρι-χαλκίζομαι (to περί-χαλκος) 'to become coated with bronze' (LXX), ἀπο-χαλκίζω 'to take away the bronze' (AP 11, 283; word-play with Χαλκίς), ὑπο-χαλκίζω 'to look somewhat bronze-colored' (EM), ὑπεχάλκισα· πρὸς χαλκοῦ ὑπεθέμην (H.).

D. Adverb χαλκίνδα (scil. παίζειν)· τὸ εἰς χαλκὸν κυβεῦν (H.).

•ETYM An old IE word for 'ore, copper, bronze' is still retained in Skt. *āyāh*, Lat. *aes*, Gm., e.g. Go. *aiz* [n.]. The prehistory of Greek χαλκός is obscure. An IE term is improbable, as a word with an aspirate and a voiceless stop is not tolerated. The similarity with the word for 'purple', κάλχη, also χάλκη and χάλχη, is hardly accidental. It would point to an original meaning 'red metal' for χαλκός (χαλκός ἐρυθρός I 365), which is conceivable. Connection with the Balto-Slavic word for 'iron' (Lith. *geležis*, OPr. *gelso*, Ru. *železo*) is phonetically unfeasible, but we could have to do with independent loans from a common eastern source. In such a framework, the connection with κάλχη could be maintained too.

It is also tempting to connect the Hitt. (Hattic-Hurritic) word for 'iron', *hapalki-* (or *apalki-*); the imperfect phonetic agreement would be due to incorrect rendering of a foreign word (Pisani *AION* 7 (1966): 46f.).

**χαμαί** [adv.] 'to the earth, on the earth' (Il.). <IE \**d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>em-* 'earth'>

•COMP Extremely productive as a first member, e.g. χαμαι-πετής 'falling, fallen to the ground, lying on the ground, futile' (Pi., trag., also Pl., Plb.), univerbation of χαμαί πεσεῖν; χαμαί-ζηλος originally "striving to the earth", 'low, base, small', also (scil. δίφρος) 'footstool' (Hp., Pl., Arist.), χαμαι-εῦνης, plur. -εῦναι 'having its lair on the earth' (P 235, Emp.), fem. -ευνάδες (Od.), with elision χαμ-εῦνη (Poll., H., AP), χάμ-ευνᾶ [f.] 'lair on the earth' (Att. inscr., A.), see Solmsen 1909: 256f.

On χαμαι- in plant- and animal-names Strömberg 1940: 109ff.; on χαμαι-λέων (perhaps a calque from Semitic), see Lewy KZ 58 (1931): 33; on this also Dawkins JHS 56 (1936): 5ff.

•DER χαμ-ᾶζε 'to the ground' (Hom., also trag. and late prose), after Ἀθήναζε, etc. (accentuation acc. to Hdn. Gr. 2, 951 and others); after this χαμ-ᾶθεν 'from the earth, from the ground' (Hdt., Att. com.), also -αῖθεν (A.D., Plu.), Aeol. -άδης 'to the ground' (Hom., A. [lyr.]), like ἄλλυδης etc., Dor. -άνδης (Theognost.).

From χαμαί: χαμ-ηλός 'low' (Pi., X., Nic., Str.), after ὑψηλός; χαμ-ίτις (ἄμπελος) 'low' (Gp., Suid., Eust.).

•ETYM A frozen case-form of the word for 'earth', usually explained as a dative; cf. ▶πάλαι, ▶παραί. We can compare it with Lat. *humī* 'on the ground' < QIE \**d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>om-ei*, but the stem vowel is different. With *e*-vocalism we find OPr. *semmāi* 'down'. Probably, all are independent formations. Further see ▶χθών. See Hajnal 1992: 207-220.

**χαμόν**· καμπύλον (H.). ⇒χαβός.

**Χαμύνη** [f.] epithet of the Elean Demeter. <GR>

•ETYM Acc. to Vegas Sansalvador *Glotta* 70 (1992): 166-180, this epithet means 'who has the earth as a bed', with the zero grade of εὐνή, \**-h<sub>1</sub>uneh<sub>2</sub>*. A more clear form is χαμαι-εῦνης (Hom.); we also find χαμ-εῦνης (H.).

**χάμψαι** [pl.] Egyptian name of crocodiles (Hdt. 2, 69). <LW Eg>

•ETYM From the Eg. name *msh*, but difficult in detail; cf. Černý *Ann. Serv. Ant. Égypte* 42 (1943): 346-348.

**χανδάνω** [v.] 'to hold, include, contain' (Hom.). <IE \**g<sup>h</sup>ed-* 'grasp, seize'>

•VAR Aor. χαδεῖν (epic Il., also Hp. and Ar. *Ra.* 260 [lyr.]), fut. χείσομαι (σ 17), perf. (with present mg.) ptc.acc.sg. κεχανδότα (Ψ 268, δ 96), ind. κέχανδε· χωρεῖ (H.), plpf. κεχάνδει, with v.l. κεχόνδει (Ω 192).

•COMP Never with prefix; as a second member in εὐ-χανδής 'ample' (Nic., Man.), εὐρυ-χανδής (AP, Luc.), -χανδής (Eust.) 'id.'.

•ETYM A regular formal system, with a zero grade nasal present, zero grade thematic aorist, and a full grade medial future. Only the perfect forms with -αν- are divergent; if not innovated after the present, they must have pushed original κέχονδα out of the system (retained in the v.l. κεχόνδει).

Beside this archaic verb, continued only in the epic tradition, Latin has a formation with fixed prefix and generalised *e*-vocalism: *prae-hendō*, *-hendī*, *-hensum* 'to grasp, seize', the stemvowel of which may represent both IE \**g<sup>h</sup>end-* and \**g<sup>h</sup>nd-*. Zero grade forms are found also in Celtic, e.g. OIr. *ro-geinn* 'he finds place in' (IE \**g<sup>h</sup>d-n-*). A full grade root is found in Alb., e.g. *gjëndem* 'I am found'. These nasalized forms probably go back on a nasal present; beside them stand several forms without nasal, like Lat. *praeda* 'booty' < \**prai-hed-ā*, and the Germanic verb ON *geta* 'to reach, produce' (> MoE *get*), Go. *bi-gitan* 'εὐρίσκειν', OHG *pi-gezzan* 'reach', *fir-gezzan* 'forget', etc.

Meier-Brügger MSS 50 (1989): 87-90 adduces the adverb χονδῆν 'in capacity' (SEG 21 (1965): 644, 19) and suggests a form ἀχονδῆς for AXONΔΕΣ in SEG 13 (1956): 13, 251.

**χάννα** [f.] 'kind of sea bass, Serranus (cabrilla)' (Epich., Arist., Numen. *apud* Ath., pap. I<sup>p</sup>, etc.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also χάννος [m.].

•ETYM In view of the characterization by Epich. as μεγαλοχάσμων, connection with χανεῖν 'to yawn' (see ▶χάσκω) with expressive gemination has been proposed (Strömberg 1943: 53). Extensive treatment in Thompson 1947 s.v., where foreign origin (Eg. *chnā* name of an unknown fish) is considered. Fur.: 351 compares χέννιον (H.), which makes Pre-Greek origin probable (α/ε).



**χάος, -εος, -ους** [n.] 'chaos', used as a designation for what was first by Hes. *Th.* 116, usually (e.g. Arist.) taken as '(unlimited) empty space' (Ibyc., B., Ar.), later 'wide chasm, abyss' (Hell.). <?>

•DER χαώω 'to devour', aor. -ῶσαι (*Tab. Defix.*, Simp. and Olymp. VI<sup>P</sup>).

Besides χαῦνος 'slack, porous, loose, bloated, puffed up, vain, frivolous' (Pi., IA). Some compounds, e.g. χαυνο-πολῖται [m.pl.] 'vain citizens' (Ar. *Ach.* 635 [anap.]), χαυνό-πρωκτος 'having slack or bloated bottoms' (ibid. 104), ὑπό-χαυνος 'somewhat slack, vain' (late). Abstract χαυνότης [f.] 'slackness, vanity' (Pl., Arist., Plu.); χαῦναξ in χαυνάκων· χαυνοποιῶν, οἱ δὲ χαυνολόγων (H.); χαυν-όομαι [v.] 'to become slack or vain, etc.' (Alc., IA), also with ἐκ-, etc. Thence -ωσις [f.] 'relaxation, puffing up' (Ar., Hell. and late), -ωμα [n.] 'dispersed earth', -ωτικός 'making loose' (Plu.); χαυνιάζε· πλανᾷ (H.).

Also χαυλι-όδων (see ► ὁδών) with a suffix -λ-?

•ETYM Against the idea that χάος would be 'the empty space', first expressed by Aristotle and followed by most scholars, others interpreted it as a 'chasm' or an 'abyss'. Morphologically, a connection with χαῦνος (with remarkable barytone accent) may be supposed: χάος < \*χάφος beside χαῦνος, like ἔρεβος to ἔρεμνός < \*ἐρεβνός. As a basic meaning 'loose, with holes' is quite possible for χαῦνος, an original meaning 'hole, empty space, yawning opening' is quite thinkable for χάος. Therefore χάος and χαῦνος were since long connected with ► χάσσω, χάσμα, χανεῖν, ► χίμη, etc.

Formally close are some Germanic and Baltic words for 'palate': OHG *guomo*, ON *gómur* [m.], etc. < IE \*g<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-mn- beside OHG *goumo* [m.] < PGm. \*gauma(n)-, Lith. *gomur̃s*, etc.

See ► χάσσω and ► χώρα.

**χάρα** ⇒ χαίρω.

**χαράδρα** ⇒ χέραδος.

**χαράσσω** [v.] 'to make pointed, sharpen; to carve, engrave, strike, stamp' (Hes.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Att. -ττω; aor. -ξαι, pass. -χθῆναι, perf. med. κεχάραγμα.

•COMP Also with ἐν-, δια-, ἐπι-, etc. As a first member in the governing compound χαραξί-προντος 'splitting the sea', of an oar (Simon.).

•DER 1. χάραγμα (περι-, προ-, ἐπι-) [n.] 'engraving, engraved mark, impression, minted coins' (S., Hell.); χαραγμός [m.] 'incision, stamp, stamped document' (Thphr., pap. I<sup>P</sup>); χαραγμή [f.] 'loaf of bread' (pap. V-VI<sup>P</sup>). 2. χάραξ (ἐν-, ἀπο-, περι-, etc.) [f.] 'engraving, incising, incision' (Democr., late), παρα-χάραξ 'false coining, forgery', -μος 'forged' (late). 3. χαρακτός 'made pointed, sharpened, toothed' (Hp., Nic.); περι-χαρακτικός 'cutting around' (Dsc.). 4. χαρακτήρ [m.] 'engraver, one who mints coins' (Euryph. Pythag., Olbia III<sup>a</sup>), 'tool for engraving, stamp, seal' (Arist., Hell. and late inscr. and pap., etc.), 'impression, character', also of facial expressions or language: 'physical and linguistic idiosyncrasy'; 'carved letter, etc.' (IA, Hell. and late), 'individual feature, style, character' (Hell. and late); περι-χαρακτήρ [m.] 'knife for cutting of the gums around the teeth' (late medic.). From

χαρακτήρ: χαρακτηριστικός = χαρακτηριστικός (Phld., etc.), χαρακτηρ-ίζω (δια-, μετα-) [v.] 'to form, stamp, designate, characterize' (Hell. and late), whence -ισμός, -ισμα, -ιστικός (late); χαρακτηριάω [v.] 'to coin, mint' (Samos I<sup>P</sup>). 5. χάρακτης [m.] 'coiner, minter' (Man.), παρα- 'forger' (Vett. Val.).

Besides χάραξ, -ακος [m., f.] 'pointed stake, vine-prop, fortifying pale, stockade, palisade' (Att. Hell. and late), also as a fish name (Diph. Siph., Opp.); see Strömberg 1943: 36, Thompson 1947 s.v.; χαρακο-βολία [f.] 'raising of a palisade' (LXX), ὦμο-χάραξ 'prop for the forks of vines' (Gp.). Thence: 1. χαρακ-ίας [m.] (κάλαμος) 'fit as a stake or palisade' (Thphr.), also as a plant name, 'kind of euphorbia' (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1937: 91 and Strömberg 1940: 107; as a fish name (Gp., see χάραξ). 2. χαρακίτης [m.] 'kind of euphorbia' (late), also = 'living behind a fence' (βιβλιακός = conventual), 'cut off from the world' (Timo). 3. χαράκια· ὑποστηρίγματα (H.). 4. χαρακώω (περι-, ἀπο-) [v.] 'to furnish with stakes, build a palisade' (Aesch., Arist., Hell. and late), whence -ωμα (περι-) 'site secured with palisades' (X., Arist., Hell. and late), -ωσις 'palisading, propping up of vines' (Lycurg., Hell. and late), -ών 'vineyard with propped up vines' (pap. II-III<sup>P</sup>). 5. χαρακίζω [v.], originally 'to furnish with stakes', only metaph. of flies, 'to rub the front legs for cleaning' (Arist.), with -ισμός [m.] 'palisading' (Pherecr., Macedonian inscr. III<sup>P</sup>).

•ETYM χαράσσω is both earlier and more frequently attested than χάραξ; still χαράσσω < \*χαράκ-ιω must be a denominative formation from the latter. For the suffix, cf. πῖναξ, κάμιαξ, κλίμαξ, etc. Without etymology. Connection with Lith. *žeriū*, *žėrti* 'to scrape', with *žarstýti* 'to poke' does not explain the Greek formation. In view of the suffix, the word is most probably Pre-Greek (not in Fur.).

**χαρία** [f.] · βουνός (H.). <?>

•ETYM A suggestion by Persson 1912(1): 223, accepted by Pok. 440, but rejected by Frisk, is mentioned s.v. ► χάρις 2.

**χάρις** ⇒ χαίρω.

**χάρμη 1** 'bellicosity'. ⇒ χαίρω.

**χάρμη 2** [f.] acc. to the sch. Pi. O. 9, 128, it stands for ἐπιδορατίς in Stesich. 267 (Page) and Ibyc. 340 (Page); likewise for Pi. *Dith.* 3, 13. <PG?>

•DER Bahuvrīhi ἄγ-χαρμιον· ἀνωφερῇ τὴν αἰχμήν (H.).

•ETYM Connected with χαρία· βουνός (H.) and with χοιράς 'rock in the sea', and other words for 'stick out, protrude, etc.' (IE \*g<sup>h</sup>er-; cf. ► χήρ) has been proposed. Alternatively, a poetical reinterpretation of ► χάρις 1 has been suggested, after the model of χαλκο-χάρμης (beside χάλκ-ασπις, -χίτων, etc.), and μενε-χάρμης (beside μεν-αίχμη). The existence of a compound ἄγχαρμιος casts doubt on the later idea. Perhaps a Pre-Greek word?

**χαροπός** ⇒ χαίρω.

**χάρτης** [m.] 'papyrus leaf, roll', metaph. 'thin plate' (Att. inscr., Pl. Com., Hell.). <LW Eg.>

•COMP As a first member, e.g. in χαρτ-υφάντης [m.] 'manufacturer of papyrus leaves' (Corycos).

•DER Diminutive χαρτ-ίον [n.] (Hell.), -ίδιον [n.] (late), -άριον [n.] (late); also -ηρία [f.] = χάρτης (LXX), -ηρά [f.] 'papyrus tax, output' (Hell. and late pap. and inscr.), -αρέα [f.] 'papyrus tax' (Pergamon), cf. the rare forms οίναρέα, τροχαρέα.

•ETYM Unexplained; probably from Egypt, like the papyrus plant itself. Borrowed as Lat. *charta*, whence MoFr. *carte*, etc. From χάρτης probably also Skt. *kaḍitra-* [n.] 'writing leather' (Mayrhofer *AION* 1 (1963): 232, with Burrow). From Lat. *chartulārius*, *chart(i)āticum*, Greek borrowed the late forms χαρτουλάριος 'archivist', χαρτ(ι)ατικόν 'tax on a document' in return.

**χάρων, -ωνος** [m., f.] epithet or name of the lion of Nemea (Euph., Lyc., H.), also of the eagle and of the cyclops (Lyc.). ◀GR▶

•ETYM Short form for χαροπός (Sommer 1948: 121f., Leumann *Sprache* 5 (1959): 72); see ▶χαίρω.

**χάσιος** [adj.] · αγαθός, χρηστός (H.).

•ETYM Considered to be the base form for Lac. ▶χάιος, s.v.

**χάσκω** [v.] 'to gape, yawn, open (the mouth) wide' (IA). ◀IE *\*ǵʰeh₂n-* 'break open, yawn'▶

•VAR χαίνω (Hell.), them. aor. χανεῖν, perf. (with present meaning, see Wackernagel 1920-1924(1): 167) κέχηνα (both Il.), aor.subj. κατα-χίγη (H.), Dor. ἔχᾱνα (Aesop.), perf. 3pl. κεχᾶναντι (Sophr.), fut. χανοῦμαι (IA).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐν-, περι-, ὑπο-.

•DER A. Adverb χαν-δόν 'with an opened mouth, greedily' (φ 294, Hell. and late epic, late prose), χανδο-πόται [m.pl.] (AP): χανδὸν πιεῖν· κεχηνότως καὶ ἀθρόως πιεῖν ὄλω στόματι (H.); χαν-δά 'id.' (A. D.).

B. Substantives: 1. χάσμα [n.] 'gaping hole, abyss, chasm' (Hes.), diminutive -άτιον [n.] (Hero, sch.), -ατίας [m.] 'earthquake which causes fissures in the earth' (Arist., Posidon.), cf. βρασματίας s.v. ▶βράσσω. 2. χάσμη [f.] 'yawning, especially of sleepiness' (Hp., Pl.), denominative χασμάομαι 'to yawn, stand with one's mouth open', rarely with ἀντι-, ἐπι-, κατα- (IA), also -έομαι (Theoc.); thence χάσμημα [n.] 'open mouth' (Ar. Av. 61), -ησις [f.] = χάσμη (H., EM, Eust.); -ώδης (also from χάσμα) 'yawning constantly, indifferent' (D. L., Plu.), also metrical 'forming a hiatus' (A. D.), with -ωδία [f.] 'hiatus', -ωδέω 'to form or create hiatus' (Eust.).

3. χάνος [n.] 'throat, mouth' (Com. Adesp.); to this or directly to χανεῖν: ἀ-χανής (dissimilated from ἀ-) 'gaping, open wide, expanded, immeasurable' (Parm., Arist., Hell. and late), with ἀχάν-εια [f.] 'wide hole, expansion, immeasurability' (late), also (with privative α) 'not wide open, with a closed mouth' (Thphr., Hegesipp. Com., Plb., Luc.).

C. Verbs: 1. χασκ-άζω 'to gape at, gaze at' (Ar. V. 695 [anap.]), with χασκ-αξ, -ακος [m.] 'gazer' (Eust.). 2. χασκ-ωρεῖν· περιβλέπειν (H.), after θεωρεῖν etc. 3. χανύειν· βοᾶν, χανύσσει· βοᾶ (cod. βία), καλεῖ (H.); to this Χανύ-λαος etc. (Pharsalos), see Bechtel 1917b: 464. 4. iterative (Schwyzer: 719) χηνῆσαι· καταμωκήσασθαι, with χήνημα· καταμώκημα (H.).

D. Rare compounds: κατωμόχανε [voc.] = χαίνων κατ' ὤμου, 'usque ad humeros hians' (Hippon. 28), cf. Masson ad loc.; καταχίγη [f.] 'scorn, mockery' (Ar. V. 575, Eq. 631), = καταχάσμησις, κατάγελως (H.), cf. καταχίγη· καταγέλᾱση, μυκτηρίση, ἐξουθενίσση (H.).

•ETYM The pair χανεῖν and κέχηνα is old; innovations are the future χανοῦμαι, the present χαίνω and the sigm. aor. ἔχηνα. The *ske/o*-present χάσκω is old, too, and may derive from *\*kʰan-ske/o-*. So we are dealing with a root PGr. *\*kʰan-* < PIE *\*ǵʰh₂n-*. χανεῖν and χάνος further agree with a North Germanic word: ON *gan* [n.] 'opening of the mouth, call, cry', also 'throat, gill' (MoSw., MoNw.), and the weak verb *gana* 'to open wide, desire, gape'. The root *\*ǵʰeh₂-* seems to appear unenlarged in ▶χήμη, and it may of course also be present in χάσκω. The nouns χάσμα, -μη can be explained from χάσκω as well as from χανεῖν (cf. φάσμα to φαίνω). The situation strongly reminds of PGr. *\*pʰan-* < *\*bʰh₂n-*.

A root *\*ǵʰHi-* in the same meaning is found in Lat. *hīscō* 'to open the mouth', OHG *gīēn*, ON *gína* 'to yawn', OHG *ginēn* 'to be wide open', MoHG *gähnen* 'to yawn', Hitt. *kīnu-zi* 'to break open (by force)', also in Lat. *hiāre*, *hiō* = Lith. *žiōti*, 1sg. *žiōju*, OCS 1sg. *zějŕ*, ToB *kāy-* 'to open', pass. ptc. *kakāyau*. This was perhaps an *i*-present to *\*ǵʰeh₂-* (though some of the forms seem to presuppose *\*ǵʰeh₁-*). It is unclear if ▶χίρας can be related to this root. Cf. also ▶χάος and ▶χίην.

**χατέω** [v.] 'to lack, need, desire' (Il., epic poet.). ◀IE? *\*ǵʰeh₁-* 'leave behind'▶

•VAR χατίζω (only pres. except for ipf. χατέεσκε Nonn. 4, 56); χατεύει· χρήζει (cod. χαρίζει), ἐπιθυμεί 'needs, desires'; χατεύουσα· χρήζουσα, δεομένη 'in need' (H.).

•DER χατίς (leg. χάτις?)· ἐπιθυμία, χρήσις 'desire, use' (H.) is probably a back-formation.

Beside this, we find a frozen dative χήτει, χήται 'out of lack (or desire)' (Il., poet., also late prose), which may derive from the noun χῆτος· ἔνδεια, στέρησις 'need, deprivation' (H.), or possibly from *\*χῆτις*. Thence χητοσύνη 'lack, atrophy' (AP 9, 408), χητεία· χρεία 'need' (H.) (where cod. χηρ- has a wrong position in the alphabet), χητίζω = χατίζω (EM).

•ETYM For χατέω, cf. αἰτέω, ματέω, πατέομαι, δατέομαι, etc. (Schwyzer: 705). For χῆτος, cf. κῆτος, σκυτος, ἔντος (Schwyzer: 513). Remote cognates may be found in ▶χήρα, ▶χώρα, from a root *\*ǵʰeh₁-*. If χητ- contains this root, χατ- must somehow be analogical.

**χαυλιόδων, χαῦνος** ⇒ χάος.

**χαυών** [m.] a kind of cake (LXX, EM, Suid.). ◀LW Hebr.▶

•ETYM Transcription of Hebr. *kawwān*, Köhler and Baumgartner 1953: 428.

**χέδροπα (-πά)** [n.pl.] 'leguminous fruits' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., Nic.). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR χέδροπας (v.l. -πούς) [acc.pl.] (Arist.), χέδροψ· πᾶν ὄσπριον, σπέρμα (H.). Also χεδρία [f.] 'id.' (pap. IV-VI<sup>p</sup>); variants κέδροπα (Erot. H.), κέρδοπα (H.).

•COMP χεδροπόδης 'χ.-like' (Phanias *apud* Ath.).

•ETYM Grošelj Živa Ant. 7 (1957): 43 compared Ru. *goróx* 'pea', Lat. *furfur* 'pod of corn and pulses', etc.; formally untenable. Folk etymology with χεῖρ and δρέπω

(χειροδρόποι φῶτες) by Nic. *Th.* 752. The variation shows that the word is Pre-Greek. Cf. ► χῖδρα.

**χέζω** [v.] 'to shit' (Ar. et al.). <IE \**ǵʰed-* 'shit'>

•VAR Perf. -κέχοδα, aor. χέσαι, also χεσεῖν (to χεσοῦμαι, after πεσοῦμαι to πεσεῖν, see Schwyzler: 746<sup>6</sup> and 786), fut. χεσοῦμαι, also χέσομαι, perf. ptc. pass. κεχεσμένος.

•COMP Also with ἐν-, ἐπι-, κατα-, ἐκ-. As a first member in χεζ-ανάγκη [f.] 'purgative medicine' (late medic.).

•DER Desiderative χεσ-εἰώ (Ar.) and χεζ-ητιάω (Ar.), like πασχ-ητιάω, etc., see Schwyzler: 732.

Nouns: χεσ-ᾱς [m.] (Poll., sch., Suid.), -μα [n.] (medic.); πολυ-χεσος (Com. *Adesp.*); on the formation see Schwyzler: 461 and 516. From the verbal stem χόδανον· τὴν ἔδραν (H.), χοδιτεῖν· ἀποπατεῖν (H.) (to \*χοδίτης), μύο-χοδον [n.] 'mice droppings' (late), as a term of abuse μύοχοδος (γέρων) = οὐδενὸς ἄξιος (Men. 363 Koe.).

•ETYM The *yod*-present χέζω agrees with Alb. *dhjes* 'to shit' < IE \**ǵʰed-ie/o-*; beside these, we find a late thematic root-present in Skt. *hadati* 'id.'.

The root is also attested in nominal formations: Arm. *jet*, -ογ 'tail' < IE \**ǵʰed-os-* or \**ǵʰed-o-*; an *s*-stem also in Av. *zadāha* [acc.du.] 'both buttocks, hindmost', *apazadāh-* 'with the ass backwards (?)'.

**χεῖ** name of the letter χ (Att. inscr. [not before 307<sup>a</sup>], Pl. *Ti.*, Hp.). <LW Sem.>

•VAR Later χῖ.

•DER χιο-ειδής 'formed like a χ' (late medic.), χι-άζω [v.] 'to designate with a χ, to put athwart, cross out, cancel' (D. S., pap., sch.), with -ασμα [n.] 'cross-piece of wood' (Bito), 'cross-bandage' (medic.); -ασμός [m.] 'putting athwart, cancellation, etc.' (late), yielding Lat. *chiasmus*; -αστός 'put athwart, etc.' (Ph. *Bel.*, late).

•ETYM After ► πεῖ (like ► ξεῖ, ► φεῖ, ► ψεῖ).

**χειά** [f.] 'serpent's den' (X 93 and 95, Plu., Orph., Crete), 'gap' (Pi. *I.* 8, 77 [uncertain]). <PG?(V)>

•VAR Ion. -ιή. Dat.pl. χειαιῖς (Nic. *Th.* 79 verse-final; codd. χελεί-).

•ETYM The analysis of the rare word depends on the interpretation of verse-final χειαιῖς in Nic. If not adapted to the metre, it must stand for \*χεφε(σ)-ιά, whence by contraction χειά, -ιή.

The further assessment is uncertain; one has thought of Lat. *fovea* (dismissed in De Vaan 2008) and of ► χάος (Bechtel 1914 s.v.). If ► ὀχεῖ is a variant with prothetic vowel, the word may be Pre-Greek.

**χεῖλος** [n.] 'lip', metaph. 'edge, seam'. <?>

•VAR Mostly plur. -εα, -η (Il.), Dor. χῆλος (Corc.), Aeol. χέλλος (gramm.).

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. ἰσο-χειλῆς 'level with the brim, having a height equal to the brim of the vessel, rising to the brim' (X., Arist.), -λος (Gp.); παχυ-χειλῆς (Arist.), -λος (Ruf., Gal.) 'with thick lips'. Rarely as a first member, e.g. χεῖλο-ποτέω 'to drink with the lips, slurp' (AP 7, 223), cf. λαβρο-ποτέω (ibid. 5, 109 and 10, 18).

•DER Diminutive χεῖλ-άριον [n.] (gloss.), enlargement -ωμα [n.] = χεῖλος (Aq.); also -ᾱς = *labrosus* (gloss.).

•ETYM If the transmitted dialectal forms are reliable, possible basic forms are \*χέσλος, \*χέλσος, and perhaps also \*χέλνος.

There is no convincing etymology. ON *gǫlnar* [f.pl.] = *granar*, i.e. 'moustache, bearded lips' < PGm. \**gelunōz*, which Adontz 1937: 9 compared with Arm. *jetun* 'palate, ceiling'. An original form \*χέλφος, which would fit the non-Greek forms better (Schwyzler: 491), is satisfactory for Ion. χεῖλος - but the word seems to be genuinely Attic, too. Cf. ► χελύνη.

**χεῖμα** [n.] 'winter, winter weather, storm' (poet. since Od.). <IE \**ǵʰ(e)i-m-* 'winter'>

•VAR χεῖμών, -ῶνος [m.] (general, since Il.).

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. χεῖμά-ρρος, -ρρους, -ρρος 'streaming in winter' (Il., Thgn., Hdt., trag.), msc. 'bourn, torrent, current' (Att., LXX, Paus.), -ρρώδης 'similar to a χ.' (Str.); χεῖμωνο-τύπος 'buffeting with storms' (A. *Supp.* 34 [anap.]), χεῖμοσπορος 'sown in winter' (Thphr.), πολυ-χεῖμων 'with many storms' (App.), ἀ-χεῖματ-ος 'without storms' (A. *Supp.* 136 [lyr.]).

•DER 1. χεῖμων-ικός 'belonging to the storm' (late), -όθεν 'from the storm' (Arat.). 2. χεῖματ-ικός, χεῖμ-ώδης 'hibernal, stormy' (sch.). 3. χεῖμ-ίη [f.] 'hibernal weather' (Hp.), after νηνεμ-ίη, etc. 4. PN Χεῖμα, -ᾱς [m.] (Thess.).

Denominative verbs: 5. χεῖμ-αίνω [v.] 'to vex by storms, rage' (Pi., Hdt., Arist., Theoc.), ἀ-χεῖμαν-τος 'not vexed by storms, without storms' (Alc., B.). More common is 6. χεῖμ-άζω [v.] 'to distress, visit with winter and storm', metaph. 'to hurt, wound', also 'to spend the winter, hibernate' (IA), also prefixed, e.g. with παρα-, ἐπι-, thence ἀ-χεῖμαστος 'not visited by storms' (J.), χεῖμασία, -ασίη (also παρα-) [f.] 'hibernation, winter quarters' (Hdt., Hell.), plur. also 'winter storms' (Arist., Thphr.), -ασίς [f.] = *tempestivitas* (gloss.), -αστρον [n.] 'winter coat' (Ar. *fr.* 888), cf. θέριστρον etc., also παρα-χεῖμαστικός 'fit for hibernation', ntr.pl. -αστικά (late); -άδιον [n.] 'winter quarters' (D., Str., Plu.), -άδιος (Poll., Suid., Et. *Gud.*), -αδεύω = -άζω (Str.); with a suffix -δ- also χεῖμάδα· ἱμάτιον χεῖμαίνον, χεῖμάς· χεῖμών (H.).

With a suffix -r-: 7. χεῖμέριος 'hibernal, stormy' (Il.), -εριώδης 'id.' (Gp.). 8. -ερινός 'concerning winter, hibernal' (IA), cf. ἐαρινός etc. 9. -ερος = -έριος (Arat.), disjoined from compounds like δυσ-χεῖμερος 'distressed by heavy winter or storms' (Il., Hdt., A.). 10. χεῖμερίζω 'to spend the winter' (Hdt., D. H.), 'to storm' (Thphr.). See also ► χεῖμαρος.

χιών, -όνος [f.] 'snow, blanket of snow, snow-water' (Il.). As a first member e.g. in χιονό-χρως, -ωτος 'with a skin white as snow' (E. [lyr.]). Hence χιόν-εος 'snowy, white as snow' (poet. Asios [VII-VI<sup>a</sup>]), -ώδης 'snowily' (Hp., E., Hell. poetry), -ικός 'consisting of snow' (Thphr.), -ινος 'white as snow' (Ptol. *Euerg.*), -ιον [n.] designation of an eye-salve (Alex. Trall.), -ίζω, -ίζομαι (κατα-) [v.] 'to snow (upon), be covered with snow' (Hdt., D. S., Dsc.), -ίξει· λευκαίνει (H.), -ισμός [m.] 'snowing upon' (Apollon. *Lex.*, H.).

Zero grade χῖμ- in: χῖμετλον (mostly plur. -τλα) [n.] 'frostbite' (Hippon., Ar., Nic., Lyc., Poll.), also -τλη [f.] (Dsc.), dissimilated from -θλον, -θλη, cf. Schwyzler: 533; as a

second member -χῖμος in the poet. adjectives δύσ-χimos 'stormy, fearful' (A., E.), μελάγ-χimos 'black (on a white ground), dark spotted' (A., E.), τὰ μελάγχυμα 'black spots in the snow' (X. Cyn. 8, 1 and 7, Poll.). See also ► χίμαρα.

•ETYM An inherited word for 'winter' or 'snow', with numerous representatives in various languages:

1. An *n*-stem like in χεῖμα and χεμῶν is found in Skt. loc. *hēman* 'in winter' < IE \**ǵʰeim-en* and in Hitt. *gimmi*, *gimmant-* 'winter' < \**ǵʰim-n-i*, \**ǵʰim-n-ent-*. Alb. (Gheg) *dimën* is from \**ǵʰeimen-* or \**ǵʰimen-* (Hamp IF 66 (1961): 52ff.). Skt. *hemantá-* [m.] is derived with the suffix *-ta-*.

2. Το χεμερ-ινός, -ιος, -ος: Arm. *jmeṛn* 'winter' < \**ǵʰimer-n-*, Lat. *hibernus* 'winterly' < \**ǵʰeim-r-ino-*. An *-r-* also in Alb. (Tosk) *dimër(ë)* 'winter', but from secondary transition *n > r* (Jokl IF 36 (1916): 130ff.).

3. χιών corresponds to Arm. *jiwn* 'snow' (cf. ► κίων to Arm. *siwn*), from IE nom. \**ǵʰiōm* (with final *-m > -n* in both languages). The *m*-stem also in Lat. *hiems*, *hiemis* [f.] 'winter, storm' from the acc. \**ǵʰi-em-m*, and in YAv. *ziā* < IE \**ǵʰiōms*, acc. *ziqm* 'winter' (after the *ā*-stems), OAv. gen. *zimō*.

4. χίμ-ετλον, δύσ-χimos from \**ǵʰim-o-* like in Skt. *himá-* [m.] 'cold, frost, snow', *hímā-* [f.] 'winter'; as a second member in *śatá-hima-* 'of a hundred winters' = 'a hundred years (old)', just like Lat. *bimus* from \**bi-himos* 'two years old'.

IE \**ǵʰeim-h₂* is found in Balto-Slavic, e.g. Lith. *žiemà*, Ru. *zimá*.

An Indo-Iranian word for 'winter' in Av. *zaiian-* [m.], *zaiiana-* 'winterly', Skt. *hāyaná-* [m., n.] 'year', also [adj.] 'belonging to the year, yearly', was thought to derive from IE \**ǵʰei-en-*. However, we may better assume thematic \**ǵʰeim-n-o-*. Still, it is most probable that the *-m-* in \**ǵʰeim-*, etc. is originally a suffix.

χείμαρος [m.] 'plug in a ship's hull', which was drawn out for letting out the water, after the ship had been brought to land in a sudden storm (Hes. Op. 626). ◀GR►

•ETYM Probably denoting a "bad weather bung", related to χεῖμα, χεμῶν, χεμέριος, as opposite to εὐδαίος "good weather hole" (Plu., Poll., H.), see ► εὐδία. See Sommer 1914: 123ff.

χεμάρρους ⇒ χεῖμα.

χεμῆβοτος [adj.] · χεμερινὴ ὥρα 'winter time' (H.). ◀GR►

•ETYM See Lobel ZPE 19 (1975): 210, who derives it from ► βόσκω.

χείρ, χειρός [f.] 'hand, fist', also metaph. 'deed, strength, violence; crowd, band'. ◀IE \**ǵʰes-r-* 'hand'►

•VAR χερσί [dat.pl.] (IA, Il.); Dor. χήρ, χηρός, Aeol. χέρρ' [acc.sg.], χέρρας [acc.pl.], poet. and Hell. also (secondarily) χερ- in χερί, χερός, χέρα, χέρες, etc.

•COMP Highly productive in compounds. As a first member e.g. χεירו-τέχνης [m.] 'craftsman' (IA), with -τεχνία, -τέχνιον, etc.; Χειρί-σοφος PN, probably instrumental; χέρ-νιψ, -νιβος [f.] 'cleansing water for the hands, holy water', plur. also 'purifications with holy water' (since Od., where only acc.sg. -νίβα); thence χέρνιβον [n.] 'washing bowl, basin' (Ω 304, also Delos IV\*), probably via reinterpretation of the acc.sg. χέρνιβα (Leumann 1950: 160), also -ιον (Hp., Ar.,

And.), -εῖον (Antiph., inscr.) 'id.'; rare denominative χερνύσασθαι, -νίπτομαι (for χεῖρας νύσασθαι) 'to wash the hands (before the sacrifice), besprinkle with purifying water' (A 449, E., Ar., Lys.), -νίψαι 'to besprinkle with holy water, to sacrifice' (Lyc.), -νιφθεῖς 'consecrated' (AP), -νιμμα [n.] 'washing of the hands' (com. V\*).

As a second member e.g. αὐτό-χειρ 'by one's own hand, acting, perpetrator', euphem. = 'murderous, murderer' (Att. since A.), with -χειρί, -χειρία, -χειρίζω, etc. Thematically enlarged in ἐκατόν-χειρος 'with a hundred hands' (A 402); in hypostases like πρό-χειρος (to πρὸ χειρῶν) 'at hand, prepared' (IA), with προχειρίζομαι [v.] 'to get, fetch, prepare, choose, etc.', ὑπο-χείριος 'under the hand, in someone's possession, subject' (ο 448), ἐγ-χειρίδιος 'in the hand' (A.), -ίδιον [n.] 'hand weapon' (IA), 'handbook' (late). See also ► χειρόμακτρον, ► χερνής, ► ἐκεχειρία.

•DER 1. Diminutive χειρ-ίδιον [n.] (Att. inscr., late medic.), χέρ-ιον [n.] (late medic.), also 'handle' (Hero), -ῦδριον [n.] (Mosch.). 2. χειρ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'long handshoe, sleeve' (ω 230), cf. κνημῖς, with -ιδωτός 'provided with sleeves' (Hdt., Hell. pap., Str.), -ιδόμαι [v.] 'to be provided with sleeves' (comm. Arist., gloss.). 3. χειρ-ιτής [m.] 'manual worker' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>). 4. χερ-άριος [m.] an official in Ilion (inscr. II-III<sup>p</sup>). 5. Adjective χεῖρ-ιος 'in the hands, in sbd.'s possession' (S., E.), -ικός 'manual' (pap. II<sup>p</sup>), -ωτός 'provided with hands' (comm. Arist.). 6. Short names, e.g. Χεῖρ-ων (Aeol. Xépp-, Att. vases Xíp-); either the connection with χεῖρ is folk-etymology, or the Attic form is itacistic; also Χειρ-ίας (Xépp-, Xhp-) [m.] (Megara, Boeot.), see Heubeck Beitr. z. Namenforsch. 7 (1956): 276<sup>9</sup>). 7. Verbs: a) χειρ-ίζω (Dor. NWGr. fut. -ιζῶ 'to maintain, govern' (Hp., Corc., Hell. and late), with -ισις, -ιζις, -ισμός, -ισμα, -ιστής, -ιστικός, -ιστεῦν; often in derivatives and hypostases, e.g. προχειρ-ίζομαι (to πρό-χειρος, see above), μετα-χειρίζομαι, -ίζω (to μετὰ χεῖρας) 'to take in hand, deal with' (IA); b) -χειρέω, -έομαι in hypostases like ἐπι-χειρ-έω 'to take hold of, undertake' (ω 386, 395), with -ημα, -ησις, etc., ἐγχειρέω (Arc. -χηρ-) 'id.' (Att.); c) χειρόομαι (act. -όω Ar. V. 443), aor. -ώσασθαι 'to conquer, overpower, make subject', pass. -ωθῆναι, perf. κεχείρωμαι 'to fall in sbd.'s hands, to be subject' (IA), with -ωμα, -ωσις, -ωτικός, εὐ-χείρ-ωτος; see Kerschensteiner MSS 15 (1959): 39ff.; d) χειρῖαν = τὸ κατερρήχθαι τὰς χεῖρας ἢ ἀλγεῖν ἐπὶ κόπου (Poll. 2, 152), cf. on ► χίρας.

•ETYM The dialectal forms Dor. χηρ-, and Aeol. χεpp- correspond nicely to Hitt. *kešsar* < \**ǵʰes-r-*. The oldest inflected forms in Hittite are acc. *kiššeran*, gen. *kiš(ša)raš* < \**ǵʰis-er-m*, \**ǵʰis-r-os* (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). We would expect a nom. \**ǵʰéap* in Greek, but it was apparently replaced after the genitive. ToA *tsar* and ToB *šar* also point to a stem \**ǵʰes-r-*, although the exact phonetic development remains unclear. The old reconstruction \**ǵʰer-s-* has been generally abandoned.

Further forms are: Arm. *jeṛn* from the accus., plur. *jeṛk'* (= χεῖρες), Alb. *dorë*. Connection with Skt. *hástā-*, Av. *zasta-*, OP *dasta-* [m.] 'hand, arm' < \**ǵʰes-to-* is likely, though the replacement of the suffix with *-t-* is hard to motivate.

The basic article for this word is Schindler IF 72 (1967): 244ff. On the spread of the stem χερ- from the dat.pl. χερσί < \**ǵʰes-r-su*, see most recently Viredaz KZ 113 (2000): 290-307 (also on the Armenian forms). See also on ► ιοχέαιρα < \**ǵʰes-r-ih₂*, which nicely preserves the old nominative form.

**χειρόμακτρον** [n.] 'towel, cloth, napkin' (Sapph., Hecat., S. and Ar. in *Fr.*, X., Hell. pap.). <GR>

•VAR Also -ώ-.

•ETYM The oldest interpretation departs from ►χείρ and ►μάσσω (whence μάκτρον) 'to knead, treat with the hands' (cf. ἀπο-, ἐκ-μάσσω 'to strip off, wipe off'). In this case, however, the incidental occurrence of -ω- (Hdt. v.l., Hell. pap.) beside the much more usual -ο-, remains unclear. Hoffmann 1898: 365 therefore proposed \*χειρ(ο)-ώμακτρον (with dissimilation), with a second member connected with ►ὀμόργνυμι 'to wipe'; for the zero grade, he refers to ὀμαρξον· ἀπόμαξον (H.). This is the more likely solution.

**χείρων** [compar.] 'worse, weaker' (IA, II.). <?>

•VAR Aeol. (gramm.) χέρρων, poet. also χειρότερος (O 513, Y 436, Hes. *Op.* 127, etc.), superl. χείριστος (Att.).

•DER Epic forms χερείων, χερειότερος; χέρεια [acc.pl.n., acc.sg.m.], χέρηες [nom.pl.], χέρηϊ [dat.sg.].

•ETYM In order to explain the forms, Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 2ff. assumes that a superlative \*χέρ-ιστος was built to χείρων < \*χέρ-γων, replacing zero grade \*χάριστος after μέζον < \*μέγ-γων to μέγιστος. Att. χείριστος was then reshaped after χείρων, to which χερίων· ἐλάττων, χέρων (H.) was formed. χερείων was formed beside \*χέριστος after the model ἄριστος : ἀρείων, with a ntr. χέρειον, to which the plur. χέρεια after the o-stems; to this, finally, the m./f. \*χέρει-ες (written χέρη-ες, see Schwyzler: 243), with a dat.sg. χέρηϊ, acc. χέρει-α.

No convincing etymology. Earlier attempts fail: the connection with Skt. *hrasvá-*, compar. *hrásiyas-* 'short, small', OIr. *gerr* 'short' because Gr. χερ- cannot be explained, and the proposal by Machek *Listy filol.* 72 (1948): 74f. (to OCS *gorjii* 'worse', which is usually connected with *gorěti* 'to burn', *gorьkь* 'bitter') is formally not evident in view of the Slavic o-grade.

On χειρόομαι see ►χείρ. Cf. also ►χρή.

**χελιδών, -όνος** [f.] 'swallow' (Od.), often metaph., e.g. of a flying fish (middle com., Arist.), see Strömberg 1943: 117f., Thompson 1947 s.v. <PG(S)>

•VAR Poetic voc. -οῖ, like ἀηδοῖ to ἀηδῶ(v), etc.

•DER 1. poetic χελιδον-ίς, -ίδος [f.], = -ών with elucidation of the sex (AP), also as a mythological name (Ant. Lib.). 2. χελιδον-ιδεύς [m.] 'young swallow' (Eust.), like ἀετ-ιδεύς, etc., see Boßhardt 1942: 78f. 3. χελιδον-ιον [n.] 'id.' (Gal.), also the name of a plant (Thphr., Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 72. 4. χελιδον-ίας [m.] kind of tuna (Diph. Siph.), see Strömberg 1943: l.c.), also the name of a constellation (Scherer 1953: 174), 'the spring wind' (Thphr.), like ἀπαρκτίας, etc. 5. χελιδόν-εως [f.] kind of fig tree (Ath. et al.), after φιάλεως, etc. 6. χελιδον-ιά [f.] name of a deme (Arx.), see Scheller 1951: 137. 7. χελιδόν-(ε)ιος 'belonging to the swallow, (colored) like a swallow', e.g. of figs, σῦκα, ισχάδες (Ar. *Fr.* 569: 4, Dsc., et al.), see Schulze 1933a: 415; also of a cup, κύλιξ (Delos IV-II<sup>a</sup>). 8. χελιδον-ιαῖος 'colored like a swallow' (pap. imper. times). 9. χελιδον-ίζω [v.] 'to chirp like a swallow, speak unintelligibly, βαρβαρίζειν' (A. *Fr.* 450 = 728 M.), 'to gather for the swallows, beg' (Rhodos; Ath. 8,

360b), whence -ισταί· οἱ τῇ χελιδόνι (τὴν -όνα cod.) ἀγείροντες (H.). Extensively on χελιδών and its derivatives Thompson 1895 s.v.

•ETYM The woman's name Χελιδφονις (? see Sommer 1948: 146<sup>3</sup>) would point to a suffix -φον-. This would be the only occurrence of this suffix in post-consonantal position in alphabetic Greek (but cf. Myc. *te-mi-dwe-te*, -*ta*). It is preferable, therefore, to take -f- as a false archaism, like in Τλασίαφο instead of -αο (cf. Fraenkel *Phil.* 97 (1948): 161).

Otherwise, the formation is unclear too: χελιδ- reminds of ψηφιδ-, κνημιδ-, but further connection with a root \*g<sup>h</sup>el- in reduplicated ►κίχλη and the Germanic group of OHG *gellan* 'to sound, cry', MHG *glien* 'to cry' is hardly credible.

On the other hand, a suffix -ιδ- is unproblematic in Pre-Greek. Fur.: 272, 355 assumes Mediterranean origin (also for Lat. *hirundō*).

**χελιχελώνη** [f.] designation of a girls' game, in which the participants form a ring around a player called χελώνη (Poll. 9, 125, Eust.). <PG?>

•ETYM A playful reduplicated formation, for which Specht KZ 59 (1932): 122ff. tried to explain a semantic relation with χελιδών. This is quite doubtful. The word could also be connected with χελώνη (s.v. ►χελύνη 2), which is Pre-Greek.

**χελλών, -ώνος** [m.] a kind of mullet, 'Mugil chelo' (Arist., Hikes. and Diph. *apud* Ath., H.); also as a PN (Ephesus IV<sup>a</sup>), see Bechtel 1917a: 48. <PG(V)>

•VAR Also -λ-.

•DER χελλαρίης = ὀνίσκος fishname (Dorio *apud* Ath.), see Strömberg 1943: 130 and 134.

•ETYM On the fish see Thompson 1947 s.v. The semantically obvious connection with χείλος (Mastrelli *Arch. glott. ital.* 51 (1966): 135; cf. the Romance continuants of Lat. *labeō*) is phonetically difficult.

Fur.: 140 connects χελλαρίης with καλλαρίας, γαλαρίας (H.) and γαλλερίας, γελαρίης (Dorio and Euthydem. *apud* Ath. 7, 315f.). The variation shows that these words are Pre-Greek, and the same must hold for χελλών, then.

**χελύνη 1** [f.] 'lip' (Ar. V. 1083, Poll. 2, 89, H.), 'jaw' (Ael.). <PG(V)>

•COMP As a first member in χελυν-οίδης 'with swollen lips' (Com. *Adesp.*, Eust.).

•DER χελύνιον [n.] 'lip' (pap., Hippiatr.), 'jaw' (Hp. *Ep.*, Hipparch., J., Hippiatr.). Probably also in χελυνάζειν· χλευάζειν 'to jest, scoff' (H.), which has variants σχελυνάζει· φλυαρεῖ 'talks nonsense', ἐσχελύνασεν· ἐφλυάρησεν (H.).

•ETYM The word is probably Pre-Greek, in view of its structure and of the variants with σχελυν-. Connection with χελύνη 2, χέλυς, χελώνη is semantically unclear; the relation to synonymous ►χείλος is unclear too.

**χελύνη 2** [f.] 'land turtle' (Nic. *Al.* 555, 558 v.l.). <PG(S)>

•VAR Aeol. χελύννα [f.] 'lyre' (Sapph.), 'game of turtles' (Erinn.), see Scheidweiler *Phil.* 100 (1956): 40ff. Also χέλυμνα (Babr. 115, 5), which has been doubted without justification (Fur.: 247). Also χέλους· μουσικὸν ὄργανον 'musical instrument' (H.), perhaps Boeotian?

•DER Diminutive χελύν-ιον [n.] 'braincase' (Hippiatr.), = χελώνιον (H.). χέλυσ, -υος [f.] 'tortoise' (*h. Merc.*), often 'lyre' (*h. Merc.*, Sapph., A. Fr. 314 = 621 M., E. [lyr.], Call.), with ū, secondarily ū. Also a constellation (Arat.), see Scherer 1953: 181 and 203; metaph. 'chest' (Hp., E.). As a first member e.g. in χελυ-ο-σσόος 'causing the (strings of the) lyre to move' (Hell. poetry), χέλ-υδροσ [m.] 'tortoise snake', an amphibious snake with rough scales (Nic., Lyc.), see Morel *Phil.* 83 (1928): 378. A rare derivative is χέλυσμα [n.] 'wooden sheathing on the keel of a ship for protection during haulage' (Thphr., Poll.), see Chantraine 1928: 9, and cf. ἔρεισμα, ὀδισμα, etc.; Χελῦ-τις [f.] epithet of Artemis in Sparta (Clem. Al.); the naming motive is unknown.

\*χελύειν is found in χελούειν· βήσσειν 'to cough' (H.), probably Lac., and in χελ(λ)ύσσομαι [v.] (also ἀνα-) 'to expectorate' (Hp., Nic., H.), -ω 'to disgorge' (Lyc.). Cf. also χελ-ίσκον [n.] = τρύβλιον (Hp. *apud* Erot.), -ίσκιον [n.] 'mild coughing' (Hp. *apud* Gal.).

χέλειον [n.] 'tortoise shell' (Nic., H.), χελεύς· κιθάρα (H.).

With a different stem χελώνη [f.] 'tortoise (shell)' (*h. Merc.*), metaph. of many tortoise-like objects, especially a wooden shield cover of siege-troops, Lat. *testūdō* (X., Plb., etc.). As a first member in Χελωνο-φάγοι [m.pl.] EN (Str., D. S., Plin.), also = ἀετοί τινες (H.).

Thence 1. χελών-ιον [n.] 'tortoise shell' (Arist.), often metaph., e.g. 'cover of a lock which is shaped like a tortoise shell' (Delos III<sup>a</sup>, pap.), see Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 43; diminutive -άριον [n.] (Hero, *Peripl. M. Rubr.*). 2. χελων-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'lyre, footstool, threshold' (Poseid., LXX, S. E.). 3. χελων-ία, -ίτις [f.] name of a stone (Plin.), -ίτης (κόλπος), -ίτις (νῆσος, etc.) as a geographical name (Redard 1949: 122, 125, 160, 178). 4. -ινος 'made of tortoise shell' (*Edict. Diocl.*).

•ETYM χέλϋς is at the basis of χελύνη < \*-us-no- 'ptng. to the χ.' and χέλειον < \*χέλεφιον (like γένειον to γένυς). With a change of suffix, we also find χελίσκον, -ίσκιον.

χέλϋς is usually identified with a Slavic word for 'tortoise': CS *žely*, Ru. *žolʹ*, etc. < PSl. \**želū-* < IE \**g<sup>h</sup>eluh-* or \**g<sup>h</sup>elH-u-*. The connection with the word for 'green, yellow' in Lat. *helvus*, Greek ▶χλόη, etc. from a root \**g<sup>h</sup>elh<sub>3</sub>-* seems possible, but is rejected e.g. by Schmeja *IF* 68 (1963): 40f.

Traditionally, χελώνη is connected to χέλϋς under an analysis \*χελω[υ]-νᾱ, where the long diphthong loses its second element. This would presuppose that suffixal -νη was added to an old nominative \**g<sup>h</sup>el-ōu*. It is more probable that χελώνη reflects an old interchange of suffixes -u- and -n- (e.g. Lat. *grūs* beside γέρανος, Lat. *corvus* next to κορώνη). It would be conceivable that the -ω- has to do with the root-final \**h<sub>3</sub>* of \**g<sup>h</sup>elh<sub>3</sub>-*, but the details remain unclear.

Another option (Mastrelli *apud* Frisk) is that χελώνη derives from the sharp sides of the jaw of tortoises, and that it is connected with the word for 'lip, jaw' in ▶χεῖλος, ▶χελύνη 1.

Finally, Fur.: 247 points out that the form χέλϋμνα is real, and that it yielded \*χελϋμνα > χελύνη, χελύννα (with interchange μ/ν), like in σίγϋμνος, σίγϋνος. This strongly suggests Pre-Greek origin. DELG writes that the form with -ῦν- is of a rare

type; Chantraine 1933: 208 already stated that the words with -ῦν- must be interpreted as loans from a non-IE language. In spite of the similarity with the Slavic words, I think this conclusion is unavoidable for χέλϋς, χελύνη and related words. The explanation of χελώνη from a long diphthong is an interpretation which has long since been given up (-ων- is a Pre-Greek suffix; see Fur.: 303<sup>39</sup>).

χελώτρα = *stillicidium* (gloss.), water that falls drip by drip.

•ETYM Conomis *Glotta* 46 (1968): 183 connects ▶χολέδρα 'roof-gutter', s.v.

χενόσιρις Egyptian name of 'ivy' (Plu. *Mor.* 365). <LW Eg.>

•ETYM According to Plutarch, φυτὸν Ὀσίριδος, which is correct according to Newberry *J. Egypt Arch.* 15 (1929): 93<sup>1</sup>.

χέραδος [n.] 'debris, gravel, rubble' (Φ 319, Sapph. 145, Alc. fr. 344 L.P., A. R. 1, 1123).

<PG(V)>

•VAR Dat.sg. χεράδει or -ι (Pi. P. 6, 13, Fr. 327), gen. χαράδεος = χαράδρας (*Tab. Heracl.* 1, 60); Also a fem. in the glosses χεράς· τὸ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ ποταμῶν λιθῶδες and χεράδες· αἱ τῶν χειμάρρων ποταμῶν λιθῶδεις ἀθροίσεις (H.). Variant σχερ- in gen. πολυ-σχεράδος (Euph. fr. 25 Powell), 'shingly' (LSJ), probably from false word-division in Φ 319. Further χεραδέως [adv.] 'in mass' (Gal. *Gloss.* XIX, 154 Kühn), with J. Jouanna.

•DIAL Myc. *ka-ra-do-ro* (see Ruijgh 1967a: 75).

•DER χαράδρα [f.] 'dry bed of a mountain river, torrent (which dries out in summer), ravine, etc.' (Il.); also χάραδρος [m.] 'id.' (Delph., Boeot., Plu.), also HN (Th., Paus.). Derivatives: 1. χαράδρ-ιον (Str.), -ειον (Nic.) [n.] 'id.'; 2. -εών, -εώνος [m.] 'place with many riverbeds' (Hdn.). 3. -ώδης 'full of riverbeds' (Str., Dsc.), -αῖος 'belonging to a riverbed' (APl., Nonn.), 'striated, serrated' (Nonn.), -ήεις 'id., full of riverbeds' (Nonn.). 4. χαραδρ-όμαι [v.] 'to be filled or corroded by a torrent, form a torrent, cleave' (Hdt., Hp., Plb., Str.), also with ἐκ-. 5. χαραδριός [m.] name of a bird, perhaps 'plover' (IA), acc. to Arist. because it lives in χαράδραι, probably folk etymology? More in Thompson 1895 s.v.; formation like ἐρωδιός, αἰγυπιός, etc.

•ETYM As is shown by the Heracleian gen. χαράδεος (probably reshaped after χαράδρα), the neuter χέραδος is old. The feminine χεράς, which was already (re)constructed in antiquity from the ambiguous form χεραδος (either χέραδος [acc.sg.n.] or χεράδος [gen.sg.f.]), is found beside χέραδος in H., EM, etc., and is supported by collective formations (Chantraine 1933: 352f.) like λιθάς, δειράς; for further discussion Leumann 1950: 161f.

The pair χέραδος : χαράδρα (rather not with vowel assimilation) reminds of ἔδος : ἔδρα, ἔχθος : ἔχθρα, etc. For the formation, cf. also πέτρα, τάφρη, etc.

The older connection with ▶χαράσσω must be given up. There is no convincing alternative etymology. Since the variation between χεραδ- and χαραδ- cannot be explained in IE terms, the word is probably Pre-Greek. This is quite plausible for a geographical term. Not in Fur. See also on ▶χόνδρος.

χερείων, χέρηες, -ηι ⇒ χείρων.

χεράριος [m.] probably 'secretary' in Ilion (CIG 3620, 3621 [I<sup>a</sup>]). <LW Latin>



•ETYM Interpreted as \*χειρ-άριος by Boeckh.

**χερμάς, -άδος** [f.] 'large pebble, sling stone' (poet. Pi., also late prose). <?>

•VAR Also χέρμα· ποίημα, χάλιξ (H.); cross of χέρμα and χεράς? See Schwyzer: 508.

•DER χερμάδιον [n.] 'cobble, sling stone' (Hom.), -άδιος 'similar to a χερμάς' (Luc.). χερματιστής· λίθος χειροπλήθης, και δίσκος βακχείος (H.), χερμ-αστήρ [m.] 'sling' (AP), -άται [m.pl.] 'slingers' (D. H.). Verb χερμάζω [v.] 'to clear of stones, remove the stones' in ἐχερμάζομεν· τὴν γῆν εἰργαζόμεθα (H.); with verbal connection also νεώχερμος· γῆ νεωστὶ εἰργασμένη (H.).

•ETYM Connected with χεῖρ by ancient sources (e.g. H. χερμάς· λίθος χειροπλήθης), χέρμα reminds of χέραδος and χεράς, which are also unclear. If the word belongs to χέραδος, etc., it is probably Pre-Greek.

The formally unobjectionable connection with Skt. *harm(i)yá-* [n.] 'firm, permanent house', Av. *zairimiia-* [n.] 'id.' remains hypothetical because of the meaning.

**χερνής, -ήτος** [m.] Adjunct of δόμος, βίος, γυνή = πένης, λάτρις, χειρο-τέχνης (H.), 'poor, meagre' (E. *El.* 207 [lyr.], AP 6, 39, Gal. *apud* Orib.), οἱ χερνήτες 'craftsmen, day labourers' (Arist. *Pol.* 1277<sup>a</sup>, 38: "οἱ ζῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν"); <GR?>

•VAR Fem. also χερνήσσα (Hdn. Gr. 1, 250).

•DER Besides χερνήτης (Dor. -ήτας) [m.] 'craftsman, day labourer' (Simon. 124A, A. Pr. 893 [lyr.], D. H.), fem. -ήτις 'craftswoman, day labourer (fem.)' (M 433, Parth., AP); also χερνήτορες = χερνήται (Man.). Adjective τὸ χερνητικόν 'the profession of craftsman' (Arist.). Backformation χέρνα γὰρ ἡ πενία (H.), probably constructed for the sake of etymology.

•ETYM Departing from M 433, where a spinster is mentioned, scholars have seen in χερνήτης a compound (univerbation) of χεῖρ and νέω 'to spin', so properly 'spinning with the hands'; thence, χερνήτης, χερνής would have secondarily acquired the general meaning 'day labourer', and (as an adjective) 'poor, scanty'. Schwyzer *RhM* 77 (1928): 105<sup>2</sup> explained the word as haplological for \*χερ-αρν-ητ- (χερ- for χερ- after χέρ-νιψ) 'earning with the hands' (to ▶ ἄρνυμαι, cf. μισθαρνέω, -ος, -ης), but this seems rather artificial.

**χερνίτης** [m.] designation of a white marble (Thphr., Plin.), see Redard 1949: 63. <?>

•VAR Also -ίτις [f.].

•ETYM Unexplained; there is nothing that would support connection with χεῖρ.

**χέρνιψ** ⇒ χεῖρ.

**χέρσος** [f.] 'dry land, mainland' (epic poet. Il.), as opposed to the sea, 'dry, infertile, barren land, wasteland', also adjective 'dry, infertile, desert', mostly predicative, which admits of a substantival interpretation (Hdt., trag., Thphr., LXX, pap.), also metaph. of women (S.); on the mg. Finzenhagen 1939: 59f. <IE \*ǵʰers-o- 'standing erect'>

•VAR Att. χέρρος.

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. χερσό-νησος (also χερρο-, metrically shortened χερο-) [f.] 'island connected to the mainland, i.e. peninsula', also as a PN (IA), with χερσονήσ-ιον, -ίζω, etc.; χερσο-κόπος [m.] 'who works on barren land' with -κοπέω,

-κοπία (Hell. pap.). Rarely as a second member, e.g. ἀρακό-χερσος [f.] 'wasteland overgrown with ἄ.' (pap.).

•DER 1. Adverbs χέρσονδε 'to the mainland' (Φ 238), χερσόθεν 'from the mainland' (Pi., E.), -όθι 'at the mainland' (AP). 2. Adjective χερσ-αῖος 'living on land (mainland)' (IA), -ινος 'id.' (Plin.), -ώδης 'infertile' (pap.). 3. Subst. χερσ-ίτης [m.] 'worker on wasteland' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>), -ία (-εῖα) [f.] 'wasteland, ἐρημία' (pap., H.); also παραχερσία of a field (*PTeb.* 378, 13; 265<sup>p</sup>), from \*παρά-χερσος 'located next to χ.' (cf. πάραλ-ος, -ία), 'almost barren land'; ἐν π. 'in a situation, which approximates a χ.'. 4. verbs: a) χερσ-εὔω (συν-, ἐκ-) [v.] 'to live on the mainland' (S. and E. Fr. [both uncertain], Plu.), 'to lie or lay waste, etc.' (X., Arist., pap.); b) -όομαι (κεχερσωμένη), -όω (χερσώσαντες) 'id.' (pap., LXX, Plu.).

•ETYM The gender is after νῆσος, γῆ, etc. Perhaps derived from the verbal root \*ǵʰers- 'to stand erect' seen in Skt. *hárṣate*, *hṛṣyati* 'to be excited' and Lat. *horreō* 'to stand erect, bristle, shudder', to which also belongs (with dialectal *i* for *e*) *hirsūtus* 'rough, bristly, raw'. The Greek word may first have referred to arid, stubbly land, and only later to land in opposition to water. See also ▶ χήρ.

Specht KZ 66 (1939): 201f. differently assumed a metathesized form of ξερός 'dry', like for σχερός 'mainland'.

**χέω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to pour, pour out, gush, shed, douse, empty, heap up', med. intr. 'to gush, stream, spread', pass. 'to be poured, be heaped up' (Il.). On the mg. in Homer see Porzig 1942: 104f., in the sacrificial language Casabona 1966: 279ff. <IE \*ǵʰeu- 'pour'>

•VAR With prefix also -χύνω (late); aor. ἔχεα, inf. χέαι, epic ἔχευα, χεῦα, χεῦαι, med. (epic poet.) also ἔχυτο, χύτο, χύμενος, etc., pass. ἐχύθην, χύθην, -ῆναι (Il.), fut. χέω, -ομαι, epic χεύω, -ομαι, late χεῶ, perf. med. κέχυμαι (Il.), act. κέχυκα (Hell.).

•DIAL Myc. *me-ta-ke-ku-me-na*; as a second member e.g. in *si-to-ko-wo*.

•COMP Mostly with one or two prefixes, especially in prose: e.g. δια- (συν-δια-), κατα- (ἐγ-κατα-), ἐπι- (προ-επι-), συν- (παρα-συν-).

•DER A. With full grade: χεῦμα [n.] 'that which is poured, stream, pouring jug' (epic Ion. poet. Ψ 561), προχεύματα [pl.] 'outpourings, mud' (Arist.).

B. With *o*-grade: 1. χοή (often plur. -αί) [f.] 'that which is poured, drink-offering, libation, donation to the dead' (especially poet. Od.); very often from prefixed compounds, e.g. προχοή (mostly pl. -αί) 'outpourings, mouth of a river', also 'libation' (epic poet. P 263); also with nominal first member, e.g. οἶνο-χόη [f.] 'jug for scooping wine' (Hes.), to οἶνον χεῖν, cf. οἶνο-χόος below. To this the verbs ἐπι-χοάζω = ἐπιχέω (Lyd. *Mens.*), ἐκ-χοῖζω (pap.) mg. unclear (cf. Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 216).

2. χοῦς [m., f.] 'jug' as a measure (= 12 κοτύλαι), also 'heaped up earth, rubble' (IA), gen. χοῦ, often (analogical) χοός, etc. Thence χο-αῖος 'measuring a χ.' (late), -ιεῖος 'id.' (Hell. pap.), -ικός 'consisting of earth, earthly' (*Ep. Cor.*, Ph.), 'belonging to the χόες-festival' (inscr.). Diminutive -ῖσκος [m.], -ῖσκιον [n.] (Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>). From προ-χέω: πρόχοος, -χος, -χους [m.] 'pouring jug' (Ω 304) with -χοῖδιον [n.] (com. et al.). Often with nominal first member, e.g. οἶνο-χόος [m.] 'wine pourer, cupbearer' (B 128), with -χοϊκός (Hld.); in bahuvrīhis, e.g. ἑξά-χοος 'measuring six χόες' (Arist.). 3. χοεύς [m.] = χοῦς as measure (Hp.).



4. χόανος [m.] 'smelting furnace' (Σ 470, Hes., Emp.), also 'funnel' (χῶνος, Hp.); χοάνη (Att.), χώνη [f.] (Att., Hell.) 'funnel' (also metaph.), 'smelting furnace' (Poseidon.). Hence χοανεύω, χωνεύω [v.] 'to cast into, smelt in, pour into a smelting furnace' (Att., Hell.), also with συν-, κατα-, etc., whence χων-εία, -εῖον, -ευμα, -ευτής, -ευτήριον (Hell.).

C. With zero grade: 1. χυ-τός 'heaped up' (Hom. only χυτή γαῖα), 'poured (out), fluid', mostly from the prefixed verbs, e.g. πρo-, ἐπι-, ἐκ- (Pi., IA); προχύται [f.pl.] (E., A. R.) = οὐλο-χύται (see οὐλαί).

2. χύτης 'pouurer' (gloss.), further with prefix, e.g. προχύ-της [m.] 'jug, mug' (Ion. lyr., Hell. com.). 3. χυτήρ = *fusorium* (gloss.), ὑπο-, ἐπι-χυ-τήρ [m.] 'pouring jug' (LXX, Sm.); καταχυτήρ-ια [n.pl.] 'inundation festival' (pap.), etc. 4. χύσις [f.] 'pouring out, emptying, that which is poured, rubble, heap' (Od.), mostly from prefixed verbs, e.g. συν-, ἐκ-, δια-, πρo-; ἐκχυσαῖος 'belonging to a drain' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>); besides χυ-τικός (δια-, συν-, πρo-) 'dissolving, etc.' (Pl., Arist.). 5. χύμα [n.] 'that which is poured, (cast) ingot, heap, bulk' (Arist., Hell.), innovated for χεῦμα, mostly prefixed, e.g. with ἐν-, πρo-, ἀπο-, κατα-; thence χυμάτιον [n.] 'small ingot' (Delos II<sup>a</sup>). 6. κατά-χυσμα [n.] (after ἡδυσμα, πάσμα, etc.) 'liquid poured over sth., sauce', plur. 'figs and nuts, with which the bride is showered' (com.); diminutive -χυσμάτιον (com.); συγ-χυ-σμός [m.] 'the pouring of oil into a lamp' (*Stud. Pal.* II<sup>p</sup>). 7. χύτρα (Epich., Att.), Ion. κύθρη, Hell. also κύθρα [f.] 'earthen pot' with κυθρίς, also χυτρ- [f.] (Hdt., Hell.), -ίδιον [n.] (IA), -εὺς [m.] 'potter' (Pl.), -ίτης = πτυός (sch.), -εοὺς (Att.), -εἰος (Ar.), -ινος (Hp.), -ικός (IV<sup>a</sup>) 'earthen, clay', -ώδης 'like a pot' (S.), -ίνδα παίειν (Poll., H.), -ίζω (also κατα-, ἐν-, ἐκ-) [v.] 'to abandon a child (in a pot), to put into a pot (for burning)' (A., S. in *Fr.*, com.), whence ἐγχυτρίστρια [f.] (Pl. *Min.*, sch.), περιχύτρισμα [n.] 'area enclosed by clay shards?' (Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>), χυτρίσμός: ἡ τῶν βρεφῶν ἐν ταῖς χύτραις ἐκθεσις (H.). 8. χύτρος (κύθρος) [m.] 'earthen pot', also 'earthen hole' (Hell.); οἱ Χύτροι name of the warm sources near Thermopylai (Hdt.), 'festival of pots' (Ar.) with χυτρ-(κυθρ-)-ῖνος [m.] 'subterranean water well, deep holes in the riverbed' (Antig. *Mir.*, *Peripl. M. Rubr.*); συγ-χυτρόομαι [v.] 'to become derelict, become ruined' vel sim., of an oil-mill (συνεχυτρώθη, pap. I<sup>p</sup>). 9. χύτλον [n.] (mostly plur. -α) 'liquid, especially for washing and anointing' (Hell. poetry), with χυτλ-όομαι, -όω [v.] 'to wash, anoint' (Σ 80, Hell. poetry, medic.), -άζω 'id.' (medic.), ἐγ-χυτλόω 'to perform a libation' (Herod.), κατάχυ-τλον [n.] 'pouring jug' (com., Poll.). 10. χύδην, Dor. (Call.) χύδαν 'in streams, by heaps, disorderly' with χυδ-αῖος 'abundant, ordinary, common' (Hell.), -αιότης, -αιόομαι, -αἰζομαι, -αἰστί (late). 11. See ►χυλός, ►χυμός, ►χυμεία.

On the secondary present forms χουῖν, προσχοῖ, χουσι, etc. (as if from \*χῶ) beside χῶσαι, χωσθῆναι, κέχωσμαι, etc., see ►χώννυμι. Reshaped from this χοεῦσαι [aor.] (Argolis IV<sup>a</sup>).

•ETYM Old forms are the verbal adjective χυτός, which formally agrees with Skt. *hutá-* 'sacrificed' < IE \*ǵʰu-tó-; other Greco-Indian isoglosses are: χεῦμα = Skt. *hóman-* [n.] 'sacrificial pouring, sacrifice'; χύσις = Skt. *ā-huti-* 'sacrifice'. The present and aorist formations of Greek and Indo-Aryan, however, are far apart: Greek has a

full grade thematic χέω, while Indic has an athematic reduplicated present *juhómi*. Both forms can be old.

A special problem is presented by the aorist forms ἔχευα and ἔχεα, see Kiparsky *Lang.* 43 (1967): 627f., Hettrich *MSS* 35 (1976): 47-61, and more recently Harðarson 1993a: 188 and 193-4. The question is whether they represent a sigmatic aorist or an old root aorist; I do not have a strong opinion on this matter. On the treatment of the intervocalic digamma, see Chantraine 1942: 159.

Beside these full grade active forms stand with regular zero grade the medial ἔχυτο, χύτο, χύμενος, to which ἐχύθην. From this aorist, the fut. \*χέφω arose as an original thematic subjunctive.

Beside in Indo-Aryan, the verbal root is found in ToAB *kāw-* 'to pour', ToB 1sg. subj. act. *kewu*, 3sg. med. *kutār*. The corresponding verb in Latin as in Germanic has an enlargement in -d- (probably a present suffix: Lat. *fundō* 'to pour out', Go. *giutan* 'id.', etc. Nominal forms are found in Arm. *joyl* 'poured, molten, massive' < \*ǵʰeu-lo- or \*ǵʰou-lo- (cf. χυλός), Arm. *jew* 'form, shape' < \*ǵʰeu-o-, Lat. *futis* [f.] 'watering can' (Varro). Hitt. *ku-uz-za* /*kūts*/, acc. *kuttan* 'wall' < 'heaped up' is a *t*-stem, see Schindler *KZ* 81 (1967): 297. Finally, there are two Thraco-Phrygian glosses: ζευμαν-τήν πηγὴν 'source'. Φρύγες (H.), would be Gr. χεῦμα, see Solmsen *KZ* 34 (1897): 62', and ζετραία· χύτρη (Poll.), perhaps from \*ǵʰeu-tr-. Cf. ►κοχυδέω and ►χῶομαι.

χηλή [f.] 'cloven hoof of cattle, horse's hoof, talon, pincers', metaph. 'surgical forceps, hooked needle, crochet needle, notch of an arrow, breakwater jutting out in a claw-like way' (Hes. Sc., IA since Hdt. and A.). ◀?▶

•VAR χαλά (trag. [lyr.]).

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. χαλ-αργός 'fleet of hoofs, with fleet hoofs' (S. [lyr.]), δί-χηλος, -χαλος 'with cloven hoofs, with two claws' (Hdt., E., Arist.); on -χαλος in Arist. see Björck 1950: 298ff. Thence διχηλ-έω [v.] 'to have cloven hoofs', with -ία, -ησις; compounds, e.g. ἀγκυλο-χήλης 'with hooked talons' (Ar.), confused in the tradition with the much more usual -χείλης.

•DER Verbs: 1. χηλεύει· ράπτει, πλέκει 'stitch, plait' (H., Poll. = Eup. 388); χηλευτά, epithet of κράνεα (Hdt. 7, 89), = ραπτά, πλεκτά (H., Poll.), χήλευμα = ὀπήτιον (H., Poll.). 2. χηλδομαι [v.] 'to be furnished with claws' (Hero), -όω 'to furnish with notches' (Ph.), -ωμα [n.] 'notch' (Hp. *apud* Gal., Eratosth.), -ώτια· αἱ ραφίδες τῶν δικτυοπλόκων (H.). Also κεχήλωμαι πόδας· δέδεμαι συνερραμμένος τοὺς πόδας (H., perhaps = S. *fr.* 445). Further χηλᾶς· ράπτῃς, πλέκῃς (H.). Unclear is χήλινον epithet of ἄγγος (Anacr. 37), acc. to H. and Poll. = πλεκτόν (but rather to ►χηλός, s.v.).

•ETYM No agreement outside Greek. Usually connected with ►χήμη, ►χηραμός and further with ►χάσκω, under the assumption of an original meaning "klaffender Gegenstand". DELG calls this not very plausible.

χηλός [f.] 'chest, drawer, coffer' (P, Od., Theoc., epigr. Thasos). ◀?▶

•VAR On the gender see Schwyzer 1950: 34<sup>2</sup>.

•DER Perhaps χήλινον (ἄγγος) 'chest-like vessel' (Anacr. 37), or to ►χηλή?

•ETYM “ἀπὸ τῆς διαστάσεως τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀνοιξιν γενομένης” (A. D.); if this is correct, it may belong with ►χήμη to ►χάσκω.

**χήμη** [f.] ‘mussel’ (Philyll., Arist., Hell. pap.), also used as a measure (Hp.); = χάσμη, χηραμὶς λεία ‘smooth kind of mussel’ (H.), see Olsson *Symb. Oslo*. 4 (1926): 63. <?>

•DER Diminutive χημ-ίον [n.] (medic.) and χήμωσις [f.] designation of an eye-disease (medic.).

•ETYM Taken to be a verbal noun to ►χάσκω (like χάσμη), with the same full grade as in OCS *zějъ* ‘χαίνω’. Cf. ►χηλή, ►χηλός, ►χηραμός. Quite uncertain.

**χῆν, χηνός** [m., f.] ‘goose’ (Il.). <IE \*ǵʰh<sub>2</sub>en-s- ‘goose’>

•DIAL Dor. Boeot. χάν, χανός; Myc. gen.sg. (pl.) *ka-no*, dat.pl. *ka-si* (Aravantinos, Godart & Sacconi 2002: 207f).

•COMP As a first member, e.g. χην-αλώπηξ [m., f.] “fox-goose” (after κυν-αλώπηξ, etc.), designation of an Egyptian kind of goose (Hdt., Ar., Arist., Herod.). Short form χηνάλοπες [pl.] (H.), with -αλωπεκ-ιδεύς [f.] ‘young fox’ (Ael.), -ειος (Hell. pap.); χηνάγρ-ιον [n.] ‘young wild goose’, diminutive of \*χῆν-αγρος (on the formation Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 286f.).

•DER 1. Diminutive: χην-ίον [n.] (Hell. pap.), -ίσκος [m.] (Eub.), mostly metaph., e.g. ‘curved part at the backside of a ship’ (Ptol., Luc.), -άριον [n.] (Hdn.), -ιδεύς [m.] (Ael., Eust.). 2. Adjectives -ε(ι)ος ‘of the goose’ (Hdt., Arist., Hell. pap.), -ώδης ‘goose-like’ (S. E.). 3. Verb χην-ίζω and χην-ιάζω ‘to quack like a goose, cackle’ (Ath., Diph.); of flute-players.

•ETYM The nom. plur. χῆνες, χάνες agrees nicely with Germanic and Baltic plural forms: OE *gēs* > MoE *geese*, ON *gæss*, Lith. dial. *žāses* < \*ǵʰans-es. The s-stem was generalized in Greek as an n-stem, with analogical nom. χῆν, χάν instead of \*χᾶς < \*χάνς.

Other cognates include Ru. *gus*’, OHG *gans*, probably also OIr. *géis* ‘swan’, and the secondary forms in Skt. *hamsá-* [m.] (o-stem), fem. *hamsī*, and OE *gōs*, ON *gōs* < PGM. \**gāns-ō*, continuing an ā-stem. Lat. *āns-er*, -*eris* [m.].

Connection with χανεῖν (see ►χάσκω) and onomatopoeic origin have both been considered.

As IE had no phoneme /a/, Skt. *hamsá-* must continue \*ǵʰh<sub>2</sub>en-s-, and the same form may be assumed for the other languages.

**χῆρ** [?] · ἐχῖνος ‘hedgehog’ (H.). <IE \*ǵʰer- ‘stick out’>

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *ēr*, *ēris* [m.] ‘hedgehog’, which may represent \**hēr*, cf. *ānser* ‘goose’ for \**hānser*. It is assumed that the root is \*ǵʰer- ‘to be excited’ seen in ►χαίρω, and that this originally meant ‘to stick out, be bristly’. It probably does not belong to the root \*ǵʰers- ‘to be stiff’ found in ►χέρσος, because we do not find a trace of \*-s- in the present word. See also ►χοῖρος.

**χήρα** [f.] ‘widow, woman left by her husband, vidua’ (Il.). <IE \*ǵʰeh<sub>1</sub>-ro->

•VAR Ion. -η.

•COMP As a second member in φιλό-χηρος, -χήρα ‘friend of widows’ (late inscr.).

•DER 1. χῆρος ‘widowed, orphaned, bereaved’ (E., Call., A. R., AP, late prose), rarely as a substantive ‘widower’, of the male of an animal (Arist. [beside χήρα], Ath.).

2. χηροσύνη [f.] ‘widowhood’ (A. R., Man.). 3. χηρ-αιότης [f.] ‘id.’ (pap. VI<sup>p</sup>), after γεραιότης, etc. 4. χηρ-ήϊος ‘widowed, empty’ (Antim.), -ειος ‘id.’ (AP). 5. χηρ-ικός ‘belonging to a widow’ (Tz.).

Verbs: 6. χηρ-εύω [v.] ‘to be widowed, separated, bereaved’ (ι 124, Gortyn, Att.), also with κατα-, ἐπι-; thence -ευσίς [f.] ‘widowhood, separateness’ (Gortyn, LXX). 7. χηρ-όω [v.] ‘to make widow, rob (of one’s spouse), depopulate’ (Il.), whence -ωσις [f.] ‘robbery’ (sch.). 8. χηρ-αίνω ‘to become a widow’ (Herod.).

See also on ►χηρωσταί.

•ETYM χήρα replaced the old word for ‘widow’ found in Lat. *vidua*, etc.; a cognate of this is retained in ►ἡῖθεος. Remote cognates may be found in χώρα < \*ǵʰoh<sub>1</sub>-reh<sub>2</sub>-, and with a different suffix χῆτος, dat. χῆτει (on ►χατέω see s.v.). It is assumed that the root from which all these forms derive is identical with that in the verb meaning ‘to leave’ in Skt. *jāhāti* and ►κιχάνω.

**χηράμβη** [f.] a kind of mussel (Archil. fr. 285 W, Sophr.) <PG(V)>

•VAR Also χηραμύς (Xanth., Hp., Str.), s.v. ►χηραμός. See Fur.: 287.

•ETYM Fur.: 221, 287 assumes a Pre-Greek pre-form \*χηραβυς in order to explain the prenasalized form.

**χηραμός** [f.] ‘hole, cleft, slit’ (epic poet. Φ 495, also Arist. and late prose). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Plur. also -ά [n.], dat. pl. also χηραμόνεσσι (Orph.), which seems to point to \*χηραμών, but is probably only a metrical enlargement.

χηραμὶς (Hp. *Morb.* 3, 15 and 16) and χέραβος· χάσμα γῆς (H.) are taken by Fur. 221 as mistakes for χηραμός, but could just as well be variants.

•DER χηραμο-δύτης [m.] “who nuzzles through holes” (AP), χηραμόθεν ‘from a hole’ (Orph.). Lexically attested by-forms: χαραμός· ἡ τῆς γῆς διάστασις, οἶον χηραμός (H.), χηλαμός (Eust.), χειραμός (EM).

Beside it χηραμύς, -ύδος [f.] ‘scallop-shell’, used as a measure of content (Xanth., Hp. [v.l. -μῖς], Str.), χηραμύδες· τὰ κοῖλα καὶ ἔχοντα κενώματα ‘hollow places, having cavities’ (H.); χηράμβη [f.] ‘kind of scallop’ (Archil., Sophr.).

•ETYM A typical example where scholars have tried to explain away all variants, instead of asking what they may indicate. We clearly have a Pre-Greek form with several variants. Fur.: 339 suggests that χειραμός represents an earlier form \*χαιραμος. The variant with -μβ- is a variant too, see Fur.: 221<sup>6</sup> and 287<sup>6</sup>, recalling the variations μ/ μβ and β/ μ. Note also ρ/ λ. Further, -υδ- is known as a Pre-Greek suffix.

**χηρωσταί** [m.pl.] = οἱ μακρόθεν συγγενεῖς (H.), ‘far-off kinsmen, who inherit from a deceased person lacking closer relatives’ (E 158, Hes. *Th.* 607, Q. S.). <IE \*ǵʰeh<sub>1</sub>-ro- ‘bereft’>

•ETYM Formation comparable with ὠμηστής, so like this to be analyzed as a compound, extended with a suffix -της. Formally and semantically strongly reminiscent of Lat. *hērēs*, -*edis*, it also resembles χῆρ ‘widow’, χῆρος ‘bereaved, orphaned, etc.’. The first member in both words is IE \*ǵʰeh<sub>1</sub>-ro- > \*χῆρον ‘property

left behind' (cf. MoHG *Erbe* 'property' to ▶ ὄρφανός, s.v.). Dunkel 1987: 91-100 showed that the second member is from *\*h<sub>2</sub>ed-* 'to eat'. This solves the problem of the -w-: *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>ro-h<sub>2</sub>d-* > χηρωδ-. The ē of Latin is explained by assuming lengthened grade *-h<sub>2</sub>ēd-* in the second member, which may have been reintroduced at a later stage or not.

χήτος •VAR Dat. χήτει, χήτει. ⇒ χατέω.

χθαμαλός ⇒ χθών.

χθές [adv.] 'yesterday' (h. Merc.). <IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>ies-* 'yesterday'>

•VAR Also ἐ-χθές (Ar., Hell.).

•DER χθιζός 'of yesterday' (Hom.), to which the adverb χθιζόν (T 195), -ά (B 303); explanation see below. Several formations in -ινός (περυσινός, etc.): χθεσινός (Luc.), ἐχθεσινός (AP), χθιζ-ινός (Ar. [lyr.] conj., Gal., Alciphhr.), ἐχθιζ-ινός (Men.).

•ETYM Old expression of time for 'yesterday', retained in:

1. Lat. *heri*, Alb. *dje* < IE *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>es(i)*, ON *í gær*, OSw. *ī gār* < *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>ēs*, where *i* is a preposition; with a suffix *-ter-* in Lat. *hes-ternus*, Gm. *\*gester-*, e.g. in OHG *gestaron* 'yesterday'.

2. Skt. *hyás* < *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>ies*. The gloss σερός· χθές. Ἡλεῖοι (H.) can also be explained from the same basis (with Elean rhotacism, and -ός after νυκτός).

3. χθές with the same initial as in ▶ χθών; here probably also belong Celtic forms like OIr. *in-dé*, MW (*d*)*doe* < PCL. *\*gd(i)ies* (with loss of the *g-*).

Derivation from *\*d<sup>h</sup>og<sup>h</sup>o-* 'day' (Puhvel 1987a: 316-318) directly explains the initial reflexes. Puhvel assumes a comparative suffix, with *-ies* as an endingless locative and *-is-* as a zero grade; in this way, the forms with and without *-i-* are also explained. The comparative suffix gives an original meaning 'the day which is the other day in relation to now'. The anlauting ἐ- in ἐ-χθές may be the same deictic particle as in ἐ-κεῖνος. χθιζά may be from *\*χθισ-δα* (Pisani) with *δ-* suffix as in κρύβ-δα, etc.; Puhvel l.c. n. 11.

χθών, χθονός [f.] 'earth, ground, land' (almost only epic poet. since Il.). <IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>em-* 'earth'>

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. χθονο-τρεφής 'bred by the earth' (A.). Often as a second member, e.g. αὐτό-χθων 'possessing one's own ground, living on proper ground, indigenous', mostly plur. 'aboriginals' (of the population of Attica, etc.), secondarily 'produced by the earth' (IA); besides αὐτό-χθονος 'together with the land' (A. Ag. 536); αὐτόχθων and -ονος are treated extensively by Sommer 1948: 83ff.

•DER 1. χθόνιος 'belonging to the earth, the ground, the underworld; indigenous' (epic poet. Hes., also late prose); often in hypostases, e.g. ἐπιχθόνιος 'living on the earth, earthly' (epic poet. Il.); on ▶ Ἐπιχθόνιος s.v. 2. χθόνεια [n.pl.] 'festival for worshipping the χθόνιοι θεοί' (Argolis). 3. χθονήρεις· χθονίους (H.), uncertain χθόινος = γήινος (H.). 4. With ablaut and retained *-μ-*: χθαμ-αλός 'low' (N 683), with *-αλότης* [f.] 'lowness' (late), *-αλόω* [v.] 'to lower, make level' (J.).

•ETYM Old word for 'earth', retained in most daughter languages: Hitt. *tēkan*, gen. *taknaš*, ToA *tkaṇ*, ToB *keṇ*, Skt. *kṣāḥ*, gen. *jmāḥ*, Av. *zā*, gen. *zəmə*, Alb. *dhe*, Lat.

*humus*, OIr. *dū*, acc. *don*, Lith. *žemė*, Ru. *zemljá*. Typical derivations are found in Germanic, e.g. Go. *guma* 'man', Lat. *homō*, NPhr. ζεμελως, which is a formation like χθαμαλός and Lat. *humilis*. The Anatolian TN Γδαμ-μανα is better left out of the discussion.

As a basis, we find an *m*-stem *\*d<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>-m-* > Hitt. *tekan*, to which a zero grade stem *\*d<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>om-* > ToA *tkaṇ* was formed. The initial *d<sup>h</sup>* was lost in Lat. *humus*, Gr. χαμαί, etc. In Greek, *d<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>-* became χθ- through metathesis, and final *-μ* regularly became *-ν*, which subsequently spread in the inflexion. The *-m-* was retained only in the zero grade forms χθαμαλός and ▶ χαμαί. The root may also be seen in ▶ αὐχμῖός 'drought' and νεοχμῖός 'new'. Further details on the morphology and phonetic development in Schindler *Sprache* 13 (1967): 191ff.

χῖ, χίασμα ⇒ χεῖ.

-χι [encl.pcl.] in ἦ-χι, οὐ-χί, ναί-χι (Il.). <IE *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>i-*>

•ETYM An emphasizing particle, like Skt. *hí*, Av. *zī*, also encl. in *kár-hi* 'when?', *tár-hi* 'then', from IE *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>i*.

χῖδρον [n.] 'dish of fresh barley-corns or other crops' (Alcm., Ar., LXX, Hell. pap.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Mostly plur. -ρα. Also χέδρα (v.l. Ph. 1, 180); κίδναι· αἱ ἐγγώριοι (codd.; ἐφώροι) πεφρυγμένοι κριθαί (H.), where Schmidt reads κίδραι *sec. ord.*

•DER χιδρίας πυρός 'unripe wheat' (Ar. Fr. 889), χιδροπώλης 'dealer in χ.' (Poll. 7, 199); χιδροβρόχον 'vessel for soaking χ.', Kafizin 219 (223/222 BC).

•ETYM Acc. to sch. Ar. Pax 595, ἔδεσμα περὶ Καρίαν. Unsuccessful attempt to connect the word with κριθή by Pisani *RILomb.* 77 (1943-44): 565f. The variation κ/χ shows that the word is Pre-Greek (Fur.: 135f.).

χῖδρυ [n.] · ὄνομα δειλόν (H.). <PG?>

•ETYM Probably a rude term, the meaning of which is not given. It could belong to sexual language, compare χίδαλον· ἀντὶ τοῦ <κίδαλον>· τὸ αἰδοῖον (H.), and χίδαδον [leg. χίδαλον]· τὸ παιδίον (H.). The connection with κίδαλόν 'onion' is popular. Difficult to judge is χιδά· φρικτή; see DELG. The word will be Pre-Greek.

χίλιοι [num.] 'thousand' (Il.). <IE *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>eslo-* 'thousand'>

•VAR Ion. (inscr.) χεῖλιοι, Aeol. χέλλιοι, Lac. χήλιοι.

•COMP As a first member in χιλιό-ναυς 'consisting of a thousand ships' (E., Str.), also -ναύτης, Dor. -ναύτας 'id.' (A. [anap.], E. [lyr.]), χιλιόμ-βη [f.] 'sacrifice of a thousand oxen' (Jul.), after ἐκατόμ-βη. As a second member also -χιλιοι in ἐννεά-, δεκά-χ(ε)λιοι 'nine thousand, ten thousand' (E 860, Ξ 148), after this δίσ-χιλιοι (Att. epigr. V<sup>a</sup>), a backformation like -βιβλος to ▶ βιβλίον.

•DER 1. χιλιοστός 'thousandth' (Att.), -όσομαι [v.] 'to be convicted to a penalty of a thousand drachmae' (Lycurg.); 2. χιλιάς, -άδος [f.] 'number of a thousand' (IA), -αστύς (Ephesus, Samos, Cos), also -οστύς (X.), Aeol. χελλησ-τύς (Methymna) [f.] 'division or troop of a thousand men' (details on the formation in Fraenkel 1910: 202f., Schwyzer: 593 and 597); thence -αστήρ [m.] 'member of a χιλιαστύς' (Samos), see Fraenkel l.c., Benveniste 1948: 74. χιλιάζω [v.] 'to be a thousand years old' (Tz.).

•ETYM The dialectal forms χεῖλιοι, χέλλιοι, χήλιοι clearly point to a pre-form \*χέσλιοι, which is cognate with Skt. *sahásra-*, Av. *hazanya-* [n.] 'thousand'. A pre-form IE \**ǵʰeslo-* can be reconstructed, but the original concrete meaning of it remains unknown ('heap' vel sim.?). Usually, Att. χῖλιοι is thought to have arisen by assimilation, and it also intruded into the text of Homer (see Wackernagel 1916: 7). Skt. *sa-* and Av. *ha-* continue the zero grade of IE \**sem* 'one' (see ► εἷς). It is usually assumed that Lat. *mille* should be connected too, from \**smih₂ ǵʰeslih₂*.

χῖλος [m., f.] 'green cattle-fodder, grass, meadow' (Hdt., X., Plu., Babr.). ◀?▶

•VAR Also -ή [f.] 'id.' (Gal., Suid.).

•COMP As a first member in χιλή-γονος 'grown as fodder' (Nic.), as a second member in βού-χιλος 'feeding oxen' (A. [lyr.], AP).

•DER 1. χιλ-ώ [v.] 'to feed, lead onto the meadow' (X.), -οὔσθαι· παχύνεσθαι, σιτίζεσθαι 'to fatten, be fed' (H.), with -ωμα [n.] 'fodder' (Agatharch.), -ωτήρ [m.] 'fodder-bag' (pap., Poll., H.); 2. -εύω 'id.', also intr. 'to pasture' (Thphr., Nic.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Machek 1958: 54f. compared Cz. *žir* 'fodder', Ru. *žir* 'fat, lard'. Other explanations of the Slav. word are found in Vasmer 1953 s.v.

χίμαιρα [f.] 'goat', also as a designation of a mythical monster (Il.). ◀IE \**ǵʰei-m-* 'winter, snow'▶

•COMP As a first member in χίμαιρο-φόνος 'killing goats' (AP). Hence χίμαιρ-άς [f.] 'id.' (Del.<sup>3</sup> 644, 16 [IV-III<sup>a</sup>]), beside ἀρνηάς (cf. Fraenkel 1910: 95), also -ίς [f.] 'kid' (Alciphhr.), -εῖος 'belonging to a goat' (Hdn.).

•DER χίμαρος [m.] 'he-goat', also [f.] 'goat' (Ar., Hell.); χίμαρο-κτόνος = χίμαρο-φόνος (Opp.); χιμάρα [f.] 'id.' (AP).

•ETYM Formation with a suffix -ια- (cf. πρῶρα, νείαιρα) which reminds of MoSw. and MoNw. dial. *gimmer*, *gimber*, ON *gymbr* [f.] 'sheep that has not yet dropped a lamb' < PGm. \**gimbrī*. The proper meaning is 'a one year old animal', cf. χίμαροι· αἴγες χειμέριαι (H.), and χίμαιρα· ἡ ἐν χειμῶνι τεχθεῖσα, οἶον ἕνα χειμῶνα ἔχουσα (EM 811, 53), see also on ► ἔταλον. If the Germanic forms are cognate, they are probably independent innovations.

The age of the much later attested χίμαρος (replacing ► τράγος, s.v.) is uncertain; probably it is an innovation to χίμαιρα like περός to πείρα; cf. also ἔταρος beside ἔταιρα.

It was derived from an *r*-stem, which is also seen in Arm. *jmeṛn* 'winter' < \**ǵʰimer-*, and within Greek with full grade in χειμέρ-ιος, -ινός. This *r*-stem alternates with the *n*-stem in χειμών, χεῖμα.

χίμετλον ⇒ χεῖμα.

χῖρας, -άδος [f.] 'chap, crack' (D. L., Suid., Eust.). ◀PG?▶

•VAR Also χειράς; plur. also χ(ε)ῖραι = αἱ ἐν ταῖς πτέρναις (H.), τοῖς ποσὶ ραγάδες (EM 810, 27).

•COMP As a first member in χιρο-πόδᾶς [m.] (Alc.; cod. χειροπόδης); also -πους, plur. -ποδες 'with chapped feet' (Poll., H., EM).

•DER χιρ-αλέος (medic. pap.), -αλέους· τοὺς πόδας κατειργασμένους (H.), cf. ῥωγαλέος; χίραμα [n.] designation of a foot-disease of horses (Hippiatr.). Formation like λιθάς, σπιλάς, etc.

•ETYM The connection with the Germanic group of MoNw. *gir* [m.] 'desire, passion', OHG *gīri* 'desirous', also *gīr* 'vulture', is highly doubtful. Semantically close within Greek are χηραμός, χηλή, but an ablaut IE \**ǵʰē(i)-* : *ǵʰi-* cannot be assumed anymore; this means that these words cannot be related. χηραμός is probably Pre-Greek; the same may hold for this word, in view of the suffix -αδ- and the meaning.

χιτών, -ῶνος [m.] 'chiton', designation of a garment without sleeves, which was worn directly on the body, 'body-garment, shirt' (Il.); extensively on the mg. Trümper 1950: 13f., E. Masson 1967: 27ff. ◀PG?▶

•VAR Ion. prose and Hell. κιθών (on κιτών, χιθών see below).

•DIAL Myc. *ki-to*, *ki-to-ne*, *-na*.

•DER Hypostasis Myc. *E-pi-ki-to-ni-ja* = ἐπι-χιτών-ια [n.pl.] "that which is worn over the chiton", designation of upper garments. Diminutives: χιτώνιον [n.] (Ar., Att. inscr., Hell. pap.), -άριον [n.] (Hell. and late), -ίσκος [m.] (Att.), -ίσκιον [n.] (Att. inscr.), -ισκάριον [n.] (Eust.). Further -ία [f.] mg. unclear (Melamp.), Scheller 1951: 54. Also Χιτώνη (Call.), -έα or -ία (Epich., Ath.), Κιθώνη (Milete), name of Artemis as a huntress.

•ETYM Acc. to E. Masson l.c., a Semitic loan word, first from Phoen. *ktn* 'linen garment'. On the different forms: χιτών, with metathesis κιθών, through contamination κιτών and χιθών, see Schulze 1933a: 386; Wackernagel 1916: 23 and Kretschmer *Glotta* 26 (1938): 43. From Sem. also Lat. *tunica* (see WH s.v.). Acc. to Fur.: 136, we are rather dealing with an Anatolian culture-word. Could it be Pre-Greek, given the variants?

χιών ⇒ χεῖμα, χεῖμών.

\*χλαῖδειν [v.] 'to cheer, roar'. ◀?▶

•VAR A hypothetical aor. beside the perf. κέχλαδα (Pi.), a form which is found as κεχληδέναι· ψοφεῖν, προσλαλεῖν 'to make noise, talk with' (H.).

•ETYM The formation may be compared with κέκρᾱγα : κρᾱγεῖν, κέκρῑγα : κρῑγεῖν, λέληκα : λακεῖν. A present \*χλαῖδω (LSJ) cannot be accounted for; it would rather be \*χλάζω (Thes., Pape), like κράζω, κρίζω beside ► καχλάζω.

χλαῖνα [f.] 'upper-garment, mantle', originally worn only by men (Il.). ◀PG(S,V)▶

•VAR Also κλανίσκιον inscr. Athens (Fur.: 136).

•COMP μελάγ-χλαινος 'with a black χ.' (Mosch.), also a people north of the Scythians (Hdt.).

•DER χλαιν-ιον [n.] (AP); denominative -ῶσαι, -όω [v.] 'to cover with a mantle' (Nonn., AP), also with ἀνα-, δια-, κατα-; thence -ωμα [n.] 'cloak', of the skin of a lion (APL), -ίζω 'id.', -ιστής [m.] (Hdn.).

Further χλανίς, -ίδος [f.] 'light upper-garment', worn both by men and women (IA). Compound χλανιδο-ποιός [m.] 'manufacturer of χ.' (Poll.), -ποιία [f.] (X.). Thence χλαν-ίδιον [n.] (Hdt., E.), -ιδίσκα [f.] (Tanagra III<sup>a</sup>), -ιδίσκιον [n.] (Aristaenet.); also

-ίσκιον [n.] (Ar., Aeschin. et al.), haplological; -ισκίδιον (Ar.). Also χλάνδιον [n.] (Samos, Teos).

A third formation is χλαμύς, gen. -ύδος, accus. -υν (Sapph.) [f.] 'upper-garment for men, especially for traveling or for battle' (Ar., X., Hell.). Compound χλαμυδ-ουργός [m.] 'manufacturer of χ.' (Poll.), -ουργία [f.] (X.). Diminutive χλαμύδιον [n.] (Hell.), -υδίσκα [f.] (Tanagra III<sup>a</sup>), verb κεχλαμυδωμένος 'dressed in a χ.' (Nicostr.).

Unclear remain the glosses χλαμυρίς· πόα, ό κυρίως βρόμος 'wild oats', likewise χλανία· περιβολαί 'garments'; χλανίτιδες· οί ὄρμοι παρθένων 'necklaces of girls'; χλάνος· τὸ περὶ τοὺς τραχήλους δάσος 'rough part around the neck' (all from H.).

•ETYM For χλαῖνα < \*χλάν-ιά and χλανίς, a common base form may be assumed. Fraenkel 1912: 178<sup>2</sup> attempted to derive them from a common form χλαμ-, together with χλαμύς. Fur.: 338 connects χλαμύς with χλαῖνα as Pre-Greek, which is convincing given the meanings. Also related are χλανία· περιβολαί, for the same reason. χλανίτιδες 'necklace' is rather a different word.

Fur.: 220 connects χλαμυρίς with χλαβόν· εὐτραφές. The group of χλαῖνα, χλανίς and χλαμύς is no doubt Pre-Greek, given the suffix -υδ-, and the interchange ν/μ (see Fur.: 388). Add to these κλανίσκιον (see above).

From χλαῖνα was borrowed Lat. *laena* via foreign (Etruscan?) mediation.

χλαμύς = χλαῖνα.

χλαρός [adj.] only in χλαρόν γελάσσαις (Pi. P. 9, 38), which acc. to the sch. means προσήγνεις καὶ ἡδύ 'friendly and sweet'. <?>

•VAR From H.: χλαρόν· ῥυπαρόν, λεπτόν, τρυχαλέον 'dirty, small, XX'; also = ἐλαιηρός κώων 'oil vessel'; χλαρά· ψαιστά ἐν ἐλαίῳ 'ground in oil', cf. Myc. *ka-ra-re-we* = χλαρήρες? See Morpurgo Davies 1963 s.v.

•ETYM Unclear. Persson 1912(2): 791<sup>3</sup> hesitatingly compared it with ON *glóra* 'to sparkle', etc.; see also on ►χλόη. A gloss χλάρ· κόχλαξ (H.) = κάχληξ 'pebble' reminds of Lat. *glārea* 'id.', and this is probably not accidental. Alessio *Studi etruschi* 18 (1941): 132 thinks it is a Mediterranean word.

χλεμερόν [adj.] · χλιαρόν, θερμόν 'warm, hot'; χλεμύρα· χλοανθοῦντα 'verdant' (H.). <PG>

•ETYM Persson 1891: 94 and Persson 1912(1): 15 compares Lith. *želmuo* 'shoot of a plant', to *žėlti* 'to become green, flourish', with further connection to the group of ►χλόη. This is difficult because the root is probably \**g<sup>h</sup>elh<sub>3</sub>-*. The word seems Pre-Greek: for the suffix cf. ►διφθέρα.

χλέος = χληῖδος.

χλευδόν· χύδην, σωρηδόν, πληθοῦντα 'unordered, in heaps, full' (H.). = χληῖδος.

χλεύη [f.] 'joke, jest, mock, scoff' (h. Cer. 202, Lyr. [IV<sup>a</sup>], Ph., Luc.). <IE \**g<sup>h</sup>leu-* 'be merry, joke'>

•DER More usual χλευ-άζω [v.] 'to jest, mock, taunt' (Ar., D., Arist., Hell.), also with δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-, etc., probably denominative; thence -ασμός [m.] (D., Arist., Hell.), -ασμία [n.] (LXX, sch.), -ασία [f.] (D., Arist., D. C.) 'mockery, taunt', -αστής [m.]

'mock' (Arist., M. Ant.), -αστικός (also κατα-) 'mocking, taunting' (D. H., J., Poll.), -αξ [m.] 'id.' (com. in Poll.).

•ETYM The retention of antevocalic -ευ- seems to point to a lost following consonant (like in ►σκεῦος, σκευή, σκευάζω). χλεύη corresponds to OE *glēo* [n.] 'cheerful conversation, convivial pleasure, joy' < IE \**g<sup>h</sup>leu-o-*, OE *glīw* = ON *glý* [n.] 'id.' < IE \**g<sup>h</sup>leu-io-*. Other cognates have a suffix \*-m- (ON *glaumr* = OE *glēam* [m.] 'shouting, joy', Ru. *glúm* [m.] 'banter, scoff') or -d- (e.g. Lith. *glaudas* 'banter'). See Pok. 451.

χληῖδος [m.] 'debris, filth, rubbish' vel sim. (A. Fr. 16 = 264 M., D. 55, 22 and 27, Crates Com. 27, Hdn.), = ό σωρός τῶν λίθων 'heap of stones' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 136 and 123<sup>36</sup> mentions variants κληδόν· σωρόν (H.), κληδέα· φραγμοί 'fencings, partitions' (H.) and also χλέος (inscr. Tegea [IV<sup>a</sup>]). These ensure Pre-Greek origin.

χλῑαίνω [v.] 'to warm, soften' (Hp., S. Eleg., Ar., Arist., AP). <IE? \**g<sup>h</sup>lei(d)-* 'gleaming, clear'>

•VAR Aor. -ιάναι, Ion. -ιῆναι, pass. -ιανθῆναι, fut. -ιανῶ (Ar.); perf. κεχλῑαγκα· τεθέρμαγκα 'am warm' (H.).

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-, etc.

•DER χλιάσματα [n.pl.] 'warming compresses' (Hp.).

Further χλιάζω [v.] 'id.' (sch. Nic. Al. 206), χλιάω 'id.' in ptc. χλιόωντι ποτῶ (Nic. Al. 110; v.l. χλιόεντι), χλῑώ (also ἐν-) [v.] 'to revel, behave haughtily' (A.), ἐγγχλίει· ἐντρυφᾷ 'to live in luxury, be dainty' (H.), χλιά [f.] 'warmth' (D. S.), χλιόεις in χλιόεντι (v.l. Nic. Al. 110), -ώδης 'lukewarm' (late medic.).

Adjective χλιαρός, -ερός (Schwyzer: 482), -ηρώς (Hp.) 'lukewarm' (Alcm., Epich., Hdt., com., Arist., etc.), -αρότης [f.] (Procl.).

With δ-enlargement: χλιδή [f.] 'effeminacy, luxury, haughtiness' (Hdt., trag., Pl. Smp. 197d, X. Cyr. 4, 5, 54), also χλιδός [n.] 'luxurious ornament' (Ion Trag. 3), χλιδών, -ωνος [m.] (accented acc. to Hdn. 2, 729, 18) 'bracelet, necklace, anklet' (Asios VII-VI<sup>a</sup>, Ar. Fr. 320, 11, Att. inscr. IV<sup>a</sup>, Hell.), χλιδανός (Aeol. χλιδ-) 'copious, voluptuous' (Sapph., A. [anap.], E. [lyr.], Plu.), χλιδάινομαι [v.] 'to live luxuriously' (X), χλιδάω (rarely with κατα-, κατ-εν-) [v.] 'to be effeminate, revel, be haughty' (Pi., trag., Ar. [troch.], Posidon., Arr.), whence -ημα [n.] = χλιδός (E. IA 74). Further some seemingly primary forms: κεχλιδότα· ἀνθοῦντα 'flowering' (H.), διακεχλιδώς = θρυπτόμενος (Archipp.); with full grade: διακεχλοιδώς· διαρρέων ὑπὸ τρυφῆς 'wasting away in luxury', διακεχλοιδένα· θρύπτεσθαι 'to be effeminate, etc.' (H.). Thus also χλοιδᾶν· διέλκεσθαι καὶ τρυφᾶν, χλοιδῶσι· θρύπτονται, χλοιδέσκουσαι· γαστριζουσαι (H.), on the formation see Schwyzer: 708.

MoGr. χλιός 'lukewarm' can hardly be the old inherited basis of the above group, as per Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 191.

•ETYM The pair χλῑαίνω : χλιαρός (like μαιίνω : μαιρός, παίνω : παρός, etc.) belong together both formally and semantically, due to their physiological meaning 'soft, lukewarm'. χλιά, χλιόεις, χλιώδης fit with these semantically.

The rare forms χλίω and χλιδή, in the metaphorical sense 'soft, luxuriant, etc.', seem to be primary.

Some Celtic and Germanic words with the meaning 'to shine, etc.' are compared: OIr. *glé* 'clear, evident', MW *gloew* 'liquid, clear' < QIE \**ǵʰloiwo-*, also ON *gljá* 'to shine, gleam', MHG *glīmen* 'to lighten up, gleam', Lith. *žlejà* 'darkness, twilight, dusk' (extensively on this Fraenkel 1955 s.v.). These words point to a root \**ǵʰlei-*.

χλιδή, on the other hand, would correspond to Go. *glitmunjan* 'to gleam', ON *glita* 'to glitter', etc. The semantic connection between 'shine, gleam' and 'warm' is difficult, so the reconstruction remains uncertain.

**χλόη** [f.] 'first green shoots, young verdure, etc.' (IA), also Χλόη (Ar., inscr., etc.), Χλοΐη (oracular saying [II<sup>p</sup>]) as an epithet or name of Demeter. <IE \**ǵʰelh<sub>3</sub>-* 'green, yellow'>

•VAR Also χλοΐη (Hp., Hell. pap., Babr.), Dor. χλόα (E. [lyr.]).

•COMP E.g. χλοη-φόρος 'bearing young green' (E. [lyr.], Ph.), whence -φορέω [v.] (Thphr., Ph.); εὖ-χλοος (or ἐύ-) 'verdant, fresh and green', of Demeter and others (S., Nonn.).

•DER 1. Χλόϊα [n.pl.] 'festival of Demeter Chloe' (Att. inscr. II<sup>a</sup>). 2. χλο-ερός 'verdant, bright green, fresh' (Hes. Sc., S., E. [lyr.], Theoc.), -ηρός 'id.' (Hp.), -ήρης 'id.' (E. [lyr.]). 3. χλο-ανός 'id.' (Lyd.). 4. χλο-άω (also ἐν-) a) 'to green, sprout, bud' (Eup., Nic., AP, Ph.), b) 'to be pale' (Nonn.). 5. -άζω = χλοάω (Arist., Nic., Plu.), whence -ασμα [n.] 'greening'.

Further χλόος (Hell. poetry), χλοῦς (Hp. *apud* Gal.) [m.] 'light green, green-yellow color, pallor', χλο-ώδης 'color of grass, green-yellow, pale' (Hp., Pl., Thphr.), χλοιοόμαι (also ἐκ-) [v.] 'to become green-yellow or pale' (Hp., Gal.).

On itself stands, with other formation, χλωρός 'bright green, pale green, green-yellow, yellowish, pale', also 'fresh, lively' (Il.). Compounds, e.g. χλωρο-φάγος 'eating green fodder' (Hp.), -φαγέω [v.] (Hippiatr.), μελί-χλωρος 'honey-yellow' (Pl., Arist.).

Hence 1. χλωρ-ότης [f.] 'bright green color, paleness' (LXX, Plu.). 2. -ῖτις λίθος 'bright green stone' (Plin.), see Redard 1949: 63. 3. χλωρ-αίνομαι [v.] 'to turn pale' (S. Fr. 1114, Gal.), -ασμα [n.] 'becoming pale' (Hp.). 4. χλωρ-ίζω 'to become green or pale' (LXX). 5. χλωρ-άζω [v.] 'to eat green fodder' (Gal.). 6. χλωρ-ιάω [v.] 'to become pale, turn pale' (Hp., Longos), -ίασις (H. s.v. χλόος). 7. χλωρ-ική epithet of the ἀρτεμισία (PMag. Par.). 8. birdnames: χλωρ-εύς [m.] name of an unknown bird (Arist., Plin., Ael.), see Boßhardt 1942: 62; χλωρ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'greenfinch' (Arist., Nic., Ael.); χλωρ-ίων, -ίωνος [m.] 'golden oriole' (Arist., Plin.), on χλωρηΐς s.v.; on the birdnames see Thompson 1895 s.vv. 9. Χλώρις, -ιν pet name (λ 281).

•ETYM The writing χλοΐη, χλοιοόμαι, which is probably Ionic, may have been caused by the synonyms ποίη, ποία (which is πόα in Attic); cf. cases like χνοΐη beside ►χνόη, ὀλοτός beside ►ὀλόος.

The Greek words for vegetation belong to a group of words which is represented in Baltic, Slavic and Latin in the same meaning: Lith. *žėlti*, 1sg. *želiū* 'to green, sprout', *želmūo* 'plant, shoot, growth' < \**ǵʰelH-mōn*, *žālias* 'green, raw, uncooked', *žolė* 'grass, herb, flower' < \**ǵʰōl-*, etc.; in Slavic e.g. OCS *zelenŭ* 'χλωρός, πράσινος', Ru. *zelėnyj* 'green', etc.; Lat. *helus*, (*h*)*olus*, -*eris* [n.] 'green plants, vegetables, cabbage'. In Indo-Iranian, Skt. *hari-* 'fallow, greenish' and Av. *zairi-* 'yellow' < \**ǵʰe/dH-i-* are related.

From other languages, ζέλκια· λάχανα. Φρύγες (H.) and Oss. *zældæ* 'low grass' may be mentioned.

From χλωρός, which must derive from zero grade \**ǵʰlh<sub>3</sub>-rō-*, it becomes clear that the root was \**ǵʰelh<sub>3</sub>-*. It is unclear, however, how χλόη and χλόος (with short -o-) can be derived from this root, as they point to \*χλόφι, \*χλόφος. The pair \*πλόφος to πλώω has been compared, but there we have evidence for two roots \**pleu-* and \**pleh<sub>3</sub>-*.

The comparison of χλωρός with Icel. *glóra* 'to sparkle, gaze at', *glór-eygðr*, *glór-ögd* 'with sparkling eyes' is semantically not strong. Interesting is the identification of χλωρός with ►γλουρός· χρυσός, γλουρέα· χρύσεια. Φρύγες (H.).

Other relatives are expressions for 'bile' and 'yellow', see ►χολή.

**χλούνης** [m.] epithet of the wild boar (I 539, Hes. Sc. 168, 177, Call. *Dian.* 150), 'boar' (Nic. Fr. 74, 6, Opp. H. 1, 72), mg. unclear (A. Fr. 62 = 74 M., Hippon. 61 = 29 Masson). The meaning was already debated in antiquity: 'cut up, castrated, τομίας'; 'living solitarily, μονιός'; 'foaming, ἀφρίζων'; 'resting in the grass, ὁ ἐν τῇ χλόῃ εὐναζόμενος'; 'wrong-doer, robber, κακοῦργος, λωποδύτης'. <?>

•VAR Acc. -ιν.

•DER Also χλοῦνις [f.] 'pubescence' vel sim. (A. Eu. 188), χλουνός· χρυσός 'gold' (H.). Also MoGr. dial. (Calabria) ἀσκλοῦνη(ς) = 'μονόρχης κριός' or 'στεῖρος κριός' (Kapsomenos; see Risch *Glotta* 35 (1956): 76 and O. Masson 1962: 29).

•ETYM The word has no etymology, and the case is worsened by the unclear meaning. For χλουνός = χρυσός, connection with χλόη, χλωρός is probable.

**χλωρηΐς, -ίδος** [adj.] epithet of ἀηδών (τ 518), of κάμπη (Nic. Th. 88). <GR>

•ETYM Poetical feminine formation of χλωρός after patronymics and derivations from PN's, e.g. Χρυσηΐς, Βρισηΐς (Risch 1937: 142); cf. ἀηδόνες ... χλωραύχενες (Simon. 73).

Prellwitz, however, reconstructed \*χλωρ-ιηΐδ-ς 'brightly singing', a compound of χλωρός and the zero grade of αἰδῶ with compositional lengthening. The same analysis by Duerbeck MSS 24 (1968): 15ff. (with extensive treatment), but in the sense of 'singing in the fresh leaves'.

**χλωρός** ⇒ χλόη.

**χναύω** [v.] 'to gnaw (off), nibble' (Epich., E. Cyc. 358 [lyr.], com. IV<sup>a</sup>). <?>

•COMP Also with παρα- (Ael.).

•DER χναῦμα [n.] 'delicacy, titbit' (com. IV<sup>a</sup>, Zen., Poll., H.), -μάτιον [n.] (com. V<sup>a</sup>), -ρός 'dainty' (Pherecr.), -στικός [m.] 'gourmand' (com. III<sup>a</sup>). Further χνίει· ψακάξει, θρύπτει (cod. -ττει) 'drips, breaks into pieces' and χνιαρωτέρα· χνωω<δεσ>τέρα (H.).

•ETYM These words agree in their vocalism with ψαύω, θραύω, χραύω; the glosses remind of ψίω, χρίω. Further see ►χνόη, ►χνόος; it is unclear what the original form was.

**χνόη** [f.] 'axle-box, hub' (trag.). <?>

•VAR Also χνοΐη (Parm., Emp. [conj.]); cf. χλοΐη beside χλόη.

•DER Besides χνόος, χνοῦς [m.] 'fluff, dust, foam' (ζ 226, Hp., Ar., Arist., Hell.), χνω-ώδης 'fluffy' (Hp., Thphr., Dsc., Gal.), χνό-ιος 'id.' (Anacreont.), χνω-άω [v.] 'to be

fluffy; to start growing a beard (Hell. and late poetry), also with ἐπι-; also χνο-άζω (S. OT 742, com. V<sup>a</sup>, Him.), χνο-ίζω (Crete II<sup>p</sup>, Gal.) 'id.'

•ETYM Starting from a meaning 'to plane, scratch, gnaw off', χνόος and χνόη may be understood as action nouns 'what is planed or gnawed off', and 'place of planing off (of the axle)'. It is tempting to connect the popular words ►χναύω and χνίω.

Reasonable connections can then be found in Germanic and Slavic: ON *gnúa* 'to rub', OE *gnēað* < PGm. \**gnauða*- 'niggardly', Ru. *gnus* 'rabble, vermin', Pol. *gnus* 'sluggerd', OCS *gnusъnъ* 'μιαρός'; DELG speaks of 'rather loose' connections. The forms mentioned in Pok. can hardly yield Gr. χναυ-. Cf. also ►κνίζω, ►κνύω, ►κνόος, which agree in meaning.

**χοάνη** •VAR χόανος, χοή, χοῦς. ⇒χέω.

**χοϊνίξ, -ικος** [f.] corn-measure = 4 κοτύλαι (since τ 28), metaph. a kind of fetter (Ar., D.), also of the socket of a door-hinge (Hell. pap.). <PG(S)>

•COMP As a first member in χοινικο-μέτρης 'one who measures with a χ. (as a daily ration)' (Ath.), ὁμο-χοϊνίξ 'one who shares a χ. with someone else, fellow-slave' (Plu.); further almost always thematically enlarged, e.g. τρι-χοϊνικός 'measuring three χ.' (Ar., X., Hell. pap., Poll.).

•DER χοινικ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] in several mgs. like 'nave, drum' of a wheel, an axle, a door-hinge, a crown, etc. (D., Hell.); -ιον [n.] as a measure, also 'fetter' (Phld., Them.), χοινίκι τοῦ τροχοῦ, ἐν ᾧ στρέφεται ὁ ἄξων 'socket of a door-hinge' (H.); -ιαῖος 'measuring one χ.' (Hell. inscr.).

•ETYM The fact that no origin can be proposed for this technical expression, means that it is almost certainly Pre-Greek; cf. the suffix -ικ-.

**χοῖρος** [m., f.] '(young) pig, piglet' (ξ 73), metaph. 'pudenda muliebria' (com.); name of a Nile-fish (Str., Ath., Gp.), on the naming motive Strömberg 1943: 101; or is it a folk-etymology from Nubian (Thompson 1947 s.v.)? <PG?>

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. χοιρο-πώλας (Dor.) [m.] 'pig-seller' (Ar.); also as a second member, e.g. καλλί-χοιρος 'with fair piglets' (Arist.), ἀγρίο-χοιρος [m.] 'wild boar' (sch. Ar. Pl. 304).

•DER 1. χοίρα [f.] 'female piglet' (Orph.). 2. diminutive χοιρ-ίον [n.] (Ar.), -ιδιον [n.] (Att., etc.), -ισκος [m.] (Luc.).

3. χοιρ-άς, -άδος [f.] 'sea-cliff' (Pi., IA), because of the similarity with the back of a swine, plur. 'swollen glands in the neck' (Hp.), cf. Lat. *scrōfulae* to *scrōfa*, see WH s.v.; thence -αδώδης 'raggy' (Str.), 'full of glands' (Plu.), -αδικός 'suffering from neck-glands', ntr. 'remedy against glands' (medic.). Pisani *RILomb.* 77 (1943-44): 566f. connected χοιράς < \*χορ-ιαδ- 'cliff' with χέραδος 'gravel', but this is not preferable.

4. χοιρ-ίνας [m.] 'kind of cake' (Philox. Lyr. V-IV<sup>a</sup>). 5. χοιρ-ίνη [f.] 'small sea-mussel' (Ar. [anap.], Poll.), like δελφак-, ἀθερ-ίνη and other fish names). 6. χοιρ-ίημα- τὸ χοιρίδιον (H.), like ἐριφιήματα = ἐριφοί. 7. χοιρ-εών [m.] 'pigsty' (Tz.). 8. χοιρ-άφιον [n.] 'furrow' (pap. III<sup>p</sup>), like θηρ-άφιον. 9. Adj. χοίρ-ε(ι)ος (IA, ξ 81), see S. Schmid 1950: 26 and 51; -ινος (Luc.) 'of (young) pigs', -ικός 'id.' (EM), -ώδης 'dirty' (late medic., Hdn.), -ωδία [f.] (sch.). 10. -ίζω [v.] 'to behave like a swine' (sch.). 11.

Χοιρεᾶται [m.pl.] name of a phyle in Sicyon (Hdt. 5, 68), a nickname devised by Cleisthenes. 12. χοιρόδανον [n.] name of a plant (Ps.-Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 147.

•ETYM The inherited word for 'pig', σῦς or ὕς, gradually extinguished and was replaced by γρύλος, γρύλλος and χοῖρος. The latter probably represents \*χορ-ιος, and in this case may be cognate with Alb. *derr* < *g<sup>h</sup>oiro*- 'swine'. Since wild pigs are brushed, it may also be related to ►χήρ 'hedgehog', which is related to Lat. *ēr*. In view of the limited distribution, we may wonder whether this etymon is a substrate word.

The other etymology by Lidén *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae* B. 27 (1931): 117ff., that χοῖρος would be identical with Arm. *gēr*, gen.pl. *girac* 'fat (of men and animals)' (which may derive from IE \**g<sup>h</sup>oiro*-) and related to Ru. *žir* 'fat, bacon, wealth', is not very convincing.

**χολάδες** [f.pl.] 'entrails, guts' (Δ 526 = 181, *h. Merc.*, Antim., AP). The sing. χολάς means τὸ κοινὸν ὑποχονδρίου καὶ λαγόνος, 'abdominal cavity' (Arist.). <PG?(V)>

•VAR χολλάδες (Pherecr., Men.). Fur.: 131 compares κόλον 'intestines' (Ar.).

•DER Besides χόλικες [f.pl.] 'entrails, especially of oxen', also [m.], sing. χόλιξ 'gut' (com., Milete V<sup>a</sup>), χολίκιον [n.] 'gut' (Thphr., Poll.).

•ETYM A Slavic word for 'stomach' shows remarkable similarity with χολάδες: Ru. *želúdok*, CS *želudək*, Pol. *żółdek*, which may be reconstructed as IE \**g<sup>h</sup>el-ond*-. The formation is similar to that of χολάδες, if this derives from \**g<sup>h</sup>ol-nd*-, but not identical. Lith. *skilándis* 'sausage-stomach, etc.' is considered unrelated, but shows the same suffix.

There are a number of problems with this account: first, the deviating form χόλικες remains unexplained (it is difficult to arrive at this form from \**k<sup>h</sup>olnd*-). Second, Fur.: 140 compares not only κόλον, but also καλίδια· έντερα. Κύπριοι 'intestines (Cypr.)' (H.) and (ibid.: 345) γόλα· έντερα. Μακεδόνες (H.), γάλλια· έντερα (H.), γάλλος (H.); he also adduces Arm. *k'alird* 'intestines of animals. The variations show that the word is Pre-Greek.

**χολέδρα** [f.] 'roof-gutter, gutter' (Eratosth., Ph. *Bel.*). <PG?>

•ETYM Unexplained. It can hardly belong to ►χολή. The formation cannot be Indo-European; is the word Pre-Greek?

**χολέρα** [f.] 'cholera, a disease of the stomach, which causes vomiting and diarrhoea', ξηρή χ. 'obstruction' (Hp., Aret.), 'vomit, nausea' (LXX). Acc. to H. also = σωλήν, δι' οὗ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῶν κεράμων φέρεται ἑξακοντιζόμενον (= ►χολέδρα). <PG?>

•VAR Ion. -ρη.

•DER χολερ-ικός 'belonging to χ., suffering from χ.', -ώδης 'like χ., causing χ.', χολερ-ιάω [v.] 'to suffer from χ.' (medic.).

•ETYM A medical expression. Formally, we may compare ὑστέρα and names of diseases like ἵκτερος and ὕδρεος. Perhaps, χολέρα is a substantivation from \*χολερός with shift of accent (Schwyzer: 482). As a basic form, χολή or χόλος (Celsus) is more probable than χολάς (Alex. Trall.), but Pre-Greek is also quite possible.

OIr. *galar* [n.] 'disease' has to be kept separate (cf. Pok.: 411).



**χολή** [f.] 'gall', also metaph. (mostly poet.) 'bitter hate, wrath' (IA), also of the exception of the cuttle-fish (Nic.). <IE \*ǵʰelh<sub>3</sub>- 'green'>

•COMP

Rarely as a first member, e.g. χολη-δόχος 'absorbing gall', of κύστις 'gall-bladder' (late medic.), χολό-βαφος (Arist.), also χολοί-βαφος (Nic.) 'immersed in gall, gold-yellow', with metrically conditioned variation acc. to Schwyzer: 452<sup>5</sup>. On ►χολέδρα [f.] 'gutter', see s.v.

Frequent as a second member, e.g. μελάγ-χολος 'containing black gall' (S.), -χολία [f.pl.], -ίη [sg.] 'melancholy', 'bilious complaint, gloominess, melancholy' (Hp., Ti. Locr.), -χολάω [v.] 'to be gloomy, insane' (Att.); on the matter see Müri *Mus. Helv.* 10 (1953): 21ff.; on ►ἀκράχολος s.v.

•DER 1. Diminutive χόλ-ιον [n.] (M. Ant.). 2. Adjective χολ-ώδης 'full of gall, bilious' (Hp., Pl., Arist.), also 'wrathful' (Luc.), also connected with χόλος; -όεις 'bilious' (Nic., Opp.), -ικός 'id.' (Plu.), -αῖος 'id.' (Suid.).

3. Denominative χολάω [v.] 'to be full of gall, rage, be wrathful' (Hp., com., LXX), also with ἐκ-, ὑπερ-; χολαίνω [v.] 'id.' (Aesop., v.l.), ἐκ-χολίζω [v.] 'to remove the gall' (Gp., v.l.).

Also χόλος [m.] 'bitter hate, wrath' (Il., epic poet., also Hdt. and late prose), rarely 'gall' (P 203). Thence χολ-ωτός 'wrathful' (Hom.), see Ammann 1956: 21f., -ιος 'wrathful' (AP).

To χολωτός belongs a series of verbal forms: χολω-θῆναι, -σασθαι, -σομαι, κεχόλωμαι, -μένος, -σομαι, pres. χολοῦμαι 'to become wrathful, be wrathful, grumble'; also act. χολῶ-σαι, -σέμεν 'to make wrathful' (Hom., Hes., Pi., trag.); see Wackernagel 1916: 130, Chantraine 1942: 364.

From medical language χολοομαι [v.] 'to turn into gall' (Gal., Alex. Aphr.), rarely -ώ, mostly with ἐκ-, ἐπι- (to ἐπί-χολος), connected with χολή.

•ETYM Formally, χολή and χόλος are primary nouns to the root \*ǵʰelh<sub>3</sub>- found in Lat. *helus*, (*h*)*olus* [n.] 'greens, vegetables'.

A primary verb, which may be preserved in Lith. *žēlti* 'to sprout', originally referred to the green-yellow color of germinating and sprouting vegetation, cf. OHG *gruoni* 'green' to *gruoēn* 'to germinate', and Lat. *viridis* to *vireō*. This verb could also be used of other objects that were characterized by a comparable color, e.g. gall: Av. *zāra*- [m.], ON *gall* [n.] 'gall, poison', OHG *galla* [f.] < PGm. \**galla*-, \**gallō(n)*- < IE \*ǵʰolH-n-, OCS *zlvčb* < \*ǵʰlh<sub>3</sub>-ti- (the appurtenance of Lat. *fel*, *fellis* [n.] 'id.' with *f*- < \*ǵʰ- presupposes that it is a dialectal form).

A color adjective 'green, yellow, etc.', is found in several variants, e.g. Skt. *hāri*- = Av. *zairi*- < IE \*ǵʰeli- or \*ǵʰolH-i-, Lat. *helvus* 'honey-yellow' < \*ǵʰelH-i-uo- (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.), Lith. *žėlvas* 'greenish, yellowish' < \*ǵʰel-uo-, OHG *gelo* 'yellow' < PGm. \**gelwa*- < IE \*ǵʰelH-u-, ON *gulr* 'id.' < PGm. \**gula*- < IE \*ǵʰlH-o-, etc.

The word for 'gold', which occurs in various forms, is also related: Skt. *hiraṇya*- = Av. *zaraniia*- [n.] < \*ǵʰlH-en-, Go. *gulþ*, OHG *gold* [n.] < PGm. \**gulþa*- < IE \*ǵʰlH-to-, OCS *zlato*, Ru. *zóloto* < IE \*ǵʰolH-to-.

See ►χλόη, ►χολέρα.

**χόνδρος** [m.] 'grain, grain of salt, seed, barley-grain, cartilage, especially of the breastbone' (Ion., com. since Ar., Arist., Hell.). <?>

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. χονδρ-άκανθος 'with cartilaginous backbone' (Arist.), ἔγ-χονδρος 'grainy' (Dsc.), ἐγχονδρ-ίζω [v.] 'to make grainy, form into grains' (late medic.), ὑπο-χόνδρ-ιος 'located under the cartilage of the breastbone', -ιον [n.] 'upper part of the abdominal cavity' (Hp., Arist., etc.).

•DER 1. χονδρ-ός 'grainy, coarse' (Hp., Arist.), a secondary formation after the oxytone adjectives in -ρός. 2. Diminutive χονδρ-ιον [n.] (Hp.). 3. χονδρ-ίτης (ἄρτος) 'bread made of barley' (LXX), see Redard 1949: 91. 4. χονδρ-ίλη [f.] 'gum-plant, Chondrilla iuncea' (Dsc., Gal.), like κονίλη etc. 5. χονδρ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] name of a plant (Plin.). 6. χονδρ-ώδης 'grainy, cartilaginous' (Hp., Arist.), -ινος 'made of barley' (Archestr.). 7. χονδρ-ωσις [f.] name of a disease of the breasts (Sor.), from \*χονδρόομαι. 8. χονδρ-ιάω [v.] 'to swell with clots of milk', of female breasts (Dsc.). 9. χονδρεύει· σεμίδαλιν ποιεί 'produces flour' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. The connection with a verb for 'to rub, etc.' in OE *grindan* 'to grind', Lith. *gręsti*, 1sg. *grėndžiu* 'to shave, scour, scratch', Lat. *frendō* 'to grind, gnash, shatter', with dissimilation from \*χρόνδρος, has to meet the difficulty that Greek excludes an initial labiovelar, while Latin seems to require one. Another problem is that Germanic -d- cannot be combined with Greek -δ- and with the acute in Lithuanian. Unclear is Alb. *grundë* 'clay'.

Alternatively, a pre-form \*χόρδ-ρος (related to ►χέραδος, χαράδρα) dissimilated to χόνδρος; in this case, the word would be non-IE.

**χόννος** [m.] 'copper cup', a Cretan word (Hermonax *apud* Ath., H.). <?>

•VAR Plur. -οι as the name of a festival (Gortyn V-IV<sup>a</sup>)?

•ETYM Frisk comments that it is probably from χούς, χέω, comparing ►χόανος, ►χώνος. Unclear.

**χορδή** [f.] 'gut, catgut, string, sausage' (since φ 407). <IE \*ǵʰorH- 'intestine'>

•COMP As a first member in χορδ-αψός [m.] 'ileus, volvulus' vel sim. (medic.); on connection with ἄπτω see extensively Strömberg 1944: 100f. Often as a second member, e.g. ἐπτά-χορδος 'with seven strings' (Arist.).

•DER Diminutives χορδ-ιον [n.] (Milete V-IV<sup>a</sup>), -άριον [n.] (Alex. [lyr.]); further -εύω [v.] 'to make sausages', -ευμα [n.] 'sausage-dish' (Ar.), κατα-χορδεύω 'to chop to sausage-meat, cut up, slit' (Hdt., Them.), -έω 'id.' (Ael.).

•ETYM Derived from an Indo-European term for 'intestine', but without an exact correspondence. A formation in -n- is found in Lith. *žárna* (*žarnà*) [f.] '(small) guts, leather bag, hose', plur. *žárnos* 'intestines', ON *gørn* 'id.', plur. *garnar* 'intestines' < IE \*ǵʰorH-nh<sub>2</sub>-, OHG *garn* [n.] 'yarn' (made of dried gut). Without -n-, we find Lat. *haru-spex* 'diviner, soothsayer' < \*ǵʰrH-u-, Skt. *híra*- [m.] 'band', *hirá* [f.] 'vein' < \*ǵʰrH-o-.

Given the frequent forms with -n-, it has been proposed that χορδή is an irregular development from \*χορνή (e.g. Haas 1956: 131f.); the -δ- would have been taken over from a semantically close word, e.g. from the group of καρδία (the reverse may have

happened to Skt. *hṛdaya*- ‘heart’ with *h-* < \**ǵh-* instead of \**ś-* < *k-* after the word for ‘gut’.

The appurtenance of Lat. *hernia* [f.] ‘rupture’ and Alb. *zorře* ‘gut’, plur. ‘guts, intestines’ is doubtful because of the reflex of the initial stop.

**χόριον** [n.] ‘skin enclosing the foetus, afterbirth’ (Hp., Arist., Thphr., Dsc.), ‘membrane inside an egg’ (Arist.), mg. unclear in Theoc. 10, 11; plur. -ια ‘dish filled with milk and honey, a kind of pudding’ (com., Theoc.). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained. Neither χορδή nor χόρτος yields a convincing connection.

**χορός** [m.] ‘round dance, dancing-place, band of dancers, choir’ (Il.), metaph. ‘row, band’ (Att.). <IE? *ǵher-* ‘seize, catch’>

•COMP Numerous compounds, e.g. χοροί-τύπος ‘stamping at the round dance (at the dancing-place?), dancing, dancer’ (Pi. Fr. 156, Opp., Nonn.), probably also *h. Merc.* 31 (of tortoises; see Porzig 1942: 210); others accentuate χοροί-τυπος (see Zumbach 1955: 40); thence -τυπή [f.] ‘(stamping at the) round dance’ (Ω 261, AP), -τυπέω [v.] ‘to stamp the floor at the round dance, to dance’ (Opp.); also -τυπος (of ἄλλος) ‘stamped by a band of dancers’ (Nonn., perhaps also *h. Merc.* 31, see above); on the first member, which may be an old locative, see Schwyzler: 452. As a second member, e.g. καλλί-χορος ‘with fair dancing-places, choral dances’ (epic and lyr. since λ 581).

•DER 1. Adjective χορ-ικός ‘belonging to the choir, etc.’ (Ar. [lyr.], Pl., Arist.), -εῖος [adj.] ‘id.’ (A. R., late), also [m.] name of a meter = τροχαῖος, τριβραχὺς (Cic., D. H.), -εῖον [n.] ‘dancing-place’ (LXX), -εῖα plur. ‘thank-offering for a victory of a choir’ (Delos III-II<sup>a</sup>), ‘choir-tax’ (Pergam. II<sup>p</sup>), -ιος = τροχαῖος, τριβραχὺς (AP), of ἐξελιγμός name of a tactical manoeuvre (Ael., Arr.). 2. -ίτις [f.] ‘dancer, choir-member’ (Call., Nonn.), -ιτεία = -εῖα (Andania I<sup>a</sup>), as if from \**-ιτεύω*. 3. Verb χορεύω [v.] ‘to perform a choral dance, celebrate with dance, etc.’ (Pi., IA), often prefixed, e.g. with ἀνα-, ἐπι-, συν-; thence -ευσίς, -εσμα, -ευτής, -ευτικός. 4. περιχορίζειν-ἐνόπλως, συντόνως ὀρχεῖσθαι ‘to dance in arms, vehemently’ (H.).

By a cross of χορός and κορωνός (-νίς, -νι) arose χορωνός ‘στέφανος’, see Apion in Ath. 15, 680d and Güntert 1914: 129.

•ETYM χορός may originally have been a choral dance, but the original meaning of χορός cannot be established with certainty.

χορός has been connected, together with ►χόρτος, with a verb ‘to seize, grasp’ in Skt. *hárati* ‘to bring, carry’. On the other hand, Lith. *žāras* ‘row, twig, etc.’ is phonetically identical with χορός. Meier-Brügger 2002 connected the root of χαίρω ‘to rejoice’, i.e. \**ǵher-*, which seems reasonable.

**χόρτος** [m.] ‘enclosure, court’ (A 774, Ω 640), cf. χόρτον οὐρανοῦ- τὸ περιόρισμα ‘enclosed place’ (H.), ‘pasture-ground’ (Pi., E. [lyr.]), mostly ‘pasture, fodder, grass, hay’ (IA, Hes.). <IE \**ǵh-or-t-* ‘fence’>

•COMP Very frequent as a first member (Hell. and late), e.g. χορτο-φόρος ‘bearing grass, transporting fodder’; also as a second member, e.g. σύγ-χορτος (of χθών, πεδία, etc.) ‘whose χόρτοι are adjacent’ (A., E.).

•DER 1. Diminutive χορτ-ίον [n.] ‘small enclosure’ (Erinn.), -άρια [n.pl.] ‘coarse grass’ (Dsc.). 2. Adjective χορτ-αῖος = ‘μαλλωτός, ragged’, from \*‘belonging to a

court, rural, rustic’ (Ar. Fr. 707a, D. H., Ael.), -αία γῆ ‘pasture-land’ (pap. IV<sup>p</sup>); -ικός ‘concerning hay’ (Hell. and late pap., Ptol.), -ώδης ‘grass-like, rich of grass’ (LXX, Dsc.). 3. Verb χορτ-άζω (also ἀπο-, ἐπι- Sosith. 2, 13) [v.] ‘to fodder, satiate, fatten’ (Hes.), whence -ασία [f.] ‘foddering, fattening’ (LXX, late pap.), -ασμός [m.] ‘id.’ (Anaxandr.), -άσματα [n.pl.] (-ασμα [sg.]) ‘fodder, nourishment’ (Plb., LXX, D. H., Act. Ap.), -αστικώτερα ‘foddering more’ (H. s.v. καπανικώτερα).

•ETYM χόρτος phonetically corresponds with an Italo-Celtic word: Lat. *hortus* ‘garden’, OLat. ‘villa, estate’, Osc. *húrz*, acc. *húrtum* ‘enclosure’. and Celtic words like W. *garth* ‘hurdle, field’, OIr. *gort* ‘field’. These three branches require a pre-form \**ǵh-orto-*.

From other branches, several words which clearly go back on \**ǵh-ordh-* must be adduced: OCS *gradъ* ‘πόλις, κῆπος’, Ru. *górod* ‘town’, Lith. *gārdas* ‘bed, hurdle’, Alb. *gardh*, -dhi ‘fence’, and (with zero grade) also Skt. *grhá-* [m.] ‘house’. This form, however, would have yielded Gr. \*κόρθος.

For Germanic, it is necessary to pose IE \**ǵh-ordh-* for some words, e.g. Go. *gards* [m.] ‘house, garden’, *aurti-gards* ‘garden’; further cognates are ON *garðr* ‘fence, enclosure, garden’, etc.

Ambiguous regarding the suffixal stop is ToB *kerciye* ‘palace’. It is also assumed that a number of toponyms from Anatolia and the eastern Mediterranean derive from this word: Hitt. *gurta-* [c.] ‘citadel’ (which can hardly be Anatolian, however; see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.), Phr. *Mane-gordum* (also -*zordum*), Γόρδος, -ιον, Cret. Γόρτυς. This has been taken as evidence for an Indo-European substrate in Greece, see Heubeck 1961: 58ff.

IE \**ǵh-orto-* is generally considered a *to*-derivation of a verb for ‘seize, grasp’ found in Skt. *hárati* ‘to bring, carry’. This presupposes that the initial palatovelar \**ǵh-* was depalatalized in Balto-Slavic and in Sanskrit. An initial palatal is in fact found in some semantically close Balto-Slavic words: Lith. *žārdas* ‘scaffold for drying’, *žārdis* ‘Roßgarten, great pasture’, OPr. *sardis* ‘fence’, Ru. *zoród* ‘heap, fenced place’, etc.; but a problem is that their accentuation points to a pre-form \**ǵh-ord-* (Winter’s Law), not \**ǵh-ordh-*.

The analysis as a participle from \**ǵher-* ‘to seize’ has one remarkable detail: the *o*-grade of the root is unexpected.

χοῦς ⇒ χέω.

**χραεῖν** [v.aor.] ‘to attack, assault, inflict, take up, etc.’, also with inf. (Hom., Nic., A. R. AP); ἐπέχραε, -ον also ‘to affect, touch’ (A. R., Q. S.).

•VAR Also with ἐπι-, only 3sg. (ἐπ-)έχραε, 3pl. (ἐπ-)έχραον, 2pl. ἐχράετε.

•ETYM ἔχρα(ε), χρα(ε)ῖν are isolated thematic aorist forms, with zero grade of the root (cf. ἔφαδε, (ε)αδεῖν s.v. ►ἀνδάνω, etc.). They are connected with Lat. *in-gruō* (from -*uō* or -*auō*) ‘to rush’, Lith. *gríauti*, 1sg. *gríauju* ‘to destroy’, and *gríūti*, 1sg. *gríūvū* ‘to crumble’. This presupposes that the root is \**ǵh-reh<sub>2</sub>-* and that the palatalization in Lithuanian is secondary. A different (but not very attractive) proposal was made by Peters 1980b: 342, who assumes an analogical, secondary zero grade \**k<sup>h</sup>rau-* to a root PG \**k<sup>h</sup>reu-*. See ►ζαχρηής and ►χραύω.

**χραίνω** [v.] 'to besmear, sully, stain' (B., trag., Nic., AP, Pl. Lg. 769a, also late prose). <?>

•VAR Aor. χράναι, fut. χρανῶ.

•COMP Sometimes with ἀπο- in the sense 'to grade or tinge colors' (Pl. Lg. 769a, Arist.).

•DER Verbal adjective ἄ-χραν-τος 'unsullied, unstained' (trag., late prose, etc.); also ἀχρανές, ἄχραντον, ἀμόλυντον, καθαρόν, ἀμίαντον 'undefiled, clean' (H.), ἀχρᾶές 'id.' (Nic., AP).

•ETYM Unknown. Frisk compares ►χρίω and ►μαίω and suggests that it is a cross of both. See also ►χραύω, ►χρόα, ►χρίω, etc. Pok. 459 subsumes it under IE \**g<sup>h</sup>ren-*, which is rejected by DELG.

**χραισιμέω** [v.] 'to be of use, help, promote' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Ind. -μει (Nic. Th. 914), fut. χραισιμήσω, aor. -ῆσαι, often them. aor. ἔχραισιμε, χραῖσιμε, ipv. χραίσμετε (A. R.), to which a subj. χραίσμι, probably also inf. -μειν (A. R.).

•DER Late epic nouns: back-formation χραίσμι-η [f.] 'use, help, promotion' (Nic.), -ήεις 'useful, promotive' (Nic.), -ησις [f.] = χραίσμη (Nic., metr. inscr. Hypaepa), -ήϊον [n.] 'means of help' (Marc. Sid.), -ήτωρ [m.] 'helper, promotor' (Nonn.).

•ETYM An epic verb of unclear formation, which acc. to sch. A. R. 2, 218 was also used by the Arcadian Clitorians (cf. Ruijgh 1957: 164). Its formation presupposes a noun \*χραισιμός. The aorist ἔχραισιμε could be best explained as analogical to χραισιμειν (which would originally be a pres. inf.) after examples like ἔκτυπε to κτυπεῖν.

Acc. to Schwyzler: 723 and 748, ἔχραισιμε is originally an ipf. of a denominative \*χραίσμι-ω, which was reinterpreted as an aorist because of χραισιμειν. The non-presentic forms χραισιμήσω, -ῆσαι may have been built later to ἔχραισιμε (Chantraine 1942: 347) and have produced the late ind. pres. χραισιμεῖ; the inf. χραισιμειν was ambiguous from the beginning.

Etymologically obscure. It is semantically plausible to connect χρή, χρῆσθαι, but an analysis in \*χραι-σιμό-ς with a further unknown zero grade beside χρῆ-σις (Brugmann-Thumb l.c. after Mekler; also Bechtel 1914 s.v. and Schwyzler: 347) in unconvincing.

**χραύω** [v.] 'to graze, wound slightly, scratch' (Il.). <?>

•VAR Only ipf. ἐν-έχραυε (Hdt. 6, 75), aor. subj. χραύση (E 138), ἐνι-χραύση (Nic. Th. 277), ptc. χραύσαντα (Q. S. 11, 76).

Further ἔχραυσεν· ἐπέτυχεν 'hit upon' and χραῦσαι· καταξῦσαι, χράναι, σκιάσαι, γράψαι, ἐπτύχειν 'to scratch, touch, cast a shadow, engrave, hit upon' (H.); ptc. med. χραυόμενον, also χραυζόμενον (-αυσ-?) 'grazing, adjacent' (Cypr. inscr. [V<sup>a</sup>]).

•DER χραῦσις· ἄγκυρα μονόβολος 'anchor of one piece' (H.), probably also ἔχραυτιζεν· ἴξευεν 'to catch by birdlime' (H.), like ῥαντίζω, σπατίζω, etc., see Schwyzler: 706.

•ETYM The only remains of this verb are found in the epic tradition (cf. Ruijgh 1957: 131). It can hardly be separated from χρα(φ)εῖν, ἔχρα(φ)ε 'to attack, etc.'. If the word

is Indo-European, we have to assume a root \**g<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>2</sub>u-*. For the vocalism cf. ψαύω, χναύω, ►θραύω. See further on ►χρόα, ►χρίω.

**χρεία** •VAR χρέος, etc. ⇒χρή.

**χρεμετίζω** [v.] 'to whinny, neigh' (M 51, Hdt., Pl., LXX, Q. S.). <IE \**g<sup>h</sup>rem-* 'thunder, rumble'>

•COMP Rarely with ὑπο-, ἐν-.

•DER χρεμετ-ισμός [m.] 'whinnying' (Ar. [lyr.], LXX, D. H.), -ισμα [n.] 'id.' (AP, Iamb. Bab.), -ιστικός 'fond of whinnying' (Ph., S. E., Plu., etc.).

Further χρεμι-έθω 'id.' (A. R., Q. S., Opp., AP), also with ἐπι-, and -ίζω, only aor. 3pl. χρέμισαν (Hes. Sc. 348), χρεμετᾶ· ἤχει 'resounds' (H.), Χρεμέτης [m.] name of a river in Libya (Arist., Nonn.).

Several nouns: 1. χρόμιος· ψόφος ποιός 'kind of noise'. οἱ δὲ χρεμετισμός and χρόμη· φρυαγμός, ὀρμή, θράσος 'neighing, impulse, boldness' (H.). 2. χρόμαδος (γενύων) 'gnashing' (Ψ 688), see ὄμαδος, κέλαδος. 3. fish names (after natural sounds; see Strömberg 1943: 65ff.): χρόμις, also χρόμιος [m., f.] (Anan., Epich., Arist.), χρέμις, -ητος [m.] (Opp., Ael.), also ►χρέμυς: ὁ ὀνίσκος ἰχθύς (H., also Arist. v.l. κρ-), cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. χρόμις. 4. Several PNs and nicknames, e.g. Χρέμις, Χρέμιων, Χρεμύλος, Χρομίος, Χρόμις, Χρομύλος.

On itself stands χρέμπτομαι, aor. χρέμψασθαι [v.] 'to clear one's throat, cough up, spit out' (IA), also prefixed, e.g. with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, κατα-, ἐπι-. Thence ἀνά-, ἀπό-χρεμψις [f.] 'coughing up' (Hp.), χρέμια (also ἀνά-, ἐν-) [n.] 'expectoration' (Hp.). Perhaps the fish name χρέμψ is a back-formation (Strömberg 1943: 67).

•ETYM As basis of these words we must posit a primary verb \*χρέμιω (cf. βρέμιω, Lat. *fremō*; from this χρόμιος etc.), which however had to give up for several popular-expressive enlargements: χρεμι-ίζω (: γεμι-ίζω, στεναχ-ίζω, ἐρεθ-ίζω), -έθω (: φλεγ-έθω, τελ-έθω), -ετάω, -ετίζω (: Χρεμέτης, ναι-ετ-άω, αἶρε-τ-ίζω, ἐρα-τ-ίζω, τερετίζω).

A special position has χρέμπτομαι (-πτ- onomatopoeic as in πτώω?); perhaps it does not belong at all here (cf. WH s.v. *scratta* with another hypothesis).

There is no exact outer-Greek correspondence to the verb, but the root \**g<sup>h</sup>rem-* is Indo-European. In Balto-Slavic, there are sound verbs with different ablaut, like Lith. *grumėti*, 1sg. *grumù* 'to thunder, roar, rumble', *gramėti*, 1sg. *gramù* 'to fall in the depth with noise', and OCS *grǫmĕti*, 1sg. *grǫmljŭ* 'βροντᾶν, to thunder', Ru. *gremét'*, 1sg. *gremljú* [v.] 'to thunder, tinkle, rattle', OCS *gromŭ* 'thunder' (which formally matches χρόμιος).

Germanic has several expressions for anger and grumbling, which must originally have referred to sounds like droning, gnashing the teeth, etc.: ON *grimmr* 'grim, excited', OHG *grim* 'wild, cruel' < PGm. \**grimma-* < \**g<sup>h</sup>rem-no-*, ON *gramr*, OHG *gram* 'wrathful' < PGm. \**grama-* < \**g<sup>h</sup>romo-*, Go. *gramjan*, OHG *gremman* [v.] 'to get angry or embittered'. The same meaning is encountered in Av. *graməntəm* [ptc.gen.pl.] 'of those who are wrathful to us', MoP *yaram* 'wrath'.

**χρέμυς** · ὁ ὀνίσκος ἰχθύς 'kind of gadus or cod' (H.). <PG(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 131 connects κρέμυς 'a fish with a hard head' (Arist.), see on ► κλεμμύς, and considers the word to be Pre-Greek. Frisk cites it under ► χρεμετίζω.

χρή [subst.] 'it is necessary; one must, should', often with negation and in questions (Il.). <IE? \*g<sup>h</sup>reh>

•VAR Indeclinable in Homer; post-Hom. inflected forms ipf. χρῆν < χρή ἦν, later ἐχρήν, opt. χρείη, subj. χρῆ, fut. χρῆσται, inf. χρῆναι, ptc. χρεόντα [n.pl.], all univerbations with forms of εἶμι.

•DER χρῶμαι < \*χρή-ομαι [v.] 'to need, use, utilise; to treat, handle, associate with someone' (since Ψ 834), also with ἀνα-, κατα-, παρα-, προσ-, etc., in various shades of meaning (IA); also 'to consult an oracle or a god' (Od.).

Ion. (also Dor. in Sophr. 126) has χρέομαι, ptc. χρεώμενος; 3sg. χρῆται, inf. χρῆσθαι (Ion. Hell. also χρᾶται, -ᾶσθαι after ὁρᾶται, -ᾶσθαι, etc.), aor. χρήσασθαι, fut. χρήσομαι, perf. κέχρημαι. The aor. also means 'to borrow (from)', perhaps from 'to put in use for oneself' or to the act. χρήσαι (E., etc.); the perf. (especially ptc. κεχρημένος) means 'to require, crave, desire' (epic poet. T 262).

It is probably an old denominative. Active forms in special mgs. were secondarily created to the medial forms: to χρήσασθαι, χρήσομαι, χρῶμαι 'to consult an oracle', χρήσαι, χρήσω, χρῶ arose, in the sense 'to give an oracle' (since θ 79), with 3sg. χρῆ and χρᾶ, ptc. χρείων = χρώων, also with ἐξ- etc., with pass. aor. ἐχρήσθη 'an oracle was granted', plpf. ἐκέχρη(σ)το, etc. (Pi., IA).

In a similar vein, the active χρήσαι 'to lend (to)' arose to χρήσασθαι 'to borrow (from)'. Fut. χρήσω, also with προ-, ἐπι- etc. (IA) with κέχρηκα (Hell.) and the new present κίχρημι, κίχραμαι, also χρήννυμι, -ύω (Thphr., Hell. pap.).

On itself stands with prefix, especially ἀπο- (IA), also (Hdt.) ἐκ-, κατα-, ἀντι-χρή (Att. ἀπόχρη after χρή), -έχρησα, -χρήσω 'to suffice, to serve', mostly 3. sg. 'it is sufficient', with unexplained development of mg.

Secondary verbal forms: 1. χρη-έομαι in Megar. χρεῖσθω (Calchedon), Boeot. χρεῖσθῃ, El. χρεῖσται 'to need'. 2. χρη-ῖζω, χρεῖζω, χρήζω [v.] 'to be in need, require, desire, wish' (since Λ 835; cf. κεχρημένος above). 3. χρη-ῖσκονται 'they require, lack' (Hdt. 3, 117).

A concise survey of nouns derived from χρῶμαι or from χρή (a sharp distinction is not possible in all cases): 1. χρεώ, -οῦς [f.] (secondarily [n.]) 'requirement, need, necessity, desire' (Il., epic), also χρεῖω = χριώ. To this χρεών and χρεόν [n.] 'id.' (Pi., IA), with -ν after δέον, προσήκον, etc.

2. χρέος 'obligation, debt, fee, commitment, engagement, affair' (IA, also θ 353, λ 479), epic also χρεῖος = χρῆος (since Il.), Att. also χρέως [n.], plur. χρεᾶ (Hes. Op. 647), χρεᾶ (Ar.), χρῆα (Arc. IV<sup>a</sup>), which is much more probable than a lecture \*χρήατα from \*χρήα; further χρήια < \*χρήα (Cret.).

3. χρεία (Ion. -ῖη) [f.] 'requirement, desire, wish, use, praxis, benefit, help, service, function, association', rhet. 'theme of a speech' (Thgn., Att., Hell.); χρηῖα· πενία 'poverty, need' (H.), χρεῖ-ώδης 'needy, necessitous, useful' (Hell.), -ακός [m.] 'official' (Peripl. M. Rubr., pap. III<sup>p</sup>); ἄχρεῖος, Att. ἄχρεος, Ion. ἄχρήϊος 'useless, unusable, unapt' (since Hes.). The ntr. ἀχρεῖον as an adverb to ἰδών, ἐγγέλασεν (B

269, σ 163), to κλάζον (Theoc. 25, 72), but the mg. is not quite clear; after this χρεῖος 'useful, apt' (Hell., but rare).

4. χρήμα [n.] 'affair which one needs, object, thing, etc.', mostly plur. 'goods, property, money' (Od.), whence χρηματίτης ἀγών 'competition with a money-prize' (Marm. Par.), χρημα-τίζω, -τίζομαι [v.] 'to negotiate, do business, etc.' (Att., Hell.), also 'to handle a name, give an oracle, prophesy' (Hell.), whence -τισμός, -τισίς, -τιστής, -τιστήριον, -τιστικός.

5. χρήμη [f.] 'need, requirement' (Archil. et al.).

6. χρη(σ)μοσύνη [f.] 'need, poverty' (Thgn., Tyrnt.), χρησμ- also 'aid' (A. R.), cf. on χρησιμός, but ἀχρημο-σύνη [f.] 'need, lack' (ρ 502, Thgn. 156) from ἄ-χρήμων. 7. χρήσις [f.] 'use, application, benefit, intercourse, association' (Pi., IA), also 'response of an oracle' (Pi.), 'loan' (Arist., Plb.), whence χρήσ-μιος 'usable, useful, proficient' (Thgn.+), -μιότης, -μιεύω.

8. χρησιμός [m.] 'response of an oracle' (Pi., IA), very frequent as a first member, e.g. χρησιμο-λόγος 'prophesying, prophet' (IA); in the same mg. probably χρησιμο-σύνη (Hdt. 9, 33).

9. χρηστήριον [n.] 'seat of an oracle, response of an oracle, sacrifice to it' (h. Ap.+), like μυστήριον, δικαστήριον, etc. Thence -ήριος 'belonging to an oracle' (Hdt., A., E., etc.), -ηριάζομαι [v.] 'to consult an oracle' (Hdt.), but χρηστήρια σκεύη [n.pl.] 'utensils, furniture' (Argos [VI<sup>a</sup>], Pl. Com., Hell. inscr. and pap.).

10. χρήστις [m.] 'lender, creditor', also 'debtor' (Att., etc.), also χρεώστις 'debtor' (late) after χρέως; χρήστις and χρήστωρ also = μάντις (H.);

11. χρητήρες [pl.] = χρηστήρια 'furniture' (pap. II<sup>a</sup>)?

12. χρηστός 'usable, fit, proficient, good' (IA), whence -ότης, -οσύνη, -εύομαι; often as a second member, e.g. ἄ-χρηστος 'unusable, useless' (IA; = ἄχρεῖος); but πυθό-χρηστος (trag.), θεό-χρηστος (Ph.) 'prophesied by (the Pythian) god' from χράω 'to give an oracle, prophesy'.

13. χρεῖος 'poor, needy' (A., E., late prose) is probably for χρήϊος to χρή; beside it χρεῖος 'useful' from ἄ-χρεῖος (see 3).

On χρή, χρῶμαι and their derivations see the extensive treatment by Redard 1953.

•ETYM χρή is formally isolated within Greek. As a closest formal counterpart, we find frozen accusatives πλὴν and δὴν < \*pleh<sub>2</sub>-m, \*dueh<sub>2</sub>-m and ἐπί-κλη-ν, further the ambiguous forms ►όμοκλη and ►μεσόδομη. In other languages, monosyllables like Lat. spēš 'hope', and compounds like Skt. prati-mā [f.] 'picture' (from \*meh<sub>1</sub>-), Lith. avi-dē [f.] 'sheepfold' (to τίθημι) are found, cf. Pedersen 1926: 71ff.

Though χρή is best considered a feminine, many scholars preferred to see an old neuter in it (Wackernagel, Fraenkel, Hermann). As a basic meaning 'need, necessity, duty, custom', which is usually assumed, arose without a doubt by abstraction or generalization, all etymologies are quite hypothetical.

Connection with χαρῆναι, χαίρω was proposed by Brugmann 1886-1900 II: 962, Pedersen l.c.; that with Skt. hāratī 'to bring, carry' (cf. on ►χόρτος) by Brugmann IF 37 (1916-1917): 239f. These proposals are far from convincing. As I found no noun ending in a long vowel in Pre-Greek, nor any indication for laryngeals, I rather think that the word is Indo-European, perhaps \*g<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>1</sub>.

**χρίμπτομαι, -τω** [v.] med. (mostly intr.) 'to force one's way near, come near, strike firmly', act. (mostly trans.) 'to force near, bring close to something, make crash' (epic poet. since κ 516). <IE? \**g<sup>h</sup>reib<sup>h</sup>*- 'grab'>

•VAR Aor. med. (ἐγ-)χρίμψθηναι, fut. ἐγχρίμψομαι; act. (ἐγ-)χρίμψαι; aor. med. χρίμψασθαι can be both trans. and intr.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐν- (Il., epic Ion. poet., late prose).

•ETYM The similarity with χρίω (cf. also χραύω) has long since been observed; for the ending -μπτομαι no parallel has been found except for (the imitation?) σκίμπτομαι. The resembling χρέμπτομαι is semantically far off.

Kölligan, in a paper read at the 13<sup>th</sup> Fachtagung der indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Salzburg 2008, proposes a nasal present to the root \**g<sup>h</sup>reib<sup>h</sup>*- (Go. *greipan*, Lith. *griēbti* 'to grab', 1sg. *griēbiū*, to which Greek secondarily made a *yod*-present. So \**g<sup>h</sup>rimb<sup>h</sup>*- > PGr. \**k<sup>h</sup>rimp<sup>h</sup>*- + *-je/o-* > χρίμπτε/ο-.

**χρίω, -ομαι** [v.] 'to graze, spread, (be)smear, enqueue, anoint, plaster' (Il.). <IE? \**g<sup>h</sup>rei(H)*- 'strike'>

•VAR Late also -ϊ-. Aor. χρίσαι, -σασθαι (Il.), -σθῆναι (A.), fut. χρίσω (E.), -σομαι (Od.), -σθήσομαι (LXX), perf. κέχριμαι (Hdt.), -ισμαι (LXX), κέχρικα (LXX).

•COMP Often prefixed, e.g. with ἐπι-, ἐν-, κατα-, ὑπο-.

•DER 1. χρίσις (also ἔγ-, κατά-, etc.) [f.] 'spreading, besmearing, anointing, tinging' (Hp., Arist., Hell.), χρίσιμος (sch.). 2. χρίμα (A., X., Call.), more usual χρίσμα, later χρίσμα (after κλίμα, θέμα, etc.) [n.] 'ointment, tincture, etc.', also with ἐπί-, περί-, etc. 3. δια-, συγ-χρισμός [m.] 'anointing, ointment' (medic.). 4. χρίσται [m.pl.] (H. s.v. κονιαταί). 5. χριστήριον [n.] 'oil, oil-bottle' (Suid.). 6. χριστός (also ἐπί-, κατά-, etc.) 'fit for spreading or anointing' (A. Pr. 480, E.), 'anointed', msc. 'the anointed one' (LXX), whence 'Messiah, Christ' (NT).

•ETYM The regular inflexion of χρίω is clearly a late creation. A convincing outer-Greek connection does not exist. Mostly connected with Lith. *griēti*, 1sg. *gr(i)ejū* 'to skim cream from the milk'; the same root would be found in the Germanic group of OE *grīma* [m.] 'mask, helmet, ghost', MLG *grēme* [f.] 'dirt', etc. The comparison with NPhr. γεγραμμεναν [ptc.] 'painted, adorned, written, γεγραμμένος' vel sim. (Haas *Sprache* 6 (1960): 19ff.) is tempting. The Lithuanian verb seems to point to an *aniť* root, so if it is related to χρίω, the length in Greek must be secondary.

From χρίσμα were borrowed Lat. *chrisma* (Eccl.), whence MoFr. *crème*, etc.; from Χριστός Lat. *Christus*, whence *Christianus*.

**χρόα** [f.] '(contact) surface of the body, skin, skin-color, color' (Ξ 164), also 'surface, ἐπιφάνεια' among the Pythagoreans (Arist.). <?>

•VAR Also χροιά, Ion. χροή (see below). Further χρώς [f.], gen. χρο-ός, dat. -ῖ, acc. χρόα, younger gen. χρω-τός (since K 575), -τί (since Pi.), -τα (Od., Hes. Op. 556), plur. -τες (Arist.) 'surface of the body, skin, skin-color', also 'flesh, body', rarely 'color' (Il., epic Ion. poet.). A fixed expression is ἐν χρωῖ (Att.), which is older than ἐν χροῖ (Ion.) 'close to the skin' (e.g. κείρειν), metaph. 'very close, hard by' (with gen.), cf. Schwyzler: 578.

•DIAL Probably Myc. *a-ko-ro-we-e* /a-k<sup>h</sup>rowe<sup>h</sup>e/ [n.du.] 'without spots', or /ha-k<sup>h</sup>rowe<sup>h</sup>e/ 'of one color'.

•COMP Very frequent as a second member, e.g. μελανό-χρο-ος 'with a dark skin' (τ 246), which is thematicized; athem. inflection preserved in plur. μελανό-χρο-ες (N 589), μελάγ-χρο-ες (Hdt.); younger μελάγ-χρωτες, -χρωτα (E. [lyr.]), nom. -χρως (Pl. Phdr. 253e), etc. On -χροος, -χρους, -χρως as a second member see Sommer 1948: 21ff.; also μελαγ-χροιής 'id.' (to χροή [π 175]) and -χρής (com., pap.), after the adjectives in -ής.

•DER 1. Diminutive χρωτ-ίδιον (Cratin.).

2. Verbs: perf. med. κέχρωσμαι, -μένος (IA), aor. χρωσθῆναι (Att.) 'to take on a color or hue, etc.', act. χρώσαι (Arist.), ἐπι- κέχρωκα (Plu.), χρώσειν (H.), χροῖζω, χρώζω (Alex., Nic., Dsc.), 'to color, stain', later also χρώννυμι, -ύω (Luc., Lib., Plot.); χροῖζω, χρώζω, -ομαι also 'to touch (a surface), unite with someone' (Pi., E. [lyr.], Theoc.); often prefixed, e.g. with ἐπι-, κατα-, παρα-; cf. also on χροιά below.

Hence several verbal nouns: a) χρώμα [n.] 'color (of the skin), make-up; characteristic appearance, e.g. of a chromatic scale, of a speech, etc.' (IA); thence χρω-μάτια [pl.] = -ματα (AP), -ματικός (music., rhet.) 'chromatic' (Hell.), -μάτινος 'colorful' (Peripl. M. Rubr.), χρωματίζω, -ομαι (also ἐπι-) 'to color, tinge' (Hp., Pl., Arist.). b) χρώσις (also with ἀνά-, ἀπό-, ἐπί-) [f.] 'coloring' (Epicur., pap., Plu.). c) χρωστήρ [m.] 'that which colors' (AP). d) from χροῖζω 'to color': χρο-ῖσις, -ῖσμός (gloss.), ἐπιχρό-ῖσις mg. unclear (Thphr.).

3. χρωτ-ίζω, -ίζομαι (also συν-ανα-) 'to color, give an appearance' (Ar. [lyr.], Plu.).

From χρώς, χρο-ός also χρο-ιά, -ιή (like σκοπ-ιά, λοφ-ιά, etc.: χροά is like ροά (to ροιά, ροιή), πoά, etc.). Hence χροῖα [n.pl.] 'colors' (Emp.), ἐπιχροαί [f.pl.] 'id.' (Thphr.), χρο-άζω [v.] 'to color' (late medic.), cf. χροῖζω above. Further χροτιή [f.] 'skin' (AP 15, 35), a cross of χροή and χρώς, -ωτός.

•ETYM χρώς is an old *s*-stem, and its complicated declination reminds of that of ἔρω, γέλω, αἰδώς. Acc. to DELG, the Mycenaean form *a-ko-ro-we-e* (cf. ἔυχροές, ξ 24) points to a root \**k<sup>h</sup>row-*, to which χρώς is an *s*-stem formation which underwent hyphaeresis: gen. \**k<sup>h</sup>rowos* > \**k<sup>h</sup>rohos*. DELG assumes that most forms arose by such a process, e.g. χροιά < \**k<sup>h</sup>rowosia*. κέχρωσμαι is probably an analogical form to χρωῖζω.

The superficial similarity with χραύω, χραίνω, χρίω is not sufficient for a solid etymological proposal. The assumption of vowel assimilation from \*χαράφος (Schmidt KZ 32 (1893): 370f.) is dictated by the desire to connect ► χραύω.

**χρόμαδος** •VAR χρόμις, χρόμιος. ⇒ χρεμετίζω.

**χρόνος** [m.] 'period or course of time, (a definite) time, lifetime, time limit' (Il.), plur. χρόνοι also 'year' (= Lat. *tempora*, since III-IV<sup>th</sup>; see Schwyzler: 124f.). <?>

•COMP As a first member, e.g. χρονο-γράφος [m.] 'chronicler, annalist' (Str.), -γραφία [f.] 'chronicle, yearbook' (Plb.). Often as a second member, e.g. σύγ-χρονος 'at the same time', συγχρον-έω, -ίζω, -σμός (Hell.); also suffixed, e.g. πολυ-χρόν-ιος 'comprising a long time, lasting, durable' (h. Merc.+), whence -ία, -ιότης, -ίζω (Arist., Hell.).

•DER 1. χρον-ίσκος [m.] 'small timespan' (LXX). 2. -ιος 'protracted, late' (ρ 112), -ιότης [f.] 'long period' (Thphr.), -ιόμαι 'to become protracted, chronic' (Hp.). 3. -ικός 'concerning time' (D. H., D. S., Plu.). 4. χρον-ίζω (also ἐγ-) 'to spend the time (somewhere), abide, be late, linger' (IA), whence -ισμός [m.] (Hell.), also with ἐγ-. 5. χρον-ῶσαι 'to make temporal' (Plot.).

•ETYM Etymology unknown. On the model of κλόνος and θρόνος, it has been assumed that χρόνος should be analyzed as χρ-ονο- < \*g<sup>h</sup>r-ono-, from a root 'seize, bring' also supposed for ▶χόρτος. On the semantic side, an original meaning 'encompassing time-limit' has been assumed for χρόνος, or even "seizer" (Porzig 1942: 346). A number of verbal roots \*g<sup>h</sup>er- etc. exist (see LIV<sup>2</sup>). However, it is rather doubtful that ▶κλόνος and ▶θρόνος should be analysed in this way, as DELG already remarked. Other words for 'time' are ▶καιρός, which is etymologically unclear too, and inherited ▶αἰών.

χρῦσός [m.] 'gold' (Il.). <LW Sem.>

•VAR Secondarily -ῦ-, see Schwyzer: 516<sup>2</sup>.

•DIAL Myc. *ku-ru-so*.

•COMP Productive in compounds, e.g. Myc. *ku-ru-so-wo-kò* = χρυσ-ουργός (LXX) 'gold-worker'; χρυσό-θρονος (see on ▶θρόνα), χρυσ-ώνητος 'bought with money', designation of a slave (Callistr. Hist.), ὑπό-χρυσος "with gold below", 'auriferous, gilt' (Pl., Hell. inscr.); on prefixed compounds with χρυσός, see Strömberg 1946: 136.

•DER 1. χρυσ-ίον [n.] 'gold, golden ornaments, golden coins, money' (IA), -ίδιον [n.] with contemptuous connotation (Att. orators), -ιδάριον [n.] (Ar.), also -άφιον (Hdn., Eust.). 2. χρυσ-εῖον, mostly plur. -εῖα [n.] 'goldmine' (X., Plb.). 3. χρυσ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'golden vessel, dress, golden shoe, etc.' (com., inscr., Luc.). 4. χρυσ-αλλίς, -ίδος [f.] 'gold-colored larva of a butterfly' (Arist., Thphr.), also = μηλολόνη (Eust.), cf. ▶θρυαλλίς. 5. χρύς-αφος [m.] name of a fish (Marc. Sid.), like ἔλαφος; also χρύσοφος (Cyran.), for χρύς-οφρυς (Strömberg 1943: 26). 6. χρυσ-ίτης [m.], mostly -ίτις [f.] 'goldish, auriferous, gold-ore' (Hdt., Hp., Str.). 7. Adjectives: a) χρύς-εος, late also -ειος, Att. -οῦς 'golden, gold-colored, etc.' (Il.), -οῦς (scil. στατήρ) name of a golden coin; also as a first member, e.g. χρυσεο-πήλιξ 'with a golden helmet' (*h. Mart.*, Call.), metrical variant of χρυσο-πήλιξ (A. [lyr.], E.). b) χρύς-ινος 'golden' (late). c) χρυσ-ικός 'id.', [n.pl.] 'hardcash' (pap.). d) comparative χρυσ-οτέρα [f.] 'gold to a higher degree' (Sapph., late epigr.). 8. Verbs: a) χρυσ-όμαι (mostly perf. ptc. κεχρυσωμένος 'gilt'), also -όω 'to gild' (IA), also with prefix, especially κατα-; thence -ωμα, -ωσις, -ωτήρ, -ώτρια, -ών. b) χρυσ-ίζω 'to be golden or gold-like, abound in gold' (Arist., Dsc.). c) χρυσ-αῖζεται- κοσμεῖται (H.). Also in PNs, e.g. Χρύσης, -ηῖς, -η.

•ETYM A Semitic loan word, usually assumed to be Punic. Cf. Akk. *ḫurāṣu*, Ugar. *ḫrs*, Phoen. *ḫrs*%, Hebr. *ḥārūṣ*. See E. Masson 1967: 37f. for further details.

An IE word for 'gold' from the root \*g<sup>h</sup>lh<sub>3</sub>- is found in Germanic, Balto-Slavic and Indo-Iranian, e.g. Go. *gulþ*, Ru. *zóloto*, Latv. *zēlts*, Skt. *hīraṇya-*, Av. *zaraniia-* [n.]; the root is found in Gr. ▶χολή.

Another IE word is retained in Italic and Baltic: Lat. *aurum*, Lith. *auksas* (with secondary -k-), OPr. *ausis*, and perhaps in ToA *wās*, ToB *yasa*.

χρῶμα •VAR χρώς. ⇒χρόα.

χῦλός [m.] 'juice (of plants), gruel, broth', also 'taste, aroma' (IA). <?>

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. χυλο-ποιέω [v.] 'to turn into juice' (medic.), γλυκύ-χυλος 'with sweet juice' (Hp., Xenocr.).

•DER 1. Diminutive χυλ-άριον [n.] 'little juice', hypocoristic (M. Ant.). 2. -ώδης 'juice-like, juicy' (late). 3. χυλ-όμαι (also -όω) 'to convert into juice, be turned into it, etc.' (medic.), also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, etc. Thence χύλωμα, (ἐγ-)χύλωσις. 4. χυλ-ίζω 'to extract juice, turn into juice' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.), also with ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἀπο-; thence -ισμα, -ισμός. 5. χυλ-ιάζω 'id.' (Aet.).

Beside it stands χυμός [m.] 'juice (of plants and bodies), liquid, taste, aroma' (IA). As a second member e.g. in ἐγ-χυμος 'having juice inside, juicy' (Hp., Pl., Arist., Thphr.). Hence the diminutive χυμ-ίον [n.] (com.); -ώδης 'juicy' (sch.), verb -όμαι 'to be turned into juice' (Gal.), -όω 'to give taste' (Suid.), with ἐκ- 'to squeeze out, extract juice'; thence -ωμα, -ωσις (Hp.). χυμίζω [v.] 'to make tasty' (Ar.), with ἐκ- = ἐκχυμώ (Arist.).

•ETYM Both χυλός and χυμός have traditionally been connected with ▶χέω 'to pour', but it is unclear how the long ū can be explained. Positing a suffix \*-slo- or \*-smo- is not really satisfactory, as no other form with \*g<sup>h</sup>u-s- is known.

χυμεία [f.] 'the art of alloying metals, alchemy' (Zos. Alch., Olymp. Alch.). <?>

•VAR Also χημεία.

•DER Besides χύμευσις (χήμ-) [f.] 'id.' (EM, Eust., Tz.), -ευτικός 'concerning χ.' (Zos., Olymp.).

•ETYM As DELG remarks, the late attestations do not allow to draw a conclusion regarding whether υ or η is original.

The old etymology by Pott, deriving the word from the indigenous name of Egypt Χημία (Plu.), copt. Κημε, Χημ, which originally means 'Black-land' (Plu.), remains a possibility. χυμεία would derive either from a verb \*χημεύω 'to work in an Egyptian way' or, with -εία after μαγεία, it would mean "the Egyptian art". The notation χυμ- would then be popular after χυμός.

According to Diels, however, it is a Greek word deriving from χύμα (see ▶χέω) in the sense 'casting, alloying', whence \*χυμεύω and then χυμεία = 'the art of alloying metal'. It is beyond our reach to make a decision between these alternatives. Older proposals, which are obviously dated, are given by Frisk.

χύτλον •VAR χύτρα, χύτρος. ⇒χέω.

χωλός [adj.] 'lame, paralyzed', especially of a foot, 'limping' (Il.). <IE? \*g<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>-ló- 'remaining behind'>

•COMP E.g. χωλό-πους 'lame-footed' (Man.), χωλό-χειρος 'lame-handed' (Hippon.).

•DER χωλότης [f.] 'lameness' (Plu., Iul.) and several denominatives: 1. χωλ-εύω (also ἀπο-) [v.] 'to be lame', also 'to make lame' (Il.), whence -εία [f.] (Pl.), -εύματα [pl.] (Hp.). 2. χωλ-όμαι (also ἀπο-) [v.] 'to be or become lame', rare -όω [v.] 'to make lame' (Hp., Th., Paus.), whence -ωσις, -ωμα (Hp.). 3. χωλ-αίνω (also ὑπο-, συν-) [v.] 'to be or become lame' (Hp., Pl., LXX, pap.), whence -ανσις, -ασμα (late).

•ETYM Seemingly, a formation with the suffix *-lo-*, like ►στρεβλός, ►τυφλός, but without obvious etymology. Does it belong to ►χαλάω ‘to slacken, relax’? Or is it from \**ǵʰoh<sub>1</sub>-ló-*, from the root \**ǵʰeh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to leave behind’ seen in ►χήρα ‘widow’ (Van Beek p.c.): a lame person being someone who lags or stays behind.

**χώννυμι** [v.] ‘to heap up, raise, stuff with rubbish or earth’ (IA). <IE \**ǵʰeu-* ‘pour’>

•VAR -ύω (Arist., Hell.); rare προσ-χοῖ, χοῦσι, χοῦν, χών (as if from \**χόω*; Hdt., Th.), aor. χῶσαι, -σασθαι, -σθῆναι, perf. med. κέχωσμαι (IA), act. κέχωκα (D., Arist.), fut. χῶσω (Att.).

•COMP Very frequently prefixed, e.g. with ἐπι-, προσ-, κατα-, συν-.

•DER χῶμα (rare and late -σμα) [n.] ‘heap, rubbish, dam, wall’ (IA), -σις [f.] ‘heaping up, raising, damming’ (Th., Hell.), often from prefixed verbs, e.g. ἀνάχωμα, ἔγχωσις, etc. Also χωστρίς (χελώνη) ‘a shed to protect besiegers who fill up a ditch’ (Hell.).

•ETYM The above system of forms is built on the aorist χῶσαι, which replaced the unclear form χέαι and may represent either \**χοῶσαι* (denominative of *χόος*, *χοῦς*) or a contraction from \**χοῖσαι* to \**χοέω* (cf. *νώσαι* < *νοῖσαι* from *νοέω* and *σοῦμαι* s.v. ►σεύομαι), which would be a denominative or an intensive to ►χέω. All other forms were secondarily created, e.g. the present χώννυμι, -ύω. The presentic forms -χοῖ, χοῦσι, etc. have never become dominant. Further details on the etymology s.v. ►χέω.

**χῶνος**

•VAR χώνη.

•ETYM = χόανος, -άνη. See ►χέω.

**χῶμαι** [v.] ‘to be angry, wrathful’ (Il., epic). <GR?>

•VAR Aor. χῶσασθαι.

•COMP Also with ἐπι-, περι-.

•ETYM Formation like ►ῥόομαι or ►πλώω, so is it perhaps deverbative to ►χέω ‘to pour’, as was proposed already by Aristarchus (χωόμενος = συγχεόμενος) and repeated by Frisk? On the formal side, see also Chantraine 1942: 365; on the meaning in Hom. see Adkins *JHS* 89 (1969): 13ff.

**χώρα** [f.] ‘space, interspace, place, position, rank, location, region, estate, land, country’ (Il., IA), also ‘eye-hole’ (Epid.). <?>

•VAR χώρος [m.] ‘space, region, land’ (Il.), rare in Att. prose, except in X.

•COMP As a first member e.g. χωρο-γράφ-ος [m.] ‘describer of countries, chorographer’, whence -έω, -ία (Plb., Str.). Gained an enormous productivity as a second member, e.g. πλησιό-χωρος ‘inhabiting a nearby country, neighbouring, neighbour’ (IA), also in hypostases with an enlargement -ιο-, e.g. ἐγ-χώρ-ιος ‘situated in the region, native, indigenous’ (Pi., IA).

•DER 1. χωρ-ιον [n.] ‘space, place, location, estate’ (prose since Hdt.). 2. diminutive -ίδιον [n.] (Lys., Plu.), -άφιον [n.] (Thphr.) ‘small estate’, -αφιαῖος (Hdn.). 3. On ►χωριαμός: κίστη ‘vessel’ (H.), see s.v. 4. -ίτης [m.] ‘countryman, farmer, native inhabitant’ (A., S., X.), -ίτις [f.] ‘woman from the countryside’ (Luc.), -ιτικός (X., Plu.). 5. Adjective -ικός ‘rural, rustic’ (late); -άσμαι epithet of ἐλαῖαι (Pamphyl. [IIP]; after ἀποδάσμιος?).

6. verbs: a) χωρέω, -ῆσαι, -ήσω (Il., in Att. the act. fut. only with prefix, but otherwise -ήσομαι); κεχώρηκα (IA), -ηθήναι, -ηθήσομαι, κεχώρηται (Att.) ‘to make room, give way, recede’ (Il., trag.), ‘to step (forward), go forth, make progress’, trans. ‘to comprehend, contain’ (IA), also ‘to catch’ = ‘to understand’ (late), intr. ‘to find a place’ (Ev. Jo. 8, 37), very frequently prefixed in various mgs., e.g. ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐν-, προ-, προσ-, συν-, ὑπο-. Thence nominal derivatives in -ημα, -ημάτιον, -ησις, -ητικός.

b) χωράζω, Dor. aor. -άξαι ‘to situate, position, raise’ (Hell. inscr.).

Isolated χωρίς [adv., prep.] ‘separated, detached, far from, apart’ (H 470), χῶρι (accus. acc. to Hdn., Choerob.) ‘id.’ (Thera, Cos, Crete, Call., *Test. Epict.*, pap. IIP). The formation reminds of ἄλις, μόγισ, etc.; the accent perhaps after ἀμφίς?

Thence χωρίζω ‘to separate, part’ (IA), med. ‘to depart’ (Plb., D. S.), also with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc. Also in hypostases like κατα-χωρ-ίζω ‘to put in place (κατὰ χώραν), publish, enrol’ (X., Hell.); thence -ισις, -ισμός, -ισμα, -ιστής, -ιστικός, -ιστός.

•ETYM The formation in -ρ- has been compared with ἀγρός, τάφος, ἔδρα and other designations of place (Frisk), but is without agreement outside Greek. Assuming a basic meaning ‘unoccupied space’, χώρα and χώρος can be connected with ►χήρα ‘widow’, from a root \**ǵʰeh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to leave behind’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \**ǵʰeh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘zurücklassen’). Under this etymology, ►χατέω cannot be connected. The analysis remains uncertain (DELG).

**χωριαμός** [f.] · κίστη ‘basket, urn’ (H.). <PG?(V)>

•ETYM Fur.: 389 takes φωριαμός as a variant and concludes that the word is Pre-Greek. I am unable to interpret the variation, however.



## Ψ

**ψάγδης** [m.] name of an Egyptian ointment (com.), see Fraenkel 1912: 175<sup>f.</sup>. ◀LW Eg.▶

•VAR Also -ās, -ān; σάγδᾱ(ς).

•ETYM From Egyptian, see Spiegelberg *Herm.* 65 (1930): 232<sup>f.</sup>

**ψάγιον** [adj.] mg. unclear; it qualifies a song in Pi. (*N.* 7, 69); glossed by Hesychius as πλάγιον, λοξόν, κεκλιμένον 'athwart, slanting, bent'. ◀?; PG(V)▶

•ETYM Fur.: 389 compares ▶ψάδιον: κάταντες.

**ψάδιον** [adv.] · κάταντες 'steep, downwards' (H.). ◀PG(V)▶

•ETYM M. Schmidt (the editor of Hesychius) connects ψοδίον· σκολιόν 'curved, bent'; if this is correct, the word is Pre-Greek. See also Fur.: 389 and ▶ψάγιον.

**ψᾶέναι** [inf.] = φθάσαι, [κτίσαι] 'to be first, [build]' (H.). ◀?▶

•ETYM For the initial cf. ▶ψίνομαι, with a Cretan development of \*φθ- (Lejeune 1972: 39). Perhaps here also belong ψατῆσαι· προειπεῖν 'to say before' (H.) and ψατᾶσθαι· προκαταλαμβάνειν 'to occupy in advance, etc.' (H.). See ▶φθάνω.

**ψαθάλλω** [v.] 'to grind, scratch' (Hermipp., Pl. Com.); ἐψαθήλατο· ἐκνήσατο 'scratched' (H.). ◀PG(S,V)▶

•ETYM Analyzed by Frisk as a popular formation to ▶ψῆν, ▶ψάλλω; comparing ▶ψαθυρός for the -θ-. This is just a guess.

Fur.: 196 compared ψαδυρόν· ἀσθενές, μαδαρόν, ψαθυρόν 'weak, wet, loose' (H.), with variation θ/δ, further ψαιδρά· ἀραιότριχα 'thin-haired' (H.), and post-Hom. σαθρός 'weak', to ▶ψαθαρός. A suffix -αλ- is also found in Pre-Greek.

**ψαθυρός** [adj.] 'loose, brittle, friable' (medic., Arist., Thphr.). ◀PG(S,V)▶

•VAR Also ψαθαρά· εὐθλαστα, σαθρά, ξηρά, ἀσθενῆ, ψαθυρά 'easily bruised, weak, dry, weak, loose' and ψαδυρόν· ἀσθενές, μαδαρόν, ψαθυρόν 'weak, wet, loose' (H.).

•DER ψαθυρ-ότης [f.] 'looseness' (Arist., Gal.), -ιον = ψωθίον (Ath.), -όομαι [v.] 'to crumble' (Aq.), -ματα· ἀποκόμματα 'chips' (H.).

•ETYM The formation looks like that of semantically close ▶καυρός. Frisk compared ψάθεα (cod. -έα)· ψωμία 'morsel, bit' (H.), but an old formation is excluded in view of the variants. See ▶ψαθάλλω, ▶ψῆν.

**ψαίρω** [v.] 'to scrub, scrape gently'; also intr., of a slight movement, 'to flutter, vibrate, shiver'; also of the sound that arose from such a movement: 'to rustle', of leaves (Hp., A. Pr. 394, E., Hermipp., Ar., Nic., Opp.). ◀?▶

•VAR Only present.

•COMP Also prefixed, especially with δια-.

•ETYM Cf. the rhyming formations ►σαίρω, ►σπαίρω, ►σκαίρω and ►ψηῖν. Perhaps, σαίρω is the simplified form of ψαίρω? Differently Benveniste *MSL* 23 (1930): 405, who compared Av. *šsarama-* [m.] 'shame', Ru. *sórom* 'shame', which to my opinion (and that of DELG) is not better.

**ψαίω** [v.] 'to grind, triturate'. <PG?>

•VAR The present only in H. ψαίειν (for ψαί<ρ>ειν); aor. ψαίσασθαι, ψαισθῆναι (Thphr. *apud* Porph. *Abst.* 2, 6).

•DER ψαιστός 'trituated, ground' in ψαιστή μᾶζα (Hp.), also -στόν [n.], plur. -στά (πέμμη, πόπανον, ἄλφιτα) 'sacrificial cake' made of flour and honey (com., Hell. inscr., Herod., AP); hence ψαιστ-ίον [n.] 'id.' (AP), -ώδης 'like a ψ.' (AB), ψαί(σ)μα-σίτον ὀλίγον 'small bread' (H.), ψαίστωρ "scrubber", epithet of σπόγγος (AP).

With simplification of the anlaut: σαιστός· ἐλαία θλαστή 'crushed olives' (H.), cf. σώχω : ψώχω. Other glosses from H. are ψαιδρός = ἀραιός 'loose' and with a suffix -νυ- ψαινύντες· ψωμίζοντες 'feeding in bits'; ψαίνυον· ἀχρεῖον 'rendering useless'; ψαίνυσμα· ὀλίγον 'little'; ψαινύθιον· ψευδές, μάταιον, εὐτελές, φλύαρον, οἰκτρόν 'false, idle, mean, rubbishy, pitiable'. This reminds of ψαίνυνθα θεσπίζοντα 'prophesying falsely' (Lyc. 1420) = ψευδῇ νομοθετοῦντα ἢ μαντεύμενον (like μίνυνθα, see Schwyzler: 629). The PN Ψαίδαρος confirms the gloss ψαιδρά· ἀραιότριχα (H.), O. Masson 1992: 146.

•ETYM Formation like in ►ραίω, ►κναίω (κνήν), ►πταίω, etc.; cf. also on ►ψηῖν. The word is probably Pre-Greek, in view of the variant with σ-.

**ψακάς** [f.] 'drop', especially of rain; collective 'drizzle' (Hdt., Hp., trag., Ar., X., Arist.). <PG(S,V)>

•VAR Ion. and Hell. also ψεκάς, -άδος (cf. Schwyzler: 258).

•DER Diminutive ψακάδ-ιον [n.] (Hell. com., Thphr.), also ψεκ-; -ισσα [f.] 'spotted, dappled', of a mare (pap. III<sup>a</sup>) see Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 103; also ψακαδ-ίσχιος of horses (ibid.) 'with dappled haunches?'. Verb ψακάζω 'to drip, spray, drizzle' (A., Ar., X., Plu.), also ψεκ-, and prefixed with κατα-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-; aor. ptc. pass. ψακασθεῖς 'besprinkled' (Thphr.).

We also find ψάκαλον [n.], -ος [m.] in the meaning 'new-born animal' (Ar. Byz., H.); the same metaphor is found with ►δρόσος and ἔρση. The suffix reminds of ►ἔταλον.

•ETYM The formation is similar to that of ἱκμάς, λιβάς (Frisk notes ψακάδ- next to ψάκαλον, like ἱκμάδ- beside ἱκμαλ-έος). Connection with the group of ►ψηῖν is highly unlikely, because the κ-enlargement would remain unclear.

There is no reason to call -ακ- an infix (as per Schwyzler: 497); it is simply part of the root ψακ-/ ψεκ-. In view of the suffix -αδ- or -αλ-, it is probably Pre-Greek. The connection with Lith. *spākas* 'drop, point' (also *spāgas*) may be correct, in which case both go back to a 'substrate language' of the northern Balkans. Beside ψάκαλον, Fur.: 339 cites a form ψαίκαλον· ἔμβρυον, βρέφος 'new-born, cub' (H.), with an interchange -α-/αι- typical for Pre-Greek.

**ψάκελον** [adj.] · μέγα (H.). <?>

•ETYM One compares ►σφάκελος 2, as the middle finger is the largest.

**ψαλάσσω** [v.] 'to touch, infringe, pluck' (S., Ar., Lyc., Ael.), med. διαψαλάττεσθαι· τὸ εἰς ἔρευναν διαστέλλεσθαι 'to be instructed to do research'. Cf. ἐψαλάξατο· ἔψαυσεν, ἐκινήθη 'was touched lightly, was moved' (H.). <PG>

•VAR Att. also -ττω; aor. -άξαι, fut. -άξω.

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, ὑπο-, προ-, μετα-.

•DER Verbal adjective ἀψάλακτος = ἄψαυστος, ἀκίνητος 'untouched' (S. fr. 550, Ar., Crates Com.), ἀπο-ψάλακτος = ἀκρότητος (Phot.); cf. ψαλάξεις ... νευρᾶς κτύπον 'make a string sound by touching it' (Lyc. 139); referring to the sound also ὀρθο-ψάλακτος (ἔρις) 'resounding loudly, making some real noise' (S. *Ichn.*).

•ETYM Enlargement of ►ψάλλω; cf. ἀφάσσω to ἀφάω, σαλάσσω, παλάσσω, etc., also ►ψαθάλλω. The word is most probably Pre-Greek, because of its *a*-vocalism.

**ψάλιον** [n.] 'curb-chain' vel sim. (Att. since A.); on the unclear mg. see Anderson *JHS* 88 (1968): 3ff. <PG?(V)>

•ETYM A technical word without convincing etymology; connection with ►ψάλλω remains hypothetical. The gloss ψαλόν· εἶδος χαλινού 'kind of bit' (H.) is probably a mistake for ψάλιον. Palmer recognized the word in *Myc pa-sa-ro*, see Morpurgo Davies 1963 s.v. This was later defended by Taillardat *REG* 91 (1978): 1-11, but rejected by Fur.: 358<sup>64</sup>. See ►ψέλιον.

**ψαλῖς, -ίδος** [f.] 1. 'subterranean (arched) passage, canal, (subterranean) vault, flying buttress' (S. fr. 367, Pl. *Lg.* 947d, Arist., Ph. *Bel.*, Hero, Hell. and late inscr.); 2. 'scissors' (S. fr. 413, Ar. fr. 320, 1, AP, pap. II<sup>p</sup>, Poll.); 3. 'ring or the like for supporting or strengthening' (LXX, Ph. *Bel.*; also BGU 1028, 9 [II<sup>p</sup>]: ψαλλίδ[ων]?). <PG(V)>

•VAR Gen. also -ίδος?

•COMP ψαλιδο-ειδής 'similar to a vault' (Ph. *Bel.*, Gal.).

•DER From 1.: ψαλιδ-όμαι 'to arch' (Bito), -ωτός 'arched' (D. H.), -ωμα [n.] 'vault' (Str., inscr. II<sup>p</sup>).

From 2.: ψαλιδό-στομος 'nipper-mouthed, epithet of crabs (Batr.). Hence diminutive ψαλίδιον [n.] (pap. V<sup>p</sup>), ψαλίζω [v.] (also ἀπο-, δια-) 'to cut with scissors' (late medic., Babr.), ψαλίζαι· κείραι 'to cut, shave' (H.), -ιστός, -ισμός [m.] (late medic.).

•ETYM In the third meaning, ψαλῖς might be connected with ψέλιον, and probably also with ψάλιον; for seemingly unconnectable meanings 'vault' and 'scissors' no explanation has been found.

**ψάλλω** [v.] 'to pluck, twitch a string (also a bowstring) with the fingers, instead of with the plectrum' (IA), 'to sing to a harp, chant praises' (LXX, NT). <PG?>

•VAR Aor. ψῆλαι, Hell. (LXX) ψᾶλαι, fut. ψαλῶ.

•COMP Also with ἐπι-, κατα-, δια-, etc.

•DER 1. ψαλμός (also δια-, ἐπι-) [m.] 'twitching, plucking of the bowstring, string, string music' (Pi., A. [anap.], E. [lyr.], etc.), 'a song to string music, song of praise' (LXX, NT), ἀντί-ψαλμος 'accompanied by string music' (E. [lyr.]), -μίζω [v.] 'to sing songs of praise or psalms', -μιστής (gloss.), etc. 2. ψάλμα (also διά-, ἀπό-) [n.]

'sound, melody of string music, etc.' (LXX, AP, Max. Tyr., Ptol.). 3. -σις [f.] 'plucking, twitching' (Philostr.). 4. -της [m.] 'player of a string instrument, lutenist, harpist' (Hell. and late), older fem. -τρια 'harpist' (Pl., Ion Trag., Arist., Hell.). 5. -τήριον [n.] 'stringed instrument, harp' (Arist., Thphr., LXX). 6. -τικός 'belonging to harp music' (late). 7. ψάλτιγξ· κιθάρα (H., Suid.), after φόρμιγξ etc.

•ETYM No etymology; cf. ►ψηλαφάω. Probably Pre-Greek.

**ψαλόν** [n.] · εἶδος χαλινοῦ 'kind of bit or bridle' (H.), in fact 'ring of a muzzle(?)' (DELG). <PG(V)>

•DIAL Myc. *pa-sa-ro* (Taillardat REGr. 91 (1978): 1-11).

•DER Here belong all words with ψαλιο-, ψαλιδ- (also with ε and σπ-). ψάλιον; ψέλιον 'open ring' worn by the Persians (Hdt., X.), 'open collar' of the Gauls (Plb.); also ψίλιον (Delos III<sup>a</sup>), ψίλλιον (inscr. III<sup>a</sup>), σπέλλιον (Aeol., sch. D. T., An. Ox. 4, 46). ψελιώω (AP 7, 234). ψαλίσ, -ίδος with σπαλίσ (sch. D. T. 320 H); also 'vaulted construction' (S. fr. 367, Pl.). ψαλίζω [v.] 'to cut with scissors', ψαλιδόω 'to vault'; ψαλίττεται ἀμιλλᾶται (H.), σπαλίων 'mobile covered galery', used in sieges.

•ETYM Not to ψάλλω. Hypothesis by Taillardat REG 91 (1978): 1-11.

**ψάμαθος** [f.] 'sand' (Il., epic poet.), often plur. <EUR?>

•COMP As a second member in πολυ-ψάμαθος 'rich in sand' (Opp.), etc.

•DER ψαμαθ-ώδης 'sandy' (h. Merc., A. R.), -ήϊς [f.] 'id.' (Nic.); poetic formation, cf. on χλωρήϊς; ψαμαθ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] name of a fish (Numen. *apud* Ath.), called after its habitat acc. to Strömberg 1943: 81, -ία· αἰγιαλός 'beach' (H.).

PN Ψαμάθη name of a Nereid (Hes. Th. 260), Ψεμάθη (Att. vase), by inverse writing (Fraenkel Phil. 97 (1948): 161) or dissimilation (Kretschmer 1923: 193ff.)? Also σαμαθον (POxy. 1290, 1 [V<sup>p</sup>]) = -θών 'sandpit', for ψ-? (see Preisigke 1925).

•ETYM Taken to be a cross of ►ἄμαθος and ►ψάμμος. Fur. 209 adduces MHG *sant* < (p)*samtho*-, MHG *sam(p)t*, *samp* < \*(p)*samatho*-, so it could also directly continue a word from the European substrate.

**ψάμμος** [f.] 'sand' (μ 243). <EUR?>

•VAR Also msc. (Archim.). Dor. -ᾱ (A. and Ar. [lyr.]), -η (Hdt. 4, 181)? See Schwyzer 1950: 32<sup>4</sup>).

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. ψαμμό-γεως 'with a soil rich in sand' (Hdn.), ὑπό-ψαμμος 'having sand underneath, sandy' (Hdt., X., Plu.); cf. ὑπό-χρυσος s.v. ►χρυσός; \*ἐπί-ψαμμος in ἐπιψαμμ-ίζω [v.] 'to cover with sand' (Hero).

•DER 1. ψαμμ-ία [n.pl.] 'gravel' in urine (medic.). 2. -ίτης [m.] designation of a treatise of Archim., 'made of sand' (AP), -ίτης [f.] name of a fish (Archestr.), cf. ψαμαθίς and Redard 1949: 23 and 113. 3. -ώδης (Hdt., Hp.), -ίτης (Hdt., Philostr.), -αῖος (Priene) 'sandy'; -ιαῖος 'as large as a grain of sand' (Olymp. in Phd.); -ωτός 'consisting of plaster or stucco' (LXX). 4. -ισμός [m.] 'burying in sand' (Paul Aeg.), from \*-ίζω. 5. δια-ψαμμώσαι [aor.] 'to polish with sand' (Lesbos). Further ψάμματα· σπαράγματα 'fragments' and ψαμματίζουσα· ψωμίζουσα 'feeding morsels' (H.).

•ETYM ψάμμος seems to be a Greek innovation and reminds of ►ἄμαθος. Connection with the group of ►ψην has been suggested, but the formation is not clear. In

principle, ψάμμος may represent older \*ψάφ-μος (cf. γράμμα to ►γράφω) and thus belong to ψαφαρός, ►ψηφός 'pebble', further to Lat. *sabulum* 'sand'.

According to Derooy *Glotta* 35 (1956): 183 (extensive treatment and lit.), ἄμαθος, ἄμμος as well as ψάμαθος, ψάμμος would come from Pre-Greek \**sam*- 'sand, mud'.

ψάμαθος and ἄμμος may have arisen as crosses between ►ἄμαθος and ψάμμος. See Fur.: 209.

**ψάρ** [m.] 'starling', extensively discussed in Thompson 1895 s.v. <?>

•VAR Gen. ψᾶρός, nom.pl. ψᾶρες (P 755 [gen. ψᾶρῶν], Antiph., Dsc., AP 9, 373).

Also ψήρ, gen. ψηρός, nom. pl. ψῆρες (P 583 [acc. ψηρας], Q. S., AP 7, 172).

Thematicized ψᾶρος or ψάρος (Arist., Gal.).

•DER ψᾶρός 'starling-colored, grey, speckled' [adj.] (Ar., Arist., LXX); cf. Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 193.

•ETYM The difficult epic gen. pl. ψᾶρῶν has been explained by metrical lengthening of \*ψᾶρῶν; the oldest flexion, then, would have been ψήρ, gen. \*ψᾶρός, to which a new nom. ψᾶρ was created (thus Schmidt KZ 25 (1881): 20; Kretschmer *Glotta* 4 (1913): 336). On the explanation of the vocalic interchange see also Björck 1950: 45 and 219. The word remains without a certain etymology. It seems impossible to connect the Germanic name of the starling, OHG *stara*, etc., to which Lat. *sturnus* 'id.' belongs (and perhaps ►ἀστραλός). See also the bird names mentioned under ►σποργίλος (IE \**sper*-, see Pok. 991).

**ψαυκροπόδης** 'swift-footed', epithet of the horse Arion (EM 817, 45); accus. -ποδα (H.). ⇒σαυκρόν.

**ψαύω** [v.] 'to touch lightly, brush, infringe, etc.'; pass. (rare) ἔψαυσμαι (Hp.), ψαυσθῆναι, ψαύομαι (late) 'to be touched, brushed'. <PG?>

•VAR Aor. ψαῦσαι (Il., very rare in Att. prose), fut. ψαύσω (A., etc.), perf. ἔψαυκα (late).

•COMP Also with ἐπι-, ποτι-, προσ-, συν-, etc.

•DER ψαῦσις (ἐπί-, σύν-, etc.) [f.] 'touch, caress', ψαῦσμα [n.] 'id.' (X. Eph.).

•ETYM Frisk analyzes it as a rhiming formation to ►χραύω, ►χναύω, ►θραύω, with the anlaut like in ψαίω, ψαίρω [sic!], ψίω. He compares ►ψην. However, semantically the word has little to do with ►ψην, and a rhiming formation based on it is unlikely. Rather a Pre-Greek word.

**ψαφαρός** ⇒ψηφός.

**ψάω** ⇒ψην.

**ψε** •VAR ψιν. ⇒σφεῖς.

**ψέγος** [?] · τάφος 'grave'. καὶ ἐπιψέγειν· ἐπικηδεύειν 'to form connections by marriage' (H.). <?>

•ETYM Unexplained.

**ψέγω** [v.] 'to blame, chide' (Thgn.). <PG?>

•VAR Aor. ψέξαι, fut. ψέξω, perf. pass. ἔψεγμαι.

•DER ψέκ-της [m.] 'censurer' (Hp., Pl.), -τικός 'censuring' (Arist., Poll.), παμ-ψέκτωρ [m.] 'all-censurer' (Man.), ψέξις 'censure' (gloss.); ἄ-σεκτος· ἀγαθός, παρὰ Πίνθωνι Ταραντίνῳ (H.) if < \*'without blemish'; on σ- instead of ψ- see Schwyzler: 329. ψόγος [m.] 'censure' (Xenoph.+); often as a second member, e.g. φιλό-πογος 'ensorious' (E., Pl.); thence πογ-ερός 'ensorious' (Pi., Plu.), πογεια· πογερά, καὶ οὐκ ἄξια ἀκοῆς 'not worthy to be heard' (H., Choerob.); πογ-ίσαι or -ῆσαι [aor.] 'to censure' (LXX), fut. pass. -ισθήσεται, -ιθήσονται (Vett. Val.); πογιστής [m.] 'censurer, captious person' (Rhetor.).

•ETYM Old words for 'reproach, blame, revilement' are ὄνειδος (whence ὀνειδίζω since Il.), which is inherited, and μέφομαι, which is etymologically less clear, but attested from Homer onwards. In comparison with these words, ψέγω seems to be a younger creation. No etymology exists. Connection with ψῆν makes little sense; the same holds for derivation of ψόγος from the interjection ψό (the same holds for ►ψόφος). The word seems to be Pre-Greek, although there is no clear formal argument (except for the initial ψ-).

ψεδνός [adj.] 'thin, sparse', also 'bald' (of hair); secondarily 'bare', of the bottom (B 219, AP, Aret., Luc., Aristid.). ◀PG?▶

•DER ψεδνο-κάρηνος 'bald' (Orph.), -θριξ 'thin-haired' (Tz.), ψεδνότης [f.] 'baldness' (Adam.), ψεδνόμαι [v.] 'to become bald' (S. E.).

•ETYM Connection with ►ψῆν is not evident. Beside ψεδνός, we find synonymous ψιγνός (Semon.), ψανός (H.), ψιός, ψαιδρά· ἀραιότριχα (H.), etc. The word is probably Pre-Greek, like many other words with initial ψ-. Solmsen 1909: 136<sup>2</sup> suggested that ψεδνός B 219 is an old corruption of the text for earlier \*ψαιδνός or \*ψιδνός, and he explained all other places from there. But, as Frisk remarks, why would \*ψαιδνός (to ψαίω) or \*ψιδνός (to ψιός) have been given up for a seemingly isolated form ψεδνός?

ψεῖ (ψῖ) name of the letter ψ (Hellad. *apud* Phot.). ⇒πεῖ and χεῖ.

ψείρει· φθείρει 'destroys' (H.). ◀GR▶

•ETYM A dialectal form, probably Cretan. Cf. Lejeune 1972: 39.

ψέλιον [n.] 'bracelet, ring, arm jewel, anklet' (Hdt., X., Hell. and late inscr. and pap.). ◀PG(V)▶

•VAR Mostly plur. -ια. Also ψέλλιον and ψί(λ)ιον, Aeol. (gramm.) σπέλ(λ)ιον (Schwyzer: 266).

•DER ψελιο-φόρος 'wearing a bracelet' (Hdt.), aor. ψελιώσαι στεφάνοις 'to adorn with wreaths' (AP), ψελιουμένη [f.] designation of a statue of Praxiteles (Plin.).

•ETYM Connection with ►ψάλλω (Schwyzer: 329) can at best be folk-etymological. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek, like many other words with ψ-. Here also belongs ψαλῖς. Fur. also connects Myc. *qe-ro<sub>2</sub>* /sk<sup>w</sup>eliō/. The -e- may be a variant of PG \*a before palatal -l-. See ►ψάλιον.

ψελλός [adj.] 'speaking inarticulately', like a child (Arist., *Com. Adesp.*); 'unintelligible', of words (A. Pr. 816). ◀PG?▶

•DER ψελλ-ότης [f.] 'inarticulate speech' (Arist., Plu.); ψελλίζομαι [v.] (late also -ίζω) 'to speak inarticulately, faultily' (Pl., Arist., Hell. and late prose); the med. after φθέγγομαι, εὐχομαι, etc.; also with κατα-, παρα-, συν-, etc. Thence -ισμός [m.], -ισμα [n.] (late).

•ETYM Probably Pre-Greek.

ψεύδομαι [v.] 'to lie, be wrong, break (an oath)' (Il.), in Att. also 'to lie to, deceive, cheat, be false, etc.', often regardless of intention. See Luther 1935: 80ff., 115ff., 133ff.

◀PG(V)▶

•VAR Aor. ψεύσασθαι, fut. ψεύσομαι (both Il.), pf. ἔψευσμαι (Hdt., Att.). On ψυθ- see bel.

A younger active form (very rare in Att. prose) is ψεύδω, aor. ψεύσαι, fut. ψεύσω 'to deceive, mislead (with lies)', also with δια-; more often pass. aor. ψευσθῆναι, perf. ἔψευσμαι 'to be deceived or misled' (Hdt., Att.), also with κατα-, δια-.

•COMP Often with prefix, especially κατα-.

•DER 1. ψεύδος [n.] 'lie' (Il.), which enjoys enormous productivity as a first member, e.g. ψευδ-ἄγγελος [m.] 'lying messenger, reporter of lies' (O 159), whence -ία [f.] (X., D. C.), -έω (Ph.; uncertain Ar. Av. 1340); ψευδο-μάρτυς [m.] 'false witness' (Pl., Critias, Arist.); also as a second member, e.g. ἄ-ψευδής 'without deceit, truthful' (Hes.), whence -εἰα, -έω, -ία; ἐπι-ψευδής 'fraudulent' (Δ 235).

From ψεύδος: a) ψευδ-άρια [n.pl.] title of a treatise by Euclid. b) ψευδής 'lying, false' (Hes. *Th.* 229, IA), probably after ἀληθής; besides in the same mg. ψευδ-ις (Pi.), -ήμων, -αλέος (Nonn.), ψευδ-άλμιον· ψευδές (H.), cf. φυτάλμιος.

2. κατά-, διά-ψευσις [f.] 'false message, deceit' (Str., Stob.), ψευσι-στύξ epithet of Apollo, 'Hater of Lies' (AP). 3. ψεύσ-μα (also κατά-, διά-) [n.] 'lie, deceit' (Pl., Hell.), καταψευσ-μός [m.] 'slander' (LXX). 4. -της [m.] 'liar' (Ω 261, probably also T 107, Pi., Hdt., S.), fem. -τις (epigr. Cyrene), -τήρ 'id.' (Man.), fem. -τειρα (Orac. Sibyll.); -τάζω [v.] 'to lie' (Tz.). 5. ἄ-ψευσ-τος 'without deceit, truthful' (Ph., Plu., AP), whence -τέω (Plb.).

The expected zero grade in ψυδρός 'fraudulent, false' (Thgn. 122 [v.l. ψυδνός], Lyc.), Ψυδρεὺς [m.] month name (Corc., IG 9(1), 682 [IV<sup>2</sup>]), referring to Hermes; also in ψύδος, plur. ψύδι (EM 819, 13, A. Ag. 999 [lyr.]), for which mostly ψύθος, -η is found (A. Ag. 478 and 1089 [lyr.], Call. *Fr.* 184; EM), and ἔψυθεν· ἐψεύσατο (H.); cf. also ψυθιζομένων· γογγυζόντων 'murmuring'; ψυθιστάς· ψιθυριστάς 'whispering', ψυθῶνες· διάβολοι 'slanderers' (H.).

•ETYM The zero grade found in ψυδρός agrees with Arm. *sut* (o-stem) [adj.] 'false', [subst.] 'lie'. On the comparison see Clackson 1994: 168f. and Martirosyan 2010 s.v. *sut*.

Clackson is inclined to believe the proposal by Taillardat BAGB 36 (1977): 344-354 that the Greek word is related to \**psu-* 'wind' (which is assumed in ψύχω 'to blow' and in Skt. *psu-*). Taillardat gives a number of semantic parallels for a development from 'wind' to 'nonsense, idle talk'. Intermediate forms, as far as the semantics are concerned, may be seen in ►ψιθυρίζω and ►ψύδραξ.

The full grade in ψεύδομαι reminds of a Slavic word for 'deceive' in Slk. *šudit'*, Cz. *šiditi* (see Machek *Ling. Posn.* 5 (1955): 70f.). If related, the Slavic words would point

to an initial cluster \*ks-, and we have to reconstruct \*k<sup>w</sup>seud- for Greek (Pronk and Van Beek, p.c.).

To my mind, the forms with ψυθ- rather point to Pre-Greek origin (variation δ/ θ). The Armenian form may derive from a language cognate to Pre-Greek. Fur.: 197 adduces ψαυδής (inscr. Pholegandros) and ψούδιον 'lie' (H., Phot.).

**ψέφας** [n.] 'gloom, darkness' (Pi. *Fr.* 324, H.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ψέφος (H., conj. by Lobeck for ψόφου, σκότου Alc. Z 114).

•COMP ψεφο-ειδής = ψεφαρός (Gal.), ψεφ-αυγοῦς· σκοτεινής 'dark' (H.).

•DER ψεφαῖος = σκοτεινός (H.), ψεφηνός (Pi. *N.* 3, 41; -εννός Porson, -εινός Bergk), ψεφαρός (Hp. *apud* Gal.) 'dark, gloomy, cloudy'. Uncertain ψάφα· κνέφας and σείφα· σκοτία. Κρήτες (H.).

•ETYM A rhyming formation to ►κνέφας. Usually, Skt. *ksáp-* 'night' is considered to be somehow related, but a precise connection cannot be established (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v.).

Fur.: takes σείφα as a shortened form of \*ψειφ-, and also suggests to connect ζέφυρος. The variations would point to substrate origin.

**ψέφει** [v.] <?>

•VAR in the glosses ψέφει· δέδοικεν, ἐντρέπει, λυπεῖ, φροντίζει 'to fear, take heed, repent, think of' (H.); μεταψέφω· μεταβουλεύομαι 'to repent' (H.); μεταψέφειν· μεταμελεῖσθαι 'to repent' (H.); ἀψεφών· ἀμελῶν 'careless' (H.); ἀψεφές· ἀφρόντιστον Σοφοκλῆς Φαίδρα [= *fr.* 692] 'heedless' (H.).

Here perhaps belongs ἐπίσσοφος, name of a yearly changing official in Thera (*Test. Epict.*) if a variant of \*ἐπιψέφω; Schwyzer: 329 and 460; different Brugmann *IF* 16 (1904): 409f.

•ETYM Unknown.

**ψηλαφάω** [v.] 'to feel, grope, caress, grope around, examine' (I 416). <PG?(S)>

•VAR Reshaped as ψηλαφ-ίζω 'id.' (middle com.). Non-presentic forms are rare, and mostly late: aor. ψηλαφῆσαι (Pl. *Prt.* 310c, LXX), -αφήσω, -αφηθήσομαι (LXX), -αφηθήναι (S. E., Plu.).

•COMP Also with ἐπι-, etc.

•DER 1. ψηλάφ-ημα [n.] 'touch, caress' (X., Ph.), προψηλαφήματα [pl.] = προοίμια (Procl. *in Ti.*). 2. -ησις [f.] 'touching' (Hp., Hell.), with ἀνα- 'resumption of a cause' (to ἀνα-ψηλαφάω Just.). 3. -ητής [f.] "groping" (sch.), -ητικῶς (Eust.). 4. -ητός epithet of σκότος (LXX), because in the dark, groping is a means of orientation. 5. ψηλάφ-ια (Ion. -ίη) [f.] 'touching' (medic., Hell.), as if from \*ψήλαφος; thus also 6. -ώδης 'groping, groping around' (Hp.); 7. ψηλάφ-ίνδα παίζειν 'to play blindman's buff' (Phryn.).

•ETYM Analyzed by Fick *BB* 18 (1892): 102 as a univerbation from the aor. ψῆλαι to ψάλλω and ἀφάω 'to handle'; cf. στρεφε-δίνηθεν and similar instances (Schwyzer: 645). It remains unclear, however, why the aorist was preferred. Bechtel recognized a noun \*ψάλα in the first member, referring to μηλ-αφάω 'to touch with the probe (μήλη)'; but this rare verb was rather created after the example of ψηλαφάω, which is a common word. If -αφ- is rather a suffix, the word could be Pre-Greek.

**ψην, ψηνός** [m.] 'date wasp, fig wasp, gall wasp' (Hdt., Ar., Arist., Thphr.), also as a PN (Thera [VII<sup>a</sup>]?). <PG?>

•DER ψηνίζω (also ὑπο-, προ-) [v.] 'to impregnate the figs artificially by the sting of the gall wasp, caprificate', also metaph. (Ar., *Com. Adesp.*, Suid., Phot.).

•ETYM The connection with ►ψην is hardly credible. For the suffix -n-, see also ►κηφήν 'drone'.

**ψην** [v.inf.] 'to rub, grate, scratch, stroke, wipe' (IA, Hdt., com., Hell. and late inscr. and pap., etc.). <PG?>

•VAR Ind. 3sg. ψῆ < \*ψῆη, ptc. med. ψώμενος, etc., aor. ψῆσαι, ψήσασθαι, pass. ψη(σ)θῆναι, perf. ἔψησμαι; late also inf. ψᾶν.

•COMP Mostly prefixed, e.g. with κατα-, ἀπο-, συν-, περι-.

•DER 1. ἀπό-, περί-ψημα [n.] 'scrapings, refuse, dirt' (*Ep. Cor.*, Dsc., inscr.). 2. παρά-ψησις = παρά-τριμμα (gloss.). 3. ἀπό-ψηστρον· τὸ ἀτόμακτρον τοῦ μετρούμενου σίτου 'what is wiped off the measured grain' (H.); παλίμ-ψηστος 'scraped again', i.e. 'scraped and written on again', of parchment (βιβλίον), also -ον [n.] 'palimpsest' (Plu.), Lat. *palim-psestus* (Cat., Cic.). 4. ψη-νός (Semon.), ψανός· ψεδνός (H.) 'bald(headed)'; ψῆ-ρός = ξηρός (Suid.), μεσόψηρον· ἡμίξηρον 'half-dried' (H.), ψαρόν [n.] name of a siccative powder (Paul. Aeg.). 5. ψηκεδών· κονιορτός 'cloud of dust' (H.) (after τηκεδών). 6. ψήληκες· τῶν ἀλεκτρούνων οἱ νοθογένναι 'bastard cocks' (H., Suid.), originally 'without a crest'?

With an enlargement -χ-: ψήχω [v.] 'to stroke, comb, wear away' (IA, etc.), aor. ψῆξαι, ψηχθῆναι, fut. ψήξω, perf. ἔψηγμα, also prefixed, especially with κατα-. Thence 1. ψήγμα (ἐπί-) [n.] 'granule, dust which is scraped off' (Hdt., A., Arist., Hell.). 2. ψήξις (παρά-, ἀπό-) [f.] 'combing, scraping' (X., late medic.). 3. ψήκτρα [f.] 'curry-comb for horses' (S., E., Ar., Hell. pap.), -τρίον [n.] (gloss.), -τρίς, -τρια (H. s.v. ξώστρα), -τρίζω (sch.). ἀπό-ψηκτρον [n.] name of a remedy against ὑπώπια (Gal.), παλίμ-ψηκτρον = *deleticia [charta]* (gloss.), cf. παλίμψηστον. 4. ψηκτός (μύδιος) 'level' (gloss.), ἀπό-ψηκτός metaph. 'shrewd' (S. *Ichn.*). To this also belongs 5. ψηχράν· τὴν λεπτὴν 'peeled, husked, small' (H., Suid.).

With ā-vocalism (cf. below): ψακτήρ· ψήκτρα and ψάκταν· τὴν ψακτὴν μάζαν (H.). With ω-vocalism: 1. ψωμός [m.] 'morsel, bit' (since I 374), -ιον [n.] (Hell. pap., NT), -ίς [f.] (Arist.), -ίζω 'to put morsels in the mouth, feed' (IA), whence -ισμα, -ισμός; also ψώμηκες· οἱ τοῦ σίτου τὰς ρίζας ἀπεσθίοντες 'who eat the roots of the grain' (H.), after μύρμηκες, σκώληκες, and ψώμιγξ· σφήκωμα 'point of a helmet' (H.). 2. ψώρα (Ion. -η) [f.] 'itch' (IA), ψωρός, -αλέος, -ικός, -ώδης, -ίτης, -ιάω, -ιάσις, -ωσις. 3. ψωλός 'without foreskin, circumcized, lecherous', also -ή (Dor. -ά) [f.] 'exposed penis' (Ar., Diph.), whence ἀποψαλέω (Ar.), -ων = πόσθων 'with a large penis' (H.). 4. ψωθ-ίον [n.], also -ία [f.] 'bread crumb, etc.' (Pherecr., Poll.). Uncertain 5. ψωδαρέον· αὐχμηρόν 'dry, withered' (H.), for ψωραλέον? 6. ►ψώα 'rotten and malodorous stuff' (A. R. *fr.* 5). 7. ψωχός γῆ· ψαμιώδης 'sandy' (H.), perhaps for ψώχος· γῆ ψαμιώδης. With an enlargement -χ- (cf. on ψήχω above) also ψώχω [v.] 'to grind, scrub' (Nic., *Ev. Luc.*, Dsc.), also σώχω (Nic.); with κατα- (Hdt.), also with ἀπο-. Unclear is ψακτόν· τράπεζαν 'table' (H.), cf. ψάκταν above.

•ETYM The glosses ψακτήρ and ψάκταν in H. prove that the basic form of ψῆν, ψήχω was \*ψᾱ-, beside ablauting ψω- as found in ψωμός, ψώχω, etc. (Solmsen 1909: 136). Old Indic has been supposed to show a counterpart in the athematic present *psā-ti* 'chews, devours', from IE \**PseH-*. An *r*-derivation is supposed by Nieminen KZ 74 (1956): 168ff. in Lith. *sóra* 'millet' (< IE \**psā-rā*: ψώρα); on this Fraenkel 1955 s.v. Cf. also ►ψῆφος.

Skt. *psā-ti*, Gr. ψῆν and ψώχω can be explained as vocalic enlargements (\**psā-*, \**psō-* < \**b<sup>h</sup>s-eh<sub>2</sub>-*, \**b<sup>h</sup>s-oh<sub>2</sub>-*) of IE \**b<sup>h</sup>es-* in Skt. *bābhasti* 'to chew, digest'. Beekes *Sprache* 18 (1972): 126 gave semantic objections; and Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 198 (s.v. *psā-*) also rejected the connection.

DELG (s.v. \*ψῆω and *Supp.*) suggests that the ῆ may continue an *ē*, i.e. *-eh<sub>1</sub>-*. Finally, Meier-Brügger in DELG *Supp.* states that the "analyse définitive" of ψῆν has to depart from the root \**pes-* seen in Hitt. *peš(š)-zi* 'to rub, scrub (with soap)', with a factitive suffix *-eh<sub>2</sub>-*.

To my mind, the IE explanations must be given up; the group of words is probably Pre-Greek, especially given the coexistence of ►ψαίω, ►ψαύω, ψίω, which cannot be explained if we start from a PIE form.

ψηνός •VAR ψηρός. = ψῆν.

ψῆττα [f.] name of a flatfish, further identification uncertain ('plaice, flounder?') (Att.), see Thompson 1947 s.v. Metaphorically 'glutton' (Pl. Com.). ◀?>

•VAR ψῆσσα (Alex. Trall.). Ψηττό-ποδες [pl.] name of a mythic people (Luc.).

•DER Diminutive ψηττάριον (Anaxandr.), ψησσίον (Zonar.).

•ETYM Frisk suggests it could stand for \*ψηχ-ια (comparing θρίσσα from ►θρίξ, etc.) from ψήχω, referring to the hard, raw skin (cf. Ital. = Lat. *lima* 'file', also 'flatfish' (= MoFr. *limande*), and cf. Strömberg 1943: 87f. with more examples. Of course, this is only a suggestion.

ψῆφος [f.] 'small stone, pebble', used especially for counting and calculating, 'voting stone, vote, decision' (Pi., IA); cf. ψηφίς below. ◀?>

•VAR Dor. ψᾶφος.

•COMP Numerous compounds, e.g. ψηφο-φορέω 'to give one's vote', -φορία [f.] 'voting' (Arist., Hell. and late); -φόρος (D. H.), ισό-ψηφος 'with an equal vote, having an equal vote' (Att.).

•DER 1. ψηφ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'little stone' (Φ 260, etc.), whence -ιδ-ώδης (Gr.), -ίον [n.] (late), -ίδιον [n.] (Iamb.). 2. Aeol. ψᾶφ-ιγξ, -ιγγος [f.] (Eresos [IV<sup>a</sup>]), cf. λᾶιγξ; ψᾶφαξ (Greg. Cor.), to λίθαξ 'id.'. 3. ψηφ-άς, -άδος [m.] ' juggler, magician' (Cat. Cod. Astr.). 4. Adjective -ικός 'ptng. to calculating' (Vett. Val.), -ινος 'of stones' (PMag. Par., H., AB).

5. Verb ψηφ-ίζομαι, -ίζω 'to vote, decide', act. 'to bring to vote', also 'to count (with pebbles)' (Dor., IA), frequent with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα-. Thence -ισμα, Cret. ψάφιγμα, -ιμμα (Schwyzer: 523) [n.] 'vote, motion, decision' (Emp., Att.), -ισμός (also with δια-, ἐπι-, παρα-, κατα-) [m.] 'voting, etc.' (Arist., late), -ισις (also with ἐπι-, κατα-, etc.) [f.] 'id.' (Att.), ψάφιξις (Locr. V<sup>a</sup>), see Schwyzer: 271, on the gemination 238; -ιστής (also ἐπι-, συν-, etc.) [m.] 'an office' (pap.).

6. Also ψηφώ 'to surface with pebbles, mosaics' (inscr., Lyd.), -ωτός (Lydia [I<sup>p</sup>]), -ωσις [f.] (gloss.).

A zero grade ψᾶφ-αρός (-ερός Hp.) 'loose, rotten, crumbled' (IA), whence -αρία [f.] (Dsc.), -αρίτης [m.] (AP), ψαφαρόομαι (Olymp. Alch.); cf. λαγάρος, χαλαρός, etc.

•ETYM A semantic proximity between ψῆφος, ψᾶφος and ψῆν cannot be denied. However, the formal side is difficult, for what would -φ- have to represent? A zero grade ψᾶφ- is also supposed in ψάμμος, if this derives from \*ψᾶφ-μος, and it can also be assumed for Lat. *sabulum* 'sand' (see on ►ψάμμος). The comparison with Hitt. *paššila-* 'pebble' (Goetze *Lang.* 30 (1954): 403) does not make sense formally.

Fur.: 381 compares ψαφαρός with ψαύριος, κονιορτός, φορυτός. οἱ δὲ ψαυρός 'cloud of dust, rubbish' (uncertain).

ψήχω = ψῆν.

ψιά = ἐψία.

ψιάζω [v.] 'to play', only in Lac. 3pl. ψιάδδοντι (Ar. Lys. 1302 [Iyr.]). ◀PG(V)>

•VAR ψιάδδειν· παίζειν 'id.' (H.).

•DER Also ψιά·χαρά, γελοίασμα, παίγνια 'joy, laughter, game' (H.).

•ETYM On the anlaut also Schwyzer: 329. The variant ►ἐψία, etc. is due to a prothetic vowel, which is characteristic of substrate words. Perhaps, the Pre-Greek form had *ps<sup>y</sup>-*, cf. ψίακα beside ψακάς (s.v. ψιάς) and ψίεσσα·εὐδαίμων, μακαρία and ψιέντα·τὰ αὐτὰ (H.).

ψίαθος [f., m.] 'rush mat' (Att. inscr. [V<sup>a</sup>], Ar., Arist., Thphr.), also used as a screen (Apollod. *Poliorec.*) and as a means of transport (pap. III<sup>a</sup>, Sor.). ◀PG(V)>

•VAR Also ψίεθος.

•COMP ψιαθο-πλόκος [m.] 'plaiter of mats' (pap.).

•DER Diminutive ψιάθ-ιον [n.] (com. IV-III<sup>a</sup>, pap. V-VI<sup>p</sup>), -ώδης 'like a mat' (Eust., sch.), -ηδόν 'in the style of a mat' (sch., Suid.), -ίζομαι 'to be cured by lying on a mat' (Hierocl. *Facet.*).

•ETYM A formation like γυργαθός, κάλαθος; a loan from the Pre-Greek substrate, as is shown by the variation α/ε.

ψιάς [f.] 'drop of blood' (P 459), plur. ψιάδες αίματόεσσαί. ◀PG(V)>

•VAR ψίακα·ψακάδα 'drop', ψίδες·ψιάδες, ψακάδες, and ψιάζει·ψακάζει (H.).

•ETYM ψίακ- is found beside ψακ-άδ-; this points to a Pre-Greek palatalized phoneme \**s<sup>y</sup>*. See ►ψίω.

ψιβδεῖ [v.]·ὕποπνεῖ, βδεῖ 'to blow underneath, fart' (H.). ◀?>

•ETYM Unknown.

ψίζομαι [v.] 'to weep', in ψιζομένη κλαίουσα (H.). ◀PG(V)>

•VAR = Aeol. ψισδομένα (Sapph. 94, 2); also ψιδ<δ>εν·ἐκλαυσεν, ψίνδεσθαι·κλαίειν (H.).

•ETYM Probably onomatopoeic; cf. ►σίζω; see also ►ψόφος. Cf. ψίδες 'drops', and note the prenasalization.

**ψίθιος** [adj.] epithet of οἶνος, σταφυλή, ἔλινος (com. IV<sup>a</sup>, Cyrene IV<sup>a</sup>, Nic., Dsc.), so a kind of grape. Lat. *psithia* (*vitis*, *uva*), *psythium*, scil. *vinum* (Verg., Plin., etc.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Also ψύθιος.

•ETYM No etymology. Probably Pre-Greek.

**ψιθυρίζω** [v.] 'to whisper, murmur, slander', metaph. of trees and birds, 'to rustle, chirp' (Pl., Ar., Hell.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Dor. (Bucol.) -ισδω.

•COMP Also with δια-, προσ-, ὑπο-, etc.

•DER ψιθύρ-ισμα (also ὑπο-) [n.], -ισμός [m.], 'whispering, rustling' (Hell.), -ιστής [m.] 'whisperer', epithet of Hermes in Athens' ([D.] 59, 39), 'slanderer, whisperer' (*Ep. Rom.*), -ιστικός (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*). ψίθυρος [m.] 'slanderer, whisperer' (Pi., Ar. *Fr.* 167 [anap.], LXX, Plu.), also [adj.] 'whispering, slandering' (S. *Aj.* 148 [anap.]), of music 'humming' (Ar. *Fr.* 671), of birds 'chirping' (AP). It seemingly served as a basis for ψιθυρίζω, but is probably a back-formation. Also ψίθυρ = ψίθυρος (Hdn. Gr. et al.), after μάρτυρ? ψεδυρός (also ψέδ-) = ψίθυρος (A. *Supp.* 1042 [Iyr.], Hdn. Gr., H.), ψιδόνες· διάβολοι, ψίθυροι 'slanderers' (H.). Here also belongs ψιθύρα [f.] designation of a Libyan musical instrument (S. *Inach.* [Iyr.], Poll.), probably a folk-etymological transformation of a foreign word. Cf. μινυρίζω, κλαυθυρίζω, τινθυρίζω, συρίζω (to σύριγξ), etc.; also λιγυρός, κατυρός, οἷζυρός (to οἷζύς), etc.

•ETYM If it dissimilated from \*ψυθυρ- (as assumed by Specht KZ 61 (1934): 277; on the phenomenon see Kretschmer *Glotta* 26 (1938): 57f., and cf. φῖτυ), it may belong to ψύθος, etc., see ►ψεύδομαι. On the other hand, cf. ►ψίζομαι. Pisani *Arch. glott. ital.* 46 (1964): 23 considered relationship with Skt. *kṣvédati* (also *kṣvédati*) 'to hum' < IE \*k<sup>w</sup>s- (not even mentioned by Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v.).

Given the variant ψεδυρός and the nom. ψιθυρ, the word is no doubt non-Indo-European, i.e. Pre-Greek.

**ψίλον** •ETYM Dor. for ►πίλον.

**ψῖλος** [adj.] 'bald, bare, smooth, exposed' (I 580). <?>

•VAR Also msc. subst. 'light-armed soldier' (IA).

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. ψιλό-ταπς, -ιδος [f.] "smooth carpet", i.e. a carpet smooth on one side and woolly on the other (Hell. pap.), opposite to ἀμφί-ταπς 'carpet woolly on both sides'; διά-ψιλος γῆ 'completely bare, uncovered land' (pap. IP).

•DER 1. ψιλ-ότης [f.] 'baldness' (Hp., Arist., Plb.). 2. ψιλής, -ῆτος [m.] 'γυμνής' (A. *fr.* 732 M.), plur. -ῆται (Eust.), also -ῖται after ὀπλῖται? 3. -ᾶξ, -ᾶκος [m.] 'the bald one' (Ar. *fr.* 891), also as an epithet of Dionysus in Amyklai (Paus.), see Björck 1950: 48 and 264. 4. ψιλεῖς [m.pl.] 'the first choreutes' (H., Suid.), after the light-armed vanguard. 5. ψιλ-όω [v.] 'to make bald, lay bare, expose', also with ἀπο-, etc., pass. -όομαι 'to become bald, become bare, get exposed' (IA); thence -ωσις (also ἀπο-, περι-) [f.] 'exposure, depilation' (medic.), gramm. 'removal of aspiration, inaspirate pronunciation' (Eust.), -ωμα [n.] 'bare situation' (Hp.), -ωτής 'one who drops the aspiration' (Tz.), -ωτικός (Gal., EM, Eust.). 6. -ίζομαι = -όομαι (D. C.).

•ETYM No etymology. Some semantic parallels can be found within the enormous group of ►ψην, but the formation (cf. ψω-λός) remains unclear. Cf. ►ψίω, ψίχες.

**ψῖμυθος** [m.] 'white lead' (Ar., Pl., X., Hell.; Delos [301<sup>a</sup>], AP). <PG(V)>

•VAR Often -ύθιον, later -ίθιον (pap.), rarely -μυ-; also ψιμύθιον [n.].

•DER ψιμυθίομαι 'to be colored with white lead' (Lys., Hell.), act. -όω 'to color ...'; also -θόω (Thom. Mag.), -θίζω (Zonar.) 'id.', whence -θιστής [m.] (gloss.).

•ETYM Has been assumed to be a loanword, perhaps from Egyptian. However, no evidence for this can be found. The variations rather point to a Pre-Greek word. See Fur.: 367.

**ψίνομαι** [v.] 'to shed fruits before ripening' (Thphr.). <GR>

•DER ψινάδες· αἱ ῥυάδες ἄμπελοι 'vines shedding (their fruits or leaves)' and ψινάζει· ἀπορρεῖ τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ καρποῦ, φυλλορροεῖ 'to fall off (of the weak fruits), to shed the leaves' (H.).

•ETYM Cretan forms for φθίνομαι, etc. Cf. ψίνοντος = φθίνοντος (Tenos, IG 12(5), 867), ψίσις (= φθίσις)· ἀπώλεια 'destruction' (H.), etc. See more examples and phonetic notes in Schwyzler: 326. On the dialectal words in Thphr. see Strömberg 1937: 72.

**ψίττα, ψύττα** = σίττα.

**ψιττάκη** [f.] 'parrot' (Arist.). <LW? Orient, PG?(V)>

•VAR ψιττακός (accent after Hdn. Gr. 1, 150) [m.] (Call., Plu., D. S.), also σιττακός (Phld., Arr.), -άκη (v.l. Arist.), ►βίττακος, σίττας· ὄρνις ποιός· ἔνιοι δὲ τὸν ψιττακὸν λέγουσιν (H.).

•ETYM Formerly assumed to be a foreign word of Oriental origin, connected with Skt. *śúka*- [m.] 'parrot'. Fur.: 325 thinks the Indic word should be left aside, and asks if it could be a Pre-Greek bird name that was transferred to the parrot. The variation does seem to point to Pre-Greek origin. Borrowed as Lat. *psittacus* > MoHG *Sittich*.

**ψίω** [v.] 'to feed with morsels; to milk, pap'; = ψωμίζω, ποτίζω. Also 'to chew up' in fut. med. (Lyc., Euph., AP, Phot., Eust.). <?>

•VAR Aor. ψῖσαι, fut. ψίσομαι, ἐπι-ψιεῖ, perf. pass. ἔψισμαι.

•COMP Also with κατα-, ἀπο-, ἐπι- (EM, H.). ἐ<μ>ψίουσα = τροφὰς διδοῦσα χόνδρου (A. *Fr.* 51 = 427 M.), = ἐρέγματα διδοῦσα (H.).

•DER ψίξ [m., f.] 'morsel' (Plu., Aret., Alex. Aphr.), gen. ψιχός, nom.pl. ψίχες (also -αι H.). ψιχία [n.pl.] 'bread crumbs' (NT), -ίδια (H., EM), -ιώδεις ψωμοί (Eust.). Ψιχ-άρπαξ 'thief of bread crumbs' (Batr.).

•ETYM The formation is similar to πρίω, χρίω, χνίω. The enlargement ψι-χ- reminds of ψήχω, ψώχω. I do not think, however, that the word belongs to ►ψην.

**ψό** 'pooh' (Ael. Dion. 337). A shepherd's call, also an exclamation of disgust: ἐπὶ τοῦ σαπρού καὶ μὴ συναρέσκοντος. <ONOM>

•ETYM See on ►ψάα. I see no sufficient basis to derive words like ψόλος, ψόθος from this interjection, as suggested by DELG.

**ψόαι** [f.pl.] 'psoas muscle, muscles of the loins' (Hp., LXX). <PG(V)>



•VAR Also ψοιαί, ψύαι, ψυαί. ψοῖτης μυελός 'lumbar part of the spinal chord' (Gal.), ψυαδικός 'suffering from lumbago' (Orib.). Cf. ψειαί· ἀλώπεκες '(foxes,) psosas muscles' (H.), ψία· ἀλώπεκες (H.); φοῦαι· ἀλώπεκες (H.), φύλλες· ἀλώπεκες (H.).

•ETYM The variations cannot be all understood in IE terms. The connection with ►όσφῦς (Prellwitz), with ὀ- as a prothetic vowel instead of α- before υ in the following syllable, is quite possible. The word is clearly Pre-Greek. For further details see ►όσφῦς.

**ψόγξαι** [v.inf.] · ἀκούσαι 'to hear' (H.). ◀GR▶

•ETYM A Doric form connected with ►φθογγή?

**ψοδίων** ⇒ ψάγιον.

**ψόθος 1** [m.] = ἀκαθαρσία, ῥύπος, ψώρα (A. fr. 82 = 21 M., Ar. fr. 829, Phryn. Com., H., Phot., Suid.); ψόθιον (-ιον cod.)· αἰθαλῶδες, ψοθόν· μέλαν (H.); also ψοθώ<ρ>α· ψώρα, ψόθωρ<ον>· αὐχμηρόν (H.), cf. Wackernagel *Phil.* 95 (1943): 191; ψοθόκη· ἀκαθαρσία (Hdn. Gr.), ψοθοῖός ὁ ἀκάθαρτος (Theognost. *Can.*). ◀PG(V)▶

•ETYM Closest to ►ψόλος 'soot'. Fur.: 197 connects ψοῖθος = σποδός 'ashes', and assumes also \*ψῶδος 'dirt' on the basis of ψωδαρέον· αὐχμηρόν (H.), cf. ψοθωρ· above. He also compares ψόλος 'soot, smoke' and ἄσβολος 'soot' (ibid.: 393").

**ψόθος 2** [m.] · (...) θόρυβος 'noise, commotion'; ψοθάλλειν· ποφεῖν 'to make noise' (H.); ψοθεῦσιν = ποφέουσιν (Call. fr. 194, 106). ◀PG?▶

•ETYM Frisk assumed a cross of ψόφος and ῥόθος, where ψοθάλλειν would be formed after ψάλλειν. I do not believe in such 'crosses'. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek.

**ψοῖθος** [m.] = σποδός 'ashes' (Theognost. *Can.*, EM, Phot.). ◀PG(V)▶

•ETYM See Fur.: 197, and s.v. ►ψόθος 1.

**ψόλος** [m.] 'soot, smoke, fume' (A. fr. 24 = 88 M.). ◀PG(V)▶

•DER ψολοκομπία (from \*ψολό-κομπος) [f.pl.] 'fummy pomposities' (Ar. *Eq.* 696). From this ψολό-εις 'sooty, smoky, fummy, smoke-colored, dark' (Od., epic poet.). Besides ψελός· αἰθαλός 'soot' (for -όεις?) and ψόμιος· ἀκαθαρσία, καπνός 'impurity, smoke' (H.), cf. ψάμιμος.

•ETYM The ending is similar to that of ἄσβολος, θολός, αἶθαλος. Connection with ►ψῆν makes little sense semantically. Fur.: 388 compares ψόθος 'dirt' and also (393) σποδός, ἄσβολος (with prothetic vowel). In view of these variants, the word is most probably Pre-Greek.

**ψόφος** [m.] 'clangour, noise, crash, vain noise, idle babble' (h. *Merc.*). ◀?▶

•COMP E.g. ψοφο-δεής 'fearing noise' (Pl.), ἄ-ψοφος 'noiseless' (S., E., Arist.).

•DER 1. ψοφ-ώδης 'full of noise' (Hp., Arist.). 2. ψοφαξ [m.] epithet (inscr. Phrygia). 3. ψοφ-έω 'to make noise or clamour, sound, blow' (IA), also with ἀπο-, συν-, ἐπι-, etc.; thence -ησις (also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-) [f.] 'making a noise' (Cratin., Arist., Plu.), -ήματα [n.pl.] 'idle babble' (S. *Inach.*), -ητικός 'boisterous' (Arist.), ἄ-ψόφητος 'noiseless' (S.), -ητί, -ητεί [adv.] (Pl., D., Arist.).

Besides the glosses from H., in quite different mgs.: ψέφει· δέδοικεν, ἐντρέπει, λυπεῖ, φροντίζει; μεταψέφω· μεταβουλεύομαι; μεταψέφειν· μεταμελεῖσθαι; ἀψεφών· ἀμιελών and ἀψεφές· ἀφρόντιστον. Σοφοκλῆς Φαίδρα (Fr. 692), see ►ψέφει.

•ETYM Like ψεῦδος and ψύθος, it may originally be onomatopoeic and somehow belong with the interjection ψό 'rooh! [pfui!]' (S. Fr. 521; "ἐπὶ τοῦ σαπροῦ καὶ μὴ συναρέσκοντος" [Ael. Dion.; cf. A.Fr. 21 M.]); in detail dark. After Petersson 1923: 20 to \*b<sup>h</sup>es- 'to blow' (see on ►ψύχη) with broken reduplication.

**ψύδραξ, -ακος** [f.] 'pustule, blister', on the head, on the eyelid, on the nose, on the tongue (EM 819, 10). ◀?▶

•DER ψυδράκιον [n.] (Dsc., Cyran., sch. Theoc. 12, 24); ψυδρακόω [v.] 'to form a pustule' (medic.).

•ETYM After sch. on Theoc. it was called this way, because it betrayed the liar (ψυδρός); they were also called ψεῦδεα and ψεύσματα. Cf. Theoc. 9, 30 and 12, 24, to which Kaibel 1899-1901(1): 218. Connection with ►ψῆν should be given up.

**ψύθος** = ψεῦδος.

**ψύλλα** [f.] 'flea' (Epich., Ar., X., Arist., Thphr.). ◀IE \*p/bl(o)u-s- 'flea'▶

•VAR Secondary and rare ψύλλος [m.]. Also ψύλλακας· τὰς ψύλλας (H.); ψυλλίζω [v.] 'to catch fleas' (Suid.).

•DER Plant name ψύλλ-ιον [n.] (Dsc., Luc.), -ερίς [f.] (Ps.-Dsc.), after ἡμερίς, etc.) 'flea seed, Plantago psyllium'; because of the form of the seed (Strömberg 1940: 55).

•ETYM An inherited word \*plusi- 'flea', which underwent metathesis in Greek to \*psuli- (perhaps by association with ψῆν): cf. Skt. *plūsi-*, Arm. *lu* <\*plus-, Lith. *blusà* < \*b<sup>(h)</sup>lus-, Lat. *pūlex* < \*pusl-, Germanic, e.g. OHG *flōh* (probably folk etymology after *fly*), etc.; the variations are the result of euphemistic, playful or folk-etymological distortions that may have been current already in the parent language.

**ψύχη** [f.] 'aspiration, breath, life, vitality, soul (of the deceased), spirit', also as a representation of the dead, seen as a winged creature (ζῶον πτερωτόν) (ἔλ.). ◀PG▶

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ψυχ-αγωγός [m.] 'guide of souls, necromancer', whence -ία, -έω (since A.); very productive as a second member, e.g. ἐμ-ψυχος 'animate' (IA), μεγαλό-ψυχος 'magnanimous' (Att., etc.).

•DER 1. Diminutive ψυχ-άριον [n.] (Pl., M. Ant.) > MoGr. ψυχάρι 'butterfly', see Immisch *Glotta* 6 (1915): 193ff.; -ίον [n.] (epigr. IG 14, 2068), -ίδιον [n.] (Luc., D. C.). 2. ψυχ-ικός 'mental' (Arist., Hell.), -αῖος, -ήϊος 'id.' (late). 3. ψυχώ [v.] 'to animate' (Ph., Nonn.), whence -ωσις [f.] 'animation' (Ph., M. Ant.); also ἐμψυχ-όω, -όομαι (μετ-), whence (μετ-)εμψύχωσις (D. S., Gal.) from ἐμψυχος (see above).

ψύχω [v.] 'to blow' (Hom. only Y 440), aor. ψύξαι, pass. (also intr.) ψυχθῆναι (Il.), -ῆναι (Att.), ψύγ-ῆναι (Hell.), fut. ψύξω, ψυχ-θήσομαι, -ήσομαι, ψύγῆσομαι, perf. ἔψυγμα (IA), act. ἔψυχα (late). Often prefixed, in various shades of meaning: e.g. ἀνα- 'to take breath', ἀπο-, ἐκ- 'to expire, lose consciousness, die' (Od., IA), but more frequently 'to cool down', also intr. and pass. (Il.), 'to dry (in the wind)' (IA). Also with κατα-, δια-, ἐπι-.

Other words meaning 'cool, cold' are treated s.v. ►ψυχρός.

•ETYM The present ψύχω is clearly the basis of all other verbal forms. The nominal formations fit semantically and formally to the verb: for ψυχή 'soul' from ψύχω 'to blow, breathe', cf. πνεῦμα to πνέω, Lat. *animus* and *anima* to Skt. *āniti* 'to breathe', etc.

Greek had another verb for 'to blow, breathe': πνέω, which remains alive throughout the history of Greek. Therefore, it is generally thought that ψύχω developed its meaning 'to cool, make dry (in the wind)', from 'to blow'. Note that this is now doubted by Mumm and Richter, *IJDLR* 5 (2008): 33-108, who argue that the meaning 'cool' is primary to 'breath, soul'. In the meaning 'cool', ψύχω, ψύχος and ψυχρός are maintained in prose against other expressions for 'cool, cold', like ῥίγος, κρύος, πάγος.

The earlier history of ψύχω is obscure. It is tempting to analyze it as ψύ-χ-ω (like τρύχω to τρύω, ψήχω and ψώχω to ψῆν), and to connect a verb *\*b<sup>h</sup>es-* 'to blow' (Benveniste *BSL* 33 (1932): 165ff., who compares τρύω to τείρω and Lat. *terō*). Derivatives of *\*b<sup>h</sup>es-* would be seen in Skt. *bhāstrā-* [f.] 'bag, bellows', *bhāsman-* [n.] 'ashes' (for another possibility see on ►ψόλος). Moreover, Skt. *°psu-* in *á-psu* 'without breath' (RV) would contain the same extension. See details in Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.vv. A recent attempt was made by Mumm and Richter (l.c.).

I do not find these suggestions convincing. There is hardly any evidence for an IE root *\*b<sup>h</sup>es-* 'to blow' (Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 257 puts the Skt. root *bhas<sup>2</sup>* between brackets). Therefore, the word is more probably of Pre-Greek origin.

ψυχρός [adj.] 'cold' (Hom.). ◀?▶

•COMP ἔμψυχρος 'cold'.

•DER ψύχω [v.] 'to refresh, etc.'; often prefixed. For forms, see on ►ψυχή.

Nominal derivations: 1. ἀνα-ψύχῃ (Att., Arist.) 'refreshment, consolation' (also παρα-), where ὕ is explained from ψύχῃναι (Schwyzer: 460). 2. ψύξις (also ἀνά-, κατά-, περί-, ἔμ-, etc.) [f.] 'refreshment' (Hp., Pl., Arist.). 3. ψύγμα (also ἀπό-, διά-) [n.] 'means of cooling; dry or infertile land' (Hp., pap.). 4. ψυγμός (also περι-), ψυχμός [m.] 'refreshment, chill; place for drying' (LXX, Hell. pap., medic.). 5. ψυκτήρ (also ἀνα-, οἶνο-) [m.] 'cooler' (Att., Hell.), also 'place for drying' (sch. Od.), -τήριον, -τηρίδιον [n.] 'cooler' (com. [IV<sup>a</sup>], Hell. inscr. and pap.), 'place for drying or recovering' (Hes., A., E.), with παρα- 'consolation' (S. *Ichn.*), -τήριος 'cooling' (Achaë. [V<sup>a</sup>]), -τηρίας, -τηρίσκος [m.] 'cooler' (Hell. pap. and com.). 6. ψύκτρα [f.] 'place for drying' (Att. inscr. [I<sup>a</sup>], H. s.v. τρασιά). 7. ψυκτικός (also δια-, ἐν-, κατα-) 'cooling' (medic., Arist.). 8. ψυγεύς [m.] 'cooler' (Alex.), perhaps directly from ψυγῆναι. 9. ψυγός = ταρσός (sch. Od.).

From ψύχω: 10. ψύχος [n.] 'cold, frost' (κ 555), 'winter' (Hdt.); ψυχόμαι 'to become cold' (Hp.); ψυχάζω 'refresh oneself' (Alciphr.), -ίζομαι (gloss.) 'to cool down', ψυχ-εινός 'cold' (Hp., X., Arist.), after the opposite ἀλεινός, perhaps directly from ψύχω; -εῖον [n.] 'place for cooling water' (Semios Hist.). Cf. ψυγεῖα· ἀγγεῖα ἐν οἷς ὕδωρ ψύχεται, καὶ ὁ τόπος αὐτός (H.), also *IG* 2<sup>2</sup>, 1695: 21 [III<sup>a</sup>] (inscr. ψυ[γ]εῖα)? 11. ψυχρός (like αἶσχος to αἰσχρός, etc.) 'cool, cold, numb; without success, etc.' (Il.), also with κατα-, ἐν-, ὑπο-, etc. Thence ψυχρότης 'cold(ness)', ψυχρία 'id.', ψυχρασία

'making cold' (Epicur.); ψυχραίνομαι 'be cold' (Plu.), whence ψυχραντικός (Hdn.), ψυχρίζομαι 'id.' (Gal.), ψυχρεῦομαι 'to have a cold style' (Hermog.).

•ETYM ψυχρός and ψύχος form a Caland sysem. It cannot be decided whether the system is etymologically related to ►ψυχή; see s.v. for attempts.

ψῶ •VAR Also ψωμιός, ψώρα, ψώχω, etc. ⇒ ψῆν.

ψῶα [f.] 'stench of rottenness' (A. R. fr. 5) ◀?▶

•VAR ψῶα· σαπρὰ δυσωδία 'rotten and malodorous stuff' (H.).

•DER ψῶζος· ἄφοδος ὑγρὰ ἢ ὄνθος, δυσωδία, καὶ ἦν καλοῦσιν μίνθαν· οἱ δὲ αὐχμὸν ἢ μόλυσμα 'liquid excrement, dung, malodorous stuff, etc.' (H.).

•ETYM DELG and Frisk posit an interjection ψό, from which the word would have been derived. Doubtful.

## Ω

ὦ exclamation of astonishment and of complaint. <IE \*ō>

- VAR Also ὦ, especially before a vocative (Il.).
- DER ὦζω [v.] 'to call Oh' (Ar.). Also ὦή 'hey, hello!' (A., E., X.), ὦπ a cry of rowers (Ar.).
- ETYM Similar interjections, which are in part independent, in part genetically cognate, are: Lat. *ō*, *ōh*, Go. *o*, Lith. *ō*, OCS *o*, OIr. *a*, Skt. *ā*.

ῥα [f.] 1. 'sheepskin, apron' (com., Att. inscr. [IV<sup>a</sup>], Poll., H.). 2. 'fringe (of a garment), edge' (Corinn. [?], Ar. *fr.* 228 [?], LXX, Cret. inscr. [II<sup>a</sup>], Longus, Poll., Hdn.). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>eui-* 'sheep'>

- VAR Also ῥα, ῥα, ῥα; gloss ὦται· ἄκραι, ἔσχατα, μηλωταί, λέγναι 'tops, utmost parts, sheepskins, fringes of a garment' (H.).
- ETYM In the sense 'sheepskin, apron (made of sheepskin)', it probably belongs to ▶ῥις 'sheep' and derives from \*ῥία or \*ῥια, with a lengthened grade like in Skt. *āvika-* [n.] 'sheepskin' (Kretschmer KZ 31 (1892): 456). However, Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *āvi-* says that *āvika-* (ŚB) replaces earlier *avāga-* (RV), which casts doubt on the connection.

The meaning 'fringe' can be identical with 'sheepskin' if we assume that it denoted an edge made of sheepskin (Sommer 1905: 18f., 154').

ὠβά ⇒ οἶη 2.

ὠγανον [n.] · κνημὶς ἀμάξης 'spoke of a wagon (wheel)', also περιώγανα· ἐπίσσωτρα. οἱ δὲ τὰς κνημίας αἱ περιπήγνυνται ταῖς ἀμάξαις 'felloes; spokes by which wagons are fixed (?)' (H.). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>eǵ-* 'drive'>

- ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 7 assumed Illyrian origin, connecting \**ueǵh-* 'to drive' (see ▶ἔχω 2). Rather to ▶ἄγω, though the formation is unclear (not a lengthened grade like in ▶ἀγωγή, as per Frisk 1938: 17f.).

ῥδή •VAR ῥδός. ⇒ αἰδω.

ὠδῖς, -ῖνος [f.] 'throes of birth, that which is born (out of pains)', metaph. 'strain' (Λ 271). <PG(S)>

- VAR Usually pl. -ῖνες. Later nom. -ίς.
- COMP δυσ-ὠδίνος 'accompanied by severe birth-pangs' (AP).

•DER ώδίνw [v.] (Λ 269) 'to have birth-pangs, be pregnant of something', metaph. 'to experience heavy pains, tire oneself out, labour hard', also prefixed with συν- etc. Thence aor. ώδίν-αι, -ήσαι, -ήσασθαι, -ιθῆναι, fut. ώδιν-ω, -ήσω (Hell.).

•ETYM Formation like γλωχ-ίν-, δελφ-ίν-, ακτ-ίν-, but the root is unclear. It is tempting to connect ►όδύνη, but the long initial vowel of ώδ- has not been explained so far. Van Beek (p.c.) suggests an old reduplicated formation \**h<sub>3</sub>e-h<sub>3</sub>d-i-* of the type Skt. *cákri-* 'doing' (< \**k<sup>w</sup>e-k<sup>w</sup>r-i-*) from the root \**h<sub>3</sub>ed-* 'to bite' (see on ►όδύνη for a demarcation of the root). Note that Lith. *úodas* 'gnat' does not require a lengthened grade: it derives from \**h<sub>3</sub>od-o-* by Winter's Law. A connection with 'eat' cannot be demonstrated in Greek (in spite of Λ 415).

Alternatively, the word may be Pre-Greek, because of the suffix -ίν- (which is already remarked by DELG).

ώθew, -έomai [v.] 'to push, thrust, drive, push away or forward, drive out, throw back', med. also intr. 'to force one's way'. <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>uod<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-éie-* 'push away, slay'>

•VAR Aor. ώσαι, -ασθαι, ind. έωσα, -άμην (Hom., Att.), ώσα, -άμην (epic Ion.), ώθησα (late), pass. έώσθην (X.), ώσθην (late), fut. ώσω, -ομαι (Il.), ώθήσω (S., E., Ar.), pass. ώσθήσομαι (E., D.), perf. pass. έωσμαι (Th., X.), ptc. άπ-ωσμένος (Hdt.), act. έωκα (Plu.).

•COMP Mostly prefixed, e.g. with άπ-, έξ-, δι-, προ-.

•DER Deverbal formations: 1. ώσις [f.] 'pushing (away or forward)' (Hp., Th., Arist.), also with άπ-, έξ-, πρό-, etc.; further ώθησις [f.] 'id.' (Hero, late), also with άπ-, έξ-, δι-, etc.

2. ώσιός [m.] 'id.' (LXX, Hero, late medic.), also with άπ-, δι-, προ-, etc.; ώσμή [f.] 'push' (pap. [II<sup>p</sup>]); έξ-ωσμά [n.] 'exile' (LXX).

3. ώστης (σεισιός) 'earthquake' (Arist.), έξώστης άνεμος 'wind which throws the ship off course' (Ion.), also with προ-, άπ- (late); άπ-ωστός 'repellable, repelled, driven away' (Hdt., S.); ώστικός 'pushing (away)' (Arist., Epicur., Gal.), also with άπ-, έξ-, προ-.

4. δι-ωστήρ [m.] (LXX, Paul. Aeg.), δι-ώστρα [f.] (Ph. *Bel.*, Hero *Bel.*), έξ-ώστρα (Plb.), -ωστρα [n.pl.] (Delos III<sup>a</sup>) designations of different instruments and machines.

Secondary presents: 1. ώθίζomai 'to push each other, jostle, quarrel', -ίζw 'to push' (Hdt., late prose), , also with δι-, εισ-, έπ-; (δι-, συν-)ώθισμός [m.] 'pushing, jostle, quarrel' (Hdt., Th., X., Plb.). 2. ώστιζomai 'to push about, jostle with someone' (Ar.); ώστισιός [m.] = ώθισμός (Moeris).

•ETYM The iterative present ώθew is clearly the basic form of the verb in Greek. A link with the present έθει, the ptc. έθων, έθοντες and the nouns έθρις, έθειρα is highly unlikely; see on these words for objections. It is therefore not clear *a priori* that ώθew contains an old lengthened grade of the type πωλέomai : πέλομαι (for which cf. Schwyzler: 720). It is attractive to compare the optative in Av. *vādāiōit* 'he may push back', and primary forms in Sanskrit, e.g. aor. *āvadhīt* 'he killed'. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. further suggests that Hitt. *huett<sup>-tta(r)</sup>* 'to draw, pull, etc.' is related. This nicely fits the long scansion of the initial vowel in Skt. *āvadhīt* (2 times). The fact that the Skt. root is *sef* and that the Hittite verb is consistently spelled with a

geminate -*tt-* (Kloekhorst *ibid.*) point to a root-final laryngeal. This means that we have to reconstruct a root \**h<sub>2</sub>ued<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-*, whence an iterative \**h<sub>2</sub>uod<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-éie-* yielded Greek ώθew. This explanation nicely accounts for the fact that initial *f-* is not evident for ώθew in Homeric scansion. The only problem is that we have to assume a pre-Homeric development \**awot<sup>h</sup>-* > \*ώθ-.

Ωκεανός [m.] name of a river that surrounds the world, 'ocean' (since Il.). <PG(V)>

•VAR Ωγήν, -ήνος (H), Ωγενός (Lyc., St. Byz.), Ωγηνός (Pherecyd. Syr. *Fr.* 2 D).

•DER Ωκεαν-ίς [f.] 'of the ocean' (Pi., etc.), -ίδες [pl.] 'the daughters of the ocean' (Call.), -ίνη [f.] 'daughter of the ocean' (Hes.), -ίτις [f.] 'of the ocean' (D. H., AP, etc.), -ίται [m.pl.] 'inhabitants of the ocean coast' (St. Byz.), -(ε)ίος 'belonging to the ocean' (Gal., etc.), fem. -ηίς (Nonn.), -ης [m.] old name of the river Nile (D. S.).

•ETYM Since the idea of a world-river is not of IE origin, the word must be a loan. All attempts to find an IE etymology have failed: e.g. connection with Skt. *ā-sáyāna-* 'lying on', approximately equivalent to έπικείμενος (literature in WP 1, 358); from IE \**ōk<sub>2</sub>e-eianos* "(le dieu fleuve) qui a la marche rapide" (to ώκύς and Skt. *áyana-* 'course'), Borgeaud *IF* 66 (1961): 49ff.

Further indications that the word is not inherited from Proto-Indo-European, but rather Pre-Greek, are the variants with γ instead of κ cited above. In the framework of Pre-Greek, the alternation ε/η may be due to \**a* or \**ā* influenced by the preceding palatalized \**k'*. This is confirmed by the following: as the influence of the palatal must have been strongest in the immediately adjacent part of the vowel, and less in the more remote part, this resulted in a sequence [æa] which was rendered as -εα- in Ωκεανός. In other forms, the vowel was changed as a whole, which resulted in Ωγήν. Therefore, I reconstruct a Pre-Greek form \**ūkān* (with ω- from \**ū-*).

ώκιμον [n.] 'basil, Ocimum Basilicum' (com., Thphr., Dsc.). <PG(V)>

•COMP ώκιμο-ειδής [n.] 'like ώ.' (Nic.), used as an adverb; as a substantivized adjective in -ής also name of several plants (Dsc., Ps.-Dsc., Gal.); ; cf. Strömberg 1940: 43; ώκιμ-ώδης 'id.' (Thphr.), -ίνος 'made of ώ.' (Dsc.).

•DER Besides ώκινον [n.] name of a fodder-plant, perhaps a kind of clover in Lat. *ōcinum* (Cato, Varro, Plin.); άκινος, άκονος [m.] 'wild basil, Calamintha graveolens' (Dsc.).

•ETYM Foreign words of unknown origin. Connection with άκή, άκαινα, etc. is at best folk-etymological, and it does not explain the initial ω-. The variants άκινος and άκονος rather suggest a Pre-Greek origin.

ώκύς [adj.] 'fast, swift' (Il., epic). <IE \**h<sub>2</sub>oh<sub>2</sub>k<sub>2</sub>-u-* 'fast'>

•VAR Superl. ώκιστος (Hom.), ώκύτατος (poet. since θ 331), compar. ώκύτερος (Pi.+), for earlier \*ώσσων? Adverb ώκα (Hom.).

•COMP

Very frequent as a first member in poetic compounds, e.g. ώκύ-πους, -ποδος 'swift-footed', epithet of ίππος (Il.). Disputed is ώκύ-αλος, epithet of ναύς (Hom., S. [lyr.], Mosch.), also of ριπή (Pi., Opp.), of πετρά (H.), as the name of a Phaiacean (θ 111), cf. Εύρύ-, Άστύ-αλος, where -αλος is taken as an obscured second member after άγχί-, άμφί-αλος etc. Bechtel 1914 s.v., Risch 1937 §74d, Sommer 1948: 69 connected

► ἄλλομαι, and Ruijgh 1957: 165<sup>4</sup> (following sch. O 705 and H.) assumed that -αλος was only enlarging, like in ὁμαλός: ὁμός.

As a second member in ποδ-ώκης, epithet of Ἀχιλλεύς and others, also πόδας ὠκύς, ὠκύ-πους (Il.); these compounds seem to presuppose a neuter \*ῥωκος. After this ἱππ-ώκης, ἀνεμ-ώκης (B., E. [Iyr.]).

•DER Few derivatives: ὠκύτης (Dor. -τας) [f.] 'swiftness' (Pi., E.); enlarged ὠκήεντα τέρετρα (AP), verse-final. Ruijgh l.c. extensively discusses ὠκύς and its compounds and derivations.

•ETYM The archaic adjective ὠκύς was pushed away and replaced by ταχύς at an early date. It is etymologically identical with Skt. *āsú-* and Av. *āsu-* < QIE \**HoHk-ú-*. It is quite possible that the pre-form is actually IE \**h<sub>2</sub>o-h<sub>2</sub>k-ú-* 'swift', and that it contains the same root and suffix as \**h<sub>2</sub>ek-u-* 'horse' (see on ► ἵππος).

Latin preserves the comparative Lat. *ōcior* = Skt. *āśīyān*, Av. *āsiā*. Celtic only preserved it in composition with a negative prefix, e.g. W *di-auc* 'slow' < "un-fast".

Lat. *acu-pedius* probably contains \**h<sub>2</sub>ek-* 'sharp', while it is possible that Lat. *accipiter* 'hawk, falcon' derives from an old zero grade \**HHku-petro-* 'fast-flying', cf. Gr. ὠκύπτερος. On the other hand, Greek also uses ὀξύ-, e.g. in ὀξύ-πους 'swift-footed' (E.), ὀξύ-πτερος 'with swift wings' (Aesop.), ὀξύ-ρροπος 'inclining swiftly' (Pl.).

ωλένη [f.] 'elbow, the curved arm, lower arm' (poet. since *h. Merc.*, also Luc.), also 'bundle of reed' < \*'armful', 'reed-mat' (Ph. *Rel.*, pap.), = Lat. *torus* (gloss.). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>eHl-en-* (vel sim.) 'elbow'►

•COMP Few compounds: ὠλέ-κρᾶνον, also ὀλέ-κρᾶνον [n.] '(point of the) elbow' (Hp., Ar., Arist.), dissimilated from \*ὠλενό-κρᾶνον; cf. on κρᾶνιον. Thence ὠλεκραν-ίζω, -ίζομαι (also ὀλ-) 'to push with the elbow' (Com. *Adesp.*, Phryn.); ὠλενο-στρόφος [m.] 'plaiter of bundles or mats' (pap. III<sup>a</sup>); λευκ-ὠλενος 'with white elbows, white-armed' epithet especially of Hera (Il., epic poet.). Hypostasis ἐπ-ωλένιος 'at the arms' (*h. Merc.*, A. R.).

•DER ὠλέν-ιος 'in the elbow' (Arist.), -ίτης [m.] 'id.' (Lyc.), of χόνδρος; ὠλεν-ίς [f.] 'small bundle or mat' (Poll.).

Also ὠλήν, -ένος [f.] 'id.' (Suid.); the plur. acc. ὠλένας and gen. ὠλενων (pap.) are ambiguous; also ὠλλόν- τὴν τοῦ βραχίονος καμπήν 'the curve of the arm' (H.). λέκρᾶνα· τοὺς ἀγκῶνας 'elbows' (H., Phot.).

•ETYM Within Greek, we find different ablauting variants of an *n*-stem: ὠλήν, -ένος (cf. αὐλήν, -ένος), enlarged ὠλένη, and ὠλλόν < \*ὠλόν. Also, there is a short initial vowel in ὀλέκρᾶνον < ὀλένο-κρᾶνον.

Related words, mainly from European languages, are: Lat. *ulna* '(bone of the) elbow, forearm' < \**olen-*, the Germanic group of OHG *elina* 'ell' < \**alin-*, and the Celtic group of MW *elin* 'elbow' < \**olēn-*. It may be that these ultimately go back on forms with a long initial vowel \**ōlén-*, \**ōlēn-*, which was shortened in pretonic position in these languages (Dybo's Law).

Balto-Slavic forms like Lith. *uolektis*, Latv. *uolekts* 'ell' < \**HoHl-ek-ti-*, OPr. *alkunis*, Lith. *alkūnė* (arch.) 'elbow' < \**HHol-k-* and OCS *lakǫtь* [m.], Ru. *lókot* 'id.' < \**HHolkuti-* show that the word was not an *n*-stem in PIE yet, and that the initial

long vowel, which is acute in Baltic, must be due to a pre-form \**HoHl-*. It is possible that an *n*-stem was made to this form in the Western languages in late PIE.

The *n*-stem is also found in Arm. *uln*, gen. *ulan*, nom.pl. *ulun-k'*, but in the sense of 'vertebrae, neck'. A similar formation is shown by Arm. *oln*, gen. *olin*, plur. *olun-k'* 'dorsal vertebra, spine, back, shoulder' from IE \**olen-*, *olon-*. However, it is unclear if the semantic difference between Armenian and the other languages can be bridged (see now Martirosyan 2010 s.v. *uln*).

The precise reconstruction of Skt. *aratní-* [m.] 'elbow' is not quite clear, but cf. Lubotsky 1990; Skt. *āṇī-* [m.] 'the part of the leg directly above the knee, axle-pin' does not belong here, see Pinault BSL 98 (2003).

ωλίγγη [f.] 'wrinkle, small furrow, crow's-feet in the corner of the eye' (Poll., EM, AB), also 'short nap, short moment, instant'. <PG(S)►

•VAR Also ὠλιγξ? ὠλιγγία (H.).

•DER ὠλίγγιον· ὀλίγον 'few' (EM, AB), -ήϊον· ὀλίγον, βραχύτατον 'very short' (H.), -ιάν· νυστάζειν 'to doze, take a nap' (H.).

•ETYM Without a convincing connection. Not related to Skt. *ālī-* [f.] 'stripe, line', as this derives from \**āḍi-* (see Mayrhofer EWAia s.v.). The word is clearly of Pre-Greek origin in view of the nasalized suffix -(γ)γ-.

The connection with ὠλαξ (EM), Dor. for ἄλοξ 'furrow' is certainly wrong.

ῥωλκα [acc.sg.] 'furrow'. ⇒ ἄλοξ.

ῥωμαλία [f.] 'similarity, average' in ἐφ' ῥωμαλίαν 'on average' (Hell. inscr. and pap.), see Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 27. <GR►

•ETYM After the opposite ἀνωμαλία [f.] 'unevenness, unconformity' (Att., Hell. and late), which derives from ἀν-ῥωματος (with compositional lengthening), see ► ὁμαλός.

ῥωμλλα [f.] name of a game in which nuts or similar objects were thrown in a circle; also metaph. of a sociable meeting (Eup., Poll., H.). <?, PG?►

•ETYM Unexplained, perhaps Pre-Greek in view of the suffix.

ῥωμος [m.] 'shoulder, shoulder with the upper arm' (Il.). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>ems-o-* 'shoulder'►

•DIAL Myc. *e-po-mi-jo* [du.] /ep-ōmiō/.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ῥωμο-πλάτη (mostly plur. -αι) [f.] 'shoulder-blade' (Hp., X., Arist.). Numerous hypostases, e.g. ἐπ-ωμῖς [f.] 'upper part of the shoulder, a garment buttoned over the shoulder' (Hp., E., X.), ἐξ-ωμῖς [f.] 'tunic with one sleeve' (Ar., X.), κατ-ωμαδόν, -άδιος 'down from the shoulders' (Il.), ἐξ-ωμίζω [v.] 'to denude the shoulders' (Ar.); on ἐπωμιάδιος (ἐπομμι-) see below.

•DER 1. Diminutive ῥωμίον [n.] (AP). 2. ῥωμία [f.] 'angle of a building' (LXX), semitism acc. to Scheller 1951: 54, also a part of a riverbed (pap. II<sup>a</sup>). 3. ῥωμίας· ὁ μεγάλους ῥωμους ἔχων, ὁ εὐρύστερνος 'who has large shoulders, or a large chest' (H., Poll.). 4. ῥωμιαῖος 'belonging to the shoulders' (Arist., Gal.). 5. ῥωμισάμενος [aor.ptc.] 'taking on the shoulders' (Suid., Zonar.), whence -ιστής 'carrier' (Hdn.).

•ETYM Related are Skt. *āmsa-* [m.], Go. *ams* [m.] (acc. pl. *amsans*), Lat. *umerus*, U *onse* [loc.] 'in umero', Arm. *us*, gen. *us-oy*, ToA *es*, ToB *āntse*, most of which point to QIE *\*omso-*.

ToA *es* [m.] 'shoulder, element, etc.', and ToB *āntse* [m.] 'id.; bough' go back to PTo. *\*anse*. ToA *es* has *e* from *\*an* before *s*, and in ToB, *t*-epenthesis is regular. The PTo. *a*-vocalism is problematic, as a development *\*h<sub>3</sub>mC-* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>emC-* > *\*anC-* is unexpected.

The unclear gloss ἀμέσω· ὠμοπλάται (H.) is probably foreign in view of the preserved intervocalic -σ-; cf. Latte ad loc. It is unnecessary to postulate a special lengthened grade IE *\*ōmso-* for ὠμός. Rather, Aeol. ἐπομάδιος (in Theoc. 29, 29 as a v.l. for ἐπωμάδιος) most probably points to PGr. *\*omso-*. Dunkel 1995 has suggested that the forms with long vowel as a reflex of the first compensatory lengthening are survivals from Mycenaean (i.e. borrowings into the poetic language).

ὠμός [adj.] 'raw, uncooked', metaph. 'hard, gruesome' (Il.). <IE *\*HeHmo-* 'raw'>

•COMP Very frequent as a first member, e.g. ὠμ-ηστής, Dor. -τάς [m.] 'eating raw flesh, ὠμο-φάγος, sanguinary, wild' (Il., epic poet.), a compound from ὠμός and ἔδω with a suffix -tā- and old contraction (cf. Skt. *āmād-* 'id.' from *āma-ad-*); ὠμ-ήλυσις [f.] 'grist from raw grains', especially in preparing a poultice (Hp.), from the root *\*h<sub>3</sub>leu-* of ▶ ἀλέω (the simplex *\*h<sub>3</sub>lousis* was later replaced by ἄλεις), with later folk-etymological connection with λύσις, λύω ('μετὰ ὠμῆς λύσεως', Dsc.). As a second member in ἔν-ωμος 'something raw' (Hp.).

•ETYM Old adjective for 'raw', identical with Skt. *āmā-* and Arm. *hum* < QIE *\*ōmó-*. The word probably represents *\*h<sub>3</sub>eHmos* or *\*h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>3</sub>mos* (see Kortlandt 2003: 42, 73, 123, 163, 183). See also De Vaan 2008 s.v. *amārus*.

ὠνος [m.] 'purchase price, buy' (Hom., also A. R., Theoc., inscr. Delos [III<sup>a</sup>]). <IE *\*uos-no-* 'purchase price'>

•VAR More usual is ὠνή (IA).

•DIAL Dor. ὠνά, Aeol. ὄννα [f.] 'purchase, purchase-charter' (partly adapted to the verb, e.g. συνων-ή [late] from συν-ωνέομαι). On Samian ονονημένα see Ringe *Glotta* 62 (1984): 45-56.

•DER εὖ-ωνος 'at a good price, low-priced' (Epich., IA), -ώνης [m.] (from the verb or closely related to it), e.g. τελ-ώνης 'toll-holder, levier of tax' (Att., Hell.), ὠν-ιος 'buyable', τὰ ὠνια 'merchandise' (Epich., Att.), -ιακός 'id.' (pap. [VI<sup>p</sup>], Just. Nov.).

Denominative verb ὠνέομαι (Hes.+) 'to buy', also with ἀντι-, ἐκ-, συν-, etc.; aor. ὠνήσασθαι (Ion., also recent Att. for πρίασθαι), pass. ὠνηθῆναι, fut. ὠνήσομαι, Dor. 3sg. ὠνασεῖται (Sophr.), pass. ὠνηθήσομαι (Theopomp. Com.), perf. (med. and pass.) ἐώνημαι (Att.). Cret. also has the act. ὠνέω 'to offer for sale, sell' (Leg. Gort., etc.).

Thence 1. ὠνῆμα [n.] 'buy' (Att. inscr.), also βώνημα· εἶρημα. Λάκωνες (H.)? 2. ὠνήσις [f.] 'the buying' (Att. decree *apud* Poll.). 3. ὠνητής (Att.), ὠνατάς (Delphi II<sup>a</sup>) [m.] 'buyer', whence -ητιάω 'to be desirous of buying, wish to buy' (Thphr., D. C., Poll.), -ήτωρ 'id.' (late). 4. ὠνη-τός 'buyable, bought', e.g. of slaves (since ξ 202), -τικός 'desirous of buying' (Ph.). 5. Desiderative ὠνησείω 'wish to buy' (D. C.).

•ETYM Both ὠνέομαι and the old aor. πρίασθαι were replaced, in the course of time, by ἀγοράζω and ἀγοράσαι. Beside ὠνος < *\*uōs-no-* (see below) stands Lat. *vēnum* (acc.) in *vēnum dare* 'to give for sale', Arm. *gin*, gen. *gn-oy* 'purchase-price', both from IE *\*uesno-*. Ambiguous as to the vocalism is Skt. *vasná-* [n.] (also [m.]) 'purchase-price', whence *vásniya-* 'vendible, venal' (cf. Gr. ὠνιος) and denominative *vasnayāti* in the ptc. du. -*ayántā* 'to bargain', cf. Gr. ὠνέω, both reflecting *\*uos-n-éie-*.

It is not necessary to posit an awkward lengthened grade pre-form *\*uōs-no-* for ὠνος, see on ▶ ὠμος. The noun *\*ues-no-*, *\*uos-no-* belongs to a primary verb still preserved in Hittite: 2sg. *uāsti*, 3sg. *uāši* 'to purchase, acquire' < *\*uos-e-i*. A zero grade *\*us-n-* is preserved in the denominative verb *ušnije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* 'to offer for sale, sell'. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *ušnije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* argues that this form shows that the noun for 'sale' originally was an *n*-stem *\*uos-n*, gen. *\*us-en-s*, which was later thematicized in the individual IE languages. This would nicely explain the different root vowels of Armenian, Greek and Latin.

ὠόν [n.] 'egg' (IA). <IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ōui-o-* 'egg'>

•VAR ὠόν (Hell.), ὠῖον (Sapph.), also ὠεον (Epich., Ibyc., Semon., Hell. poetry); ὠβεα· τὰ ὠά. Ἀργεῖοι (H.), if = ὠφεα.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ὠο-τόκος 'laying eggs', whence -τοκία, -τοκέω (Arist.).

•DER Diminutive ὠ-ῥιον [n.] (Theognost., pap. II<sup>p</sup>), -ώδης 'egg-shaped' (Arist.).

•ETYM An old word for 'egg', preserved in several languages, but in various forms: Lat. *ōvum*, OHG *ei*, ON *egg* < PGM. *\*ajja-* [n.], in Iranian e.g. MoP *xāya* < Plr. *\*āya-* without a trace of -*u-*. In Slavic we find the diminutive OCS *ajъce*, Ru. *jajcō* < PSI. *\*āje-* < IE *\*ōio-*. Arm. *ju*, gen. *juoy* (from *\*jōio-?*), Alb. *ve*, *voe*, and Celtic forms like W *wy* have an unclear pre-form.

The many attempts to obtain a unified account of the different forms have not lead to a conclusive result. See the extensive and careful treatment by Schindler *Sprache* 15 (1969): 144 ff. (with rich lit.); there also on the possibility to connect the word for 'egg' with that for 'bird' (Lat. *avis*, etc.).

ὠρα [f.] 'season, year, time of day, hour, right time, florescence, time of ripening', plur. also personified 'the Hours' (Il.); Hell. and late also ὠρος [m.] 'year' (gender perhaps after ἐνιαυτός), plur. ὠροι 'annals' (of Ionian writers). <IE *\*Hieh<sub>1</sub>-r-*, *\*Hioh<sub>1</sub>-r-* 'year'>

•VAR Ion. ὠρη.

•COMP E.g. ὠρη-φόρος 'leading on the seasons, bringing on the fruits in their season', epithet of Demeter (*h. Cer.*, Orph.), ὠρο-λόγιον [n.] 'hour hand, sundial, water clock' (Hell. and late), ἄ-ωρος 'untimely, unpretty' (IA, Cret.), also ἄν-ωρος and ἄ-ώριος 'id.' (Thphr.), ἐννέ-ωρος 'nine years old' (Hom.), 'for nine hours' (Herod.).

•DER 1. ὠρ-αῖος 'according to the season, timely, ripe, florescent, beautiful' (Hes.), often substantivized, e.g. τὰ ὠραῖα 'fruits of the season' (IA); on ὠραῖα γάμου see Fatouros *Glotta* 54 (1976): 239f. Thence ὠραιότης [f.] 'florescence, beauty' (X., LXX), -αῖζομαι, -ᾶζομαι 'to be beautiful, blossom, act nobly' (Att. com.), also with ἐν-, ἐξ-;

-αῖζω, -άζω 'id.' (Amorgos III<sup>p</sup>), 'to make beautiful' (Aristid. Quint.), whence -αῖσμός, -αῖστής.

2. ῥρ-ιος (epic poet. since ι 131, late prose), poet. for -αῖος, see Treu 1955: 230f.; ῥρ-ιαίνομαι, -ιαίνω = -αῖζομαι, -αῖζω (Clearch., H.).

3. ῥρ-μιος 'timely, ripe' (*Leg. Gort.*, Herod., Hell. pap., AP), whence -ιμότης, -ιμαία, -ιμάζω.

4. ῥρικός 'florescent, youthful, beautiful' (Ar., Crates Com., Ael.). 5. ῥραιοῖς 'for one hour' (Hipparch., Ptol.). 6. Ὠρίτης epithet of Apollo (Lyc.).

•ETYM Greek ῥα continues IE \**HioH-r-h<sub>2</sub>*, which matches the Germanic cognates Go. *jer*, OHG *jār* [n.] 'year' < PGm. \**jēra-* [n.], IE \**Hieh<sub>1</sub>-r-*. In Slavic, we find CS *jara* 'spring' and (with an old *r*-stem) Av. *yārə* [n.] 'year'.

On a trace of the word in Latin *hornus* 'grown in this year' (supposedly from \**ho-īōr-ino-*, with a prefix like in OHG *hiuru* 'this year' < \**hiu jāru*), see De Vaan 2008 s.v. It is probable that the word contains the root \**Hieh<sub>1</sub>-* 'to send'; for the semantics, we may compare MoHG *Geschick* 'fate' from *schicken* 'to send'.

A loan word from Greek is Lat. *hōra*.

**ῥα** [f.] 'care, precaution, concern' (epic Ion. poet., Hes., late prose). <IE \**uer-* 'notice, be attentive, care for'>

•VAR Ion. ῥρη.

•COMP As a second member in οὐδένος-ωρος 'worth no notice or regard', epithet of τεῖχεα (Θ 178), of ὀστέον (Opp. H. 2, 478), cf. Bechtel 1914 s.v.; ὀλίγ-ωρος 'taking few precautions, indifferent, reckless', whence ὀλιγωρέω, -ωρία (IA). The same element is contained in ►θεωρός, ►τιμωρός, but not in ►εὐθυωρία.

•ETYM From \**ῥάρα*, with a lengthened grade like λώπη, λώγη, etc. and derived from the root 'to be attentive, care for', which is also contained in ►όράω. Note the gloss βῶροι (= *ῥ*-) ὀφθαλμοί 'eyes' (H.).

**ῥακιάω** [v.] 'to faint, be or become dizzy', later also 'to become pale' (Ar., late prose).

<IE? \**uoH-r-* 'faint', PG?(S)>

•VAR Also ῥρ-; aor. -ιάσαι. Also ῥρακίζω 'id.' (EM).

•ETYM As a verb of disease in -ιάω, it probably derives from \*ῥραξ 'dizziness, vel sim.', formed like νέαξ, πλούταξ, κνώδαξ, etc. This in turn derives from a noun \*ῥρος or \*ῥρα that could be identified with ON *órar* [f.pl.] 'fits of mind-confusion' < IE \**uoH-rh<sub>2</sub>-*, and (with a suffix -*ja-*) ON *órr* 'dizzy' < IE \**uoH-r-io-*. On the derivational type see Björck 1950: 260ff.

As a root etymology between only Greek and Germanic, the Indo-European proposal is not strong. Because of the element -ᾱκ-, the word could also be Pre-Greek.

**ῥρη** [f.] designation of a part of a sacrificial animal (Ion.). ⇒ ᾠροι 1.

**ῥρυγγες** [m.pl.] 'striped or piebald horses, including zebras' (Opp. K. 1, 317). <PG(S)>

•ETYM Fur.: 279 compares ῥρυξ 'a kind of gazelle in Libya' (Arist.). He asks whether it is the same word as ῥυξ 'wild animal from Libya' (Hdt. 4, 192). The prenasalized suffix -υ(γ)γ- seems to point to a Pre-Greek word.

**ῥρυγή** •VAR Also ῥρυγμα, ῥρυγμός, ⇒ ῥρύομαι.

**ῥρύομαι** [v.] 'to howl, cry, wail' (Pi., Hdt., Hell.). <IE \**h<sub>3</sub>reuH-* 'howl, roar'>

•VAR Aor. ῥρύσασθαι (ἀν-, ἀντ-, κατ-).

•DER ῥρῦδόν [adv.] 'howling' (Nic.), ῥρῦμα [n.] 'howling' (LXX), ῥρῦτός [m.] 'id.' (Theognost.). Often enlarged with -γ-: ῥρυγή (Dor. -ά) [f.] (Erinn., Plu., Poll.), ῥρυγμός [m.] (Ael., Longus, Poll.), ῥρυγμα [n.] (AP) 'id.'; ῥρυκτάς [m.] (Dor.) 'howler, howling' (*Hymn. Is.*). Also ῥρυθμός [m.] 'id.' (Opp., Q. S.; also Theoc. as a v.l. beside -γμός), after κλαυθμός.

•ETYM Cognate with Skt. *rauti*, *ruvāti* 'to howl, roar' (*set*-root *rav<sup>i</sup>-*), OCS *rjuti* 'id.', 1sg. *rovь*, which presupposes a root \**HreuH-*. This perfectly matches the Greek data, which also point to a root-final laryngeal. Other cognates are Lat. *rūmor* 'noise', Lat. *ravis* 'hoarseness', YAv. *uruuant-* 'roaring'.

Forms with a velar enlargement (like ῥρυγή) are found in Latin, e.g. Lat. *rūgiō* 'to roar', and in Ru. *rykát*, Lith. *rūkti* 'id.', 1sg. *rūkiu*. They remind of Gr. ἐρυγεῖν (see ►ἐρεύγομαι 2, etc.), ὀρυμάδες, ►ὀρυμαγδός, but it is unclear if they are old.

Initial ῥ- is unexplained; there is not enough evidence for a prefix ῥ- in Greek (as per Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:2, 817, who compares Skt. *ā ruva* [ipv.] 'cry with' [RV 1, 10, 4]).

**ῥς 1** [adv., conj.] 'as, so far as', also temporal 'when', causal 'because', final 'therewith', perhaps also as an exclamation (Il.). <IE \**Hio-* 'which'>

•VAR Dor. also ῥ.

•DER To this ῥστε (Dor. ῥτε), ῥσπερ, etc.

•ETYM Old instrumental-ablative of the relative pronoun ὅς, like Av. *yā* [instr.], Skt. *yāt* [abl.], IE \**Hioh<sub>1</sub>*, \**Hiōd*. On the auslauting -ς see ►ῥως 2.

**ῥς 2** [adv.] demonstrative: 'thus' (Il.). <IE \**so-*>

•VAR Note the accentuation of καὶ ῥς, οὐδ' ῥς, ῥδε (see Vendryes 1904).

•ETYM Mostly interpreted to derive from an IE instr. \**soh<sub>1</sub>*, from the demonstrative \**so-*, *to-* (see ►ὅ). Besides, τῶς (τῶς) is found, from ►το-.

**ῥς 3** [postpos.] 'as, like' (epic), e.g. ἴσαν ὀρνίθεσ ῥς (Γ 2). <IE \**se*, *seue*>

•ETYM Because ῥς 'like' often makes position, it is usually derived from \**ῥως* < IE \**suō*, beside \**suē* in Go. *swe* 'as, like'; cf. also OLat. *suad* 'sic' (Festus). See Chantraine 1942: 126.

**ῥς 4** [prep.] 'to' (ρ 218, Hdt., Att.). <?>

•VAR With acc., only with persons.

•ETYM Origin unclear; several propositions in Schwyzler 1950: 534.

**ῥσχη** •VAR ῥσχοί. ⇒ ὄσχη 2.

**ῥτακουστέω** ⇒ οὐς.

**ῥτειλή** [f.] 'wound', especially referring to close combat in Hom. (Hom., Hp., X., Plu.); see Trümper 1950: 93ff. <?, PG?>

•VAR Aeol. ῥτέλλα (gramm.).



•DER ὠτειλόομαι [v.] 'to scar' (Hp., Aret.), also with περι-, ἐν-; ὠτειλῆθεν 'from the wound' (Orph.).

•ETYM The formation is unclear, and the etymology is controversial. Greek formations which are candidates to be cognate are γατάλαι· οὐλαί (H.), if = φατ-, οὐτάω [v.] 'to wound', βωτ[ε]άζειν· βάλλειν (H.), if = φωτ-, and (less probable) ἄτη 'damage, guilt, blindness' < \*ἀράτη. Bechtel 1914 s.v. remarked that a pre-form \*ὄφα- is possible everywhere in Homer except at τ 456.

From other languages, Lith. *votis* 'ulcer' and and Latv. *vāts* '(fester) wound' are compared, which seem to require \*ueh<sub>2</sub>-ti-. Direct connection of ὠτειλή with Lith. *votēlis* (which is a diminutive from *votis*) should be rejected in any case.

The word could well be Pre-Greek; this seems confirmed by the form \*φαταλ- in the first gloss: is \*ὀ- from prothetic α- before φ-?

ώτις, ὤτος ⇒ οὐς.

ὠφελέω ⇒ ὄφελος under ὀφέλλω 2.

ὠχρός [adj.] 'pale, sallow' (IA), on the mg. see Capelle *RhM* 101 (1958): 23ff. <?>

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ὠχρο-μέλας 'dark and sallow', said of somebody who suffers from jaundice (medic.), cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 60; ἔξ-ωχρος 'very pale' (Arist., Thphr., Aret.), see Strömberg 1946: 68.

•DER 1. ὠχρος [m.] 'paleness' (Γ 35; after this AP et al.), usually name of a sallow-colored leguminous plant, 'birds' pease, *Lathyrus Ochrus* (com. IV<sup>a</sup>, Arist., Thphr., Hell. pap.). On the gender see below. 2. ὠχρα [f.] 'sallow color, ochre-color' (Arist., Thphr., Hell. pap.); also = ἐρυσίβη, 'mildew' (LXX), in this sense also ὠχρία [f.] (EM). 3. ὠχρίας [m.] 'man with a pale hue' (Arist.). 4. -ότης [f.] 'paleness' (Pl., Arist.), -οσύνη [f.] 'id.' (late). 5. verbs: ὠχρῆσαι [aor.] 'to become pale' (λ 529, Aret., AP), also with κατ-; (κατ-)ὠχρίάω 'id.' (Ar., Arist., Babr.), whence -ίασις (late); ὠχραίνω 'to become pale' (Nic.), 'to make pale' (Orph.), -αίνομαι 'to become pale' (S. E., Sor.), whence -αντικῶς [adv.] 'making pale' (S. E.).

•ETYM The connection with Skt. *vyāghra-* [m.] 'tiger' is untenable for formal reasons (what would the element ὠ- = *-ā-* have to represent, and what is *vi-*?). Wackernagel hesitatingly supposed (see Wackernagel 1916: 234f.) that a neuter ὠχρος (like μάκρος/ μακρός) would have replaced an older \*ὠχος [n.] in Homer, like αἰσχος to αἰσχρός, ψυχρος to ψυχρός, etc.

\*ὠψ 'eye, face, countenance' (Hom.). <IE \*h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>- 'see'>

•VAR The gender is disputed: fem. acc. to EM 344, 55; msc. acc. to Ar. Byz., Eust. and other sources (probably after ὀφθαλμός; cf. EM 233, 32); ntr. acc. to Sommer 1948: 10. Old only in fixed expressions ► ἐνώπα (only in κατ' ἐνώπα), εἰς ὠπα 'in the face, eye in eye' (Hom., Hes.); recent forms are ὠπεσσι [dat.pl.] (Max.), μεγάλους ὠπας [acc.pl.] (Ar. Byz.), etc., τὰ ὠπα (Pl. *Cra.* 409c regarding an etymology).

•COMP As a second member in ► ἐλίκωψ, ► μύωψ and other forms; these may have compositional lengthening (Schwyzer: 426<sup>4</sup>). To this numerous feminine formations, e.g. ἐλικ-ώπις, βο-ώπις (perhaps originally -ώπις < \*-iH-s, see Chantraine 1942: 208 and Ruijgh 1995: 76f.

•DER Hypostases: on ἐν-ώπιος, -ιον, -ῆ, see ► ἐνώπα; ἐξ-ώπιος 'out of sight, without' (E.); εἰς-ωπός (to εἰς ὠπα) 'face to face, right in front of' (O 653, A. R., Arat.); ὑπ-ώπια [n.pl.] 'part of the face below the eyes, bruise under the eyes' (since M 463), rarely -ιον [sg.]; μέτ-ωπον, ► πρόσωπον.

Further derivations: 1. ὠπ-ή [f.] 'sight, view' (A. R., Nic.). 2. ὠπια· ὀφρύδια 'eyebrows' (H.). 3. ὠπάω [v.] 'to observe' in ὠπῶντες (EM 322, 9 regarding ἐλίκ-ωπες), med. aor. ὠπήσασθαι (Opp.), fut. -ήσεσθαι· ὄψεσθαι (H.). With prefix ἐπ-ωπάω [v.] 'to contemplate, overview, supervise' (A.), to which ἐπωπή [f.] 'observation post, watch' (A. *Supp.* 539 [lyr.]), ΤΝ'Επωπή = Ἀκροκόρινθος (St. B.), -εύς [m.] eponymous name of kings (Apollod.), name or epithet of a god (Myscale [IV<sup>a</sup>]), Ἐπωπίς· Δημήτηρ παρὰ Σικωνίοις and -ίδες· ἐπίσκοποι, ἀκόλουθοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις 'watchmen, followers (Lacon.)', also -έτης· Ζεὺς παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις (H.). Enlarged ἐπωπάζει· ἐφορᾷ, ἐπόπτει 'to oversee, observe' (H.).

•ETYM Old formation with lengthened grade beside ► ὄψ 'eye, face'; see on ► ὀπωπα for further connections.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliographical references in general follow the "name-date" system, except for a few very common book references given in abbreviated form (Category A). The journal articles are not included in the bibliography, and the journal abbreviations are given below (Category B).

### A. Book abbreviations

Bq = Émile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes*, Heidelberg-Paris, 1907-1916.

Del.<sup>3</sup> = Eduard Schwyzer, *Dialectorum graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora*. Leipzig, 1923.

DELG = Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots* (terminé par O. Masson, J.-L. Perpillou, J. Taillardat, avec le concours de F. Bader, J. Irigoin, D. Lecco, P. Monteil, sous la dir. de M. Lejeune). Paris, 1968-1980.

DELG Supp. = Idem. Nouvelle édition avec, en supplément, les *Chroniques d'étymologie grecque* (1-10), rassemblées par Alain Blanc, Charles de Lamberterie et Jean-Louis Perpillou. Paris, 2009.

DKP = *Der kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike. Auf der Grundlage von Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter bearb. und hrsg. von Konrat Ziegler und Walther Sontheimer*. 5 vols. Stuttgart, 1964-1975.

DNP = Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (eds.), *Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike. Das klassische Altertum und seine Rezeptionsgeschichte*. Stuttgart, 2003.

E-M = Alfred Ernout and Antoine Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine: histoire des mots*. 4<sup>ème</sup> éd., 4<sup>ème</sup> tirage augmenté d'additions et de corrections nouvelles par Jacques André. Paris, 1985.

EIEC = James P. Mallory and Douglas Q. Adams (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*. London etc., 1997.

Frisk = Hjalmar Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 3 vols. Heidelberg, 1960-73.

Fur. = Edzard J. Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen. Mit einem Appendix über den Vokalismus*. Den Haag, 1972.

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- LSJ = *A Greek-English lexicon, compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott; revised and augmented throughout by Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie, and with the co-operation of many scholars*. Oxford, 1977<sup>9</sup>.
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- WH = Alois Walde and Johann Baptist Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg, 1930-1954.
- WP = Alois Walde and Julius Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Berlin, 1927.

## B. Journal abbreviations

- AAL = Annual of Armenian Linguistics
- ABäG = Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik
- Acta Ant. Acad. Hungar. = Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
- Acta Or. = Acta Orientalia
- AfP = Archiv für Papyrusforschung
- AION = AION-L = Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli. Sezione linguistica
- AJA = American Journal of Archaeology
- AmJPh. = American Journal of Philology
- Ann. Serv. Ant. Égypte = Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
- Ann.Pisa = Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa
- Ant. class. = L'antiquité classique
- AAHG = Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft. Hrsg. von der Österreichischen Humanistischen Gesellschaft
- Anz. AltWiss. = Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft
- Ἀρχ. Δελτ. = Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
- Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. = Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
- Arch. f. Orientforsch. = Archiv für Orientforschung
- Arch. f. Religionswiss. = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
- Arch. glott. ital. = Archivio glottologico italiano
- Arch. Or. = Archiv Orientalní
- Arch. slav. Phil. = Archiv für Slavische Philologie
- Archiv. Linguist. = Archivum Linguisticum
- Arkiv f. nord. fil. = Arkiv för nordisk filologi
- Ath. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung
- BAGB = Bulletin de l'association Guillaume Budé
- BB = Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen
- BCH = Bulletin de correspondance hellénique (Paris)
- Beitr. z. Namenforsch. = Beiträge zur Namenforschung
- Berl.Ak.Sb. = Sitzungsberichte der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Philosophisch-historische Klasse
- BICS = Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
- BiOr. = Bibliotheca Orientalis
- BNF = Beiträge zur Namenforschung
- Boll. fil. class. = Bollettino di filologia classica
- BPhW = Berliner philologische Wochenschrift
- BSL = Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris
- BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
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*Class. et Med.* = *Classica et Mediaevalia*  
*Class. Quart.* = *Classical Quarterly*  
*Class. Journ.* = *The Classical Journal*  
*Class. Phil.* = *Classical Philology*  
*Class. Rev.* = *Classical Review*  
*Comm. Aenip.* = *Commentationes Aenipontanae*  
 CRAI = *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*  
*Curtius Studien* = *Studien zur Griechischen und Lateinischen Grammatik/Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie*  
 DLZ = *Deutsche Literaturzeitung für Kritik der internationalen Wissenschaft*  
*Ep. Et. Byz.* = *Epetiris Etairias Vyzantinon Spoudon*  
*Ét. celt.* = *Études celtiques*  
*Ét. class.* = *Études classiques*  
 GGA = *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*  
 GHÅ = *Goteborgs Hogskola Årsskrift*  
 GLECS = *Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'études Chamito-Sémitiques*  
*Gött. Abh.* = *Gött. Nachr.* = *Abhandlungen/ Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*  
*Gr. Rom. Byz. St.* = *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*  
*Helikon* = *Helikon. Rivista di tradizione e cultura classica*  
*Herm.* = *Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie*  
*HSPh.* = *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*  
 HZ = *Historische Zeitschrift*  
*Idg. Jb.* = *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch*  
 IF = *Indogermanische Forschungen*  
*IF Anz.* = *Indogermanische Forschungen, Anzeiger*  
 IJ = *Indo-Iranian Journal*  
 IJDLR = *International Journal for Diachronic Linguistics and Linguistic Reconstruction*  
*Inc. ling.* = *Incontri linguistici*  
*J. Egypt. Arch.* = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*  
*Jahresh. d. Osterr. Arch. Inst.* = *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*  
 JANER = *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*  
 JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

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 Ling. Balkan. = *Linguistique Balkanique*  
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*Mél. Univ. St. Joseph* = *Mélanges de l'université St. Joseph (Beyrouth)*  
 MKNAW = *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde*  
 Mnem. = *Mnemosyne*  
 MondOr. = *Le Monde Oriental*  
 MSL = *Mémoires de la Société Linguistique de Paris*  
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 OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*  
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 PBBeitr. = *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*  
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*Philol. Stud.* = *Philologische Studien (Leuven)*  
 PhW = *Philologische Wochenschrift*  
*Quad. Urbinati* = *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica*  
 REA = *Revue des études anciennes*  
 REArm. = *Revue des études arméniennes*  
 REGr. = *Revue des études grecques*  
 REIE = *Revue des études indo-européennes*  
 RELat. = *Revue des études latines*

*Rend. Acc. Linc.* = Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche  
*RESlav.* = Revue des études slaves  
*Rev. arch.* = Revue archéologique  
*Rev. belge de phil.* = Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire  
*Rev. celt.* = Revue celtique  
*Rev. Hitt. Ass.*  
*RFIC* = Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica  
*RhM* = Rheinisches Museum  
*Ric. ling.* = Ricerche Linguistiche, Bolletino dell' Istituto di Glottologia dell' Università de Roma  
*RILomb.* = Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere  
*Riv. degli stud. or.* = Rivista degli studi orientali  
*Riv. fil. class.* = Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica  
*RPh.* = Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes  
*Sächs. Abh. and Sächs. Ber.* = Abhandlungen (Berichte) der sächsischen Gesellschaft (Akademie) der Wissenschaften  
*SCauc.* = Studia Caucasica  
*SII* = Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik  
*SMEA* = Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici  
*Sprache* = Die Sprache  
*SSL* = Studi e Saggi Linguistici  
*Stud. ital. fil. class.* = Studi italiani di filologia classica  
*Symb. Oslo.* = Symbolae Osloenses  
*TPS* = Transactions of the Philological Society  
*TAPA* = Transactions (and Proceedings) of the American Philological Association  
*Welt des Orients* = Die Welt des Orients: wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes  
*Wien. Ak. Abh.* = Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien  
*Wien. Ak. Anz.* = Akademischer Anzeiger, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien  
*Wien. Ak. Sb.* = Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien  
*Wiener Stud.* = Wiener Studien  
*Würzb. Jb.* = Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft  
*WuS* = Wörter und Sachen  
*WZHalle* = Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe  
*WZKM* = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes  
*WZKS* = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens  
*ZDMG* = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft  
*Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.* = Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie  
*Zeitschr. f. Phon.* = Zeitschrift für Phonologie, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung  
*Zeitschr. f. slav. Phil.* = Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie  
*ZfdA* = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur

*ZII* = Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik  
*Živa Ant.* = Živa Antika. Antiquité vivante  
*Z(O)NF* = Zeitschrift für (Orts)namenforschung  
*ZPE* = Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik  
*ZRPh.* = Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie  
*Zs. f. ägypt. Spr.* = Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde  
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